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A HISTORY OF THE ARABS
IN THE SUDAN

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME II

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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A HISTORY OF THE ARABS IN THE SUDAN

AND SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PEOPLE
WHO PRECEDED THEM AND OF THE
TRIBES INHABITING DARFUR

BY

H. A. MACMICHAEL, D.S.O.
SUDAN POLITICAL SERVICE

VOLUME II

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1922

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EXPLANATORY NOTE

- i. Square brackets [] are used :

(a) to enclose words which do not occur in the Arabic text but which are added in the translation to complete the obvious meaning;

(b) to enclose a transliteration of an Arabic proper name or other word.

2 When a line of dots occurs thus, ..., some words or sentences have been omitted in the translation. Such omissions are made in six cases:

(a) When there occur laudations of God following mention of His name.

(b) When there occur complimentary phrases, such as "upon him be blessings," which always follow mention of Muhammad, the Prophets or the Companions.

(c) Where a passage is identical, or practically so, with a passage quoted elsewhere. In such a case the reference is always given

(d) —Chiefly in AB and D3—where the subject-matter is of insufficient interest to warrant translation. In such a case a short *precis* is generally given of the passage omitted.

(e) When the author has added an explanation as to what are the [vowel](#) points of the preceding proper name, the result in such a case is made clear by the English transliteration.

(f) When a word is illegible, in this case the word "*illegible*" is added in brackets.

3. When it is said that a passage is identical with another the statement must be understood with the implied reservation that there may be slight grammatical variations not affecting the meaning.

4 The textual notes give obvious emendations for misprints that occur in the text, and conversions of dates from the Muham-

madan to the Gregorian calendar. As regards the former, it may be noted that throughout the MSS. there is a continuous confusion between J and *.

5. It is not enough merely to compare the genealogical trees and neglect the text, because several persons or tribes, whose names occur in the text, are not entered in the trees owing to their relationship to the main stock not being specifically defined.

6 In common parlance the forms " GA'ALuiN," " 'ARAKiIN," etc. are used in all cases instead of the grammatically correct forms "GA'AMYYUN," " 'ARAKIYYUN," etc. In the MSS. sometimes one form and sometimes the other is used, independently of the grammatical construction. For the sake of consistency I have used, in translating the MSS., the form ending in -IYYUN throughout.

7. The paragraphs have been numbered by the translator for the purpose of reference.

No 1E

The three trees following Chapter 1 of Part II illustrate the genealogical connections between the Arabian tribes to which reference is frequent in Part IV. Thus, when there is a reference to Wustenfeld's *Register* in the notes, recourse may be had to these trees, which are compiled from that work, and the introductory note which precedes them in Vol 1, p. 154.

PART IV
THE NATIVE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SUDAN

INTRODUCTION

I The line of cleavage between the two great Arab groups of descendants of Kahtan on the one hand and of Isma'il and 'Adnan on the other has not been obscured by the lapse of ages, nor by the tremendous unifying force of a common religion, nor by continuous intermarriage, nor by migration to distant lands. The distinction, still jealously preserved in Arabia¹, is, in another form, clearly traceable in the Sudan at the present day, and its persistence is due to the unquestioned authority of the Kuran and of certain of the Traditions.

As being a revelation from the very mouth of God the contents of the Kuran are familiar to the masses and unimpeachable both in doctrinal matters and as a storehouse of historical facts. The best authenticated traditions carry an almost equal weight.

No one familiar with the historical portions of the Kuran and the biography of the Prophet could be oblivious of the distinction between the Kahtanite and the Isma'ilite; and, in the second place, the careful preservation of pedigrees is enjoined by the Kuran and the traditions as an act of piety. The injunction is frequently quoted and to some extent obeyed.

Thus any respectable member of society, and particularly the *feki* whose concern is immediately with things of religion, must needs be prepared to produce his pedigree. Some of the links may be faulty—they invariably are so—but the ground is fairly sure in places, and by a system of comparison one obtains certain valuable indications.

II Corresponding to the old division between Kahtanite and Isma'ilite we find in the Sudan a definite line drawn between the two great groups of tribes claiming descent on the one hand from Gu-HAYNA and on the other from 'Abbas the uncle of the Prophet.

The period from the present day to that of the Ashab is generally shewn as covering about forty generations, and in the case of a typical *feki* or sheikh of good family one may generally accept the first five or six generations from the present as stated accurately, and

¹ See Zwemer, p. 259 "The animosity of these two races to each other is unaccountable but invincible. Like two chemical products which instantly explode when placed in contact, so has it always been found impossible for Yemenite and Maadite [i.e. 'Adnanite] to live quietly together."

the next eight or nine as less so. Then follow seven or eight successive ancestors whose names rest more firmly on the accepted authority of contemporary *ntsbas* compiled during that Augustan age of the Sudan, the period of the early FUNG kingdom.

Beyond these are the weakest links in the chain, some fourteen or fifteen names probably due in part to the inventiveness of the genealogists of the FUNG period and their anxiety to connect their own generation with that of the immediate descendants of the Companions of the Prophet.

III In the early centuries of Islam so much attention was paid, by generations that scrupulously observed the behest of Muhammad concerning pedigrees, to the exact inter-relationship of his Companions and their ancestors that the native scribe of the present is naturally content to accept without question the statement of any ancient genealogist whose work may be accessible to him.

The popular idea of the value of a long pedigree is easily estimated from the opening paragraphs of the larger *nisbas* that have been translated.

Unfortunately the Arab genealogies have always been almost purely patrilinear, and little account is taken of the wives and daughters and the collateral lines. It is noticeable, however, that whereas in the more recent generations the mother is not mentioned at all unless for some very special reason, her name is not infrequently given in the groups of ancestors who lived about the early FUNG period, but then only incidentally and with a view to showing which of the sons of some particular man were full brothers and which half-brothers. So, too, in the group of ancestors connecting the generations last mentioned with the better-known generations of those who lived in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. one sometimes finds such names as "*so and so el Khazragi*," meaning that his mother was a Khazragia¹.

IV Now the traditions current among the Arabs of the Sudan on the subject of their racial origins and the circumstances and date of the migration of their forebears to the Sudan are almost entirely based upon statements they have found in the *nisbas* handed down to them, though in a few cases their stock of information has been supplemented by the result of inadequate uncritical and unenlightened foragings among the works of one or two mediaeval Arabic historians.

The Arabic historians if studied with greater care might well have saved the genealogists of the Sudan from a vast number of inaccuracies, but, as it is, they have been so neglected that, unless the context

¹ See BA, cxxxm note.

forbids, one is often inclined to accept a similarity between two statements as corroborative evidence.

The *nisba*-writer relies as a rule upon the accuracy of the inherited or copied *msba*, and it is only in dealing with the more recent generations that tradition, other than that derived from the *nisbas*, plays any important part.

V From among the mass of useless and untrustworthy material contained in the manuscripts it is not difficult to pick out certain definite and persistent traditions which are distinctly interesting. In addition to them there are made in passing numerous remarks and asides from which one may make some not unimportant deductions. It cannot be too often insisted that the proper method is to regard the tribal *nisbas* rather as parables than as statements of fact. Considered in that light they have a very definite value.

By piecing together such scraps of historical information as are available from the native manuscripts into an abbreviated and coherent whole one discovers to what extent the result coincides with or differs from or supplements the information similarly derivable from the works of non-Sudanese authors, whether they be mediaeval Arabs or modern European travellers; and from certain of the manuscripts one learns something of the sociology of the people and of their customs and beliefs.

VI But one must make some attempt to reply to the inevitable questions—"What is the general character of these native manuscripts?" "Who wrote them?" "What is their date?"

VII The word *msba*, by which the majority is known, means literally a pedigree. Hence the true *nisba* is avowedly genealogical in purpose and items of narrative are only incidental to the main theme.

As a rule the author or copyist, after the usual confession of faith, if he desires to do more than give a bald list of his ancestors, recapitulates his reasons for writing the *nisba*: it is an act of piety enjoined by the Prophet, and the author had found that there was some danger of links in the genealogical chain being lost or confused¹. Then follows a genealogical exposition, usually of the Gu-HAYNA or the 'Abbasid stock in the Sudan, or of both, including the author's or the copyist's own pedigree from father to son. In addition the *nisba* often contains towards the end a series of short stereotyped notes on the origin of the chief Arab tribes of the Sudan.

¹ Much of what is said about this bears a very strong resemblance to the contents of the first chapter of Ibn Khaldun's second book, *i.e.* Vol. u in the Arabic edition. This second book, unlike the first and third, has not, I believe, been yet translated into either English or French.

This type of *nisba* is both the oldest and the commonest. Hundreds of examples must exist in the Sudan, but the great majority of them are not merely incomplete but hardly pretend to be more than extracts copied from a larger manuscript. Misreadings and omissions abound. Interpolations also occur fairly frequently, but happily the Sudanese Arab excels at the type of work that demands no mental effort whatever, and as a copyist he may count this as a merit. Where interpolations have been added the fact is almost always obvious and consequently not without use.

VIII The father of this type of *nisba* is undoubtedly that renowned but very elusive person, "el Samarkandi." As a writer of parables in the form of genealogies he deserves a considerable meed of praise.

The second type of manuscript, sometimes included under the term *nisba*, takes the form of a semi-historical, semi-genealogical hotch-potch founded partly on *nisbas* proper and partly on some ill-digested Arabic history or encyclopaedia.

Thirdly, we have copies of a history¹ of the FUNG kingdom and the Turkish period which followed it by an unknown author, who probably wrote between 1870 and 1880 but had access to older records.

Fourthly, we meet occasionally with a treasured copy of the well-known *Tabakdt wad Dayfulla*² a series of biographies of the Arab holy men of the Sudan, containing many anecdotes and historical data.

Into a fifth category may be classed a number of present-day works dealing with the history of some particular region or with certain specified tribes. These are founded partly on tradition and partly on the manuscripts described³.

IX A word must be said here as to the "Samarkandi" referred to as the originator of the most typical *nisbas*. It must be confessed that nothing really definite is known about him at all. All we have to go upon may be summed up as follows: hardly had the FUNG and their Arab allies overthrown the kingdom of Soba in 1504 when they were threatened with invasion by Sultan Selim who had conquered Egypt in 1517. 'Omara Dunkas therefore thought it well to write to Seh'm and explain that the inhabitants of his kingdom were Arabs of exalted lineage. "With this letter he sent a book of the pedigrees of the Arab tribes in his kingdom compiled for him by el Imam el Samarkandi, one of the learned men of Sennar; and when

¹ D₇

* D₃.

³ Part IV consists of examples of all these types of MSS., and remarks as to authorship and reliability are given in each case in an introductory note.

this book reached the Sultan Selim its contents delighted him and he renounced the attack on Sennar¹."

Of el Samarkandi nothing more is known. He was probably one of the itinerant *fekis* who were attracted from Egypt by the fame of the new kingdom founded in the Gezira and by the probability that in the vanity and credulity of its rulers some profit might be found for himself. His original work has entirely disappeared and the numerous "exact copies" of it that are periodically reported are never more than garbled extracts.

There are nine references to el Samarkandi in the manuscripts that follow: four of them are in A 2, two in A 11, two in C 5, and one in D 6. From A 2 one gathers that el Samarkandi's method was to give the pedigree and branches of the Ga'ali stock and so connect them with the BENI 'ABBAS; then to tell how one Sulayman of the BENI OMMAYYA migrated through Abyssinia to the Sudan about 750 A.D., when the 'Abbasids were supplanting the Ommayyads, and became ancestor of the FUNG; and finally, perhaps, to enumerate the Arab tribes of the Sudan and state very shortly from what Arabian ancestor each was descended and whence and when it migrated to the Sudan.

From A 11 one gets the same impression but is told that there were two persons named el Samarkandi, Mahmud el Samarkandi and 'Abdulla Ibn Sa'id el Samarkandi. One of them was apparently called "el Samarkandi the Great." C 5 adds nothing to our information. D6 speaks of "Abu Mahmud el Samarkandi." No direct information is vouchsafed in any of the manuscripts as to the date or life of el Samarkandi; and D 7, which makes a point of mentioning such savants as came to the FUNG court, refers to no such person. To non-Sudanese literature so far as I am aware he is entirely unknown.

It would be unjustifiable, I think, to write him down a myth. His fame must rest on some basis or other of actuality. If one accept the gist of Na'um Bey's account of him it is certainly allowable to remark that at the time when el Samarkandi composed his work there must have been a fairly large fund of information still available about the circumstances of the entry of the Arabs into the Sudan and their tribal affinities. El Samarkandi would naturally make use of this, and the Arab chieftains of the day would be only too eager to supply him with genealogical details and tradition concerning

¹ Translated from Na'um Bey Shukayr, II, pp 73,74- Cp Crowfoot in A.-E. Sudan, i, 319 Na'um Bey, I believe, got his facts by hearsay at Khartoum about the time of the reoccupation of the Sudan.

themselves and their immediate forebears. Where links in the chain were missing no doubt others were supplied by the imagination, and the critical faculty was presumably brought into play as little as possible; but it appears to me that it is easy to over-estimate the part played by sheer inventiveness and to under-estimate the general amount of truth underlying statements which as regards the exact form in which they have survived are inaccurate in many details.

X Let us now summarise the information to be gleaned from the manuscripts as to historical and sociological matters.

No mention is made in any manuscript of an Arab immigration to the Sudan prior to the foundation of Islam. The reason is obviously the lack of interest felt for any ancestor who left Arabia in the pagan **** Days of Ignorance/** The desire of all was to display their fathers as pillars of the true faith.

One also notes that the tide of immigration is always represented as having been by way of the Red Sea ports or of the Nile valley¹, and generally the former². Nothing is said of any tribe wandering southwards from Tripoli, Algiers or Morocco into the western kingdoms and thence eastwards into the Sudan.

The Isma'ihitic tribes most commonly mentioned in the manuscripts as having sent branches to the Sudan are KURAYSH (including BENI 'ABBAS and BENI OMMAYYA) and KAYS 'AYLAN, who include GHATAFAN, BENI DHUBIAN (FEZARA, etc.), BENI 'ABS, THAKIF and others.

Among the Kahtanite group we most often meet with HIMYAR, who include KUDA'A and GUHAYNA (a branch of KUDA'A), and with BENI GHASSAN.

Extra stress is laid on KURAYSH for obvious reasons, and the BENI GHASSAN are similarly favoured because the tribes of "Ansar," Aus and KHAZRAG, the "Helpers of the Prophet," were of their number.

From the frequency with which Himyarite names³ occur in Ga'ali *nisbas* it would appear that some of the Arabs who claimed an 'Abbsid (Isma'ihitic) origin were really of Kahtanite stock.

XI As regards the various epochs at which Islamic immigration occurred the following data are available from the manuscripts.

Speaking of the conquest of Egypt by 'Amr ibn el 'Asi the author of D 4 says the armies of the Muhammadans penetrated "to the furthest limits of the land of the Nuba, to Ddbat el D61ib and the hills of the Nuba⁴," that is, roughly speaking, to Debba and el Haraza.

¹ See D 2, iv

² In particular see D 6

* *Eg.* Dhu el Kild'a and Masruk. See BA, cxxxm note.
⁴ D 4 vi.

In the next **paragraph** he alludes to a further immigration in the following century.

Secondly, we are told of the FEZARA that they "have dwelt in the Sudan since the conquest of el Bahnasa," that is, since 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad's expedition of 641-642¹.

Thirdly, the MAHASS, who are Nubian rather than Arab by race, claim to be

descended from the Ansar who conquered the Sudan in 43 A.H. [663 A.D.] during the period of the rule of 'Abdulla ibn Abu Sarah [*i.e.* ibn Sa'ad], the Companion. After the conquest the KHAZRAG settled in this country ...At the time of their coming to conquer the Sudan they numbered about 81,000²

Fourthly, the HADARMA are said to have migrated from Hadramaut "in the time of Haggag ibn Yusef" and settled at Suakin³, that is, between 662 and 713 A.D.

Fifthly, the ancestor of the MESALLAMI'A is recorded to have come to the Sudan from Syria "in the time of 'Omar ibn 'Abd el 'Aziz*," or between 679 and 718 A.D.

Sixthly, we have the entry of Sutayman ibn 'Abd el Malik, the alleged Ommawi ancestor of the FUNG, into Abyssinia between 750 and 754 A.D., and his passage thence to the Sudan⁵.

Seventhly, it is generally implied by genealogists of the Ga'ali group⁶ that Kerdam or his son Serrar was the first of their ancestors to immigrate from Arabia.

Ahmad ibn Isma'il el Wali, the author of AB, was born about 1830-1840 and his pedigree makes him the twenty-second in descent from Kerdam. The latter or Serrar would therefore, if one reckon the generation at about thirty years, seem to have immigrated in the latter part of the thirteenth century⁷.

Another *nisba* says the first Ga'ali ancestor to immigrate was Ghanim (the fourth in descent from Serrar), and that he came in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. after the fall of Baghdad before the Tartars⁸.

A third document makes Ghanim's grandfather Subuh the original settler⁹. A fourth represents the forefathers of the GA'ALI/N

¹ A 11, 1 iv, and D6, xlll C p account in Part II, Chap 2.

² ABC, ix, and see note thereto

³ BA, CLXXVI

* BA, CLXXvii

⁵ *Eg* BA, cccxm and note.

⁶ *Eg* BA, cxxxlll and AB, CLXVI

⁷ See Part III, Chap 1 (a) One arrives at the same conclusion if one start with the reasonably legitimate assumption that 'Armdn, who lived seven generations after Kerdam, was a contemporary of el Samarfcandi.

• ABC, xxii

• Ds(c).

as coming to Egypt about 969 A.D. and migrating to the Sudan about 1171¹.

Other passages suggest that the date of their coming was about 750 A J), and the cause of it the overthrow of the Ommayyads by the 'Abbasids, but one naturally regards these with even more suspicion than the other stories².

Eighthly, we read that "according to Ibn Khaldun the tribes of Arabs descended from GUHAYNA came after the Muhammadan conquest of the Northern Nuba in 1318 A.D....³," and this statement we have seen to be correct.

Ninthly, the RiKABfA are descended from Rikab the son of Ghulamulla. Ghulamulla, it is said⁴, lived as a young man in Yemen and then moved with his father by way of the Red Sea to Dongola, where he found the people still "sunk in perplexity and error." He was the thirteenth in descent from Musa el Kazim, who, we know, died about 800A.D.⁵; and the Awlad Gabir (the fifth generation from Ghulamulla) were junior by a generation to Mahmud el 'Araki who flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century⁶. We may therefore hazard the second half of the fourteenth century as being very approximately the date of the immigration of Ghulamulla, the ancestor of the tribe which is known by the name of his son Rikab.

Tenthly, the manuscript D 7, speaking of the foundation of the FUNG kingdom in 1504 A.D., says that it was followed by a largely increased immigration of Arabs into the Sudan⁷.

Lastly, Ya'akub el Mugelli is said⁸ to have entered the Sudan and visited Sennar in 1592 A.D., and his father, the ancestor of the ZENARKHA, to have previously immigrated from the Yemen, that is perhaps about 1560 A.D.

XII Some of these traditions relate apparently to individuals only, but one gets a general impression of four tides of Arab immigration into the Sudan.

The first flowed through Egypt in the seventh and eighth centuries and was a natural sequel to the conquest of that country. It was probably of mixed composition and may have contained, among others, tribesmen of FEZARA and BENI OMMAYYA⁹ and some Ansar.

The second immigration took place in the eighth century across the Red Sea by way of Abyssinia as a result of the overthrow of the

¹ D 6, xxxix

² See A n, vn and D 6, x and notes thereto

³ ABC, L

⁴ BA, CLXXIX,

ccvii,

ccviii.

⁶ Wustenfeld, i, 324.

⁹ D 3, 157. The elder brother among the Awlad Gabir, Ibrahim el Bulad, came to the Sudan between 1554 and 1562 (see D 3, vi, and D 7, xv).

⁷ D7, xi

⁸ ABC, Liv.

⁹ *I.e.* the ancestors of the MESALLAMIA

Omayyads by the 'Abbasids, and eventually resulted in the foundation of the Arab-Fung hegemony in the Gezfra.

The ancestors of the HADARMA or HADAREB had similarly reached Suakin by way of the Red Sea half a century earlier and settled on the coast—so at least say the *nisbas*; but colonies from Hadramaut had undoubtedly established themselves on the African shore at a much earlier date, and in any case the interior of the country was very little affected.

For several centuries after the rise of the 'Abbasids no immigration of tribes is mentioned by the *nisbas*. Then in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the conquests of the Mamluk Sultans broke down the barrier which had been for so long presented by the Christian kingdom of Dongola and opened the way for a fresh inflow of Arabs into the Sudan. To this period belongs the great GUHAYNA movement, and, in so far as the DANAGLA-GA'ALiiN group are Arabs, it is probably to the same period that their genesis must be traced, though, as we have seen, the GA'ALIIN proper—the people living between the Shabluka and the embouchure of the Atbara—may not have come into existence as a tribe until the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The fourth great immigration followed the foundation of the FUNG kingdom and the conquest of Egypt by Seli'm I : it does not seem to have been confined to any particular tribe.

XIII There is no reason to doubt the approximate correctness of this presentation if one have regard only to the dates at which the chief immigrations occurred, but the *nisbas* generally err in assuming that each tribe of the present day is descended from a single ancestor and deliberately ignoring the fact that each consists of a conglomeration of heterogeneous elements some of which may have reached the country at one time and some at another. Even apart from this it is dubious whether the particular tribal substrata to which certain periods of migration are reserved can be accepted as correct.

No mention is made of any extensive tribal movement into the Sudan occurring later than the first half of the sixteenth century; and, if one except the thin though constant infiltration of Arabs across the Red Sea from the Hegaz and the Yemen, it is probably correct to say there has not been any.

XIV Let us now briefly examine the sparse references that occur to the indigenous races with whom the Arab immigrants must have coalesced, though the *nisbas* naturally lay no great stress on the fact.

Muhammad walad Dolib the younger simply quotes Ibn Khaldun when he states that "the original autochthonous people of the Sudan were the NUBA and the ABYSSINIANS and the ZING¹," but he goes on to classify the HAMAG as ZING and the FUNG as NUBA. "The original [home] of the ZING," he says, "is a mountain inhabited by blacks on the equator and south [of it]. Beyond them are no other peoples; and their country stretches from West Africa [*el Moghrab*] to the neighbourhood of Abyssinia²." Sennar, he adds, in old days contained "tribes of ZING and NUBA³."

Daud Kubara of Haifa discussing the Nubian race says that the capital of the kingdom of the NUBA was Gebel el rlaraza in Northern Kordofan: he also speaks of Abyssinians and Nubians as living together round the first cataract⁴. The limits of Nubia to the south in the seventh century, in his view, would seem to have been Debba on the river and el Haraza inland⁵. When civil war broke out between the BENI 'ABBAS and the BENI OMMAYYA in the next century, he says, many Arabs migrated and, following the steps of previous emigrants, settled in the Sudan "and mingled with the Nubians, and took their women to wife, and intermarried with them, and made the land of Nuba their home..⁶." The same author speaks of Southern Kordofan, Dar Nuba that is, as inhabited by "ZING-NUBAV

Referring to the origin of the FUNG race the manuscripts commonly speak of Sulayman 'Abd el Malik as passing through Abyssinia into the "mountains of the FUNG" or "the country of the Hamag," meaning the northern BURUN country south of Rosayres, and there marrying the daughter of a local king,—whence the FUNG aristocracy

The FUNG chronicle says that about 1504 A.D. the FUNG and their Arab allies overthrew the Christian "NUBA," otherwise "the 'ANAG, the kings of Soba and el Kerri," and most of "the NUBA., scattered and fled to Fazoghh and Kordofan⁸." Similarly the Tabakat⁹: "Know that the FUNG possessed and conquered the land of the NUBA early in the tenth century" (sc. of Islam).

Muhammad walad Dolib the elder classes as "'ANAG" the FUNKUR, the aborigines of Borku, the people of Bakirmi, the DAGU, and

¹ DI.CLXXXVIII.

⁴ D 4,

iv

² DI.CLXXXII

⁸ D 4, vi and xx

⁸ DI.CLXXXIII

⁸ D4, vii.

⁷ D4, xxi

* D 7, qv paras i-x The 'Anag, I have been assured, came originally from SaM in southern Arabia, and their headquarters were at S6ba on the east bank. They had wonderful means of communication between Sabd and S6ba, it is said, but the story that when King Subr of S6ba fell ill his father came "by telegraph" from Sabd in one day has so taxed even the credulity of the Sudan that the retort to a cock-and-bull story is "Khubru Subru!" ("a Subr yarn").

⁹ D3,qv para. iv.

the inhabitants of eastern and northern Kordofan, including the hills of el Haraza, etc. Western and southern Kordofan, and Darfur, he speaks of as inhabited by NUBA. He calls the autochthonous DANAGLA 'ANAG, "and some remnants of them at the present day are called the NCBA." The DINKA are " 'ANAG from among the ZING¹."

These quotations will suffice to shew that, as might have been expected, there is no really clear distinction traceable in the mind of the native historian between any of the pre-Arab races of the Sudan. * All are vaguely and indiscriminately heaped together under the names " NUBA" and " 'ANAG." The term ZING is reserved for more southerly negroid tribes, but it too is used with such obvious vagueness that there would be little point in discussing the exact connotation of the term as used, with rather more exactitude, by mediaeval Arab authors². The non-Arab element in the BEGA tribes of the east and some of the negroid tribes in the west is ignored by the simple expedient of providing them with shadowy Arabian ancestors or else by omitting mention of them altogether.

XV Now we have seen that in the first nine hundred odd years that followed the conquest of Egypt the Arabs who entered the Sudan gradually acquired a temporal hegemony in certain districts, but the manuscripts do not leave one with the impression that they concerned themselves very assiduously with the proselytizing of the earlier inhabitants. The reason may easily be seen: those who left Egypt for the west and south were either led to do so by the spirit of wandering and the hope of booty or driven forth by the exactions of an unsympathetic government.

Their ancient superstitions, it is true, had been re-clothed in the new garment of Islam, but the sword and not the book was still their first concern, and so long as a proper subservience was shewn to the name of Muhammadanism no exact compliance with its rules in daily life were universally exacted.

In proportion, however, as the sword gradually brought the country into subjection a more peaceful and pious type began to follow and explain the doctrine which the earlier immigrants had perforce neglected because of their own ignorance of its significance.

XVI It seems from the *nusbas* that until the latter part of the fourteenth century such Muhammadanism as existed among the people of Dongola was purely nominal—until, that is, the learned and pious Ghulamulla ibn 'Aid settled there and began the work of

¹ Di, CXXIX-CLXX.

² See, however, the note to D 1, xxn.

instruction in earnest. Dongola and the country north of it, being so near to Egypt, were probably converted by the end of that century, but apparently nearly two hundred years elapsed before any religious regeneration was effected south of the junction of the Niles.

Then Mahmud el 'Araki undertook the work. He was followed by a large group of other missionaries, of whom the most famous were perhaps Tag el Din el Bahari, Ban el Naka, Dafa'alla el 'Araki and Hdmid el 'Asa¹, and schools and mosques were built for the enlightenment of the people from the northern frontier of the Sudan to Senndr.

This work of instruction and conversion was enormously facilitated by the foundation of the FUNG kingdom, with its subject Arab dynasty of the 'ABDULLAB, a branch of the RUFA'A, at Kerri near the Shabluka cataract.

The power of the FUNG king became a guarantee of peace and order throughout the northern Sudan, and his court the meeting-place of all who had any pretensions to learning. Numbers of these latter settled permanently in the Sudan, and their tombs and those of their sons and grandsons are still to be seen overshadowing the villages that have arisen round them.

From the early pioneers who were contemporaries of Dafa'alla el 'Araki and the Awlad Gabir and from their sons and pupils are descended most of the best-known religious families of the Sudan, 'ARAKiiN, YA'AKUBAB, 'OMARAB, GHUBUSH and others; and the memory of many is still preserved in the names of villages called after them, Wad Medani, Wad el Turabi, Wad Hasuna, Wad Ban el Naka, Abu Delayk, etc., and in the nomenclature of the children born to the inhabitants in successive generations².

XVII The manuscript numbered D 3 is a series of biographical notices of these holy men, or patron-saints as they might almost be called, from the middle of the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and from it one gleans many interesting details of

¹ For all these see D 3. The renowned Awldd Gabir were their contemporaries but lived farther north and were successors of Ghuhimulla rather than of Mahmud

² There is a marked persistence of the same proper names in certain localities or among certain communities, eg "'Abd el Gelfl" among the GELILAB, "Abu 'Akla" and "Hammad el Nil" among the 'ARAKifN, "Sughayerun" among the RIKABIA, etc This is due to the habit of naming children after some holy man "for luck" and the fact that it is a common custom among the Sudanese Arabs to name the firstborn boy after his father's deceased father and a firstborn girl after her mother's deceased mother, with intent "to keep the name alive." (This does not apply exclusively to the case of a firstborn, but occasionally to that of a subsequent child.) Normally, if the grandparent were still alive, the child would not be called after him or her, but (*eg*) in the case of a boy, after a late brother of his father for choice. This is the normal custom but there is no hard and fast rule.

the life of the people and their common beliefs. Among the first points that strike one are the universal use of the technical Sufi terminology, the disproportionate number of incidents and anecdotes that relate to divorce and remarriage¹, the wealth possessed by many of the holy men, and the obvious survivals that are in evidence of a matrilinear system².

¹ Lack of space and other considerations necessitated the omission of many of these stones from the translation.

^a See, *e.g.*, D 3, Nos. 46, 85, 107, 124, 154 and 196.

MANUSCRIPT BA

Introduction

THREE copies of this work have been read and carefully compared by me: they are alluded to as MSS. i, 2 and 3 respectively. In addition, portions of it have been incorporated by the author of AB in his work. Innumerable other copies, more or less complete or faulty, also exist in the Sudan. MS. 1 is in the possession of el Nur Bey 'Ankara, an ex-Dervish *amir*, at Omdurman, and it was from it, excepting where the contrary is specifically stated, that the following translation was actually taken¹.

Subsequently Sheikh el 'Abbas Muhammad Bedr of Um Dubban, an ex-Kadi of the Khalifa and a Mesallami by race, sent me a copy (MS. 2) taken from a MS. in his possession; and a year later Mr S. Hillelson of the Gordon College lent me a third copy (MS. 3) which had been given him by an old pupil.

All three MSS. are in close agreement, and in several cases the same errors occur in all three.

From internal evidence it is likely that MS. 1 (excepting paras, ccxxv-ccxxvm) was copied from the original of MS. z: the owner of the latter was very positive that the converse could not have taken place.

MSS. 1 and 2 are written in a clear fine script, but MS. 3 is written roughly and hastily.

In MS. 3 we have some of the errors of MSS. 1 and 2 repeated, but in quite a number of cases MS. 3 is right and MSS. 1 and 2 wrong.

On the other hand, MS. 3 is very carelessly written and contains many fresh slips and inaccuracies not occurring in the other two.

As regards the authorship of the original work, it appears from paragraph ccxxIII that this *nisba* was written or, more probably, copied by el Sherif el Tahir ibn 'Abdulla of the RIKABIA in Dongola early in the sixteenth century (see note to para, ccxxIII and D 5 (d)).

I In the name of God....

II This is a pedigree giving the origins of the Arabs; for the

¹ A marginal reference of "reading (x) for (y)" means that x is either an obvious emendation or else the version given by MS 2 or MS. 3 or AB as opposed to MS. 1 (y).

preservation and guarding of such is obligatory because of the [record of] blood-relationships that they contain.

III The object of preserving them is not to cause boastful comparisons of pedigrees; for, as was said by the Commander of the Faithful the Imam 'Omar ibn el Khattab.. ."Ye know from your pedigrees how ye are connected."

IV Some of the learned say that 'Omar may have heard this from the Prophet..., but that which has no other claim to be obligatory than his [sole] authority is yet obligatory.

V But the knowledge of the pedigrees of persons who are unrelated to yourself is of no use, because the authoritative dictum does not apply to such; and the following saying of the Prophet... about one who was learned in pedigrees bears this out: "A knowledge [of them] is useless and ignorance harmless."

VI But if a man devote himself to the study of what does not concern him, his labour is impious:

VII that is in times of mutual love and affection; but in these present days of mutual hatred and jealousy the study of pedigrees is obligatory, for at the end of the age the use of abusive epithets will be prevalent, and the difficulty will not be resolved save by means of pedigrees.

VIII So [the keeping of] pedigrees has been ordained, and it is not dutiful to neglect them: in fact he who does so is a rebel, owing to the danger of disturbance being caused among the people, and trouble in the hearts of the various nations.

IX Thus the study of pedigrees is obligatory because the observance of blood-relationships is obligatory by the authority of the Book and the Law ["el Sunna"] and the Unanimities ["el Igma'a"].

X As regards the Book, God Almighty said "Fear God by whom ye beseech one another and [honour] the womb that bore you."

XI As regards the Law, we have the saying of the Prophet... "He that puts his trust in God and the Last Day will honour his guest and observe the duties of relationship and speak good words or none at all."

XII As regards the "Unanimities," all alike have agreed that the observance of blood-relationships is specifically ordained; and he who neglects it is disobedient.

XIII In the "Traditions" it is said "The womb is suspended upon the throne [of God] and says 'Lord, honour him that honours me and cut off him that cuts me off.'"

XIV Some too have said that the observance of blood-relationships lengthens life.

XV People are reliable as to their pedigrees; and whosoever has received from his father or ancestor any charge of a pedigree is indeed whatever the pedigree in his charge shows him to be.

XVI Boastful comparisons of pedigrees are blameworthy, and it is not the part of an intelligent man to vaunt his fathers and ancestors and claim honour and respect because of the nobility of his pedigree: such a thing could only be done by a slave by virtue of his being pious;

XVII for the Prophet.. said " I am the ancestor of every pious man and woman, even though it be an Abyssinian slave, etc."

XVIII Boastful comparisons of pedigree and competition to amass wealth and disdain of the poor are forbidden by the law.

XIX For God Almighty said " Verily the faithful are [all] brethren; therefore reconcile your brethren,"—that is both in affairs temporal and spiritual, for faith is the bond between the faithful both in the matter of their pedigrees and of their religion; and "reconcile your brethren" means [you should do so] if two of them quarrel and fight.—"And fear God, and rebel not against Him nor disobey His behest, that ye may be the recipients of His mercy."

XX "O ye that believe, let not men mock at other men, who are perchance better than themselves, nor let women laugh other women to scorn, who are perchance better than themselves. Neither defame one another nor abuse one another with injurious appellations. An ill name [it is to be charged with] wickedness, after [having embraced] the faith: and whoso repent not, they will be the unjust doers."

XXI On the authority of 'Omar... it is related that the Prophet... said "The Muslim is brother to the Muslim: he wrongs him not, nor abuses him; and whoso helps his brother Muslim, him will God help; and whoso relieves a Muslim from affliction, God will thereby relieve him of one of the afflictions of the day of resurrection."

XXII God Almighty said "O people, I have created you of male and female,"—that is Adam and Eve ["Howa"]; and the meaning is "You are all of the same descent, so do not make boastful comparisons between one another, for all of you are the children of the same man and woman." Others say the meaning to be "I have created each one of you in the same manner as the other, so you have no cause for invidious self-glorification and boastful comparison of pedigrees."

XXIII [God also said] "And I have made you races [*'sku'Bb**] [and tribes]."

XXIV [The term] "*shu'Ub*" is the plural of "*sha'b*"... and denotes the sources of the tribes, such as RAB'IA and MUDR and EL Aus and EL KHAZRAG; and they were called "races" because from

them were the tribes sprung, or, as it is also said, because in them were the tribes united.

XXV "*Kabail*" ("tribes") is the plural of "*kabila*" which is [a degree less than]¹ "*shu'Ub*" and examples of "*kabail*" are BUKR [derived] from RABf A and TAMIM from MuDR.

XXVI Next below the "*kabdil*" are the "*'amair*" of which the singular [is "*'amdra*"]²..., such as SHAYBAN [derived] from BUKR, and DARIM from TAMIM.

Next below the "*y amdir*" are the "*buftn*" of which the singular is "*batn*," such as BENI GHALIB and LUAI [derived] from KURAYSH.

XXVII Next below the "*butun*" are the "*afkhddh*," of which the singular is "*fakhdh*" such as BENI HASHIM and BENI OMMAYYA [derived] from LUAI.

XXVIII Next below the "*afkhddh*" are the "*fasdil*" of which the singular is "*fasila*"..., such as BENI EL 'ABBAS [derived] from BENI HASHIM.

XXIX After the "*fafdil*" come the "*'ashdir*," of which the singular is "**ashira*" and after them there is nothing to mention at all.

XXX Now [the term] "*shu'Ub*" applies to the non-Arabs [**agam*] and "*kabdil*" to the Arabs; and it is said that the "*shu'ub*" are those that do not trace their origin [as a race to a common ancestor] but to [common] cities and villages, whereas the "*kabail*" are the Arabs who trace their pedigrees to their ancestors.

XXXI Thus the [successive] grades into which the Arabs fall are six, viz. the "*sha'b*" the "*kabila*" the "*'amdra*" the "*bafn*" the "*fakhdh*" and the "*fasila*"; and the "*sha'b*" contains [lit. "collects"] the "*kabail*," the "*kabila*" the "*y amdir*" the "*'amdra*" the "*butUn*" the "*batn*" the "*afkhadh*" and the "*afkhadh*" the "*fafdil*."

KHUZAYMA is a "*sha'b*" KENANA a "*kabila*" KURAYSH an "*yamdra*" KUSAI a "*batn*" HASHIM a "*fakhdh*" and EL 'ABBAS a "*fasila*" and so on.

XXXII "That ye may know one another." That is, that ye may know how closely ye are related to one another, and not make boastful comparisons of your pedigrees.

XXXIII Then he shewed by virtue of what type of character⁸ one man acquires merit over another and gains honour in the sight of God Almighty, quoting "The noblest of you in God's sight is the most pious of you."

¹ inserting $\wedge 33$.

² inserting $5\wedge 1, *$.
³ reading £JLoaL) for J-aiJJ.

XXXIV [So too] in the Tradition [it is said] " He who desires to be the noblest of men in God's sight, let him fear God."

XXXV Ibn 'Abbas... said " In this world honour is given to wealth, in the next to piety."

XXXVI On the authority of Samra ibn Gundub, the Prophet... said " It is wealth that is reckoned, but piety is [the true] nobleness."

XXXVII This saying is quoted by el Termidhi, who also quotes a beautiful tradition, corroborated by Abu Hurayra...: the latter says that the Prophet... was asked¹ "Which of the people is the noblest ? " He replied "The noblest of them in God's sight is the most pious of them." They said " I t is not of this that we ask you." He replied "The noblest of the people is Yusef the Prophet of God, son of the prophet of God, son of the Friend of God." They said " I t is not of this that we ask you." He replied "Is it of the original sources² of the Arabs that you ask me ?" They said " Yes." He replied " The best of them in the days of ignorance is the best of them in the days of Islam, provided they are versed in knowledge (*'fakukhu** or, it is said *'fakirhu*), that is provided they have mastered the rules of the law."

XXXVIII It is related on the authority of 'Omar.. .that the Prophet ... on the day of the conquest [of Mekka] made the circuit [of the temple] on his she-camel [*naka*], and saluted the corners [of the sacred stone] with his staff [*mahgan*]; and on leaving he found no place for his camel to kneel; so he dismounted [from it as it stood, helped] by the hands of the men, and then addressed them, and praised and glorified Almighty God, saying "Praise be to God who hath redeemed you from the brutishness³ of the days of ignorance and pride. O people, I have created you in two types, the man of piety and justice [who is] noble in God's sight, and the miserable infidel [who is] of no account in God's sight." Then he repeated the word of God "O people, I have created you of male and female."

XXXIX Then he said "I tell you this and I ask the protection of God for myself and for you, etc."

XL Now the *mahgan* was a stick with a bent handle, like a crook.

XLI By " the brutishness⁴ of the days of ignorance " is meant their pride and boasting, the intention being to warn people of being boastful as [the people of] the days of ignorance were from pride and conceit of their fathers and ancestors.

XLII Ye are the sons of Adam, and Adam was formed from mud,

¹ reading * J** JU for JU JU.

³ read *«£ for -u*£.

² read o>l»* for U>jU*.

* read £*«£ for *L**.

that is from the earth that is trodden underfoot, so how shall one be proud and boastful: one branch is no greater than another save by the will of God on account of piety.

XLIII Four things characterized the days of ignorance: boasting of their merits, speaking ill of [each other's] lineage, [excessive] lamentation, and prognostication of rain by the stars.

XLIV It has been said [by the poet] "By thy life! What is [a man's] pedigree if he be not a child of religion: so forsake not piety, trusting to your lineage. Verily by Islam was Selman the Persian [slave] exalted, and [by his unbelief] did Abu Lahab forego his rich portion."

XLV God Almighty said "Justify not yourselves": that is "do not [pretend to be] free from sin nor boast of your deeds." And it is said that the meaning of the verse is "He knows you best, O ye faithful," *i.e.* knows your condition from the day of your creation till your last day; therefore "Justify not yourselves" with false humility and arrogance, nor say to one that you know not truly "I am better than thou" and "I am purer than thou." "Knowledge is of God" and this saying is an index [for men] to their duties, that they may take warning of what will befall: and verily God knows what will befall him that is pious, and God best knows who is the most pious, that is the greatest and most obedient and most efficient in his works. He who is tardy in works will not be speeded [to salvation] by his pedigree, and he that is speedy in works will not be retarded by his pedigree: works outweigh pedigrees; and if you are wanting in your works you have no profit in this world or the next.

XLVI They gained not the dominion and riches save by obedience to God Almighty, and by humility and self-abasement and gentleness.

XLVII And it is related on the authority of Ibn 'Abbas (God bless him) that he upon whom be the blessings of God said "There is no alternative to be accepted of the Arabs excepting Islam or the sword."

XLVIII According to Ibn Wahhab there are seven tribes whose enslavement is not permissible, namely:

KURAYSH
EL ANSAR
MUZAYNA
GUHAYNA
ASHGA'A
I ASLAM
*GHAFAR

and it is related also that the Prophet said that no Arab should be enslaved. If you wish for the reference, see El Mishkat li '1 Kari [** The Reader's Illuminators"] with the commentary of 'Abd el Baki.

XLIX The tribes of the Arabs are seven, and whosoever is not included in them may lawfully be enslaved: these are

<KENANA
MUZAYNA
GUHAYNA
ASHGA'A
HIMYAR
GHAFAR
KURAYSH

and the noblest of these is KENANA, because he upon whom be the blessing of God said "God chose KENANA from among the sons of Isma'il, and KURAYSH from KENANA, and BENI HASHIM from KURAYSH, and from BENI HASHIM he chose me, who am thus the noblest of the noblest"; and this is no [vain] boast: this account is the true one.

L Now HIMYAR and TAI and THA'ALEB and NIGM and HAMDAN and MA'AFIR and BisAR and HUKNA and KELAB EL AZD¹ and MUZAYNA and GUHAYNA all trace their descent to one ancestor: viz. el Mahassi ibn Kahtan el Mahassi son of Ibrahim: God knows the truth.

LI Most of GUHAYNA are in the Nile-land and the west, and MUZAYNA are mixed² with [the inhabitants of] those parts, and HIMYAR are in the land of el Basra, and ASHGA'A in the land of Tunis and Tripoli [*"Terdbulus"*], and GHAFAR in the land of Andalusia [*"el Andalus"*] and Persia [*"Fdris"*] and Mesopotamia [*"el 'Irdk"*], and KENANA are in the land of Mekka the noble and el Medina the glorious and Egypt and el Rum.

LI I Now when Noah, upon whom be the blessings of God, landed from the ark to inhabit the earth, one day it happened that his privy parts were exposed, and his son Ham looked at them and laughed and did not cover him up: then his son Sam saw him and turned his face aside and did not cover [his father]: then his son Yafith saw him and turned his face aside and covered his father's privy parts. And when [Noah] awoke he learnt of this and he called his son Ham [saying] "may God change the seed of your loins and blacken your face: you shall beget none but blacks."

LIU And Ham begot EL HIND and EL SIND and the NUBA and KURAN and all the blacks; and Yafith begot the TURKS and the CHINESE [*"<?/£/«"*] and BERBER and the SLAVONIANS [*"el sakaliba"*] and GOG and MAGOG [*"YagUg wa Magug"*] and FARISH and DARISH and KHALABKA and GABIRSA; and Sam begot the Arabs and the Romans [*"el Rum"*] and Persians [*"Faris"*].

¹ reading jj[^]t v[^] ^ r jj jN)1 y[^]£>.

² reading 3>>>V« (as AB) for i*[^]>o-«.

LIV And when death was come to Noah, upon whom be the blessings of God, he called to his son Sam, his firstborn, and divided the earth between him and his brothers, and to Sam he allotted the centre of the earth, the holy land, and its environs as far as Hadramaut and 'Oman¹ as far as el Bahrayn and 'Alig; and to his brothers he allotted the outlying portions of the land; and Sam's allotment was the best of the earth and the most fertile. Ends.

LV We will now take up the thread of the narrative.

LVI The pedigree of Guhayna is as follows:

Dhubian son of 'Abdulla son of Dahman son of Kays son of Mufid son of Guhayna son of Rayth son of Ghatafan² son of Sa'ad son of Kays son of 'AyIan son of Mudr son of Mu'awia son of el Hakam son of 'Affan son of Ams son of Ommayya son of 'Abd Shams son of 'Abd Menaf son of Kusai son of Kelab son of Murra son of Luai son of Ghahb son of Fihir son of Malik son of Nudr son of Kenana son of Khuzayma son of Mudraka son of el Yds son of Mudr son of Nizar³ son of Ma'ad son of 'Adnan.

LVIX Others say that Guhayna was son of 'Atia son of el Hasan son of el Zubayr son of el 'Awwam son of Khawaylid son of Asad son of 'Abd el 'Uzza son of Kusai.. etc.

LVI 11 Others say that Guhayna was son of 'Abdulla son of Unays el Guhani; and God knows the truth.

LIX Dhubian had ten sons, viz. Watid and Fahid and Shatir and Bashir and 'Amir and 'Omran and 'Abd el 'Aziz Mahassi and Gudham and Sufian Afzar and Sarid⁴.

LX Watid and Fahid and Gudham and 'Amir and 'Omran were, all five, sons of one mother; and Shatir and Bashir were sons of one mother; and 'Abd el 'Aziz Mahassi and Sarid⁵ were sons of one mother; and Sufian Afzar⁶ was the only son of his mother.

LXI The descendants of Watid are the KHAWALDA; the descendants of Fahid the FAHIDAT in the West.

LXII Shatir begot Sultan only.

LXIII Sultan had seven sons, Musallam and Ga'afir and Rashid and Ruwah and Hamayd (or "Hamayl")⁷ and Ma'ashir and Rikab.

LXIV Muslim's sons were Fadin and Mashaykh and Moghrab and Dwayh and Daud.

LXV Fadin's descendants are the FADNIA; Mashaykh's⁸ the MA-

1	r	e	aman	for	إمان	g	2	reading غطافان for غطافا
6	r	e	nazar	for	نزار	g	4	reading صادر for صادر
5	r	e	sard	for	سارد	g	6	reading افزر for افزر
7	reading	حجيل	for	حجيل		g	8	reading مشويخ for مشويخ

SHAIKHA; Moghrab's the MOGHARBA; Dwayh'S the DWAYHIA; and Daud's the DAUDIA.

LXVI Ga'afir's descendants are the GA'AFIRA; Rashid's the RO-WASHDA; Ruwah's the RUWAHIA; and Hamayl's the HAMAYLIA, that is the HAMAYLAT, and¹ a tribe called AWLAD HAMAYL between el Hind and el Sind; and Ma'ashir's descendants are the MA'ASHIRA; and Rikab's the RIKABU and the GEN ANA and the MEZANIYYUN and the LAHAWIYYUN and the ZUMAYLAT: all these are the descendants of Sultan son of Shatir.

LXVII The descendants of his brother Bashir are the SmjKRfA, and the BUADIRA and the UMBADIRIA.

LXVIII 'Amir begot Muhammad only: this Muhammad had eight sons and one daughter, the eldest of [his children].

LXIX The sons³ were Rafa'i and Nagaz and Duriab and Hammad el 'Ulati and Hilal and Kelb and Muhammad 'Akil and Dwayh⁴, all sons of one mother, excepting Dwayh, who was the only son of his mother.

LXX The daughter was given in marriage by her father Muhammad ibn 'Amir to a man named Marhis of the FUL, whose children by her were Kal and Baz and el Ma'adia and Falik and their various descendants.

LXXI The sons of Rafa'i ibn Muhammad were Zanfai and Shabarik⁵ and Kasim.

LXXII The descendants of Zanfai are the ZENAFIA, of Shabarik the SHABARKA, and of Kasim the KAWASMA and the MAHAMfD.

LXXIII The descendants of 'Abd el 'Aziz Mahassi are the MAHASS, of Gudham the GUDHAMIYYUN, and of Sarid⁶ the SOWARDA.

LXXIV The sons of Hammad el 'Ulati son of Muhammad 'Amir were Mahmud and Hasan Ma'arak⁷ and Fuak and 'On.

LXXV Mahmud had five sons, Rahai and Darish and Kiiakir and 'Ail and Fakhdh.

LXXVI The descendants of Rahai are the ROWAHLA, of Darish the DOWARISHA, of Kuakir the KuAKIR, and of Fakhdh the FOWAKHIDHIA.

LXXVII The sons of Hasan Ma'arak son of Hammad el 'Ulati were Durrak and 'Asham and Dasham⁸.

LXXVIII The sons of Durrak were Hamar and Hamran.

LXXIX The sons of 'Asham were Nagih and Nail and Tha'alib and 'Othman and 'Amiid and Halu and 'Affan.

¹ inserting ج. ^a reading والام بادية for والام بادية.

³ reading فلولاء for فلولاء. ⁴ reading روبع for روبع.

⁵ r e بشارق for بشارق. g f ¹ reading صادر for صادر.

⁷ reading معارك for معارك. ⁸ reading دشر for دشر.

LXXX The descendants of Nagih are the NAWAGIHA, of Nail the NAWAILA, of Tha'alib the THA'ALIBA, of 'Othman the 'OTHMANIA.

LXXXI The sons of 'Amud were Kerayn and Bashkar and Zamlut and 'Isayl and Hasan and Hasan and Shibla, and Ferag by a concubine.

LXXXII The descendants of Kerayn are the KERAYNAT, of Bashkar the BASHAKIRA, of Zamlut the ZAMAUTA, of 'Isayl the 'ISAYLAT, of Hasan the HASAN!A, of Hasan the HASAN*A, of Shibla the SHIBAYLAT, and of Ferag the MUFARIGA and the FARAGAB and the MUWARIGA.

LXXXIII The descendants of Haiti are the HALAWIYYUN, of 'Affan the 'AFFANAB¹.

LXXXIV The sons of Dasham were Bedr and Zayd and Hegazi and Fadil and Thakif and Zuhayr.

LXXXV The descendants of Bedr are the BEDRIYYUN, of Zayd the ZuAIDA, of Hegazi the HEGAZAB, of Fadil the FADLIYYUN, of Thakif the THAKIFIYYUN, and of Zuhayr the ZUHAYRIYYUN.

LXXXVI The descendants of FUak son of Hammad el 'Ulati are the SHUKRAB.

LXXXVII The sons of his brother 'On were Thabit and Sabir and Sanb and Gurfan and Missir and Ma'atiik, and among his descendants are the THAWABITA² and the SHAKLAB and the SHUKRAB and the 'ABDULLAB and the TUNGURAB and KUNGARA and, it is said, BORNU and BORKC and AFNU and MADAKA and FELLATA and the MESSIRIA and 'OKAYL,—all of them descendants of 'On³ son of Hammad el 'Ulati.

LXXXVIII Kelb son of Muhammad 'Amir had five sons, Turfa and Ahmar and Serhan and Kalkal and Dagir.

LXXXIX Turfa had seven sons, Kalima and Gama'i and Sulaym and Belu and Mani'a and Mmba'a and Sandal.

XC The descendants of Kalima are the THAKRA, some of whom are pagans and some Muhammadans: the descendants of Gama'i are the BENI GAMA'I, of Sulaym the BENI SULAYM, of Mani'a the MANA'A and the BuRNIT and the KUMDAR and KHAWABIRA⁴ and the DABAYTIA: and I do not know any descendants of Minba'a. The descendants of Belu are the BELU.

XCI The descendants of Ahmar are the HAMRAN and the HAMAYRIA and the KERIMIA and the BERAGHITH in the West.

XCI I The sons of Serhan son of Kelb son of Muhammad 'Amir were Zamai and Mazan and Lahu.

¹ reading العقاب for العناب.

³ reading عون for عدن.

² reading ثوابية for ثوابية.

⁴ reading خوابرة for خوابرة.

XCIII The descendants of Zamal are the ZAMALAT, of Mazan the MAZAYNIA, and of Lahu the LAHAWIYYUN.

XCIV The descendants of Kalkal are the KALAKLA in the land of Tunis; and of Dagir the DAWAGIRA in the East, and they are the people of el Nuk el Bakht.

XCV The descendants of Sandal son of Turfa son of Kelb son of Muhammad 'Amir are the SANADALIB, and those of Hilal son of Muhammad 'Amir are the BENI YEZID.

XCVI The son of 'Omran son of Dhubian was 'Amir, whose sons were the 'AMARNA and Sabi'k and Dabi'a and Akirit and Adaykim and 'Atif.

XCVII The descendants of Sabik are the SAB^AKIYYCN, of Dabi'a the DAB^FAT, of Akirit [the] KURTAN¹, of Adaykim the DAKIMIYYUN, and of 'Atif the 'AwAfIFA, and also the GERABI A. These are all the descendants of 'Omran.

XCVIII The sons of Sufian Afzar were Zayad and 'Abs and Hilal.

XCIX The descendants of Zaydd are the HUDUR and the ZAYADIA.

C The son of 'Abs was Hammad el Afzar, whose sons were Kabsh and Sha'uf.

CI The sons of Kabsh were Ribayk and Berara and Kerri and 'Atawi.

CII Of these the son of Sha'uf was Sabir only. Sabir's son was Sarim, and Sarim's sons were Salim el Hamam and Abza'a and Gerar.

CIII The sons [of Gerar] were Barakat and Hayla and Abu Hagul.

CIV The sons of Abza'a were Nur and Nuran².

CV The sons of Nur were Dal and Mazin.

CVI Mazin's sons were 'Awal and Ma'al and 'Abd el 'Al and Baghdad.

CVI I Baghdad's descendants are the BAGHADA.

CVIII The descendants of 'Abd el 'Al are the SHENABLA, and of Ma'al the MA'ALIA.

CIX The sons of 'Awal were 'Akil and Gikhays and 'Abd el Baki and Sahal and Hamid and Hammad.

CX The descendants of 'Akil are the MA'AKLA, of Gikhays the GIKHAYSAT, of 'Abd el Baki the BAWAKI, of Sahal the NA'IMAT, and of Hamid the HABABIN and the FERAHNA and the MERAMRA and the NAWAHIA, and the GILAYDAT³, whose mother was Bakhita el Sughayra, [Hamid's] freed woman.

¹ reading كرتان for كرات.

² reading نوران for نوران.

³ reading جليلات for جليلات.

CXI The descendants of Hammad are the AWLAD AKOI¹ and the MEGANIN : or, according to [another] account [the latter] are descendants of Hamid and their father was called Magnun.

CXII The son of Hilal son of Sufian Afzar was Hasan el Hilali, whose mother was a concubine; and his sons were Ferag and Nuh and D6ka and their mother was Lula.

CXIII D6ka's sons were Shilluk and Dinka and Ibrahim and Dekin.

CXIV The son of Ibrahim was Asbih, and Asbih's sons were Gank and Funkur and Kaf and Clu el Ghaya.

CXV Dekin had five sons, Kira and Kiran and Karanku and Doka and Aywa.

CXVI And it is said that the KAFDAB and the MAHIDAB and the 'AFSA and the BAKAB and the MESA'TD and the KARAFID and the KHAGILAT and the KASIRAB and the SHUKRAB and the MA'AIDA and their subdivisions are all of the stock of Muhammad ibn 'Amir.

CXVII The BEG A and the KHAS and the BARIA and the KURA'AN and the MIDOB and ZAGHAWA² are said [by some] to be originally from Makada, and by others to be among the descendants of the Gin that deceived the prophet of God Sulayman son of Daud, upon both of them be the blessings of God, when he was away from his wife, namely Hafhaf son of Shamakh.

CXVIII There is a difference of opinion as to the KAWAHLA, the sons of Kahil: some say they are among the above, and some that they are descended from el Zubayr ibn el 'Awwam: God knows the truth best.

CXIX Similarly there is a difference of opinion about the FELLATA: some say they are the sons of Fellat son of Ukba son of Yasir, [who], when he converted the people of the West, married the daughter of the Sultan of the infidels. Their language is that of their mother's people.

CXX And [men] have disputed about these tribes as to their being descended from the Gin, and said " How could the Gin have offspring by a human woman, because the Gin is not of human descent?" God knows the truth best.

CXXI Compare the story of Balkis³ and how it is said that her mother was a female Gin: [but] knowledge belongs to Almighty God.

CXXII If you wish for the explanation refer to [the remarks in] the Hashia of el Gemal [on the passages] wherein God says "*And I made [Noah's] offspring [to be] those who survived* " and "*And I have made*

reading قوي for اقوي.
² reading زغاوة for زغاوي.
³ reading بلقيس for بلقيس.

you races and tribes that ye may know one another. Verily the noblest of you in God's sight is the most pious of you" and there you will find it.

CXXIII Now the tribe of GUHAYNA became [lit. "reached"] fifty-two tribes in the land of S6ba on the Blue Nile under the rule of the FUNG, but most [of them] are in the West, [namely in] Tunis and Bornuh.

CXXIV Zubayr had two sons, 'Abdulla and Hasan. The descendants of 'Abdulla are the KAWAHLA, and the son of Hasan was 'Atia; and some say that the descendants of 'Atia are GUHAYNA: God knows the truth best.

CXXV The BENI YUNIS and BENI SIRA and BENI HAMZA are all branches of the descendants of Hilal son of Muhammad 'Amir.

CXXVI The descendants of Muhammad 'Akil are the BENI 'AKIL and the BENI HUZAYL and the BENI MATAYR and the BENI 'UTAYBA and the BENI YAKUM and the BENI MUKHALLAD and BENI YUNIS and BENI MERJN; these [tribes] are his own proper descendants.

CXXVII The SHAMIA and the MA'AIDA are the descendants of 'Aid son of Khamsin.

CXXVIII The 'AWAMRA and BENI 'OMRAN and BENI KELB and BENI RAFA'I and BENI 'ULATI¹ and BENI 'AKIL and BENI DWAYH and BENI DURIAB are all GUHAYNA and very closely related. Here ends what I have learnt of the pedigree of GUHAYNA; and knowledge belongs to God Almighty.

CXXIX Now as regards GA'AL, what is to be found here is as follows:

CXXX KURAYSH were in the time of the Prophet (God bless him) eighty tribes, and [similarly] GUHAYNA were eighty tribes:

CXXXI and accounts differ as to the BENI MA'AMUR and HILAL, some saying they belong to KURAYSH and some to GUHAYNA.

CXXXII Now GA'AL are [descended from] BENI EL 'ABBAS (God bless him), and they should not be called a tribe [*kabila*] but rather one of the branches of BENI HASHIM. They are only called "GA'AL" because their forefather, whose name was Ibrahim, was known as "Ga'al" from the fact that he was a generous man, to whom in time of famine the feeble branches allied themselves, and he used to say to them "*ga'alndkum minnd*" ["we have made you a part of ourselves"]: so he was surnamed "Ga'al."

CXXXIII Now the man who collected all the tribes of GA'AL together was Kerdam son of Abu el Dis son of Kuda'a son of Harkan son of Masruk son of Ahmad el Yemani son of Ibrahim Ga'al son of Idris son of Kays son of Yemen son of el Khazrag son of 'Adi son of

¹ reading i J ^ ^ for J»*iU.

Kusas son of Kerab son of Hatjl son of Yatfl son of Dhu el Kila'a el liimyari son of liimyar son of Sa'ad son of el Fadl son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbas, God bless him.

CXXXIV This is the account given by some, but the following is given by the generality of genealogists: Serrar son of Kerdam son of Abu el Dis son of Kuda'a son of Harkan son of Masruk son of Ahmad el Hegazi son of Muhammad el Yemeni son of Ibrahim Ga'al son of Sa'ad son of el Fadl son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbas, the uncle of the best of men, upon him be the blessing of God, son of 'Abd el Muttalib son of Hashim son of 'Abd Menaf son of Kusai son of Kelab son of Murra son of Ka'ab son of Luai son of Ghalib son of Fihir son of Malik son of el Nudr son of Kenana son of Khuzayma son of Mudraka son of el Yas son of Mudr son of Nizar¹ son of Ma'ad son of 'Adnan.

CXXXV Beyond that we will not go since he upon whom be the blessings of God warned us against so doing.

CXXXVI And whosoever is not enrolled among his descendants, that is [among the descendants] of the Sultan Kerdam, is not a Ga'ali.

CXXXVI I Now his father Abu el Dis had two sons: one of them was called Tergam, but I do not know of his having any descendants, and the other was el Sultan Hasan Kerdam son of Abu el Dis.

CXXXVIII He, it is said, had ten sons: seven of them returned to el Kufa; and those that are known and whose descendants are preserved and recorded in the genealogies are three, viz. Dula and Tamim and Serrar.

CXXXIX The descendants of Dula are the SAKARANG², the kings of Gebel Tekah; the descendants of Tamim are the TOMAM; and the sons of Serrar were Samra and Samayra and Mismar.

CXL Samra had four sons, Bedayr and 'Abd el Rahman Abu Shayh and Terayfi and Ahmad Abu Rish.

CXLI The descendants of Bedayr are the BEDAYRIA, of 'Abd el Rahman Abu Shayh the SHUWAYHAT, of Terayfi the TERAYFIA, and of Ahmad Abu Rish the RIASH³.

CXLII The descendants of Samayra are the GHODIAT* and the KUNAN and the KuSAs and the BATAHIN.

CXLIII Mismar had four sons, Sa'ad el Ferid and three sons by [another] mother, Subuh Abu Merkha and Rubat and Nebih.

CXLIV Sa'ad el Ferid had three sons, Kahtan and Selma and Hammad.

¹ r نذار for نذار. 1 g ² reading سقارنج for سقارنج.

³ reading دهاش for دهاش. * reading غديات for غديات.

CXLV Kahtan had six sons, or, it is said, seven; and the latter is the more correct: they were Subuh and Fadl and Mansur and Makft and Mias and Muhammad el Dub and Makbud.

CXLVI The descendants of Subuh are the SUBHA, of Fadl the FADLIYYCN, of Mansur the MANASRA, of Makit the MAKAITA, of Mias the MIAisA, of Muhammad el Dub the DUBAB, and of Makbud the MEICABDA.

CXLVII The sons of Selma were Hakim and Gabir.

CXLVIII The descendants of Hakim are the HAKIMAB, the kings of Arko, and the descendants of Gabir are the GABIRAB or GAWABRA or GABIRIA.

CXLIX Hammad begot Fahid. The sons of Fahi'd were Guma'a and Gama'i and Hammad, [also] called Flamid: they were three in number.

CL The descendants of Guma'a are the GIMA'A, of Gama'i the GAWAMA'A, of Ilammad (or Hamid) the AHAMDA¹ and the IJAM-MADA; and it is said that among his descendants are also the NAWAiBA² and the SALAMAT and BORKU.

CLI Rubat had five sons, 'Awad and Kuraysh and Khanfar and Mukbal and 'Abayta.

CLII The descendants of 'Awad are the 'AWADIA, of Kuraysh the KURAYSHAB, of Khanfar the KHANFARIA, of Mukbal the MUKABLA, and of 'Abayta the 'ABTA.

CLIII The descendants of Nebih son of Mismar are the NEBAH.

CLIV Subuh Abu Merkha had three sons, Hammad el Akrat and Hamayd el Nawam and Hamaydan.

CLV The descendants of Hammad³ el Akrat are the MAGIDIA and the KURTAN, and of Hamayd el Nawam the NAWAMIA and the MANSURAB and the SAND*DAB.

CLVI The sons of Hamaydan were Ghanim and Shaik, whose mother was Hamama the daughter of [Hamaydan's] uncle Ruba{ Ibn Mismar, and Hasabulla and Mutraf (ancestor of the HASABIA), whose mother was the daughter of Hashi el I\$.umri el Fungawia, and four sons of another mother, Ghanim and Ghanam, or Ghanum, and Gami'a and Malik el Zayn.

CLVII The descendants of Shaik are the SHAFIDA.

CLVIII Ghanim had three sons, Diab and Duab and Gamu'a. The descendants of Gamu'a are the GAMU'iA: the sons of Diab were Bishara and Nasir.

¹ reading *الصحيفة للإمامة*. ^a reading *نوابية (28 AB) for نوابية*.
³ reading *حبيب for حبيب*

CLIX The descendants of Bishara are the MIRAFAB and the 'ABD EL RAHMANAB ZAYDAB of Berber and the FADLAB and the SERAYHAB and the HASANAB, who live from Berber to the land of Z6ra.

CLX The descendants of Nasir are the NASIRAB who inhabit Gebel Berayma on the White Nile.

CLXI The sons of Duab were 'Arman and Abu Khamsin.

CLXII The sons of Abu Khamsin were Muhammad and Hammad el Bahkarub.

CLXIII Muhammad's descendants are the MUHAMMADAB of Gerayf Hamdulla, the KARIBAB, the BELIAB and the KiTiAB.

CLXIV The descendants of Hammad el Bahkarub are the AWGAB.

CLXV The sons of 'Arman were Zayd and Mukabir and Sha'a el Din and Tumayr and Sa'id and Nasrulla and 'Abd el 'Al and Musallam and Gebel and Gabr and 'Adlan.

CLXVI The descendants of Zayd are the ZAYDAB, of Mukabir¹ the MUKABIRAB, and of Sha'a el Din the SHA'ADINAB.

CLXVII 'Abd el 'Al had twenty-four sons, [including] Muhammad el A'war and Kabush and 'Abd el Kabir and Hasabulla and Rafa'a and Gadulla and Khidr and Kaltut and Kasr and Beshr and Musa and 'Omar and Shaddu and Kadabu and Tisa'a Kulli and Muhammad el Nigayd.

CLXVIII The descendants of Muhammad el A'war are the 'OMARAB, of Kabush the KABUSHAB and the KANDILAB, of 'Abd el Kabir the 'ASHANIK, of Hasabulla the HASABULLAB, of Rafa'a the RAFA'AB, of Gadulla the GODALAB, of Khidr the KHIDRAB, of Kaltut the KALTIB, but of Kasr and Beshr his brother I know of no descendants.

CLXIX The descendants of Musa are the MUSIAB ; the descendants of 'Omar are at the village of the TUMAYRAB at el Sara and are called the 'OMARAB of Sara; and the descendants of Tisa'a Kulli and the tenth of them [sic] Muhammad el Nigayd are the KALIAB.

CLXX The descendants of Musallam are the MUSALLAMAB, of Gebel the GEBELAB, and of Gabr the GABRAB or "GABARAB."

CLXXI 'Adlan² had thirty sons, namely the four KARAKISA, whose mother was the daughter of 'Ali Karkus; and Shuki el Kamal; and the four SITNAB, whose mother was [Sitna daughter of., and the four 'ABCDATAB whose mother was] the daughter of 'Abuda; and Nafa'a and Nafi'a³ and 'Abd el Daim and 'Abd el Ma'abud, the mother of all of whom was the daughter of Adam Haiayb; and Muhammad 'Ali and Abu Selima and Barakat, who were sons of

¹ reading اما مكابر for اما مكابر.
² reading عدنان for عدنان.
³ reading نعيم for نعيم.

another mother; and Muhammad Ferid; and 'Abuda and Y6iy and Tuayr and Abu Bukr and 'Awad and 'Abd el Rahman Baduus and Wahhayb and Kunna and Ba'ashom.

CLXXII The four KARAKISA are well known: the descendants of Shukl el Kamal are the SHUKAL; the descendants of four of the Sitnab are the SITNAB, and of four of the 'ABUDATAB¹ the 'ABUDATAB¹, and of Nafa'a the NAFA'AB, and of Naff a the NiFI AB, and of 'Abd el Daim the 'ALIAB and their subdivisions, and of 'Abd el Ma'abud I know no descendants. The descendants of Muhammad 'AH are the SA'ADAB, and I do not know of any descendants of Abu Selima and Barakat. The descendants of the Mek Muhammad are the MUHAMMADAB, of 'Abuda the 'ABUDAB, of Yoiy the Y6IYAB at Koz Bara, and I do not know of any descendants of Tuayr² and Abu Bukr and 'Awad and 'Abd el Rahman Badikis.

The descendants of Wahhayb are the WAHAHIB near Berber, of Kunna the KUNNAWIYYCN, of Ba'ashom the BA'ASHIM and the people of el 'Arashk61 and the SABA'ANIA and the people of Kabushia.

CLXXII I The 'ABABSA are the descendants of 'Abdulla Abu Ga'afir el Saffah, the first of the BENIEL 'ABBAS to hold the power, and they live at el Rai and el Shura and are a mighty tribe.

CLXXIV The FADNIA are the descendants of the noble Sayyid, el Sayyid Muhammad ibn el Hanafia, son of the most noble Imam 'Ali son of Abu Talib, God bless him and honour him; and there is much told of them, and God knows best.

CLXXV The GA'AFIRA are the family of Ga'afir son of Kaltfan of the tribe of T A I, said to be a descendant of Hatim el Tai, and they are renowned for generosity.

CLXXVI The HADARMA were originally nomads in Hadramaut and migrated to the mainland in the time of el rlaggag ibn Yusef of the tribe of Thakif and dwelt on the well-known island of Suakin on the shore of the Red Sea on the mainland of the Sudan.

CLXXVII The GABARTA are originally Arabs.

CLXXVIII The MESALLAMIA (spelt with SA and double L) are the family of Musallam son of Hegaz son of 'Atif of the tribe of BENI OMMAYYA. He migrated from Syria in the time of 'Omar ibn 'Abd el 'Aziz, God bless him, and settled on the mainland of the Sudan.

CLXXIX The RiKABiA are the descendants of Rikab son of Sheikh Ghulamulla⁸ son of el Sayyid 'Aid son of el Makbul son of Sheikh Ahmad, son of Sheikh 'Omar el Zila'i, who dwelt at el Halia, a village

¹ reading عبيدوتاب for عبوتاب .. ² reading نخير for نوير.

³ reading غلام الله for غلام الله.

in Yemen, and was son of Mahmud son of Hashim son of Mukhtar son of 'Ali son of Serag son of Muhammad son of Abu el Kasim son of el Imam Zamil son of el Sayyid Musa el Kazim son of el Sayyid Ga'afir el Sadik son of el Sayyid Muhammad el Bakir son of el Sayyid Zayn el 'Abdin son of the most noble el Sayyid el Irlusayn son of the Commander of the Faithful the Imam 'AH son of Abu Talib, God bless him and honour him.

CLXXX [Now not only] the branches and subdivisions of the RIKABIA [but also] the persons who have become fused with them by intermarriage belong to them, for he upon whom be the blessings of God said "the son of a daughter of the tribe belongs to the tribe itself."

CLXXXI Now Sheikh Ghulamulla¹ had two sons, Rikab and Rubat. Rikab had five sons and one daughter, 'Abdulla and 'Abd el Nebi and Habib and 'Agib, all four sons by the same mother, and Zayd by another mother.

CLXXXII The sons of 'Abdulla were Hagag and Hag. The descendants of Hag are the D6A1JB.

CLXXXIII The son of Hagag was Sheikh 'AH Abu Kurun, whose sons were Akhal and Farka, and their descendants are among the KAWAHLA EL DUNIAB, and some of them are in the Tekali hills.

CLXXXIV The sons of 'Abd el Nebi were Mashir and Shakar.

CLXXXV The descendants of Mashir are the SADIKAB, the stock of Sheikh 'Abd el Sadik, and the SAMAYRAB, the sons of Muhammad son of Mashir, and some branches [who are] with the SHUKRIa.

CLXXXVI The HADAHID and the KELBA and the GENANA² are said to be GUHAYNA by origin, but they became fused in race with Mashir by intermarriage.

CLXXXVII The son of Shakar was Hasan, and his descendants are in Dongola.

CLXXXVIII The descendants of rlabfb are at the village of el Sababi on the Blue Nile.

CLXXXIX The descendants of 'Agib are the HALIMAB, the sons of Sheikh Hammad Abu Halima,

CXC The sons of Zayd were 'Abd el Rahim and 'Abd el Rahman. The descendants of 'Abd el Rahmi are the TUMAYRAB, and the 'Akazab³, the sons of his son el Hag Magid.

CXC I The descendants of 'Abd el Rahman are the SHABWAB⁴ and the BAHGAB.

¹ reading <4t> ^ U for AJUI J>%>.

^a reading iiU*. for &!»•».

³ reading v | j ^ for v!; ^*«

* reading v!**^ f°r v' / ^ •

CXCII The son of Rubat was Selim, who had six sons, Ruzaym and Dahmash and 'Abd el Razik and Musbah, [these four] being the sons of one mother, el Ganiba the daughter of his uncle Rikab, and Muhammad 'On, whose mother was '(Onia, and Hadhlul¹, whose mother was the daughter of Malik el Kanisa [i.e. "King of the Church"].

CXCIII Ruzaym had a son, Hammad, whose son² was Sheikh Muhammad, nicknamed Habib Nesi.

CXCIV The sons of Dahmash were the *feki* 'Ali and Man6fali.

CXCV The sons of the *feki* 'Ali were Mandfali and Ahmad and Muhammad and 'Abd el Kerim and 'Abd el Hafiz and 'Abd el Rahman: I do not know their descendants.

CXCVI The only son of Manofali son of Dahmash was 'Isa, whose only son was the *feki* Hammad, whose sons were 'Abd el Fattih and 'Abd el Malik and Ibrahim.

CXCVI I 'Abd el Fattah had a son, 'Abd el Ban, who had a son 'Abd el Basit, whose sons were Mustafa and 'Abd el Summad: I do not know their descendants.

CXCVIII The descendants of 'Abd el Malik son of Hammad son of 'fsa [son of Manofali] son of Dahmash son of Selim son of Rubat are a family of *fakirs* at Kenar and Taha (?).

CXCIX The sons of his brother Ibrahim were four, Husayn and Idris and Fadlulla and Muhammad.

CC The sons of Husayn were Ibrahim and el Tayyib and Muhammad and Manir: God knows who were the descendants of these four.

CCI The sons of Idris son of Ibrahim son of Hammad son of 'fsa son of Manofali son of Dahmash son of Selim son of Rubat were Muhammad and 'Ali and Ibrahim. God knows who were their descendants.

CCII The sons of Fadlulla son of Ibrahim son of the said Hammad were Hasabulla and Muhammad el Fezari. I am not sure of tlasabulla's descendants: the sons of Muhammad el Fezari were Ahmad and Idris and Ibrahim: I do not know the descendants of any of the three.

CCIII The son of 'Abd el Razik son of Selim son of Rubat ^{was} [called] Sheikh Selim after his grandfather, and his son was el Hag Belila, whose son was Sheikh Hasan, whose sons were Malik and Belila and Kuraysh and 'Abaydi, the descendants of all of whom are at Kenar³ and Gebel Abu Tubr, and also Daud.

¹ reading هزلول for هزلول.

^a reading اولاد for ولد.

* reading ^

كنا for كنا.

CCIV The descendants of Musbah are the AWLAD HAMAYDA at el 'Adad, and some of them are with the KAFIABfSH.

CCV The son of Muhammad '(3n son of Selim was Gabir, whose sons were the four famous men, the learned Sheikh Ibrahim el Bulad and the pious recluse el Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman and the learned Sheikh Isma'il el Wali and Sheikh 'Abd el Rahiim. These are the four sons of Gabir, and their stock is called the GABIRAB and is well known.

CCVI The descendants of Hadhlul¹ son of Selim son of Rubat son of Sheikh Ghulamulla² son of el Sayyid 'Aid, etc., are the AWLAD MusA walad Merin at Gebel el Haraza.

CCVII But the name Rikab applies to three persons, namely, Rikab son of Ka'ab, and Rikab son of Sultan son of Shatir, of the seed of 'Abdulla el Guhani, and Rikab son of Sheikh Ghulamulla³ (son of el Sayyid 'Aid son of el Makbul son of Sheikh Ahmad son of Sheikh 'Omar el Zila'i), who [Ghulamulla] was brought up at el Halia, a village in Yemen, on an island called Nowawa.

CCVIII His father had proceeded from el Halia and settled on one of the islands of the Red Sea called Sakia; and thence he migrated with his sons to Dongoia and settled there because that place was sunk in perplexity and error owing to the absence of men who could read and were learned. So when he settled there he built up the mosques and read the Kuran and taught knowledge direct to his children and disciples, the sons of the Muslims.

CCIX Here ends this blessed genealogical tree that contains the pedigrees of all the Arabs.

CCX As he, upon whom be the blessing of God, said, "Him that wishes injury to Kuraysh may God injure"; and again "They advanced Kuraysh and did not surpass it"; and again "The Imams are from ICuraysh"; and again "Kuraysh was a light between the hands of God Almighty 2000 years before he created the children of Adam, God bless him; and that light glorifies God, and the Angels take up the chorus and glorify Him also."

CCXI The Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, said "A succession of rulers drawn from Kuraysh gives security to the land: Kuraysh has thrice been shewn glorious: and if any tribe of the Arabs [seeks to] supplant Kuraysh they are partizans of Satan." This [tradition] is quoted by Abu Nu'aym in the "liilya."

CCXII The following is a list of the tribes that are offshoots of Kjuraysh: BENI SHAYBA, BENI HELB, BENI UNAIS, BENI YEZID, BENI THAK*F, BENI HALAF, BENI MU'AW/A, BENI MALIK, BENI KHAFIF,

¹ reading هذلول for هذلول. ² reading غلام الله for غلام الله.
³ reading غلام الله for غلام الله.

BENI NApra, BENI HARAN, BENI MUHAMMAD, BENI HUZAYL¹, BENI ZABIB, BENI KAFID, BENI KHUZAM, BENI MAKHZUM², and BENI 'ADIL, all of them Kuraysh; and the above is on the authority of el Sheikh Muhammad el Hindi and el Sheikh Ahmad el Shami who wrote on the authority of el Sheikh el Ag-huri who again wrote on the authority of el Imam Ahmad ibn Idris, author of *Kitdb el Ma'aref fl Asul el 'Arab* ["the Book of what is known concerning the origins of the Arabs"].

CCXIII The 'AMRIYYUN (spelt with 'amr...) are the family of Sulayman son of 'Abd el Malik son of Marwan the Ommawi. He migrated from Syria in the time of Abu Ga'afir 'Abdulla el Saffah, the first of the Beni el 'Abbas to hold the Khalifate, and settled in Abyssinia; and when Sulayman heard that the said Abu Ga'afir had set himself to seek out the BENI OMMAYYA after their dispersal into different countries and had finally overtaken Muhammad ibn el Walid ibn Hashim in the land of Andalusia and killed him, he fled from Abyssinia to the Sudan [*berr el Sudan*] and dwelt there and married the daughter of one of the kings of the Sudan and begot by her two sons, one named Daud and the other Ans. Then Sulayman died and the names of his sons became corrupted in the local dialect, and Daud was called "Oudun," and Ans "Ounsa."

CCXIV The descendants of Ounsa are the OUN SAB, and of Oudun the OUDCNAB, and the power passed in succession from king to king until finally they became the kings of the Sudan renowned in history.

CCXV The BENI 'AMIR are the family of 'Amir and settled in Abyssinia and were its chieftains; and they are renowned for bravery and courage, and are a mighty tribe.

CCXVI Now the date of the commencement of the dynasty of the FUNG in the kingdom of Sennar was the beginning of the year 910. The first of them was the Sultan 'Omara Dunkas, whom they used to call "King of the Sun and the Darkness" ["Malik el Shams wa el Zull"], and he reigned forty-two years. The following were his successors in turn:

'Abd el kadir	reigned	twelve yea
Nail	,	eleven ,
'Omara abu Sakinin	,	eight ,
Dekin Sid el 'Ada	,	nineteen ,
Doda	,	nine ,
Tanbul	,	four ,
'Abd el Kadir	,	five ,
Ounsa	,	twelve ,

¹ reading هذيل for هذيل .

² reading مخزوم for مخزوم .

'Adlan, his son¹, reigned twelve years. And it was he that fought at Karkdg. And after he had vanquished and slain the Sheikh 'Agib the FONG deposed him.

Badi Sid el Ram reigned nineteen years

Rubat, his son, reigned twenty-seven years

Badi, son of Abu Dukn, reigned thirty-nine years. He was a ruler after God's own heart and was a follower of Sidi 'Abd el Kadir el Gayli.

Ounsa, son of Nasir the brother of Abu Dukn, reigned four years

B4di el Ahmar reigned twenty-nine years

Ounsa and)

King Nol J » seven years

Badi, son of Nal » thirty-nine years

Nasir, son of Badi,) » twelve years

CCXVII Here ends the FUNG dynasty. The power was now transferred to the HAMAG. The first of these was Nasir walad Muhammad; and the grace of God was with him and he so extended his kingdom that it had no bounds save the [seven] climates. He reigned twelve years.

CCXVIII His successor was the Sheikh Idris, his brother, who reigned five years and a half.

CCXIX The next kings were Muhammad walad Ragab and Muhammad walad Nasir: they reigned four years and a half.

CCXX After them Muhammad walad Ibrahim reigned for two years.

CCXXI After him succeeded Muhammad walad 'Adlan and ruled twelve years.

CCXXII Here end the Kings of Sennar, lords of power and strength. After them the power was transferred to the Turks in the year 1230 after the Hegira of the Prophet, to whom be the highest honour and salutations.

CCXXI 11 Now this manuscript was copied from a manuscript that was found in the writing of el feki Muhammad ibn el feki el Nur el Gabirabi of the stock of the four sons of Gabir, [and] I found his son, Ibrahim ibn el feki Muhammad, saying of it that he copied it from the manuscript of his father Gabir son of Muhammad '(3n son of Selim son of Rubat, and that it was mentioned therein that it was in the writing of el Sherff el Tahir son of el Sherif 'Abdulla son of el Sherif el Tahir son of el Sayyid 'Aid: and I confide the matter to God and his Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, and refer [all] knowledge of the matter to God Almighty to whom glory be.

CCXXIV Here ends the blessed genealogical tree that unites the pedigrees of the Arabs all together; and God is our help.

CCXXV This manuscript was completed by the hand of its writer, the *fakir* of God Almighty, el 'Ebayd Muhammad 'Abd el Rahman; and its owner is el Nur Bey, known as 'Ankara, son of Muhammad.

CCXXVI May God protect the writer and the owner and all faithful Muhammadans, both men and women, the living and the dead.

CCXXVII The writing of it was finally completed on the forenoon of Tuesday the 24th of Rabi'a in the year 1325¹, at Omdurm&n. End. Praise God.

CCXXVIII In the name of God the compassionate and merciful, he upon whom be the blessings of God said "Ye know from your pedigrees how ye are related." El Nur el Malik [is] son of el Malik Muhammad son of el Malik Matti son of el Malik Ibrahim son of el Malik Hasan son of el Malik Muhammad Khayr son of el Malik 'Omar son of el Malik Fadl son of el Malik Khidr son of el Malik Abu Sower son of el Malik 'Abd el Manan son of el Malik Muhammad Furawi son of el Malik el Yas son of el Malik Ibrahim son of el Malik Khidr son of el Malik el Nusr son of el Malik Matti son of el Malik Muhammad son of el Malik Musa son of el Malik Sab el Yal son of el Malik Musa, king of the Dufar, son of Dahmash son of Muhammad el Bedayr son of Samra son of Serrar son of the Sultan Hasan Kerdam son of Abu el Dis son of Kuda'a son of Harkan son of Masruk son of Ahmad el Yemani son of Ibrahim Ga'al son of Idris son of Kays son of Yemen son of el Khazrag son of 'Adi son of kusa son of Kerab son of Hatil son of Yatil son of Dhu el Kila'a el Himyari², who was descended on his mother's side from the tribe of Himyar⁸, son of Himyar son of Sa'ad el Ansari, who was descended on his mother's side from the Ansar, son of el Fadl son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbas son of 'Abd el Muttalib son of Hashim son of 'Abd Menaf son of Kusai son of Kelab son of Murra son of Luai son of Ghalib son of Fihir son of Malik son of el Nudr⁴ son of Kenana son of Khuzayma son of Mudraka son of el Yas son of Mudr son of Nizar⁶ son of Ma'ad son of 'Adnan. End.

CCXXIX The poet says on this subject

"how many a father owes the nobility which he possesses to his son, even as 'Adn&n owes his to the Prophet of God."

CCXXX Here ends [this work] with praise to God [for] the grace of his assistance.

¹ 1906A.D. ² reading **الحميري** for **الحميري**, ³ reading **حمير** for **حميرة**.

⁴ reading **النضر** for **النضر**.

⁶ reading **نزار** for **نزار**.

BA (NOTES)

I MSS. i, 2 and 3 all begin and continue alike. Where differences occur, other than merely clerical errors and unimportant grammatical variations, a note will be found of the fact.

II Cp. C 5 (a), vii.

The phrase which I have translated "Because of the [record of] blood-relationships that they contain" is **لها فيه من صلة الرحم**. The literal meaning of **الرحم** is "the womb," and so "parentage," etc., and **وَصَلَ** is from the root **وصل** meaning to join one thing to another: hence **فَلَ*** is also used for "a gift" or "a favour," and **وَصَلَ رَحِمَهُ** comes to mean "He acted well by his relatives." In these *nisbas* the phrase and its variations are very common and apparently suggest less the good treatment of one's relatives than the preservation of one's relationships.

in Cp. BA, xxxii; AB, XLIX; A3, 11; A4, 1; A9, 11; A 11, 11; B 1, in; C3, n; C5(a), vi.

The quotation is **تعلموا من انسابكم ما تصلون به ارحامكم** and is very common. Ibn Khaldun gives it in his second book (ed. ar. vol. n, p.*)

iv Cp. AB, L I, where this saying is attributed to el Shadhali.

v Cp. AB, L II and LV for the first sentence, and AB, LV; B I, IV, etc., for the tradition **علم لا ينفع وجهل لا يضرك**, r (m AB) **وجاهلة لا تضر**.

The tradition is quoted (in the second form) by Ibn Khaldun in his second book (ed. ar. vol. 11, p. 3).

vi Cp. AB, LVIII.

After "concern him" AB adds as a gloss **من دينه**, "from the point of view of religion." The words are attributed by AB to Yasef ibn 'Omar,

vii Cp. AB, LXIV and B 1, iv.

The Arabic in MS. No. 2 is as follows:

وفي آخر الزمان يحصل فيه ملك ألا نواب ولا يستخلصون إلا بالانساب

The meaning is that people will take to calling each other slaves and base-born, and the truth or falsity of the assertion will only be susceptible of proof by the means of pedigrees. For **الانساب** No. 1 gives **العقب**. AB and B 1 give **انساب**: the word **انساب** was no doubt unfamiliar,

ix Cp. AB, LXVII and C 5 (a), vn.

The **فواجب تعليم الانساب لان صلة الرحم واجبة**. para. 11.

By the "Igma'a" here is meant "the unanimous consent" of the Companions to the genuineness or validity of a particular tradition or rule (see Sell, *Essays on Islam*, p. 259; and Huart, pp. 236-7).

For the "Sunna," aptly called "the Blackstone of Islam," see Hamilton's *Hedaya*, pp. xv *et seq.* Cp. D 3, LXVI (end).

x Cp. AB, Lxvm.

The quotation is from the 4th chapter of the Kurin (see Sale, p. 53).

xi Cp. AB, LXIX.

xii Cp. AB, LXX.

xiii Cp. AB, Lxxiii, and C 5 (a), v.

The Arabic is *صل من وصلني واقطع من قطعني*.

The tradition is given by el Bokhari in the chapter *Kitdb Tafsir el Kurdn* as a commentary on the Kuranic phrase *وتقطعوا ارحامكم* as follows :

"It is related on the authority of Abu Hurayra...concerning the Prophet.. that God created the world, and when he had completed it the womb arose and seized him by the loins and said 'Stop! This is the time for me to beseech Thee that I be not cut off.' And God said 'Art thou indeed willing that I honour him that honours thee, and cut off him that cuts thee off?' The womb said 'Yea, O Lord.' Then God said 'Let it be so.'" (See el Zebaydi, vol. 11, p. 117.)

"El 'arsh" is the word for the imperial throne of God (see Stle's *Koran*, p. 28 of the text). A tradition quoted by Sell (p. 30) probably gives the key to the meaning, viz. *قلوب المؤمنين عرش الله تعالى*, i.e. "The hearts of the faithful are the throne of God Almighty."

xiv Cp. AB, LXXIV.

xv Cp. AB, xxvi and D 5 (c), xvm. MS. No. 2 gives the final words of the paragraph as *فانه عليهما حاز*, MS. No. 1 as *فانه على ما حاز*.

xvi Cp. AB, civ, cv.

xviii Cp. AB, cx.

xix For both quotations, down to the end of para, xx, see Kuran, ch. 49 (Sale, p. 382). After the words "that is" sc. "the faithful are brethren."

XXII Cp. AB, cxi; A 9, 1; C 3,1; C 5 (0), in.

The quotation is a continuation of that in paras, xix and xx.

xxiii Cp. AB, cxx; A3, III; A8, 1; C3, 1; C5(a), III.

A continuation of the last quotation. The words "and tribes" are omitted by mistake.

xxiv *et seq.* Cp. AB, cxxi *et seq.*

These paragraphs, up to and including xxxi, are by way of parenthesis. The explanation concerning the correct designation of the various divisions and subdivisions of mankind into nations, tribes, etc., is prefaced in AB by the words "According to el Khazin" (for whom see note on AB, CIK). The subject is treated by Wustenfled in the introduction to his *Register* (q.v pp. ix-xi). He shews that the traditional nomenclature is to be traced to Muhammad Abu el Hasan ibn Muhammad Abu Ga'afir, a *sherif* known as "'Obaydulla," the author of the *Tahdhib el Insdb wa Nihdyat el A'Rdb*. "'Obaydulla" gives ten relative divisions, of each of which he gives the exact distinctive connotation, and adds definitions, quotations, and illustrative examples. His divisions are as follows:

f x. *gidhm*, 041, 'Adnln, the forefather of the Ismi'flitic stocks, or &ahtEn, the forefather of the Yemenite stocks. All the Arabs traced descent to one or the other.

2. *gumhQr*, e.g. MA'AD.
3. *sha'b* „ NIZAR.
- J 4. *kabUa* „ MUDR.
- J 5. '*amdra* „ descendants of EL YAs.
6. *bafn* „ KENANA
7. *fakhdh* „ KURAYSH.
8. '*ashira* „ KusAI.
9. *faslla* „ 'ABD MENAF.
- [10. *raht* (a group of less than 10), eg. BENI HASHIM.

Or, "another example":

[FIHR	-a <i>sha'b</i>
I&USAI	- <i>akahila</i> .
JHASHIM	-a ' <i>amdra</i> .
I'ALI	= <i>abafn</i> .
I EL IJASAN	= a <i>fakhdh</i>
\	etc.

The names of the forefathers given do not form an unbroken line of pedigree in either case.

Wustenfeld's quotation from "'Obaydulla," though short, contains two of the stock quotations found in BA and AB, viz. the one to the effect that any pedigree traced beyond 'Adndn is spurious, and the other "I have created you male and female and made you . . . , etc." (see paras, xxn and XXIII).

xxiv The Arabic for what I have translated "The sources of the tribes" is J5UUI ^*)j {lit. "the heads of the tribes"). "'Obaydulla" likewise employs a simile on these lines.

With him

<i>sha'b</i> corresponds to the head		
<i>kablla</i>	,	„ breast
' <i>amdra</i>	,	„ hand
<i>batn</i>	,	„ stomach
<i>fakhdh</i>	,	„ liver
' <i>ashira</i>	,	„ two legs
<i>fabila</i>	,	„ foot
<i>raht</i>	,	„ toes

Of the above terms *kablla* is the only one commonly used in the Sudan. The usual terms for subdivisions of the *kabila* are *hashimbayt* (pi. *hashimbuyUt*), a house-group, *fera'a* (pi. *ferQ'a*), a branch, *badana* (pi. *badana t*), properly a trunk, and occasionally *rdkQba* (pi. *ruwdkib*), an offshoot. In Kordofdn *badana* is used (by the western tribes) to denote the main subdivisions of the tribe. The other terms are all used loosely: *hashimbayt* is of general use; *fera'a* is less technical, and *rdkQba* is rare and literary. On this subject see Jaussen, pp. 112-114.

After J5UUI ^\$j BA rightly gives J*U ("such as"): AB by mistake gives ,>• ("from").

xxv MS. No. 3 also omits the »j>. AB inserts it.

xxvi "SHAYBAN" is certainly correct. AB (the original) gives **شيان** ("such as Yasan"—a non-existent tribe), instead of **ششيان**. Here we have evidence that the corresponding passages in BA and AB were taken from different sources.

xxx This paragraph is in AB prefaced by "It is said that ____"

xxxi The first half of this paragraph is omitted in AB.

XXXII Cp. BA, in; AB, cxx; A3, in; A8,11; A7,1; C5(a), III

The quotation continues the previous one (para, xxIII), from ch. 49 of the Kuran. A 3 omits the explanatory part of this paragraph,

xxxIII Cp. AB, cxv; A3, III; C3, 1.

"He," as appears from AB, is el Khazin.

This quotation, a very common one, is again from ch. 49 of the Kurdn.

MS. 3 here correctly gives **الخصلة**, MSS. 1 and 2 wrongly give **الفصل**

xxxvII Cp. AB, cxvi. This tradition is given by el Bokhan in the chapters entitled *Kitab badi el Khalk* and *Manakibu Kurayshin* (see el Zebaydi, vol. 11, pp. 38 and 46).

"Yusef" is Joseph, and "The Friend of God" ("el Khalil") is Abraham. One generation is omitted.

The word translated "original sources" is **معادن**. AB gives this correctly, but apparently none of the copyists of BA knew the word,

xxxvIII Cp. AB, cxvII.

For "she-camel" BA gives "*naka*" and BA "*rahala*" The camel was called "el Kaswa" and was the famous one on which the Prophet fled from Mekka. The second half of this paragraph occurs in AB, cvi and cxvII in a different setting.

AB and MS. 3 of BA give **هبة** for **هبة** (MSS. 1 and 2).

XLI Cp. AB, cvIII.

XLII Cp. AB, cix and A 8, 1.

XLIV Abu Lahab was the uncle of the Prophet. Ch. 111 of the Kuran is devoted to cursing him for his opposition to Islam.

XLV The quotation is from ch. 53 of the Kurdn.

XLvII Cp. AB, cxxx.

XLVIII Cp. AB, cxxxi, cxxxn; A 3, iv; and D 1, LXXXIV.

The tradition occurs in el Bokhdri (chapter *Mandkibu Kurayshin*, see el Zebaydi, vol. n, p. 46) in the following words:

عن ابي هريرة رضى الله عنه قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
لريش والانسار وجهينة ومزينة واسلم واشجع وغفار موالى ليس لهم مولى
دون الله ورسوله

"'Abd el Baki" is 'Abd el Baki ibn Yusef el Zurkani (for whom see Hagi Khalfa's *Lexicon*, vol. v, p. 447). He was born 1020 A.H. and died in 1099 A.H. (1688 A.D.).

The word **مشكات** means literally a niche in a wall wherein to place a lamp.

The seven great Arabian tribes mentioned will all be found in Wiistenfeld. By "el Ansar" are meant Aus and KHAZRAG.

XLIX Cp. AB, cxxxiv, cxxxv; and A 3, v.

AB prefaces the paragraph by "In some reliable records I have found that_____". Of the seven tribes given six are identical (though the order is varied) with those given in AB, but in place of KURAYSH AB gives KHU-ZAYMA (as also does D 1, LXXXV). AB again gives "Who am thus the noblest of the noblest of the noblest..." and omits from "And this is..." to "true one." MS. 3 spells GHAFAR, غفار.

L Cp. AB, CXXXVIII, cxxxix; B 1,11; B 3,1.

For "NIGM" AB and B 1 give "LAGM": B 3 gives "NIGM." AB, B 1, and B 3 all add GUDHAM to the list.

The tribes mentioned seem to be mostly, if not all, Kahtanite tribes descended from 'Abd Shams. "NIGM" (or "Lagm") may be a corruption of LAKHM. "BISAR" is mentioned by Mas'adi (chap, xxxi) as a son of Ham who migrated westwards to Egypt, and was the father of Misr, but he seems out of place here. B 1 reads "Bfs." "HUKNA" (حكنة) may be a corruption of GAFNA (جفنة) (for whom see D 1, 194). "KELAB EL AZD" should possibly be "KELAB (or KELB) and EL AZD," both well-known tribes. MSS. 1 and 2 give "KELAM EL AZRAD," and MS. 1 "KELAB EL AZRAD."

"El Mahassi" is apocryphal. After "Kahtan" AB continues "And another version is that el Mahassi was the son of the prophet Ibrahim... but I have not found this true." The author of BA seems to have combined the two versions. MS. 1 gives "el Mahassi son of Kahtan son of el Mahassi. .etc.," which more nearly agrees with B 1; but I have followed MS. 2 here.

LI Cp. AB, cxxxvi, and D 1, LXXXIV, LXXXV.

All three MSS/of BA give **ميتزجة for ميتزجة** (AB).

The version of AB differs from BA as follows:

- (a) *re* GUHAYNA, the words "and the west" are omitted.
- (b) „ HIMYAR, after "el Basra" AB adds "and Persia" ["Faris"].
- (c) „ ASHGA'A, after "Toms" AB adds "and Andalusia."
- (d) „ GHAFAR, AB substitutes "el Basra" for "Andalusia and Persia."
- (e) „ KENANA, after "Egypt" AB adds "and Syria."

There is a large colony of MUZAYNA at the S.E. end of the Sinai Peninsula. They claim to be Harb by origin and their chief branch is the 'Alowna, a name which occurs more than once in the Sudan as that of a tribal division. See Na'Qm Bey, *Hist. Sinai...*, p. 112, for the Muzayna.

L II This and the following three paragraphs do not occur in AB.

For the story of Noah and Ham cp el Tabari, p. 107.

Lin By Kuran are meant the KURA'AN, a wide term generally applied in the Sudan to the negroid element among the TIBBU. They almost certainly represent the ancient GARAMANTES and are the "GORAN" of Leo Africanus (see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, pp. 235 *et seq*).

For "EL HIND" and "EL SIND" and GOG and MAGOG see notes to D 1, LVI and LXX.

As regards "FARISH" and "DARISH" and "KHALABKA" and "GABIRSA" (MS. 3 "GABOSA") I fancy the Kurdish tribes are meant. Mas'adi (ch.

XLVI, p. 254) speaks of various Kurdish tribes who allege descent from 'Adnan and among them occur "the BARISAN and the KHALU and the GABAR[^]IA.

LIV " 'Alig " is Rami 'Alig, a series of great sandhills famous as the scene in pre-Islamic times of the destruction of the tribe of Wabar (see Mas'Qdi, ch. XLVII, p. 288).

LVI Here is confusion: from Rayth to Mudr is correct (see Wustenfeld, H), but this Mudr, father of 'Aylan, is the Mudr mentioned five lines later as son of Nizar, and the series of names intervening between the two mentions of Mudr, viz. Mu'awia to el Yas, have got into the text by some error: this series is in itself too slightly inaccurate: Ka'ab is omitted between Murra and Laai, and the relationships of Mu'awia and el Hakam to 'Affan are wrongly shewn, and the father of 'Affan and son of Ommayya was Abu el 'Asi (see Wustenfeld, U and V).

MS. 3 gives ريش and دهبان for وهبان.

MSS. 1, 2, 3, all give عطفان by error for غطفان.

The Dhubian intended in this passage is certainly Dhubidn the son of Baghid (for which Mufid is probably an error), and grandson of Rayth Ibn Ghatafan: he was brother of 'Abs and father of Fezara, both of which names occur very frequently in *nisbas* in conjunction with that of Dhubian.

Cp. ABC, XXVIII.

There was a Dahman who was descended from Rayth in the fifth degree (see Wustenfeld, H).

Fihir is the same as Kuraysh

LVII Cp. BA, cxxiv and ABC, xxvi.

From el Zubayr to Kusai is correct (see Wustenfeld, T). The rest is apparently pure invention, though identical with B i,*xxrv. MS. 1 gives خوند by error for خويلد.

LVIII See ABC, xxvi.

'Abdulla ibn Unays is the " 'Abdulla el Guhani " from whom so many Sudan Arab tribes claim descent. He sometimes appears (*e.g.* in D 1, LXXVI) as "son of Anas" or "son of Anas ibn Malik," "Anas" being in such cases a corruption of Unays and the insertion of Malik due to the fact that the famous divine Malik was son of Anas.

'Abdulla "el Guhani" belonged to the family of KurpA'A and was not, strictly speaking, a Guhayni at all, but was so nicknamed. He was a descendant of Kuda'a through 'Imram and Taghlib, whereas Guhayna was descended from Kuda'a through Aslam (see Wustenfeld, 2). Wustenfeld (p. 21) gives the following details concerning him:

He lived among the family of Sahma ibn Sa'ad, a Khazragi, in Medina and was named "el Guhani" although not descended from Guhayna. After he had embraced Islam he joined Mu'adh ibn Gebel in destroying the idols of Salfma, was one of the "Seventy" at el 'Akaba, and fought at Ohod. He was also entrusted by the Prophet with the duty of getting rid of Khldid ibn Sufian, the chief of the Lahian Arabs. Having accomplished this (in 625 A.D., see Muir's *Life...*, p. 267) he returned to Muhammad, who presented him with his staff saying " This shall be a token

between me and thee on the Day of Resurrection. Verily, few on that day shall have wherewithal to lean upon." 'Abdulla was known in consequence as "Dhu Mikhsara" ("He of the Staff"). He lived at A'raf near Medina and was once summoned by Muhammad to Medina and stayed there all night in the mosque: this night was known thenceforth as "The night of el Guhani." He died in 54 A.H. and left four sons, 'Affa, 'Amr, ʿAmra, and 'Abdulla.

Muir also mentions (pp. 337-8) that in 627 A.D. he assassinated the Jewish chief Abu el Hukayk, and in 628 A.D. his successor also.

For the connection between him and Dhubian, the ancestor of the GUHAYNA of the Sudan, see note to D 1, LXXXVI.

LIX Cp. B 1, vi; B 3,11; D 1, LXXXIX, etc

All the GUHAYNA group of *nisbas* say Dhubian had ten sons, and the names vary but little. "Shatfr" is sometimes (eg. AB) written Shatfr: for "Gudham" MS. 2 gives "Guzam": "Sufian Afzar" is a fake, two men being combined into one. "Afzar" is a reminiscence of Fezara the son of the Dhubian of para. LVI. The variations in the details of this and following paragraphs will be given by reference to the trees.

LXII-LXV AB (CXLI, CXLII) speaks of "Sulfdn who was ancestor of seven tribes," and continues, "I have omitted mention of them for fear of prolixity, but whoever wishes to know them should refer to the manuscript copied from *The Noble Gift and Rare Excellence* by el Imam el Shdfa'i, from which he [*sc.* the copyist] copied them: you will find this complete." Now the author of AB (only in the original MS. of 1853) has actually written the seven descendants of Sultan and crossed them out: they are, however, still legible and are inserted in the tree of AB (*q.v.*).

As regards the title of the work of el Shafa'i quoted, the two nouns as written in the original MS. of AB would not be clearly legible, though the adjectives are so, were it not for the aid of the B 1 *msba*, which (assuming its correctness) gives the whole title, viz. " *El Nafhat el Sherifa wa 7 T^{ur}f^{at} 7 Munifa* (*qv.* B 1,1). The copy of AB made for the author's son in 1910 gives only التحفة الشريفة والطريق. Cp also B 3,1. Or " *Tuhfat*" instead of " *Nafhat*" may perhaps be correct.

If by "el Shafa'i" is meant the Imam Abu Abdulla Muhammad Idris el Shafa'i it may be noted that the *Fihrist* (988 A.D.) quotes the names of 109 works by him, of which four or five only survive, and the title quoted is not among them.

MS. 1 gives "Fadin," MS. 2 "Fidni," and later "Fadin."

MS. 3 omits "(or Harnayl)"—so spelt in MS. 2.

In para. LXV MS. 3 has omitted a line thus making the DACDIA descendants of Mashaykh.

LXVI AB (para. CLIII) says "From Muhammad are descended the MEZANIYYUN, who are *pro teges* to 'Amir (وهو نصره الى عامر), and the LA#A-WIYYUN (reading الاحويين for النحويين), who are *pro teges* to 'Amira (وهو نصره الى عامرة), and the ZUMAYLAT."

The exact meaning of نصره is obscure, but I think it is represented by "*pro teges*" or "*clientes*" i.e. not descendants but adherents. 'Amir

may be the individual and 'Amira be the equivalent of Beni 'Amir, i.e. the tribe; or the text may simply be corrupt. The author's son could not help me here.

In para, xcIII a different descent is given for the LAIJAWIYYON. For "Ruwah's the RuwAHIA..., etc.," MS. 3 gives "Dwayh's the DWAY#A; and Gimayl's the GIMAYLAB, a tribe called AWLAD GIMAYL between el Hind..., etc." (as text).

LXVII AB (original) gives "And the MuBADIRIA" (والبادرية); the copy of it made for the author's son gives "And the BADIRIA" (والبادرية); BA (MS. 2) gives "And the U M BADIA" (واللام باديه); BA (Ms. 1) gives "And the LAMBADIA" (واللام باديه); BA (MS. 3) gives an ingenious emendation, viz. "And the mother was one of the nomads" (والام من النباديه, wa el um mm el badia). The correct version is no doubt "and the Umbadirfa": cp. D 1, xc, and Cailliaud, in, 127, where we get "...des Arabes Qenanehs, Choukryehs [Shukria], Oumbadryehs, Bouadrehs, Ka-ouahlehs, habitent les contr^es voisines de ces rivi^eres" [the Rahad, Dinder and Atbara]. The name Umbadiria occurs again among the sections of Gilaydat (Dar Hadmid) of Kordofan (q.v).

LXVIII MS. 1 gives بكرهم by mistake for بكرهم.

LXIX MS. 3 gives "KELLI" (كلى) for "KEI (كلب)" re and in para, LXXXVIII, but later "KELB."

LXX "FOL" are the FELLATA (see Johnston, *Hist. Coloruz*..., p. 12).

MS. 3 gives "Marsfs" for "Marhis."

LXXI The author of AB (para, CLII) says that he does not know who were Rafa'i's descendants.

For "Zanfai" AB and MS. 3 of BA give "Zankal": the former is correct as the tribe is "ZENAFIA."

All three MSS. of BA in this paragraph and the next give "Bashdrik" instead of "Shabank," but only MS. 3 gives "BASHARKA" for "SHABARKA" in para, LXXII, and the latter is certainly the correct name of the tribe.

LXXII To this group of sub-tribes which, in AB, is prefaced by "It is said that of the seed of Muhammad were..., etc.," the "HAGAHAB" are added by AB. This is an error for HAGAGAB.

After "the KAWASMA" and MS. 3 inserts "of Hdmid" though "Hamid" had not been mentioned. Probably Hamid ought to be added in para, LXXI to the sons of Rafa'i.

LXXIII Cp. D 1, xcviII.

LXXIV MS. 3 omits Fuak and 'On here but mentions them some ten paragraphs later.

LXXV, LXXVI For "Ddrish" MS. 3 gives "Darash," for "KOAKIR" "KCKiR," and for "FowAKHiDHIA" "FOWAKHIDHA."

LXXVII For "Durrak" MS. 3 gives (throughout) "D6ka."

LXXVIII "Hamar" and "Hamran" are presumably meant to represent the ancestors of the tribes so named.

MS 3 gives the descendants of Dasham (q.v. paras, LXXXIV, LXXXV) here instead of later, and spells several of the names differently.

LXXIX MS. 3 gives "'Amdr'V "'Amad" here and in LXXX

LXXXI "Shibld" is no doubt the "Sabfl" of AB, CLV.

MS. 3 gives "Shibl" here, and in LXXXII "Shibayli."

LXXXII The "MUWARIGA" are the "MUWAHIDA" of AB, CLV.

After "the 'ISAYLAT" MS. 3 inserts "and of Hakim the HAKIMIA," and after "the HASANIA" MS. 3 inserts **الثقلى والشقى اشغل من ابنه** حسن ابن عمور.

LXXXIII As descendants of 'Affan MS. 1 gives **العقاب او العقاب** "The 'AKBAB or 'ARAB"); MS. 2 g **العقاب او العفاب** MS. 3 gives merely "the 'AKBAB."

LXXXIV MS. 1 gives "Hegaz" for "Hegazi."

LXXXV MS. 1 gives "ZUHRIYYUN."

LXXXVI The SHUKRAB appears again in the next paragraph.

LXXXVII Instead of "and Missir and Ma'atuk" MS. 3 has "and Missir the freedman ('ma'atuk') of Gurfan." For "Sarib" MS. 3 has "Sharib," and for "SHUKRAB" "SHUKRAT." MS. 3 has the whole passage cast in a different form, and adds the "MEZALfr" {i.e. the Masalit of Darfur) after the FELL AT A, and omits 'OKAYL.

By "TUNGURAB" are meant the TUNGUR of Darfur.

"AFNO" is the name given by the people of Bornd to the HAUSSA (see Cooley, pp. 120, 121).

"MADAKA" may be a corruption of MAKDISH6 (see Cooley, p. 127) or of MAGHA (Cooley, p. 131).

LXXXVIII MS. 3 gives here "Ddga" for "Ddgir," but "Ddgir" later.

xc For "THAKRA" MS. 3 gives "NAKRA," and for "KUMDAR" "KU-MORA," and for "DABAYTIA" "RAYTA."

By the BELO possibly are meant the people of that name who formed an aristocracy among the Beni 'Amir in the East until the Nabtab section ousted them, and who are mentioned by Munzinger {*Ostafrikanische Studten*, p. 287) as ruling certain territory north of Massiwa (see Seligman, *Roy. Anth. Journ* vol. XLNI, 1913, p. 601). Mansfield Parkyns {*Life in Abyssinia*, 1, p. 103) also mentions them near Arkfko and gives some account of them.

xcI "BERAGHfTH" means "fleas" or, on the coast, "shrimps."

xcni Contrast para, LXVI for the LAHAwrVCN.

xciv MS. 3 says "...and of Dagir the DAWAGIRA, who are in the east, and the people of el Nuk el Bakht are the descendants of Kelb ibn Muhammad."

xcvi Cp. B 3, VII.

MS. 2 gives "Sabak" here and in xcvII for "Sabik."

MS. 3 gives "Akirit and Adkaym" here and in xcvII.

xcvII MSS. 1 and 3 gives "KIRAT" for "KURTAN," but cp. para. CLV. MS. 3 says the GERABf A are the children of Ba'asham (and descendants of 'Omrnd).

The word GERABf A is a plural formed from Girbu'. There is a section of ZAYADIA called AWLAD GIRBU' ; and the name GERABA'A also occurs as that of a sub-tribe in Sinai.

xcix MS. 3 omits "and the ZAYADfA."

c "Sha'uf" appears in Bi as "Ashaf," and in ABC as "Shakuk." Cp. ABC, XXVII.

ci Kabsh is meant as ancestor of the KABABISH, Ribayk of the RIBAY\$AT, Berara of the BERARA, Kerri of the KERRIAT, and 'Atawi of the 'ATAWIA, all at present sections of the KABABISH except the KERRIAT ("GERRIAT"), who are independent.

en MS. 3 in error writes '*Gewar' for "Gerar."

dIII The BENI GERAR and their sections.

civ The BAZA'A and their sections. For "Nuran" MS. i gives "Nolan." MS. 3 says "The sons of Abza'a were Fur and Nur and Merwan, and Merwan begot Mai; and as regards el Hag Mazin his sons were..., etc." cvi, cvii Cp. A 3, xxxvII-xxxix.

I have translated "Baghdad" and "BAGHADA," which are obviously intended, but the text of MS. i gives (i) بغداد and (2) بعدار and بقارة (for بغادة), and MSS. 2 and 3 give بعدار and بقارة.

cvin Contrast D i, exxxn.

ex MS. 3 is here confused and inaccurate. These descendants of Hamid are collectively known as "DAR HAMID." For "HABABIN" (which is correct in MS. 1) MS. 2 gives "HABANIIN."

cxi Cp. D 1, CXLVI.

MS. 3 says "The descendants of Hammad are K01 (*i.e.* AWLAD A\$01) and the MEGANIN are descendants of Hamid: their father was called 'MagnOn.'"

cxII-cxv MS. 3 puts this earlier and says "Hilal's descendants are HILALA and Hasan el Hilali..., etc.," and substitutes "Ola el Ghaba" for "DlaelGhaya."

This concubine, who would be a negress, is apparently invented in order to drag in all the negro tribes of the upper reaches of the White Nile.

cxvi For "KAIDAB" and "MAHIDAB" and "BAKAB" (MS. I) MS. 2 gives "KAJ(LAB)" and "MAHIDAT" and "BALKARA."

MS. 3 says "The descendants of Zayid are the ZAYADIA. The SHUKRIA are of the stock of Muhammad Ibn 'Amir Sha'ib; and Sha'ib's descendants are the NAILAB and the MAHIDAT and the 'AKSA (?) and the BAKAB and the DdAhtB and the MESA'ID and the FERAkid (?) and the HAGILAB and the KASIRAB and the SHUKRAB and the GABAGIRA and the MA'AfDA, and their subdivisions."

cxvn For this story see Sale's *Koran* (p. 342) and Hughes (p. 601). The Gin was, however, called Sakhr.

MS. 3 gives "Khasia" for "Khas," and adds "the FELLATA."

Mekada here means Abyssinia. Cp. D 7 *passim*. The word is used, *e.g.* by the Takarir of Kallabat, etc., to denote the Abyssinians: it means "slaves" (see *Angl.-Eg. Sudan*, 1, 108).

By the "Khas" are meant the Hasa or Khasa of whom Makrfzi (*Descr. Egypt* II 57¹*) speaks as a Muhammadan tribe of Bega inhabiting SUakin. The name now applies to the strongest division of the Beni 'Amir and to the language of the whole tribe (see Seligman, *fouth. R. A. I.* vol. XLIII, 1913, p. 600).

cxviii The Arabic translated "some say they are among the above" is *قيل منهم* and it seems that "the above" are the group in the preceding paragraph. The generality of *nisbas* gives their ancestor as Zubayr ibn el 'Awvam.

cxix Cp. A 2, XXXVII; A 11, LXI and D i, cLiv.

This 'Ukba ibn Yasir also occurs as ancestor of the Awladd 'Ukba who are now a section of the KABABISH, and there is also a traditional connection between the AWLAD 'UKBA and the FELLATA (see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, pp. 178 *et seq.*). It is just possible that he may have been confused with 'Abdulla ibn Yasin, the Berber holy-man and leader who flourished about 1050 A.D. (see Johnston, p. 63).

ccxi Balkis is the biblical queen of Sheba.

ccxn "El Gemal" is Sheikh Sulayman el Gemal, a Kuranic commentator. A *hdshia* is properly a series of glosses on a commentary. The work of el Gemal was entitled *El FutUhdt el Ildhia*.

The first passage quoted is from Ch 37 of the Kurin, and the second from Ch. 49.

CXXIII Cp. B 1, XXIII and ABC, xxvi. Soba is the ancient 'Aloa: cp. D 7, v.

ccxiv See Wustenfeld, T, and cp. paras, LVII and B 1, xxiv.

Zubayr had 14 sons, including an 'Abdulla but not a Hasan,

ccxvi MS 3 gives "Mazayn" for "Merin."

ccxvn There has been no previous mention of this "Khamsin."

ccxvm MS. 3 reads "The descendants of 'Amir are the 'AWAMRA and the...," etc. (as in MSS. 1 and 2), and omits the last sentence,

ccxix-ccxxn Cp. AB, CLXII-CLXV; A 11, vm; A 3, x, etc.

The word translated "allied themselves" is *تنسب* (1 *e. lit.* "traced their genealogy"). The words "and [similarly] GUHAYNA were 80 tribes" are omitted in A 1.

MS. 3 omits "and Hilal."

CXXXIII Cp. AB, CLXVI and XXXIX *et seq.*; BA, ccxxvin; A 2, 1; A 3, xv.

MS. 3 gives "Buda'a" for "Kudd'a"; and "Ibrahfm el Ga'ali" for "Ibrahim Ga'al"; and "Yemen, the Khazragi on his mother's side, son of 'Adnan" instead of "Yemen son of el Khazrag son of 'Adf"; and "The Himyari on his mother's side, son of Hamayd son of Sa'ad the Ansari on his mother's side" instead of "el Himyari son of ..., etc."

The Arabic for "the .. on his mother's side," or "whose mother was descended from..." is .. *من جهة امه* or *نسبه لامه من*. This apparent practice of surnaming a man after his mother's tribe is worth noting. Cp. A 9, in (note).

"Son of Himyar" is no doubt an error. A 5, A 6, A 7, A 8, A 10 all give Dhu el Kila'a el Himyari as son of Sa'ad "Son of Himyar" was probably at first a corruption of "el Himyari," and then a copyist added "el Himyari" without removing "son of Himyar." The version quoted in para, xxxix of AB contains the same error A 2 (alone) gives "son of fludha'a" in place of "son of Himyar."

As a matter of fact I distrust the statement that Dhu el Kila'a was

called "el Himyari" because his mother was of Himyar, Dhu el Kila'a was a well-known Himyaritic name (see Chaps, xLIII, LXxv and xciv of Mas'Udi, and Wustenfled, 3), as were also Kuda'a and 'Adi. There was also a Flimyarite king "Masruk" son of Abraha (see Mas'udi, Ch. XWli); and "ei Yemani" and "Yemen" suggest ftimyaritic origins. In fact, until one reaches the immediate descendants of el 'Abbis the names given in this paragraph strongly suggest Himyaritic rather than Isma'ilitic affinities. So, too, the account given by el Mas'Qdi (Ch. xxxi) as that of an old Copt living in southern Egypt, who was interrogated about 360 A.H. by Ahmad ibn Talun, would strongly corroborate a theory of riimyantc affinities for the GA'ALII'N. The old Copt said that the NCBA [i.e. the inhabitants of Dongola and thereabouts] used bows of which the pattern had been borrowed from them by the tribes of the Hegaz and Yemen, and that "their kings boast that they are Himyantes" (>*..» O*j*r>|j&y>or^*>U^): see Vol. 1, pp 8 and 168. Of course a late genealogist would not hesitate to graft an Himyantc branch on to an Isma'ihitic stem for the sake of exalting the tribe's lineage, and it would appear that this has actually been done. The early (Isma'ihitic) generations are given correctly in para, cxxxiv.

cxxxiv MS. 3 omits this and the following paragraph altogether.

The pedigree given in cxxxiii is more common than the syncopated one favoured here and by the author of AB, on account of its not containing so many non-Arab names. For Serrar see AB, paras, CLXX and ccxn. Bir Serrar, the old rock-hewn wells at the foot of the hill of the same name near Bara in Kordofan, are said to be named after him

cxxxv Cp. AB, xxix; A i, L II; A2, in; A6, 111; A8, ix; B 1, xxviii.

For this injunction not to trace predigrees beyond 'Adnan (or his son Ma'ad) see MasuQdi, Chaps, LXIX and LXX, where the following occur:

\S^3 **** ^ **~* O^1 J-*b o.*^1-^ w>^E>>***E* j^ JI J>5^ J (1)
sr*y|j a^JUJt jLoc^t v>< ^jA* l& <UbU JJJ* Jy jJI ^—'Jj j ^ U ^ &|

O* J j W ^ O' <W> v>> M^> U v^— ^Xe ^Le ^Ji\ ^ +Sj (2)
w—JI JAI UUU*.I JJJ itJi j * * ^jU ^....j)\ ^y Ji^ ^jI C-^J JE> JIL+

<&* ij u-wi ^oW *+*> u* O* H-^> 'J* uy&3 ^b (3)

Caussin de Perceval (Vol. 1, p. 183) admits the unimpeachableness of the pedigrees between Muhammad and 'Adnan and concludes that the birth of 'Adnan cannot be earlier than 130 B.C.

Muhammad's objection to pedigrees extending beyond 'Adnan was simply that any such must necessarily be guesswork. As he laconically said yj^UJI ^ J ^ UyA j><„ "Beyond this point the genealogists lie" (quoted by Ibn KhaldQn, Ar. ed. Vol. 11, p. 3).

cxxxvi Cp. AB, CLXVI. MS. 3 omits the parenthesis, but adds that [Kerdam] lived "in the land of el tfegez and el Ariaf."

cxxxvii Cp. AB, CLXVII. Tergam's descendants are presumably the TERAGMA, a subsection of GA'ALIIN that occur, *e.g.*, at H. el ReKayb on the Blue Nile near el Kamlim. "Terdgma" also occurs on the maps as the name of a village in Berber province.

MS. 3 omits "but I do not know of his having any descendants." The Tergam Arabs of Darfujr and Waddi (*qv.* Part III, Ch. 3 (1)) may also conceivably have some connection with "Tergam" the brother of Kerdam.

CXXXVIII Cp. AB, CLXVIII; A2, xix and A n, XLV.

In this and the next paragraph MSS. 2 and 3 give "Tomarn" for "Tamim."

It appears from the mention of Kufa that the generations previous to Kerdam lived west of the Syrian desert near Meshed 'Ali on the Euphrates, and that Kerdam or his sons migrated to the Sudan.

CXXXIX Cp. AB, CLXIX and A 11, xi *et seq.*

The singular of SAKARANG IS pronounced "Sakirnyawi."

CXL This and the following paragraphs, to and including CLXI, are similar to paras CLXXI to ccix of AB: points of dissimilarity will be seen from the trees and from the following notes.

AB remarks (CLXXI) that some accounts give only Bedayr and Abu Shayh as sons of Samra. In A 1 "Abu Shaykh" is three times given in error for Abu Shayh. MS 3 writes "Bedr" and "Bedrfa" for "Bedayr" and "BEDAYRIA"

CXLI According to AB, Terayh* is sometimes called "Turuk, ancestor of the TERAYFIA": he is so called in A 11, xn: refer also to AB, ccxv.

CXLII This is omitted by MS. 3, which by error attributes MismaVs descendants to Samayra

CXLIII A 1 gives "Subuh wa Abu Merkha" by error for "Subuh Abu Merkha," a slip which also occurs in A 4, iv. Cp. note to para. CLIV.

CXLIV AB says that some MSS. substitute Fahid for Hammad, but that Fahfd was really son of Hammad.

CXLV Of Maklt AB says that he was also called "'Abd el Ghith." A 1 gives "Makbat" by error.

CXLVI AB for FAPLIYYON gives FADfLiYYON (and so also MS. 3), and adds that Fadl is said also to have been ancestor of the BENI FADL.

A 1 by a slip leaves out the words "of Makit."

There is a village of Mekdbda a few miles north of Old Dongola.

CXLVII A 1 by error gives "Hammad" instead of "Selma."

CXLVIII Cp. A 2, xxxiv. MS. 3 gives "GABARAB of Dongola," and after "of Arko" adds "with the Khanak and the Island of Nawi (?)"

CXLIX AB notes that Fahid is sometimes incorrectly called Fuhayd: he is so called in A 11. MS. 3 omits him and makes Guma'a, etc., sons of Hammad.

CL A 1 by a slip omits the words "of Guma'a" and leaves a blank in place of "and the Hammada."

MS. 3 gives "the IJamar and the Ahimda" as sons of Hamid.

CLI Cp. A 2, xiv and A 11, XL. Of "Khanfar " AB says it is sometimes wrongly spelt "Ganfar." A i gives "'Atia" for "'Abayta."

CLII Of Mukbal and MUCABLA AB says they sometimes occur wrongly as MUKABIL and MUKABILIA. respectively.

CLIII A i in place of "are the NEBAH" gives "are the NEBfn or, as is said, the NEBAH."

CLIV A i gives "Subuh *huwa* Abu Merkha" ("Subuh, that is Abu Merkha"). In place of Hamayd el Nawdm AB gives "rjiamayd father of Nawam" and says the accounts which speak of "Hamayd el Nawdmi" are wrong.

A 2, v also gives Hamayd el Nawdm, ancestor of the NAWAJMA. A 3 XXVIII (q.v. note) and A 4, ix speak of "Hamayd el Nawdm, ancestor of the NAWAMfa " Cp. A 11, xvi.

CLV Cp. para. xcviI.

CLVI MS. 2 gives **المنجاية** for **العنجاوية**.

MS. 3 omits "or GhanOm."

CLVIII Cp. A 11, XVIII-XX A 1 by a slip jives "Ghanim" for "Ghanim."

■

MS. 3 adds the GIMI'AB as descended from Gamu'a.

CLIX MS. 3 omits the words following "JJASANAB ____"

CLX Cp. A 11, xxi. MS. 3 omits this paragraph.

CLXI Cp. A 2, x and A n , xxn. AB does not pursue this pedigree beyond 'Armdn and Abu Khamsin, except to mention 'Arman's son 'Addln. A 1 gives "DUAIBA" as among the reputed descendants of Ilamayddn, but AB (ccix) calls them "DUABIA."

CLXII Cp. A 2, v and A 11, xxv.

CLXIII Cp. A n , xxvi. MS. 3 gives "KERRIAB" and "KITBAB" for "KARIBAB" and "KITIAB," and omits the BELMB.

CLXIV Cp. A n , XXVII

CLXV Cp. A 2, xi, A n , xxiv and ABC, xn. MS. 3 omits Tumayr and adds 'Abd Rabbihi, Shabba, and Bubai. It also alters in the subsequent paragraphs the order in which the descendants of the sons of 'Arman are given.

CLXvn, *etseq.* Cp *kn,xxixetseq.* MS. 3 says" 'Abdel'Al had 24 sons: they include Muhammad, ancestor of the KABUshIA and the KANDILAB, and 'Abd el Kerim, ancestor of the 'ASHANIK, and Hasabulla, ancestor of the HASABULLAB, and Rdfa'i, ancestor of the RAFA'AB, and Gddulla, ancestor of the GAD6LAB, and Khadr, ancestor of the KHADRAB, and KaltQt, ancestor of the KALTfAB, and Kasr, and Beshr, and Musa, and 'Omar, and Tisa'a Kulli, and, the tenth of them, Muhammad el Nigayd, ancestor of the NIGAYDAB."

CLXXI It is curious that both BA and A n (xxix) give "KarkUs" with a J, but "KARAKISA" with a J.

The words inserted in a square bracket have evidently been omitted both in MS. 1 and 2 by error: their insertion makes the total 30 sons correct and squares with paras. BA, CLXXII and A n , xxix.

For "'Abuda" MS. 1 gives "'Abud" here, but "'Abuda" in para. CLXXII. A n (xxix and LXV) gives 'AbQdab.

MS. 3 from here onwards reads: "'Adlan son of 'Arman had 30 sons: they include the KARASIKA (four), whose mother was daughter of 'Ali walad Karkas walad Shuki el Kamal; and the SITNAB (four); [and] the 'ABDOTAB (four), whose mother was daughter of 'Abud; and Nafa'a, and Naff'a, and el Malik 'Abd el Dafm, and 'Abd el Ma'abud, all of them sons of the same mother, namely the daughter of Adam walad Halayb; and Muhammad 'Ah, and Abu Selima and Barakat, all sons of a single mother; and el Malik Muhammad, ancestor of the MUHAMMADAB, son of a different mother [ferid]; and Tuayr, son of a different mother; and Abu Bukr, son of a different mother; and el 'Awad, son of a different mother; and 'Abd el Rahman Badikis, son of a different mother."

MS. 3 then gives a list of descendants, tribal and personal, of Nafi'a and Nafa'a. this entirely differs from any other version, excepting ABC, and is certainly spurious: the writing is so bad and text so corrupt and so obviously a gloss that this passage is not worth an attempt to quote it in full.

The names of the following descendants of Naff a (for which cp. ABC) are decipherable: "SIRAYHAB," "MiRiAB," "SHATAYWAB" (ABC, "SHATIRAB"), "Mudwas" (sc. "sons of"; ABC. "MUDAWAS"), "MEKABDA," "Abu el Dar" (sc. "sons of"), "'Abd el Lap'f" (sc. "sons of"), "Abd el Kafi, ancestor of the THAWABrr," "'Abdulla, ancestor of the folk of Walad Abu Zumam," "Abukr, ancestor of the folk of Walad el Nafar," "Bakhit Aswad, who was childless." Among the descendants of Nafa'a appear the "THAWAWIAB" (or "SHAWAWIAB" (?); ABC, "TuAwfAB"), and the "AMAKRAB," and the "NUGUMIA" (for whom cp. An). The "HASANAB" and "HADRAB" of ABC do not appear.

The MS. continues as follows: "El Malik 'Abd el Daim had 14 sons, 'Ali and Y6iy and Hammad, ail sons of the same mother, viz. Bukra daughter of his uncle Mukabir; and Abu Paraywa and Abu BasrUn and Hammad el Harankal, sons of a single mother; and Kabush; and Muhammad el Kankal (ABC, 'el Fial'), ancestor of the NAFAFI'A at el Darner; and ShaddQ and Kaddu, whose descendants are near Berber; and Dow and Kena, whose descendants are the KENANWN NAS WALAD BA'ASH6M; and el 'Arashk61 and Abu Gidad, who had no children.

The descendants of 'Ali include the 'ALiAB.

The descendants of Hammad include the 'ALATIT [who live] near the SABA'ANU, and the people of el Madak (Marak>) at el Metemma.

The descendants of Y6iy are the YOIYAB at K6z Ba'ara (?).

Abu Dawayra [for "Paraywa"] was ancestor of the DARWAB [for "DARAYWAB"] near Bakardash (?). Abu BasrQn's descendants are commingled with the ZAIDAB.

rjllammad el Harankal was ancestor of the NAs WALAD EL TARIK [TERAYFI (?)] at Metemma.

The descendants of Kabush live round KabQshia.

As for [the sons of] 'Abd el Ma'abud, 'Abd el Saldm el Asfar was ancestor of the SUFAR and Lakit (?) and el Khadr and [and] omitted by ABC] el Ffal, ancestor of the FAiLAB, and Ba'abUsh, ancestor of the BA'ABfsh, and Sa'ad Abu Dabus.

The send of Sa'ad Abu Dabus were 'Abd el Salarn and Kanbalawi and Sanad, and Idris el Kati'a ancestor of the 'ABDSALAMAB, the people of el Buayda.

The sons of Sa'ad ABU DABCS ["Abu Dabus" error for "Ibn di ab": cp. ABC] were el Burnis¹ and Ndsir and Muhammad el Kusayer and *Ali and Salih. Ends."

¹"The SABSA [for 'ABABSA'] are..., etc." (as para, CLXXIII of BA).

Paras, xvni and xix in ABC closely correspond to the above.

CLXXII For "Shukal" MS. 1 gives "Shukalu."

For "theMek Muhammad" MS 2 gives "el mekani Muhammad" ("who was surnamed Muhammad"). "Koz Bara" (MS. 3, "K62 Ba'ara") may possibly refer to BArA in Kordofdh, a few miles N.W. of which among the sandhills is a *Khor* called Y6iy. K6z means a sandhill or ridge.

CLXXIII The first of the 'Abbasids was called 'Abdulla Abu el 'Abbas "el Saffah": it was his elder half-brother and successor, el Mansur, who was called "Abu Ga'afir."

For "el R if..." MS. 3 gives "el Rama and el Mashhur."

CLXXIV Cp. A 2, xxvm, and A 11, Lxrv.

The Imam 'Ah had a son Muhammad Who was called "Ibn el Hanafia" because his mother was of the tribe of Hanifa (see Wustenfled, p 311 and Y).

CLXXV Cp. A 2, XL, and A 11, LXIII; and see note to D 1, cm.

A 2 gives Kutaf for Kahtart: cp. ABC, xxxi. It is, of course, only the mention of Hatim el Tai (*q.v.* Wustenfled, 6) that suggested (as in A 11, LXIII) the idea of generosity.

CLXXVI Cp. A 2, xxxvm and A 11, LXII.

Here we have a valuable hint as to the different treatments accorded to the original MS. of "el Samarkandi" by BA, A 2, and A n, respectively: A n simply begins "I heard..., etc." (*i.e.* el Samarkandi heard), but out of spite inserts some remarks of his own.

A 2 is slightly paraphrasing for he begins "The Haddrba are a well-known tribe. El Samarkandi says 'I heard..., etc'" BA simply paraphrases the whole without mentioning el Samarkandi.

For Haggag the Thaklfi see Wustenfled, G. He was born in 42 A. H. and died in 95 A. H. He was successively governor of the Hegaz and of el 'Irdk.

The "HADARMA" are elsewhere called "HApARBA" and "HADAREB" (see D 7, Li in particular) Mansfield Parkyns says (*Life in Abyssinia*, Ch. iv) "The inhabitants of Souakin and its neighbourhood are called Hadarba and their language Hadandawy" He regarded them as a branch of the same group as the BISHARIN, and mentions that they were enterprising traders For an account of them see Part III, Ch. 13.

CLXXVII Cp. A 2, xxxvi and A n, LX

No information beyond that vouchsafed here is given in any of the *nisbas* concerning the GABARTA; but Parkyns (*Life in Abyssinia*, Ch. XL) speaks of a village over the Abyssinian border, east of kedaref, as "inhabited by Abyssinian Mohammedans, who are called by their Arab co-religionists, Jibberti." Burckhardt also mentions them as a "class of

Abysainian merchants" (*Nubia*, pp. 309, 310). Burton (*Pilgrimage...*, 1, 177) says "Abyssinian Moslems are called by the Arabs 'Jabarti.'"

Bruce (Vol. in, Bk. 111, pp. 43-45) speaks of them as a "tawny" folk, not black, with long hair, and thinks their name signifies "the faithful." They are, he says, "the princes and merchants of this country [*Abyssinia*], converted to the Mahometan faith soon after the death of Mahomet."

CLXXvm Cp. A 2, xxix; A 11, LI and C 8, and contrast D 1, CLXV and D 2, xv.

'Omar ibn 'Abd el 'Aziz, of the BENI OMMAYYA, was born in 61 or 63 and died in 101 A.H. He was Governor of Medina.

MS. 3 omits "son of 'Afif" and the last eight words of the paragraph.

CLXXIX Cp. BA, CCVII; A 2, XXVII; A 11, LII; D 1, xcii and civ, etc.

From "Rikab" to "'Ah ibn Serag" BA agrees practically with D 1, but is less accurate for the earlier generations. Wustenfeld (Y) gives the following (and cp. D 1):

The Imarn *Ah
|
El Husayn
Zayn el 'Abdin
|
Muhammad el Bakir
|
Ga'afir el sadik
|
Musa el Kazim
|
'Ah el Rida'
|
Muhammad el Gawad

For "el Haifa" MS. 3 gives "el Lahia both here and in paras CCVII and ccviii.

For Ghulamulla's date see Introduction to Part IV

CLXXX The Arabic of the quotation is

ابن اخوت القوم منهم ومن انفسهم.

CLXXXI For this *et seq.* cp. D 3, 222.

MS. 3 reads "'Abd el Ghani" for "'Abd el Nebi."

CLXXXII "Hag" or "Haga" instead of Hag is probably correct.

CLXXXIII MS. 3 reads "whose sons were Ak hal and a section (*farka*) of the KAwAHLA. ., etc."

CLXXXVI Cp. D 1, cix

CLXXXVIII MS. 3 omits "on the Blue Nile "

cxc MS 3 gives "TUMRAB" for "TUMAYRAB."

CXCII For "and Hadhlal.. ' (وهادلول) S 3 gives "and she was Lola (وهي لولة) daughter of Malik.. "

cxcv MS. 3 omits "Muhammad."

cXcvIII "... a family of *fakirs*..., etc ": the Arabic is as follows:

IMS. 1. اولاده ذرية فقيري بكنا و طه.

1MS.2. اولاد ذرية فقيري بكنا و طه.

IMS. 3. ذريته فقيري و طه.

The copyist of MS. 3 evidently thought, rightly or wrongly, that ي and ط f' Y " and " T ") were symbols of hidden meaning (cp. Hughes, p. 517). For a similar case see MS. C 9,111.

ecu MS. 3 omits "I am not sure of Hasabulla's descendants," and "I do not know..., etc."

CCIII MSS. 2 and 3 (and other MSS. I have seen) give "Kenar" for "Kena." MS. 3 omits Selim the son of 'Abd el Razik.

There is a biography of Sheikh riasan wad Belila in D 3, No. 131.

ccv For Ibrahim el Bulad see AB (LXXXIX, xciv, etc.).

Various details as to these four famous GABIRAB will be found in D 3, 17, etc. MS. 3 gives "GABARAB" for "GABIRAB."

CCVI MS. 3 gives "Gabril" for "Merin" (MSS. 1 and 2).

ccvn Cp. para, CLXXIX, and D 1, xcn and crv, where the relationship between these three Rikabs is given

MS. 3 omits the generations after 'Aid and the words "called Nowawa."

A further version of the Rikabia *nisba* will be found in D 5 (d), closely resembling BA.

ccix It is not improbable that with this paragraph (which is omitted by MS. 3) the original copy of the *msba* by el Sherif Tahir (q.v. in para. CCXXIII) ended. El Sherif Tahir obviously could not have written the account of the FUNGS which follows because they practically all reigned after his death.

ccx The first quotation is given by Hughes (p. 483, "Quraish"). The Arabic of the second is

قدموا قريشا ولا تقدموا عليها.

The last sentence is

يسبح الله ذلك المور ويسبح الهلايكة تسبيحهم

The *tasbih* is the saying of *subhdnu 'llahi* ("Glory be to God")

For "the children of Adam" some copies give "our father Adam."

ccxi "Abu Nu'aym" is Abu Nu'aym Ahmad el Isfahani (948-1038 A.D.), the author of *Hilyat el Anbiyd* ("Ornament of the Prophets"). See Huart, p. 230.

ccxn It is very hard to decide what are the tribes intended. Probably this list is quite valueless. For "BENI HUZAYL" MSS. 1 and 3 give "BENI HUDAYL."

MS. 3 gives "Haf" for "HELB," "KHALAF" for "HALAF," "NASIR" for "NADIR," "GHABID" for "KAFID," and adds one other (indecipherable).

"El Ag-hOri" is Sheikh el Islam Abu el Irshad 'Ah Ibn Muhammad ibn Zayn el Din Ibn Sheikh el Islam 'Abd el Rahman el Ag-hQri, of the Maliki sect. He died in 1066 A.H. (1655-6 A.D.). He wrote three commentaries on "Khalil" (see Hagi Khalfa's *Lexicon*, Vol. v, p. 447). He occurs again in D 3, 22, and his great-grandfather in D 3, 157.

ccxin Cp. A 2, xxx; A 11, vn and *Liu*; D 2, 1 and D 6, xxvi; and cp. note to BA, CLXXIII. See also Vol. 1, p. 162, for this migration or its prototype.

Sulayman ibn 'Abd el Malik ibn Marwān was the name of the seventh of the Omayyad dynasty, who died in 717 A.D.; but he certainly never went to Abyssinia and the Sudan and he died nine years before "el Saffah" was born. Either the Sulaymān referred to here is another man altogether or, more likely, a confusion has arisen between his name and that of 'Abdulla ibn Marwan, the last of the Omayyads, who did take refuge in the Sudan.

The first 'Abbasid Khalifa reigned from 750 to 754 A.D.

MS. 3 omits mention of the change of "Ans" to "Ounsa."

ccxiv For "Ounsab" MS. 2 gives "Unsab."

ccxv Cp. A 2, xxxii; A 11, LV and D 2, xu.

ccxvi "FUNG" (فونج) and "FUNG" (فونج) occur with equal commonness. In D 3 both are used indiscriminately For the origin of the name see Westermann, pp. Hi *et seq.*

910A.H. (1504 A.D.) is the accepted date for the foundation of the kingdom of Sennar, and there is greater agreement in the numerous extant chronologies of the kings than would be expected.

The points that are worthy of notice here are

(1) That in Bruce and Cailliaud's versions 'Abd el Kadir appears as successor instead of predecessor of Nail, but in BA, D 2, and D 7 (which is the most reliable) 'Abd el Kadir is shown as succeeding 'Omara Dunkas.

(2) "'Omara Abu Sakinin" (MSS. 1 and 2) should probably be "'Omara Abu Sakakm" (or "Sakaykin" as in MS 3, D 3, vi and D 7).

(3) Duda (or Dura, as in MS. 3) is also given by Bruce and Cailliaud, but in D 2 and D 7 (and as a general rule) he is omitted

(4) "Tanbul" appears in Bruce as "Tiby"; in Cailliaud, D 2 and D 7 as "Tabl": MS. 3 also gives "Tabl."

(5) 'Abd el Kadir and Ounsa appear in transposed order in Bruce, Cailliaud, D 2, and D 7.

(6) The 'Adlan who preceded Badi Sid el Kum is similarly said by Bruce to have been son of Ounsa and brother of 'Abd el Kadir: Cailliaud also calls him brother of 'Abd el Kadir. D 2 and D 7 and MSS. in general (e.g. D 3, 241) call him "son of Aya": this may be a nickname, or his mother may have been Aya, or there may be a confusion between Aya (written أيا) and Unsa, i.e. Ounsa (أنة or أنة).

Cailliaud is in error when he speaks of 'Adlan as "Tue par le cheykh Agyb." All the MSS. and all traditions agree that 'Adlan killed 'Agib, i.e. the famous sheikh of the 'ABDULLAB, known as the *Mdngilak*, for whom see D 3 (vi and *passim*) and D 5 (a).

As regards the site of the battle, Cailliaud gives it as Kark6g, as do BA, AB and D3 (No. 241): elsewhere in D 3 (No. 126) it is written "Kargog" or "K a ۱ (كركوج) y error for Karko: (كركو). D7 gives "Kalk61," and the latter may be correct. The name Kark6g, as generally used, applies to a large and well-known village over 50 miles south of Sennar and it is most improbable that Sheikh 'Agfb would ever have been fighting the FUNG there. His seat was north of Khartoum and

the munerouft engagements between the FUNG and the 'ABDULLAB used to take place in the vicinity of el lialfdya, or at least far north of Sennit. Kalkol is close to el Kamlin, some 60 miles south of Khartoum, and a likely spot for a battle to have occurred between FUNG and 'ABDULLAB. Or again the reference may well be to a small village called Kark6g very close to the south of Khartoum, and a copyist, thinking the southernly Kark6g to be intended, and knowing it to be out of the question, may have substituted "Kalk61."

(7) Nineteen years is too long for Bddi Sid el KOM. Bruce gives 6, Cailliaud 7, D 2 12, and D 7 only 3 years for his reign.

(8) "Badi, son of Abu Dukn" (in all three MSS.) should be "Bddi Abu Dukn."

By "Sidi 'Abd el Kidir el Gayli" (in all three MSS.) the author means 'Abd el Kidir el Gilani, the founder of the Kadiria *tarika*, who died in 1166 A.D.

The words translated "was a follower of" are *حضر في ديوان*.

(9) MS. 3 (only) allots Ounsa son of Ndsir 14 instead of 4 years, ccxvn-ccxxi Isma'il died about 1766 and the total of the preceding reigns mentioned by BA is 310 years. As BA says 'Omdra Dunkas began to reign in 910 A.H., this would bring us to 1220 A.H., i.e. 1805 A.D. It is clear, therefore, that the durations of the reigns have been exaggerated.

There were nominal FUNG kings who succeeded Isma'il, and the names that follow here as those of the HAMAG dynasty are really those of the all-powerful HAMAG viziers.

Between Isma'il and Nasir walad Muhammad there is a gap during which 'Adldn II was nominal king and Badi walad Ragab and Ragab walad Muhammad successively viziers. Nasir succeeded Ragab while 'Adldn was still on the throne. For these kings and viziers see D 7.

In para, ccxix MS. 3 gives "Muhammad walad Ragab" for "Ragab walad Muhammad," and 4 years for 4\$.

ccxxn "1230" (١٢٣٠) is no doubt a misprint for "1235" (١٢٣٥). Isma'il Pasha took Sennir in June, 1821.

CCXXIII MS. 3 is identical with MSS. 1 and 2 in this paragraph, but for the omission of the words "that was found" and "ibn" (between "Ibrahim" and "el feki") and the substitution of "Gabardbi" for "Gaborabi"; but MS. 3 of the *nisba* ends abruptly with the words "Gabor son of Muhammad. End" (غابر ابن محمد انتهى). A copy in the possession of the feki Muhammad 'Abd el Mdgid of Omdurman is identical in this passage with MSS. 1 and 2, but ends abruptly with "and I confide."

Which of the copyists is referred to in the phrase "I found his son. ." is uncertain as there is no information available as to the date of el Nor el Gaborabi.

The date of el Sherff el Tahir ibn 'Abdulla would be about the end of the fifteenth century A.D., i.e. about the time of the foundation of the FUNG kingdom: he was senior to Sheikh el Zayn ibn Sughayeran, whom D 3 (No. 258) says died in 1086 A.H. (1675^{A-D}) by five generations, both being descended from 'Aid; and it appears he wrote the *nisba*, and that

from him it passed to Gabir, who was his cousin and junior to him by two generations.

By "his father Gabir" must be meant "his ancestor Gabir."

"He copied..." presumably refers to Ibrahim ibn el feki Muhammad. Cp. the note to D 3, 17.

ccxxv This paragraph and the following three and para, ccxxx are all additions by the latest copyist, the 'Ebayd Muhammad mentioned. MS. 2 ends with para, ccxxiv and the verse quoted in ccxxix.

ccxxvIII Cp. paras, cxxxIII and cxxxIV and notes thereon.

El Nor Bey 'Ankara was one of the Khalifa's best-known *amirs*. He survived the period of the Dervishes and still resides at Omdurman. It is very doubtful if he is entitled to claim the ancestry here given: he is said to have been half a black.

"Sib el Yal" may be an error for "Sab el Layl."

"Mattf" is the same name as the Biblical Amittai.

ccxxix Cp. AB, xxx and A 2, XLIII.

MANUSCRIPT AB

Introduction

THE author of AB was Ahmad ibn Isma'il "el Azhari." Both his father and mother belonged to the DAHMASHIA section of BEDAYRIA and were therefore ultimately GA'ALIAN, claiming descent from el 'Abbas the uncle of the Prophet.

Ahmad "el Azhari" was born at el Obeid in Kordofan, and about 1830-1840 went to Egypt and entered the University of el Azhar. He remained there for twelve years as a student and teacher of the Maliki code, and then returned to el Obeid.

In 1881 he proposed returning to Cairo, but on reaching Khar-toum was requested by Ra'uf Pasha, the Governor-General, to accompany an expedition against the newly arisen Mahdi and attempt conciliation. The party was, however, all but annihilated and "el Azhari" was among the slain.

The original manuscript, written in 1853, is in the keeping of the head of the Isma'ilia *farika*, to which the family of the author all belong, and was lent to me temporarily in 1907 by "el Sayyid" Isma'il el Azhari, the son of the author and then Kadi of el Obeid.

He had borrowed it from the son of that Sayyid el Mekki who had been the head of the *farika* and the Mahdi's foremost adherent in Kordofan. Since then I have seen various other copies and extracts, and probably they are very numerous. The headmaster of el Kamlin school made a copy of the original for the author's son in December 1910, and copies of this copy both for the Director of Education and for me. Having done no more in 1907 than translate the original and not copied out the Arabic I have made frequent use, when in doubt, of the copy made for me.

Of the manner in which the work was composed no more is known than what the author himself states. He seems to have collected a number of current pedigrees, and after eliminating much that he thought worthless to have embellished the remainder with a series of pious aphorisms and arguments, some inferior verses of his own composition, and a wealth of detail as to the present ramifications of his own family. Much of this extraneous matter has been omitted in translation.

I In the name of God—

Praise be to God...(*a long exordium in praise of God and of Muhammad follows*).

II The servant of his glorious God, el Sayyid Ahmad ibn el Wali el Sheikh Isma'il now speaks. Since the study of the pedigrees of men is one of which the knowledge is useless and ignorance is harmless, and since by expending one's energies on such study one shortens one's days, I paid no attention to it, nor did I feel any tendency to do so, until at last I even became confused as to the exact determination of my relationship to such of my own and my father's generation as were alive. In addition, this confusion existed to such an extent among several of the family that some of them began to vie with others in the length of their pedigrees and to boast of their original ancestors.

III Accordingly, the Imam of the age, the Leader of the Way, the restorer of lawful and true knowledge, the master of his time, my lord and father, el Wali Isma'fī, by whose agency God granted me to taste the sweetness of the Faith, ordered me to make a genealogical record showing every one of the ancestors from whom were variously descended those that were yet alive, and to point out all the seed of our ancestor el feki Bishara el Gharbawi and to carry back their pedigrees to him, and his pedigree also to el Malik Nasir son of Salah son of Musa el Kebir, who was known as Masu and in whose person are united all the branches of GA'AL EL DUFAR now existing, and [he bade me] to mention also how this ancestor was descended from Serrar son of Kerdam, the ancestor of all the GA'ALIYYUN and to carry back his pedigree to el Sayyid el 'Abbas the uncle of the Prophet, to whom be the blessings of God and salutation, and through el 'Abbas to 'Adnan, and so to arrange all in verse that thereby all our family and suchlike might attain the uttermost of their desire.

IV Then I sought for the books of pedigrees that contain all the tribes of GA'AL EL DUFAR and suchlike among the Arabs, and by the strength and might of God I was able to obtain numerous manuscripts, including one copied by my maternal grandfather the learned and esteemed and profound sage el Hag Muhammad ibn Bishara from a manuscript which he discovered in God's country, Mekka the noble, in the year of his pilgrimage, written by the hand of el Sherif Surur.

V [I also obtained] a copy made—also in the Holy Land—by the learned expert and pious saint el Sheikh Muhammad ibn 'fṣa ibn 'Abd el Baki from a manuscript which he found in possession of the Sheikh el Kamil, the learned genealogist known as "el Moghrabi";

and the latter had copied it from the manuscript of el Sheikh Salim el Sanhuri.

VI [Again, I obtained] a manuscript which agrees with the two I have mentioned and which is said by its copier to have been also taken from el Sheikh el Sanhuri; and, in addition, more than four other manuscripts.

VII All these manuscripts were examined and their substance extracted, and thereto I added what I ascertained by questioning learned men of high standing, and made of them a genealogical record that will undoubtedly satisfy whoever reads it. This I [completed] on the forenoon of Wednesday the 4th of Gamad el Akhir in the year 1263 A.H.¹. ..

VIII And after I had made this rough copy in that year I continued to study the accuracy of the genealogies which I had collected for several years, and, after ascertaining the truth from the authoritative works of famous Imams, I rejected whatever was completely inaccurate in certain of the records, and finally accepted as true whatever I had found by the help of God to be correct. Then I set myself to make a fair copy, after having added such words as occasion demanded, [and] I inserted the narrative of various incidents by way of explanation and instruction.

IX Then I named the work "The Complete Compilation of our pedigree to el Sayyid el 'Abbas," and put it into verse, adding extracts quoted on the authority of the Imams whose names are familiar to all men of education. This I have done in a manner such as I have not seen equalled elsewhere, and I have said all that there is to be said by way of information concerning the ultimate origins and subdivisions [of the tribe]; and I have arranged the result of my researches from the authorities into a complete constellation of five chapters:

X *The first chapter* explains the honour accruing to one that traces his descent to el Sayyid el 'Abbas, and gives some of the virtues of el Sayyid el 'Abbas, and mentions his descendants and what people trace their lineage to them, and shows how honourable is he that is connected with the Prophet, upon whom be the blessing of God, by having Hashim ibn 'Abd Menaf as a common ancestor, and how secure is he that has preserved the record of his pedigree from father to ancestor, and what is ordained for him that disowns them.

XI There is also an appendix enumerating one by one the steps whereby our pedigree is traced to el Sayyid el 'Abbas, God bless him, both in prose and verse, and mentioning all the ways [to grace]

¹ 1846 A.D.

and which of them is the best: it also explains our connection with the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, in that Hashim ibn 'Abd Menaf is our common ancestor, and our lineage as far back as 'Adnan.

XII *The second chapter* explains the duty of studying the profitable part of genealogical records, and shows what part of them is unprofitable.

XIII There is also an appendix giving the rule concerning the observance of ties of blood-relationship.

XIV *The third chapter* gives the descendants of our ancestor the feki Bishara el Gharbawi and shows how they are related to him.

XV There is also an appendix concerning our ancestor, the feki Bishara, himself.

XVI *The fourth chapter* contains a warning against overweening pride in one's forefathers.

XVII There is also an appendix explaining how the learned and pious man is better than he of noble descent unless the latter be also learned and pious.

XVIII *The fifth chapter* gives some account of the tribes of the Arabs and GA'AL EL DUFAR.

XIX There is also an appendix giving the pedigree of my maternal grandfather el Hag Muhammad walad Bishara to el Sayyid el 'Abbas, and his connection with the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, through having Hashim ibn 'Abd Menaf as a common ancestor, and the continuation of his pedigree as far as 'Adnan.

XX And now it is time to commence laying before you the result of the work I have done by the help of the Lord of all honour and eternity: so in the name of God, and placing my trust in God and his Prophet, I begin as follows.

(Here follows Chapter I, a disquisition concerning the honour that accrues to one that traces his descent to el 'Abbas: z\ pages are omitted in the translation; and then occurs the following, i.e. para, xxi, etc.)

XXI Now as regards the seed of el Sayyid el 'Abbas, God bless him, the genealogists mention that he had two sons, el Fadl and 'Abdulla, God bless them. The truth, however, is that el Sayyid el 'Abbas had ten sons and three daughters; namely el Fadl and 'Abdulla and 'Obaydulla and Mushir¹ and 'Abd el Rahman and Ma'abad and el Harith and Kathir and 'Uf and Tamam and Amna and Um Habib and Safia.

XXII After exhaustive search I have not found that el Sayyid Fadl had any children except Um Kulthum: the bulk of the tribe [are

¹ reading *قشر* for *مشر*

descended from] el Sayyid 'Abdulla ibn el 'Abbas, and I have found that he had more than three sons, and they include 'Ali and el Fadl and 'Obaydulla.

XXIII From 'Ali son of 'Abdulla are descended the 'ABABSA, and from el Fadl son of 'Abdulla the GA'ALIYYUN, and from 'Obaydulla son of 'Abdulla the HILALIYYON. And their children's children have become scattered in the lands of the East and the West.

XXIV All the sub-tribes of the BENI EL 'ABBAS who are now in the Sudan are descended from el Fadl son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbas, whether they be GA'AL EL DUFAR or not; and this, please God, I will explain in the fifth chapter¹ when enumerating the tribes of the GA'ALIYYCN, that is of GA'AL EL DUFAR.

(The author continues his discourse concerning the immediate descendants of el^y Abbas for 3 ½ pages, and then continues as follows, i.e. para, xxv, etc.)

XXV Appendix giving the steps whereby our pedigree is traced to el Sayyid el 'Abbas, God bless him, and our connection with the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, in that Hashim tbn 'Abd Mendf is our common ancestor, and our lineage as far back as Adndn.

XXVI Since it has been shown from what I have said how honour has accrued to us from our connection with the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, and since it has been taught therein that people are to be believed as to their pedigrees, I say praise be to God that I have preserved my pedigree [as handed down] by my ancestors to me and by their ancestors to them.

XXVII And [the truth of] it has been confirmed by such persons as I have found who are advanced in years and are men of weight and reliability, and by questioning them I have verified it, and to what they have told me I have added all the true pedigrees which have come into my hands and been preserved by me, and I have made certain of the truth [of the whole] by enquiries from the learned genealogists.

XXVIII Here then is the course of our pedigree to our ancestor the feki Bishara el Gharbawi, whereby those of his seed now existing trace their descent, and [an exposition of] the connection with him of any tribes of GA'AL EL DUFAR now existing, and of his connection with Serrar ibn Kerdam, the ancestor of all the famous tribes of GA'AL, and with our lord el 'Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, and with his ancestor Hashim ibn 'Abd Menaf, and again with the latter's forefather 'Adndn.

XXIX Indeed I have preserved my pedigree beyond 'Adndn to

¹ reading الفصل for الفضل.

Adam the father of mankind, God bless him, but I am not permitted to recount it beyond 'Adnan because of the saying of the Prophet as related by the genealogists, "Trace not pedigrees beyond 'Adn£n"; and in truth my only desire in giving this record is to show the honour that accrues to me from my connection with the Prophet, for to him [only] do 'Adnan and the rest owe the honour [in which they are held].

XXX Thus the poet has said: "How many a father owes the nobility (which he possesses) to his son even as 'Adnan owes his to the Prophet of God."

XXXI By way of explanation I tell you also that when the GA'ALIY-i i N, that is GA'AL EL DUFAR, were shown to be descended from el Sayyid el Fad I son of el Sayyid 'Abdulla son of 'Abbas, and when each one of them began enumerating his ancestors one by one until he reached el Sayyid el 'Abbas, some of the genealogists [were found to] differ in the course of the enumeration owing to inaccuracies of the copyists in altering the spelling of some of the names and omitting others and transposing the position of others.

XXXII But, after making most minute investigations, I adopted [m each case] the version that most often occurred, [and then too] after hearing [the names] from the mouths of them th<it knew them. Thus my enumeration became authoritative, as you shall shortly see, please God, both in prose and verse.

XXXIII And if the list of ancestors of anyone who claims to be of GA'AL EL DUFAR does not include Salah, his pedigree is incorrect, for Salah was ancestor of GA'AL EL DUFXR, and he had seven sons, and his father was Musa el Kebi'r, who was known as Masu.

XXXIV Then the list proceeds from Salah [upwards] to Serrar ibn Kerdam, the ancestor of all the GA'AL, and if any list does not include him its owner is no Ga'ili

XXXV Now there is a variant account wherein it is said that Salah was son of Muhammad el Dahmashi son of Bedayr son ot Samra, and this is utterly wrong.

XXXVI Another variant says that Salah was son of Muhammad el Dahmashi son of Bedayr son of Turki son of Bedayr son of Samra, and this also is incorrect.

XXXVII Yet another variant gives Salah as son of Musa el Kebir, who was known as Masu, son of Muhammad son of Salah son of Bedayr son of Samra, and this account is nearer the truth.

XXXVIII 'The real reliable version is that Salah was son of Musa, who was nicknamed Masu el Kebir son of Muhammad son of Salah son of Muhammad son of Dahmash son of Bedayr son of Samra son of Serrar.

XXXIX As regards SerrAr, the ancestor of all [the GA'ALIYYUN], some say that he was son of Kerdam son of Budd'a son of Harkin son of Masruk son of Ahmad el Yemani son of el Ga'al son of Idris son of Kays son of Yemen son of el Khazrag son of 'Adi son of Kusas son of Kerab son of Hatil son of Ya'il son of Dhu el Kila'a el Himyari son of Himyar son of Sa'ad son of el Fadl son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbas, but I have not found this true.

XL Others say that Serrar was son of Kerdam son of Abu el Dis son of Buda'a son of Hasin son of Ahmad el Hegazi son of Ibrahim el Yemani Ga'al el Aswad son of el Fadl son of 'AbduUa son of el 'Abb&s, and this too is given for what it is worth.

XLI Others say that Serrar was son of Kerdam son of Abu el Dis son of Budi'a son of Masruk

XLII Also it is said that Hasin was son of Ahmad son of Harkan, or again that his name was 'Abdulla son of 'Abd el Muttalib son of Hashim. But this account also is feeble.

XLIII The correct account which I have found in the highest authorities and most generally supported and which I have adopted in my version is as follows:

XLIV I say—and God is our help—that I am el Sayyid Ahmad son of el Sheikh Isma'il el Wali son of 'Abdulla son of Isma'il son of 'Abd el Rahi'm Baba son of el flag Hammad son of the feki Bishara el Gharbawi son of the feki 'Ah son of Bursi son of Muhammad son of Kabsh son of Hunayn son of el Malik Xasir son of Salah son of Mfisa, surnamed Masu el Kebir, son of Muhammad son of Salah son of Muhammad son of Dahmash son of Beda'r son of Samra son of Serrar, the ancestor of all [the GA'ALIYYUN], son of Kerdam son of Abu el Dis son of Buda'a son of Harkan son of Masruk son of Ahmad el Hegazi son of Muhammad el Yemeni son of Ibrahim el Ga'ali, who was ancestor of GA'AL the famous, son of Sa'ad son of el Fadl son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet, upon whom be the highest blessings of God and salutation, son of 'Abd el Muttalib son of Hashim son of 'Abd Menaf son of Kusai son of Kelab son of Murra son of Ka'ab son of Luai son of Ghalib son of Fihir son of Malik son of el Nudr son of Kennna son of Khuzayma son of Mudraka son of el Yas son of Mudr son of Nizar son of Ma'ad son of 'Adndn.

XLV Here ends the true pedigree which I have preserved and thereby observed the law.

XLVI I have also put it into verse as an aid to memory to the student in order that he may thereby be enabled to gratify his object to the full.

(Here follow 41 lines of doggerel, eked out with laudatory adjectives and religious remarks and giving the writer's pedigree up to 'Adnan. Then, after 4 lines of prose, occurs the following, i.e. para, XLVII, etc.)

XLVII Chapter II, explaining the duty of studying the profitable part of genealogical records, and showing what part of them is unprofitable, with an appendix thereto.

XLVIII The study of pedigrees is in part profitable and in part unprofitable. The study of so much as is profitable is obligatory by law upon every Muslim.

XLIX Thus Sidi el Imam 'Omar ibn el Khattab, God bless him, said "Ye know from your pedigrees how ye are connected."

L And the Sheikh Tatai says "It is your duty to know from your pedigrees how ye are connected, because of the exhortation ye have received to [keep the record of] your blood-relationships."

LI El Shadhali also says "That which has no other claim to be obligatory than his (sc. 'Omar's) [sole] authority is yet obligatory."

LII The above is intended to apply to [the study of the pedigrees of] people between whom [and yourself] there is some relationship; and indeed el Imam Abu el Hasan acquiesced in the obligations of such study in the same manner, saying that this applied to blood-relationship, [i.e.] to the case of people between whom [and yourself] there is some relationship, and not to [the case of] a man who claims honour by marriage [only].

LIII El 'Adawi also said "Ye know that [the keeping of the record of] your blood-relationships is obligatory", so he is equally to be credited.

LIV And, look you! Is it not obvious that a man should know from his pedigree the total number of his ancestors in Islam rather than restrict his knowledge to three forefathers [only]?

LV That which is unprofitable in the [study of] pedigrees is the knowledge of the pedigrees of others, that is of those to whom one is unrelated, because the authoritative dictum does not apply to such, and the following saying of the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, about one who was learned in pedigrees bears this out "A knowledge of them is useless and ignorance harmless."

LVI El Tatai says "Such knowledge of pedigrees as 'so and so was son of so and so of the children of so and so, and the children of so and so are connected with the children of so and so by having so and so as a common ancestor' is a [type of] learning that is unprofitable both in this world and the next, and ignorance of it does no harm to him that is ignorant of it, nor does he commit any sin by neglecting it."

LVII On this point too it is to be noted that a noble pedigree confers no merit upon a man from the religious point of view, and pride in such is blameworthy.

LVIII Yusef ibn 'Omar says "If a man devote himself to the study of what does not concern him¹ in his religion, his labour is impious."

LIX I say that this is the tradition, and if the warning against pride of ancestry is [admitted to have been] proved, then it becomes a matter of knowledge that the study of other people's pedigrees is of no use and unprofitable, since "knowledge of them is useless and ignorance harmless."

LX El Imam Abu el Hasan says "He who is ignorant of this should not be called ignorant."

LXI An unprofitable form of genealogical research is the tracing of pedigrees to one's infidel ancestors. Indeed a knowledge of the relationships of infidels is not demanded by the law.

(The author enlarges on this topic for half a page and then continues— para, LXII)

LXI I Thus I have shown you from the above what is profitable and what unprofitable in [the study of] pedigrees and the obligation of knowing so much as is profitable, as proved by the saying of el Imam 'Omar quoted above

LXIII This is supported by the quotation I have found in some genealogical records from the Words of the Prophet.. about one who was learned in pedigrees "A knowledge of them is useless and ignorance harmless ":

LXIV-LXX That is.. *(here follow, word for word, paras. BA, vu to XI, followed by a series of quotations from Abu el Hasan, etc.).*

LXXI-LXXII *(An explanation of terms used.)*

LXXIII (Identical with BA, xIII.)

LXXIV (Identical with BA, xiv.)

(The author then continues in the same strain for half a page. Then begins the long thud chapter concerning the numerous descendants of elfeki Bishdra el Gharbdwi. The first 12 pages are omitted: then occurs the following, i.e. para, LXXV.)

LXXV Now our ancestor, the feki Bishdra el Gharbdwi, was by origin one of the most noble GA'AL, the dignitaries of high lineage, and he was descended from the children of 'Abbas the uncle of the Prophet ..., and this I dealt with in the first chapter in enumerating my ancestors.

LXXVI Now his forefathers were among the dignitaries of the

¹ reading «UJu J^wi uUi*9« ^jl£> t*t for ^jJU A J U ^ o l£» |±l.

kings of the DUFAR, who were an independent people; and his ancestor in the fifth degree was el Malik Nasir, son of Salah son of Musa "Masu el Kebir," and ancestor of the MALiK-NASrcfA.

LXXVII This term, which is pronounced "Melkanasiria," denotes the stock of our said ancestor and also the other descendants of el Malik Nasir, with the reservation that our ancestor [Bishara] withdrew apart from the rest, and became so famous for his religious attainments that he came to be regarded by his descendants as founder of a race of his own; and they traced their descent to him and were known among the tribes of GA'AL EL DUFAR as the GHARBA-wiNGi (spelt with a w and i and n and then a letter [pronounced] between a g and sh).

LXXVIII So then you have learnt the facts about him; and if you have regard to his ultimate origin he was an 'Abbasi, and if to the tribes of GA'AL, he was a Ga'ali Dufari, and if to the kings of the DUFAR, he was a Melkanasiri.

LXXIX And he lived a life of the greatest godliness and sanctity and purity, and pre-eminent in piety and truth and faithfulness and nobility of character, and ennobled by the greatest virtues.

LXXX Thus finally he became greatly respected among the people and with his children was held in the highest honour by the greatest men of the land.

LXXXI The truth of all that has been said and proved and written of him is shown by the attention and regard paid to him by the kings and the honour and high esteem in which they held him; and they used to write letters patent for him to every one living in their realms directing that no one should interfere with him and his children or with anyone related to him by blood or by marriage among the noble GA'AL that men know so well.

LXXXII And I found a document signed by the learned pious and powerful conqueror the late Sultan Badi son of the Sultan Nul, and dated 1145 A.H.¹; and it runs as follows, after the preface. . :

LXXXIII "These letters patent I have written for the feki Bishara son of the feki 'AH son of Bursi that no man interfere with him and his brothers and his sons and his relatives by marriage and his family and any connection of his or any one under his protection: let no one of my subjects interfere with him! And I, the Sultan Badi son of the Sultan Nul have confirmed the honours conferred by the Sultan Badi son of the Sultan Arbat on el feki Bishara son of feki 'Ali son of Bursi, on him and on him that is with him,—honours done to God and His Prophet, a sacred duty.

¹ 1732 A.D.

LXXXIV From whomsoever of his successors hold these letters let no man demand contribution nor first-fruits [*lit.* 'custom'] nor levy nor market due nor impost nor forage-due nor herd-due [*miturat*] nor anything small or great within the royal realms, either at home or abroad, in the east or in the west.

LXXXV If anyone interferes with him or approaches him let him blame no one but himself [for the consequences]. Beware! I say, beware of disobedience! He who disobeys let him blame no one but himself."

LXXXVI This I have copied from the sealed letters-patent granted to him, word for word, and these letters are now in my possession.

LXXXVII And he had [granted to him] other letters-patent which have been lost in the course of time. It is enough that he relied upon God Almighty.

(Here follow four pages of laudations of Bishara and hts descendants mixed with anecdotes of their lives • then follczs para, LXXXVIII.)

LXXXVI 11 The reason why our ancestor el feki Bishara was called "el Gharbawi" ["the Westerner"] was as follows:

LXXXIX When el Sheikh Ibrahim el Bulad ibn Gabir came from Egypt he settled on the island of Tarnag in the country of the SHAFKiA and taught law [*ht. Khili*¹] and apostleship [*risdh*].

XC Now our ancestor el feki Bishara was [still] a child, and his father el feki 'AH ibn Bursi was a man of religion who observed the Kuran and had some knowledge of the sciences, and [the latter] left the circle of his family and devoted himself to religion, and of all his sons he used to urge Bishara in particular to devote himself to religion.

XCI Thus when our ancestor el feki Bishara heard the news of [the arrival of] el Sheikh Ibrahim el Bulad, he crossed the river from their home fat] Hosh Mar m Dongola and joined el Sheikh Ibrahim at Tarnag Island and sought learning and religious instruction from him, and sat at his feet for a [long] while

XCII Now the name Bishara was very common among the pupils, so he surnamed our ancestor el feki Bishara "el Gharbawi," because the home of our ancestor, Hosh Mar, was to the west of the Island where the Sheikh lived, and our ancestor used to cross the river from the west to the east to visit the Sheikh at Tarnag Island.

XCIII Thus, since the Sheikh Ibrahim named him "el Gharbawi," he became famous by that name: and the date of his connection with the Sheikh Ibrahim was the eleventh century [of the Hegira],

XCIV So he served him and acquired learning and practical religious instruction from him, for el Sheikh Ibrahim el Bulad was one

of the greatest and most pious and learned of sages, [and was] the first to teach law [*Khalil*] in the land of the FUNG.

XCX I have mentioned the chief points in his biography in what follows: Ibrahim el Bulad was son of Gabir, and his story emits a sweet odour.

XCVI His [full] name was el Sheikh el Imam el Hugga Ibrahim son of Gabir son of '3n son of Selim son of Rubat, the father of the RIKAB^A Sayyids, and he was born at Tarnag, an island in the land of the SHAKIA, and went to Egypt and studied under Sidf Muhammad el Banufari, and was taught by him the origins and the ends of divinity.

XCVII Then he moved to Tarnag and there taught law [*Khalil*] and apostleship.

XCVIII He was [also] the first to teach law [*Khalil*] in the land of the FUNG.

XCIX Many people used to visit him, and he taught the whole science of law [*Khalil*] from beginning to end seven times and thereby instructed 40 persons, among whom was the virtuous Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman his brother.

C So his story continues: and it is said that the reason why he was called "el Bulad" was that a certain man swore to divorce his wife if he did not succeed in collecting into his house everything that God had created. Then [el Bulad] decided the matter by placing a Kuran on the bed, and explained his action by quoting the following words of God "There is nothing that I have omitted in the Book"; and his Sheikh said to him "You are Bulad el Berr" ["the Steel of the Earth"], and his cognomen of "Bulad" for that reason became famous.

CI His sons were el Hag Muhammad and el Hag Hammad, both good and virtuous men, and such of his seed as exist now are descended from them.

CII By the help of the Great King, the Almighty, I have now completed all that I promised in this chapter.

CHI *Chapter IV.. (The title is repeated as in para, xvi.)*

CIV and CV My brethren in God and the Prophet, overweening pride in our forefathers is blameworthy in the law, and it is not the part of an intelligent man to.. *(continues as BA, xvi, which is slightly expanded).*

CVI So too, the Prophet..., according to the beautiful tradition related by Ibn Daud and el Termidhi, said "God hath redeemed you from the brutishness [*ghubiyya*] of the days of ignorance and pride of ancestry.

CVII The faithful are pious and the impious are base. Ye are the children of Adam, [created] of earth/'

CVIII The Imam Abu el Hasan in explanation of this tradition says that *ghubiyya* is so spelt and refers to pride and vain-glory, and that the saying was intended to warn people of being boastful as [the people of] the days of ignorance were from pride and suchlike and conceit of ancestry.

CIX For, considering that all men alike were formed from the earth that is trodden underfoot, how shall... .{Continues as BA, XLII.)

(Then follow comments and traditions from el Termidhi and el Khazin on the subject of man's creation (15 lines), and then a tradition concerning Abu Sufidn, ending as follows, i.e. para, ex, etc)

CX-CXIII Then God revealed this verse and forbade boastful comparisons of pedigrees and competition to amass wealth and disdain of the poor, saying "O people... .{Continues as BA, xxn, the quotations and explanations as given being identical. The same strain continues for i\ pages, and the closing words are as follows, i.e. para, cxiv.)

CXIV And thus the honour that comes from piety is the greatest, so the pious man is better and nobler in God's sight than the man of noble birth [el Sherif], because God said "The noblest of you in God's sight is the most pious of you."

CXV El Imam el Khazin expounded this verse and showed by virtue of.. . (Continues exactly as BA, xxxIII.)

CXVI-CXVIII And lastly he quoted Abu Hurayra as saying that the Prophet... was asked "Which____(Continues as BA, xxxvn and xxxvni down to " . . .of male and female" the only difference lies in a few grammatical variations. Then, after five lines of explanation of terms, Chapter V commences as follows, para, cxix.)

CXIX Chapter V, giving some account of the tribes of the Arabs and GA'AL EL DUFAR, with an appendix

CXX-CXXIX Know that God.. .says "And I have made____(Here follow BA, xxiii and xxxn in juxtaposition, followed immediately by B A, xxiv to \xxi The copies, but for grammatical variations, are identical with the exceptions noted in BA.)

CXXX The learned Muhammad Zai'd el Kafuri asked the question "Is the enslavement of all the Arabs permissible or not?" The celebrated answer was that it was [not²] so, and this is the view of Malik and Ahmad, because slavery implies deterioration.

CXXXI-CXXXII (As BA, XLVII and XLVIII, with the exceptions given in the notes.)

CXXXIII I am not sure of the subdivisions of the seven tribes mentioned because of the variations in the different accounts.

CXXXIV-CXXXV (*These two paragraphs are together identical with BA, XLIX, with the exceptions noted in BA.*)

CXXXVI (As BA, LI, with the exceptions there noted.)

CXXXVII Now there are [also] seven tribes apart from these seven, viz. BAG, BActe, KHASHBA, KHABRA, HARATHA, GHIBRA and 'ATHIR. These are of non-Arab [*ogam*] ancestors, blacks and whites.

CXXXVIII-CXXXIX This account is the true one, but in some of the genealogies it is said that the original Arabs are HIMYAR and TAL—— (*Continues as BA, L, with only the exceptions there noted.*)

CXL Now as for the tribes of the Arabs descended from GUHAYNA, taken separately by themselves, according to some genealogies the sons of Dhubian were ten, viz.... (*Continues as BA, LIX, with some variations for which see the trees.*)

CXLI-CLIX (*These nineteen paragraphs give the various personal and tribal descendants of Dhubian, and correspond in outline to paras, LX et seq of BA, though the latter adds very many details as will be seen by reference to the trees, where all points of difference and additions and omissions can be seen, except such as are specifically mentioned in the notes to BA. There is nothing in these paragraphs beyond what is shown in the tree and in the notes to BA.*)

CLX Now Dhubian, whom we mentioned above, was the son of Guhayna son of... (*etc., as in the tree, as far as 'Adndn.*)

CLXI This is the end of [the account] which I have accepted, according to what I found in the records dealing with the tribes of the Arabs, but I cannot vouch for its correctness.

CLXII-CLXV Now as regards GA'AL in general the true account is that which I have found given in some of the records, viz. as follows: ...(*Paras, CLXIII to CLXV are here omitted as being identical with paras, cxxx to cxxxn of BA, q.v.*)

CLXVI Now the man who collected all the tribes of GA'AL together was Kerdam son of Abu el Dis, and whosoever is not enrolled among his descendants is not a Ga'ali.

CLXVII His abode was in the land of el Hegaz and the fertile lands, and it is related that his father Abu el Dis had two sons, Kerdam and Tergam, but of Tergam's descendants I know nothing.

CLXVIII As regards Kerdam it is said that his name was the Sultan Hasan Kerdam son of Abu el Dis, and that he had ten sons; but those that are known and whose descendants are verified and recorded in the genealogies are three only, viz. Dula and Tomam and Serrar.

CLXIX Dula was ancestor of FUR and the SAKARANG, and Tomam of the TOMAM.

CLXX Serrar was ancestor of all [the GA'ALIYYUN], and had three

sons, Samra and Samayra and Mismar. So I will complete what I have to say of the descendants of each of these three in turn, if it please God.

CLXXI-CCIX (*These paragraphs give the descendants of Samra and Samayra and Mismdr: the names of all the individuals and the sub-tribes here said to be descended from them will be found in the tree. Any remarks made in passing by the author and not noted in the tree, will be found in the notes to BA, q.v. paras, CXL to CLXI.*)

CCX The above are the descendants of Serrdr son of Kerdam, the ancestor of all [the GA'ALIYYUN].

CCXI Some accounts give Bedayr as one of his sons, but this is incorrect: his sons were three, Samra and Samayra and Mismdr, and I have given their descendants, all of whom are included in [the term] GA'AL, both the DUFAR and the others.

CCXII As regards the tribes of GA'AL EL DUFAR taken separately, their lineage is as follows: their ancestor, from whom they are all variously descended, was Salah son of Musa el Kebir son of Muhammad son of Salah son of Muhammad son of Dahmash son of Bedayr son of Samra son of Serrar, the general ancestor; and anyone unconnected with him [Serrar] is not a Ga'ali Dufan.

CCXIII The sons of Salah son of Musa, known as Masu el Kebir, were seven: [among them] were Nasrulla, the ancestor of... *(see tree)* .. and Nasir, ancestor of the... *(see tree)*_____

CCXIV All of these are included in the term DUFAR, being descended from the seven sons of Salah.

CCXV The descendants of Muhammad were Abukr and the TERAYfA.

CCXVI-CCXVII (*Gives the sons and grandsons of el Malik Musa el Sughayr and the tribes descended from them, q.v. in the tree.*)

CCXVIII 'Aid was the brother of Musa el Sughayr, the two of them being the sons of Hammad¹.

CCXIX 'Aid was ancestor of the 'AIDAB, [who are included] among the GA'AL FL DUFAR.

CCXX This is all I have discovered about the various lines of descent, but I could ascertain nothing definite about [all] the seven sons of Sal&h and their respective descendants. This suffices.

CCXXI Now you know, from what I have said before, that all whose descent is now traced to el Sayyid el 'Abbas are only the progeny of el Sayyid el Fadl son of el Sayyid 'Abdulla son of el Sayyid el 'Abbas.

CCXXII-CCXXIII (*Concerning the sons of el 'Abbas, as in paras, xxi and xxn.*)

¹ reading J«I». for 3U*--

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CCXXIV 'Abdulla had a son el Fadl, who was father of Sa'ad the father of Ibrahi'm el Ga'ali. Ibr&hri begot...*(and so on down to Serrdr, as in para. xuv).*

CCXXV-CCXXVI *(A mere repetition o/para. xxm.)*

CCXXVII I will now give the pedigree, as I have done in the other cases, and I will do so in the course of showing my own ancestry, beginning with my maternal grandfather el H&g Muhammad ibn Bishara, and [showing] how he was descended from el Sayyid el 'Abbas and connected with the Prophet...by a common ancestry from Hashim son of 'Abd Menaf, and I will even go further, back to 'Adnan Since I have shown you my true and trustworthy lineage on my father's side, I will similarly give the pedigree of my mother's father: it is as follows:

CCXXVIII I am el Sayyid Ahmad son of el Sheikh Isma'il el Wali, and my mother was Zaynab, daughter of el Hag Muhammad son of...*(as in the tree, as far back as 'Adnan).*

CCXXIX This is the record I have kept as ordained by the law, and in the work I have throughout showed the pedigrees, whether through male or female, with intent that the whole should be known, as required by the law.

CCXXX Certain points had been obscure to me, and this fact originally actuated me to write this work; and I have prayed God to give me assistance, for He is Almighty, and I offer to Him praise from first to last; and prayer and homage be to Muhammad, the foremost of the prophets by his pre-eminence, and [blessings be] upon all his followers. May God forgive my past sins and my future sins, my known sins and my unknown sins, and give me blessing in this world and in the world of eternity, and keep me from all future ill. And may God grant His mercy to all the prophets and apostles; and praise be to God the Lord of the worlds.

CCXXXI This work was finally completed on the noon of Wednesday the nth of Rabi'a el Thdni in the year 1270¹ after the Hegira or Flight of the last of the prophets, upon whom be the blessing of God...*(the Te Deum of para. ccxxx is again repeated),*

¹ 1853 A.D.

AB (NOTES)

ii The term "Wall" is a title given to a holy man after death. The reverence paid to them and to their tombs is based on Chapter x (63) of the Kuran (see Sell, p. 109, and Hughes, p. 663).

iii The term GA'AL EL DUFAR apparently relates exclusively to those GA'ALIYYON who are descended from Salah: see paras, xxxin and ccxiv.

For the versification of the pedigree see para XLVI

IV Only one of the alleged authorities mentioned in this and the two following paragraphs is known to me. this is Sahm Ibn Muhammad el SanhOri, who was a commentator on the Mukhtasar of Khalil Ibn Ishak el Gindi. He died in 1015AH. (1606 A.D.) and is mentioned in Hagi Khalfa's *Lexicon* (Vol. v, p. 447). Cp. D 3, No. 195.

It is a common practice of these Sudan genealogists to cull from the works of mediaeval authors certain pious remarks and details of information as to the pedigrees of contemporaries of the Prophet, and, after incorporating this in their own work among innumerable genealogical details derived from entirely different sources, and even from mere hearsay, to quote the mediaeval authors as authority for the whole. The author of AB hovers between this and the more candid policy (paras, vn, vm, and xxvii).

xxi See Wustenfled (W). Two sons are omitted.

XXII Um Kulthum was el Fadl's only child

'Abdulla had eight children, including those given: See Wustenfled (W).

XXIII 'Obaydulla and el Fadl are not shown by Wustenfled as having any descendants at all. 'Ah had 17 children.

xxvi Cp BA, xv and D 5 (f), xvm.

xxix Cp BA, cxxxv; A2, in; A8, ix.

xxx Also quoted in BA, ccxxix. The Arabic is.

xxxv, xxxvi, xxxviii 1 have not met with any of these three condemned versions.

xxxix This, with certain variations, is the account most commonly accepted. Abu el Dis is omitted by error between Kerdam and Buda'a. For Buda'a a common variant is Kuda'a. Cp. the trees of BA and MSS A 1 to A 11, and the note on para, cxxxm of BA, from which it appears that the version here referred to may be BA or an older copy of BA.

XL I have not met with this version. Hasin occurs in A 9 Cp however D 6,11 for "Ga'al el Aswad" ("the black").

XLIII, XLIV There is little doubt that the author has chosen this pedigree because he did not like the look of such non-Arab names as Hatil and Yatil, and because, there being many variants of the names between Abu el Dfs and Sa'ad he thought the best way would be to omit them all. The result of course is that there are far too few generations between the author

and el 'Abbas. His statement that he found this pedigree as it stands "in the highest authorities" is no doubt pure invention.

XLvi The quality of the verse is vile and is on a par with the Elizabethan ballad of John Symon entitled "Pleasant Poesie, or sweete Nosegay of fragrant smellyng Flowers gathered in the Garden of heavenly Pleasure, the holy and blessed Bible, to the tune of the Black Almayne." The following lines from this work (quoted in the *Quarterly Review* of April, 1913) are very similar to the result of our author's efforts, and the very title quoted at once recalls the florid nomenclature of Arabic works:

Isacke was no weede,
Nor Jacob in very deede
Joseph was a flower of price,
God dyd hym save from cruell device;
Also Moses eke we find,
And Aaron hkewyse up we bynde,
Josua is not out of mynd

XLIX Cp BA, in and see note thereon.

L Sheikh Tatai was Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim el Tatai, Grand Kadi of Egypt. He died in 1094 A.H (1683 A.D.). He is not mentioned by Hagi Khalfa.

LI Cp. BA, iv. El Shadhah, the founder of the religious order of the Shadhalfa, was Abu el Hasan 'Ah el Shadhah Ibn 'Abdulla, a descendant of Abu Tahb. He was born near Tunis and died in 1258 A.D. He was the author of *Hizb el Bahr* ("the Litany of the Sea") and other works on the duties of worship. (See Huart, p 278.)

LII Cp. BA, v.

The Imam Abu el Hasan is, I think, 'Ah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Khalaf el Manuri. He was born at Cairo in 857 A.H. (1453 A.D.).

LIII El 'Adawi is possibly 'Ah Ibn Ahmad el Sa'fidi, a Mahki doctor. The 'Adawia order was founded by Sheikh 'Adi Ibn Musafir in the second half of the twelfth century A.D.

LV Cp BA, v.

LVIII Cp. BA, vi, and see note thereto. A Yusef Ibn 'Omar is mentioned in Hagi Khalfa's *Lexicon* (Vol in, p. 413) as a commentator on the *Risala* of el Shafa'i, and another, surnamed "el Kaduzi," as a commentator on a Hanafite *mukhtasar* by el Imam Abu el Husayn Ahmad (v. Vol. v, p 455). The date of neither is given.

LXIV The only difference between this paragraph and para, vn of BA is "el 'Arab" (AB) for "el Anzab" (BA) See note to BA, vn.

LXXV. This feki Bishara's importance is greatly exaggerated. He is not even mentioned in the *Tabakdt Wad Dayfulla* (1 e. D 3), although much space is allotted to his contemporaries, the pupils of Ibrahim el Bulad.

LXXVII The word spelt "GHARBawfNGi" is intended to be pronounced "GHARBAWINCHI."

LXXXI "Letters patent" is »U-, plur. o|^|. Frequent mention is made in the *Tabakdt Wad Dayfulla* of the grant of similar privileges to holy men.

LXXXII Badi "Abu Shelukh" reigned 1733-1766 (Bruce) or 1721-1761 (Cailliaud). (See note to D 7, XLVIII for this name.)

LXXXIII Badi Abu Dukn reigned 1651-1689 (Bruce) or 1638-1675 (Cailliaud).

LXXXIV "Contribution" is **حاسب** (*hasab*), i.e. an offering, generally of *dammir* (cloth) given to anyone who came as friend (*hasib*) of the Sultan. "First-fruits" is **عارة** (*'ada*), lit. "custom." "Levy" is **ajU** (*'ana*), lit. "assistance." "Market-due" is **قوار** (*kuwdr*), i.e. a due taken on the sale of articles. "Impost" is **حباية** (*gabaya*). In DarfQr *Abo gabdyin* under the Sultans was the official responsible for collecting the corn tithes. "Forage-due" is **علوق** (*'alok*), i.e. a gift of corn to feed the beasts of a great man and his retinue when he halted at a village. "Herd-due" is **متورت** (*maturat*), i.e. the fattest of the flock, for slaughter in honour of a dignitary's visit: Ar. **تَوَر**, to fatten up properly of a bull). This list is of interest as showing the local imposts in force under FUNG rule.

LXXXVIII The real reason of the nickname "Westerner" was very probably that Bishara, or his ancestors, came from Borku. See D 1, CXLIX.

LXXXIX Ibrahim el Bulad was one of the famous sons of Gabir. He is mentioned in BA, ccv, and in the *Tabakdt*. Also cp. Jackson, p. 26. By race he was a Rikdbi.

By "Khalil" is meant the subjects treated of by Khalil, viz. Khalil Ibn Ishak el Gundi, the author of a great compendium (*mukhtasar*) of Mahkite law. He died in 767 A.H. (1365-6 A.D.). El Sanhun, 'Abd el Baki el Zurkani, and el Ag nun, all of whom are mentioned by AB or BA {q v ccxn), were among those who wrote commentaries on Khalil's work. (See Hagi Khalfa's *Lexicon*, Vol. v, pp. 446-7.) Cp D 3, vi. *Risdla* more commonly means "composition" and "the art of letter-writing," but from the context here and elsewhere (and most notably in the couplet quoted in D 3, No 93), it is clear that by *risdla* is meant the office or duty of a *rand* or apostle. (See Hughes, p. 545, ii.)

xcvi *Hugga* is properly a decisive argument but the term is used to denote a person of incontrovertible authority. For the RIKABI'A see the trees to BA and D 1 and D 3, and Part III, Ch. 7. Muhammad el Banufari is also mentioned in D 3 (No 17) as the instructor of Ibrahim el Bulad. Nothing definite is known about him.

xcix The Arabic phrase is **ومدة تدريسه في خليل سبعة حتمات** and "seven seahngs" means that he lectured on the whole of his subject from beginning to end seven times and on reaching the end of the book (Khalil's) he each time sealed or signed it in token thereof. Cp. D 3, No. 17. The 40 pupils of the AWLAD GABIR are often referred to in D 3, e.g. No. 60.

For 'Abd el Rahman see D 3, No. 17, and BA, ccv.

c This "divorce oath" is very frequent in the Sudan— a man says "I swear that I will do (or not do) so and so, and if I break my oath I will divorce my wife"—and if he does break his oath he is expected to divorce her, though in practice he often compounds his offence instead.

The passage in the Kuran alluded to is in *Sura*, vi (*q.v.* Sale, p. 92).

cvi Cp. BA, XXXVIII.

El Termidhi is Abu 'fsa Muhammad el Tirmidhi, author of the *Gdma*'i, an encyclopaedia of traditions throwing light on the law. He died in 892 A.D. (See Huart, p. 220.)

By Ibn Daud is meant Abu Ddud, one of the six great collectors and recorders of the Sunnite traditions, a contemporary of el Termidhi.

cvii Cp. BA, XLII.

cvin Cp. BA, XLI.

cix El Khazin is Sheikh 'Aid el Din 'Ah ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim el Baghddi el Sufi "el Khazin." He completed his great work *Lubdbel fdwlfima'dnt h tanzll* (a Kuraniccommentary) in 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.): see Hagi Khalfa's *Lexicon*, Vol. v, p. 298

ex Cp. BA, XVIII.

CXVI See note to BA, xxxvii. For "... was asked" AB gives **قال سئل** instead of **قال قيل يا**.

cxix See para. lii (note).

exxx The Arabic is as follows:

هل يجوز استرقاق جميع العرب ام لا الجواب المشهور جوازه وهو قول مالك واجهود لان الاسترقاق التلاف حكيا

I cannot help thinking that a negative has dropped out, but the words quoted occur in the original, as in the later copies. The translation given of the last four words represents as nearly as possible the explanation of them offered by the author's son

"Malik" is Abu 'Abdulla Malik ibn Anas; and "Ahmad" is Abu 'Abdulla Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *i.e.* two of the four founders of the great orthodox sects of Sunnis.

cxxxi-cxxxi AB gives "Sdlm" instead of "Aslam" (BA, XLVIII); and AB gives **المشكات للقاري** instead of **المشكات القاري** (BA, XLVIII).

CXXXVII Cp. A3, XII, where almost all these names are spelt rather differently. "BAG" may refer to the BEGA; but otherwise I have no clue to the identity of these tribes. The original MS. gave KHABRA: later copies taken from it give GABRA. Cp. C 9, 24.

CLXH From here onwards to ccx cp. A 1.

CLXVI Cp. BA, cxxxi and cxxxvi.

CLXVII Cp. BA, cxxxvii.

CLXVIII Cp. BA, cxxxvii and exxxviii.

CLXIX Cp. BA, exxxix.

CLXX The phrase "the general a n c e (جهد الكل)" is very frequently applied to Serra> (for whom see note to BA, CXXXIV).

ccxiv "Muhammad" is presumably the son of Saldh ibn Muhammad. In para. CLXXII the Terayfia were given as descendants of Terayf. Cp. BA, CCLI.

CCXVIII Two or three illegible words follow at the end of this paragraph in the original MS

ccxix In para. ccxm these appear as **ععيداب**, but here as **ععيداب**.

MANUSCRIPT ABC

Introduction

THE author of ABC is Sadik el Hadra, a Mahassi of the village of Salamat el Basha near Khartoum North. He is an old *feki* who has made the study of genealogies his life's work, and is, in fact, in process of completing the compilation of an enormous volume comprising several hundreds of pedigrees which he has collected. I am afraid that neither his critical faculty nor his educational qualifications can honestly be said to fit him for the adequate presentation of the subject he has so courageously undertaken to elucidate, but he has certainly collected a formidable mass of raw material.

On my showing an interest in his studies he kindly composed for me the monograph here translated: it is in the nature of an abbreviated edition of his *magnum opus*.

The first part deals with that branch of the MAHASS which is traditionally descended from 'Agam ibn Zaid ibn Muhammad Mahsin, i.e. with the author's own tribe. The second part is concerned with the Ga'ali group of tribes, the third with those of GUHAYNA, and the fourth with a medley of others. One or two brief biographies are also included.

Sadik's method, he informs me, has been to compare various manuscripts (twenty-four in all, he says) and to supplement or check them by personal oral enquiries from other *fekts*. When satisfied as to the truth he has enshrined it in his work. His method, in fact, has been that of the author of AB. It is, however, obvious that he has been unduly credulous, and apt to accept at its face value much information that is worthless: in this respect he fails behind the author of AB. He also shows a distinct tendency to force variant accounts into an unnatural agreement by baldly stating as a fact what is no more than the product of his own imagination.

What then is the value of the work? It is small, but not altogether negligible. In the first place we have in it an example, the only one included in this collection, of a present-day *nisba*, and one that illustrates well the methods followed by native genealogists in dealing with their authorities.

Sadik el Hadra has studied the *Tabakat* (D 3) and various versions of BA and other such MSS., and we see the result: the pre-

sumption is thus created that the authors of some at least of the works to which he referred for his information proceeded on analogous lines.

Secondly, various items of definite fact, otherwise unknown, are to be gleaned as to matters with which Sadik is personally conversant. These sometimes help to explain obscure points in the other *nisbas*.

Thirdly, even allowing for inaccuracies and a certain degree of imagination, we get sidelights on native tradition drawn from sources which have been available to Sadik in the course of a long life of enquiry, but which do not happen to have come within our ken through any other channel.

It may be added that, though in many cases where ABC differs from other *nisbas*, e.g. in the spelling of a proper name, ABC is certainly the less accurate, it is yet quite likely that in some other cases ABC may happen to provide a correct copy of some more accurate MS. than any I have seen.

The appendix is by a different author, for whom see the first note thereto.

I 'Agam was son of Zaid son of ... (*as in Tree i*)...son of Ka'ab el Khazragi el Ansari, who died at el Medina the Glorious in 19 A.H. in the Khalifate of 'Omar ibn el Khattab, God bless him.

II Sheikh Idris, whose *kubba* is at el 'Ayl Fung, was son of el Arbab Muhammad son of... (*as in tree, to 'Agam*). He was born near Shanbat at a place called Shuhāt lying between the railway [and the river], north of Shanbat, opposite the experimental pumping-station. He was born in 910 A.H., and on the death of his parents he moved to 'Aylat el Fung and lived there until his death. He died and was buried there, after a life of about 149 Arabic years, in 1059 A.H. HIS mother was Fatima, the daughter of the Sherif Hammad Abu Denana¹, who is buried at Abu Delayk and was descended from el Husayn ibn 'Ah ibn Abu Talib.

On his father's side Sheikh Idris was a Khazragi Ansari descended from Ubi ibn Ka'ab; and [KHAZRAG] are originally Arabs of Yemen descended from Kahtan ibn 'Abir, that is the prophet Hud, upon whom be peace.

Sheikh Idn's's descendants are [mostly] at el 'Ayl Fung, and some are in other places.

III El Hag Idris was son of 'Abd el Daim son of... (*as in tree, to 'Agam*) and was born at the Shuhāt mentioned above in 959 A.H. He lived 99 years and died in 1058 A.H. He had seven sons, namely .. (*as in tree, which gives their names and descendants*).

¹ reading <UU> for *U>.

IV El Sheikh Khogali, whose *kubba* is at Khartoum North, was son of 'Abd el Rahman son of.. *(as in tree, to 'Agam)*. He had nine sons and four daughters. These were .. *(as in tree)*. Ahmad and Muhammad and el Gaz and Um Hani were all children of the same mother, namely, Wanasuna bint 'Omar ibn Hammad ibn Muhammad, so her pedigree meets that of Sheikh Khogali in the person of el Malik Gama'i. Her tribe was called the MAKANAB, the children of el Malik Makan. The mother of the remaining seven brothers and two sisters was Bint el Minna bint Ta'ulla ibn Sulayman ibn Abu Musa, a Kardakabia, so her pedigree meets that of Sheikh Khogali in the person of their ancestor, the above-mentioned 'Agam. Their progeny forms several tribes [*kabdit*], some of whom live at el Kubba, and some round the village called EL KH6GALAB after their ancestor Khogali and situated on the east bank opposite Kerreri, and some in the south.

Sheikh Kh6gah was born on Tuti Island in 1065 A.H. and lived 101 years and died in 1155 A.H.

V The descendants of Kardaka ibn Fellah ibn Sheraf el Din ibn 'Agam are on Tuti Island: others of them are scattered in Kordofan and the neighbourhood of Gebel el Haraza, in the west, between the two KABABfSH districts of Gabra and el Safia. They form a considerable number of tribes, about thirty in fact. Others live in the Gezira of Sennar.

VI Some of the descendants of Marzuk ibn Fellah ibn Sheraf el Din ibn 'Agam live at Burri el Mahass near Khartoum South, namely the children of Ibrahim el Budani who are called the BUDANAB. With them are other descendants of Marzuk surnamed the AWLAD KASUMA. Other descendants of Marzuk are round el Rakayba on the east bank, opposite el Kamnin, and are called "the MAHASS." Others of them are at Hillet Balula, north of el Kamnin, on the east bank. They form various tribes.

VII The descendants of Zaid ibn 'Agam form various tribes. They include the children of Hammad ibn 'Abd el Salam ibn.. *(as in tree, to '«*)*, namely el feki el Sayyid and 'Abd el Salam and el Hag Muhammad Nur and their sisters Fatima and Um Kalthum: and the children of each of these form a tribe, and they dwell at Shanbat and thereabouts.

They include also the children of 'Agaymi and of his son Ahmad, some of whom are at Shanbat and some on Tuti Island and some in the Gezira of Sennar: these form various tribes.

Also the children of Idris ibn Shakartu ibn... *(as in tree, to 'Agam)*.

Also the children of Shakartulla ibn el Hag ibn... *(as in tree, to *Ali 'Ashba)*. Some of these are at Shanbat and some round el Mesalamia, which is a government headquarters, and some round Sennar, and all are descended from Idris ibn Shakartu.

Some of the children of Shakartulla are on Tuti Island, some at Shanbat, and some in the other directions mentioned.

VIII Some of the descendants of Rahma ibn 'Ali ibn... *(as in tree, to 'Agam)*, who are surnamed the SA'ADULLAB, are on Tuti Island; some are at Shanbat; and some are with the KABABfSH AWLAD 'UKBA and are called the AWLAD ABU SITTA¹.

IX The SA'ADAB who live round el Hinayk, on the west [bank], opposite Gebel Lula, which is called by the Sudanese Gebel Auli, are the descendants of Sa'ad ibn el feki Adam ibn... *(as in tree, to 'Agam)*, and form various tribes.

With them are the IIAMMADULLAB, the inhabitants of Um IKahf near el 'Ayl Fung. Some of them too are at el 'Ayl Fung. Some again are at el Tomat on the Atbara, and at Gi'ra on the river Sanhit, and at Doka in the Butana.

These people are the children of Mahmud walad Zaid. The Arabs who are under their rule, namely DUBANIA, trace their descent to GUHAYNA, whereas the descendants of Zaid are SHAMIA, descendants of Mazad Abu Shama ibn 'Agam.

All of these are descended from the ANSAR who conquered the Sudan in 43 A.H. during the period of the rule of 'Abdulla ibn Abu Sarah, the Companion. After the conquest the KHAZRAG settled in this country and their children multiplied there until the present day. At the time of their coming to conquer the Sudan they numbered about 81,000.

They are Arabs of Yemen and descended from Kahtan ibn 'Abir, that is the prophet Hud.

Now Kahtan is ancestor of all [the tribes of] el Yemen and to him they trace their descent. The children of Kahtan were Gurhum and Hadramaut and Saba.

X Sheikh Hasan ibn Hasuna, whose *kubba* is in the middle of the Butana, between the Blue Nile and the Atbara, was a Sherif on his father's side. His mother was Fatima bint Habashia, whose mother was a Saridia Khamaysia tracing her descent to the ANSAR.

Sheikh Hasan ibn Hasun visited Egypt and Syria and other lands and performed the pilgrimage. These journeys occupied about twelve years. Then he returned to his own country and became famous among the nomad Arabs for his piety, and his herds of cattle

¹ reading

and camels and sheep and his horses and slaves increased in number. And withal he used to give hospitality to travellers, and in one day he gave food to about 15,000, a magnificent performance in those days. He was born on the island called Kag6g, situated on the Blue Nile north-west of Gebel Garia, in 968 A.H., and lived 91 years. He died in 1059 A.H., and was buried in the tomb he built with his own hands. He left no children.

XI The feki Muhammad el Nur ibn Dayfulla, the author of the *Tabakdt el Awliya hi 7 Sudan*, was son of Dayfulla ibn 'Ali ibn Ibrahim ibn el Hag Nasrulla, a Ga'ali 'Abbasi. His descendants are called the DAYFULLAB, the children of Dayfulla. He died at Halfayat el Muluk of the yellow fever known in the Sudan as *el Kik* in 1224 A.H.¹

XII The GA'AIJN (*sic*) who are in the Sudan are the descendants of Ibrahim el Hashimi, nicknamed "Ga'al." The reason of his being so named was that he was possessed of great power and wealth, and in his days a severe famine occurred, and folk came to him from every direction and said "O Ibrahim, make us (*aga'lnd*) your folk," and he consented to their wish, and so his people surnamed him "Ga'al" because he "made" (*ga'al*) those who came to him and maintained them until God relieved their distress. He has many descendants in the Sudan • their number may be about 50,000. Among them are the sons of 'Arman, namely Gebel, the ancestor of the GEBELAB, and Gabr, the ancestor of the GABRAB, and 'Abd el 'Al, the ancestor of the MAGADIB and the KANDILAB (and in all 'Abd el 'Al had fourteen sons and from each one of them are descended various tribes), and Sha'a el Din, the ancestor of the SHA'ADINAB (who consist of various tribes), and el Malik 'Adlan ibn 'Arman (who had thirty male children, from each of whom are descended numerous tribes), and Zayd, the ancestor of the ZAIDAB (who contain many tribes), and Musallam, ancestor of the MUSALLAMAB (who are many tribes), and Mukabir, the ancestor of the MUKABIRAB (who are tribes), and Sa'id, the ancestor of the SA'ADAB and the NIMRAB, and Nasir, the ancestor of the NASIRAB, and Shai, and Yoii, the ancestor of the Y6IYAB. These are the twelve sons of 'Arman, and their descendants were even more numerous. Among these descendants were the children of 'Abd el 'Al ibn el Malik 'Arman, some of whom have already been mentioned, and who were fourteen men in all, and who include the HASABULLAB [the children of IIsabulla]; and the RAFA'AB, the children of Rafa'i; and the KHADRAB, the children of Khadr; and the GODALAB², the children of Gadulla; and the KALIAB, the children of Kali; and the

¹ 1809 A.D.

² reading  for .

KITIAB, the children of Kiti; and the BASHIRAB, the children of Bashir; and the MUJSFAB, the children of Musa; and the 'OMARAB, the children of 'Omar; and Tisa'a Kulli; and the tenth of them, Muhammad el Nigayd, the ancestor of the NIGADA.

XIII Among the 'OMARAB was Sheikh Hamid Abu 'Asa son of Sheikh 'Omar son of Belal son of Muhammad son of 'Omar son of Muhammad el A'war son of 'Abd el 'Al son of el Malik 'Arman. His mother was a Sherifia named Halfma, the daughter of el Sherif Hammad Abu Denana who lies buried at Abu Delayk. Sheikh Hdmd Abu 'Asa had ten children, namely Muhammad and Hammad and... *(as in tree)*.

XIV Nafa'a and Nafi'a were sons of el Malik 'Adlan ibn el Malik 'Arman by a single mother. Among the descendants of Nafa'a are the THAWUB and .. *(as in tree)* and many tribes.

XV Among the descendants of Nafi'a are the SERAYHAB and... *(as in tree)*.

XVI The sons of el Malik 'Abd el Daim ibn 'Adldn were fourteen in number, and they included 'AH and Yoiy and Hammad, the mother of all of whom was Bukra the daughter of his paternal uncle Mukabir. The descendants of 'Ali ibn el Malik 'Abd el Daim are the 'ALIAB: those of Yoiy ibn el Malik 'Abd el Daim ibn 'Adlan are the YOIYAB round Kozbara: those of Hammad ibn el Malik 'Abd el Daim are round el Metemma. The descendants of Abu Daraywa are the DARAYWAB, those of Kabush are the KABUSHAB, and those of Hammad reside at el Metemma. [Add] also Abu Basrun; and Muhammad el Fial, ancestor of the NAFAPFA; and Shaddu and Kaddu, whose descendants are the WAHAH/B *el fukard*; and Dow; and Kena, ancestor of the KITAWIT.

XVII The sons of 'Abd el Ma'abud were 'Abd el Salam el Asfar, ancestor of the SUFAR EL MAGnAwfo [MAFAWIR (>)]; and Musa, ancestor of the MusiAB; and Khadr el Fial, ancestor of the FiAiL.

XVIII The descendants of Ba'abush are the BA'ABuSH.

The sons of Sa'ad Abu Dabus included 'Abd el Daim and Kanbald wi and Sanad and Idris el Kati'a, the ancestor of the 'ABD-SALAMAB of el Buayda.

XIX The sons of Sa'ad ibn Diab [were the] Burnis, namely (and?) Nasir and Muhammad el Kusayer and 'Ali and Salih.

XX The sons of Rubdt ibn Mismar ibn Serrdr ibn Kerdam (*i.e.* the Sultan Hasan, Kerdam being a surname) were 'Awad and Ku-raysh and el Khanfari and Mukbal and 'Abt____ (*The descendants of each are given: see Tree 3. Remarks made in passing and not included in the tree are as follows*):

1. *Humayyir and Dahaysh, ancestors of the HUMAYYIRAB and DAIJAYSHAB were full brothers.*

2. *The MAWWATAB : " Among them was Walad Day fa"*

3. *The 'AWADfA sub-tribes: "Each one of these tribes has many branches"*

4. *The MAKBULAB : " Some of them live near Shendi."*

XXI Mismar ibn Serrar ibn Kerdam had four sons, namely Sa'ad el Fend, and the three sons of a single mother, Subuh Abu Merkha, the above-mentioned Rubat, and Nebih____(*The descendants of each are given in Tree 3, but as remarks not mentioned in the tree are made in passing concerning some of them, these remarks are inserted here, as follows*):

1. *The DUBAB: "Among them was Sheikh el Husayn el Zahrd."*

2. *The GIMA'A: "Among them was 'Asakir Abu Kaldm."*

3. *The HAKAMAB, or AWLAD HAKIM: "Some of them are in Dongola and others in the GA'ALIN country: among them was the feki Muhammad ibn el Bedowi, who was Sheikh el Islam" "And Hakim also has descendants round Arko, called the MIHAYNAB."*

4. *The NASIRAB: " Their ancestor Ndsir dwelt on the White Nile near Berayma."*

5. *Hamid Abu Tinka: (1) "He of el 'Ayn, which lies west of el Sdfia in the KABABISH country" (2) The descendants of his son 'Adlan are said to be at el Koz village, those of his other two sons at Um 'Adam, and those of his grandson Muhammad "among the HALAWiN," i.e. all in Mesallamia district.*

6. *Marangdna (ancestress of the HAGAB): "She of the ridge near Walad Medani."*

7. *The RASHIDAB : " Who live on the White Nile near el Hanayk."*

8. *The MUKDAB: "On the west bank of the White Nile, opposite Gebel Auh"*

9. *The NAILAB : " They include the sons of el Mek Bdbikr who were about 18 in all and each of whom had posterity."*

10. *The SULAYMANIA: "On the White Nile, opposite Um Ara"a Island."*

11. *The HAMAYDANI: "Among them was the feki Ibrahim 'Abd el Dafa'i, the author of the History of the Sudan."*

12. *The SHAKIRAB: "Near Um Arda Island."*

13. *The 'fsAwfA: "Some of them are with the KABABISH."*

14. *The DUNIBAB : " Who live with the GIMI'AB, and include Kudur the panegyrist."*

15. *The HARAYZAB : " Who include Sheikh Dafa'alla el Gharkdn¹ who lives at Omdurman"*

¹ reading القرنان for القرنان.

16. *The descendants of Fafah the Younger: " They include the 'omda of the FIT!HAB and the children of Sulayman ibn el Mek and of his brother Shibayh, and the KUSAYSAB, the sons of Hamid ibn Kussa..., etc." (as in tree).*

17. *Dardok • " In DarfUr, and among his descendants were Ab6 ibn 'Abdulla ibn Godafdr*

XXII All of the above are KURAYSH and descended from el 'Abbs ibn 'Abd el Muttahb ibn Hashim; and all of them are the children of Ibrdhfm el Hashimi who was surnamed "Ga'al," and the first of their ancestors to come to the Sudan was named Ghanim, surnamed "el 'Abbasi." He fled from Baghdad after the Tatar attacked it, in 676 A.H.¹. Then they (sic) came to Egypt and found the Fatimites ruling there, but they were unable to settle down with them, so migrated to the Sudan and took up their abode, some on the Blue Nile and some on the White and some in Darfur and Dar Wadai (that is Borku), and spread in all directions.

XXIII Those that are in Darfur are represented by the royal family only. The rest of the Darfurians are KUNGARA and HILAIA, and such as are neither are all FERAT^{AT} [i.e. FERT/T].

XXIV As regards Borku, the royal family are 'ABBAS/A, that is KURAYSH. The rest are Arabs of Yemen, that is HIMYAR, descended from Bdrik ibn 'Uday ibn Haritha ibn 'Amir ibn Haritha ibn Tha-'aliba ibn Amra el Kays ibn Mazin ibn el Azd, who are [all of the tribe of] GHASSAN.

XXV The tribes of MUDR ibn Nizar and RABI'A ibn Nizar. All in the Wadi el 'Arab trace their descent to these tribes, and their pedigrees all meet in Kays ibn Ghaylan ibn Mudr and el Yds ibn Mudr. RABI'A, too, forms one stock with MUDR. The mother of el Yds ibn Mudr was el Rubab bint Sayda ibn Ma'ad ibn 'Adnan; and el Yds ibn Mudr had three sons, Mudraka and Tabikha and 'Umayr, and their mother was Khindif, whose [real] name was Lay la bint Halwdn ibn 'Omrdrn ibn el Haft ibn Kuda'a ibn Ma'ad ibn 'Adndn. Therefore the posterity of el Yds ibn Mudr were called "KHINDIF," because she was their mother and to her they trace their descent. From 'Adndn branch off all the tribes of the Arabs.

XXVI All of the descendants of Mudr ibn Nizar who came to the Sudan are the children of Kays ibn Ghayldn ibn Mudr. They include Guhayna ibn Rish ibn... (as in Tree 4, to 'Adnan), and, secondly, Guhayna ibn 'Abdulla ibn Anas el Guhani, and thirdly, Guhayna of the tribe of KUDA'A, namely Guhayna ibn Zayd ibn... (as in tree, to * Adndn), and, fourthly, Guhayna ibn 'Atia ibn Hasan ibn 'Abdulla

¹ 1277 A.D).

ibn el Zubayr ibn el 'Awwdm ibn Khowaylid ibn Asad ibn 'Abd el 'Uzza ibn Kusai ibn Kelab.

All these four, after their arrival in the Sudan, came to an agreement and became one tribe.

The tribes of GUHAYNA are fifty-two in all, not counting those that in the past have entered the Sudan via the Nile in the time of the FUNG, and most of them are west of Tunis and Tripoli [*Tardblus*] and Fezzan and Borku. Three of the sons of Baghid came to the Sudan, namely Kays and Sufian and Dhubian, and the descendants of Kays ibn Baghid were the Guhayna ibn Rish mentioned above and Guhayna ibn 'Abdulla ibn Anas el Guhani. These are the children of Kays.

XXVII The descendants of Sufian ibn Baghid are the KABABISH, who are the children of Muhammad ibn Sufian ibn 'Abs ibn Sufian ibn Baghid. They are sometimes surnamed "BENI 'ABS."

Now Muhammad ibn Sufian had two sons.... (*For these and their descendants see tree. Remarks made in passing, and not included in the tree, are as follows:*

1. The descendants of the sons of NUR ibn 'Ah. "Each of them forms a tribe that defends itself."

2. The descendants of the sons of 'AH ibn NUR. "Each of them forms an independent tribe that defends the other."

XXVIII The sons of Dhubian ibn Baghid ibn Rayth ibn... (*as in tree, to 'Adndn*) were nine in number, namely Watid and..., etc., *as in tree, which also gives their descendants. Remarks made in passing, and not included in the tree, are as follows:*

1. The descendants of Muhammad ibn 'Amir: "Each of them forms a separate tribe, some of them living near el Siut and others in the deserts of Sennar."

2. Rikdb son of Sultan: "Not to be confused with Rikdb ibn Ghuldmulla."

3. The SHUKRIA descended from Bashir ibn Dhubian: "The descendants of Bashir ibn..., etc., are the SHUKRfA and the N\BARIA. Now all the SHUKRfA trace their descent to Yashkur ibn Wail ibn..." (*as in tree, to Nizar*), "except the AWLAD ABU SIN, who are KURAYSH, descended from 'Abdulla ibn Ga'afir ibn Abu Talib."

4. The KARIBAB: "Who live on the banks of the Nile opposite Rufa'a."

5. The KAWAHLA descended from Kahil ibn Hasan: "Not to be confused with the KAWAHLA descended from el Zubayr ibn el 'Awwdm."

6. The KANAGIRA: " They include KUNGARA in Darfur, and Borku and Bornu and AfnU - others of them are sons of Fellat ibn Kungar, who are partly FELLATA."

7. The THAKRA: "Some of whom are Muhammadans and the remainder infidels"

8. The KALKALA: " They are in Tunis: some of them [too] live near el Kdmnin"

9. The DAWAGIRA: " They live east of Mekka and are the people of el Nuk el Bakht"

10. The SANADALIB: " Some of whom used to he in Sennar"

11. The descendants of the sons of Hildl ibn Muhammad: "Some of them are at el Hilalia."

12. The tribes descended from 'Akil ibn Muhammad 'Amir: " These tribes live in Upper Egypt. But the SHAMIA and the MA'AIDA and the KALALHJ are descended from Aid ibn Husayn. Some of them are west of Ddrfiir"

XXIX The descendants of 'Abdulla ibn Zubayr ibn el 'Awwam are the KAWAHLA in the Gezira of Sennar, who are the children of Guhayna ibn 'Atia ibn el Hasan ibn 'Abdulla ibn el Zubayr ibn el 'Awwam, and also the 'ABABDA, who are the children of el Zubayr. These are KURAYSH.

XXX The nomads in the Sudan who have been mentioned are all descended from Mudr ibn Nizar and Rabi'a ibn Nizar.

XXXI The GA'AFIRA in Upper Egypt include the descendants of Ga'afir el Sadik, and the descendants of Ga'afir el Tiar, the brother of the Imam 'AH ibn Abu el Tahb, and the descendants of Ga'afir ibn Kutaf el Tai, who are of the stock of Hatim el Tai, so famous for his generosity and bravery, and the descendants of Ga'afir el Barmaki. All of them live in Upper Egypt.

XXXII The HADARMA were originally nomads in Hadramaut and moved across to the west bank of the Red Sea [el Malih] and settled at Suakin in the Sudan. They left the east bank in the time of el Haggag ibn Yusef el Thakfi.

XXXIII The GABARTA¹ are by origin Arabs.

XXXIV The MESALLAMIA of the district so-named are the stock of Musallam ibn Hamaz 'Ataf the Ommawi. They migrated from Syria in the time of 'Omar ibn 'Abd el 'Aziz the Ommawi and settled in the Sudan in the country known after them.

XXXV The inhabitants of Edfu are of different races. Some are ASHRAF, and some are Arabs, including MANAKIRA and KHULA and HARAIZ and KALUH and KALALIB and MERINAB, all of whom are GUHAYNA, and the BUSAYL*A, the descendants of Hammad el Busayli, who are Arabs of Hegaz tracing their descent to GUHAYNA.

¹ reading الجيرة for الجبرت.

XXXVI The SABA'U and the MATA'ANA are western Arabs, tracing their descent to the MASAMIDA.

XXXVII The HOWARA trace their descent to the BARANIS. They are western Arabs, and their pedigree goes back to KURAYSH.

XXXVIII The AWLAD 'ALI trace their descent to HILALA and are GUHAYNA.

XXXIX The HEGAZIYYUN are eastern Arabs, KURAYSH by race.

XL The rest of the inhabitants of Upper Egypt are composed of COPTS [*Akbf*], and RUM, and GUMUSA, the GUMUSA being slaves, and ALEPPANS [*Haleb*], who are children of adultery.

XLI The FAKHRAIA include ASHRAF on the mother's side.

XLII El Sayyid 'Abd el Rahim el Kenawi was one of the ASHRAF of the west, and he is sufficiently famous to need no further description.

XLIII The inhabitants of the Nile [valley] south of Egypt and west of the Red Sea are all 'ABABDA, the descendants of 'Abdulla ibn el Zubayr ibn el 'Awwam.

XLIV The inhabitants of Haifa are KANUZ, the sons of Dowlat el Kanzi, that is NUBA.

XLV Similarly the original inhabitants of Dongola, all of them, from the Red Sea to the Equator, are descended from the ZING. These came from Neged and el 'Irak.

XLVI The Persians [*Farisia*] are of the seed of Selman el Farisi.

XLVII The original HUDUR are all GUHAYNA and inhabit the country between Edfu and Aswan.

XLVIII The BENI 'AMIR, that is UM 'AR'ARA, entered Abyssinia. They are famous for their bravery and courage and stout-heartedness, and are a mighty tribe.

XLIX The facts given above are based on a tree which I found written in the handwriting of el Hasan ibn 'Ah, the brother of el Sayyid Ahmad el Bedowi, and taken from the genealogical tree found by el Shafa'i 'Ali Ibrahim and the above-mentioned el Hasan.

L According to Ibn Khaldun the tribes of Arabs descended from GUHAYNA came after the Muhammadan conquest of the northern NUBA in 1318 A.D., and spread over the Sudan, and formed a separate branch.

LI The FIAMAR Arabs are originally GUHAYNA and trace their descent to that tribe.

LII The TA'AISHA and the HABBANIA and the AWLAD HAMAYD and SELIM are descendants of Hammad ibn Gunayd. The HAWAZMA

and the HUMR and the MESsIRIA and the RIZAYKAT are descendants of his brother 'Atfa. All of them are GUHAYNA by descent.

Similarly the BENI HELBA, who are west of Darfur¹ and are a great tribe, trace their descent to GUHAYNA. SO also do the BENI HUSAYN and the TERGAM and KHUZAMA and the MAHRIA (*sic*) and the MASALIT and the KOR6BAT, who live west of Kebkabia.

LIII The KHAwABiR, who inhabit Wadai² in the west, are in some cases merchants and in others nomads. They are BENI OMMAYYA, KURAYSH, by origin.

LIV Some of the descendants of the sons of Abu Bukr³ el SadIk who have immigrated to the Sudan.

They include the sons of Sheikh Muhammad el Mugelli, who was buried near Esna in the district of Zernikh, and who was a Sherif on his mother's side and a Bukri on his father's. With him was his brother Sheikh Ahmad surnamed "el Yomani." They came from the direction of el Yemen, from a village in Yemen called Bunda, to Egypt. Thence they went and settled in a village called Zernikh near Esna, [he] and his sons with him. Among these sons were Sheikh Muhammad "el Mutargam" ("the Interpreter"), and Sheikh Muhammad "el Royyan," and Sheikh Muhammad "el Gharkadi," and Sheikh Ya'akub. Sheikh Ya'akub proceeded to the Sudan in 1001⁴A.H. and betook himself to the king of the FUNG, 'Omara Dunkas, at Sennar. The latter gave him an order [entitling him] to reside at Halfayat el Muluk on the east bank of the Blue Nile, and he lived there for a number of years and died there, and was buried near the [village of the] IZAYRIKAB, north of el Halfaya, and his tomb is still there.

LV Sheikh Ya'akub left four sons, Sheikh 'Alalia, Sheikh Musa, Sheikh Muhammad Zamir, and Sheikh Hammad, Kadi of Bandi; and each of these four had numerous children, tribes.

The descendants of 'Aaalla live round Bayli and are called the 'AfAiAB. The descendants of Sheikh Musa are numerous tribes, some round Sennar and some elsewhere, and they are called the MusfAB. The descendants of Sheikh Muhammad Zamir are numerous tribes, some at Halfayat el Muluk and some in the GA'AIJN (*stc*) country, and they are called the ZAMRAB. The descendants of Sheikh Ya'akub, who is buried at [the village of] the IZAYRIKAB, include Sheikh Hammad who is famous as "Urn Amirium" (*stc*) whose *kubba* is at Khartoum North: the latter's [full] name was Sheikh Hammad ibn

¹ r e دارفور for دارفور. g ² reading وداعة for ودائي.

* reading أباهكر for أبوبكر. * 1592 A.D.

Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn 'Omar ibn el Sheikh Madi ibn Muhammad Abu Guayd ibn el Sheikh IJammad, Kadi of Bandi, ibn el Sheikh Ya'akub ibn el Sheikh Muhammad Mugelli.

LVI [There are] also the sons of Sheikh Ahmad Abu el Gud, the brother of Muhammad Abu Guayd, and these are the ZENARKHA who live with the GAMO'U.

Similarly the AWLAD KHAYRULLA near Um Dom, east of Khar-toum.

These form numerous tribes, and all of them trace their descent to 'Abd el Rahman ibn Abu Bukr el Sadik and are KURAYSH. They include the MUGELIJAB and the HAMMATTIAB in the GA'ALIN (*sic*) country, and the MAKTANAB, and the 'AMUDAB, and the DELAYKAB, and the KERAYDAB, and the NAKAGAB, and the 'AMARNA, some of whom are at Gebel Sakadi and Moya and the remainder in the east near the Red Sea, at Suakin and elsewhere.

ABC (NOTES)

I The tribes and persons described in this and the following eight paragraphs are all known as MAHASS at present. It will be seen that the author considers them to be all originally Himyaritic Arabs from southern Arabia, ANSAR of the tribe of KHAZRAG. One or two of the earlier names given in the tree occur in Wustenfled, 16 and 22, but there is no consistent coincidence between the pedigree as given in ABC and that given by Wustenfled.

II Cp. D 3, 141 and note thereto for Sheikh Idris and "el \Ayl Fung" (le. el 'AylafOn).

For Hod see Hughes, pp. 181, 182. He is spoken of in Chapters 7, 11 and 26 of the Kuran, and was the prophet sent to the contumacious tribe of 'AD. There is no reason whatever to identify him with Kahtan.

in El Hag Idris, as being the ancestor of the AWLAD HADRA (see *Tree* 1), is the author's progenitor. Of el Hag Idris's descendants the author says: "All the descendants of el Hag Muhammad are round Shanbat and, in some cases, near Sennar. Those of el Hag Sulayman are on Tati Island, including el Khalifa Muhammad Ibn ..., etc." (*as in tree*), "and others are round Shanbat, and others near Sennar: they form numerous tribes."

D 3 gives no life of el Hag Idris nor of any of his sons,

iv Cp. D3, 154 and 19.

The date 1155A.H. agrees with D 3. Either "1065A.H." or "101 years" is an error,

v These are the KARDAKAB section of MAI*ASS.

VI For the BUDANAB cp. D 7, CCLIX.

El Rakayba is generally known as "Hillet el Mahass" or "Mahass el Rakayba." For "Kamnin" in place of "Kamlin" see note to D 3, 109, and Vol. 1, p 341.

The descendants of Marzuk would normally be called "MARAZ/K " Sections of that name occur both among the HAMAR and the GAWAMA'A of Kordofan and the SHA^IA.

VIII There is a section of AWLAD 'UKBA called SA'ADULLAB (see Mac-Michael, *Tribes...*, p. 175).

ix These HAMMADULLAB are a section of MESALLAMIA (see C 8, xvII and xIIII).

"The Atbara" is spelt in A **البحر الاتبرawi** l Bahr el Atbarawi").

By "Sanhit" is meant the Setit.

'Abdulla Abu Sarah's more common name is 'Abdulla Ibn Sa'ad. He made no expedition in 43 A.H. (663 A.D.). The campaign of 651-2 A.D. IS no doubt meant.

For the final sentence cp. D 1, LXXI.

iv. ABC. xxi NATIVE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SUDAN 95

x Cp. D 3, 132, according to which Sheikh Hasan died in 1075 A.H.

XI This paragraph provides us with the name of the author of D 3 and is corroborated by tradition on the point (see Introduction to D 3). The pedigree, however, differs from that given in D 3 (q.v. No. 89) and the latter is more likely to be correct

For the final sentence cp. D 7, CLXXXV, which corroborates.

XII Cp. BA, cxxxn, etc., for the name "Ga'al."

For the descendants of 'Arman cp. BA, CLXV *et seq.*, A 2, xi *et seq.* and A n, xxiv *et seq.*, all of which differ to some extent from one another, as a comparison of the trees will show.

The "MAGAdIB" are not to be confused with the "MAGADHIB" (*i.e.* AWL AD EL MAGDHUB), who are traditionally AshraY.

"Shai (شي) ears in A 11 and BA (MS. 3) as "Shabbu" (شَبُّ) or "Shabba" (شَبو)

As regards "Tisa'a Kulli" and "the tenth of them, Muhammad el Nigayd," there is obviously some error in the texts of ABC, BA, A 11, etc. In ABC the figure "9" is actually written over "Tisa'a," and in the original copy no doubt nine sons were mentioned and after their names the author wrote "nine in all, and a tenth was Negadi." Later copyists added other sons and in some cases seem to have converted the "nine in all" and "a tenth" into proper names (see BA, CLXVII and A n, xxxix).

XIII Hamid Abu 'Asa's biography is No. 113 in D 3

XIV *et seq.* Cp. BA, note to CLXXI.

XVI It will be seen that only 12 of the 14 sons of 'Abd el Daim are gi'en See BA, CLXXI, CLXXII for notes.

It is to be assumed that Abu Daraywa was a son of 'Abd el Ddi'm, as shown in the tree, because he appears as such in BA (MS. 3) and A 11. 6. nilarly, 'Abd el Ma'abQd in para xvn may, for a like reason, be assumed to be a son of 'Adlan, and Ba'abush and Sa'ad Abu Dabus to be sons of 'Abd el Ma'abad.

For "el Ffal" (الففال) BA (MS 3) gives "Kankal" (القنقال), and for "KITAWIT" (كتاويت), "KENA" (كناوين). B A is more likely to be correct in both cases,

xix These names are not included in the tree Cp. note to BA, CLXXI

xx Cp. BA, CLI *et seq.*, A n, XL *et seq.*, etc.

The names "Humayyir" (*lit.* "little donkey") and Dahaysh (*lit.* a "donkey's foal") in juxtaposition are curious,

xxi Cp. BA, CXLIII *et seq.*

2. 'Asakir Abu Kalam was the chief of the GIMA'A in the time of the Mahdi (see MacMichael, *Tribes* ., pp. 43, 44).

3. Sheikh el Bedowi was Kadi of Berber in the Mahdi's time, and at the reoccupation was made President of the Board of 'Ulema in the Sudan.

5. Hdmid Abu Tinka is a more or less legendary character. Gebel el 'Ayn, between Dongola and Kordofan, is commonly called "'Ayn Wad el Tinka " There is a story current of his having travelled to the DINKA (?) country in the far south and there by accident killed a stork which had built upon the roof of the royal residence—a heinous offence, in conse-

quence of which he fled northwards along the koz el Hagiz to el 'Ayn in the far north, where he died.

9. The NAILAB are the ruling family of GAWO'LA, that of Nasir el Mek.

11. The "History of the Sudan" referred to is without doubt "D 7," of which the introduction should be consulted.

The "AWLAD EL SHEIKH EL TAIB" (*see tree*) are the GAMO'IA of the village of Sheikh el Taib, *i.e.* Sheikh Ahmad el Taib el Bashfr, for whom see D 7, ccxxxv (and note).

15. Dafa'alla "el Gharkan" (*t.e.* "the drowned") was a religious recluse living in Omdurman. Since the Turkish days, *i.e.* for at least 33 years, he never emerged from his room. He was partly paralyzed and only a very select few ever had the *entree* to his presence. For no other reason than the above he acquired a great reputation for sanctity. He died in 1917.

16. "El 'Anagawi" (*see tree*) in other versions is "el Fungawi "

The tribes mentioned as descended from MansOr the son of GamQ'a represent the subsections of the GAM(HA).

XXII Cp. D 6, xxxix. D 5 (c) speaks of Subuh Abu Merkha, Ghanim's grandfather, as the first of the family to settle in the Sudan (paras, i-m). The Tartars took Baghdad in 1258 A.D.

XXIII This accounts for the frequent occurrence in *msbas* of "FOR" as descended from DQla son of Kerdam the Ga'ali. One remembers too the name "Ednsdjal," *t.e.* Idris el Ga'ali, as grandfather of Sulaymdn Solon, one of the early FOR kings, and how 'Abd el Kerfm ibn Gama'i the founder of the Wadai dynasty is said to have belonged to a Ga'ali family (see Introduction to Chap. 1 of Part III) Para xxiv has reference to the second of these traditions.

xxiv See preceding note; and cp. Wustenfeld, 11. Bank is not mentioned. The remainder are all but correctly given.

xxv See Wustenfeld, A, D, and J "Rubab" (روباب) should be "Rfab" (ريف) and "Sayda" (صيدة) should be "Hayda" (حيده).

For Layla see Wustenfeld, 2 The author seems to nod in representing Kuda'a as the son of MVad ibn 'Adnan. Otherwise the genealogical facts are correct.

xxvi The accuracy of the first sent* ice is impugned by the author's own subsequent statements, *e.g.* as to the descent of the fourth tribe of GUHAYNA.

"Ghaylan" is generally written "Aylan": cp D 1 *passim*.

For "Guhayna ibn Rlsh" see Wustenfeld, H. "Rish" (ريش) should be "Rayth" (ريث) The names of this Guhayna's ancestors as given do occur in Wustenfeld, H, but with altered relationships.

For the second Guhayna see BA, LVIII and note thereto: "Anas" should be "Unays." This Guhayna belonged to the tribe of kudA'A.

For the third Guhayna see Wustenfeld, 1. "Sawad" (سواد) should be "Sad" (سود). The family of this Guhayna were neighbours of the family of the Fezara son of Dhubian who was very closely connected with the first Guhayna: see Wustenfeld, p. 275 (*sub* Leith ben Sa'd).

For the fourth Guhayna cp. BA, LVII and note.

For the 52 tribes of GUHAYNA CPI BA, cxxIII.

The three sons of Baghid according to Wustenfeld (H) were Dhubian (father of Fezara), Anmar and 'Abs.

xxvii Cp. BA, c. There we get "Sha'uf" (شعوف) for the "Shakak" (شكوك) of ABC. The 'Abs mentioned here obviously represents the 'Abs son of Baghid mentioned in the preceding note.

The genealogy of the NORAB section of KABABISH is given in a confused manner: for instance, it is expressly mentioned that 'Ali ibn Nflr had "five sons," but reference is subsequently made to a sixth, viz. Keradim.

On p. 195 of *Tribes...*, I have given a genealogical tree based on the version supplied orally by the chief men of the NORAB themselves: it agrees fairly well with ABC. It will be noticed that the ROWAHLA, who are a section of the KABABISH, do not appear with the NORAB, RIBAYKAT and other sections, i.e. as descended from Sufian, but among the descendants of Dhubian. There are sections of NORAB called DAR KEBIR, DAR U M BAKHIT, AWLAD EL Kfr, and DAR SA'fD: hence the names of the sons of Nor ibn 'Ali (see tree).

Sheikh 'Ah wad el T6m is the present *nazir* of the KABABISH.

XXVIII Cp. BA, LVI and LIX et seq., etc.

In this section the author has several times confused the two men called Dhubian, viz. the son of Baghid and the son of 'Abd: both are descended (see tree) from Baghid, and in mentioning the full name of some of the descendants of the former he has, on reaching Dhubian, continued "...son of 'Abd," etc., instead of "...son of Baghid," although he has previously made it clear that, as in all other *ntsbas* of the GUHAYNA group, the persons and tribes mentioned are descended from the son of Baghid. I have ignored these errors in the tree.

The name "'Abd el 'Aziz Mahsin" is an amusing illustration of methods. Other *ntsbas* give '* 'Abd el 'Aziz M a h (مسن), cestor of the MAHASS"; but the author of ABC, himself a Mahassi, has already provided (see Tree 1) a better pedigree for his tribe, so he changes "Mahass" to "M a h : (مسن) y little more than the addition of a dot, and omits mention of the MAHASS. He even makes mention of two different descendants of Dhubian called 'Abd el 'Aziz Mahsin. The name Mahsin occurs again in para. I (see tree).

The 'AWAMRA are given as descendants of 'Omrndn, whereas from their name they should clearly be descended from 'Amir.

One gathers that, in the author's view, there are two different bodies of SHUKRfA, one descended from Yashkur and one from Bashir. They generally appear in *ntsbas* as descended from Bashir. For Yashkur cp. D 7, xi. For the descent of the ruling family of the SHUKR/A, the AWLAD ABU SIN, from KURAYSH, see C 5.

There is a village called el Kalkala close to el Kamlin.

Cp. BA, xciv for the DAWAGIRA.

'Aid ibn Husayn has not previously been mentioned..

The presentation of the descendants of Dhubian is very inaccurate

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even if judged by the standard of other *ni\$ba\$*. *E.g.* Kungar as ancestor of the "BORKU, BORNU and AFNU" [*i.e.* HOUSSA], and with a son "Fellat," is ridiculous; and "MA\$AKLA" for "MA'A^LA" and "HABBANU" for "HABABIN" are really bad mistakes.

xxix Cp. BA, cxxiv.

xxxi Cp. D i, cm; and also BA, CLXXV and A 2, XL, etc.

XXXII Cp. BA, CLXXVI.

xxxiii Cp. BA, CLXXVII.

XXXIV Cp. BA, CLXXVIII.

xxxv "Arabs" here, as so often, means nomad Arabs.

xxxvi "MASAMIDA" I take to represent MA\$AMIDA, *i.e.* MASMODA Berbers (see App. to Part II, Ch. 1).

XXXVIII The well-known AWL AD 'ALI nomads of Egypt are intended.

XLIV In the Appendix will be found an account of the KANCZ by one of their number. For "Dowlat el Kanzi," that is Kanz el Dowla, see Part II, Chaps. 1 and 2.

XLV Cp. D I, CLXXXII.

XLVI Cp. BA, XLIV. This is an amazing statement! See BA, XLIV

XLVIII Cp. BA, ccxv. By "U M 'AR'ARA" are meant the tribe commonly known as Amarar.

L See Vol 1, p. 138.

LII Practically all the tribes mentioned in this paragraph are BAKKARA of western Kordofan and Darfar. See Part III, Ch. 3; and for the last two named see Vol 1, pp. 85 and 336 respectively.

LIII See Vol 1, p. 268

LIV The tribes alluded to in this and the following paragraphs are known as ZENARKHA and MASHAIKHA. For the latter, and particularly Sheikh Ya'akub, see D 3, 255

The name MASHAIKHA (*sing* Mushakhi) is said to be complimentary to their nobility of descent, *ie* to be properly a sobriquet (cp. Burton, *Pilgrimage*, 1, 58). Most of the MASHA/KHA are near Khartoum and others are at Sennar, Abu Haraz, Kabushia, in the Gezira, etc They consist of no more than scattered families. Eleven generations are given as having elapsed since the time of el Mugelli.

The ZENARKHA, as the author says, live among the GAMU'TA, to the south of Omdurman, but are independent and have their own sheikh, though in past days they obeyed the call of the GAMV'IA *nahds*.

LV The 'ATAIAB are in Kassala.

The biography of Hammad "Ibn Manam" (or "Wad Um Marram," "Um Marram," etc.) is No. 124 in D 3, q.v. (note) for the nickname.

Bandi is an island between the Shablaka and Shendi.

LVI For the HAMMATTI'AB (HAMMADTUWIAB?) see D 3, 21 and 158.

APPENDIX¹

The KanUz

SECTION I

The KANUZ are divided into two tribes.

Firstly. There are the descendants of el Sayyid Muhammad **Wanas** son of Rahma son of Hasan, whose pedigree reaches to el Fadll son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbas. The *amir* Muhammad Wanas had six sons, and he died and was buried at the burial-place [*lgabdna*] of Aswan.

These sons were:

i. iDRIs, the eldest, ancestor of el Mehk Tunbul² of Ark6 Island, [whose family] are known as the kings of Dongola.

2. HAMDULLA. He had few descendants. Such as exist are at Kalabsha and are known as the WANASAB EL HAMDULAB after their ancestor.

3. ARKHI. His descendants are in the Gezfra and the Sudan, and their tribe is called the ARKHIAB.

4. AD-HAM. [His descendants are] at el Khatara and the island of Aswan, but most of them are in the Sudan. Branches of them are BELILAB and MUSALLAMAB.

5. 'ADLAN. His mother was from the Oases [*el Wahat*]. His descendants are at Aswan and in the Sudan; and they include the tribe of 'ADLANAB³ among the SHAKIA.

6. KHAYRULLA. HIS descendants are the KHAYRULLAB, who are in the province of Aswan. Most of them are in the Sudan.

Secondly We will next mention the noble chieftains called Awlad Tamfm el Dar⁴ el Ansari, three in number.

1. The *amir* Sheraf el Din who had two sons and was buried at Cairo at the Gate of Victory (*Bab el Nasr*): his sons were Madhnab, whose tribe is called the KURNAB and resides at Abu Har and in the Sudan, and Begu, whose tribe is called the BLGWAB and resides at Abu Har and in the Sudan

2. Nasr el Din Tamfm el Dar, whose son was Nasrulla. The latter's tribe is called the NASRULLAB and resides at Kasengar and [among] the SHAIKIA.

¹ This brief account of the Kanuz was written for me at Omdurmdn in 1914 by el Sadik 'fisa one of the chief men of the tribe residing there

The Kanuz are now rightly reckoned as one of the main divisions of the Nubian race living between Dongola and Egyot. They are no doubt a blend of those Awlrid Kanz Arabs, who in 1365 conquered Aswan and for some time dominated the surrounding country, and the older Nubian stock. See Part II.

² On the island of Tombos, near Kerma, is "a fortress built by Muhammad Wad Tunbul, king of Arkd, and here are the tombs of his ancestors" (Budge, 11, 372).

³ For the 'Adldnab contrast D 5 (c), xxvi and xxxiv.

* The Awlad Tamfm el Dar, however, were Bern Lakhm and not Awlad Kanz at all (see WUstenfeld, 5, and *Ibid.* I, 441, 442).

3. Tomam, son of Tamim el Dar, [*i.e.*] the *amir* Nigm el Din ["Star of Religion"], who was buried at Cairo at the Gate of Victory, had four sons, viz. :

(a) Um Birak ibn Nigm el Din, whose descendants are called the UMBARAKXB and live in Upper Egypt and the Sudan.

(h) '6nulla ibn Nigm el Din, whose descendants are called the *(3NUL-LAB and live in Upper Egypt and the Sudan.

(c) Ghuldmulla ibn Nigm el Din, whose descendants are called the HARBIAB and live in Upper Egypt and the Sudan.

(d) 'Amir ibn Nigm el Din, whose descendants are called the AWLAD 'OMRAN¹ and live in Upper Egypt and JCordo&n [in] the Sudan.

SECTION II

The following are said to be the 27 divisions of Kanflz in Upper Egypt and the Sudan².

1. El Wanasab	f At Aswan, Khartoum, Omdur-
	man, and Khartoum North
2. El Mududdb	
v El Huzaylab	and el Kawa.
4- El 'Onullab	and Butn and el Mesallamfa
5- El Umbdrakab	and Berber and el Ddmer
6. Abu Hur	and Berber.
7 El Geraysab	and el Kamlin.
8. Dabod	
9< El Khayrullab	and Shendi.
10, El Ad hamdb	and in Ddr Fung.
11. El Ghidaysab	
12. El Nasrullab	
13. El Bughdalab	
14- El Rifla	and el KdmUn.
15- El Salmab	and Berber
16. El Flawiitm	
17. El Fellahm	and Shendi.
18. El Waznab	
19. El Tondb	
20. El BegwSb	
21. El IJowwashab	and Shendi.
22. El T^yibdb	
23. El Gazayra	
24. El Hagab	
25. El Gharbfa	
26 El Belalab	and Dongola.
27. El Nufddb	

¹ The Bent [Atvldd] 'Omrdn are a small tribe living among the Bedayria in Korðofdn near el Obeid.

² Nos. 1, 3 and 15 come from Kaldbsha and are sometimes spoken of by that name these form a majority in the Sudan. The KanUz are chiefly employed in the workshops of the Steamers and Railways Departments, and as servants From Section I it seems that Nos. 9 and 10 and, again, Nos. 4, 5, 12, 20, are respectively connected by close ties.

MANUSCRIPT A i

Introduction

A FEW years after the reoccupation of the Sudan a Ga'ali named Muhammad 'Ali Kenan obtained this pedigree from the late Sheikh el Bedowi of Omdurman, who was Kadi of Berber in the Mahdfa and President of the Board of 'Ulema for some years after the re-occupation.

It corresponds to paragraphs CLXII to ccx of MS. AB, but the relation between AB and Sheikh el Bedowi's copy is not known. Probably paragraphs CLXII to ccx of the former were copied from the latter.

Compare A 5.

I In the name of God....

II—L (*Here follows a replica of the text of AB from para, CLXII to para, ccx inclusive, identical therewith word for word with the exceptions given in the notes to paragraphs cxxix and CXL-CLXI of BA.*)

LI (*This paragraph is in nature of a postscript and is written in a different and rougher hand: it commences " This pedigree was asked for by¹ Muhammad 'AH son of... etc." as in the tree, and ends "...son of Ma'ad son of 'Adndn"*)

LII Beyond Adnan [the tracing of pedigrees] was forbidden by the Lawgiver, upon whom be the blessings of God....

LIII A pedigree from on high, well guarded and indisputable:

There is no pedigree to compare with it.

Pearls heaped high from of old: a pure light

Beyond that of the Heavenly Twins.

A pedigree by whose sweetness the noble ones are known:

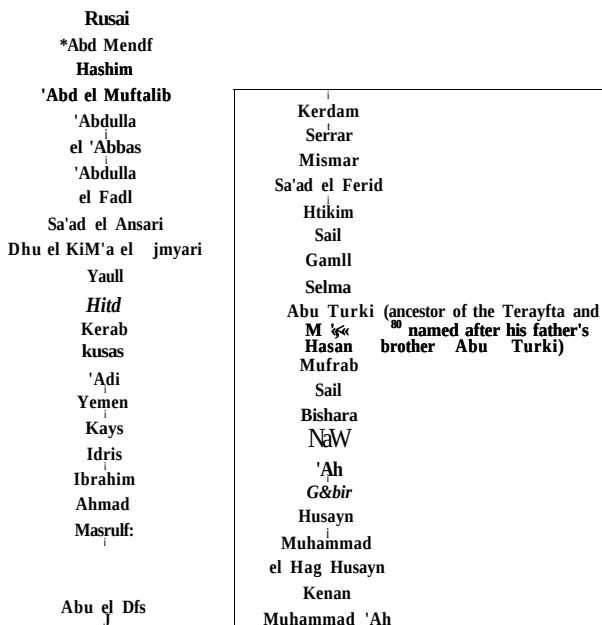
The Heavenly Twins encircle it.

Lo here a necklace precious and magnificent,

For Thou art in it: the rarest of all pearls.

¹ I.e. Muhammad 'Ali applied to Sheikh el Bedowi for a copy.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. A i



MANUSCRIPT A 2

Introduction

THE *nisba* here translated was a copy made for me by Ishak Muhammad Sheddad, a Bedayri of Bara in Kordofan, from the copy in his possession.

The latter is alleged to have been copied by Sheikh 'Omdra 'Awuda Shakal el Karih (*q.v.* para, XLIV), who lived in Dongola about the middle of the seventeenth century, from the original work of "el Samarkandi." Compare, however, the introduction to A 3.

This is a true copy of the original pedigree.

I In the name of God...

This is the pedigree of el Sheikh Ishak ibn el Sheikh Muhammad Ahmad Sheddad: Ishik son of.. *(The pedigree is given from son to father, up to el 'Abbas, as in the tree.)*

II And of el 'Abbas the Prophet.. said "Nobility pertains to me and to my uncle Hamza and to el 'Abbas"; whose lineage finally reaches to 'Adnan.

III And the Prophet.. said "Whosoever goes beyond this.. etc."

IV *A Copy of the Pedigrees of All the Arabs.*

Verily the noble man begot noble [children].

V-XIII Now Subuh.. *(From this point to the end of para, xliii the text closely corresponds to that of A 11 (paras, xvi to xxvii; all such variations, additions and omissions as occur will be seen from the trees and the notes to A 2 and AII. The arrangement is occasionally altered but the source is obviously one.)*

XIV-XXI Rubat had five sons.. *(The copyist having omitted the subject-matter of paras, xxviii to xxxix of A II, which are very corrupt, from here onwards to para, xxi gives practically the same details as are in paras. XL to XLVI of An. For variations see the trees and notes to A 2 and A n .)*

XXII Now the 'ABBASIYYUN, or the 'ABBAS, are the family of Abu Abdulla el Saffah, who is Muhammad son of 'Abdulla son of 'Ali son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbas; and Ibrahim Ga'al is descended from Sa'ad son of el Fadl son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbas; so they [the 'ABBASIYYUN] and the GA'ALIYYUN have their first common ancestor in 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbas son of 'Abd el Muftalib son of Hashim. Here ends the pedigree of Ga'al.

XXIII The above is what I have found. Now the 'ABBASIYYUN held the power at Isbah'an because they were of the family of Hashim, and the BENI OMMAYYA took it from them, and the 'ABBASIYYUN were impotent until the time of Muhammad Abu 'Abdulla el Saffah. He then wrested the power from the BENI OMMAYYA, and took it for himself, and slew them there with great slaughter till he had taken their place in the land and put an end to them.

XXIV The KAWAHLA are descended from el Zubayr ibn el 'Awwam, and their mother was Safia; and according to el Samarkandi they are the family of Kahil son of 'Amir son of Khalifa Ibayrak son of Muhammad son of Sulayman son of Khali d son of el Walid.

XXV The SHUKRfA are a great tribe, renowned for their bravery. They are descended from Shukr son of Idris, and their genealogies are traced to 'Abdulla el Gawad son of Ga'afir son of Abu Talib son of 'Abd el Muttalib (surnamed 'Abd Menaf).

XXVI Similarly the HASANU are [descended] from the family of Ga'afir son of Abu Talib and are the children of Hasan son of Gamil, and their pedigree reaches to 'Abdulla el Gawad son of Ga'afir son of Abu Talib.

XXVII The RIKABIYYCN are the family of Rikab son of 'Abdulla and their genealogies are traced to el Sheikh Ahmad el Zila'i.

XXVIII The FADNIA are the descendants of the noble el Sayyid Muhammad, son of el Imam 'Ali, known as "Ibn el Hanafia."

XXIX The MESALLAM*A are the family of Musallam son of Hegaz son of 'Atif el Ommawi, [who] migrated from Syria [*el Sham*] in the days of 'Omar ibn 'Abd el 'Aziz (God bless him), and settled in the Sudan.

XXX The 'AMRIYYUN (spelt with 'AMR...) are the family of Sulayman son of 'Abd el Malik son of Marwan the Ommawi. It is said that they ruled the blacks in the Sudan and the country of the HAMAG, and finally [*lit.* "until"] they became assimilated to them in every respect and came to be known as "the FUNG." The reason of their emigration [*i.e.* from Arabia] was thus: Sulayman fled to the Sudan in the time of the Khah'fate of Abu 'Abdulla Muhammad el Saffah, who was the first of the BENI 'ABBAS to hold that position, and who wrested the power from Marwan, who is said to have been the last of the BENI OMMAYYA dynasty. Abu 'Abdulla continued laughing the BENI OMMAYYA and subjecting them till he had taken their place throughout the country. So Sulayman fled to Abyssinia and settled there for a time. Then news reached him that el Saffah had pursued [?] the BENI OMMAYYA after their dispersion into [various] countries and had finally overtaken Muhammad ibn

el Walid ibn Hashim in Spain [*el Andalus*] and slain him. Sulayman therefore fled from Abyssinia to the Sudan and settled there and married the daughter of one of the kings of the Sudan. By her he had two sons, the one named Daud and the other Ans. Then [Sulayman] died, and the names [of his sons] got altered, and Daud was called Oudun, and Ans was called Ouns. Oun§ was ancestor of the OUN SAB, and Daud of the OUDUNAB. These [descendants of Sulayman] multiplied among the blacks and finally they became fused with them in every respect, and their power flourished and they became those rulers of the Sudan who are known from history. The first king of this stock in Sennar was the Sultan 'Omara, and the power passed from Sultan to Sultan till the time of the Sultan Badi whose rule ended with the Turkish conquest of Sennar in the Sudan. Ends. This is what we have found.

XXXI As regards FEZARA, their pedigree is well known: they are a tribe of BENI TAM/M, who settled in the Sudan.

XXXII The BENI 'AMIR are the family of 'Amir and occupied Abyssinia and are its rulers.

XXXIII KENANA are a great and famous tribe in the Sudan and are the family of Dekaym el Kenani, an important¹ and unblemished family: they dwell in the same parts of the country as FEZARA.

XXXIV The GABmfA are numerous in Abyssinia; [but] most of them [are] between the MAHASS and the well-known [town of] Dongola. They are the family of Gabir son of 'Abdulla el Ansari. When Dongola was occupied, at the time of its siege, the majority of them assisted the armies of the Muslims in the expedition of 'Amr ibn el 'Asi (God bless him).

XXXV RUFA'A were settled at the first among the BEGA: then____ They are [one] of the tribes of KUTAF.

XXXVI The GABARTA² are by origin Arabs.

XXXVII FELLATA are the children of 'Ukba; and the writers of genealogies relate that the sheikh who was in Upper Egypt [*Ard el Sa'id*] and known as el Sheikh Mugelli was one of them³. Their pedigree goes back to 'Abd el Rahman son of Abu Bukr el Sadik (God bless him).

XXXVIII The HADARBA are a well-known tribe. El Samarkandi says "I heard from el Sheikh 'Abdulla ibn el Wuzir el Hadrami that they declare they [came] originally from Hadramaut and migrated inland

¹ reading من آل بهراج for و آل واجع .

² reading جبيرة for جبيرة .

³ reading فانه منهم for فانه منهم .

in the time of el Haggag ibn Yusef and settled with the BEGA till they became [a part] of them and ruled at SQakin el Gezira, and settled there on the coasts of the salt sea of the Sudan."

XXXIX The BER*AB are ASHRAF descended from el Husayn.

XL The GA'AFIRA are a great tribe: their pedigree goes back to Ga'afir ibn Kutaf of the tribe of T A I, and it is said that Ma'atab ibn Hatim el Tai was [one] of them. They are famous by [containing among their number] Kerdam and others whom we have not space to mention. Ends.

XLI Now this pedigree has been transcribed from el Samarkandi the Great, from the original. As regards the pedigree given as that of the transcriber of it, there is no need to expand it [any further] here.

XLII Now 'Arman and Nimayr and Muhammad are the sons of 'Abd Rabbihi son of 'Arman son of Duab son of Ghanim [son of Hamaydan] son of Subuh Abu Merkha son of Mismar, who is brother of Samra the father of el Bedayri (the ancestor of the BEDAYRfA); and both of them (Mismar and Samra) are the sons of Serrar ibn Kerdam, as has just been explained from the beginning as far back as 'Adnan.

XLIII And of 'Adnan one has said "How many a father owes the nobility which he possesses to his son, even as 'Adnan owes his to the Prophet of God____"

XLIV This pedigree, which has the authority of past generations, and which was transcribed from [the work of] el Samarkandi the Great, as we mentioned above, was transcribed by el Sheikh 'Omara el Sheikh 'Awuda Shakal el Karih, and preserved and verified, and upon it are the signatures of the 'omad and notables and *Khalifas* and learned men whose names appear below.

The signature and seal of el Ostadh Mirghani Sowar el Dhahab, "*Khalifat el Khulafd* " in Dongola and representative of the Khatmfa.

El Sheikh Mukhtar Sati Muhammad el Obayyad, and his seal.

The signature and seal of el Sheikh el Kadi Sati Muhammad ibn el Kadi Muhammad Salih.

The signature and seal of el Sheikh Muhammad Taha Muhammad Nur el Khut (?), *Khalifa* of Tankassi.

The signature and seal of the *Khalifa* 'Abd el Kadir Yusef, the *Khalifa* of el Sheikh 'Awuda el Karih.

The signature and seal of el Sheikh Sati Muhammad Muhammad Ziada.

The signature and seal of el Sheikh Muhammad Hasan el Sheikh 'Abd el Gelil tfabuba.

El Sheikh Muhammad Ahmad 'fsa.

The signature and seal of the 'omda Sa'id Muhammad Ferah, 'omda of Tankassi Island and district.

The *Khalifa* 'Omdra Muhammad 'Isa, and his handwriting.

The signature and seal of the *Khalifa* Muhammad Hasan Sati, *Khalifa* of el Hag...(illegible).

The signature and seal of el Sheikh Hamid Muhammad 'fSa.

El Sheikh Ahmad el Kurashi Muhammad Ahmed.

El Sheikh Muhammad Sulaymdn Medani.

El Sheikh Ahmad Muhammad Magdhub.

The *Khalifa* 'Othman Ahmad Kurashi.

The signature and seal of el Sheikh Kumr(?) Idris Mustafa Mahmud.

The signature and seal of el Sheikh Bdbikr sati Muhammad el Obayyad.

The signature and seal of el Sheikh Muhammad Ahmad el Feki 'Abd el Rahman.

The signature and seal of el Sheikh Muhammad Ahmad 'Abd el Rahfm, mazum of Tankassi.

The signature and seal of the *Khalifa* el Sheikh Ibrahim el Disuki.

Seal of el Sheikh 'Abd el Wahhab Ahmad Sughayr, the *Khalifa*, in his handwriting.

El Sheikh Muhammad Taha ibn *el feki* (?) Ahmad el ^ m .

The 'omda Sindda Muhammad Ferah.

El Sheikh Gerar (?) Muhammad Ferah.

And others.

A 2 (NOTES)

i Cp. BA, CXXXIII (note), A 3, xv, and AB, xxxix *et seq.*

"Hazabi" is very doubtful: the copyist writes first **حيزري** ("Haydari") and then over **حوزبي** "uazabi") or **حدزبي** "Hadzabi").

11 Cp. A 8, v.

in Cp. BA, cxxxv (note).

V-XIII Subuh Abu Merkha is here called "Subuh Abu Muraka'a, but this form does not occur elsewhere. The only emendations made in paras, v-xm is "Ghanim" for "Ghanima."

The "MAIDIA" occur also as "MAGIDIA" (see note to D 3,200 and 108).

Para, xi closes with "They" (sc. the 13 sons of 'Armari) "died unmarried." This may be a gloss by the latest copyist to save the trouble of giving any more lists of descendants. In para, XLII he actually gives certain descendants of 'Arman by way of a postscript.

Para, xlii opens with "Hammad el Bahkarub begot the NAHKAR" (by slip for BAHKAR), although Hammad el BahkarUb has not been previously mentioned. Presumably he is the "Hammad surnamed Kati" of para, xu, and "bi Kati" may be an error for "bi BahkarUb." A 11 (xxv and XXVII) calls him "el Bahkar."

xrv-xxi Cp. A11, XL.

As to Rubaf and Sa'ad el Ferid being sons of Mismar see note on the genealogical tree.

"Makbud' (**مقبض**) is an emendation of "Mafdub" (**مفضب**).

"SAKARANG" is an emendation of "SAKARAG," and "BORNO" of "BORNA."

A 2 (para, xvn) says "Hakim begot the HAKIMAB, the people of ArkO Island. Gabir begot the MAHASS, the kings of Khandak and Dongola"; but A 11 omits this.

After "kings of Tekali" A 2 adds "who are the original royal stock," and after "TOMAM" adds "in the west": A 11 contains neither of these remarks,

xxn This and para, xxiii are not in A 11, though cp. A n, LIX.

For "Abu 'Abdulla" see note to BA, ccxiii.

"Is descended from Sa'ad" is given literally as "is son of Sa'ad."

xxiv Cp. BA, cxviii, cxxiv; A n, XLVIII; C I; D 2, XIX and D 1, cxxxi.

The version of D 1 reconciles the two accounts given in A 2. A II gives "Omara" for "Amir."

Wiistenfeld (q.v. S) gives no "Sulayman" as son of Khalid: the latter was of the BENI MAKHZUM.

The name "Ibayrak" is clearly connected with "BERAKNA," the name of one of the main sub-tribes of the KAWAHLA.

xxv. Cp. A 11, L and D 2, xxxi.

For 'Abdulla ibn Ga'afir see Wiistenfeld, Y.

'Abd el Muftalib was grandson of 'Abd Menaf

xxvi Contrast D i, CLXXI and cp. D 2, xxxrv.

XXVII Cp. BA, CLXXIX, etc.

xxvm Cp. BA, CLXXIV, etc.

xxix Cp. BA, CLXXVIII, etc.

xxx Cp. BA, ccxni, etc.

For a different account of Ounsa and Ouddn see tree of B 1.

xxxi Cp. A 11, LIV, etc.

xxxii Cp. BA, ccxv; A 11, LV and D 2, XLI.

XXXIII Cp. A 11, LVI; D 1, CXL and D 2, xin.

This paragraph and A 11, LVI originate from the same source but the copyist must be wrong in one case. The reading of A 11 is the better, viz.

من مال بهراح وائل سليم in place of A 2, viz. وائل راجح وائل سليم.

"Dekaym" should probably be "Deghaym" (see D 2, XIII).

xxxrv Cp. BA, CXLVIII and A 11, LVII.

The reference is to the conquest of Dongola in 652 A.D. by 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad. I can find no record of 'Abdulla's having a son Gabir.

xxxv Cp. A 11, LVIII and D 2, xrv.

After "then" is written تَجَرِي; the meaning is evidently that they migrated (see Part III, Chap. 2 (a)). For "KUTAF" A 11 gives KAIITAN.

xxxvi Cp. BA, CLXXVII and A 11, LX.

XXXVII Cp. BA, cxix and A 11, LXI (and notes).

By " 'Ukba" is meant 'Ukba ibn Yasir.

For 'Abd el Rahman see Wustenfeld, R.

El Sheikh Mugelli is the Mashaykhi mentioned in D 3, 255 and ABC, Liv.

XXXVIII See BA, CLXXVI and D 7, LI.

XXXIX This paragraph appears only in A 2.

XL Cp. BA, CLXXV and A 11, LXIII.

A 2 and A 11 give "Kutdf" for Kahtdn (BA): cp. para. xxxv.

XLII See note on paras, v-xm.

XLIII Cp. BA, CCXXIX and AB, xxx.

XLIV 'Awada ibn 'Omar ShakaU el Kdnh's biography is in D 3 (No. 66). He was the pupil of a pupil of Hasan wad Hasuna, who died in 1664, and he was alive in 1659.

Khalifa, literally "a successor," is used to mean the head of a religious sect.

The Khatmfa includes the Morghanfa *tarika*.

Tankassi Island is close to Debba, in Dongola.

The signatories appear to be mostly GA'ALIIN (including BEDAYRL*). This practice of obtaining certificates of authenticity from well-known religious persons is not uncommon: cp. A 8.

MANUSCRIPT A3

Introduction

THIS *nisba* was copied for me by el Safi Sulayman, 'omda of the BiSHaIdA MA'AKLA in Kordofan, in 1909, from the copy in his possession.

From a comparison of paragraphs 11 of A 4 and xIII of A 3 it seems that both A 3 and A 4 are extracts from the pedigree of Muhammad ibn 'fSa Sowar el Dhahab, and that this latter was supposed to have been brought from Mekka by "el Sheikh Kamil el Murshid."

Now Kamil is said to have been a Bedayri, and so was Muhammad ibn 'fSa Sowar el Dhahab; and Ishak Sheddad, whose pedigree we have in A 2, is also a Bedayri, of the same section as Muhammad ibn 'fSa. D 3 contains (No. 191) the biography of the last named. He lived, as his descendants still do, in Dongola, and he was a contemporary and friend (see D 3, 191) of that 'Awiida whose son made a copy of A 2 (*q.v.* para. XLIV). Evidently, therefore, A 2, A 3 and A 4, though varying in minor details (*q.v.* in the trees), all represent extracts from a *nisba* which was current in Dongola about the middle of the seventeenth century, and which in one form or another was used by the compiler of AB.

I In the name of God....

[The following is] an extract from the pedigrees of the tribes of the Arabs from the noble tradition as related by el Termidhi and Ibn Nagi and el Bokhari and Muslim.

II And [it is related] upon the authority of Abu Hurayra concerning the Prophet.. [that he said] " Ye know [from] your pedigrees how ye are connected."

III The Almighty said "And I have made you races and tribes, that ye may know one another. The noblest of you in God's sight is the most pious of you."

IV The tribes whom it is not permitted to enslave are, according to *El GdmCi el Sughayr ft hadith el bashir el Kadir* ["The small encyclopaedia on the tradition of the mighty evangelist"],

/ KURAYSH

MUZAYNA

/ GHAFAR¹

- EL ANSAR

ASLAM

HIMYAR²

IGUHAYNA

lAsHGA'A

[rCHUZAYMA³

¹ reading غفار for غفار
² reading حمير for حمير
³ reading حمير for حمير

V And the noblest of these... (*continues as BA, XLIX, down to ... "boast"*).

VI And according to the tradition related by Abu Musa, KURAYSH were, in the time of the Prophet..., eighty¹ tribes.

VII Now GU'UL, considered as a whole, are [descended from]... (*continues as BA, cxxxII, down to.. .Hdshim*).

VIII The Prophet.. .said "Carry **not** your pedigrees beyond 'Adrian."

IX As regards the BENI MA'AMUR. . .(*continues as BA, cxxxi*).

X It has been explained that Gu'ul's name was Ibrahim, and he was called Gu'ul because.. .(*continues as BA, cxxxn, i.e. AB, CLXV*).

XI Most of GUHAYNA are.. .(*continues as AB, cxxxvi, for which see BA, LI*).

XII Now there are [also] seven tribes apart from... (*continues as AB, cxxxvn*).

XIII Now this account is the true one, and I was given it from the manuscript of the scribes at Mekka the Noble by el Sheikh Kamil el Murshid. This is the pedigree of the people.

XIV Now the man who collected the whole of the tribe of GU'UL together was Kerdam, and he lived in the Hegaz and the fertile lands, and whosoever is not among his descendants is no Ga'ali.

XV The true pedigree is as follows: Kerdam son of Abu el Dis son of Buda'a.. .(*etc., up to Hashim: see tree*).

XVI-XXXV Serrar was ancestor.. .(*continues like AB, CLXX et seq. The details as given here concerning Serrar's descendants will be found in the tree, which corresponds largely to the tree of AB*).

XXXVI This is what appeared to us and was made clear.

XXXVII The pedigree of MA'AKLA is from GUHAYNA.

XXXVIII Sahal had three sons, 'Al and Ma'al and 'Abd el 'Al: 'Al begot the MA'ALIA, and Ma'al begot the MA'AKLA, and 'Abd el 'Al begot the ZAYADJA and the MEGANIN.

XXXIX The MA'AKLA are the descendants of two men, Kal and Wal. Kal had two sons, Hubaysh and Ramadan. Hubaysh's descendants are the BISHARIA and the SAMA'fN and KANAKA and AWLAD BADR. Ramadan's descendants are KAGABiL and 'ABAofA and AWLAD HARAYZ.

¹ reading ثمانين for ثمانية.

A3 (NOTES)

i For "el Termidhi" see AB, cvi.

El Bokhari is the most famous of the Kuranic commentators (see Huart, pp. 217-220).

"Muslim" is Abu el Husayn ibn el Haggag, author of a *Sahih* (see Huart, pp. 218, 219).

"Ibn Nagi" may be the Ibn Abu Nagih mentioned by el Makrizi (*Khetdt*, 1, 275).

11 Cp. BA, in (note),

in Cp. BA, XXIII, etc.

iv Cp. AB, CXXXII and BA, XLVIII. The author of *El Gdma'i el Sughayr* was Gelal el Din el Siuti (1445-1505).

KEN ANA is obviously omitted here by a slip,

vi Cp. BA, cxxx and AB, CLXII.

VII For "GU'UL" (instead of "GA'AL") cp. D 6, xi. The word translated "considered as a whole" is **معدودة**.

viii Cp. BA, cxxxv, etc.

XI This paragraph agrees entirely with AB (as opposed to BA) except that the words "in Basra and" are omitted after "Himyar."

The word translated in BA, Li, "mixed with" is **متشعبة** in A 3, **ممزوجة** in BA, and **متنوعة** AB: the last is probably correct.

XII The spelling here varies from that in AB, CXXXVII: "BAG" in AB is "BEGA" in A 3, "KHASHBA" in AB is "HASHBA" in A 3, "GHIBRA" (AB) becomes "KIBRAT" (A 3), and "'ATHIR" becomes "'AFIR."

XIII The Arabic of "I was given..." is

قابلتها بنسخة مكتبة بمكة المشرفة عن الشيخ كامل المرشد

For Kamil el Murshid cp. A 4, 11.

xiv Cp. AB, CLXVI.

For "the fertile lands" (**الارياض**) the text of A3 gives "el 'Irak" (**العراق**). AB gives **الارياض**.

xv Cp. AB, XXXIX and BA, cxxxIII *et seq.*

xvi-xxxv The text of these sections contains only what is in the tree. ^Suwayh" is written for "Shuwayh," "KODIAT" for "GHODIAT," "Ghomar" for "'Omar," and (once) "Hamayd" for "Hamaydan": these four slips have been corrected in the tree.

The fact that "Hamayd el Nawam" is spoken of proves that A3 was not taken from AB, for AB expressly condemns that version (see BA, CLIV, note). The original of A 3, on the contrary, was evidently used by the author of AB.

The names of 14 sons of Hammad el Aklat are given as in the tree, but the form in each case, *e.g.* "Serrarabi," "Nafa'abi," etc., is not that

n 4 NATIVE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SUDAN rv. AS. XXXV.

of a proper name but of a member of a sub-tribe; *t.e.* the **son's name** would be "Serrar," "Nafa'i," etc., and his descendants (the sub-tribe) would thus be called "SERRARAB," etc., and the singular of such form is "Serrarabi," etc. Though 14 sons are given, the text of the paragraph commences "Hammad el Akrat had thirteen sons."

xxxvn This and the following paragraphs, to the end, are only written in pencil in the MS. They may have been copied from a different source but probably represent only vague recollections.

xxxix The " BiSHARf A," etc., are sections of the MA'AKLA.

MANUSCRIPT A 4

Introduction

(See Introduction to A 3)

I In the name of God_____

The Prophet.. said "Ye know from your pedigrees how ye are connected.

II The following is the pedigree which was transcribed by the feki Ahmad Muhammad from the pedigree of Sheikh Muhammad ibn 'Isa Sowar el Dhahab, [which latter came] from Mekka the Noble, for it was brought [thence] by Sheikh Kamil el Murshid the Bedayn¹; [and it] gives the pedigrees of the descendants of Ga'al.

III-XII Serrar had three sons.. *{for these and their descendants see the tree • no other details are given}.*

XIII Here ends the catalogue of the GA'AUYUN.

XIV Now Mismar and Samra and Samayra were the sons of Kerdam son of.. *(as in tree).*

A 4 (NOTES)

I Cp. BA, in.

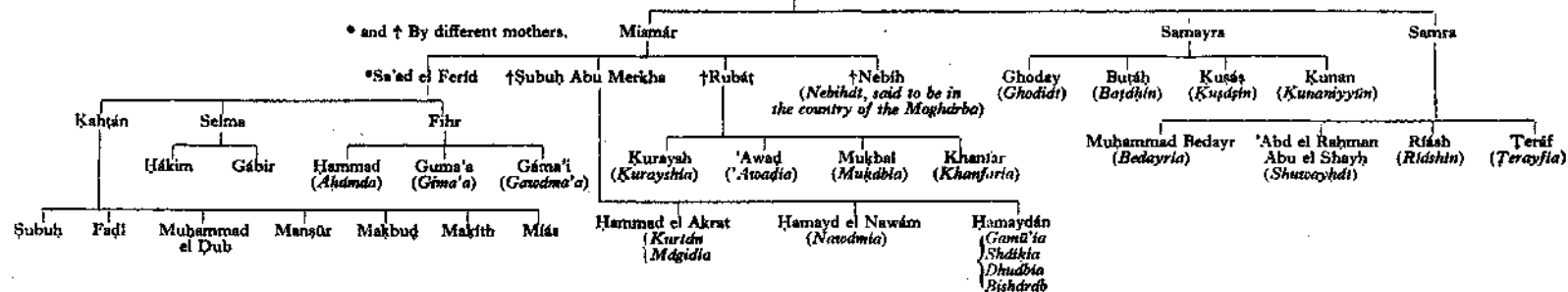
II For Muhammad ibn 'fsa see introduction to A3, and D 3, 191.

Cp A 3, XIII.

III-XII In the tree "Koday" and "KODIAT" have been altered to "Ghoday" and "GHODIAT" respectively.

¹ reading **البدير for البديري**.

El 'Abbás
'Abdulla
El Faql
Sa'ad el Anṣari
Ibrāhīm Ga'si
El Yemān
Ahmad el Hegāzi
Sharūk
Kharḳān
Buḳā'a
Abu el Dīs
Kerdam
[Serrāt]



MANUSCRIPT A 5

Introduction

THIS extract is said by the owner, el Hadi, to have been **obtained** some ten years ago by his uncle Rahma Muhammad. He does **not** know its origin. Probably it is, like A 1, an extract from Sheikh el Bedowi's manuscript, and the variations may be due to the copyist.

Pedigree of the GA'ALIYYON.

I I am el Hadi son of... *(as in tree, no details given).*

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. A 5

'Abd el Muftahb	
El 'Abbas	
'Abdulla	
El Fadl	
Sajad	
Dhu el Kite'a el Himyari	
YaVI	Serrdr
Hapl	Mismar
Kerab	Sa'ad
Kusas	Kab^an
'Adi	Malt bud
Yemen	'Ukasha
Kays	¹ Muhammad
Idiis	Nusr el Din
Ibrahim	Hasan
Ahmad	¹ Hammad
Maaruk	Rahma
Harkan	Fadlull*
Buda'a	Rahma
Abu el Dfs	Muhammad
¹ Kerdam	El HagAhmad
	El Hadi

MANUSCRIPT A 6

Introduction

THIS pedigree was lent me by Mr H. C. Jackson, who had borrowed it from the famous Zubayr Pasha. The latter, as will be seen from the tree, was one of the GAMC'IA section of the GA'ALIIN, being descended from their eponymous ancestor Gamu'a ibn Ghanim. He died in 1913. It is not known from where Zubayr Pasha obtained the pedigree.

(This pedigree commences with a bald list of 10 persons who are related to el Zubayr Pasha, being equally with him descended from Sulaymdn ibn Abukr, and then continues as follows.)

I This is the pedigree of his excellency the late el Zubayr Rahma Pasha, the great and mighty, to whom are related the persons whose names appear above.

II El Zubayr son of... *(as tree, q.v., as far as 'Adnan).*

III And the Prophet... said " Go not beyond 'Adnan. It is in him that [ye] are united. [The generations] beyond 'Adnan are disputed."

A 6 (NOTE)

in Cp. BA, cxxxv, etc.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. A 6

Etc. to 'Adnan 4	Yemen ⁸	
kusai	kays	
'Abd Menaf	Idris	GamG'a
Hashim	Ibrdhim el Hashimi	¹ Mansur
•Abd el Muttalib	Ahmad*	Gamf'a
El 'Abbas	MasruJ: ⁶	Shahin
'Abdulla	'Abdulla Harkan	
El Fadl	Budd'a	Abukr
Sa'ad ¹	Abu el Dis	¹ Sulaymdn
Dhu el Kila 'a ²	Kerdam	Nd'am
Ydtil	Serrar	Sulayman
Hatil	Mismar	Muhammad
Ke'rab	Subuh	'Ah
kusas	I^amayddn	Mansur
'Adi	Ghdnim	Rahma

¹ Whose mother was of El Ansar

⁸ Whose mother was of El Khazrag.

* Whose mother was of El 'Abs.

* Whose mother was of IJimyayr.

* Whose mother was from Yemen.

El Zubayr

MANUSCRIPT A 7

Introduction

THIS extract is sealed by three sheikhs. It was produced by a woman, who had been born a Tekalawia and captured and enslaved in the Mahdia, as a proof of the fact that she was freeborn and not enslaveable.

Apparently it is from the same source as A 10.

This is the pedigree of el T6m bint Kerayb,
copied from the great original.

I In the name of God_____

Praise be to Him who made men races and tribes that they might know one another, and blessings and salutations upon him that said "Ye know from your pedigrees how ye are connected," and upon his family_____

II Now the preservation of pedigrees is obligatory, ordained by the law, and to guard them is a duty in the past and in the future.

III The pedigree is as follows: el Tom daughter of Kerayb son of .. .(as in tree, q.v. as far as el Sayyid el 'Ablds).

A 7 (NOTES)

" The great original " is الام الكبرى (" The great mother ").

i Cp. BA, in, XXIII, xxxn.

m The " meks " mentioned are those of Gebel Tekali, and it is of interest to notice that they are said to be descended from Gamtt'a, i.e. to belong to the GAMU'IA branch of the Ga'ah family.

The name "Gayli" (جيلي) seems to attach to the ruling family at Tekali from generation to generation. Curiously enough, far to the East, between the Blue Nile and the Atbara, is Gebel Gayh (or " Kayh " as it should be written) where a small branch of SHUKRĪA HASANAB have their headquarters, and the Sheikh of these people uses the hereditary name of Gayli in place of his father's name; i.e. instead of (e.g.) "Muhammad walad Ahmad" or "Adam walad el Nur" he is known as "Muhammad Gayh" or "Adam Gayli."

Crowfoot (*Arch. Survey...*, xix, Mem. p. 24) says Gayli "is a Nubian word meaning 'red.'" Burckhardt (*Nubia*) gives it in Naba dialect as "geyla" and in Kanzi as "geylem." The Mid6bi for "red" is "Kayh" and the Birked "Kayle."

" 'Adnan " for " 'Adi " occurs also in A 10.

" Yafil " and " Hatil " are transposed by an error.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. A 7

- El Sayyid el 'Abbas
- El Sayyid el 'Abdulla
- El Sayyid el Sa'ad
- El Sayyid el Dhu el KiUt'a el Himyan (descended on his mother's side
from el Him^yat>)
- El Sayyid el Hatil
- El Sayyid el Yatil
- El Sayyid el Kerab
- El Sayyid el KuSaS
- El Sayyid el 'Adnan
- El Sayyid el Yemen el Khazragi (descended on his mother's side
from el Khazrag)
- El Sayyid el Kays
- El Sayyid el Idris
- El Sayyid el Ib'rdhim el Ga'ah
- El Sayyid el Ahmad el Yemeni
- El Sayyid el Masruk
- El Sayyid el 'Abdulla
- El Sayyid el Kudd'a
- El Sayyid el Kerdam
- El Sayyid el Serrar
- El Sayyid el Mismar
- El Sayyid el Subuh
- El Sayyid el Harnayddn
- El Sayyid el Ghdnim
- El Sayyid el Gamu'a
- El Sayyid el Mansur
- El Sayyid el Hamaydan
- El Sayyid el Diab
- El Sayyid el 'Abd el Muna'am
- Surur
- Ahmad
- Surur
- Mahmud
- El Mek Gayh Abu Gadayn
- El Mek Gayh 'Omara
- El Mek Gayh 'Onulla
- El Mek Gayh Abu Kurun
- El Mek Muhammad
- Ismd'fl
- Yasin
- Kerayb
- ElTom

MANUSCRIPT A 8

Introduction

THIS *nisba* is a disreputable looking document nearly two feet long, the lower half covered with signatures and seals: it is badly written, in bad condition, and full of inaccuracies. Obviously several generations have dropped out between Serrar and the present. It was lent me by \Abd el Kadir 'Abdulla, the sanitary barber of el Kamlin and he stated that it was copied for him about 1900 by his relatives, who hold an older copy, in Dongola, viz. at Um Durrage village, near Korti.

He had no knowledge of the origin of the *nisba*, but believed his relatives to have inherited their copy, which, for all he knew, might be the original.

I Praise be to God who created man from a handful¹ of earth and made him races and tribes that the noble and the baseborn might be known apart, and blessings and salutations be upon the noblest of created beings—there is no disputing it—and upon his family and his companions, the good and glorious ones; and the goodness of the ASHRAF be upon all other noble men, and may the strength of God make their lineage a cause for them to enter into Paradise, as was said by Him who is glorious "Fear God by whom ye beseech one another and [honour] the womb that bore you."

II Now he upon whom be all honour said "Ye know from your pedigrees how ye are connected."

III And according to the agreement between those two quotations it is the bounden duty of every person to know his pedigree and tribe lest perchance he trace his lineage to the ASHRAF though he be not of them, and so fall into sin, or not know that he is a Sherif, though being one. For lack of carefulness in this occasions harm.

IV It is thy duty to fear God under all circumstances according to the word of him who is glorious "The noblest of you in God's sight is the most pious of you."

V This is an honourable pedigree, ennobled by the aid of a host² of manuscripts, the pedigree of el 'Abbas, of whom it was said by the Lord of the Apostles "Nobility pertains to me and to my uncle Hamza and to el 'Abbas."

¹ reading *سلة* for *سلة* .

² reading *حليت* for *حيلة* .

VI Once on a time he upon whom be all honour collected round him his uncle el 'Abbas and his children and threw over them a mantle (or, according to one account a coat) and called to them saying "Verily they are the people of my own kith and kin," and circumcized them.

VII It is said on the authority of el Imam Abu Hanifa el Na'amani "The noblest is the family of 'AH and the family of el 'Abbas and the family of Ga'aflr and the family of 'Akayl and of el Harith ibn 'Abd el Muttalib, and when the origins [of all] are made clear all those who are connected with them are free, of proved lineage."

VIII And here is that pedigree, as you who are learned and intelligent may see: 'Abd el Radir son of 'Abdulla... (*as in the tree, q.v., as far as 'Adnan*).

IX The Imam Malik said, "Verily I hate that which carries a pedigree above...; and beyond 'Adnan all is false ____"

X This is what has been recorded regarding all who belong to the TUAYMAB who are in the SHAIKIA country and the HUMAYYIRAB who are neighbours of the BEDAYRIA, as is testified by those whose names are written¹ below.

27th el Higga 1319.

(Here follows a list of some 37 signatories testifying to the truth of the above pedigree.)

A 8 (NOTES)

1 Cp. BA, XLII and xxIII and x.

n Cp. BA, in and XXXII.

in Cp. BA, 11 and A 11, in.

v Cp. A 2,11.

vin The text gives "Abu el Kila'a son of el Himyan" by error for "Dhu el Kila'a el Himyan."

'Abdulla has been inserted between el Fadl and el 'Abbas by a later hand.

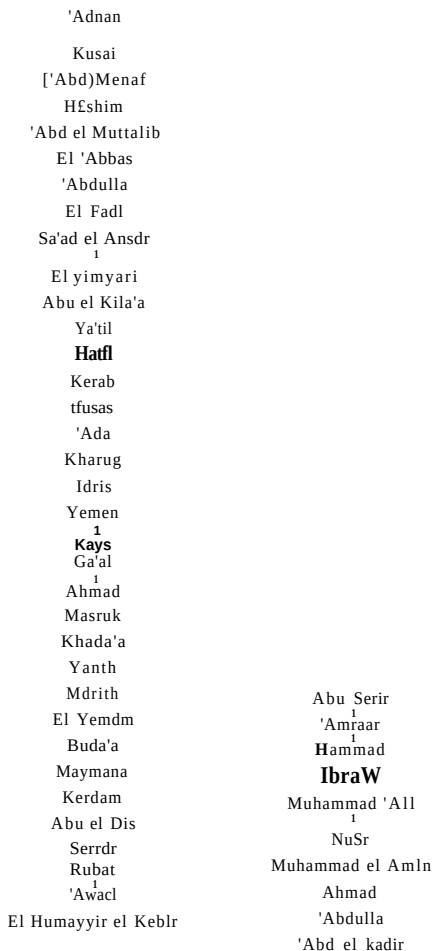
ix Cp. BA, cxxxv. Two or three words here are illegible.

x The TUAYMAB are the section of GA'ALIIN to which the owner of the pedigree belongs. The HUMAYYIRAB are apparently a subsection of them named after the eleventh man on the list.

The signatories are mostly relatives of the owner: they have in many cases added such remarks as "we approve this true pedigree," etc.

¹ reading موضح for موضح.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. A 8



MANUSCRIPT A 9

Introduction

THIS pedigree is that of a certain Muhammad el Nur Ketayna of el Kamlin (Blue Nile). He stated that the original was at Yunis village in Berber at the mosque of the KEJAYNAB and that he took his copy thence. The original is known as *nisbat el Ketayndb* but its author is unknown.

An attempt seems to have been made here to dovetail together the pedigrees of the GA'ALiiN and the MAHASS.

I In the name of God....

God said " O people, I have created you of male and female and made you races and tribes that ye might know one another. Verily the noblest of you in God's sight is the most pious of you."

II And the Prophet..said "Ye know from your pedigrees how ye are connected."

III Here follows the pedigree: Muhammad son of el Nur.. *.(as in tree, q.v., as far as 'Abd el Muttalib).*

A 9 (NOTES)

i Cp. BA, xxII, XXXIII, etc.

II Cp. BA, in.

in The name Hasin occurs also in AB, XL and XLII.

A note of uncertain authorship following the pedigree states that Sa'ad and Ibrahim were called "el Ansan" and "el Ga'ali" respectively because their mothers were an Ansana and a Ga'alia: it is also remarked that Mushayrifs mother was a Mahassia and that from him were descended the SURORAB, the family of Sheikh Idrfs walad el Arbab (for whom see D 3,141), and the 'EBAYDAB and the MAHAYSAB and the 'AWAYDAB and the FAKIRAB sections and various MAHASS.

In D 3, 154, Sheikh Khogah's mother is spoken of as a "Mahassia Mushaynffa." For these echoes of a matrilinear system see note to BA, CXXXIII.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. A 9

'Abd el Muttalib

El 'Abbas

'Abdulla

El Fadl

Sa'ad

Ibnihim

'Abdulla

Dula

El Dis Sharuk

El Yemani

Ahmad el Hegazi

El Ds

'Abdulla

Hasin

Budd'a

darar

'Abdulla

Medani

Idris

Muhammad

'Abd el Rahim

Mushayrif

Serhan

Sharih

Muhammad

Abu el Kasim

¹Medani

¹Abu el Kasim

'Abdulla

¹Ahmad

¹Muhammad

El Nur

Muhammad

MANUSCRIPT A 10

Introduction

THIS pedigree was sent me by Sheikh el Taib Hashim, the *Mufti* of the Sudan.

His section of GA'ALifN is the GODALAB, SO named from Godulla his eleventh ancestor.

I This is the pedigree of the *fakir* the *Mufti* of the Sudan, viz. Sheikh el Taib son of Ahmad son of. ..{as in tree, q.v., to el 'Abbas).

A 10 (NOTE)

After "Ibrahim el Ga'ali" is added "and he was ancestor of all the tribes of the GA'ALIYYON, and to him do all their numerous tribes trace their descent, and every branch of them is united in his person."

" 'Adnan " occurs also in A 7.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. A 10

El 'Abbas	
'Abdulla	
El Fadl	
Sa'ad el Ansari ¹	Mismar
Dhu el Kila'a el Himyari ¹	Subuh Abu Merkha
Ya'til	Ilamayddn
Hatil	Gharum
Kerab	D>Qab
kusas	'Arman
'Adnan	'Abd'el'Al
¹	Godulla
Yemen el Khazragi ¹	Surur
Kays	Ibrihim
Idris	Idris
Ibrahim'el Ga'al	¹
Ahmad el Yemdni	Rahma
Masryuk	Idris
¹	¹
'Abdulla (surnamed Harkan)	'Ah Kumr
Kuda'a	Ahmad
Kerdam	¹
Serrar	Muhammad
¹ So called after his mother's father	Hashim
	Ahmad
	Sheikh'el Taib

MANUSCRIPT A_n*Introduction*

THE particular copy of this *nisba* lent me for translation was the property of one of the family of Talha 'Abd el Baki, the head sheikh of the BATAHIN, a tribe of nomads living east of the Blue Nile.

Its history was unknown, but from internal evidence it would seem clearly to have had the same origin as A 2 and A 3. It has more the appearance of a paraphrase than of an exact copy. The Arabic is somewhat colloquial, the style is disconnected, there are a number of clerical errors, and glosses have been added.

The impression left is that the earliest copyist had access to a lengthy manuscript, possibly the original of "El Samarkandi," and that he or one of his successors made a hasty transcription without greatly discriminating between the relevant and the irrelevant, at times merely paraphrasing the meaning, at times hurriedly copying a whole passage literally, and at times omitting a few paragraphs.

The glosses were probably added after the BATAHIN had acquired their copy, and the latest copyist of all may be entirely responsible for the clerical errors, as for the cramped and crude writing of the text.

I In the name of God....

II Now the knowledge of pedigrees should be pursued with pains and care, for he upon whom be the blessings of God said "Ye know from your pedigrees how ye are connected"; and many reliable men of learning, brilliant savants and geniuses, have given their attention to the study of pedigrees, such as Sidi el Sheikh Abu Sulayman el 'Iraki and Sheikh Mahmud el Samarkandi and Sheikh 'Abdulla ibn Sa'id el Samarkandi and Sheikh Abd el Rahman el Bahrani.

III El Bahrani, God bless him, used to say "Verily we have undertaken a mighty task, and the pedigrees have fallen into confusion among us. What hero will take them in hand¹ that the Sherif may be distinguished from other men ?.. etc "

IV I will mention what is necessary concerning the pedigree of GA'AL, and, God being my aid to the right way, I will tell of the pedigree of the Arabs known as GA'AL. [But as] the tribes of the Arabs are many, I will not deal with them [all]. He that would do so²

¹ reading *يُجَاهِلُ* for *يُجَاهِلُ* .

² reading *يُجَاهِلُ*

الاستقلال for *الاستقلال* .

should [do so by studying] the books of el Samarkandi the Great and of el Bahrani el Sheikh¹ 'Abd el Rahman.

V GA'AL are the ruling race in the Sudan, and they owe their might to the fact of their [descent] from Hashim, and with them is a refuge in times of trouble, and this [has always been] the glory of [the tribes descended from] KURAYSH, [even] before the mission of the Prophet. Their poet says:

VI "O thou that travellest from place to place, hast thou not stayed with the family of 'Abd Menaf? Hast thou not visited them and desired their hospitality? They [would] have saved thee from penury and ill. KURAYSH was as an egg that is broken and scattered; and as the very essence of the yolk are [the sons of] 'Abd Menaf, that give drink to the thirsty, the protectors of the people, and their guides, that move their encampments in concord and peace, that smite the chieftains [of their foes] in the midst of the pate, that cry 'welcome!' to the guest. 'Amr the mighty apportioned the pottage to his people, what time the men of Mekka suffered from the dearth of food. Happy indeed art thou if thou campedst near to them: verily thou wilt experience generosity and justice."

VII Now the reason of their migration to the Sudan was the outbreak of war between the BENI OMMAYYA and the BENI HASHIM. In consequence they migrated to the West, i.e. to the Oases, and then returned eastwards, i.e. to Dongola, and conquered its people and subdued GUHAYNA, and subsequently Dongola and Berber; and GUHAYNA became subject to GA'AL.

VIII The reason of their being so named was, it is said, that their ancestor Ibrahim ibn Idris was a generous king, and the feeble tribesmen used to come to him complaining of want of food, and he used to say to them "*ga'alndkum min ahl nafakatna*" ["we have made you a part of our household"]; and for this reason he was surnamed "Ga'al." There are also other versions; and God best knows the truth.

IX And his descendants have been famous by this name, viz. GA'AL, until the present.

X We will now take up the thread of our discourse.

XI Serrar had three sons, Samra and Samayra and Mismar.

XII Samra had four sons, Bedayr (ancestor of the BEDAYRIA²) and 'Abd el Rahman Abu Shayh (ancestor of the SHUWAYHAT), and Turuk (ancestor of the TERAYFU), and Riash (ancestor of the RfASHIA).

¹ reading *الشيمم* for *الشيمم*.

² reading *بديرية* for *بديرية*.

XIII From Samayra four [tribes] are descended, the GHODIAT¹, the KUNAN, the KusAs and the BATAH*N.

XIV In the book of el Bahrani the Great [it is said] that their ancestor was nicknamed Abtah [after] a *zcddi* of that name in the highlands of Mekka, and the nickname passed to his descendants and they were known as the BATAHIN.

XV Mismar had four sons, Sa'ad el Ferid, and the three sons by a single [other] mother, Subuh Abu Merkha and Rubat and Nebih.

XVI Abu Merkha had three sons, Hammad el Akrat (ancestor of the MAGIDIA and the KURT AN), and Hamayd el Nawdm (ancestor of the SANDIDAB² and the MANSURAB³), and Hamaydan.

XVII [Hamaydan] had eight sons, Ghanim and Shaik (whose mother was Hamama the daughter of his father's brother Rubat), and Hasabulla (el HASABULLAWIYYUN) and Mutraf (whose mother was the daughter of Hashi el Kumr el Fungawi), and Ghanfm and Ghanum and Garni'a (EL GIMI'AB) and Malik el Zayn, all four full brothers.

XVIII Ghanim had three sons, Diab and Dual) and Gamu'a (the GAMU'IA).

XIX Diab had two sons, Bishara and Nasir.

XX Bishara was ancestor of the MIRAFAB and the ZAYDAB and the 'ABDRAHMANAB and the FADLAB and the RUBATAB and the SERAYHAB and the rest of the well-known descendants of Bishara who live from Berber to el Zora.

XXI The descendants of Nasir are the NASIRAB.

XXII Duab had two sons, 'Arman and Abu Khamsin.

XXIII 'Arman was ancestor of a tribe called the KAMUS.

XXIV 'Arman had thirteen sons, Gebel and Gabr and 'Abd el 'Ali and 'Adlan and Zayd and Mukabir and Sha'a el Din and Sa'id and Nasrulla and 'Abd Rabbihi and Musallam and Shabbu and Bubai.

XXV Abu Khamsin had two sons, Muhammad and Hammad el Bahkur.

XXVI Muhammad was ancestor of the HAMXMADAB and the AWRIKA⁴, the people of el Gerayf, and the KERRIAB, and the BEUAB, and the KITIAB.

XXVII Hammad el Bahkur begot the W\GAYAB, the people of Adam walad Farag.

XXVIII It is said—and God knows the truth—that the AWRIKA are descendants of el Bahkur, as also the HURAYRAB and the HUGAG

¹ reading قديات for غديات.

* reading صندباد for صندباد

³ reading النصوراب for المصوراب

⁴ reading الإورقة for الإورقة.

(the *fekih's* people): this I was told by some of their descendants, but I am not sure of its truth, and God knows best.

> XXIX 'Adlan had thirty sons: four [of them] were the KARAKISA, whose mother was daughter of 'Ali Karkus walad Shukl; and four [of them] were the SITNAB, whose mother was daughter of walad Sinbis¹(?); and four [of them] were the 'ABODAB, whose mother was daughter of 'Abud; and four [of them] were the children of Um Halayb; and Nafa'a and Nafi'a the sons of el Fungawia; and Muhammad [and] *Ali, sons of one mother², namely the daughter of Karkus walad Shukl, el Kamalia; and 'Abd el Daim and 'Abd el Ma'abud, sons of one mother; and Abu Selima and Barakat, sons of one mother; and el Mek Muhammad, only son of his mother; and el 'Awadi, only son of his mother; and 'Abd el Rahman, only son of his mother; and Tor, only son of his mother.

XXX 'Abd el Daim had fourteen sons, Hammad el Hankal (?) and Abu el Basirun and el 'Arashkol and el Kabush and Abu el Gidad and el Kenadi [Kenawi ?] and Dow el Kidr and el Shaddu and Abu Daraywa and 'Ali and Yoiy and Hammad, father of the 'ALATID, and Muhammad el Funkal.

XXXI 'Abd el Ma'abud's descendants are the SHADUGAB and the FARISAB and the DOGAB³ EL WAHAHIB, the people of *el fekih* Muhammad son of 'Abd el Wahhab Guayr son of Sulayman el 'Adhab, and Kungar son of Sulayman el 'Adhab son of Sa'ad son of 'Abd el Salam son of 'Abd el Ma'abud, for ['Abd el Ma'abud] had eight sons, Muhammad el Asfar and Balula el Kir and Sinbis and Shukl and Katkib and 'Abd el Salam and Musa and el Khudayr.

XXXII El Asfar begot the SUFAR, and Katkib the KATKITAB, and Musa the HAMMADA(?) and the TUMAR, and el Khudayr the FI'ALAB and the BA'ABISH, and 'Abd el Salam begot Musnad, and 'Abd el Daim, the people of el Hofia, and el Kanbalawi and Sa'ad and Idris.

XXXIII Sa'ad and Idris begot the KALMiN, and Abu Bukr begot the Awlad 'Abd el Daim, [viz] Hadbu'a (?) and others

XXXIV Hadbu'a (?) begot the people of 'Abdulla walad Delil; and Abu Hasisi [Hasin ? Hasis ?] (?) begot the people of Ghanawa [Ghafawa[?]]; and all of these are descendants of Idris.

XXXV Nafa'a son of 'Adlan had seven sons, Ahmad Abu Harb and Hammad Abu Rikayb and Abu No and Mustafa and Sama'in and 'All Abu Zawaid⁴ and Abu Ruays.

XXXVI Among the descendants of Abu Harb are the KARHAB and

¹ reading *سبين* for *سبين*.

³ reading *والدوجاب* for *والدوجاب*.

² reading *اشقاء* for *اشقاء*.

⁴ reading *زوايد* for *زوايد*.

the *FihA* and the 'AMAKRAB, who are known as the HADALIL; and Hammad was the father of the HAMMADAB.

XXXVII Abu No was ancestor of the NOWAB, and Mustafa of the MUSJAFAB, and Sama'in of the SAMA'NAB¹, and 'Ali Abu Zawafd of the NUGUMU and the SHERAF, and Abu Ruays of the RUAYSAB.

XXXVIII Nafi'a had twenty sons, [from whom are descended] the MfoMB and the TAWILAB and the KABAB and KHADIMAB and the SHGTALAB (?) and the KURSHAB, etc., as far as is known.

XXXIX 'Abd el 'Ah had twenty-four sons, Hammad (who begot el Kabush), and Kandil, and Muhammad, and 'Abdulla el Kabir, and Gabar, and Hasabulla, and Musa, and 'Omar, and Khidr, and Gadulla, and Rafa'i, and Magzuz, and Kaltud, and Kashr, and Bashr, and Tisa'a Kulli, and el 'Ashir el Negadi whose descendants are with the BATAHiN.

XL Rubat had five sons, 'Awad and Kuraysh and Khanfar and 'Abdulla and Mukbal.

XLI Sa'ad el Ferid had three sons, Kahtan and Selma and Fuhayd.

XLII Kahtan had seven sons, Subuh (ancestor of the SUBUH), Fadl (ancestor of the FADLIYYUN), Muhammad el Dub (ancestor of the DUBAB), Makbud (ancestor of the MEKABDA²), Mansur (ancestor of the MANASRA), Makit (ancestor of the MAKAITA³), and Mimafs (ancestor of the MIMAISA).

XLIII Selma had two sons, Hakim and Gabir.

XLIV The sons of Fuhayd were Hammad (ancestor of the AHAMDA), and Guma'a (ancestor of the GIMA'A), and Gama'i (ancestor of the GAWAM'A).

XLV Kerdam had ten sons: seven returned to Kufa, and three bred here, namely Serrar, the ancestor of the whole, and secondly Dula, the ancestor of the FUR (the FUR royal family) and the SAKARANG, kings of Tekali; and, lastly, Tomam, the ancestor of the TOMAM.

XLVI Abu el Dis had two sons, Tergam and Kerdam.

XLVII The pedigree of Serrar leads back to the blessed 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbas the uncle of the Prophet....

XLVIII The KAWAHLA⁴ are the family of Kahil son of 'Omara son of Khalifa son of Muhammad son of Sulayman son of Khalid son of el Walid.

XLIX GUHAYNA are well known.

L The SHUKRI'A trace their descent to 'Abdulla el Gawad son of Ga'afir son of Abu Talib.

¹ r e سماعاب for سماعيناب
³ reading مقاييتة for مقاييتة.

- reading مقابضة for مقابض.
⁴ reading كواهلة for كواهل.

LI The MESALLAMIA are the family of Musallam son of Hegaz¹ son of 'Atif el Bukri. He migrated from Syria in the time of 'Omar ibn 'Abd el 'Aziz and settled in the Sudan.

LI I The RIKABIYYUN are the family of Rikab ibn 'Abdulla and trace their descent to el Sheikh Ahmad ibn 'Omar el Zila'i, who was of the stock of 'Okayl ibn Abu Tahb.

LIU The 'AMRIYYUN (spelt 'AMR...) are the family of Sulayman son of 'Omar son of 'Abd el Malik son of Marwan, and are the ruling race that are known now as the FUNG.

LIV The pedigree of FEZARA is well known. They are one of the tribes of TAMIM and have dwelt [in the Sudan] since the conquest of el Bahnasa.

LV The BENI 'AMIR are the family of 'Amir ibn el Darab el 'Adwani, [and] entered Abyssinia.

LVI KENANA are the relatives of Duhaym ibn Ahmad el Kenani, an important and unblemished family. They dwell in the same parts of the country as FEZARA.

LVII The GABIRIA are a numerous body in Abyssinia, [but] the majority of them are between the MAHASS and Dongola; and it is well known that they are the family of Gabir ibn 'Abdulla el Ansarfi], who left them [as his posterity] at the time of the conquest of Dongola, after its siege.

LVIII RUFA'A used to dwell with the BEGA and Abyssinians. Then they migrated to the Nile. They are the family of Kahtan; and God knows best.

LIX The 'ABBASIYYUN are of the family of 'Abdulla ibn 'Abbas in the Sudan. They include the family of el Saffah and others.

LX The GABARIA are Arabs by origin.

LXI The FELLATA² invaded the land of Takrur. They are the family of Fellat son of 'Ukba³ ibn Yasir from el Batrayn. Some genealogists say that they trace their descent to 'Abd el Rahman son of Abu Bukr el Sadik: others say they are Arabs. God knows best.

LXII The HADARBA. I heard el Sheikh 'Abdulla Abu el Wuzir el Hadrami say that they were from Hadramaut, and similarly the DELAYKAB also, and [that] the cause of their emigration was [their] maltreatment of pilgrims. Then they settled among the BEGA at Erkowit and Suakin, [where they are] till the present day; and some of them have scattered farther afield.

LXIII The GA'AHRA are a mighty tribe, and are descended from

¹ reading حجاز for ججاز. ² reading فلات for فلاته. ³ reading عتبة for عتبة.

Ga'afir ibn Kutaf of the tribe of T A I. They are famous for generosity.

LXIV The FADN*A are the descendants of el Sayyid Muhammad son of the Imam 'AH, God bless him, and there is much related of them.

LXV The sub-tribes of 'Adlan are seven, the NAFA'AB and the NIFI'AB¹ and the MUHAMMADAB and the 'ABUDAB and the KARAKISA and the Y6IYAB and the SHAKALU and the KURUD; and the dispute [for the headship²] is between three of them, viz. the NAFA'AB, the NiFI'AB, and the KARAKISA; and it is related that six of these sub-tribes agreed to take the viziership from the AWLAD NIMR, but the NAFA'AB dissented and resisted this, because el Arbab Muhammad [was] their sister's son. So, when the treaty of Ga'al was concluded, they allotted to the BENI NIMR the rule of the East [bank] to be their own, and [the NAFA'AB] joined the NIMRAB instead of joining the six sub-tribes which² are collectively called the SA'ADAB; and the treaty was observed until the end of their rule.

{The following is added in pencil at the close.}

LXVI Serrar son of Kerdam son of Abu el Dis son of Kuda'a son of Harkan son of Masruk son of Ahmad son of Ibrahim Ga'al, ancestor of the tribe, son of Idris son of Kays son of Yemen son of 'Adi son of Kusas son of Kerab son of Hatil son of Yatil son of Dhu el Kila'a son of Sa'ad son of el Fadl son of 'Abdulla son of el 'Abbas, uncle of the Prophet..., son of 'Abd el Muttahb son of Hishim.

¹ reading الفيغاب for الفيغاب.

² reading التي for التي.

An (NOTES)

n Cp. BA, 11 and III.

None of the savants mentioned occur either in Ibn Khallikan's or Hagi Khalfa's biographical works. For "el Samarkandi" and "el Bahram" see index.

Hi The full quotation is given in the text of D 6, in, and part of it there translated.

v-vi For the hospitality of KURAYSH (the family of 'Abd Menaf) and their lavish entertainment of the pilgrims to Mekka see Muir's *Life of Mahomet* (Introduction, pp xciv *et seq*).

The full quotation as given in A i r is as follows:

يأينها الرجل المحوّل رحله هلا نزلت بآل عبد مناف
هلا مررت بهم تريد قراهم منعوك من ضر ومن اكفاف
كانت قريش بيضة فتفتت فالصخ خالعه لعبد مناف
اهل السقاية والرعاية والهدى والراحلون برحلة الاثلاف
الضاربون الكباش مفروق راسه والقائلون هلمر للاصاف
عمر العلا هشم التريد لقومه ورجال مكة مستنون عجاف
تكلتك امك لو نزلت بجنبهم لرايت من كرم ومن انصاف

In "'Amr the mighty apportioned .." there is a play on the word "Hashim." "Hashim's" name was 'Amr (see Wustenfled, W), and he was surnamed "Hashim," *te*. "He that *hasham* (apportioned)," *sc.* the food and drink. This line is frequently quoted, *e.g.* (i) in the *Tdg el 'Arus* (vol. ix, p. 104), the chief commentary on the great *Kdmus*, and (2) in Ibn Hisham's *Sira Sayyidna Muhammad...* (p. 87), which was written about 750 A D , in a quotation from Ibn Ishak, and (3) in Ibn D6rayd, and (4) in el Masudi (Chap xxxix), and (5) it may also be found in *Lisdn el 'Arab* (vol. xvi, p. 94, *sub* "Hashim").

After this penultimate line, which begins with "'Amr" and ends with "food," Ibn Hisham, on page 87 of the *Sira*, adds another in place of the last line given in A 11. On this occasion he only gives two lines in all, but later (ed Wustenfled, vol 1, pp. 113, 114) he quotes seven lines (not including the line about Hashim referred to above), of which the first two are

يا ايها الرجل المحوّل رحله هلا سالت عن آل عبد مناف
هيكنتك امك لو حدثت بدارهم ضمنوك من جرهم ومن اقراق

and the other five quite different from A II. The other works quoted give only the single line; and all but Mas'udi (edit B. de Meynard) commence *عمر الذي*. Mas'udi begins *عمر*.

As regards the authorship, the *Lisan el 'Arab* attributes the verses to Hashim's daughter, Ibn Ishak (*ap.* Ibn Hisham, p. 87) to "one of Kuraysh or one of the [other] Arabs," Ibn Hisham (on p. 113, when quoting the seven lines mentioned) to Matrud ibn Ka'ab el Khuza'i, and the *Tag el 'Arils* to Ibn el Zaba'ara. Mas'Qdi gives no definite statement on the subject. Again, el Tabari quotes separately, in different places, two of the seven lines given in A 11.

The *Kitab el Amah* of Abu 'Ah el Kali (vol. 1, p. 247) makes Abu Bukr quote five lines to the Prophet of which the first two are :

يا ايها الرجل المحول رحله ألا نزلت نال عبد مناف
هبلتك امك لو نزلت برحله منعوك من عدم ومن اقتار

and the rest quite different from A n .

The third line of A n occurs in el Azraki's *History of Mekka* (ed. Wustenfeld, p. 68) as follows:

كانت قريش بهضة فتفاقت فالمنع خالصا لعبد مناف

This author gives five lines, and, like the *Tag el 'ArGs*, attributes them to Ibn el Zaba'ara • of these five the first is as quoted, the second and third different from anything in A 11, the fourth something similar to the fifth line of A i i , and the fifth reads thus:

wiU*~& Q.e*«" .. ^dEo^ \yl£=> JLLX+) J>4J2\| s*^***> *^xJt jj*o*

On the whole, however, the nearest parallel I have found is the following from Ibn Wadih el Ya'akubi's *History* (ed. Houtsma, 1883), vol 1, p. 282:

هَلَا نَزَلْتُ نَالٍ عِنْدَ مَنَافٍ	يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّجُلُ الْمُحَوَّلُ رَحْلُهُ
ضَمْنُوكَ مِنْ جَوْعٍ وَمِنْ أَقْرَافٍ	هَبْلَتُكَ أُمُّكَ لَوْ حَلَلْتُ بِدَارِهِمُ
وَرَجَالُ مَكَّةَ مُسْتَبْتُونَ عِجَافٍ	عَمَرُوا الْعُلَا هَشَمَ الثَّرِيدِ لِقَوْمِهِ
عِنْدَ الشِّتَاءِ وَرَحْلَةُ الْأَصْبَافِ	نَسَبُوا إِلَيْهِ الرِّحْلَتَيْنِ كُلَّيْهِمَا
وَالرَّاحِلُونَ لِرَحْلَةِ الْإِيْلَافِ	الْأَخَذُونَ الْعَهْدَ فِي أَمَاقِهَا

Ibn Wadih attributes the verses to "Matrud el Khuza'i," thus supporting Ibn Hisham (*q.v supra*). I have to thank Professor Bevan for drawing my attention to this passage. The expression *تَكَلَّتْكَ أُمُّكَ* (///. "may thy mother be bereft of thee") is explained by Lane (Dictionary) as "an expression of vehement love."

VII Cp. D 6, x, "They" presumably means the alleged Kurayshite ancestors of the GA'ALIFN.

Great numbers of GUHAYNA settled on the Nile and east of it in the centuries following the Arab occupation of Egypt and it is not at all improbable that the forefathers of the GA'ALIIN of the present day ousted them from considerable areas between Haifa and Khartoum, and even south of that

Tribes of "Ga'ali" origin have for centuries been predominant over long stretches of country bordering the Nile in the locality mentioned, and the GUHAYNA group of tribes appear to have been to some extent pushed inland, away from the river.

Various branches of GUHAYNA, too, no doubt acknowledged the overlordship of the Ga'ali *mek*s, when the latter, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were in power round Shendi and Metemma.

For "the oases" (*el Wahat*) see Mas'udi, Chap, XXXIII. D 6, x in the corresponding passage omits mention of them.

"Eastwards" should rather be "south-eastwards."

VIII Cp. BA, cxxxII, A 3, x, etc.

xi From here onwards cp BA, cxxxix *et seq.*

For Serrar's pedigree see para. LXVI.

xiv This story is the one generally accepted by the tribe, and it is interesting because it is well authenticated {*vide, e.g., el Mas'udi*) that in the time of Kusai, the fifth ancestor of the Prophet, *1 e* about 400-450 A.D., the tribe of KURAYSH were divided into "*el Batah*" (*i.e.* "lowlanders" or inhabitants of the valleys) and "*el Zuwahir*" (*i.e.* "highlanders"), and the two divisions were kept apart when Kusai settled the tribe at Mekka. The "Lowlanders" comprised the Bern 'Abd Menaf, the Bern 'Abd el Dar, the Bern 'Abd el 'Uzza, and the descendants of Zuhra, Makhzum, Taym, Guma'a, Sahm, and 'Adi—all closely related—and the Bern Ilanbal Ibn 'Amir. The passage in Mas'udi (Chap xxxix) runs thus:

ورثب قريشا على مبارها في السب بمكة وبين الإباضى من قريش وهم
الإباطم وجعل الظاهري طاهريا قريش البطاح هي قبائل بنى عبد المنف
etc.

On this matter see also Yakut (*Geogr.* under "El Bitah") Whether the BATAHIN are really connected in any way with these "Batah" can hardly be decided, but the traditional pedigree that unites the G'ALI/N group (including the BATAHIN) with KURAYSH (*1 e.* the BENI 'ABBAS) and the coincidence of the name need not necessarily be dismissed as pure "fakes." It may be that the tribe assumed the name "BATAHIN" in order to support the *nishas* and because they lived in a land of valleys (round Abu Delayk and 'Alwan), but I think it improbable that there was not some other reason as well.

xvi-xvn Cp. BA, CLIV-CLVI and A 2, v.

A 2 omits mention of the SAND'DAB and MANSURAB, of the name of Rubat's daughter, and of the name of Hasabulla's mother. It says of the last four men mentioned that their descendants are in the west, and omits to say they were full brothers.

The names "el Hasabullawiyun" and "el Gimiab" are written in the text just over the names of Hasabulla and Gami'a.

xviii-xix Cp. BA, CLVIII, etc. and A 2, vii, etc.

xx The words "And the rest of... el Zora" occur word for word in A 2.

By the "ABDRAHMANAB" are meant the Hammadtu family (see D 3,

xxi Cp. BA, CLX. A 2, ix, says: "...the NASIRAB in the west."

XXII Cp. BA, CLXI and A 2, x.

xxni The paragraph is probably a gloss. It does not occur in BA nor A 2. I have not elsewhere met with "KAMUS."

XXIV Cp. BA, CLXV and A 2, xi.

xxv Cp. BA, CLXII and note to A 2, V-XIII.

From here the text becomes rather corrupt, and A 2 is no longer of use for checking purposes: several names are doubtful.

xxvi I have taken "Awrika" (for "Adrika") from para, xxvIII, but either or neither may be correct.

"El Gerayf" is Gerayf Hamdulla (see BA, CLXIII)

For "KERRIAB" BA gives "KARIBAB: possibly the KERRIAT are intended.

XXVII Cp. BA, CLXIV. For "WAGAYAB" BA gives "AWGAB."

XXVIII This may be a gloss.

XXIX Cp. BA, CLXVII-CLXXII and notes.

Twenty-eight sons only are given, and the text in this and the following paragraphs is corrupt and differs in many details from BA: the trees may be compared

Shukl should be one of the 30 sons and not father of *Ali Karkus, as is clear from BA, CLXXI and A 11, LXV.

For "Urn Halayb" BA gives "Adam Halayb," which is probably right.

XXX Thirteen names only are given "Hankal" (هنگل) has been corrected in the text by the owner in pencil to هرنعل (sic).

"El 'Arashkol" is the name of a hill near el Dueim on the White Nile: Cp. BA, CLXXII

For "el Kabush" cp. para xxxix and BA, CLXVII.

Kaboshia is on the Nile close to the south of the pyramids of Meroe.

xxxii For "el Kanbalawi" see Part III, Chap 1 (k).

xxxv These are the NAFA'AB section,

xxxvin These are the NIFI'AB section.

xxxix Cp para xxx for Kabush. Seven sons are missing from the list.

XL Cp BA, CLI and A 2, xiv Sections XL-XLVI correspond closely to A 2, XIV-XXI.

XLII "Mimafs" is no doubt the "Mias" of other versions.

XLIII A 2 (q v. note) adds a remark as to the descendants of these two men.

XLV Cp BA, CXXXVIII and A 2, xix.

XL VIII Cp A 2, xxiv and D 6, xII.

L Cp A 2, xxv and D 6, xv

LI Cp A 2, xxix and D 6, xxni.

LII Cp. A 2, xxvii and D 6, xxv.

LIII Cp. A 2, xxx and D 6, xxvi.

LIV Cp A 2, xxxi and D 6, xin.

The reference is to the conquest of Bahnasa (Oxyrhynchus) in 642 A.D. by 'Abdulla Ibn Sa'ad (see Budge, vol. 11, p. 184, and Burckhardt, *Nubia...*, p. 528).

LV-LVIII Cp. A 2, xxxn-xxxv and D 6, xxvm, xxxm and xxxv.

(عوض).
لها عقدت كلمة جعل

مطارق.
(قرض).

MANUSCRIPT B i

Introduction

THE copy of this *nisba*, which was lent to me for translation by the 'omda of the GELILAB at Sa'id village in el Kamlin district, was taken a few years ago from the copy in possession of el feki Hasan walad Muhammad 'fsa, a Gelilabi of Wad el Sha'ir, also in the Blue Nile Province. El feki Hasan is said to have inherited his copy from an ancestor, who copied it from some earlier unknown MS.

The GEIJLAB think (though they have no evidence) that probably their ancestor Sa'id son of Daud son of 'Abd el Gelil brought the original from the north. He lived nine generations ago (*see tree*) and is said to have built "99" mosques and endowed each with fourteen slaves for service.

It was Hegazi Ma'in the uncle of 'Abd el Gelil who founded Arbagi about 1475 A.D. (see D 3, iv, and note to D 3, 67, and Jackson, p. 18).

The ultimate source of the *msba* is obviously the same as that of BA it no doubt emanated from Dongola two or three centuries ago, and the copyist, being only interested in the part that related to the GUHAYNA group of tribes, omitted the part concerning the Ga'ali group.

I In the name of God...

[The following is] an extract taken from *The Noble Gift and Rare Excellence [el Nafhat el Sharifa wa 7 Turfa 7 Munifa]* of el Sheikh el Imam el Shafa'i.. on the origins of the Arabs.

II Now the [tribes of the] Arabs are HIMYAR and TAI and THA'ALEB and LAGM and GUDHAM and HAMDAN and MA'AREF and Bis and HUKNA and KELB EL AZD and MUZAYNA and GUHAYNA. All of these trace their descent to a single ancestor, el Mahays son of Kahtan son of el Mahays son of Ibrahim. . God knows the truth of this, and praise be to Him alone.

III The apostle in the "Traditions" said "Ye know from¹ your pedigrees how ye are connected."

IV And he said of a man who had learnt the pedigrees of the people "A knowledge [of them] is useless and ignorance harmless"—this being in times of mutual love and affection; but.. (*continues as BA, vii and VIII, as far as "various nations"*).

¹ inserting *من*.

V And no man neglects it [the study of pedigrees] except the rogue, who is not mentioned when absent nor consulted when present; for it is of benefit to the servants of God in this world and the next, and [whoever ignores it] is a poltroon and a vagabond.

VI-XIX This is the pedigree peculiar to the tribes of GUHAYNA only. Know that Guhayna begot Dhubian, and Dhubian begot—*{Here follows a genealogical list of the descendants, individual and tribal, of Dhubian. The names can be seen in the tree. No other facts excepting those shown by the tree are given.}*

XX The tribes that may not be enslaved are seven, viz _____ (seven names as in BA, XLVIII).

XXI Know that GUHAYNA are [to be found] in two different places: [there are in the first place] the descendants of Guhayna el Kabir ibn Hunad of whom the Prophet... said "Through him shall the last of the unbelievers be saved from the fire; whose tribe is from Mekka the noble: there is none of them here: not one of them has come to me excepting 'Abdulla el Guham, who has come to help me; and Guhayna, all of them, now are the stock of el Zubayr ibn el 'Awwdm, the son of my aunt Safia."

XXII The Prophet... referred [also] to him as "my helper" (by "my helper" meaning el Zubayr), and he said too "I am of Guhayna and Guhayna are of me: what pleases Guhayna pleases me, and what angers Guhayna angers me, even though Kuraysh be affected." And he prayed for increase for Guhayna for the sake of the stock of el Zubayr.

XXIII [Secondly] their tribe became [*lit.* "reached"] fifty-two tribes in the land of Soba [under] the rule of the FUNG, but most of them are in the West, namely in Tunis and Bornuh.

XXIV This is a pedigree: Zubayr had two sons, 'Abdulla and Hasan. 'Abdulla was ancestor of the KAWAHLA, and Hasan begot 'Atia. 'Atia begot Guhayna, who begot Dhubian.

XXV This is the pedigree of Zubayr: [he was] son of el 'Awwam son of... (*as in the tree, up to 'Adrian*).

XXVI This is the true and generally agreed upon pedigree. And as a variant, ['Adnan was] son of Isma'il... son of Ibrahim... son of Tarikh son of Fankh son of Nahur¹ son of Ashra'a son of Ra'u son of Fahgh² son of 'Amir son of Shahkh son of Fakhshadh son of Sam son of Nuh... son of Shi'th... son of Barda son of Mih&yfl son of Kaynan son of Anush son of Shi'th... son of Adam...

XXVII This book was completed under the help of God and the

¹ reading فاحور for فاحور.

² reading فالح for فالح.

goodness of His grace by the hand of its writer the *fakir* 'Abd el Gelil Muhammad Dafa'alla, who wrote it for his brother Muhammad son of el Hag 'Ali... (*as in tree, up to 'Adrian*).

XXVIII This is the true pedigree according to the words of the prophet.. ."They are liars that trace their pedigree beyond 'Adnan."

XXIX And as a variant—'Adnan was son of Isma'il.. .son of... (*exactly as para, xxvi, as far as Adam...*), and Adam was created of mud.

XXX In the name of God...

What follows is the pedigree of Ma'in's own sons. Ma'in had seven sons... (*see tree*). These are the seven sons begotten of Ma'in. Muhammad begot 'Abd el Gelil, the ancestor of the GELfLAB. Hegazi was ancestor of the HEGAZAB, Paris of... (*etc., as in tree*).

B i (NOTES)

I See BA, LXII-LXV (note) and B 3, 1.

n Cp. BA, L. B 1 and B 3 give "Ma'aref," but BA and AB "Ma'afir."

III Cp. BA, III.

iv Cp. BA, v.

The latter part of the paragraph is word for word the same as BA, VII-VIII except that for (BA) "...And it is not.. a rebel " B i says merely "And he who neglects them is a rebel."

v This is peculiar to B 1.

VI-XIX Cp. BA, LIX *et seq.* B 3, 11, etc.

There are one or two mistakes in spelling here, viz.:

مقاربه ("MOKARBA") for مغاربة ("MOGHARBA").

فالانية ("FADHNfA") for فاذنية ("FADNfA").

[once] محمد العلاطي ("Muhammad el 'Ulati") for حميد العلاطي ("Hammad el 'Ula^i").

حجارة ("Hegara") for حجازة ("Hegaza").

بقداد ("Bakdad") for بغداد ("Baghdad"),

[once] عول ("Awal") for عوال ("Awal").

In para, XIII the BASHAKIRA are merely mentioned as descendants of Hammad el 'Ulati, but in para, XVII occurs "Bashkar was ancestor of the BASHAKIRA and Tsayl of the TSAYLAT," the writer forgetting that he has not previously mentioned Bashkar specifically as a son of Hammad.

xx Cp. BA, XLVIII.

xxi The two divisions of GUHAYNA referred to are apparently (1) those of Arabia, the well-known and ancient Himyaritic tribe, and (2) those in the Sudan round S6ba.

The Arabic for "Of whom the Prophet said..." is

الذي قال في حقه النبي يخرج من أهل النار

يُخْرِجُ. The meaning is rather obscure, but if the sixth word be pointed the meaning may be that the most wicked of men may be saved at the personal intercession of GUHAYNA.

"El Kabir" may mean "the great" or "the elder." The whole tradition given here is suspicious.

I can find no Guhayna son of Hunad, nor is it clear why GUHAYNA, a Himyaritic tribe, or 'Abdulla el Guhani who was also a Himyarite, should ever have been called "the stock of el Zubayr Ibn el Awwam," who was a Kurayshi.

For "'Abdulla el Guhani" see note to BA, LVIII.

Whether the whole of the passage in inverted commas is meant to be included in the tradition, or whether the words from "whose tribe..." to "here" is a gloss by another copyist, is doubtful, but the latter is probable.

XXII The first tradition is well authenticated: el Bokhari (*el Sahih*, Part I I, p. 193) gives it as follows:

حدثنا مالك بن اسمعيل حدثنا عبد العزيز. عن.... عن.... قال قال النبي
ان لكل نبي حواري وان حواري الزبير العوام

("Malik ibn Isma'il told me that 'Abd el 'Aziz... told him on the authority of... who had been told by... that the Prophet... said * Every prophet has a helper, and my helper is Zubayr el 'Awwam.")

The second tradition I have not traced and it may, or may not, be genuine: the Arabic is as follows:

انا من جبهة وجبهة مي ارضا برضا جبهة واغضب بغضب جبهة حتى
قريش

(lit. "... as far KURAYSH,"—KURAYSH being the Prophet's own tribe).

XXIII-XXIV These paragraphs are practically identical with BA, cxxm, cxxiv: cp. also BA, LVII (note).

xxv This pedigree is very faulty as Zubayr is given as descended from the wrong son of Kusai (BA, LVII is correct, see Wustenfled, T). From Kusai to 'Ad nan is given correctly except that Ka'ab and Murra are transposed. See note to para. xxx.

xxvi No pedigree of any weight ever made 'Adnan son of Ishmael and grandson of Abraham.

For the tree from Abraham ("Ibrahim") upwards to Noah see D 1, LXVI, etc. "Tankh" (Terah) was son of NahOr (Nahor) and the insertion of "Fankh" seems to be due to some dim recollection of "Faris son of Tfrash son of Mashar," the Persian ancestor mentioned in D i, LXV.

The text also gives "Fahur" for "Nahur," "Ashra'a" for "Sharugh," "'Amir" for "'Abir," and "Fakhshadh" for "Arfakhshadh."

"Ra'G" is another and legitimate form of "Ar'Q" (D 1, LXIX).

Between Shem and Adam the text is equally at fault: the father of Noah was Akhnukh or "Idris" (Enoch) and not "Shfth"; "Barda" (Sj/v) should be Lad (*y) and "Mihayil" should be Mahalail: cp. Mas'Qdi, Chap, in (ed. B. de M. vol. 1, pp. 68-73).

xxvn The transposition of Ka'ab and Murra (see para, xxv) is here corrected: otherwise the pedigree is the same in paras, xxv and xxvn.

From Muhammad ibn el Hag to Dhubian the direct stem only is given in this paragraph: the other six sons of Ma'in are added to the tree from para, xxx—the note to which see.

xxviii Cp. BA, cxxxv.

xxix The copyist has apparently got into difficulties here as this paragraph is the same as para, xxvi, the very errors being exactly repeated, as far as "Adam."

xxx From the occurrence again of a formal invocation we may suppose that a copyist added this paragraph from some other source than that of the rest of the *msba*. By a slip "KAUGAB" is written for "KALiNGAB." As a matter of fact there is little doubt but that Hegazi ibn Ma'in, the founder of Arbabi, was one of the HuDUR and had no connection with the GUHAYNA group whatever (see Part III, Chap. 13).

MANUSCRIPT B 2

Introduction

THIS *nisba* was written out for me by Ahmad 'Omar Sultan, the **omda* of the 'ARIFfA, a section of DAR IJAMID in Kordofan, from a copy in his possession. It has little value.

I In the name of God...

This is the pedigree of the 'ARIFIA A : Ahmad son of 'Omar son of... (*as in tree, up to *Abd Menaf*).

II Now Mazin the son of Sha'uf had four sons:... (*as in tree, with their descendants, as shown therein*).

III These men are the descendants of Mazin son of.. (*etc., as in para. I, up to *Abdulla el Guhani*).. 'Abdulla el Guhani, the Companion of the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God.

IV The MESSfRiA and the HABBANIA and the RIZAYKAT¹ and the FAYARIN and the TA'AISHA are the descendants of Rashid son of Muhammad el Asia'a son of 'Abs son of Dhubian.

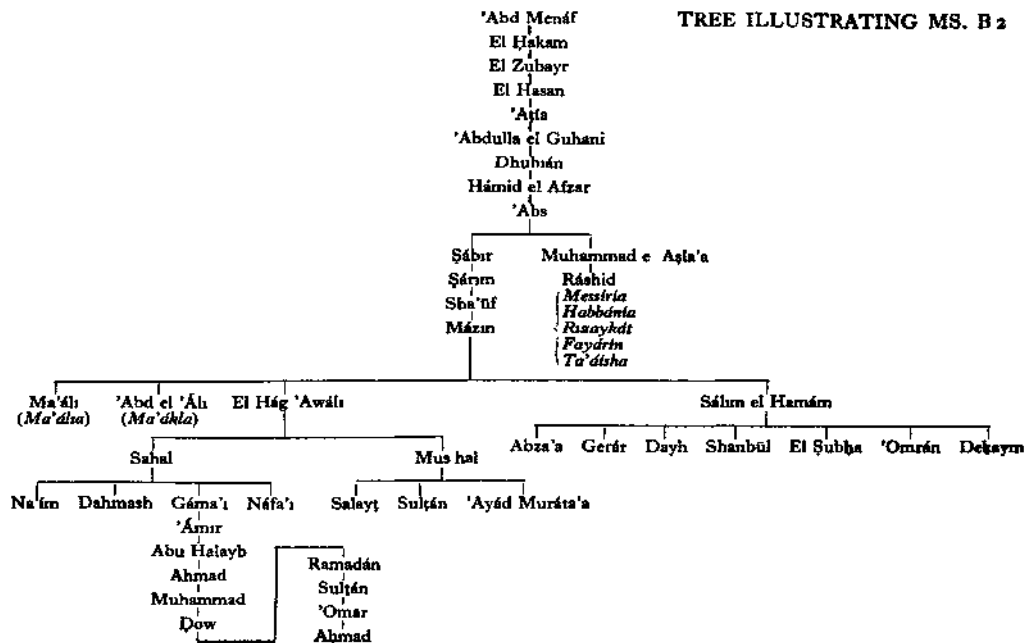
B 2 (NOTES)

I The pedigree from Dhubian to 'Abd Menaf is very inaccurate. The names are all familiar ones, but are jumbled together haphazard.

II "AbzaV "Gerar," "Dayh" [*i.e.* Dwayh], and "Shanbal" are intended as the eponymous ancestors of the BAZA'A, BENI GERAR, DWAYH, and SHENABLA, respectively. Cp. BA, CII *et seq.*

¹ reading الرزيقات for النزيقات.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. B 2



MANUSCRIPT B 3

Introduction

THIS scanty extract was the prized possession of an old *feki* in Dar Hamar in Western Kordofan.

It bears a strong family likeness to B 1.

I El Imam el Shafa'i says that the original stock of the Arabs was HIMYAR and TAI and THA'ALEB and NIGM and GUDHAM and HAMDAN and MA'AREF and BFSAR and HUKNA and KELB EL AZD and MUZAYNA and GUHAYNA,—all of these tracing their descent to one ancestor, viz. Ibn el Mahays kahtan son of el Mahays son of Ibrdhim; and God knows the truth of this.

II Now as for the tribes of GUHAYNA¹, taken separately: Guhayna¹ begot Dhubidn, and Dhubidn begot ten sons,—viz—(as in tree).

III Dabfa begot the DABI'AT, and Dakaym the DAKIMIN, and Kirit the KIRAT, and Ba'ashom...

B 3 (NOTES)

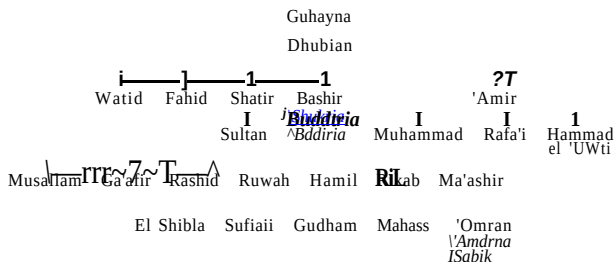
I Cp. BA, L and B i, I and n.

II Cp. BA, LIX and B i, vi.

in These four men had not been mentioned before. The copyist has omitted the paragraphs preceding this mention of them. From BA, xcvi, we see that they were descendants of 'Omran son of Dhubidn.

With "Ba'ash6m" the *nisba* abruptly ends.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. B 3



¹ reading  for .

MANUSCRIPTS C i (a) AND (b)

Introduction

THESE two *nisbas* were both found among the effects of Sheikh 'Abdulla Gadulla Balilu, *ndzir* of the KAWAHLA in Kordofan, in * 1909. Their origin is unknown but they were both clearly copies.

C I (a)

I This is the pedigree of the KAWAHLA in short.

II Muhammad Kahil son of 'Amir son of Abdulla (according to Ibn Yahya) son of Zubayr son of el 'Awwam; and the mother of Zubayr was Saffa daughter of 'Abd el Muttaiib. The mother of Muhammad Kahil was Sikina daughter of 'Ali the Imam son of Abu Talib, whom God bless; and her mother was F&tima, the daughter of the Prophet.

III Muhammad Kahil had thirteen sons: viz. Hammad, the eldest, the ancestor of the AHAMDA, by el Khadria¹; and Berak and As wad and Khalifa and Budrdrn (and also a daughter) by 'Izza the daughter of 'Affan son of 'Othman, the Imam, whom God bless; and, by the concubine, Sa'id and Nifayd and Yezid and Khalbus and 'Abad; and, by el Fungawia, Ritayma and 'Akir and Bishara.

IV Khalifa had three sons, el Ahmar, Mukwad, and Hilal. The descendants of Hilal are.. *{illegible}*.

V The descendants of el Ahmar are the HAMAYDANU and the 'AMRIA and the KERAMIA and the GEBALIA and the LABABIs... *{illegible}*.

VI Akir *begot*.. *{illegible}*; and Salah *begot* the GHAZAYA² and the.. *{illegible}* and the FUAIDA and the SU'UDIA and the KAWAMLA.

VII Mukwad *begot* the KURAYSHAB and the SALATNA and the MUHAMMADAB and the NURAB and the RIMAYTAB and the HASANIA and the GIMAYLIA and the DELAYKAB and the 'URWAB and the SINAYTAB and the GHAZALAB³.

VIII Ritayma *begot* the WafiiA and the GELALIA and the BAKIA and the MUTARFA and the KHALAFIA.

IX Aswad had two sons, Rashid and Kelab.

¹ reading الحصرية for الحضرية. ² reading الغزاية for الغزاية.

³ reading الغزلاب for الغزلاب.

IV. ci. XXII. NATIVE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SUDAN ^{x49}

X Rashid's descendants are the.. *(illegible)* and the BEKAYRAB and the... *(illegible)*.

XI Kelab's descendants are the.. *(illegible)* and the GELALAB.

XII From Berak, the son of Muhammad Kahil, are descended the KAMALAB and the KAWAMLA and the BERAUNA and the KIMAYLAB and the MUDAKINAB and the... *(illegible)* and the MuHAMMADIA.

XIII From Budran the son of [Muhammad] Kahil are descended the SHARA'ANA—all of them—and the BEDARIYYCN, and, it is said, the MAIDIA, and the.. *(illegible)*.

XIV Bishara was ancestor of the BISHARIYYUN and... *(illegible)* and the BAHKAR and the BAHKARUN and the MA'ALIA and the SuDANIA (?) and the BERAKH (?).

XV 'Abad was ancestor of the 'ABABDA, all people of Upper Egypt *[el Riff]* and owners of the country.

XVI Nifayd was ancestor of the NIFAYDIA.

XVII Sa'id his brother was ancestor of the BENI SA'ID in the southern mountains.

XVIII Yezid his brother was ancestor of the YEZIDIA and the MA'ABDA.

XIX Khalbus had no descendants.

XX Descendants of Ritayma are at Mekka and Medina.. *(illegible)*.

XXI Safia the daughter of 'Abd el Muftalib was the aunt of the Prophet.

XXII The [best] known sons of Zubayr ibn el 'Awwam were Bakhit and Muhammad and 'Urwa and 'Obayd and 'Abdulla.

C i (a) (NOTES)

i Cp. BA, cxviii.

ii Cp. BA, cxxiv; A 2, xxrv.

No "Muhammad Kahil" and no "Sikma" appear in Wustenfeld (q.v. T and Y).

in The names of 'Affan and 'Othman have been transposed. The Imam was 'Othman ibn 'Affan. " 'Izza" is not in Wustenfeld (q.v. U).

The occurrence of "el Fungawia" (i.e. "the Fung woman") suggests that Muhammad Kahil himself resided in the Sudan.

v The Lababis appear among the subsections of KABABISH, q.v.

vi Cp. para. xii.

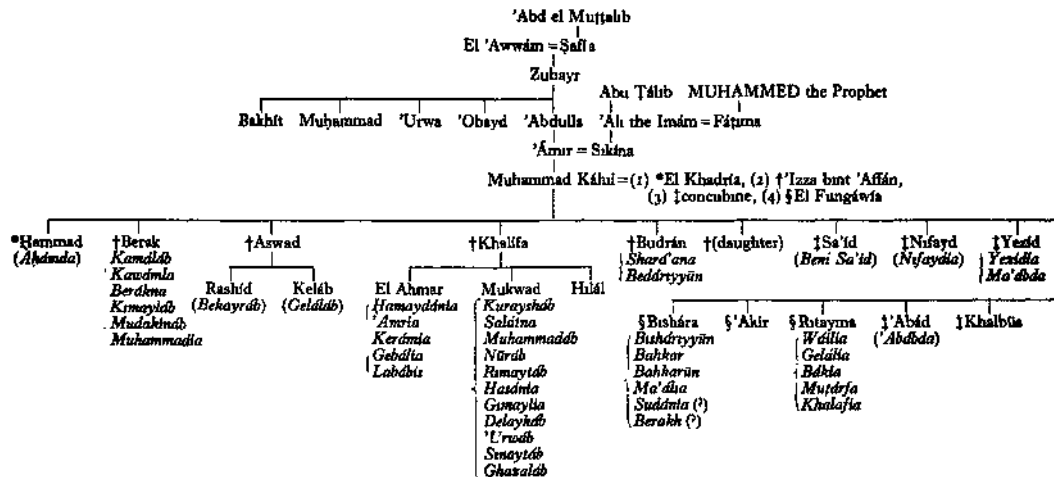
xiv "Sudania" and "Berakh" are doubtful readings.

xvii The mountains of southern Kordofan are meant. Cp. MacMichael (*Tribes...*, p. 202) and Part I I I, Chap. 5 (a).

xix Contrast C 1 (b), xviii.

xxii Wustenfeld (T) does not mention BakWt or Muhammad.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. C 1 (a)



CI(b)

I Kahil was son of Musa (?) son of 'Abdulla son of Zubayr ibn el 'Awam, whose mother was Safia the daughter of 'Abd el Muttalib. There is no nobler pedigree among the Arabs but [that of] the BENI HASHIM ...

II Kdhil the son of Musa (?) had thirteen sons, who are the ancestors of the KAWAHLA. Four of them were the sons of the daughter of his aunt, viz. Khalifa and Berak and Aswad and Budr&n; and four were the sons of el Fungawia, viz. Nifayd and Yezid and Sa'id and Bish&ra; and four were the sons of the concubine, viz. Bagih and Hadi [and] Mudakin (?) and Khalbus; and one, viz. Hammad, was the son of el Khadria. These thirteen¹ men are the ancestors of the KAWAHLA.

III Khalifa had three sons, Muhammad and Mukwad and Muhammad el Ahmar.

IV Muhammad was ancestor of the HASANIA and the GiMAYLiA² and the SINAYTAB and the DELAYKAB and the GHAZALAB³.

V Muhammad el Ahmar was ancestor of the LABABfs and the KERAMIA and the 'AMRIA and the HAMAYDANIA, and his sons were Hilal and Kedah.

VI Hilal begot 'Abad, the ancestor of the 'ABABDA.

VII Kedah begot three sons, Shambal and Salah and 'Akir.

VIII The descendants of Shambal are the SHENABLA and the KURAYSHAB and the NORAB and the RIMAYTAB and the SALATNA.

IX The descendants of Salah are the GHAZAYA⁴ and the SHADAiDA and the SU'UDIA.

X 'Akir was ancestor of the FuAiDA and the KAWAMLA⁵.

XI 'Abad the second begot the 'ABABDA.

XII Berak begot the BERAkNA, who [consist of] three sections, viz. the HASANAT [descended from] Hasan, and the MUHAMMADIA [descended from] Muhammad, and the BERAkNA [proper].

XIII Aswad begot the ASAWIDA.

XIV Budran begot the BuDRANfA.

XV Sa'id⁶ begot the KADHAKIL (?) NAs 'ABD EL MUTTALIB_____

XVI Bishara begot the BISHARIYYUN.

XVII The sons of the concubine were jointly the ancestors of the BEGA.

¹ reading 13 for 3.

³ reading الغزلاب for الغزلاب.

⁵ reading كواملة for كوامل.

² reading جميلية for جميلية.

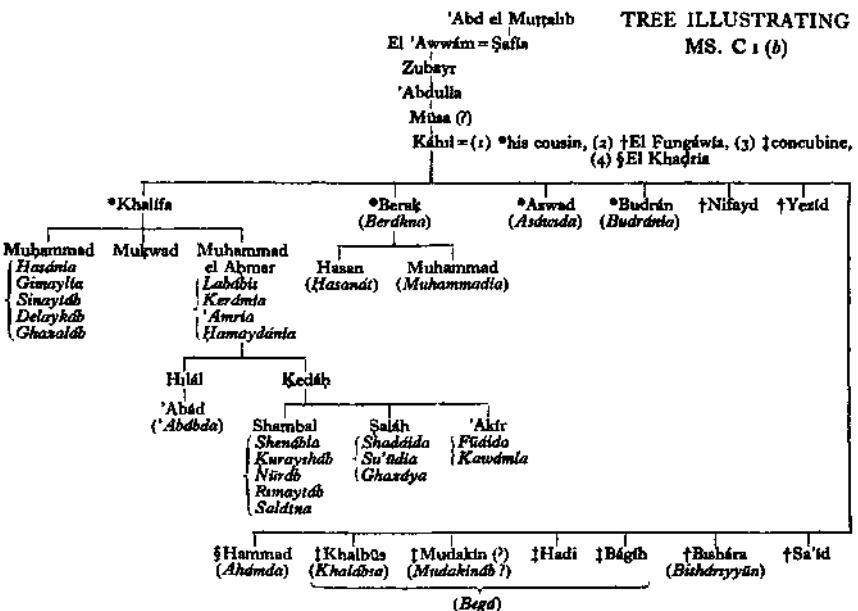
⁴ reading الغزاية for الغزاية.

⁶ reading سعيد for سعيد.

XVIII Hadi begot the... (*illegible*); Khalbūs begot the Khalāssa; Mudakin begot the Mudakināb; and Hamdan el Khaḍria¹ begot the Aḥāmā.

C 1 (b) (NOTE)

It is not clear what is meant by "the second" (الثاني).

TREE ILLUSTRATING
MS. C 1 (b)

¹ reading *al-khaḍria* for *al-khaḍria*.

MANUSCRIPT C 2

THIS pedigree was found in the possession of *el feki* Idris Muhammad, a Kenani of el Silayk in Kordofan, in 1908. It consists of nothing more than the series of names shown in the tree. The first five generations are given in Wustenfeld (Z).

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. C 2

'Abd Menaf
 Hashim
 'Abd el Muftalib
 IJamza
 Ya'ala
 El Sayyid* el Tahir
 Sheikh Abu Harayra
 Sheikh 'Abd el Ghafar
 Sheikh 'Abd el Mu'atf
 Sheikh Muhammad
 Sheikh 'Abd el Gubara
 Sheikh Hashim
 Sheikh el Sayyid 'Abd el Muntahb
 Hanaf
 Nahur
 1
 Sheikh Kenana
 Sulayman
 Sheikh Shahab el Din
 El Sayyid Ahmad Zabad el Bahr
 Sheikh Man\$Qr
 Idris Serag
 Matar
 El Hag el Bashir
 Abu Kurun
 Daud
 Dali
 Hamid
Rakal
 'Abd el 'Aziz
 Delil
 Tabir
 'Isiwi
 Idrfs
 Muhammad
 Idris

MANUSCRIPT C 3

Introduction

THIS pedigree was copied out for me from his own copy by H&mid Muhammad Gabr el Dar, the hereditary chief of the MUSABA'AT of Darfur, who lives near el Obeid in Kordofan. He is more negroid in appearance than Arab.

I In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful.

God Almighty said "Ye people, I have created you of male and female, and made you races and tribes, that ye may know that he is noblest in God's sight who is the most pious"; and God is the source of all learning and knowledge.

II He upon whom be the blessings of God said "Ye know your pedigrees, how ye are descended," and he who knows not his pedigree is a Hamagi.

III The following is the pedigree of the stock of the Sultan Hashim the Musaba'awi, and it contains the complete pedigree of the tribe of the MUSABA'AT.

IV I am el Sultan Hamid son of el Sultan Muhammad Gabr el Dar son of el Sultan Ahmad el Ga'ali son of el Sultan Hashim son of el Sultan 'fsawi son of el Sultan Muhammad Gunkul son of el Sultan Bahr son of el Sultan Idris Gerwabukht son of el Sultan Muhammad Tumsah, ancestor of the MUSABA'AT and brother of Ahmad Kur, ancestor of KUNGARA, the two of whom were sons of el Sultan Muhammad Sabun Ga'al son of el Sultan Habib (?) son of el Sultan Muhammad Dali son of Ahmad el Ma'akur son of Rizik son of Sufial son of el Sultan Ga'afir Gurmum son of Kas son of Rufa'a son of Batnan son of 'Agib son of Nagil son of 'fsa son of Mamun son of Idris son of Hilal son of \Abd el Salam el Asmar, *Imam* of the people of Basra, son of el Nudr son of Kenan son of Khuzaym son of Mudraka son of el Yas son of Mudr son of Nizar son of Ma'ad son of [Adnan](#). Ends.

C 3 (NOTES)

I Cp. BA, xxII-xxxIII.

II Cp. BA, in. "Hamagi" is used as a term of opprobrium;—an Arab usage common in the Western Sudan (see Vol. 1, p. 275).

III For Hashim's history see MacMichael (*Tribes...*, pp. 12-75).

iv Cp. pedigree xII on p. 585 of *The World's History** vol. 1ⁱⁿ (ec*. Helmolt). Gunkul (q.v. in D 3, 207) is mentioned on p. 545 of the same work and called "Djongol."

The generations from el Nudr to 'Adnan are correct, but Wustenfeld (N) mentions no 'Abd el Salam el Asmar.

References to Muhammad Dali, Muhammad Tumsah, and Ahmad el Ma*akur will be found in MacMichael (*Tribes...*).

MANUSCRIPT C4

Introduction

THTS pedigree was translated from a dingy document held by the local *feki* at the MAHASS village of Kutrang on the Blue Nile. ¹

As an accurate record it is worthless.

I This is the pedigree of the MAHASS, the five sons of Fellah, viz. [*lit.* "of them are..."] Marzuk and Subuh and ICurduk and Musa and Kundur.

II Marzuk [*i.e.* his descendants] are settled in Kordofan, Subuh among the DUBAINA, Kundur at 'Aylafun, Kurduk at Tuti and el Khartoum, and Musa at Kutrang¹.

III The father of Fellah was named Sharaf son of Mushayrif² son of Zaid son of Mazad son of Dablak son of rlamaydi son of Garna'i son of Sukr son of Kuban son of 'Abud son of Muhammad el Mahass son of 'Abdulla son of Ma'az son of Gebel son of 'Abdulla son of Ka'ab son of Fihr son of Luai son of Ghalib son of Kenana.

IV Here ends the pedigree of the MAHASS descended from Fellah.

C 4 (NOTES)

I I have not seen "Fellah" mentioned in any *nisba* but this.

II The normal plural to denote "descendants of Marzuk" would be "MERAZfK," and this name does occur as that of a subsection of the G H I - SHIMAT section of the HAMAR 'ASAKIRA and also among the GAWAMA'A in Kordofan (see Part I I I , Chaps. 1 and 4).

'Aylafun is on the Blue Nile near Khartoum.

Tati Island lies opposite Khartoum.

Kutrang is on the Blue Nile, south-east of 'Aylafun.

in The last part of the pedigree is confused and inaccurate. Ka'ab (*q.v.* Wiistenfeld, P) had no son 'Abdulla.

¹ reading كتراج for كتوالج .

² reading مشريف for مشرف .

MANUSCRIPTS C 5 (a) AND (b)

Introduction

THESE two *nisbas* do not coincide with the pedigrees of the A group until Abu Talib. The one coincides with the other at Sa'ud ibn Wahsh, but even so they vary in the preceding generations. The first was translated from a copy taken in 1912 by 'Ali walad Tai, [>]*omda* of the NURAB section of SHUKRI A east of the Blue Nile, from the copy alleged to be in the possession of 'Abdulla Abu Sin the hereditary chief of the SHUKRIA. in Rufa'a district.

The second was taken down for me from the dictation of an old man in Rufa'a district, named Hammad el Kakam.

Both are clearly inaccurate and rest upon oral tradition rather than documentary evidence. Other forms of the pedigree will be found in the account of the SHUKRIA.

These are splendid pedigrees reaching back to Hashim.

I In the name of God...

II Praise be to God who created the human race from water and made it male and female.

III God Almighty said " O people, I have created you of male and female and made you races and tribes that ye may know one another."

IV Again He said.. *.(text corrupt)*.

V And the Prophet.. said "He that cuts the connections of blood [*lit. 'cuts the womb'*], God will cut off his hope of salvation."

VI Again the Prophet.. said "Ye know your pedigrees, how ye are connected."

VII So this is [written] in obedience to the order of God and His Prophet, and for the preservation of blood-relationships.

VIII I am Sheikh 'Ali son of.. *.(as in tree, up to Hashim)**

IX This was transcribed from el Samarkandi¹; and God best knows the truth.

¹ reading السمرقندي for السمرقندي.

C 5 (a) (NOTES)

III Cp. BA, xxii, etc.

v Cp. BA, XIII.

vi Cp. BA, III.

vii Cp. BA, II and IX.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. C₅(a)

Hashim
 'Abd el Muntalib
Abu Talib
 Ga'afir*
 'Abdulla el Gawad†
•ok
 |
 Hasan
 'Abd Menaf
 Bedr
 'Abdulla
 |
 Hammad
 |
 'Ah
 Mubammad
 Idris
 Shakfr
 |
 Zaydan
 Wahsh
 Sa'Gd
 'Agabi
Tapir
 Hammad Shom
 Ba'ash6m
 'Ali
 Bedu
 Hammad
 Hamid
 Idrfa
Tai
 Mubammad
 El Sheikh 'Ah

* reading جعفر for جعفر.

† reading جواد for جواد.

C5(b)

I In the name of God...

II And now I will give the pedigree of the SHUKRIA. They are among the most exalted of the Arabs by race, for the Prophet.. said "God chose KENANA from among the Arabs...etc. to the end." Therefore ICURAYSH were among the noblest of the Arabs; and the SHUKRIA are descended from 'Abd el Muftalib.

III This then is the pedigree of el Sheikh Hammad ibn Muhammad, known as "el Kakam,"—son of Hammad, son of,. .(*as in tree, up to 'Abd el Muttalib*).

IV Now the mother of '(5n ibn 'Abdulla el Gawad was el Sayyida Zaynab (the daughter of el Imlm 'Ali...) whose mother was Fatima the Glorious, the daughter of the Prophet—

V The above pedigree from the mouth of one of the SHUKRI A Arabs who knows his pedigree is in accordance with what is in the book of el Samarkand! the Great, and in that book [the author in speaking of the generations] from Shakir to 'Abd el Muttalib mentions their nobility of character and bravery; and such they have ever maintained, for one of them can meet a thousand foes in war and cope with them without any assistance until they flee in disorder before him.

VI Their characters are pleasant and their conduct good both individually and in their mutual relationships; and were it not that it would take too long I would mention them and their deeds man by man and event after event. Their influence with the rulers of the country has been great because of their skill in affairs of state, and, to sum up, their virtues are many.

VII In addition they are of the family of the Prophet... and that is to be found in the book *Nut el Absdr* about the virtues of their ancestress el Sayyida Zaynab, the daughter of the Imdm 'Ali..., and the men of learning speak of them from ten different points of view. God best knows the truth.

C 5 (b) (NOTES)

in. BA, XLIX.

iv This is incorrect: see Wustenfeld, Y.

TREE ILLUSTRATING MS. C\$(b)

'Abd el Muntalib

Abu Talib

Ga'afirelTiar El Imam'Ali

'Abdulla el Gawdd ~ Zaynab

Hasan

Bedr

•Abd Menaf

ⁱ
Muhammad

»Ali

Idrfs

Shakir

ⁱ
Zaydan

Wabsh

Sa'ud

Abu el 'Ala

Ranub

ⁱ
Laytdt

Muhammad

ElHag Tafa*

Mekki

tfamid

'Abuda

ⁱ
Hasan

'Abd el Gelfl

'Abdel'GuMr

ⁱ
Hammad

Muhammad " el Kakam "

Hammad

MANUSCRIPTS C 6 (a) AND (b)

Introduction

THE former of these two *Sherifi* pedigrees comes from Wad Hasuna, between Khartoum and Abu Delayk. It is alleged that the original was brought from Mekka by a certain el Hag el Sheikh about fifty years ago. This original is in a crabbed but clear hand, written on four small pages. One or two other pages were lost in the Dervish times, but a copy of the whole had previously been taken by Ibrahim el Imam of Wad Hasuna. The copy lent to me for translation was made five years ago from Ibrahim el Imam's copy. The grammar and the writing are both bad.

The second version of the pedigree appears to be for the most part a mere variant of the first version, attached to the pedigree of a quite different man. It had evidently been written out within recent years by a copyist. It was given to me by an Inspector but he had forgotten from where he had obtained it. Both the *nisbas* seem quite independent of the A and B groups wherein the authorship is generally ascribed to "el Samarkandi." They were probably procured by pilgrims from some *soi-disant Sherif* at Mekka.

It is noteworthy that whereas the former of the two pedigrees makes the Hasuna family descendants of el rlusayn, *i.e.* ASHRAF, and though they are commonly regarded as such by many at present, the author of D 3, writing in the latter half of the eighteenth century, had obviously no suspicion that they were ASHRAF at all.

C6(a)

I In the name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful. Praise be to God, and blessings and salutation upon the apostle of God, who revealed that which was in darkness, the Prophet, son of 'Abdulla, the last and greatest of the prophets, the mediator for sinners, the disperser of clouds [of doubt], he that made the darkness light: upon him be the blessings of God in every place. Blessings and salutation upon him who revealed that which was in darkness, and all thanks...

II This is the pedigree of the children of el Hasan and el Husayn, the sons of Fatima the Glorious, God bless her.

III I will commence with the children of el Husayn.

Among them is el Sayyid Hasan son of el Sayyid Mekki son of el Sayyid rlasan son of el Sayyid Mekki son of el Sayyid Sowar son

of el Khalifa Belal el Shayb son of el Sayyid 'Abd el Fattah son of el Sayyid Hasuna son of el Sayyid Musa el Harim son of el Sayyid el Hag Rahma son of el Sayyid el Hag 'Abdulla son of el Sayyid Mahmud son of el Sayyid el Hag Ibrahim son of el Sayyid Hashim son of el Sayyid Muhammad son of el Sayyid Gemal el Din son of el Sayyid Muhammad son of el Sayyid Hasan son of el Sayyid 'Ali son of el Sayyid Ibrahim son of el Sayyid Idris son of el Sayyid Salih son of el Sayyid Elasan son of el Sayyid Musa son of el Sayyid Ibrahim son of el Sayyid Musa son of el Sayyid Shani son of el Sayyid Musa el Kazim son of el Sayyid Ga'afir son of el Sayyid Muhammad son of el Sayyid Zayn el 'Abdin son of el Sayyid el rhusayn son of el Sayyid 'Ali son of Abu Talib, God bless and honour him.

IV And [God bless] the children of Fatima the Glorious, upon whom be the blessings of God, the daughter of the Prophet. In her person are united all the pedigrees of the Sayyids, who are purified of all that is evil,—the abonunators¹ of all that are in error or unbelief, the smiters with smiting swords, the pursuers of the right way, the virtuous livers, the forbidders of evil, the arbitrators of mankind.

V In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful, in whom we put our trust at every time. So long as nights² [and days] endure and year succeeds to year praise be to God who chose Muhammad to be [our] mediator.

VI [Muhammad] is the one object of love, the eye of [God's] providence, the treasure of gifts, the glory of the resurrection, the bridegroom of the kingdom of God, the tongue of proof, the mediator of all men, the.. *(illegible)* of [God's] mercy.

VII God increase the honour of his seed and men's knowledge of them, for they are the noblest and the purest of mankind, the most perfect in goodness, the noblest in rank, the most splendid in power, the greatest in might, the most approved by proofs, the most weighty in the scale, the strongest in faith, the last [*i.e.* greatest] in their coming, the noblest and purest of tribes, the stock of the sons of 'Ah, el Hasan and el Husayn, who are the two Sayyids, the fair, the honoured, the brilliant, the noble, the sons of Fatima the glorious, the splendid, the magnificent, the Arab, chief of all the faithful women, the daughter of the Lord of the Apostles, even Fatima, God bless her. Hear the cry from before God Almighty "O all ye folk³, veil your eyes until the marriage of Fatima is consummated, God bless her, the daughter

¹ reading الميقضين for الميقضين. ² reading الليالي for الليالي.

³ reading ياهل for ياهل.

of the Prophet of God, upon whom be the blessings of God, the chief of all women who are true believers."

VIII It is not permitted to him that trusts in God and the last day to harm a *Sherif*, and if he do so he is a rebel, nor to wrong him, nor to seize him, nor to repulse him, nor to strike him, [and this is] in honour of the Prophet of God, upon whom be the blessings of God, who said "Harm me not in [harming] my family." And they are the flower of mankind, the Sayyids, the sons of Sayyids, and if one of them be ignorant or immoral he is [yet] better than any other ignorant man, and if one of them be learned he is better than any other learned man.

IX If anyone make light of or destroy their honour, or render them odious, or speak them [evil], God will destroy that man's honour on the day of the resurrection, and destroy his kingdom if he be a king, and subvert his empire if he have an empire, and change his wealth to poverty if he have riches, and scatter whatsoever he may have collected together.

X God Almighty said "Say, I ask not of you, for this [my preaching], any reward, except the love of [my] relations," meaning those who are related to the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God. Thus he that loves them not is disobedient to Almighty God, and he that injures them and advantages himself shall be punished; and whatever they say must be believed, by virtue of their noble descent, without enquiries as to whether they are liars. And every judge and every chief and every ruler is bound to honour them, and he that would do them evil is [hereby] warned, and every judge and chief and ruler must honour them and ennoble them, for they are Sayyids and sons of Sayyids, the best of men and sons of the best of men.

XI The Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, said "Woe, and again I say woe to any that oppose them: their reward shall be [at] the day of the resurrection¹. He that strikes them with his hand or injures them, I shall oppose him on the day of the resurrection¹, and he is accursed." And he that curses them², the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, has ordained that he be slain for having cursed his offspring; his punishment shall be to ride upon an ass, with his face to its tail, and thereon to pass before the gate of the Sultan and the chiefs and the judges and all the people.

XII He that makes light of this pedigree, if he be a king, God will take from him his kingdom, and if he be a chief, God will take from him his chieftainship, and if he be a judge, God will cause him to leave the world without salvation.

¹ reading قِيَامَةً for قِيَامَةٍ.

² reading لعنهم for لعنه

XIII He that wrongs the descendants of the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God, must receive eighty-seven lashes of the whip; and grief shall fall upon him, and he shall be expelled from the religion of Islam.

XIV But he that honours and respects them and satisfies their needs, shall be honoured by God in this world and the world to come, and his needs shall be satisfied in this world and in the world to come.

XV This is the pedigree of the sons of el Hasan and el Husayn, the sons of 'Ali el Kerrar and of Fatima the Glorious, the daughter of the Prophet, upon whom be the blessings of God. Praise be to God for the beginning and the end.

24th of Gemad Thani 1327.

C 6 (a) (NOTES)

in From Masa el Kazim upwards is correct (see Wustenfeld, Y), but nothing of the remainder occurs in Wustenfeld.

Hasana is the father of Hasan walad Hasuna, for whom see D 3, 132.

x The quotation is from the 42nd chapter of the Kuran (see Sale, p. 360).

The word translated "chief" here and later is *mukaddam*. Its technical meaning is the head or abbot of a *zawia*.

XIII C 6 (b) prescribes only 39 in place of 87 lashes. The latter may be merely a misprint: "39" is no doubt correct as "The greatest number of stripes in chastisement is thirty-nine; and the smallest number is three. This is according to Haneefa and Mohammed." (Hamilton's *Hedaya*, p. 204.)

C6(*)

I (*The first few paragraphs fairly closely resemble paras, IV-XIV of C 6 (a): they are not worth translating.*)

II This *nisba* was written in the month of Dhu el Higga in the year 485 and its accuracy is testified to by el Sayyid el Sherif Gemal el Din [who was ?] also the *muedhdhin* at the mosque of the Moghrabfn¹ [Moors] at the city of Fas [Fez]; and verily it is the tree of Idris ibn Idris the elder, and the witness thereto is el Sayyid el Sherff el Taib el Husayn el Shafa'i, God bless him, as is testified by 'Abdulla Ahmad, for it was written by the hand of Gemal el Din.

III Now the blessings of God be on our lord Muhammad... (*invocations, etc.. follow*).

¹ reading مغربين for مقربين.

IV This is the pedigree of el Sayyid el Sherif Muhammad 'Abd el Wahh&b son of Muhammad son of el Dow son of el Nur son of el Hasan son of Salim son of 'Abdulla son of 'Ali el Taib son of Muhammad son of el Shafa'i..., and el Sayyid el Sherif Muhammad el Harib fled [*harab*] from Mekka to the city of Fds and became a devotee [*magdhUb*]^ .son of Ahmad son of Gemdl el Dfn son of Hasan.. .son of Hashim son of Kuraysh son of Muhammad... son of Idris.. .son of Khalil son of Babikr.. .son of Muhammad son of el Zayn el 'Abdin.. .son of Khalid.. .son of Nasr el Din.. .son of Muhammad... son of el Mansur son of Ismd'il son of Ga'afir son of el Hasan son of Fatima the Glorious, daughter of the Chosen One... *(there follow praises of Fatima, and the pedigree of 'Abd el Muffalib, correctly given, but for two mis-spellings, to 'Adnan).*

V This glorious pedigree, that of el Sherif Muhammad 'Abd el Wahhab has now by the help of God been completed by the hand of me its writer Adam ibn el Sherif el Zamzami... *(pious remarks follow).*

C 6 (b) (NOTES)

11 The Arabic is as follows:

وهذه النسبة كُتِبَتْ في شهر الله ذو الحجة سنة خمسة وثمانون وأربعماية
وشهيد به صحتها السيد الشريف جمال الدين والمؤيد بنجامع المقربين
بهديت (sic) غاس وانها شحرت (sic) ادريس ابن ادريس الاكبر وشهد بذلك
السيد الشريف الطيب الحسين الشافع رضى الله عنه وحضر على ذلك
عبد الله احمد لانها كتبت بخط جمال الدين

iv The latter part of the pedigree at least is spurious Wiistenfeld (Z) mentions no Ga'afir son of el Hasan. Each name is preceded in the text by "el Sayyid el Sherif," and after most of the names follow a few words of praise, such as "protector of the poor," "an observer of the book of God," " God bless him," etc.

MANUSCRIPT C 7

Introduction

THIS document was borrowed from Ahmad Musa'ad, brother of the 'omda of the HALAWIYYUN, who are a section of RUFA'A. It was a transcription, and the original had perished.

It is obviously an inferior version of the earlier paragraphs of C 9 (#2>.) and is indeed alleged to have been brought from Mekka by "'Abdulla el Araki," whose pedigree C 9 represents.

I In the name of God.. *(some five lines of laudation follow)*.

II When I saw that the records of lineage were being lost in [various] countries and most men's pedigrees in [different] lands, I feared lest my noble pedigree, which connects me with the lord of the apostles, should be lost; for it is not right for one to hide it nor to depart from it without reason; so I wished to record my pedigree, so that all my posterity after me might know it and be quite certain of their own pedigree.

III I am Ahmad son of el feki Musa'ad son of el Sheikh Ahmad sbn of Idris son of 'Abd el Kadir son of Muhammad sbn of el feki Shinayna son of the perfect saint el feki Rahma son of Guma'a son of 'Afif son of Ibrahim Shakh son of Muhammad Zaghyu son of Nail son of Halu son of Hammad son of el Sayyid Rafa'i son of el Sayyid 'Amir son of el Sayyid ttusayn son of el Sayyid Isma'il son of el Sayyid 'Abdulla sbn of el Sayyid Ibrahim son of el Sayyid Musa el Ka'im son of el Sayyid el Imam Ga'afir el Sadik son of el Sayyid el Imam Muhammad el Bakir son of el Sayyid 'Ali Zayn el 'Abdin son of him that was known as "Lord of the Imams,.. and Commander of the Faithful" el Sayyid Abdulla el Husayn, the martyr of Kerbela¹ (which is the name of the place where he was killed), el Husayn the son of Fatima the Glorious... *(four lines of laudation offAfima and 'Ah, and the pedigree of the latter up to 'Adndn, correctly given, follow here)*.

IV This is transcribed from *El Anwar el Nebawia fi Abdi Khayr el Baria* and occurs in the fifth chapter of the *Anwar el Nebawia*: Ibn el Salah mentions it in the commentary on el Bokhari.

V God knows best, and may he bless our lord Muhammad and his familv.

¹ reading كربة for كربلة.

C 7 (NOTES)

11 See C 9, iv, which is identical but for the addition of the last eight words in C 7.

in El feki Rahma may possibly be the "Rahma el Halawi" of D 3, 221.

"Zaghyd" (زغيدو) probably corresponds to the "'Aza Rigal" (عزو رغال) of C9, xv.

The second half of the paragraph, from Rafa'i onwards, is practically the same as the second half of C 9, v, but there are some variations in the spelling and in the laudations of 'Ah and Fatima. Also "el Sayyid 'Abdulla el Husayn" is wrongly given in C 7 for "The father of 'Abdulla, our lord el Husayn" (C 9); and C 7 contains an obvious gloss on "Kerbela."

iv Cp. C 0, xxv. The Arabic in C 7 is as follows:

هذه متقولة من الانوار النبوية في ابااء خير البرية وصاحبها في الفصل
الخامس من كتاب الانوار النبوية ذكره ابن الصلاح في شرح البخاري

MANUSCRIPT C 8

Introduction

A COPY was made for me of a MS. in the possession of the late Sheikh el 'Abbs Muhammad Bedr of Um Dubban, a Mesallami of the Badrab section, ex-Kadi of the Khalifa, and later 'omda of the first *khut* of el Kamlin district.

This copy (called "No. 1" in the notes) was found to be unintelligible in places and I returned it to Sheikh el 'Abbas for verification.

He then produced "No. 2," explaining that the original had been so damaged in the course of years that the copyist—himself not well versed in the subject—had occasionally got into difficulties; but that he had himself revised the whole and made a fresh copy.

The work seems to have been well and carefully done: Nos. 1 and 2 are in close agreement, though the former contains a certain amount omitted in the latter and the order of the paragraphs has been changed in places for the sake of clearness.

Sheikh el 'Abbas thought that the original was written about the time of Idris Arbab. The latter (*q v.* D 3, 141) died about 1650 A.D.

I In the name of God_____

II When I, the *fakir* Mekki Muhammad, saw how rife were suspicion and incertitude regarding things of importance_____

And how ignorant men were concerning the matter of ancestors and pedigrees, I offered my prayers to God and set about clearing the pedigree of Musallam ibn Atif of doubt and incertitude.

III I took this copy from the *feki* el Amin ibn Delisa, he having taken it from the great book of pedigrees; and it is as follows.

IV Musallam ibn 'Atif begot Ibrahim, who begot Muhammad, who begot Daud the elder, who begot Mas'ud, who begot Daud el Hashi. The last named was called "el Hashi" because he used to round up [*yahush*] the animals on the days when camp was moved.

V Daud el Hashi had seven sons, Muhammad Katarish¹, 'Abd el Khalik, Arabi, Faza'a, Faragag, Yasir and Sulayman.

VI Muhammad Katarish begot Abd el Khalik, Hamtur, Hadlul, Salih, Razuk and 'Awad el Kerim.

¹ reading قطارش for غطارش.

VII His brother 'Abd el Khalik **begot Daud el Gemal**, who begot Nebat, who begot Shawar and Salih.

VIII Shawar was ancestor of the SHAWARAB, and Salih of the SAWALHA and the NEBATTA.

IX 'Arabi begot the HADARAB.

X The descendants of Faza'a are at Tokar near the Red Sea, and some of them are in the neighbourhood of Gebel Um Merah.

XI Faragag died childless.

XII Yasir begot the DAUDFA NAs KABANBURA, as distinct from the DAUDIA AWLAD HASHI, the descendants of Hammad el Hayhari.

XIII Sulayman had six sons, Muhammad el Munshelakh, Hammad el Hayhari, Nebdt, Hasan and Abu Shelukh, all by the same mother, and Ibrahim their stepbrother. None of these had any children excepting Ibrahim and Hammad el Hayhari.

XIV The above are the seven sons of Daud el Hashi and their children. I will now recount the further ramifications of his family in detail.

XV 'Abd el Khalik son of Muhammad Katarish begot 'Abd el Sadik, Nigm, Hammadulla, Kubgan, 'Anfal, Bakoi, Abu Sabayka [and Ga'afir].

XVI Hamtur, his brother, begot the GHUSAYNAB¹, the MISMARAB, the DELILAB, the KINAYNAB and the RIHAYMAB.

XVII Hadlul begot the HAGAKAB, the NA'AMANAB², the ^GfBAB, the HILALTIT, the HASOBAB, the BALULAB, the KHALAFULLAB³, the ZUAYNAB, the KHARUFAB, the HAMMADULLAB, the 'AHIDAB and the BASHKAB.

XVIII Razuk begot the RIZKAB.

XIX 'Awad el Kerim begot the TALBAB.

XX El Hag Salih died childless.

XXI 'Abd el Sadik son of 'Abd el Khalik son of Muhammad Katarish begot the SABRAB.

XXII Nigm, his brother, begot the NIGMAB, the HUSAYNAB, the MAN^NAB and the DUALIYYUN⁴.

XXIII Hammadulla, his brother, begot the GABIRAB and the HAMMADULLAB.

XXIV Ga'afir, his brother, begot the GA'AFIRA and the 'AKfKAB.

XXV Kubgan⁵, his brother, begot the KABAGNA and the BATTAB AWL AD BATTAB.

XXVI 'Anfal begot the 'ANAFLA.

¹ reading غسيناب for قسيناب.

² reading نعماناب for نيماناب.

³ reading خلقلاب for خلقلاب.

⁴ reading الدواليين for الدواليين.

⁵ reading كبحان for كبحان.

XXVII Bakoi begot the HASHIAB, who live at Koz Ragab and the Kash, and who trace their lineage to the ASHRAF on their mother's side.

XXVIII Abu Sabayka begot the SABAYKAB.

XXIX Ibrahim the son of Sulayman son of Daud el Hashi begot 'Omar, Ak-hal, Fakad and Bakoi.

XXX Ak-hal and Fakad died childless.

XXXI 'Omar begot the 'OMARAB, the BAKAISA, the SH6KAB, the MITKENAB and the 'AGAMAB.

XXXII Bakoi begot the DELISAB; and among the DEL*SAB are the TERARIF, the people of Idris Teraf, the father of el Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman walad Teraf; and the SIRAYRAB; and the KORUMAB, the people of Mahmud walad Zaid.

XXXIII Among the descendants of Ibrahim the elder are the HAGANAB¹, and the BADRAB, the people of el Sheikh el 'Ebayd Muhammad Bedr.

XXXIV The SH6KAB and the 'ASHWAB and the RIHAYMAB are descended from Ibrahim the younger, son of 'Abdulla son of 'Omar son of Ibrahim the elder.

XXXV From Hammad el Hayhari son of Sulayman are descended the KUSAYSAB, the TUAYRAB, and the WANAYSAB, the stock of el Sheikh Muhammad walad Abu Wanaysa, and the DUALIYYCN, the people of Um Rawia, and the SHAWABNA in the Shaybiin country, and the GABAGIRA, and the NAKAKIZ and the FADLIYYUN.

XXXVI From him too are descended the MAHAWASHA, the SHELUKHATAB², the BARSAB³, the 'AWAYDAB and the HATATiB.

XXXVII All of these are branches of the stock of Hammad el Ilayhari. And here ends the pedigree of the descendants of Musallam ibn 'Atif ibn Hegaz, who was an Ommawi on the side of his mother Rabi'a el Ommawia; but his father was 'Abd el Hamid son of... (etc., as in tree, q.v.). This is the accepted pedigree of the MESALLAM! A: there is no other reliable one. God best knows the truth, and to Him all men return.

C 8 (NOTES)

II This Musallam is the eponymous ancestor of the Mesallamfa in El Amm ibn Delfsa is said to have been a Mesallami living on the Atbara and a contemporary of Hasan wad Hasuna (died 1664 A.D.; see D 7, 1-12). Cp. para. xxxII.

"*He having taken it, . . .*" is *حكما اخذته من النسب الكبير*, but it is not

¹ reading *هجناب* for *هجناب*. ² reading *شختاب* for *شختاب*.

³ reading *برصعاب* for *برصعاب*.

clear what book is meant: the words are no doubt a gloss as they do not occur in MS. No. 1.

iv "On *the days...*" is **يوم الظلمة**—literally "the day of the howdah," *i.e.* on the day when the women ride in state in their howdahs on the camels from the old encampment to the new. The usual nomad custom is so.

VI No. 1 adds that r!anu;Gr and Hadlul were twins, and calls Salih "el Hag Salih."

VII-VIII No. 1 says here "'Abd el Khalik son of Daud el Hashi begot the SHAWARAB NAS AWL AD MAHR as distinct from the SHAWARAB " (*i.e.* the rest of the SHAWARAB?) "and begot" [*i.e.* was ancestor of **ل(و)د**] "Nebat ibn DaOd el Gemal"; and later "Nebat Ibn DaOd el Gemal begot Shawar, ancestor of the SHAWARAB, and Salih, ancestor of the SAWALHA and the NEBATfA."

In No. 1 there follows this paragraph: "Concerning the BOALDA, the descendants of Bulad Gerri, there is a difference of opinion. Some say they are descended from Bolad son of Musallam, and others that they are GA'AL. God knows the truth about them "

x Um Merahi is in Gayli district, north of Khartoum.

xi Not in No. 1.

XII No. 1 adds "And the seed of the sons of Yasir are the BAMBONAB and the WASHKAB, and the mother of these was one of the NOBA of el Haraza Um Ked, who are descendants of 'Abd el Hadi walad Muhammad walad Dolib, who was descended from el Sheikh Rikab, who was of the stock of el Imam el Zfla'i."

El Haraza is in Northern Kordofan, and 'Abd el Hadi was the father of Nabray (No. 211 in D 3) and probably (see D 3) died about 1750-1800. See MacMichael *{Tribes of N. and C. Kordofan, Chap. vi}*. Rikab is No. 222 in D 3. Cp. note XXXIV and see Chap. 7 in Part III for the RIKAB*A.

XIII No. 1 specifies that the five full-brothers were sons of one Merowfa el Hurra, and Ibrahim of a concubine named Zaynab.

xv No. 1 says 'Abd el Sadik and Nigm were twins and inserts Ga'afir (omitted by a slip here in No. 2).

xvi No 1 adds " the KURASHAB," and gives" KENANAB " for " KINAYNAB," and says the RIHAYMAB were the children of Rihayma, son of el 'Awayd son of HanujQr. The descendants of HamtQr are always spoken of as " HAMATIR*A " to-day.

In a later paragraph No. 1 says "The eldest sons of HamtAUr were Barkash and Karshan and Thammar and 'Awad el Kerim." These are not mentioned by No. 2; but cp. note xix.

xvii No. 1 says "The descendants of Hadlal, according to what we have copied from the writings of el feki Sherffi ibn el feki Mekki, and according to what has been copied from el feki 'Abdulla ibn el feki el Amm with absolute exactitude, are the SHIUMAB, the KHALAFULLAB, the HASANAB and the MEKKIAB ... The sons of Hadlal were Muhammad and Hasah and 'Ah and Khalafulla.

Muhammad begot AgIb, who begot Haltit and Khayr el *Sid* and Has6ba and el Zayn Balala and Abu Bukr.

Hasan begot the HAGAKAB and the NA'AMANAB (*sic*) and the KIAB.

Razok begot the *feki* Mekki.

Khalafulla begot the HATUKAB (?) and the 'ATWADAB and the IGIRBAB.

'All begot Kharaf, who begot the KHARUFAB and HAMDADULLAB and the 'AHIDAB and the BASHKAB. All of these are the descendants of HadlQI."

Perhaps "el Zayn Balala" should be "el Zayn and Balula," and by "ZUAYNAB" in No. i would in this case be meant the descendants of this el Zayn.

There is nothing in No. 2 to correspond to the names of the three sections said in No. 1 to be descended from Khalafulla.

By "'AGIBAB" (No. 2) are meant the children of the 'Agib son of Muhammad mentioned above (No. 1).

Thefeki Sherffi's *kubba* is at Ummdt 'AnkarIb east of el Kamlim. El feki 'Abdulla was also a Mesallami and is said to have been buried near Gebel 'fsa Talib (near Ummat 'Ankarib).

"IGIRBAB" means "The mangy ones."

XVIII This Razuk is not the Razuk of the quotation from No. 1 in note xvII, but a son of Muhammad Katirish (so both Nos. 1 and 2).

xix No. 1, in agreement with No. 2, previously gave an "'Awad el Kerim" as a son of Muhammad Katdrish. Later on No. 1 gives another 'Awad el Kerfm, "ancestor of the TALBAB," as son of HamtQr. No. 2 has apparently confused the two

xxvii No. 1 calls them "Our lords the HASHIAB," and launches forth into praises of the ASHRAF, omitted by No. 2.

K6z Ragab is on the Atbara, and the Kash to the East,

xxx No. 1 gives the sons of Ibrahim as No. 2, but omits to say Ak-hal died childless, and adds "Fakfd (*sic*) begot the RIZKAB."

XXXI For "SHOKAB" No. 1 gives "SHAKUTAB," and, while giving the 'AGWAB as descendants of Ibrahim, does not say that they were so descended through 'Omar.

No. 1 adds among the descendants of Ibrahim one " Muhammad walad 'Agib el Shinanabi."

xxxii No. 1 gives "Teraif" for "Terarif."

After the mention of SIRAYRAB several lines are added by No. 1 which are incomprehensible and omitted by No. 2. The passage m No. 1 runs thus:

ومن ذرية دليسة السويواب اولاد العراق وابوا دنانة اسمه العراق عبد العال
وابو دنانه حميد اولاد الشيخ عبد الرحمن الكبير بن دليسة الكبير وامهم
الذين قعوا جارية الحنقة وولد منها العراق ابو دنانه وخرجوا من الحنقة
الكبيرة من بحر النيل من بحر ناحية المجاذيب

and may possibly be translated: "And of the stock of Delfsa are the SIRAYRAB AWLAD EL 'IRAK, and the Abu Denana surnamed 'el 'Irak 'Abd el 'Ali,' and Abu Denana Hammad, [these two latter being] the sons of el Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman the elder son of Delfsa the elder; and their mother was el Zayn, called [reading قالوا for قالوا] 'Gariat el Halanka' ['The

bondwoman of the Halanka*]. By her he ['Abd el Rahman] begot el 'Irak Abu Denana; and they left..., etc." The meaning is apparently that they left the Halanka country and settled on the Nile near the MAGADHIB (*i.e.* the AWLAD EL MAGDHOB in the vicinity of el Darner). Cp. D 5 (c), xvm.

For Hammad Abu Denana see D 3, No. 141.

For "Mahmud walad Zaid" No. 1 has only "walad Zaid."

XXXIII "The people of el Sheikh el 'Ebayd" are the Um Dubbin people under the headship of Sheikh el 'Abbas el 'Ebayd Muhammad Bedr.

xxxiv No. 1 continues "And of the seed of Ibrahim was 'Awadulla Kabu of the AWLAD BATIL at Gerayfat Omdurman who are descended from Ibrahim; and the KALAKLA the children of their [A. BATIL?] maternal aunt Kalkala el Rubajfa, who were called KALAKLA" [emend from "KALALKLA"] [*sc. after*] "their mother Kalkala, an 'Awadia of the GA'ALIYYUN 'AwADIA.

The mother of 'Awadulla Kabu was one of the NOBA of el Haraza Um Ked who are descendants of 'Abd el Hadi walad Muhammad D61ib, and she was ultimately descended from el Sheikh Rikab. This then is the pedigree of their mother; and all of these were descended from Ibrahim the younger."

Cp. note XII for intermarriage with el Haraza people,

xxxv Muhammad walad Abu Wanaysa is No. 172 in D 3.

After "DUALIYYUN" No. 1 adds, in parenthesis, "NAs WALAD HASHI": cp para. xII.

Shaybun is a hill in the Nuba Mountains: its locality used to be famous in Turkish and pre-Turkish days as containing gold. The people there are entirely distinct, racially, from their neighbours. See note to D 7, ccc

For "GABAGIRA" No. 1 gives "HABAGIRA."

In explanation of "the NAKAKIZ" No. 1 adds "The descendants of Sulayman el Nakaz, whose mother was daughter of el Malik Sulayman the Gamu V; and, as regards the FADLIYYUN, No. 1 speaks of them as the descendants of Muhammad el Fadl, and includes them among the NAKAF^AZ.

xxxvi No 1 speaks of the M AH AWASH A as "descendants of MahOsh (Mahawwash?)," and gives the other sections mentioned in this paragraph as descended from "Muhammad" (*i.e.* Muhammad el Munshelakh probably).

After this No. 1 continues (omitted in No 2) as follows: "Muhammad Musallam had two daughters, Gaiza and el Khidayra. Gaiza was mother of the MOGHARBA, and el Khidayra of the FADNLA, who are descended from el Sherif el Sayyid el Hasib el Nesib Ibn Muhammad ibn el Imam 'Ah, God bless him, who is known as Ibn el Hanaffa."

xxxvn In No. 1 Musallam is here called "Musallam el Abwab son of Atif...."

At the close of No. 1 there is added "As for the version that Musallam was descended from Sultan, it is not trustworthy: the fact is merely that his mother el Zahra was daughter of Sultan, and fame connected him with his [maternal] grandfather because he was his follower and so [his name] became mixed with that of his mother's relations." BA, A 2, A 11, C 9, D 1, and D 6 all agree with C 8. D 2 alone suggests a descent from Sultan (who was a descendant of Guhayna).

MANUSCRIPT C 9

Introduction

THIS *nisba*, or rather the first five paragraphs of it, purports to be that of the famous Sheikh 'Abdulla ibn Dafa'alla el 'Araki, whose biography is given in D 3 (No. 34).

The actual copy of the *nisba* which has been translated was made for me from his own inherited copy by 'Omar 'Agib, a descendant of the 'ABDULLAB viceroys, who were themselves, like the 'Araki family, a branch of RUFA'A.

It is interesting to see that Rafa'i, the eponymous ancestor of the RUFA'A, occurs in the B and A groups (which are attributed to "el Samarkandi"), as son of 'Amir son of Dhubian, ancestor of the GUHAYNA tribes. But in C 7 and C 9 this 'Amir is called "el Sayyid 'Amir" and allotted a more noble pedigree, direct to el Husayn, the martyr of Kerbela and grandson of the Prophet.

'Amir is said to have been the first of the family to settle in the Sudan, and the genealogy of his descendants may be given with approximate accuracy: there is, however, no indication that either of the versions of his ancestry that have been mentioned is correct in any particular. The fact is probably that 'Abdulla el 'Araki went on the pilgrimage and, as in the similar case of C 6, returned with a *Sherifi* pedigree, correct from Musa el Kajim upwards and otherwise spurious.

Musa el Kazim had twelve sons (see Wustenfeld, Y) and the scribes of Mekka were no doubt prepared to allot him any number more on application

The RUFA'A group as a whole are considered GUHAYNA, but the *Sherifi* descent of the 'ARAKIIN is never disputed, although they and the RUFA'A are allowed to be equally descended from Rafa'i. For the explanation of this see Chap. 2 (a) in Part I I I.

Paragraphs vm to xxvi were no doubt added by a later copyist who borrowed them from one of the B group of *nisbas*, and an inferior one at that. They do not even agree with the pedigree given in para. v.

I In the name of God....

II As regards what follows, this is the pedigree of honour concerning the Sheikh of Islam, the Guide [*Murshid*], the Resolute [*Hammdm*], 'Abdulla el 'Araki.

III Praise be to God who honoured el Medina with the Prophet of God, and protected it, and chose it above all places, and selected it, and named it "Tayyiba" [Sweet] because it was sweetened by the sweetness of the Beloved [i.e. the Prophet] and its soil was sweetened. And he bore witness that there is no god but God alone and that He has no partner, but is the God of all created beings and has developed them. And He bore witness that our lord Muhammad is His servant and apostle, whom His God called "Y S" and "T H."

IV As regards what follows: when I saw that the records of lineage were being lost in [various] countries and most men's pedigrees in [different] lands, I feared lest my noble pedigree which connects me with the lord of the apostles should be lost, for it is not right for one to hide it nor to depart from it without reason: so I wished to record my pedigree so that all my posterity after me might know it.

V I say then that I am the *fakir* in God's sight, 'Abdulla son of el Sayyid Dafa'alla son of el Sayyid Mukbal son of el Sayyid Naia'i son of el Sayyid Muhammad "Fala'alah Washm" son of el Sayyid Salama son of el Sayyid Bedr son of el Sayyid Muhammad son of el Sayyid Ahmad son of el Sayyid Rafa'i son of el Sayyid 'Amir son of el Sayyid el Husayn son of el Sayyid Isma'il son of el Sayyid 'Abdulla son of el Sayyid Ibrahim son of el Sayyid el Imam Musa el Kazim son of el Sayyid el Imam Ga'afir el Sadik son of el Sayyid el Imam Muhammad el Bakir son of el Sayyid 'Ali Zayn el 'Abdfn son of him that was known as "Lord of the Imams" and "The Great Captain," whom God proved by [every] kind of trial and test, the Commander of the Faithful, the father of 'Abdulla, our lord el Husayn, the martyr of Kerbela, the son of Fatima the Glorious, the queen of the women of the universe, the daughter of the lord of the apostles, our lord Muhammad.. son of 'Abdulla, son of 'Abd el Mut[^]alib son of Hashim [and so on] to his ancestor 'Adnan.

VI At this point ends the authentic and universally accepted pedigree.

VII He upon whom be the blessings of God said "May the curse of God be upon him that intrudes himself upon us without a pedigree or that leaves us without reason."

VIII El Sayyid 'Amir had three sons, Muhammad Rafa'i and Ahmad el Ad-ham and Hammad el Alit, own brothers.

IX Rafa'i begot Hammad and Muhammad, own brothers, and also Ahmad their brother on the father's side.

X Ahmad begot Bedr; and Hammad begot Hasan el Ma'arak (the ancestor of the 'ARAKIYYEN), and Husayn (the ancestor of the BENI HUSAYN), and Hasan (the ancestor of the BENI HAS AN), and Shibayl

(the ancestor of the SHIBAYLAT and father of 'Ayad and el Atrash), and Muhammad el 'Akil (the ancestor of the 'AKALIYYUN), and Hakim, and Zamlut (the ancestor of the KAMATfR), and Towal (the ancestor of the TOWALIYYUN), and Magid (the ancestor of the RAZKiA), and Bashltar (the ancestor of the BASHAKIRA), and Hilal (the ancestor of the HILALIYYUN), and Halu (the ancestor of the FIALAWIY-YUN), and 'Isayl (the ancestor of the 'ISAYLAT), and Farag (the ancestor of the FARAGAB), and 'Abdulla Kerayn (the ancestor of the 'ABDULLAB¹).

XI These fifteen were the sons of rjammad and [it is written] so in the *Biography* of Ibn Sid [Sayyid ?] el Nas and the work of Ibn 'Abbas upon the origins of the people, and Ibn Haggag verified it with a view to the serious dissensions as to their pedigrees [that might arise] in later days.

XII Now the sons of Muhammad ibn Rafa'i, the full-brother of Hammad, were Zanfai and Haggag and Kasim and Ma'adad and Shabrak: these are the sons of Muhammad.

XIII And Muhammad ['Akil] had no children, but Ibn² 'Arafa says what is true, namely that the paternal uncle is to be identified with [?] his brother's son.

XIV Hasan el Ma'arak had four sons, Hammad and 'Asham and Dasham and Daras.

XV Hammad begot Ahmad 'Azu Rigal.

XVI 'Asham begot Nagih and Nail and Tha'aleb and 'Othman and 'Amud.

XVII Dasham begot Bedr and Zayad by [one] mother, and Fadil and Haggag [by another], and Hammad their brother on his father's side by a concubine.

XVIII Daras begot Ahmar and el Harnran.

XIX These are the sons of Hasan el Ma'arak.

XX Hammad el A'lit's [descendants] are the BENI A'LAT in general.

XXI Hammad el Ad-ham's descendants are the ZAMALAT and the ZIBAYLAT and the AGAL and the KURBAN and the LAHAWIYYUN³ and the MEZANIYYCN (who have nothing to do with the MUZAYNA, who were of old an Arab tribe, but are only MUZAYNA descended from Ad-ham the brother of Rafa'i).

XXII This then is the pedigree of Rafa'i and his brothers and they were in league with one another; and God best knows the truth.

XXIII The tribes whose members it is not permissible to buy or

¹ reading عضلاب for عضلاب. ² reading بني for ابن.

³ reading للموئين for الموئين.

sell, because they are free, are seven: viz. GUHAYNA and MUZAYNA and ASHGA'A and DASHAM and GHAFAR¹ and RURAYSH and EL ANSAR.

XXIV The tribes that have [no ?] pedigrees and whom it is allowable to sell, are seven: viz. the BEG A and the BEGAGIH and GABRA and HARATHA and GHIBRA and NAY§ the ancestor of the Sudanese [el Sudan].

XXV The origin and ancestry of these is non-Arab [*agam*], of white and black: Ibn el Salah mentions it in the Commentary on el Bokhari: he says this is transcribed from *El Anwar el Nebazvia ft Abdi Khayr el Baria*, and he says he found it in the fifth chapter of the *Anwar*, which treats of the chosen prophet of God_____

XXVI Now el Sherif Muhammad el Amin el Hindi has mentioned that the tribes of GUHAYNA here in the Sudan Gezira are seven, and they are registered in his own handwriting, thus:

M	G	R	M	H	R	R
MESALLAMIA	GA'AFIRA	RUEBIA	MA'ASHIRA	HAMAYLA	RUWALHA	ROWASHDA

C 9 (NOTES)

II For 'Abdulla el 'Araki see D 3, 34.

HI "... and named it...": the Arabic is

وسماها طيبة لانها طابت بطيب الحبيب وطاب ثراها

(See Burton, *Pilgrimage*, 1, p. 377, on this subject.)

For "YS" and "TH" cp Hughes, pp. 517, 518. "There are 29 Surahs of the Qur'an which begin with certain letters of the alphabet. These letters, the learned say, have some profound meaning, known only to the Prophet himself...." "YS" is applied to the 36th chapter of the Kuran (see Burton, *loc. cit.* 1, p. 330). Cp. also BA, cxvcm.

iv Cp. C 7, 11.

v "Fala'alalah Washm" (فلعله وشمر) is probably an error.

"The Great Captain" is قائد الازمة. The zun (زمام) is properly the small string of leather run through a riding camel's nostril and attached to the rein.

VIII In para, xxi "Hammad" is given instead of "Ahmad."

x Though Hasan el Ma'arak is spoken of here as "ancestor of the 'ARAKIYYUN" 'Abdulla el 'Araki himself was not descended from him according to para, v!

¹ reading غفار for عقار.

xni Ibn 'Arafa was a Maliki divine in the fourteenth century (see Huart, p. 351), and perhaps he is referred to here. The Arabic of the dictum quoted is

العمر يعقل عن ابن أخيه

The phrase has reference originally to liability for a share in blood-money, and there is a play on the word "'Akil."

xv Cp. C 7, in.

xxm Cp. BA, XLVIII, etc.

"Dasham" is an error for Aslam.

xxiv Cp. BA, CXXXVII.

xxv Cp. C 7, iv.

The title of this work means " *The prophetic bouquet concerning the ancestry of the best of men.* "

xxvi Is almost certainly a late gloss. The Hindi family reside in the Gezfra: they are mentioned in D 1, cxxv.

This MGRMHR is merely a meaningless *memoriae technica* ("migram harar").

MANUSCRIPT D i

Introduction

THIS work, consisting of eighty-five pages of MS., was copied out for me under the direction of Sheikh el Dardiri Muhammad el Khalifa of Khorsi, the present *Khalifa* of the Tigdnia *farika* in Kordofan and one of the best known and most respected of the D6AL*B, who are a branch of the RIKABIA "ASHRAF" of Dongola. It was transcribed from the copy made by el Dardiri in 1884 from the copy taken by his father in 1836 from the oldest copy made in 1738 (see para, ccxvi).

The book falls into three quite distinct portions. The first sixty pages or so are the work of that Sayyid Ghuldmulla ibn 'Aid who was ancestor of the RiKABIA and is related to have been a *Sherif* who migrated to the Sudan from el Yemen and settled in Dongola (see D 5 (d)). His date was probably the fifteenth century.

The Sherif el Tahir who wrote or copied the original of BA was his great-nephew, but their works were quite independent of one another.

Ghul&mulla does not concern himself with the Sudan at all: his compilation is cast in the traditional mould, and in arrangement and subject-matter nearly resembles Abu el Fida's *Historia Antislamica*. It is certainly an abridgement of the history of some mediaeval Arabic encyclopaedist (e.g. Ibn el Athfr), and it deals with the history of the world from the creation to the time of the 'Abbasids.

Several generations later, Ghul&mulla's descendant Muhammad walad Doh'b the Elder, who, as appears from D 3 (No. 187), flourished about 1680 A.D., added a further twenty pages (" Part I I "). A portion of the contents of this second part are quotations (or misquotations) from Ibn el Athfr—unacknowledged, by the way—the rest is a series of disconnected notes, some on the tribes of Arabia, and some on those of the Sudan. The author was evidently acquainted with the original of BA or extracts from it, as a comparison of paras, LXXXIV *et seq.* with BA shows with sufficient clearness.

His great-grandson the younger Muhammad walad D61ib, in the eighteenth century, added another briefer, and probably more original series of notes (" Part I I I "). It is fairly certain from internal evidence

that glosses have been added fairly lavishly both in Part II and in Part III.

A translation of the first part (Ghulamulla's) is not given as it is irrelevant for all practical purposes, but its contents may be summarized as follows before we proceed to the translation of Parts II and III.

It begins:

In the name of God... Now this is a book in which I will collect all that has been verified by the historians and proved by the genealogists, and the fruit of my work shall be that he who has viewed the records of the past and the events of antecedent ages, when he reads of them shall be as it were their contemporary, and when he understands them shall be as it were a spectator of them.. .And the exposition of pedigrees will show who are exalted and noble by race, and men will learn to know one tribe from another, and by this knowledge shall war become peace and the distant be brought near, and there shall be that observance of the ties of consanguinity ordained by God Almighty—

The author then explains how historical research began in the time of the Khalifa 'Omar and how the Year of the Flight was agreed upon as the basis of Muslim chronology. He then sets to work upon his history, and begins with an account of the creation of the universe, and discusses the planets, the stars, the seasons, etc. Then follow the creation of man, the sojourn in Paradise, the generations that followed Adam, the Flood, and the descendants of Noah.

This leads the author to an account of the ancient tribes of Arabia and the other races of the world, and to the stories of Nimrod, and of Abraham, Job and other prophets, and the foundation of Mekka. Thence we pass to the history of the Israelites, of Persia, of Rome, and of Byzantium, including an account of Christ, and so on to the foundation of Islam.

After a very brief history of the Khalifas and a yet shorter mention of the struggle between the Beni Ommayya and the Beni 'Abbas the work of Sheikh Ghulamulla comes to an abrupt end, and Part II commences, without any preface beyond the single word "*tanbih*" ("note"), as follows:

I KHUZAM and the BENI KHUZAYMA are both sub-tribes of SULAYM.

II MAKHZCM are a sub-tribe of KURAYSH and are descended from Makhzum son of Yakza son of Murra son of Ka'ab son of Luai son of Ghalib son of Fihir.

III GHATAFAN are a section of ICAYS 'AYLAN and are descended from Ghatafan son of Sa'ad son of Kays 'AyIan.

IV BENI KUTAYF are a Syrian people, of the BENI TAI,

V There is also a different people called BENI KUTAYF, of [the tribe of] MUDHHIG¹: their ancestor is Kutayf son of Nagia son of Murad [of] the [same] section [as] Farwa son of Musayk the Kutayf], the Associate of the Prophet.

VI ZENATA are a great tribe in the west and are descended from Zanati Yahya son of Dari son of Bermadaghus son of Dari son of Zagik² son of Madaghis son of Berr son of Bidyan son of Kana'an son of Ham son of Nuh.

VII The MESSIRFA Arabs, i.e. those originally so called, are descended from Missir son of Tha'aliba son of Nasr son of Sa'ad son of Nebhan, [and are] a section of T A I.

VIII The MAHRU are a great tribe descended from Mahra son of Haydan son of 'Amr son of el Haf³ son of Kuda'a; and every Mahri traces his pedigree to him, and the Mahria camels of this tribe similarly owe their name to him.

IX HIMYAR are the sons of Himyar son of Saba son of Ya'arub son of Kahtan. Now there are three Himyars among the children of Kahtan, viz. the "greater," the "lesser," and the "least." The "least" is Himyar son of el Ghauth⁴ son of Sa'ad son of 'Auf son of 'Adi son of Malik son of Zayd son of Sadad son of Zura'a. Himyar the "lesser" is the son of Saba the "lesser" son of Ka'ab son of Sahal son of Zayd son of 'Amr son of Kays son of Mu'awia son of Gushm⁵ son of 'Abd Shams son of Wail son of el Ghauth son of Hadhar son of Kutn son of 'Arib son of Zuhayr son of Aiman son of el Hamaysa'a⁶ son of el Ferangag.

Himyar the "greater" was son of Saba the "greater" son of Yashhub. Now some of the HIMYAR who are in the west belong to the HIMYAR of the east.

X The 'AKALIYYON are descended from 'Ukayl son of Ka'ab son of Rabi'a son of 'Amir.

XI The MA'AKLA are of the sons of Ma'akl son of Malik el Bahih and belong to the BAHILA Arabs.

XII The RIZAYKAT are of the sons of Rizayk el Thakifi and belong to the BENI THAKIF, and there is a section of them in the Sudan.

XIII KHAFAGA are a sub-tribe of BENI 'AMIR.

XIV FEZARA are descended from Fezara, the father of a sub-tribe of GHATAFAN. This Fezara was son of Dhubian son of Baghdad son of

¹ reading مذهب for مذبح.

² reading وجيك for زجيك.

³ reading الحالى for الحالى.

⁴ reading القوس for الغوث.

⁵ reading جسر for جسر.

⁶ reading الهمسع for الهمسع.

Rayth¹ son of Ghatafan. The BENI EL 'USHARA and the BENI SHAMAKH² are a part of them.

XV KUDA'A are descended from rjimyār, i.e. Kuda'a son of Malik son of Murra son of Zayd son of Malik son of Himyar son of Saba.

XVI KENANA are descended from Kenana son of Khuzayma son of Mudraka son of Elyas son of Mudr, who was the fourth grandfather of our lord the Prophet.

XVII GUHAYNA is a sub-tribe of ICUDA'A.

XVIII The KARG are a tribe of RUM living on the frontiers of Adharbigan.

XIX The TARTARS are a race living in the far east in the mountains of Tafmag on the borders of Sin. They are neighbours of the TURK, and between them and the lands of Islam which are beyond the river is a distance of more than six months. It was these people of whom the Prophet said that their features were most hideous.

XX The KHULUG. . . are a tribe tracing their descent from KURAYSH. They do not, however, belong to them, but are rather an Arab people with whom 'Omar ibn el Khattab has a common ancestor in el Harith son of Malik son of el Nudr son of Kenana. It may be added that el Harith was the brother of Fihir.

XXI KURAYSH are the descendants of Fihir; and the name of the ancestor of the KHULUG was Kays.

XXII ZAGHAWA is a tribe of blacks, an offshoot of the ZING, and the derivative noun is Zaghawi.

XXIII BENI HUBL are a sub-tribe of KELB and are the descendants of Hubl son of 'Abdulla son of Kenana son of 'Auf son of 'Udhra³ son of Zayd el Dat son of Rufayda son of Thaur son of Kelb; and they include the descendants of Zuhayr son of Ganab⁴ son of Hubl, and the descendants of 'Abdulla son of 'Abdulla son of Hubl, and the descendants of 'Obayda son of Hubl.

XXIV HILALA are the descendants of Hilal son of 'Amir son of Sa'asa'a son of Mu'awia son of Bukr son of Hawazin. Of this tribe was Maymuna daughter of el Harith, mother of the faithful, and Hamayd son of Thaur, the poet and Companion of the Prophet. They also won honourable mention at the battle of Hunayn. The HILALIA are descended from them, and of their number was Abu Zayd el Hilali, so famous for bravery and nobility. There are remnants of them in Egypt and in Morocco.

XXV The MESsiRf A in reality are descendants of Missir (spelt with

¹ reading مرثيت for ريثت.

² reading شمع for شمع.

³ reading عذرة for عذرة.

⁴ reading جناب for جناب.

an i) son of Tha'aliba son of Nasr son of Sa'ad son of Nebhan¹, a branch of TAI.

XXVI The HUMUR Arabs (spelt with a u after the H and the M) are descendants of the Master of the Ass, the Black One, the Liar, the false prophet who appeared in el Yemen, of the tribe of 'Aus; and his name was Aihala².

XXVII BULALA, who are between Borku and Barkirma, are descendants of Belal (Bulal ?) of [the tribe of] el Azd.

XXVIII IIAMAR (spelt with an A after the H and the M) in origin are descendants of el Ahmar son of Mu'awia son of Selim Abu Sha'abil el Tamimi, and they belong to the BENI TAMIM.

XXIX The SULAYM Arabs (spelt with vowel-points as in "Zubayr") are descendants of Sulaym son of Mansur son of 'Ikrima son of Khasafa, a sub-tribe of KAYS 'AYLAN. There are also other Sulaym who are a sub-tribe of Gudham; and of the former there are branches in the Sudan, and the latter are in the East.

XXX The BEDAYRiA, that is the original BEDAYRiA, are descendants of Bedr son of 'Amr son of Guayya son of Laudhan³ son of Tha'aliba son of 'Adi son of Fezara; and they are a section of FEZARA.

XXXI GHATAFAN are a sub-tribe of KAYS 'AYLAN, and their father was Ghatafan son of Sa'ad son of Kays 'Ayl&n.

Now Kays 'Aylan was the father of a tribe and his [real] name was el Nass (spelt with a double s), and he was son of Mudr and brother of el Yds; and 'Aylan was a horse belonging to Kays, famous among the horses of the Arabs, and Kays used to win races upon it. There was too a man of the tribe of Bagila called Kays Kubba after a horse called Kubba and also famous. These two men called Kays were neighbours before BAG/LA settled in the land of Yemen, so that when anyone mentioned Kays he was asked whether he meant Kays 'Aylan or Kays Kubba.

XXXII BAGILA (shortened into Bagla) are a sub-tribe of BENI SULAYM and trace their descent to their mother, viz. Bagla daughter of Huna son of Malik son of Fahm. The derivative noun is Bagh.

XXXIII The BENI BAGALA are a section of DABBA; and Bagala was son of Dhuhail son of Malik son of Bukr son of Sa'ad son of Dabba.

XXXIV DABBA is an Arab tribe and their father was Dabba (son of Udd) the uncle of Tamim son of Murr son of Udd son of Tabikha son of el Yas son of Mudr. And Dabba had three sons, Sa'ad and Sa'id and Basil, and Basil was father of the DAYLUM, and Sa'id left

¹ reading نهبان for نهبان.

² reading ايهلة for ايهلة.

³ reading لؤذان for لؤذان.

no posterity. The children of Dabba, excepting the DAYLUM, are included among the BENI SA'AD.

XXXV The DAYLUM are the children of Dabba, as I have shown.

XXXVI The BENI DUBAYB (spelt with vowel-points as in "Zubayr") are a section of GUDHAM.

XXXVII GUDHAM (spelt with vowel-points as in *ghurdb*) are a tribe from el Yemen who settled in the mountains of Hisma beyond the Wadi el Itura; and this was the surname of 'Amr son of 'Adi son of el Harith son of Murra son of Udad son of Yashkhub son of 'Arf b son of Zayd son of Kahlan, and Gudham was brother of Lakhm and 'Amila and 'Ufayr¹.

XXXVIII The BENI SAHILA are the descendants of Sahila son of Kahil son of el Harith son of Tamim son of Sa'ad son of Hudhayl, and they are tribes and are called the KAHILIYYUN.

XXXIX The BENI KAHIL son of 'Udhra son of Sa'ad Hudhayl² are a different tribe.

XL DCs is a tribe of Arabs.

XLI BAGILA is a tribe from el Yemen, from Saba.

XLII The BENI MUSTALIK are a section of KHUZA'A.

XLIII The KHATA are a tribe of the Turks.

XLIV The TA'AfshA Arabs are the descendants of 'Aish son of el Zarb son of el Harith son of Fihr Gahili; and this 'Aish was ancestor of 'Awaymir son of Sa'ada el Bedayri.

XLV The HAWAZMA are a sub-tribe of BAGILA and are the children of Hazim son of Abu Hazim el Bagili; but a number of Arab and black tribesmen, attracted by the advantages of fellowship and fraternity with them, [joined them], and the original stock and its accretions became indistinguishable.

XLVI KHUZA'A are [descended] from EL AZD³; that is to say Haritha son of 'Amr Muzaykia son of 'Amir begot Rabi'a, i.e. Ma-el-Samd, and Rabi'a begot Lohay and Afsa and 'Oday and Ka'ab, and from these are descended KHUZA'A. Now they were called "KHUZA'A" because they separated [تفرعوا] from their [own] people and settled at Mekka; and others went to Syria.

XLVII The HABBANIA are the descendants of Habban son of el Kulus son of 'Amr son of Kays, a sub-tribe of BAHILA.

XLVIII BAHILA are a tribe of KAYS 'AYLAN, and originally BAHila was the name of a woman of Hamdan⁴ who was [married] to Ma'an

¹ reading صغير for عفير.

³ reading الازد for الاسد.

² reading هدير for هذيل.

⁴ reading همذان for همدان.

son of A'sir son of Sa'ad son of Kays 'Aylan, and Ma'an's descendants were named after her.

XLIX Now if you have studied these genealogical ramifications you must know that in the explanation of pedigrees that follows perhaps one pedigree resembles the form of another, but they are distinguishable from one another, pedigree from pedigree, and tribe from tribe; and the similarity is merely superficial: do not therefore be led astray, for nothing is included in this compilation but what is supported by the authority of trustworthy genealogists, or mentioned by the author of the Dictionary of the Arabic Language, or vouched for by him to the exclusion of any other version. If any genealogies are repeated in a form contradictory to that given previously, [it must be understood that] a variant version is being given.

L The great philosophers are Plato [Iflatun] and Aristotle [Aristu] and Ptolemy [Batlimus] and Galen [Galinus].

LI The father of the science of the supernatural was Plato, and it is founded upon inductive reasoning from objects of the senses realized by the help of the perceptive faculties.

LI I Aristotle is the father of the natural sciences, such as treat of the heavens and the earth and existence and non-existence and meteorology and fundamental laws and botany and zoology, and they are founded upon the use of the perceptive faculties.

LIII The father of astronomy is Ptolemy, and it is founded upon the perceptive faculties and the laws of things perceptible.

LIV The father of experimental medicine is Galen, and it is founded upon the use of the perceptive faculties.

LV The pedigrees found in the works of reliable historians and genealogists are traced to the stock of Nuh, who alone among the children of Adam survived the deluge for ever.

LVI The children of Nuh were Sam and Ham and Yafith. [Wahhab ibn Munebbih says that] Sam son of Nuh was father of the Arabs and Persians [*Farts*] and the Romans [*el RUm*]; [and that] Ham was father of the blacks; and Yafith of the Turks and Yagug and Magug.

LVII Sam begot Arfakhshadh and Ashudh and Laudh and Aram.

LVIII From L'udh son of Ham are descended Faris, and Girgan, and Tasm, and 'Amh'k, father of the 'AiviALfK, who were the giants in Syria, who were called the KANA'ANIYYUN¹; and of them were the Pharaohs of Egypt; and [also] the people of Bahrayn and 'Oman, and [these latter] were called² GASHIM: [of them too were the children of Omaym son of Laudh...].

¹ reading النعانيون for الكنعانيون. ² reading يسمون for يسمون

LIX TASM dwelt in el Yemama as far as Bahrayn; and TASM and the 'AMALIK and OMAYM¹ and GASHIM were Arab peoples, speaking the Arabic tongue [. Now Abil reached Yathreb] before it (i.e. the town) was built.

LX And most of the 'AMALIJC settled in Sana'd before it was so named.

LXI Aram son of Sain son of Nuh begot 'Awad and 'Abir and Huwayl. 'Awad begot 'Abir and 'Ad and 'AMI.

LXI I 'Abir son of Aram begot THAMMOD and GIDAYS ; and they were Arabs, speaking this Egyptian tongue, and the Arabs used to call these nations and GURHUM "the 'Arab el 'Ariba," and the descendants of Isma'il they used to name "the 'Arab el Muta'ariba."

LXI II 'AD were in Hadramaut, and THAMMCD in the rocky country between el Hegaz² and Syria [as far as Wddi el Kurd. GIDAYS] joined TASM and lived with them in el Yemama as far as Bahrayn. And the name of el Yemama at that time was Gau. And GASHIM dwelt³ in 'Oman.

LXIV The NEBT were descended from Nebit son of Mash son of Aram son of Sam.

LXV The PERSIANS [*el Furs*] are the descendants of F&ris son of Tirash son of Mashur son of Laudh son of Sam.

LXVI Arfakhshadh son of Sam begot Kaynan⁴, and Kay nan⁴ begot Shalikh, and Shalikh begot 'Abir, and 'Abir begot Faligh and also Kahtan and Yunan; and Kahtan begot Ya'arub [and Yukzan,] and Ya'arub begot Yashgub [, and Yashgub begot] Saba, and Saba begot Himyar and Kahlan and 'Amr and el Asha'ar and Anmar and Murr.

LXVII 'Amr son of Sabd begot 'Adi, and 'Adi begot Lakhm and Gudham.

LXVIII [Now Ya'arub and] Yukzan settled in el Yemen, and were its earliest inhabitants and the first to be greeted with the words "mayest thou avoid execration."

LXIX Faligh begot Ar'u⁵, and Ar'u⁵ begot [Sarugh, who begot Nahur, who begot Tarikh, in Arabic called] Azar, and Azar begot Ibrahim, (upon whom be the blessing of God).

LXX Arfakhshadh begot Nimrudh; and [Hashim ibn el Kelbi states that] el Sind and el Hind were the children of Tukir son of Yuktan son of 'Abir son of Shdhkh son of Arfakhshadh son of Sam.

¹ reading امير for ايمر.

² reading الحجاز for الحجاز.

³ reading سكن for سكن.

⁴ reading قينان for قينان.

⁵ reading ارغو for ارغو.

LXXI Gurhum was descended from Yuktan son of 'Abir; and Hadramaut was son of Yuktan. Now Yuktan is Kahtan [as is said...].

LXXII The BERBER are descended from Thamila¹ son of Marib son of Faran² son of 'Amr son of 'Amlik son of Laudh son of Sam son of Nuh.

LXXII I The Romans [*el Rum*] are the children of Lanti³ son of Yunan son of Laudh; and here I speak of the early Romans. The Romans of the Empire, who were numerous and powerful and who were contemporaries of the Prophet (upon him be the blessing of God), and of whom he made it known that their empire would last till the end of the world, were the children of Ishak son of Ibrahim the Friend of God (upon whom be the blessing of God); and here I speak of the later Romans. And all of them trace their descent to Sam son of Nuh.

LXXIV Yafith begot Gamir and Mii'a and Murak and Buan and Fuya and Mashig and Tirash.

LXXV From Gamir, it is said, were descended the kings of Persia [*Fdris*].

LXXVI From Tirash were descended the Turks and the KHAZAR; from Mashig the ASHBAN; from Mu'a YAGOG and MAGCG; and from Buan the SAGHALIBA⁴ and BURGAN and the ASHBAN, who in ancient days were in the land of the Romans, before the occurrence of the events connected with the children of el 'Ais son of Ishak.

LXXVII Ham begot Kush and Misraim and Kut and Kana'an.

LXXVIII From Kush was descended [Nimrudh son of Kush,—and according to another account he was descended from Sam,—and the remainder of Ham's descendants came to live on the coasts as] the NUBA and the Abyssinians [*Habsha*] and the ZING.

LXXIX Misraim [, it is said,] was ancestor of the Copts [*Iʿubt*] [and the Berber].

LXXX [It is said that] Kut penetrated to el Hind [and el Sind and settled there], and his descendants are there.

LXXXI Kana'an was ancestor of the KANA'ANIYYAN; and some⁵ of them went to Syria. Then the BENI ISRA'EL fought with them there and expelled them and took possession of Syria. Subsequently the Romans attacked the BENI ISRA'IL and drove them [excepting a few] from Syria to Mesopotamia [*el Irak*]. Then again the Arabs came and conquered Syria.

¹ reading تميل for تميل.

² reading فار for فاران.

³ reading نطلي for نطلي.

⁴ reading الصقالبة for الصقالبة.

⁵ reading بعضهم for بعضهم.

LXXXII Now it is related on the authority of 'Urwa ibn Misayk el Muradi that when the revelation concerning Saba was made to the Prophet, a certain man said "O Prophet of God, what is Saba ? Is it a country or a woman ?" The Prophet replied " It is neither a country nor a woman, but a man who begot ten [tribes] of the Arabs, and six of them went to Yemen and four of them to Syria: the latter were LAKHM and GUDHAM and GHASSAN and 'AMILA ; and the former were EL AZD and EL ASH'ARIUN and HIMYAR and KENDA and MUDHHIG and ANMAR." Then the man said "O Prophet of God, what is Anmar ?" The Prophet answered " Those from whom are descended Khat'am and Bagila."

LXXXIII Saba was son of Yashkhub son of Ya'arub son of Kah[^]an, and [his descendants] lived at Marib in the land of el Yemen, and when their villages were laid waste they dispersed into [various] lands: GHASSAN occupied Syria, EL AZD¹ occupied 'Oman², KHUZA'A occupied Tehama, and EL AUS and EL KHAZRAG occupied Yathreb, and the first of them³ was 'Amr ibn 'Amir, who was ancestor of EL Aus and EL KHAZRAG.

LXXXIV Now the tribes of the Arabs are MUZAYNA and GUHAYNA and KENANA and KHUZAYMA and ASLAM and ASHGA'A and GHAFAR, and whoso does not belong to one of these is not an Arab but only a foreigner.

LXXXV MUZAYNA are to be found on the Nile and in Egypt;

KENANA are at Mekka and in el Yemen and thereabouts;

GUHAYNA are in the Sudan;

ASLAM are in India and Mesopotamia [*el 'Irak*];

ASHGA'A are in the west and Persia [*Farts*] and Morocco [*Marrd-kesh*]; and

GHAFAR are in Spain [*el Andalus*] and Persia.

LXXXVI The GUHAYNA who are in the west are the descendants of 'Abdulla el Guhani, son of Anas, the attendant of the Prophet (upon him be the blessing of God'), and also connected with him by birth in that both had a common ancestor in Murra.

LXXXVI I This 'Abdulla had two sons namely Dhubian and Sufian.

LXXXVIII Sufian had only one son, who was named Kabsh, and he is the ancestor of everyone who is a Kabbashi.

LXXXIX Dhubian, the elder son, had ten sons, namely Watid, Fahid, Shatir, Bashir, 'Amir, 'Omran, Mahass, Afzar, Sarid and Agdham⁴.

¹ reading الإسد for الإزد.

² reading عمان for عماد.

³ reading كان الذي قدم for كان الذين قدم.

⁴ reading أجذر for اجزمر.

XC From Watid are descended the SHUKRIA, the BUADIRA and the UMBADIRIA ; and from Fahid the ZAGHAWA.

XCI Shamir's only son was Sultan, who had three sons, viz. Rikab, Ma'ashir and liamayd.

XCI I Now there are three persons of the name of Rikab: firstly Rikab son of Ubi son of Ka'ab, secondly Rikab son of Sultan son of Suhayl of the stock of 'Abdulla ibn Anas el Guhani, and thirdly Rikab son of Ghulamulla, who was a *Sherif* tracing his pedigree to el Husayn the son of 'AH and Fatima the daughter of the Prophet of God (the blessing of God upon them!). The mother of Rikab the son of Ghulamulla was the daughter of Rikab the son of Sultan, and his father named him after his maternal grandfather.

XCIII Rikab the son of Sultan was ancestor of the RiKABfA; and they live in Upper Egypt.

XCIV Ma'ashir was ancestor of the MA'ASHIRA, and Hamayd of the HAMAYDAT, which is a tribe between el Sind and el Hind.

XCV Bashir was ancestor of the BiSHARIA, and 'Amir of the 'AMARNA.

XCVI Mahass was ancestor of the M AH ASS; and he was called Mahass because he was a heavy sleeper, and whenever his father called to him his mother would say "ma hassa" [*i.e.* "he has not awakened "] ; so they called him Mahass.

XCVII The descendants of Afzar are FEZARA.

XCVIII Sarid was ancestor of the SOWARDA, and Agdham¹ of the GUDHAMIYYUN².

XCIX The tribes descended from el 'Abbas are three, the GA-'ALIYYUN on the Blue Nile, the AWLAD 'ABD EL RAHMAN in Dar Salih, and the AWLAD IBRAHIM BASHKAL on the White Nile.

C The tribes of the SHAIKIA³ fall into four divisions;—one is GA'ALIYYUN, *i.e.* 'ABBASIA, one is BENI OMMAYYA by descent, and one is a remnant of the Barmecides [*el Bardmika*], *i.e.* Turkish.

CI Thfc 'ARAKIYYUN are descended from GUHAYNA, but among them *afe* the children of el Sherif Ahmad Mukbal, who married a wife *fisom* among the 'ARAKIYYUN and begot Dafa'alla the ancestor of th#r pious *Khalifas*; and the latter's children were Bukr Abu 'Ayesha and 'Abdulla and Hammad el Nil.

CII This Hammad el Nil's descendants are the 'AKLAB, including el Sheikh el Terayfi.

CHI The tribes of the GA'AFIRA fall into three [groups]; among them

¹ reading اجذمر for اجزم.

² reading جزاميين for جذاميين.

³ reading الشاقية for الشاقية.

are the stock of 'Amir and 'Omran in the neighbourhood of Diraw, and they [are...a word omitted in the text]: among them again are the Awlad Ga'afir el Sadik, who are ASHRAF, and the Awlad Ga'afir el Tiar who are BENI HASHIM; and the DERR, the rulers of Egypt.

CIV The tribes of the RIKABI A are three: the descendants of Rikab ibn Anas of KURAYSH, the descendants of Rikab ibn Sultan of GUHAYNA, and the descendants of Rikab ibn Ghulamulla. The last named are ASHRAF of the stock of el Husayn (the blessing of God on him) the son of 'Ali and of Fatima the daughter of the Prophet of God (on all of whom be the blessings of God).

CV El Sheikh Ghulamulla had two sons, Rikab and Rubat.

CVI Rikab had five sons, 'Abdulla, 'Abd el Nebi, Habib, 'Agib, and Zayd el Ferid.

CVI I Rubat had one son named Selim.

CVIII Selim had six sons Ruzayn, Dahmash, Muhammad '(5n, 'Abd el Rizak, Hadhlul, and Musbah.

CIX 'Abdulla's sons were Haga and Hagag.

CX Haga was ancestor of the D6ALiB, the children of el Sheikh walad D61ib.

CXI Hagag was ancestor of el Sheikh 'Ali walad 'Ishayb (the progenitor of the 'ISHAYBAB), and of el Sheikh walad Akhal and of a section of the KAWAHLA at Tekali and of the HADAHJ:D and of the GENANA and of the SIMRIAB and of many households [living] with the SHUKRIA.

CXII 'Abd el Nebi had two sons, Mashir and Shakara.

CXI II Among the descendants of Mashir was el Sheikh 'Abd el Sadik ancestor of the SADIKAB; and among the descendants of Shakara was Hasan walad Shakara and the 'ABfDAB and the NURAB [who lived] at el 'Afat in Dongola and left it and joined the KABABfSH and multiplied with them and became nomads.

CXIV The descendants of Habib are the SABABJA.

CXV The descendants of 'Agib are the stock of el Sheikh Hammad¹ Abu Halima the ancestor of the HALIMAB.

CXVI The descendants of Zayd el Fend were the SHABV^AB and the 'AKAZAB and the TAMRAB and the four sons of el Hag Magid.

CXVII Selim, the son of Rikab's brother, had six sons, as has been mentioned above.

CXVIII The descendants of Ruzayn were the AWLAD HABIB NISI.

CXIX The descendants of Dahmash were the AWLAD EL FEKI 'ALI MAN6FAL at el 'Afat.

¹ reading ~~for~~ for ~~for~~.

CXX The descendants of Muhammad '(5n were the four AWLAD GABIR and the KENAN* A.

CXXI The descendants of 'Abd el Rizak were the AWLAD EL SHEIKH HASAN WALAD B E L I L at Kena¹ and the AWLAD DAUD at Abu Tubr.

CXXII The descendants of Hadhlul were the AWLAD MAHMUD at Gebel el Haraza.

CXXIII The descendants of Musbah were the AWLAD WALAD DACD with the KABABISH.

CXXIV These are the branches of the RIKABIA who are descended from Ghulamulla and are ASHRAF.

CXXV *The following are the tribes of ASHRAF who are in the Sudan:*

f The descendants of the aforementioned Ghulamulla.

The MIRGHANIA, i.e. the descendants of 'Othman el Mirghani.

The AWLAD EL HINDI in the Gezira.

The AWLAD ABU SAHNUN at Atbara: they are descendants of el Hasan el Muthenni.

The MAR'IAB EL HAMDAB at Atbara with the nomads: these are HuSAYNIA.

The AWLAD EL MAGDHUB at Atbara with the SHUKRIA.

The AWLAD EL SHAGERA at el Kedaref

The AWLAD EL SHER*F ISMA*L at el Kedaref: these are HUSAYN*A

The AWLAD BEDR WALAD² MASKJN to the west of el Kedaref: these are HUSAYNIA.

The SHIBAYLAT with the BENI HUSAYN Arabs, nomads on the Blue Nile.

The KAMILAT IN the neighbourhood of Atbara. these are HUSAYNIA.

The AWLAD BIDAYN in the neighbourhood of el Hamda: these are HuSAYNIA

i The AWLAD BELLA near Karkog on the Blue Nile: these are HASAN*A.

I The AWLAD MUSTAFA at Aslang³ Island.

The AWLAD 'ABDULLA EL MEKANI at el Taka • these are HASANIA ; and some of them are at Kassala and some at Suakin; and they are of the stock of Abu el Fatah.

The AWLAD ABU RAKHM, near the Rahad, on the Blue Nile: these are HASANLA.

The AWLAD OBAYD near the Dinder: these are HUSAYNIA.

The AWLAD HAGU with the YA'AKUBAB: these are HASAN'A.

The AWLAD HAMMAD IBN 'ALI of the ZAGHAWA hills in Kordofan: these are HASAN*A; and they have migrated to Gebel Abu Sinun and Tekah and Darfur and are known as AWLAD EL AKHAL Some of them too are near Erku

The AWLAD ZAYD EL ABLAG in Darfur: these are HASANIA.

The AWLAD EL SHERIF HASHIM ABU NIMSHA in Dar Borku: these are HASANIA.

L The BENI HUSAYN in Dar Sula: these are HUSAYNL*.

¹ reading كنا for كنا.

² reading ولد for و.

³ reading اسلاج for اسلاج.

CXXVI As regards the tribes of the GAWAMA'A:—the HOMRAN section consists of

(the AWLAD GAMA'I
the SERAYHAT
the TERAyFiA
1 the AWLAD MURG
the FADAYLIA
the GHANAYMf A
(the GAMRL\

CXXVII The GiMi'iA, the cousins of the HOMRAN, consist of

the GEMAMLA
the GA'AFIRIA
the AWLAD BIKA

CXXVIII All of these [GAWAMA'A] are descended from Abu Merkha the ancestor of the GA'ALIYYUN, of the stock of el 'Abbas: and some of them are SHILLUK AWLAD IBRAHIM.

CXXIX GANKAY are 'ANAG, from among the ZING.

CXXX The KABABfSH are a composite tribe, including some SHAIKIA and GUHAYNA and HIMYAR and KURAYSH.

CXXXI The KAWAHLA are descended from el Zubayr (God bless him) and include some KURAYSH and descendants of Khalid ibn el Walid.

CXXXII The SHENABLA are Arabs of Upper Egypt [*el Rif*] and of Himyaritic descent.

CXXXIII DAR HAMID are GUHAYNA by descent.

CXXXIV The HAWAZMA¹ include Beduin Arabs from el Hegaz and BEDAYRIA and TAKARIR and scatterlings of other tribes.

CXXXV The MESSIRIA and BENI MUHAMMAD and MIMA are all of them THA'ALEBA from the BENI THA'ALEB Arabs of el Hegaz.

CXXXVI The RIZAYKAT are descendants of Gunayd, [and thus] 'ABBASIA.

CXXXVII The HUMR are Arabs of Helb in Upper Egypt [*el Rff*], and the 'AYADIA Arabs of Hira.

CXXXVIII The HABBANIA are BENI OMMAYYA by descent.

CXXXIX The BEDAYRfA who are in the Sudan include some 'AB-BASIA and some 'ANAG: they consist of

[SHUWAYHAT
RIAsH
DAHMAsh²
AWLAD MOSA
{ AWLAD HELAYB

¹ reading الجوازمة for الجوازمة.

² reading دهمش for دهمش.

CXL KENANA are Arabs of the East by descent.

CXLI ZAGHAWA include some BENI TAMIM Arabs, some MfMA and some TAKRUR¹.

CXLII FUNKUR are 'ANAG.

CXLIII TUNGUR are by descent HILALA who ruled Darfur.

CXLIV MUSABA'AT are also descended from the HILALA Arabs.

CXLV The BENI GERAR are FEZARA by descent: their ancestor was Hunad.

CXLVI The MEGANIN and AWLAD AKOI are GUHAYNA Arabs by descent.

CXLVII FEZARA are among the descendants of Hunad from el Hegaz.

CXLVIII Of the HAMAR, the TAMJMIA, viz. the stock of el Hag Muna'am, are BENI OMMAYYA by descent; and

The GHISH*²MAT are GA'ALIYYUN, i.e. 'ABBAsfA; and

The BENI BADR are BEDAYRIA; and

The TAYA^SA³ are 'ANAG; and

The DESAKfM are partly HUSAYNU ASHRAF and partly BENI OMMAYYA: they also include some FUR.

CXLIX The DANAKLA tribes are autochthonous and are all 'ANAG, excepting such strangers as immigrated to their country, namely the RIKABIA AWLAD GHULAMULLA, who are ASHRAF, and the GHARBA-WINGI from Borku, who are 'ABBAsIA, and the DUFARIA, who are BEDAYRI A, and the BEKRAWIA, who are GA'ALIYYUN, and the SowA-RAB, who are ASHRAF on the side of their ancestress, the daughter of el Sherif Ahmad Abu Denana, and the SABAWIA, who are BEDAYR/A of the DUFARIA branch. The rest of the DANAKLA are 'ANAG and aboriginal autochthons, and there are some remnants of them at the present day who are called the NUBA.

CL The FUR are NUBA with the exception of the royal house which includes Arabs of the BENI HILAL.

CLI As regards BORKU, the royal house includes AWLAD 'ABD EL RAHMAN EL MAGDHUB the 'Abbasid, but the rest of [the people of] Borku are autochthonous 'ANAG, though they include some Arabs, such as the SALAMAT and the MAHRIA, who are descendants of the BENI OMMAYYA.

CLII BORNu are Arabs of Himyaritic stock, and include some HusAYNfA ASHRAF.

CLIII BAKIRM are 'ANAG.

CLIV FELLATA include KURAYSH and ANSAR and children of the

¹ reading تكرون for تكورور. ² reading الغشيمات for الغشيمات

³ reading تياسية for تياسية.

White Gin which deceived the prophet of God Sulayman (God bless him), and Christian slaves who came to West [Africa] from Afturia and conquered it, but were subsequently conquered by Islam and converted, and then multiplied for generation after generation in West [Africa].

CLV The rest of the inhabitants of Kordofan from the banks of the White Nile to Donkola are 'ANAG. The country to the west of it and south of it, and all its mountains, are [peopled by] NUBA.

CLVI FERTIT are all ZING by descent.

CLVII The BENI HELBA Arabs in the West are descended from the BENI 'AMIR Arabs of the rlegaz.

CLVII I So too the SELIM Arabs on the White Nile and in the Gezira and at Tekali and in the West are descended from the SELIM Arabs of the Hegaz.

CLIX The GELLABA EL HOWARA are from Upper Egypt [*el Rtf*] and descended from remnants of the stock of 'AD.

CLX The BAZA'A are descended from the tribes of EL HUDUR, Arabs of Upper Egypt [*el Rtf*], and are connected in lineage with the DERR.

CLXI The SELIMIA are ASHRAF, and likewise the AWLAD EL MAGMAR at Um Gurfa¹.

CLXI I The DAGU and the inhabitants of KAGA and KATUL are 'ANAG.

CLXIII The GHODIAT are HAMAG.

CLXIV The people of Sennar are BENI OMMAYYA by descent.

CLXV The MESALLAMIA are BEDAYRIA by descent.

CLXVI The DWAYH Arabs are GUHAYNA by descent.

CLXVII The NUBA of EL HARAHA and UM DURRAK and ABU HADID are 'ANAG, excepting the AWLAD MAHMUD at el Haraza who are RIKABIA ASHRAF.

CLXVIII The people of ABU TUBR are partly MAGIDIA, and partly RIKABIA ASHRAF.

CLXIX The NUBA of ABU SINUN are 'ANAG by descent.

CLXX The KURTAN are 'ANAG by descent.

CLXXI The HASANIA Arabs on the White Nile are GUHAYNA by descent.

CLXXII The SHANAKiTj in the West are a medley of Arabs, containing nomad Arabs and DERR Arabs and Arabs of Upper Egypt [*el Rtf*], and there have joined them some ASHRAF of the [BENI] 'ABBAs and the HASANIA and the HUSAYNIA ; and the lineage of each is known.

CLXXIII The MOGHARBA are Arabs of Upper Egypt [*el Rif*], and

¹ reading جربة for حرف.

their origin is from the Tartar [*Tatar*] peasants who are in the deserts.

CLXXIV The [people of] FEZZAN [*el Fayzdn*¹] are also Arabs of Upper Egypt by descent, Tartars.

CLXXV The MOGHARBA AWLAD ZERRUK EL MOGHRABI are ASHRAF HusAYNfA in the West; for the ASHRAF in the days of the BENI OMMAYYA were scattered eastwards and westwards, and similarly the BENI OMMAYYA in the time of the BENI 'ABBAS reached the western country [*el moghrab*] and conquered it and took possession of it, and their progeny is represented by numberless tribes in the West at present.

CLXXVI Among the ASHRAF in the West are the stock of Muhammad el Thauri; and of his stock are Ahmad el Warak and Zurruk el Moghrabi and Abu el Hasan el Shadhali and 'Abd el Rahim el Bura'i; and they also include the stocks of el Shibli and of Sheikh el Dasuki. All of the above are HASANIA in Morocco [*el moghrab el aksa*].

CLXXVII The GAMUFA and the GIM**AB are GA'ALIYYUN, i.e. 'ABBASIA, and similarly most of the SHAIKIA are GA'ALIYYUN.

HERE ENDS BOOK 11

BOOK III

CLXXVIII The original autochthonous peoples of the Sudan were the NCBA and the Abyssinians [*el Habsha*] and the ZING.

CLXXIX The first people who subsequently joined them were the BERBER.

CLXXX Every [tribe] that is derived from the HAMAG belongs to the ZING group, and every [tribe] that is derived from the FUNG belongs to the NUBA group.

CLXXXI The tribes of the Arabs who are in the Sudan, other than these, are foreigners, and have merely mixed with the tribes mentioned above and multiplied with them. Some of them have retained the characteristics of the Arabs, and the element of NUBA and ZING that is interspersed among them has adopted the Arab characteristics; and on the other hand there have been some Arabs who have become fused with the NUBA and the ZING and adopted their characteristics; but in each case they know their origin.

CLXXXII The original [home] of the ZING is a mountain inhabited by blacks on the equator and south [of it]. Beyond them are no

¹ reading الفيضان for الفيوان.

other peoples; and their country stretches from West Africa [*el moghrab*] to the neighbourhood of Abyssinia, and part of it is on the Nile of Egypt.

CLXXXIII SENNAR was a famous city of Abyssinia, containing tribes of ZING and NUBA who were subject to Abyssinia. Subsequently, when they became powerful, they broke away from their allegiance and appointed kings of their own and defended themselves against Abyssinia and protected their lands.

CLXXXIV The BERBER are a nation of people whose tribes are innumerable, descended from the 'AMALIK. It was they of whom the saying is related "All that is abominable consists of seventy portions: of these ninety-nine [per cent. ?] is in the BERBER and the [remaining] one in the human race and the Gin."

CLXXXV Most of their tribes are in the west in the mountains of Sus, etc., and scattered abroad in the neighbouring regions. They include ZENATA¹ and HOWARA and SANHAGA and NABRA and KETAMA and LUATA and MADYUNA and SANA.

CLXXXV I Another nation of them lives between the Abyssinians and the ZING, on the shores of the sea of the ZING and the sea of el Yemen; and these people² are blacks and have strange beasts in their country, nor are there to be found there such animals as the giraffe, the rhinoceros, the hunting leopard, the pard and the elephant. They too it is who cut off men's organs and present them as dowries to their women.

CLXXXVI Their island lies off³ the coast of Abyan and is connected under the sea with 'Aden from the direction of the point at which Subayl rises to eastwards of that point: opposite to it lies 'Aden and in front of it is Gebel el Dukhan. This island is Sokotrd⁴, lying off 'Aden and directly opposite to it.

CLXXXVIII The SALAMAT Arabs in the west are [descended] from KUDA'A.

CLXXXIX The people of the Sudan are the NUBA and the Abyssinians [*el Habsha*], as has been stated.

CXC The [descendants of] DAYLUM son of Basil son of Hasba son of Udd son of Tabikha son of el Yas son of Mudr are Arabs.

CXCI GURHUM are a people in el Yemen descended from Gurhum son of Kahtdn son of 'Amir son of Shalikh son of Arfakhshadh son of Sam son of Nuh; and Isma'il the son of Ibrahim, the Friend of

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God, settled and married among them, and they are his relations by marriage.

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CXCVI And the children of Asad son of Khuzayma son of Mudraka son of el Yas son of Mudr are a mighty tribe descended from Mudr EL HAMARA; and also the children of Asad son of Rabi'a son of Nizar son of Ma'ad son of 'Adnan are a mighty tribe.

CXCVI I The COPTS [*el Kubt*] are the people of Egypt and its ultimate aboriginals: they are descended from Kubt son of Misr son of Kut son of Ham.

CXCVI 11 The FRANKS [*el Afrang*] are a nation of the Romans [*el RUM*]. They call the seat of their kingdom Franga, and its king is named "el Fransis."

CXCIX The TURKS [*el Turuk*] are a nation of people descended from Yafith, and they include the Tartars [*el Tatar*] and Gog and Magog [*Yagug and Magug*]. They are a mighty people:—there is none more numerous excepting the Abyssinians [*el Habsha*]; and there is no more numerous people than the Abyssinians, excepting the Romans [*el Rum*].

CC The name Christian [*Nusari*] is to be traced to Christianity [*el Nusrdnia*] > i.e. their religion and the faith they follow.

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CCIII NIHD are the sons of Nihd son of Zayd son of Lith son of Aslam son of el Haf son of Kuda'a.

CCIV TANUKH are a tribe from el Yemen. They and the BENI NIMR and the BENI KELB are brethren.

CCV TAKRUR is the name of a famous city in the Sudan: it lies south and west of the Nile, and its inhabitants are naked blacks. The-rule of it is in the hands of the Muslims; and the nobles among these Muslims wear a long shirt, the train [*lit.* "tail"] of which is carried by their servants. Arab merchants travel thither to them with wool and brass and beads, and fetch thence pure gold.

CCVI ABYSSINIA is an enormous country. There was a city under the rule of the Abyssinians called Akhshum¹, also known as Dhur Tahna, where the Negus [*Negashi*] lived; and a number of countries were subject thereto, including the country of Amhara² (which is still so subject) and the country of Sawa and the country of Damut and the country of Laman and the country of el SfnhQ and the country of the ZING and the country of 'Adel el Amrai and the country of Hamasa and the country of Badimyd and the country of Abu Haraz el Islami and the country of Zila'a. Each one of these countries has a king [who is] under the Khati (which means Sultan), under whom there is a total of 99 kings, he himself being the hundredth.

CCVII Now all the Sudan used to be in fear of the king of Abyssinia and court him with flattery, in some cases obeying him and in some [merely] flattering him.

Finally they broke away from their allegiance to him, and each mountain became independent, and his rule was restricted to the mountains of the Abyssinians.

CCVIII Subsequently the HAMAG conquered the banks of the White Nile, and the nations of the ZING were divided into numerous sections, of whom some found leaders among their own number, and others were subjected by the tribes of the Arabs who conquered their land.

CCIX Lastly the dominion of Kordofan fell to the FUNG³ for seven years, then to the GHODIAT (who are HAMAG by descent) for thirteen years. After the GHODIAT, the MUSABA'AT ruled it for seventeen years: then [the] KUNGARA (who are the rulers of Darfur) ruled it for thirty-six years.

CCX The Turks took Kordofan from the KUNGARA in the year 1233⁴, having one year previously taken the dominion of the White Nile from the Meks of the GA'ALIYYUN and the remnants of the HAMAG.

¹ reading اخشوم for اخشوم

² reading امهرة for امهرة

³ reading للونج for للونج

⁴ 1818 A.D.

CCXI God knows the truth, and He is the first and the last, and to Him do all men return.

CCXII Be it known that this compilation is from the histories [*lit.* "history"] of three men.

CCXI 11 From the beginning to the mention of the Khalifas, and on to the mention of 'fsa, the prophet of God, is by el Sayyid Ghulamulla.

CCXIV From the first "*tanbih*" at which point begins the account of KHUZAM and BENI KHUZAYMA, is by el Sayyid Muhammad walad D61ib the elder, up to the second "*tanbih*"

CCXV From the second "*tanbih*" at which begins the account of the origin of the Sudanese, up to the end of the book, is by el Sayyid Muhammad walad Doiib the younger, who is buried at Khorsi.

CCXVI This work was copied by my father in his handwriting in 1252¹ from the copy made in 1151²; and I made this copy on the second of Ramadan in the year 1302³ after the Flight of the Prophet.

¹ 1836 A.D.

² 1738 A.D.

³ 1884 A.D.

D i (NOTES)

Note that where the reference to Wustenfeld is marked by a letter the tribe in question is Isma'litic in descent; but where the reference is marked by a figure the tribe is Kahf&nte.

- ii Makhztim to Fihir correct: see Wustenfeld, R 17.
- in Ghatafan to Kays 'Aylan correct: see Wustenfeld, H 8.
- iv This Kufayf is not in Wustenfeld. The BENI TAI are Kahtanite.
- v See Wustenfeld, 7. This Kutayf was son of 'Abdulla son of Nagia... etc.

Farwa was the eighth generation in the direct line from Kutayf.

vi Cp. Ibn Khaldun (trans, de Slane, Vol. m, p. 180). He states that genealogists are united in saying that the ZENATA are descended from Chana. "Abou Mohammed ibn Hazm ecrit, dans son Djemhera: 'quelques uns d'entre eux [i.e. Berbers] disent que Chana est le meme personnage que Djana fils de Yahya fils de Soulat fils d'Ourcak fils de Dan fils de Zeddjik fils de Madghis fils de Berr.'" Ibn Khaldun mentions also a variant given by the same author, viz. Chana (or Djana) son of Yahya son of Soulat son of Ourcak son of Dan son of Chacfoun son of Bendouad son of Imla son of Madghis son of Herek son of Hercac son of Guerac son of Mazigh son of Herak son of Herik son of Bedian son of Kenan son of Ham.

VII See Wustenfeld, 6. Nebhan was great-grandson of Tai, the founder of the great Kahtanite tribe of T A I . The descendants of Nebhan are correctly given, but for  Wustenfeld gives ; and "MESSfRfA" may thus be a corruption of "MESKHfafa." Cp. paras, xxv and cxxxv and see Part III, Chap. 3, sub "HAWAZMA."

VIII Pedigree given correctly, but contrast para CLI: see Wustenfeld, 1. The Mahria are a branch of KUDA'A. Cp. D'Arvieux's *Travels* (p 345): "Mahrah is a Province in which there are neither Palms nor Cultivated Lands: The Inhabitants have no other Effects than Camels .. Alsahah reports that the Camel called Almahrari or of Mahrah is so named from Mahrah the son of Hamdan, the Founder of a tribe." See also el Mas'udi (Chap. 16): "They (i.e. the people of el Mahrah) have a sort of camel called Mahn camel: it goes as fast as the Bejawf camel, or even faster as some think."

ix Sabd was son of Yashgub (or Yashhub) son of Ya'arub: see Wustenfeld, 1.

The "lesser" and the "least" Himyars are not mentioned by Wustenfeld, but their alleged ancestors are: see Wustenfeld, 3.

A confusion has arisen between two men called Zayd: one, the son of Sahal son of 'Amr, was the ancestor of Malik and 'Adi, etc., as given: the other was son of Sadad son of Zura'a son of Saba "the lesser," who was grandson of the first Zayd (son of Sahal). Sahal and Zayd have been transposed by the copyist: otherwise all is correct from Saba "the lesser" to el Ghauth.

"Hadhar" is an obvious slip for Gaydan (جيدان for حدار).

"Son of 'Auf" should be inserted before "son of 'Arfb.

"El Ferangag" should be Himyar (*i.e.* the "greater").

By these "three Himyars" are perhaps not meant persons but sections of the great Himyarite tribe, descended from Kahfan. It will have been seen that both the lesser branches mentioned are descended from Zayd ibn Sahal, who was the fifteenth descendant, in the direct line, of Himyar the "greater."

The copyist sometimes gives "Yashhub," sometimes "Yashgub," or even "Yashkhub." Wustenfeld uses "Yashgub" (and so too Ibn el Athfr): Abu el Fida uses "Yashhub."

x Pedigree given correctly: see Wustenfeld, D. 'Amir was of the tribe of HAWAZIN.

XI For Bahila see Wustenfeld, G. "Ma'akl" is no doubt an invention.

XII THAKIF is a branch of HAWAZIN: see Wustenfeld, G. Contrast para, cxxxvi.

XIII Correct: see Wustenfeld, D For BENI 'AMIR see note to x.

xiv Correct: see Wustenfeld, H. Contrast para, CXLVII.

xv "Son of 'Amr" is omitted between Malik and Murra: otherwise correct: see Wustenfeld, 1.

xvi Pedigree correct: see Wustenfeld, N. "Fourth" is a slip for "fourteenth." Cp. para. CXL.

XVII Correct • see Wustenfeld, 1.

XVIII The "KARG" are the Georgians: cp. Abu el Fida (p. 168), and el Mas'udi (p. 433)

xix "Sin" is China "Tafmag" I cannot trace: it is not in Yakut. "The lands of Islam which are beyond the river" are Transoxiana.

xx Two words here are illegible.

The pedigree from el Khulug to Kenana is correct: see Wustenfeld, N. But Malik, and not el Hanth his son, is the first common ancestor of el Khulug and 'Omar ibn el Khattab (for whom see Wustenfeld, P).

xxi See Wustenfeld, O.

This kays is not mentioned by Wustenfeld.

xxii "ZING" IS used by Arab writers as a generic name for the East African blacks: *e.g.* see el Mas'udi (pp 178, 232, 261, 380) and Abu el Fida (p. 174). Cp also note to D 4, xx.

xxiii See Wustenfeld, 2. KELB IS a sub-tribe of KUDA'A. "Son of Bukr" has been omitted between Kenana and 'Auf: otherwise the pedigree is correct as far as "Ganab son of Hubl."

'Abdulla and 'Obayd are among the descendants of Hubl in Wustenfeld, but are not his sons,

xxiv The pedigree is quite correct: see Wustenfeld, D.

For Maymuna see Wustenfeld, F: she was one of the Prophet's wives.

The battle of Hunayn took place in 630 A.D.: at it Muhammad defeated the BENI HAWAZIN, of whom HILALA (or BENI HILAL) are a section.

For Abu Zayd el Hilah see MacMichael (*Tribes...*), *passim*, and Part I, Chap. 4

xxv This is repeated from para, VII above: contrast para, cxxxv.

xxvi Contrast para, cxxxvII, and see note to A n , LXII. The vituperative remarks on the HUMR were probably added after the Dervish days and as a revenge for some injury done to the Doalib by that tribe.

For 'Aus see Wustenfeld, 7; and for Aihala see Sale (*Prel. Disc.* p. 139). Aihala proclaimed himself prophet the year that Muhammad died.

xxvII The "BULALA" are no doubt meant here. EL AZD are a sub-tribe of KAHLAN: see Wustenfeld, 9.

xxvin For TAM/M see Wustenfeld, L. Cp. para, CXLVIII

XXIX The pedigree is correct: see Wustenfeld, G. Cp. para, cxcin.

For GUDHAM see Wustenfeld, 5.

xxx See Wustenfeld, H. The pedigree of Bedr is correct. Cp. para, cxxxix.

xxxi The pedigree is correct: see Wustenfeld, G.

For Kays Aylan see Wustenfeld, D, where Kays is shown as son of 'Aylan son of Mudr. Others give Kays Aylan as a single name and son of Mudr, cp. ABC, xxv *et seq.* Abu el Fida (*q.v* p. 194) discusses this question and also mentions the story that Aylin was a horse.

Kays Kubba was son of el Ghauth: see Wustenfeld, 9

xxxII Bagla (whose pedigree is correctly given) was of the tribe of EL AZD (see Wustenfeld, 10), but she married one of the BENI SULAYM (see Wustenfeld, G)

xxxiii Correct: see Wustenfeld, J.

xxxiv All correct: see Wustenfeld, J.

xxxvi Correct: see Wustenfeld, 5.

xxxvii "Son of Zayd" should be inserted between Udad and "Yash-khub." The rest is correct: see Wustenfeld, 4.

xxxvIII Correct: see Wustenfeld, M

xxxix Correct: see Wustenfeld, 1.

XL Not in Wustenfeld.

XLII See Wustenfeld, 11.

XLIII The KHATA are the people of Chinese Turkestan. see Huart, p 363.

XLIV From 'Aish to Fihir is correct: see Wustenfeld, 0 Fihir is the same as Kuraysh. 'Awaymir and Sa'ada are not mentioned by Wustenfeld.

XLV See Wustenfeld, 9. There was an Abu Hazim of the BAGILA, but his only recorded son was called Kays, not Hazim.

XL vi See Wustenfeld, 11. Ma-el-Sama was the name of 'Amir and not of Rabi'a, and Rabi'a is the same as Lohay. Lohay and Afsa and 'Oday were the sons of Haritha, and their descendants, as stated, are KHUZA'A. Ka'ab was grandson of Lohay.

XLVII These persons are not in Wustenfeld (*q.v* G) Cp. para, cxxxvni.

XLVIII "[Married] to" is literally *تحت*, *te* "under."

See Wustenfeld, G and 7. All is correct but that "son of Malik" has been omitted between Ma'an and A'sir.

XLIX صاحب القاموس في اللغة العربية is the Arabic of "the author. . . Language."

LI العلم الالهي منسوب الى افلاطون ومبناء على الاستدلال باحول
المحسوسات المعلومه بمعاونة الحس

LII *وهم بناء على الاخذ من الحس* is "and they are founded upon...etc."

LIII **ومبناه على الإحساس واحكام المحسوسات** is "and it is founded upon...etc."

LIV **ومبناه انه مأخوذ من المحسوسات** is "and it is founded upon...etc."

LV From the account of the descendants of Noah and the ancient lost tribes of the Arabs, which begins here, to the mention of the conquest of Syria, is quoted, generally *verbatim*, from Ibn el Athfr's *Kdmil*. Several omissions, which sometimes do not affect the sense, but at other times completely alter it, have been made. The words inserted in square brackets in the translation do not occur in D 1, but as they are essential to the general meaning I have added them from the text of Ibn el Athir. Copies of Ibn el Athir are fairly common in the Sudan. The originals of the passages borrowed by the author of D 1 are to be found on the thirty-fourth and following pages of the first volume of Ibn el Athir (ed. Cairo, 1301 A.H., el Azhar Press). Various other Arab authors give widely divergent accounts of this subject: cp Sale (*Prel. Disc*, section 1).

LVI *I.e.* Shem, Ham, and Japheth. "Yagug and Magug" are "Gog and Magog." See Kurdn, Chap. 18. After "Migug" Ibn el Athir mentions the origin of the Copts, and gives an anecdote, omitted by D 1, about Ham

LVII Cp Genesis x 22: "The children of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and Arphaxad, and Lud, and Aram." After "Aram" some comments are omitted by D 1.

LVIII "Who were" (**الذين هم**) should be "among whom were" (**ومنهم كانت**)

"Them" is the 'AMALIK (*i.e.* Amalekites). El Athir gives **والفرعنه بمصر**: D 1 gives **ومنهم قراعه مصر**.

The children of Umaym should not have been omitted as they are referred to in the next line as though previously mentioned. Two lines of Ibn el Athfr, about the BENI OMAYM and their tragic fate as unbelievers, are omitted, possibly owing to a superstitious fear: cp note to LXVI

LIX Yathreb is the old name of Medina. D 1 appears to have omitted these words merely because 'Abil had not been mentioned before: in consequence the sense has become nil.

LX Sana'a was originally called Ozal (see Sale, *Prel. Disc*, p 2).

Some remarks by Ibn el Athir about the 'AMALIK are here omitted by Di.

LXII The handiest reference to these lost tribes of the Arabs is Sale's *Prel Disc* section 1.

There were two of the ancient tribes called GURHUM: see Sale, *Prel. Disc* pp 6, 7, 9. Cp. para. cxc.

El 'Anba are the pure original Arabs: el Muta'anba the insititious Arabs: see Sale, *Prel. Disc*. p. 7. Some remarks of Ibn el Athir are here omitted.

LXIII By **الحجر** ("the rocky country") is meant Arabia Petraea (see Abu el Fida, p. 16).

The author of D 1 by omitting the words inserted in brackets has completely altered the sense.

For "Gau" cp. Sale (*Prel. Disc.* p. 4) and Mas'adi (ed. B. de M. Vol. in, Chap. XLVII, pp. 276, 288).

LXIV EL NEBJ are the Nabateans. El Mas'adi (p. 77) speaks of Nimrod as son of Mash and builder of the tower of Babel and king of the NEBT. The term NEBJ seems to designate vaguely the Chaldean element of Mesopotamia. See Palgrave, *C. and E. Arabia*, 11, 158 *et seq.*

LXV "Son of Ldadh" is not in Ibn el Athfr. In Abu el Fidd Fdns appears as son of Lauth.

LXVI Ibn el Athir's remark that Kayna n was a sorcerer is omitted by D 1: many authors similarly omit his name altogether from the genealogies from superstition: see Abu el Fida" (p. 20) and Ibn el Athlr (Vol. 1, p. 35) on this point.

Shalikh = Salah: 'Abir = Eber: Faligh = Peleg: see Genesis, chap. x. After "Faligh" D 1 has omitted Ibn el Athfr's note to the effect that "in his days was the earth divided."

Kahfan is the ancestor of all the Yemenite Arabs, or 'Arab el 'Anba, whereas Faligh, as being forefather of Abraham, is ancestor of the whole Isma'fhtic stock.

The insertion here of Yonan is a mistake. Ibn el Athir mentions him later as son of Yafith. He is the legendary ancestor of the Greeks, who were called YOnaniyyun before they were subjected by the Romans. The word is the same etymologically as "Ionian."

"AndKahtan begot..." The text of Ibn el Athir runs **فولد قحطان** **يعرب ويقتطان فنزلا اليمن** ("and Kahtan begot Ya'arub and Yukzan and they two settled in el Yemen"), but the copyist has transferred from the end of the chapter the names of the descendants of Ya'arub to here, with the result that after the two lines dealing with them he blandly c o n t **ويقتطان فنزلا اليمن** n d Yukzan settled (*dual*) in el Yemen").

For the descendants of Yashgub and Saba cp. Wustenfeld, 5.

LXVII Among the BENI LAKHM were the kings of Hira, who were known as the "Mondars" ("MONADIRA"): cp Sale, *Prel. Disc.* p. 9.

LXVIII "And were..." Ibn el Athir gives **كان** (*i.e.* the dual is dropped): D 1 gives **هم** (*i.e.* the descendants of Ya'arub and Yukzan).

اول من سلم عليه بابيت اللعن—the formula used in addressing the ancient Arab kings was **ابيت اللعن** (see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, Part I I I, p. 3, and cp. el Mas'udi, ed. Sprenger, Chap. 111, p. 78, and ed B. de M. Vol. in, Chap. XLIV, p. 201).

LXIX Ar'u is the biblical "Reu," Sarugh "Serug," Nahur "Nahor," and Tankh "Terah." Cp. B 1, xxvi.

LXX Nimrudh, or "Nimrod" (*q.v. supra*, note LXIV), appears in el Mas'udi (p. 77) as son of Mash son of Aram; in el Tabari (p. 127) as son of Kana'an; and in Abu el Fida (p. 20) as son of Kosh: the last version is mentioned by Ibn el Athir but omitted by the copyist.

Sind and Hmd are intended to represent India. "India" is originally "the land of the Hind," meaning the people of the south and east of the peninsula: generally the people of the north-eastern part were called the

Sind (see el Mas'udi, p. 176, note), but Abu el *Fidi* (p. 174) speaks of the Sind as west of the Hind.

LXXI Yuktan or Kahtan is the biblical Joktan.

LXXII Ibn el Athir gives the tribes of SANHAGA and KETAMA as exceptions. Cp. para, CLXXXIV.

LXXXIII No mention of the Romans occurs in this position in Ibn el Athir, who, after dealing with the Berber, passes on to the sons of Yafith. He later merely mentions that the Romans are descended from Lanfi son of YONDn son of Yafith, but omits the explanatory details given by the copyist. By the "early Romans" (الروم الاول) the copyist means the Romans, the centre of whose power was Rome, and by the "later Romans" (الروم الثاني), the Byzantines.

Lxxrv Cp. Genesis, chap. x. 2. Gdmir is "Gomer," Mashig "Meshech," and Tfrash "Tiras."

LXXVI The KHAZAR are a people on the shores of the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus.

ASHBAN is the Arabic equivalent for "Hispani," i.e. Spamards: see el Mas'udi, p. 369.

For a wonderful account of "Gog and Magog" see el Taban, Chap. VIII.

The "SAGHALIBA" are the Slavonians: see el Mas'Qdi, p. 72.

"BURGAN" is the same as "Bulghdr," i.e. Bulgarians. The former term is used by el Mas'Qdi (Chap. xxxv).

El 'Ais is "Esau," and Ishdk "Isaac." Some further remarks of Ibn el Athfr are here omitted by the copyist. It is here, too, that the mention of the Romans (see note LXXXIII) occurs.

Lxxvii Cp. Genesis x. 6: "Cush, and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan." "Kut" (قوت) is the reading both in Ibn el Athfr and the copyist, but el Mas'udi (Chap. XLVII) gives Fat (as son of Ham)—whence the Biblical Phut "Kut" generally denotes the Goths.

The copyist has very slightly paraphrased the text for the next few lines.

LXXXI The series of quotations from Ibn el Athir breaks off at the end of this paragraph.

LXXXII For Saba and the dispersion of the tribes, see Kuran, Chap. 34, with Sale's notes, and Abu el Fida, Bk. IV (p. 114) and Bk. V (p. 182). The whole of the following tradition is given in el Mas'Qdi, Chap. XLII.

By LAKHM here is meant those BENI LAKHM who founded the dynasty of the MoNADiRA (q.v. note LXVII) which ruled in Hira and Anbar from about 210 to 634 A.D. (See Van Dyck, p. 24.)

The Kendite dynasty ruled in Negd from 450 to 530 A.D. (see Van Dyck, p. 32); but for "KENDA" el Mas'Qdi gives "KENANA" (B de Meynard's edition).

ANMAR were a section of EL AZD : for them and KHAT'AM (or KHATH'AM) and BAGILA see Wustenfeld, 9.

LXXXIII Mdnb was the site of the great reservoir. For the impiety of the local tribes, it was broken down by a great flood, which destroyed most of the inhabitants of the vicinity: see Sale, *Prel. Disc.* p. 8, and text, p. 323-

The Ghassanite dynasty ruled a part of Syria from 37 to 636 Aj>.: see Van Dyck, p. 28. Cp. para, cxciv.

Ans and KHAZRAG were great Kahfanite tribes, descended from EL AZD: see Abu el Fidi, p. 184. They formed the bulk of the "ANSAR." Hence some Sudan tribes like to claim descent from them, and especially from Khazrag. Cp. para. cxcv.

'Amr ibn 'Amir is the 'Amr Muzaykid mentioned in para. XLVI.

LXXXIV Cp. BA, XLVIII, XLIX.

LXXXV Cp. BA, LI.

LXXXVI "Anas" [انس] should be "Unays" [انيس] as in BA, LVIII, q.v. for an account of 'Abdulla el Guhani.

The "Dhubian" and "Sufian" mentioned in the next paragraph had no connection with the real 'Abdulla "el Guhani." I incline to think that certain members of the tribe of Ghatafan (a division of the Ismaihtic KAYS AYLAN) were in the author's mind, because among the direct descendants of Ghatafan occur Dhubidn, 'Abs, Fezara, Sufian, Mazin, Sand, Dahman, Kays and Rayth (see Wustenfeld, H), all of which names are closely connected in the Sudanese *nisbas* with 'Abdulla el Guhani. How the confusion arose is not at all clear. See also note to BA, LVIII.

LXXXIX Cp. BA, LIX *et seq.*

xc See note to BA, LXVII.

xcI Cp. BA, LXII, LXIII

xcII Cp. para, cxxxv and BA, ccvII, CLXXIX; C 6, 111, etc.

"Suhayl" should be "Shatir."

The pedigree of Ghulamulla, as given by the owner of D 1, the descendant and successor of its author, is as shown in the inset to the genealogical tree that illustrates D 1. The generations from Muhammad el Gawad upwards are given correctly.

For the descendants of Ghulamulla see BA, CLXXXI, D 3, 222, etc.

xciv Cp. BA, LXVI.

XCVI This story does not occur elsewhere.

xcvin Cp. BA, LXXIII.

ci This Dafa'alla's biography is given in D 3 (q.v.).

en The 'AKILAB are the descendants of Muhammad Abu 'Akla, the father of 'Abdulla el Terayfi See D 3, 41 and 42

cm What the author really means is that the term GA'AFIRA is used in three senses. The first group he mentions are meant apparently to be classed as GUHAYNA, 'Amir and 'Omran being sons of Sultan Cp. ABC, xxxi. In reality the division is probably quite fallacious and the well-known Upper Egyptian tribe of GA'AFIRA are intended in every case. For their settlement between Esna and Aswan see Burckhardt, p. 133. There are a certain number of them in all the bigger towns of the Sudan at the present day.

CIV Cp. para. xcn.

cv *et seq* Cp. para, xcn; BA, CLXXXI *et seq.*; D 3, 222, etc.

cxi 'All walad 'Ishayb is No. 60 in D 3.

"Households" is **بيوت**.

cxvIII Habib Nesi is No. 105 in D 3.

cxxi Abu Tubr ia a hill in northern Kordoflto. *Tubr* is the name of a common convolvulus.

cxxv The term *Shenf* {pi. *Ashrdf*) is used indiscriminately for descendants of Hasan or Husayn. "In Arabia the Sharif is the descendant of Hasan through his two sons Zaid and Hasan al-Musanna; the Sayyid is the descendant of Hosayn through Zayn al-Abidin____" "This word (s.c. Sayyid) in the Northern Hijaz is applied indifferently to the posterity of Hasan and Hosayn" (Burton, *Pilgrimage...*, n, pp. 3 and 7, notes).

For the Mirghanfa see D 7, cxcn, note.

The best known of the AWLAD EL HINDI is "el Sherif" Yosef el Hindi, a *feki* much respected in the Gezfra and among the nomads: see C 9, XXVI.

For the AWLAD EL MAGDHUB see D 3, 123. It is they to whom Burckhardt refers when he says (p. 51): "The few Nubians who know how to write, and who serve the governors in the capacity of secretaries, are taught by the Fokara of Darner.. who are all learned men, and travel occasionally to Cairo"; and again (p. 266) he apparently refers to them, when speaking of Dimer, as the "Medja-ydin" religious men or "family of Medjdoule," through whose learning Darner had acquired a great reputation.

For Bedr Ibn Um Barak walad Maskin see D 3, 76.

For the AWLAD MUSTAFA see D 3, 210.

"AWLAD 'ABDULLA EL MEKANI at el Taka" (عبد الله المكنى بالتاكة) (اولاد) may be an error for .. بالتاكة ("The sons of 'Abdulla nicknamed el... at el Taka").

For the AWLAD HAGU see D 3, 107.

The AWLAD EL AK-H AL are really included among the descendants of Ghuiaimulla (t.e. the first group of ASHRAF): see D 3, 222.

cxxvni "Abu Merkha" is "Subuh Abu Merkha."

cxxix The DINKA tribes are meant,

cxixi Cp BA, cxviii.

cxixn Contrast BA, cvm.

cxixiii Cp. BA, cix, Cx.

cxixiv Cp. para, XLV, *supra*. The BEDAYRIA and TAKAR^AR elements are chiefly represented in the HALAFA section of the HAWAZMA. See Part III, Chap. 3 (d).

cxixv Contrast vii and xxv, *supra*, and D 2, XXXVIII.

CCCCVI Contrast xli, *supra*.

ccccvii Contrast xxvi, *supra*.

ccccvni Contrast XLVII, *supra*.

ccccix Contrast xxx, *supra*.

CXL Cp xvi, *supra*.

CXLI Cp xxii, *supra*.

• CXLVI Cp. BA, CXI.

CXLVII Cp. XIV, *supra*.

CXLVIII The TAM^AM/A and the others mentioned are all sections of the HAMAR.

CXLIX For the RIKABfa, etc., see index for references.

For Ahmad Abu Denana see C 8, XXXH (note).

The "NUBA" here mentioned are those of G. el Haraza and other hills of northern Kordofan.

CL See Part I, Chap. 4.

CLI Cp. paras, CLXXXVIII and vni.

CLIV Cp. BA, cxix, etc.

"Afturia" (الأتوريا) may be an error for "Uruba" (i.e. Europe).

CLVI Cp. note to para. xxn.

CLVII Contrast D 2, xxxix.

CLVIII Contrast D 2, xxxvii.

CLIX See para, LXIII.

CLXI Um Gurfa is a district close to the east of Kagmar in Kordofan.

CLXII See Part I, Chap. 4, sub "BIRRED."

CLXV Contrast D 2, xv; BA, CLXXXVIII, etc.

CLXVII See CXXII, *supra*.

CLXVIII See cxxi, *supra*.

CLXIX Abu Sinun is a hill lying N.W. of el Obeid in Kordofan.

CLXXI Contrast D 2, xxxiv, etc.

CLXXXIII "MOGHARBA" is the usual plural of "Moghrabi" ("Moor"). The Arabic here is **أصلهم من الفلاحين نتر الدين بالبوادي**.

CLXXV A Zurrtlk el Moghrabi is mentioned in Hagi Khalfa (Vol. in, p. 418, No. 6222) as a joint author of *Rtsdlat el Turuk*. The MOGHARBA of the Blue Nile claim descent from "Ahmad Zerrak" and speak of him as a *wali* of the Shadhaliya *tarlka* in Tunis, and a *Sherif* See Part III, Chap. 4 (b).

CLXXVI Of these ASHRAF the only ones I have been able to identify are:

1. Zurrak el Moghrabi, for whom see the preceding note.

2. Abu el Hasan el Shadhali, for whom see note to para. Li of AB. He died in 1258.

3. El Shibli: viz. Bedr el Din Muhammad Ibn 'Abdulla el Damashki el Terabulusi. He was a Hanafite and died in A.D. 1367-8. He wrote *Akdm el Margdn*, *Mahdsin el Wasail*, etc. (See Hagi Khalfa's *Lexicon*, Vol. 1, p. 386, No. 1088, and Vol. v, pp. 453 and 413.)

4. Ibrahim el DasQki was a Sufi Imam of Egypt. He was born in 1240 and died in 1277^{AD} - (^{see} Na'um Bey, Part I, pp. 130 if)

Ahmad el Warak, Muhammad el Thauin, and 'Abd el Rahfm el Bura'i I cannot identify either from YakQt (*Irshdd el Arib*) or Hagi Khalfa.

CLXXVIII The Arabic of paras, CLXXVIII and CLXXIX is as follows:

**أصل السوداى أهل الوطن التوبه والحبيشة والزنج ثم أول داخل عليهم
البربر**

This is taken probably from Ibn Khaldun (Bk. 2, p. 105), and the remark about the BERBER may be a misunderstanding of Ibn Khaldun's quotation from Ibn Sa'id to the effect that next to the Zing are the "Berbera "

CLXXX The FUNG regard themselves as BENI OMMAYYA slightly leavened by negroes. The HAMAG are considered as GA'ALIIN (i.e. 'ABBAsiA) leavened by negroes. Where they make a distinction as between BENI OMMAYYA and BENI 'ABBAS our author, looking rather to the black element, distinguishes only between ZING and NUBA.

CLXXXIII Menelik II in 1891 wrote to the European powers "En indiquant aujourd'hui les limites actuelles de mon Empire, je tacherai... de retablir les anciennes frontieres de Ethiopie, jusqu'd Khartoum et jusqu'au lac Nyanza..." (see *Le Soudan Egyptien*, by Gregoire Sarkissian, Paris, 1913, p. 92). Cp. also Ludolfus (*Hist. of Ethiopia*, trans. Gent, 1684, Bk. 1, Chap, xvi): "...Sennar or Fund, governed by its peculiar king, formerly a tributary to the Abessines, but now absolute." See also note to MS. D7, L.

CLXXXV Several of the Arabic historians (e.g. Ibn Khaldun and el Mas'udi, Chap.XLVI) give the subdivisions of the BERBER in North Africa. Some of the names here are corrupt: ZENATA, HOWARA, SANHAGA, KETAMA, and LUATA are well known. "MADYCNA" (مَدْيُونَة) perhaps "MAŠMCDA" (مَصْمُودَة). "NABRA" (نَبْرَة) is certainly an error for "NAFZA" (SjAi). See Part II, Appendix to Chap. 1.

CLXXXVI The people of the modern Berbera are alluded to.

CLXXXVII The Arabic here is at fault: it reads as follows:

وجزيرهم فاطمة من حد ساحل ابين ملتحقه في البحر بعدن من نحو
مطالع سبيل الي ما يشرق عنها وفيها حادى منها عدن وقابله جبل الدخان
وهي جزيرة سعودري مما يقطع بعدن ثابتا علي السية

"Suhayl" is Canopus.

Yakut (*Kitdb mu'agam el Bulddn*, sub "Abin") quotes el Tabari as saying "Aden and Abyan were the two sons of 'Adnan ibn Udad," and of the position of Abyan says: وهو مخالف باليمن منه قَدَن

De Herbelot (p. 329) speaks of Aden as "Aden /Abyan."

"Gebel el Dukhan" is the volcanic Gebel Tair (Bruce, Vol. 11, p. 232).

CLXXXVIII Cp. para, CLI

cxc See Wustenfeld, J. "Hasba" (حَسْبَة) s a copyist's error for "Dabba" (دَبْبَة).

cxci, cxcu See para. LXII.

CXCIII See para. xxix.

cxci See para, LXXXIII, and Wustenfeld, 11 and 12.

cxci See paras, LXXXII, LXXXIII and Wustenfeld, 9. "Zayd" is omitted between Malik and Kahlan.

CXCVII Contrast para, LXXIX.

CXCVIII This is practically the same as Abu el Fida's "... El Afrang who are many nations and the seat of whose kingdom is originally Franga (or Fransa), which borders on the northern frontier of the Andalusian peninsula; and their king is called 'el Fransis'" (see Abu el Fida, p. 170).

cxci Contrast para, LXXVI.

cci The 3rd pers. sing. pres. tense of *hdda* is *yahudu*.

ecu "The Byzantine Greeks" would perhaps better express the meaning of *el Rum* here.

ceni Correct: see Wustenfeld, 1.

ccrv See Wustenfeld, 2.

cevi "Akshum" is Axum, the ancient capital of Abyssinia. Following the use of the Muhammadan power in the seventh century the frontiers

of Abyssinia were forced further westward, and as a result the capital was shifted to Gondar.

Of the provinces mentioned Amhara is well known, "Sawa" is Shoa (or Xoa), "DamOt" is Damota (or Great Damot), "'Adel el Amrdi.'" is Adel, "yamasa" is Hamazen, "Bddimya" is probably the "Bagemder" of Ludolfus (p. 14), and "Zila'a" is probably Zeila on the northern coast of Somahland.

ccix For the following see MacMichael (*Tribes...*, Chap. 1) and Part I, Chap. 4.

The date 1233 should be 1236.

CCXIII Ghulamulla is the ancestor of the RIKABIA. Mentions of him are very frequent: see BA, CLXXIX, CLXXXI and D 3, 189 and D 5 (*d*).

For this Muhammad walad D61ib see D 3, 187.

MANUSCRIPT D 2

Introduction

MUHAMMAD AJSMAD 'OMAR, 'omda of the second *khup* of el Kamlin district and by race one of the FUNG, wrote out the MS. here translated for me. He based it on documents in his possession, but it is obviously a *precis* rather than a copy, and some of the statements concerning the tribes, however true they may be, may have been added from his own knowledge or recollection and not have occurred in the MS.

I The coming of the BENI OMMAYYA to the Sudan was as follows:

Sulayman son of 'Abd el Malik son of Marwan entered the Sudan and Abyssinia and dwelt in them for a space; and afterwards he migrated to the mountains of the FUNG and married the daughter of the king Sendal el 'Ag; and they gained the ascendancy over those mountains for a [long] time, and there he begot his sons Ans and Daud. Daud was surnamed "Oudun" and Ans "Unsa"; and Unsa begot his son 'Omara Dunkas, who was the first of the kings of the FUNG.

II History of the Kings of the FUNG at Sennar.
910, 1236, 1505.

1.	From	910 ¹	tc	940	King	'Omara Dunkas himself.
2.	,	940	»	950	,	'Abd el Kadir, his son.
3-	,	950	»	962	,	Nail, his brother.
4	>	962	»	970	>	'Omara Abu Sakakin.
5	,	970	»	985	,	Dekfn, son of Nail.
6.	,	985	»	997	.	Tabl.
7.	>	997 ²	»	1007	,	Unsa.
8.	,	1007	»	1013	,	'Abd el Kadir II.
9-	.	1013	»	1020	,	'Adlan, son of Aya.
10.	,	1020	»	1032	,	Badi, known as Sid el Kum.
11.	»	1032	»	1052	,	Rubdt, his son.
12.	»	1052	»	1088	,	Bddi Abu Dukn.
13-	,	1088	»	1100	,	Ounsa II.
14.	,	1100	»	1127	,	Bddi el Ahmar, his son.
15-	,	1127	»	1130	,	Ounsa III.
16.	>	1130	»	1136	,	NQI, son of Badi Nul.
17-	,	1136	»	1175	»	Badi Abu Shelukh.
18.	.	1175	»	1182	,	Nasir.

¹ 1505 A.D

² reading \\v for *AY.

19. From 1182 to 1191 King Isma'il.

20. „ 1191 „ 1203	, 'Adlan I I .
21. 1203 —	, Tabl.
22. 1203 —	, Badi V.
23. 1204 —	, Hasab Rabbihi.
24. From 1204 to 1205	, Nowar.
25. „ 1205 „ 1236 ¹	, Badi VI, son of Tabl.

26 (*sic*)

[This list] is undisputable.

III [Thus] the FUNG ruled, and after them there came into power the HAMAG, their viziers, until [in] 1236 A.H., on the 9th of Ramadan, Isma'fi Pasha, the Egyptian Khedive, son of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha, the Viceroy, came into power.

IV*The Tribes of the Arabs.*

The Arabs form the bulk of the population of the Sudan. They came to it by way of Egypt and the Red Sea, and gradually gained the power over it and settled on its lands and founded in it a number of kingdoms.

V The SHAIKIA. Among them are the 'ADLANAB and the SOWARAB and the HANNAKAB and the 'OMARAB.

VI The Dwayhia. They are of the stock of 'Abd el Rahman wad Hag, who came from Mekka.

VII The 'ONIA and the MANASIR. Their place is the neighbourhood of Abu Hammad and among them are the WAHHABAB and the KEBANA and the SULAYMANIA and the KAGUBAB and the KHUBARA and the RUBATAB, and among them are the BEDRU and the FERANIB and the DA^FAB and the MIRAFAB, who live at Berber, and among them are the SIAM and the MUSTAFIAB and the LABIAB and the RAHMAB.

VIII The GA'ALIYYCN. The most famous of the tribes of the Arabs in the Sudan. Among them are the 'OMARAB and the MAGADH*B² and the 'ABABSA and the RASKIA and the SA'ADAB and the 'AWADIA and the HAMAG, the viziers of the FUNG, and the Nifi AB and the NAFA'AB and the MUKABARAB and the INKERRIAB³. Their locality is between Abu Hammad and el Khartoum and el Darner and the desert of Kerri.

IX The GIMI'AB. Between Kerri and el Sheikh el Taib.

X The 'ABDULLAB. Their place is el Halfaya, and they are a branch of the KAWASMA. They are called 'ABDULLAB after their ancestor 'Abdulla Gema'a.

¹ 1821 A.D.² reading مجاذيب for مغازيب.³ reading انقرياب for انقرياب.

XI Now the GAMU'*A and the SURURAB and the GIMI'AB and the GA'ALIYYUN and the MIRAFAB¹ and the RUBATAB and the SHAIKIA are all descended from the same ancestor, viz. Abu Merkha, who was ultimately descended from el 'Abbas.

XII The HASANAT. Their place is round el ICetayna.

XIII The DEGHAYM and KENANA are the sons of 'Omar, and live at Gema'an near Abba Island.

XIV The SELIM and the RUFA'IYYUN are GUHAYNA by descent.

XV The MESALLAM^A are GUHAYNA by descent, and their place is in the Gezira.

XVI The MEDANI YYUN. Their place is at Medani.

XVII The 'ARAKIYYUN. Their place is Abu Haraz and 'Abud.

XVIII The KHAWALDA are round 'Abud, and they are GUHAYNA by descent.

XIX The KAWAHLA are round 'Abud and Wad Medani, and they trace descent to Zubayr ibn el 'Awwam, and among them are the HASANAT and the SHENABLA.

XX The YA'AKUBAB² are said to trace their descent to the GA'ALIYYUN.

XXI The 'AKALIYYUN. Their place is between the Dinder and the Blue Nile.

XXII The HAMMADA are between the Dinder and the Rahad.

XXIII The KAWASMA reside north of Sennar.

XXIV The KAMATIR. Their place is Karkog.

XXV The LAHAWIYYUN are mostly nomads and live on the east of the White Nile between el Kawa and el Gebelayn.

XXVI The BENI HUSAYN are spoken of as "AWLAD ABU ROF," and most of their nomads are from Gebel Sakadi and Moya to Khor el Dulayb.

XXVII The MARKCM are a large tribe.

XXVIII The 'ULATIYYUN are mostly nomads: and all the six tribes are descended from GUHAYNA.

XXIX The FUNG are they who founded the ancient kingdom of Senndr with the 'ABDULLAB, and they were the greatest power in the Sudan, and their descent is from the BENI OMMAYYA.

XXX The HAMAG were the viziers of the FUNG, and their descent is from the GA'ALIYYUN.

XXXI The SHUKRIA are GUHAYNA by descent.

XXXII The BATAHIN are GA'ALIYYUN by descent.

XXXIII The DuBANIA are GUHAYNA by descent.

¹ reading ميرفاب for ميرفاب.

² reading يفتوباب for يفتوباب.

XXXIV The HASANIA are KAWAHLA by descent.

XXXV The HOWARA are HUDUR by descent.

XXXVI The GIMA'A are composed of various tribes, and most of them are GA'ALIYYUN.

XXXVII The TA'AISHA and the HABBANIA and the AWLAD IJAMAYD and SELIM are the descendants of Hammdd son of Gunayd, [and live] round el Kalaka.

XXXVIII The HAWAZMA and the IJUMR and the MfiSsfRfA and the RIZAYKAT are the descendants of 'Atia, the brother of the Hammad mentioned above, and all of them are GUHAYNA.

XXXIX The BENI HELBA are GUHAYNA by descent.

XL The most important of the sources from which pedigrees are traced are the BENI OMMAYYA and the BENI 'ABBAS and GUHAYNA, as was pointed out by the two sheikhs Ibn Khaldun and Ibn el Athir in their respective works.

XLI The 'AWAMRA are all descendants of 'Amir son of Sa'asa'a son of Dhubian son of Husfa son of Ghila son of Mudr son of Nizar¹ son of Ma'ad son of 'Adnan son of Ud son of Udad [etc.] up to the prophet el Sayyid Isma'il son of our lord Ibrahim, the Friend of God, upon both of whom be the blessings of God.

XLII Now Isma'il son of Ibrahim was ancestor of the Arabs, and Ishak son of Ibrdhim was ancestor of the non-Arabs [*el 'agam*]; and God knows best. The mother of the Arabs was Hagar the Copt [*el Kubtia*], and the mother of the non-Arabs was Sara the Israelite [*el Israila*].

D 2 (NOTES)

i Cp. BA, ccxIII; A n , LIII, etc.

"Oudfin" is **أودون** and "Unsa" is **أُنْسَة**. In the following paragraph we have "Unsa" in some places and "Ounsa" (**أُونْسَة**) in others,
ii "1505" is the Christian year corresponding to 910 A.H.

v " 'Omarab' is an error.

XI "Abu Merkha" is "Subuh Abu Merkha."

xvi See D 3, 93 note,

xxvii The MARGHUMAB are meant.

xxviii By "The six tribes" is meant the last six tribes mentioned.

xxx Cp. D 7, XLIX and para, viii above.

¹ reading نزار for نزار.

MANUSCRIPT D 3

Introduction

THE remarkable work known as the *Tabakdt wad Dayfulla* ("Dayfulla's Series") was written, as we gather from biography No. 154, in 1805.

The author, "Wad Dayfulla," was Muhammad el Nur walad DayfuUa walad Muhammad of the FADLIJN section of the GA'ALiF. He lived at Halfayat el Muluk, and died in 1809 (^{see} D 7, CLXXXV and ABC, xi).

The whole book would normally cover something over two hundred medium-sized pages of closely written Arabic MS. The particular copy from which the following extracts were taken is the property of el Amln walad Muhammad walad Taha walad el Sheikh Khogali, the *Khalifa* of his great-grandfather, Sheikh Kh6gali, whose tomb is near Khartoum North and whose biography is included in the text (No. 154).

The family of Wad Dayfulla, who are now known as the DAY-FULLAB, still live at Halfayat el Muluk close to the KH6GALAB, and though the latter are MAHASS and the former was a Ga'ali, there has been considerable intermarriage between the two groups during the last few generations.

It is practically certain that the KH6GALAB copy was taken direct from the original, which is believed to be held by the *Khalifa* of the DAYFULLAB, and both internal evidence and the inherent probabilities of the case suggest that the copy is a reasonably exact and accurate one.

Other copies are known to exist; e.g. one belonged to the late Zubayr Pasha, one is owned by Sheikh Ahmad el Sunna of Wad Medani, one by the BARRIAB who live south of Wad Medam, and one by the *Khalifa* of Sheikh Idris Arbab of 'Aylafun.

The subject-matter of the book is the biographies of the holy-men of the Sudan for about 300 years, beginning from about the first decade of the sixteenth century—in other words, during the period of the FUNG kingdom. The domed *kubbas* of most of these holy-men have survived to the present, and a fair number of additional *kubbas* have been built subsequently to commemorate the *fekis* of subsequent generations.

The author does not concern himself with lengthy genealogies of dubious authenticity, but casual details of the inter-relationship of various families are very rife, and are the more worthy of confidence in that they are purely incidental to the main purpose and mutually corroborative.

The biographies contain, as a rule, details of the place of birth, characteristics, education, career and death of each holy-man, with special mention of his manifestations of profitable and miraculous powers, his teachers, those taught by him, and any remarks made concerning him by other holy-men. In fact the method is very much that of el Mas'udi's panegyrics.

But though the form is to some extent stereotyped and modelled on more classical prototypes, the style of writing is distinctly original.

The Arabic is Sudanese colloquial and presents a very interesting study. No dictionary would alone enable one to deduce the meaning of all the words and phrases: one has to read them aloud and imagine a Sudanese is speaking.

The narrative as a rule is vivid and fresh: the tale is seldom spun out tediously, and there are occasional gleams of humour. In fact it is in the descriptive narrative of action that Wad Dayfulla shines, and the biographies numbered 52, 60, 63, 66, 74, 143, 153 and 207 are particularly picturesque and realistic.

The grammar is bad, the spelling indifferent, and the style loose; but there is art galore, and even a jumble of personal pronouns referring indiscriminately to two or three different people cannot obscure the fact.

The value of the book is not merely that it tells one for whom the majority of the *kubbas* that stud the Sudan were built, but that one gains some insight into the ways of living and thinking and speaking of the people of the land in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many of their beliefs and customs, their superstitions and practical ideas, are revealed; and the fact that the author is not aiming at any such effect must obviously enhance the value of the information gained.

Where any test of the accuracy of dates and statements of fact is possible by cross-checking, it is surprising how seldom Wad Dayfulla is found nodding. There are no attempts either to record conversations or to specify dates in the lives of the more remote generations of *fekis*. When our author knows a date he inserts it: when he does not he omits it. He leaves the impression of a kind-hearted but perspicacious old man of careful and thorough habits, devoting his unusual gifts of memory and narration to the cause of religion, and

at the same time taking a real pleasure in regaling his contemporaries and posterity with the records of the holy-men of the past.

It is not unlikely that he drew many of his facts from the library of that Hasan 'Abd el Rahman Ban el Nuka mentioned in D 7, cxc. Hasan's father was a pupil of an ancestor of Wad Dayfulla (see biography No. 89).

As regards the plan followed in the translation, it must be explained that only portions of the text have been selected. There are in the original many pages containing uninteresting records of movements from village to village, list of pupils, and remarks made by one holy-man as to the excellence of another. In addition, the text is frequently so blurred and blotched or torn that it is impossible to be sure of the meaning of the whole of a passage. I have therefore only translated word for word such portions as are reasonably clear and as describe some incident of interest from the historical or sociological point of view, and have noted in brief paraphrase such points as seem worthy of mention in the remainder.

Word for word translation is shown in inverted commas, paraphrase in smaller type.

N B. 1. Such facts as are given in the English text of any biography may be taken to occur similarly in the Arabic of the same biography, and where relevant information concerning some holy-man occurs in the untranslated part of the Arabic text of the biography of someone else, it is always included in the notes to the biography of the former.

2. Dates of birth and death are not infrequently given in the course of the Arabic text. Where this is the case the dates are placed, in the English text, immediately after the name of the subject of the biography, whatever may have been their position in the Arabic MS.

3 The English equivalents of Arabic dates, notices of textual emendations, and references to the numbers allotted to the English biographies or to the genealogical trees, are placed in the textual footnotes of the translation.

4 The genealogical trees which form an Appendix to the work are compiled from the scattered remarks that occur at random in the course of the book.

I The first page consists of a fragment of three and a half lines, viz. " In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful. The Sheikh, the learned *feki*, the sage Muhammad Dayfulla, my father and lord, said 'Praise be to God, the Mightiest of the most mighty____'"

II The second page, which is in part torn, gives a brief account, on back and front, of the story of Iblis, Noah, the prophet Idris, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Job, Moses and Aaron.

III The third page, also fragmentary, commences with mentions of Jesus and Mary and the Jews. Praises of KURAYSH follow, and quotations

from the Imuran. On the back of this page, after an invocation to God, commences the historical portion of the work, as follows:

IV "Know that the FUNG possessed and conquered the land of the NUBA early in the tenth century, in the year 910¹. And [then] the town of Sennar was founded by King 'Omara Dunkas. The town of Arbagi was founded thirty years previously by IJegazi ibn Ma'm*

V And in these countries neither schools for learning nor Kuran were in vogue; and it is said that a man might divorce his wife and she be married by another man on the selfsame day without any period of probation ('idda), until Sheikh... (word missing)... el Kusayer el 'Araki² came from Egypt and taught the people to observe the period of probation and dwelt on the White [Nile] and built himself a castle, which is now known as * the castle of Mahmud' (Kusr MahmUd).

VI And early in the second half of the tenth century the Sultan 'Omara Abu Sakaykin appointed Sheikh 'Agib el Mangilak, and in the early days of [the latter's] rule Sheikh Ibrahim el Bulad came from Egypt to the SHAM A country and there taught law [KhaliJ] and apostleship [risdla]; and learning spread throughout the Gezira.

VII Then after a short time came Sheikh Tag el Din el Bahari³ from Baghdad and introduced Sufiism into the FUNG court.

VIII Then came el Telemsani el Moghrabi; and he inspired Sheikh Muhammad⁴ ibn 'isa Sowar el Dhahab, and instructed him in dogma, and taught him what pertains to the sphere of faith, and the interpretation of the Kuran, and its correct recital, and the methods of reading it and its syntax.

IX And the doctrine of the Unity of God and the art of reciting the Kurdn spread throughout the Gezfra, for 'Abdulla el Aghbash⁵, and Nusr father⁶ of the feki Abu Sinayna⁷ at Arbagi, were his pupils in Kuranic teaching.

X Then arose Sheikh Idris⁸, who was not inspired by any other sheikh. Some say he was instructed by the Prophet, and others that a man from the west [el moghrab], called 'Abd el Kafi, whom he met by the way, deputed him.

XI Shortly afterwards arose Sheikh Hasan⁹ walad Hasuna by the will of the Prophet of God, upon whom be the blessings of God.

XII Then came Sheikh Muhammad ibn... {word missing}... [to] the Berber country and introduced there the tenets of el Shafa'i; and these tenets spread in the Gezfra.

¹ 1504 AD.

⁴ No. 191.

⁷ No. 51.

² No. 157.

⁵ No. 31.

⁸ No. 141.

⁸ No. 67.

⁶ reading **ولد** for **ولد**.

⁹ No. 132.

XIII Then came the MASHAIKHA, and the town of el Halfaya was founded____" (*Page ends.*)

One or more pages are missing here. The next page extant begins with the education and rise of Sheikh Idrfs¹ wad Arbab of 'Aylafun (*q.v.*), and from here onwards the book is complete and no pages are missing: the key-words that should connect one page with the next and that have so far failed to do so, from here onwards connect every page.

Here follow in turn extracts from the biographies of all the holy-men mentioned by the *fabakdt*. In the Arabic the names are arranged in a rough alphabetical order, and as not only are there lapses from this system but the order, when observed, is that of the Arabic alphabet, I have re-arranged the order in which the biographies are given to suit the English alphabet.

A

i. "'ABD EL BAKI WALAD KUWAYS, el Kahli."

Born and buried at el Shara'ana____"He was one of the forty pupils of Sheikh Dafa'alla²."

2. "'ABD EL BAKI EL WALI."

"He was one of the four contemporaries by whose lives the world profited, namely Sheikh Bedr⁸ ibn el Sheikh Um Barak in the east, Sheikh Muhammad⁴ ibn el Terayfi and Sheikh Khogali⁶ in the north, [and fourthly himself 'Abd elBaki]."...His "Sheikh" was el Mesallami⁶____"He died at M6ya, a well-known hill in the south, in the days of King Badi walad Nul."

3. "'ABD EL DAFA'I."

He lived in the south and was a pupil of Sheikh Ya'akub⁷ ibn el Sheikh Ban el Nuka. "They were five in number who were pupils of Sheikh Ya'akub, viz. Musa⁸ and Marzuk⁹ his two sons, and Hagu¹⁰ son of his sister Batul, and 'Abd el Razik¹¹, and 'Abd el Dafa'i."

4. "'ABD EL DAFA'I EL KANDIL ibn Muhammad ibn Hammad, el Gamu'i" (b. 1100 A.H.¹²; d. 1180A.H.¹⁸).

He was born at el rialfaya and was a follower of Sheikh Kh6gah [ibn 'Abd el Rahman]____He was taught by the *feki* Shukrulla el 'Odi¹⁴ (his "Sheikh") and the *feki* Belal¹⁵ and Abu el Hasan¹⁶____He created a record by teaching for 58 years and performed the pilgrimage____His death occurred at Sennar but his body was taken to el Halfaya for burial.

¹ No. 141.

² No. 84.

³ No. 76.

⁴ No. 177.

⁵ No. 154.

⁶ No. 172.

⁷ No. 254.

⁸ No. 209.

⁹ No. 159.

¹⁰ No. 107.

¹¹ No. 27.

¹² 1689 A.D.

¹³ 1767 A.D.

¹⁴ No. 240.

¹⁵ No. 79.

¹⁶ No. 47.

5 " 'ABD EL HALIM IBN SULTAN ibn 'Abd el Rahman ibn el feki Muhammad Bahr, el Moghrabi el Fasi."

His grandfather came to the Sudan with a merchant from Egypt__He himself was born at el Halfaya, and his mother's name was Siaka__He was taught by Sheikhs Sughayerdn¹ and Idris².

6. " 'ABD EL KADIR EL BAKKAI ibn el IJag Faid."

He was born at Shendi, and had a brother named Hammuda__He was a disciple of Sheikh Muhammad el Medowi⁸ ibn el Misri__He was buried at Abu Haraz.

7. " 'ABD EL KADIR IBN EL SHEIKH IDRIS."

He was the youngest son of his father⁵, and was born at Abyad Diri__His mother was Tahira bint walad Abu 'Akrab, a Mahassia__He had a son, Idrfs.

8. " 'ABD EL KERIM IBN 'AGIB ibn Koruma, el Kahli."

He learnt Sufiism from the *fekt* Nafa'i el Fezari, who died at el Basha-kira, and who was taught it by Mukhtar⁸ walad Abu 'Anaya, el Gama'i [i.e. of the GAWAMA'A tribe], who was taught it by Taha⁷ walad 'Omara, who was taught it by Sheikh Dafa'alla⁸ ibn el Shafa'i, who was taught it by el Hag 'Abdulla⁹ el Haianki, the disciple of Sheikh Dafa'alla¹⁰....

The *feki* Muhammad ibn Medani was one of his pupils. He went on the pilgrimage but was never heard of again.

9. " 'ABD EL LATIF EL KHATIB ibn el Khatib 'Omara¹¹."

He was born at Sennar and in time succeeded his father as preacher__He was profoundly learned, and performed the pilgrimage... His death, at the hands of el Malik Subr, was avenged upon the latter by King Badi.

10. ¹² " 'ABD ELMAGID IBN HAMDAD ELAGHBASH " (d. 1121 A.H.¹⁸).

He was taught by his father Hammad¹⁴, and, in his turn, taught the *feki* Mekki walad Serag el Magdhab, and the *feki* Walad Abu 'Asida, and the *feki* Samih el Tamirabi, and the latter's two sons Sa'ad and Hammad.

11. ^{15<<} 'ABD EL MAHMUD EL N6FALABI."

An 'Araki of the stock of Mahmud¹⁶ " Ragil el Kusr. " ... He was born at el Kubia and attained very great fame ... He was a contemporary of Sheikh Khogah¹⁷, whose daughter he married... He was a party to a famous "*cause celebre*" described as follows:

'Abd el Mahmud had married a Ga'ali woman called Husna and by her had two daughters: she then demanded a divorce from him, "and he said to her 'Settle your dowry upon my daughters'; and when she had done so he divorced her. Then she went to the *feki* Hammad¹⁸ and offered herself to him, forgoing her right to a dowry; and he married her. And she said to him 'I have been unjustly treated by 'Abd el Mahmud: he robbed me of my stipulated right,

¹ No. 241.

² No. 141.

³ No. 165.

« Tree 4

⁵ No. 141.

• No. 206.

⁷ No. 248.

⁸ No. 83.

⁹ No. 33.

¹⁰ No. 84.

¹¹

No. 219.

¹² Tree 2.

¹³ 1710 A.D.

¹⁴ No. 118.

¹⁵ Tree 7.

¹⁶ No. 157.

¹⁷ No. 154.

¹⁸ No. 124.

and I want you to get it back for me from him.' And the *feki* rhammad believed her story and complained against 'Abd el Mahmud to the troops encamped at Abu Zariba; but they said to him 'We will not interfere in your affairs.' Then the *feki* Hammad wrote to him a letter on a tablet and the contents were as follows: 'From Hammad ibn Mariam to 'Abd el Matrud. God Almighty said "Give the women their dowry freely," and you have disobeyed the book of God and robbed the woman of her dowry. You are no 'Abd el Mahmud [*lit.* "Slave of Him that is praised"], you are 'Abd el Matrud [*lit.* "Slave of the expelled one"]!—that is the devil. This letter he gave to a Fezari *fakir*; and ['Abd el Mahmud] said to him 'You are my disciple [*howdrt*] and I have educated you, and do you bring me a letter like this?' And God caused that *fakir* to die the very same day. [Meanwhile] the *feki* Hammad was staying in his village, which is at Omdurman, when fire broke out and consumed all his rooms and surrounded the room in which he was on every side. And the people said to him 'Come out'; but he replied 'I won't! Shall I leave my books?' Then Ahmad ibn 'Ali el 'Onabi went in after him and brought him out, bed and all. Then they rebuilt the rooms with stone but the fire blazed up in the stone. And indeed we have seen written in the handwriting of the *feki* Hammad the following: 'After I escaped from the fire all and sundry believed in him and were amazed at him, and,' he added, 'el Husna has done all this: she said he robbed her of her dowry,—may God call her to account!'"

12. " 'ABD EL NOR IBN OBAYD."

He was a follower of Sheikh Muhammad¹ walad Da'ud el Lukr, and was buried at Abu Haraz.

" 'ABD EL RAHIM IBN EL SHEIKH SULAYMAN EL ZAMLI" (*vide sub* "Wadad," No. 251).

13. ²" 'ABD EL RAHIM³ IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABDULLA⁴ EL 'ARAKI."...

He was known as "Ibn el Khatwa" .. He was born in the Hegaz.

14. ⁵" 'ABD EL RAHMAN 'ABU FAK' ibn Medani⁶ walad Um Gadayn."

He was born and buried at Nuri in the SHAIKIA country, but spent part of his life at el Abwdb.

15. ⁷" 'ABD EL RAHMAN IBN AsiD" (d. 1127 A.H.⁸).

His mother was Sitt el Dar the daughter of Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman⁹ ibn Hammadtu, and his father Asid, a Shaiki of the AWLAD UM SALIM section—He was born at Nan....He was taught law [*Khalil*] by his

¹ No. 186.

² Tree 9.

³ reading عبد الرحيم for عبد الرحمن.

⁴ No. 34.

⁵ Tree 10.

⁶ No. 164.

⁷ Tree 10.

⁸ 1715 A.D.

⁹ No. 21.

maternal uncle and "Sheikh," Muhammad¹ walad Um Gadayn, and was instructed in the kuran by Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman² Ibn el Aghbash. In 1107 A.H. [1695 A.D.] he left the SHAKIA country with his mother's relatives, the AWLAD UM GADAYN⁸, for el Abwab—Among his followers were the noble *feki* Walid Bahr, Sheikh ibn Medani, Malik⁴ ibn 'Abd el Rahman, tlamad⁵ ibn el Magdhub, and Muhammad ibn Bakhit el Muhammadabi.

16. ⁶ "ABD EL RAHMAN IBN BELAL " (d. 1155⁷ A.H.).

He was the fifth successor of Sheikh SughayerQn⁸. His instructors were his father⁹ and his maternal uncle *thtfe*ki Abu el Hasan¹⁰; and among his pupils were the *feki* kumr el Din and his brother el Zayn, the three sons of the/efe"Hammad el Tud [Tor ?], the *feki* Serhan¹¹ walad Teraf, the *feki* Sanhuri¹² walad Madthir, and others.

17. ¹³ "ABD EL RAHMAN IBN GABIR¹⁴."

He was one of the most famous *savants* of the Sudan. He was taught by his brother Ibrahim el Balad and by Sidi Muhammad el Banufari. "He taught the science of law [*lit. Khalil*] from beginning to end forty times, and he had under him three mosques, in the SHAFICIA country, at Korti, and among the DUFAR respectively: in each of these he used to teach (*lit. 'read'*) for four months.".. Among his pupils were such famous men as 'Abdulla¹⁵ el 'Araki, 'Abd el Rahman¹⁶ ibn Masikh el Nuwayn, Ya'akub¹⁷ ibn el Sheikh Ban el Nuka, el Mesallami¹⁸ walad Abu Wanaysa, Lukani el Hag¹⁸ (maternal uncle of Hasan Hasuna), and 'fsa²⁰, the father of Muhammad ibn 'fsa Sower el Dhabab. "The four sons of Gabir were like the four elements, each one of them having his peculiar excellence. The most learned of them was Ibrahim, the most virtuous 'Abd el Rahman, the most pious Isma'il, and the most zealous 'Abd el Rahim²¹; and their sister Fatima, the mother of the son²² of Serhan, was like unto them in learning and religion. And their mother was named Safla."... They were buried at Tarnag in the SHAIKIA country.

18. "ABD EL RAHMAN IBN HAG EL DWAYHI."

He was born in the SHAKIA country and was a pupil of 'Abd el Rahman²³ ibn Asid.

19. ²⁴ "ABD EL RAHMAN IBN EL FIAG KHOGALI²⁵."

"He devoted himself entirely to the service of God: no one ever saw him eat or drink or laugh or tell a tale or talk of what concerned him or what concerned him not or uncover his head."

¹ No. 203.

² No. 20.

³ Nos. 14, 164, 203.

⁴ No. 158.

⁵ No. 123.

^{fi} Tree 1.

⁷ 1742 A.D.

⁸ No. 241.

⁹ No. 79.

¹⁰ No. 47.

" No. 234.

¹² No. 227.

¹³ Tree 1.

¹⁴ No. 96.

¹⁵ No. 34.

¹⁶ No. 23.

¹⁷ No. 254.

¹⁸ No. 172.

¹⁹ No. 156.

²⁰ No. 144.

²¹ reading عبد الرحيم for عبد الرحمن.

²² No. 241.

²³ No. 15.

²⁴ Tree 7.

²⁵ No. 154.

20. ²⁰ " 'ABD EL RAHMAN IBN HAMMAD EL AGHBASH²."

He was taught by his father and 'fsa walad Kami³.

21. ⁴ " 'ABD EL RAHMAN IBN HAMMADTU EL KHATIB."

He was taught by Sheikh Isma'fl ibn Gabir and visited Sheikh el Banufari. His 60ns by one wife were Medani el Natik⁶ and the feki Sheikh el A'sir⁶; and, secondly, by Um Gadayn, Muhammad and Medani; and, thirdly, Malik⁷ and Abu Dukn.

22. ⁸ " 'ABD EL RAHMAN IBN IBRAHIM WALAD ABU MALAH."

He was born at Debbat 'Antar, and was named by his mother after her maternal uncle 'Abd el Rahman⁹ ibn Masikh el Nuwayn... As a boy he was taught by Muhammad¹⁰ ibn 'Isa Sower el Dhahab. Subsequently he visited Egypt and took lessons from Sheikh el Islam 'All el Aghun. He was the father of Sheikh Kh6gah¹¹.

23. ¹² " 'ABD EL RAHMAN IBN MASIKH, EL NUWAYRI."

He was a close companion of Sheikh 'Abdulla el 'Araki¹³, and "one of the forty disciples of Walad Gdbir."... "He was, too, one of the four whom Sheikh 'Agib appointed [wald] by order of King Dekin'Sid el 'Ada.'"... He was buried at el Fukara behind Arbagi.

24. ¹⁴ " 'ABD EL RAHMAN IBN MUHAMMAD IBN MEDANI."

He was known as "Anuniran" .. He was taught by the feki Muhammad¹⁵ ibn Ibrahim, and held in great respect by the DANAKLA and SHAndA. He was murdered by his cousins out of envy.

25. ¹⁶ " 'ABD EL RAHMAN IBN EL SHEIKH SALIH¹⁷ BAN EL NUKA" (b. 1121 or 1122¹⁸).

He was taught by the fekis Dayfulla¹⁹, and 'Abd el Hadi (a disciple of Muhammad ibn Medani), and 'Abd el Baki ibn Faka, the disciple of el Khatib'Abd el Lafif²⁰ of el 'Egayga, and Isma'il ibn el feki el Zayn, and others. ... Among his pupils were 'Abdulla²¹ ibn Sabun and 'All el Shafa'²² and Ferah ibn Taktuk²³...

He used to have visions

26. " 'ABD EL RAHMAN IBN TERAf."

A Mesallami by origin, born at el Hukna on the Atbara... He and his family migrated thence to S6ba on the Blue Nile... He was a friend and follower of Sheikh Idris²⁴ wad el Arbab, who "taught him medicine; and he instructed the people accordingly. And he used to cure devils by A. B. T. Th. G. H. Kh. etc."

He was buried close to Soba, in the desert.

¹ Tree 2.

⁴ Tree 10.

⁷ No 158.

¹⁰ No. 191.

¹³ No. 34.

¹⁶ Tree 8.

¹⁹ No 88.

²² No. 63.

¹

²³

² No 118.

⁶ No. 163.

⁸ Tree 7.

No. 154.

^u Tree 10.

¹⁷ No. 226

²⁰ No. 9.

No. 95.

³ No. 143.

⁶ No. 236.

⁹ No. 23.

¹² Tree 7.

¹⁵ No. 252 ?

¹⁸ 1708-9 A.D.

²¹ No. 38.

No. 141.

27. *°ABD EL RAZIK ABU RURUN" (d. 1070 A.H.¹).

He was by race a Rufa'i____He was a follower of Sheikh Ya'akab² ibn el Sheikh Ban el Nukd, who sent him to teach at el Abwib, and a contemporary of Sheikh Idris³ wad el Arbab and Sheikh Hasan⁴ HasQna and Sheikh SughayerGn⁵ and Sheikh Maskin⁶ el Khafi____He had twelve sons____

He worked several miracles, of which the following is an example. "And there came to him a slave girl, the wife of King 'Adlan, and said to him 'My lord, my children have died; I prithee beseech God to recompense me for them with others.' He said to her 'I grant it, I grant it' five times, and she bore five children; and they became the ancestors of the 'ADLANAB.'. ..

He died at Muays and was buried at Meshra el Ahmar, "and his tomb is plain to see and should be visited with becoming humility and gravity...and the news of his death reached Sheikh Hasan walad Hasuna...."

28. "'ABD EL SADIK IBN HUSAYN WALAD ABU SULAYMAN, EL HOWARI."

He was born, died and was buried at Um Dom .. The *feki* el Zayn⁷ taught him law [*Khalif*] and Sheikh el Medowi⁸ apostleship [*rtstdla*].

29. "'ABD EL WAHHAB IBN EL FEKI HAMMAD⁹ EL NEGHI, EL GAMU'I."

He was *Imam* of the mosque at Aslang, and was buried on the hill to the west of it____"And when the *feki* Hammad¹⁰ went forth with Sheikh 'Agib the Great to war against the king of the FUNG he said 'After me my son Bekri shall read in the mosque, and after him this boy 'Abd el Wahhab.'"

30. "'ABD EL WAHHAB WALAD ABU KURBI."

Born at Aslang Island, and buried west of it.

31. " " 'ABDULLA EL AGHBASH, EL BEDAYRI EL DAHMASHI."

He was born at Berber and taught by Muhammad¹² Sowar el Dhahab and Walad Gabir¹³____He propagated [*lit.* "lit the fire of"] the Kuran at Berber.

32. "'ABDULLA IBN EL 'AGOZ."

A pupil of Sheikh Muhammad el Mesallami.

33. "'ABDULLA IBN 'ALI EL HALANKI."

He was born at Taka and finally buried there. . . He was taught by Sheikh Dafa'alla¹⁴ and, in his turn, taught Sheraf el Dfn¹⁵ walad Barn, and

¹ 1659 A.D., reading  for .

³ No. 141.

⁴ No. 132.

² No. 254.

⁵ No. 241.

⁶ v. *sub* No. 250. ⁷ No. 258.

⁸ No. 165.

⁹ No. 126.

¹⁰ No. 126

¹¹ Tree 2.

¹² No. 191.

¹³ No. 17 ? ¹⁴ No. 84.

¹⁵ No. 237.

Dafa'alla¹ ibn el Shafa'i of the 'ARAKIIN____He lived for some time at Abu PJaraz.

34. ² " 'ABDULLA IBN DAFA'ALLA EL 'ARAKI.

He was born at Abyad Din. His mother was Hadia bint 'A\$ff of the GIMI'AB... 'Abd el Rahman³ el Nuwayn accompanied him when he went to the SHAMA country to visit 'Abd el Rahman⁴ [ibn Gabir]—
"In his days came Sheikh Tag el Din⁵ el Bahari from Baghdad."...

Among his pupils were his two brothers Abu Idris⁶ and Hammad el Nil, Muhammad⁷ walad Daad el Lukr and Sheikh Sheraf el Din⁸____
He performed the pilgrimage 24 times—His sons were Man6fali and 'Abd el Rahman Abu Shanab and 'Abd el Rahim⁹ ibn el Khafwa and others... He was buried at Abu Haraz.

35. ¹⁰ " 'ABDULLA IBN HAMDAD IBN EL FEKI 'ABD EL MAGID¹¹."
A nephew of Mustafa ['Abd el Magid]

36. " 'ABDULLA WALAD HASOBA EL MOGHRABI."

His father came as a stranger to the land and settled at Soba and attached himself to Sheikh Idris¹² [wad el Arbab] 'Abdulla himself was born at Soba, and migrated later to Um Leban on the White Nile, where he died and was buried. . . His sons were TagQr¹³ el Nahasi, Muhammad el Bekri, and el Hag

37. " 'ABDULLA IBN MUSA 'EL MUSHAMMIR.' "

A Begawi by race; born at Um Hurfa ... Sheikh Idris¹⁴ nicknamed him "el Mushammir" ["One who tucks up his clothes"].

38. " 'ABDULLA IBN SABUN."

He was by birth a slave [*mamluk*], the property of a woman of el Kalay'a .. Though offered a wife he refused and died unmarried.

40. " 'ABDULLA EL SHERIF."

He was nicknamed "Tuwayl el Halfaya." He was born in Fas....

He was a follower of Ahmad ibn Nasir, and died at Sennar.

41. ¹⁵ " 'ABDULLA 'EL TERAYFI.' "

His father was Sheikh Muhammad Abu 'Akla¹⁶ el Kashif____He was a pupil of Sheikh Dafa'alla¹⁷ . He went on the pilgrimage but died on the road... His sons were named Ahmad¹⁸ and Muhammad¹⁹....

"He was called 'Terayfi' from the beauty of his features [*atrdf*], namely his face and his forearms and his feet."

42. ²⁰ " "ABU 'AKLA.' "

His real name was Muhammad . . 'Akla was his daughter and hence he was called " father of 'Akla " .. He was a follower of his father's brother Sheikh Abu Idris²¹... His sons were 'Abdulla "el Terayfi²²," Shams el Din, Abu Idris, and Hammad Abu Kurn

¹ No. 83.

² Tree 9.

³ No. 23

⁴ No. 17.

⁵ No. 67.

⁶ No. 48.

⁷ No. 186

⁸ No. 238.

⁹ No. 1 ³ ¹ ⁰ Tree 2.

¹ No. 10.

¹² No. 141

¹³ reading تاجور for تاجور, No. 246

¹⁴ No. 141.

¹⁵ Tree 9.

¹⁶ No. 42

¹⁷ No. 84.

¹⁸ No. 56.

¹⁸ No. 177.

²⁰ Tree 9

²¹ No. 48.

²² No. 41.

43. "'ABU 'AKLA' IBN EL SHEIKH IJAMMAD."

HIS grandfather [*gidhu*] was Sheikh Dafa'alla____Among his followers was Sheikh Ismd'il¹ ibn Mekki el Dakalishi____" And when he died, God bless him, there arose from his tomb a scent sweeter than pinewood and the camphor tree. And his sons were Hammad el (Hasib?) and Sheikh Kismulla; and all the stock of Sheikh Dafa'alla is descended from these two."

44. "ABUBUKR."

"The holy-man of Hagar el 'Asai, a Takagabi by origin. He it was that guided Sheikh Ijlasan² ibn Hasiina and revealed to him the mysteries."

45. "ABU BUKR WALAD TUAYR."

A pupil and follower of Sheikh el Zayn³.

46. ⁴"ABU DELAYK."

"He was paternal uncle of Sheikh Bedowi⁵ and a follower of Sheikh Selman el Towali⁶. He was entirely devoted to religion and went clothed in patches and rags [*dulkdn*]. He was called 'Abu Delayk' ('Father of Rags') and also 'Dhanab el 'Akrah' ('Scorpion's Tail') because he will not suffer deeds of darkness, but is swift to strike [such as do them].

He guided and instructed [the people], and among his followers was his brother's son Sheikh Bedowi⁷. His children were rlusayn and 'Ayesha; and when he was nigh unto death, the people said to him 'Who is to be the *Khalifa* after you?' And he said ' 'Ayesha my daughter.' And Sheikh Bedowi married her and begat by her el Nukr and Sheikh Medowi⁸ and 'Abdulla and Tag el Din. He died, and was buried at el Nigfa and his tomb is plain to see."

47. ⁹"ABU EL HASAN IBN SALIH, EL 'DDI" (b. 1070¹⁰A.H.; d. 1133^UA.H.).

His mother was Hosha, the daughter of Sheikh el Zayn¹²

48. ¹³"ABU IDRIS."

His full name was Sheikh Muhammad ibn el Sheikh Dafa'alla¹⁴ ibn Mukbal el 'Araki____He was *Sheikh el Islam* and very famous... .He was buned with his brother Sheikh 'Abdulla¹⁵.

49. ¹⁶"ABU EL KASIM 'EL GUNAYD."

The son of Sheikh 'Ah el Nil¹⁷.

50. "ABU EL KASIM EL WADIANABI, EL MESALLAMI."

A pupil of Sheikh Idris.

¹ No. 145.

² No. 132.

³ No. 258.

⁴ Tree 12.

⁵ No. 74.

⁶ No. 230.

⁷ No. 74.

⁸ No. 167.

⁹ Tree 1.

¹⁰ 1659 A.D.¹

1720 A.D.

¹² No. 258.

¹³ Tree 9.

¹⁴ No. 84, reading **دفع الله** دفع الله.

¹⁶ No. 34.

¹⁶ Tree 1.

¹⁷ No. 62. *"

51. "ABU SINAYNA."

His full name was Muhammad ibn Nusr, el Tergami el Ga'ali. He was born at el Buwayd.

"His father Nusr was instructed in the Kuran and its teachings by Sheikh Muhammad¹ ibn 'fSa; and it was the latter who advised him to marry the mother of 'Abu Sinayna.' And it was thus: Sheikh Muhammad saw her when she was young and said to him 'You shall marry this girl and she shall bear to you a pious son.' [Nusr] replied '[Then] she will bear [one like] you yourself.' And thrice or four times [Sheikh Muhammad] said 'She shall do so.' And it came to pass that her people journeyed from Dongola to el Buwayd in the region of el Abwab, and [Nusr] went after her and married her, and there was born to him 'Abu Sinayna.'..Subsequently ['Abu Sinayna'] settled at Arbagi and taught the people there."...

He was buried at Arbagi.

52. "ABU SUROR, EL FADLI."

He was born at el Halfaya . .His mother was KanQna bint el Hag *Ah of the FADLIA tribe . He was taught law [*Khalil*] by Sheikh el Zayn² and the articles of faith [*el 'akdid*] by the *feki* 'Ah³ walad Barri. .. After teaching awhile at el Halfaya he went to Darfur and taught there___He was finally murdered in Dar Salih, "and the cause of his death was that while he was asleep his concubines killed him by smashing his skull with stones; may God be their enemy"

53. "ABU ZAYD⁴ IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABD EL KADIR."

He was a follower of Sheikh el Zayn⁵.. .He travelled to Darfur and Borku in the days when Sultan Ya'akub reigned in the latter... He died m Darfur... .His sons were Subah and 'Abd el Kadir and 'Ah and Hegazi⁶.

54. ⁷"'ABUDI."

A disciple of el Mesallami⁸ . .His sons were Muhammad⁹, Ahmad, el Mesallami, 'Abd el Hafiz and Ibrahim¹⁰, all of them *fekts*.. .He died at el Ferar.

55. ¹¹"*EL 'AGAMI' IBN HASUNA."

His real name was Muhammad. ..His mother was Fatima bint Wahshia whose father was a Mesallami Kabaysi and whose mother was a Sandia Khamaysfa¹². . He went on the pilgrimage and died in the Hegaz.

56. ¹³"AHMAD IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABDULLA EL TERAYFI."

A follower of Sheikh Dafa'alla Ahmad, in whose charge Sheikh 'Abdulla left his sons when starting for the pilgrimage... .He died in *sannat el gtdn* ("small-pox year"), as did some sixteen of his relatives also.

¹ No. 191² No. 258.³ No. 58.⁴ reading ابو زيد for ابزيد.⁵ No. 258.⁶ No. 133⁷ Tree 11.⁸ No. 172.⁹ No 179¹⁰ No. 135.¹¹ Tree 5.¹² reading حوسية for حوسية .¹³ Tree 9.

57. " 'ALI WALAD ABU DUKN."

HIS father was a Dongolawi... His mother's name was Siaka... His bunal-place was el Ruays near el Halfaya—Sheikh Idris¹ visited his tomb.

58. ² " 'ALI IBN BARRI" (b. 1010 to 1013 A.H.; d. 1073⁸ A.H.).

HIS mother was Umhani bint el Wali 'Ah ibn Kandil el Saridi— Various laudations of him are quoted, including one by the *feki* SughayerQn⁴ el Shakalawi, who said " I knew Sheikh Idris⁵ and Walad Hasuna⁶ and 'Abd el Razik⁷ and Basbar⁸, but I found none of them as quick in his answers as this boy, 'Ali ibn Barri.'*...

Among his pupils was the *feki* Arbab el Khashan⁹ ... His "sheikh " was Basbar, and the famous case of Basbar and the Hammadia woman is related in the biographies of both master and pupil.... 'Ah also had a dispute with Mismar el Halashi of Kern about a cow and foretold the resultant deposition of Mismar by the King of Sennar, in favour of 'Ah ibn 'Othman. "And they have been deposed [from their power] until this present day. His son Khidr held the sheikhship after el 'Agayl for six months and was then deposed; and Mismar the son of Walad¹⁰ 'Agib [ruled] for two months after Sheikh 'Abdulla, and was then deposed."

59. " 'ALI WALAD DHIAB, EL KURAYSHABI."

He was born at Aslang Island and taught by *fekis* Belal^u and Abu el Hasan¹².... He visited Senndr, and finally died at Koz walad Barakat where he had started a school... Muhammad el Nflr Subr and other descendants of Hammad¹³ ibn Mariam were among his pupils.

" 'ALI IBN HAMMUDA" (*vide sub* "Bakadi," No. 68).

60. " 'ALI WALAD 'ISHAYB."

"He was born at Dongola. He was taught by Sheikh Muhammad el Banufari in Egypt and excelled in learning. Then he settled in the south, and Sheikh 'Agib the Great built him a mosque, and the king of the FUNG granted him many lands on the east bank and in the Gezira [*el Huoi*] and in the rainlands, and he acted as a judge and did justice therein and gave judgements according to the accepted standards and to the [more] valid arguments in the dispute.

And he was the companion of Sheikh Ibrahim el Bulad ibn Gabir in the quest after learning in Egypt; and it is said that each of the two prayed a prayer against the other and obtained his desire therein: Sheikh 'Ali walad 'Ishayb prayed against Sheikh Ibrahim el Bulad saying 'May God shorten your life [that you may die] in your youth'; and the whole incident¹⁴ is explained in *The*

¹ No. 141

² Tree 3.

³ 1662 A.D.

⁴ No. 242.

⁵ No. 141.

⁶ No. 132.

⁷ No. 2 7

⁸ No. 73.

⁹ No. 65.

¹⁰ reading *وليدونه* for *وليدونه*.

^{x1} No. 89.

¹² No. 47.

¹³ No. 124.

¹⁴ reading *الهالة* for *الهالة*.

Biographies Q). And Sheikh el Bated said to him 'May God make your learning useless/ And verily [the period of] el Bulad's teaching was seven years [only] and in it he taught 40 persons, and then he died; and as for Sheikh 'Ali we have never heard of his having engaged in teaching of any importance, but only that he judged cases. And he was buried at el 'Aydai, and his tomb is plain to see; and all the 'ISHAYBAB are his descendants."

61. "'ALI EL LABADI."

A Moghrabi by origin, born at Senndr____ "His father was one of God's chosen"... His sister was given in marriage to 'Abd el Haffz el Khatib, the father of el Khatib 'Omara¹... His sons were Ahlulla, Ghab 'Ain, and Mekki____ A miracle related of him is that he dipped his stick {*ukdz*) into a jar (*zeer*) full of water, pronouncing these words "In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful A. B. T. Th. G. H. Kh.," and immediately the water was turned into yellow clarified butter (*samn*) ... He was buried at Sennar

62. ² "'ALI 'EL N * L' IBN EL SHEIKH MUHAMMAD⁸ EL HAMIM."

He was the third successor (*Khalifa*) of Sheikh Tag el Din* in the country of the FUNG.... He was a follower of his father in religious matters . He was called "el Nil" ("the Nile") because of the floods of knowledge that he poured in the dry wastes of the people's minds,—the sobriquet being given him by Sheikh Dafa'alla⁵ . His father, whose "Sheikh" was Tag el Din el Bahan, lived at Mundara; and it was there 'Ah was buried .. On his deathbed he appointed Sheikh "el Gunayd⁶" his successor .. He lived in the reign of King Ruba{ of Sennar.

63. "*El fekir* 'ALI WALAD EL SHAFAT."

A pupil of *feki* 'Omara⁷, and a follower of Sheikh Dafa'alla⁸... He composed religious poetry, "and if he heard his poetry recited by anyone else he used to weep and fly in the air: this was witnessed several times." He was buried at Sennar.

64. ⁹ "'ARAKI IBN EL SHEIKH IDRI'S¹⁰."

His father named him after Sheikh 'Abdulla el 'Araki¹¹... He died of small-pox.

65. "ARBAB IBN 'ALI IBN 'ON" (d. 1102¹² A.H.).

He was called "el Khashan el Khashuna"... Among his pupils were el Hag Khogah¹³, the *feki* Hammad¹⁴ ibn Manam and Sheikh Ferah¹⁵ walad Taktuk . He died at Sennar

66. "'AWUDA IBN 'OMAR, 'SHAKAL EL KARIH."

He was a pupil of Masa Ferid, the disciple [*howdr*] of Sheikh Hasan walad Hasuna..

¹ No. 219.

² Tree 1.

³ No. 190.

⁴ No. 67.

⁵ No. 84.

⁶ No. 49.

⁷ No. 219.

⁸ No. 84.

⁹ Tree 4.

¹⁰ No. 141.

¹¹ No. 34

¹² 1690 A.D.

¹³ No. 154.

¹⁴ No. 124.

¹⁵ No. 9;

Several miracles are recorded of him:

(i) "Sheikh Muhammad¹ **ibn** 'fisa was nigh unto death, and his wife, the daughter of el Malik **Hasan** walad Kashash² the **king** of Dongola, and mother of Hillali³ his son, said to him * Your elder sons you have guided [in the right way]; but who is to look after my son ?' And he said to her 'You must [apply to] el Hadari.' Then she came and brought her bracelets and anklets and said to him (i.e. el Hadari) 'I want you to make my son to sit in the seat of his father.' He replied [to her son] * Son of my Sheikh, sit on my prayer-mat': so he sat there. Then [el Hadari] arose and ran round the room [*khakva*] and came and knelt before him and took hold of his hand and kissed it, saying 'I have made you to sit in the seat of your father.* And indeed Hilali attained⁴ great eminence among the FUNG and the Arabs and acted as a judge and a teacher of all kinds of knowledge."...

(2) "There came to him a certain man called Ibn 'Abad, who was addicted to evildoing⁵, and said to him 'I have a flourishing water-wheel and give you a quarter [share] in it.' And he replied 'What do you want from me ?' The man answered * I want the grace⁶ of God.' ['Awuda] said 'I give you a quarter of God's grace.' Then the man repented and asked pardon of God. Afterwards he came again and said 'I have made it up to a half; and ['Awuda] said 'And I grant you half of the grace of God.' And the man improved more and more: and finally he came and said 'I give you the whole water-wheel'; and ['Awuda] said to him 'I give you the whole of God's grace'; and the man fell down in a faint [and remained so] for some days, but finally he became a paragon and one of the saints [*auliyd*] of God."...

(3) "Mismar walad 'Araybi in his journey to Dongola in the year 1070⁷ wrought havoc among the men of rank and dignity⁸; and the people appealed to him ['Awuda] for help, and he said to them 'His destruction will be at the hands of the short pale bald man; and as for me, I am your security that the Sheikh of Kerri shall not enter Dongola: if he comes, [and if] 'Awuda is alive, strain some beer for him and he will drink it; and if he be dead pour it over his tomb.' I say that most of these events connected with the Sheikh ['Awuda] are fully corroborated, and are compatible with the Book and the Law [*sunna*] and the Unanimities V

He went on the pilgrimage, and met Sheikh 'All el Ag-hun *en route*.

¹ No 191.

² reading كشاش for كشش

³ No. 134.

⁴ reading حطبي for حظي.

⁵ reading حوارح for حوارح.

⁶ reading الليل for الليل.

⁷ 1659 A D

⁸ reading اجواه for اجواه.

⁹ reading اجماع for اجماع

B

67. "'EL BAHARI,* U. Tag el Dm, el Baghdadi."

"His actual name was Muhammad. 'El Bah&ri' was a surname due to the saying 'a shining [*bdhir*] moon has passed,* and he was so called from the light of his countenance,—sweet is the odour of his story. He was the *Sheikh*, the *Imam*, the divine *Kufb*, the immortal *Ghauth*, the successor of Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir el Gilani. He was born at Baghdad, and went on the pilgrimage, and thence to the Sudan by leave of the Prophet of God...and of Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir el Gilani. He came with Daud ibn 'Abd el Geli'l, the father of el Hag Sa'id, the ancestor of the people of el 'Aydag¹, early in the second half of the tenth century, at the beginning of the rule of Sheikh 'Agib; and he dwelt with Daud at Wad el Sha'ir behind Um 'Azam."..

He married in the Gezfra and lived there for seven years—"He was the instructor of five famous men, viz. Sheikh Muhammad el Hamim², and Sheikh Ban el Nuka 'el Darir³, and Hegazi the founder of Arbagi and its mosque, and Sha'a el Din walad Tuaym the ancestor of the SHUKRfA, and Sheikh 'Agib the Great."

It is said he taught 40 persons including the *feki* Hammad el Negfd⁴ the head of Aslang mosque, and the *fiki* Rahma⁵ the ancestor of the HAIawifN, and the *yomdu* Walad Abu Sadik, and Ban el Nuki "el Darir⁶" ["the blind"]. It is also said he journeyed to Tekah and there instructed 'Abdulla el Gamal, the ancestor of Sheikh Hammad⁷ walad el Turabi.

68. "'BAKADI."

His real name was 'Ah ibn Hammuda, el Kahh el Aswadi He was born at el Shara'ana and was a pupil of Hamid Abu Muna

69. "BAKDUSH IBN SURUR, el Gamu'i."

A pupil of Sheikh Muhammad⁸ walad 'fSa.. He was appointed by Sheikh 'Agib the Great.

70. "⁹ "BAN EL NUKA' WALAD EL SHEIKH 'ABD EL RAZIK."

His father called him "Bdn el Nuka" after his grandfather¹⁰ "He died at about the age of 40, or rather more."

71. "BAN EL NUKA' IBN HAMMAD IBN EL SHEIKH IDRfS,el Fadli."

His actual name was Muhammad . His mother was a Sudanese ... "He was called 'Ban el Nuka' because his mother said 'My purity [*nukdi*] (that is innocence) has been revealed [*ban*].' He was a staff of support to King Nail."...He was acquainted with Sheikhs Tag

¹ written العبدى.

² No 190

⁸ No. 71.

⁴ No. 126.

⁵ No 221.

⁶ No. 71.

⁷ No. 125.

⁸ No i Q I .

⁹ Tree 8.

¹⁰ No. 71.

11 Tree 8.

el Din el Bahari¹ and Muhammad el Hindi___He died and was buried at el Wa'ar.

72. ²"BARAKAT IJAMMAD IBN EL SHEIKH iDRis."

He was a follower of el Imam 'Ali ibn Abu Talib ^{a n a} of his own grandfather Sheikh Idris³... Among his disciples were the *fekis* Medowi* ibn Medani and Muhammad ibn Yosef___He had ten sons, including Medowi⁶, Arbab, 'Araki, 'Abd el Rahman and Hammad.

73. "BASBAR 'EL SHUKRI."

By birth he was a Ga'ah '(5ni... .He was named Basbar by his mother. ... He was born at el Mekayna and was a follower of Sheikh Sheraf el Dm⁶—

Among his pupils were the two Awlad Barn⁷, Hamayd el Sandi⁸ and the Awlad⁹ el Hag Faid.. .

"It is related that Sheikh Basbar married a woman of the AHAMDA ['a Hammadfa '] and divorced her. Then there came to her a son of her father's brother, a Hammadi, a disciple [*hozvdr*] of Sheikh 'Abd el Razik Abu Kuriin, and married her, in spite of [Basb&r's] warning to him. And [the Hammadi] said to his 'Sheikh' ['Abd el Razik] 'You must protect me from him'; and [the Sheikh] replied 'Do not go near the river.' [Now these AHAMDA] were riverain folk. And it is said that that man never went near the river for years; until finally his wife became pregnant and bore a child. Then he went close to the river for the shaving-ceremony of his child; and the moment he put his foot into the water a crocodile seized it and bit him that he died. Then [the crocodile] cast him upon the river bank. Then Basbar, who was [sitting] under the acacia trees, cried out 'He got him, he got him, did my boy 'AH.' Now 'Ali at that time was a small boy, [still] with a tuft on his head."...

Basbar's sons were el Bedowi and Medani and 'Abd el Kadir Abu KurQn.

74. ¹⁰"BEDOWI WALAD ABU DELAYK" (d. 1118¹¹ A.H.).

It is said that his father was named 'Abdulla, and that his mother's name was Gawadi, and that he was by origin a Kahli ..."Sheikh Khogali¹² once said 'The fire of 'Abd el Kadir, after [the death of] Sheikh Idrfs¹³, was with Sheikh Bedowi.'"...

Several traditions and remarks concerning him and a number of verses are quoted. One story is as follows: the scene is at Wad Hasuna. "And I was in doubt whether to light the fire on the higher plateau or whether to go down to the river and do so at Sellama. Then I saw the Prophet of God... and he said to me 'Dwell in the red country with the red people'; and 'the red country' is the hill of el Nigfa,

¹ No. 67.

⁴ No. 168.

⁷ Nos. 58 and 136

¹⁰ Tree 12.

² Tree 4

⁵ No. 166.

⁸ No. 129.

¹² No. 154.

³ No. 141.

⁶ No. 238.

⁹ No 6

¹⁸ No. 141.

and ' the red people * are the BATAHI N. So I built a retreat [*khalwa*] and in front of it a porch [*rakuba*]. [And it happened that] a man of the MARGHCMAB¹ had slain a son of Sheikh Na'im el Bathani² and by chance came to me; so I put him inside the retreat and sat myself in the porch. [Then the avengers] came and entered [the retreat] after him and slew him and said to me * Sheikh Na'im farts warnings, and you are making trouble for yourself.' [Then] they set fire to the retreat, but it would not take hold. And I said 'These are no people [for me], I won't live with them.' And again I saw the Prophet of God, and as I was sitting before him I perceived many black ants making for him from the four quarters; and I said, 'My lord, the Prophet of God, what are those ants [doing] ?' And he said 'They are come to you [for protection]; stay where you are; let no one interfere with [*lit. come to*] them.' [And so] here am I [///. you see me³], O Sherif, in this place, eating my food [*lit. my blessing*] and awaiting my end....

And when he drew nigh unto death he said ' O ye women of the KAWAHLA, I will be your [strong] rock⁴ on the day of the resurrection'; and he died in the year 1118⁵; and in that same year el Samih made war on Shendi."

75. "BEDR IBN EL SHEIKH SELMAN IBN YASIR."

"He embraced the tenets of Sufiism like his father, and was a follower of his father Sheikh Selman, and instructed the people. His clothes were always of wool [*\$uf*]and he was held in high esteem by the kings, and by the tribes of the Arabs from Berber to Upper Egypt....

His sons were el Amin and Sheikh Muhammad and Abu Salih, and 'Ah the son of the Bisharia woman."...

He was buried with his father.

76. "BEDR IBN EL SHEIKH UM BARAK IBN EL SHEIKH MASKIN, EL KHAFF."

All the MASK/NAB, except a very few, are descended from him.

77. "BEKRI IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABDULLA⁶ IBN HASOBA."

His *kubba* is at S6ba Bekn, but he died and was buried at Um Leban on the White Nile "with his father Sheikh 'Abdulla."

78. "BEKRI WALAD EL FEKI IDRIS."

He was born at Gedfd, where his *kubba* now stands___" He had the prophetic gift and was a friend of my grandfather the *feki* Muhammad walad Dayfulla."

¹ reading مرقوماب for مرقوماب.

² reading تران for تراني.

⁵ 1706 A.D.

³ No. 213.

⁶ reading جبلن for جبلن.

⁷ reading عبدالرحمن for عبدالرحمن.

79. : "BELAL IBN EL FEKI MUHAMMAD⁸ EL AZRAK IBN EL SHEIKH EL ZAYN³."

He was taught by his father, and in his turn taught the *feki* Muhammad⁴ ibn 'Abd el Rahman, and Sa'ad and Hammad the sons of the *feki* Samih el 'Armani, and the *feki* Shammar⁵ walad 'Adlan, and Medowi⁶ ibn el Sheikh Barakat of the MAHASS, and others.

80. ^{7<}BERR \ABD EL MA'ABUD IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABD EL RAHMAN⁸ EL NUWAYRI."

He was a follower of his mother's father Sheikh Muhammad⁰ walad Mahmud el 'Araki.

81. "BERR WALAD NA'IM¹⁰ 'ABD EL SHERAKA."

A pupil of Sheikh Dafa'alla¹¹. Born and buried at el Kerrada

82. "BURT EL MESALLAMI."

He was the disciple [*howdr*] of Sheikh Selman¹² el Towah and, together with Abu Delayk¹³, learnt from him the tenets of Sufism. .. "He had supernatural powers [of prophecy], and said to Sheikh Sdlih¹⁴ walad Ban el Nuka 'You shall be a great man: the saints shall come to you, the saints shall come to you; and they shall make you be seated [in their presence], and you shall light the fire of 'Abd el Kadir.' And his tomb is in the open country between Walad Hasuna and Walad Abu Delayk, and over it is a *kubba*."

D

83. "DAFA'ALLA IBN 'ALI¹⁵ 'EL SHAFAL'."

Born at Arbagi___He was taught by Sheikh 'Abdulla el Halanki¹⁶.

84. ^{17<<}DAFA'ALLA IBN EL SHEIKH MUHAMMAD¹⁸ ABU IDRIS¹⁹"
(b. 1003²⁰ A.H.; d. 1094²¹).

The best man of his epoch His mother was Fatima Urn Hason²² bint el Hag Salama el Dubabi . He was born at Dubab behind Um 'Azam and was taught by his father... Sheikh Sughayerun²³, Belal el Shayb ibn el Talib, el Hag Khogali²⁴, and Muhammad²⁵ ibn el Terayfi all spoke in praise of him .. 'Abdulla²⁶ el 'Araki was his father's brother He settled at Abu Haraz . He founded a number of mosques in the Gezira and endowed them with land and slaves ... During all his life he never went to Sennar: if King Badi walad Rubal; wished to speak to him he (the king) used to go to Abu Haraz on purpose___

¹ Tree 1 ² No 204.

⁵ No. 235. ⁶ No. 166

⁹ No. 192. ¹⁰ No. 212.

¹³ No 46. ¹⁴ No. 226.

¹⁷ Tree 9. ¹⁸ No. 48.

²⁰ 1594 AD.

²² reading **حسون** *for* **حسين**.

²⁴ No. 154. ²⁵ No. 177.

³ No 258.

⁷ Tree 7

¹¹ No 84.

¹⁵ No. 63.

¹ reading **ابو دريس** *for* **ابو ادريس**

²¹ 1683 A7D.~

²³ No. 241.

²⁶ No. 34.

* No. 175.

⁸ No 23.

¹² No. 230.

" No. 33.

He died, aged 91, in 1094¹ A.H. "and in 1095² commenced *Um Lahm*

85. ⁸"DAFA'ALLA IBN MUHAMMAD, el Kahli el Hadhali" (d. 1121⁴ A.H.).

His mother was Ria bint MQsa walad HatOna, "and she called him Dafa'alla after Sheikh Dafa'alla el 'Araki⁵ because the latter was the * Sheikh' of her father."... He was born and resided at el Halfaya, and was taught law [*Khalif*] by Muhammad⁶ el Azrak ibn el Sheikh el Zayn, and was the companion in Sufiism of Bedowi walad Abu Delayk. .. He was often called "Walad Ria."... "When on his deathbed and surrounded by his relatives he said 'Be of good cheer, O ye women of the HATUNAB⁷ (?), I will be your [strong] rock on the day of the resurrection'; just as Sheikh Bedowi⁸ walad Abu Delayk said 'Be of good cheer, O ye women of the KAWAHLA, I will be your [strong] rock on the day of the resurrection.'" He died in 1121⁹ A.H.

86. ¹⁰"DAFA'ALLA IBN MUKBAL, 'EL 'ARAKI.'" "

"He came from the west country, from near Bir Serrar, and was accompanied by the *feki* Muhammad walad Fakrun, the father of the MASHAIKHA, the people of Ankawi; but I do not know if they were relations or merely brethren in Islam. He settled at Gerf el Gimi'ab and married Hadia bint 'Atif in the GiMi'AB country and by her begot his five famous sons, the just ones, Hammad 'el Nil' and 'Abdulla¹¹ and Abu Idris¹² and Abu Bukr Abu 'Ayesha and el Magdhtib. He was known as 'el 'Araki' because of his descent from the well-known tribe of 'ARAK."

87. "DAUD IBN MUHAMMAD IBN DAUD IBN HAMDAN."

He was born and buned at Kuthra, and educated at el Halfaya by Dafa'alla¹³ "walad Ria."...

"The great men of his epoch trusted him greatly, and especially Sheikh Muhammad Abu el Kaylak."

88. ¹⁴"DAYFULLA IBN 'ALI IBN 'ABD EL GHANI IBN DAYFULLA, el Fadli" (d. 1095 A.H.¹⁵).

He was born at el Halfaya... Sheikh el Zayn¹⁶ taught him law [*Khalil*] and apostleship [*risala*]; Sheikh Dafa'alla¹⁷ ibn el Sheikh Abu Idris taught him the tenets of Safusm [*tasuff*]; and the *feki* Hamayd¹⁸ el Saridi taught him the doctrine of Unity [*tawhid*] and grammar [*nahu*]. .. He was a great teacher at el Halfaya, and died in the year *Um Lahm*¹⁹,

¹ 1683 A.D.

² 1684 A.D.

³ Tree 6

⁴ 1709 A.D.

⁵ No. 84.

⁶ No. 204.

⁷ reading

هنونايات for هتونايات

⁸ No. 74.

⁹ 1709 A.D.

¹⁰ Tree 9.

¹¹ No. 34.

¹² No. 48, reading ابو داريس for ابو ادريس.

* No. 85.

¹⁴ Tree 6.

¹⁵ 1684 A.D.

¹⁶ No. 258.

¹⁷ No. 84.

¹⁸ reading حميد for حميد, No. 129.

¹⁹ 1684 A.D.

89. ¹"DAYFULLAIBN MUHAMMAD IBNDAYFULLA²" (d. 1182A.H.⁸).

His father named him after his grandfather⁴—He was taught by the *fekis* Belal⁵ and Abu el Hasan⁶ and Idris ibn Bella el Kenani and Sheikh Kh6gali⁷—The last named was his " Sheikh " and taught him Sufusm—"Everyone agreed that he was the most learned man of his age in religious subjects, and there is a saying 'After the *feki* Ibrdhim⁸ el Hag [was] the *feki* Abu el Hasan, and after the *feki* Abu el Hasan [was] the *feki* Dayfulla.'"...

Among his pupils were the *feki* Isma'il, Sheikh of el K6z, and Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman⁹ Ban el Nuka, 'Abd el Rahman ibn Arbab and others—

He began teaching in 1130¹⁰ A.H. and continued till his death in 1182ⁿ A.H.

90. ¹²"DOLIBNESI."

"His name was Muhammad el Darir ibn Idris ibn Dolib, and the meaning of 'Nesi' in the language of the DANAGLA is 'son's son'/ He was a man of extraordinary energy and used to enter the square retreats [*khalwdt*] for the performance of religious ceremonies [*dhikr*] and devotion [*'ibdda*]. Now the place where there are 40 retreats is Gebel Bursi, and each of them is a forty-days'-retreat; and el Bursi is a hill between the SHAIKIA country and Dongola. The people of Dongola say 'O God, bless us with the devotion of Dolib Nesi and the generosity of Habib Nesi¹³ and the learning of Walad 'fsa.' His sons were Sheikh Muhammad el Niri¹⁴ (for whom see under M) and the *feki* Idris, a reader of the Kuran and its judgments, and Mekki and Medani,—all of them good men.

He was buried at el Debba and all the DOALIB are his descendants."

91. "Dow EL BAYT IBN AHMAD EL SHAFa'I."

He was born at Berber and trained by Sheikh 'fsa¹⁵ ibn KanG and Muhammad¹⁶ walad Shafa'i... .He resided among the ZAYDAB at Gerf 'Agio.

92. "DOWAYN AHAYMER."

His mother was the daughter of el Kha\$ib 'Omira¹⁷—He was born at Sennar and began life as a merchant. He was a pupil of Sheikh Kh6gah¹⁸.

93. "DUSHAYN, ' KADi EL 'ADALA' ['The Just Judge']."

He was born at Arbagi and was a Shafa'ite—"He was one of the four judges appointed by Sheikh 'Agib by order of King Dekin when he came from the east. He ordered Sheikh 'Agib to appoint the judges, and ['Agib] appointed Sheikh 'Abdulla el 'Araki¹⁹,

¹ Tree 6.

² reading **ضيف الله** for **ضيف**.

⁸ 1768 A.D.

⁴ No. 88

⁵ No. 79.

⁶ No. 47

⁷ No. 154.

⁸ No. 139.

⁹ No. 25.

¹⁰ 1718A.D.

¹¹ 1768 A.D.

¹² Tree 1

¹³ No. 105.

¹⁴ No. 187.

¹⁵ No. 143.

¹⁶ No. 180.

¹⁷ No. 219.

¹⁸ No. 154.

¹⁹ No. 34.

and Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman¹ ibn Masikh el Nuwayri, and the *feki* Bakdush² for the GAMU'IA country, and el Kidi Dushayn for Arbagi and the Shafa'ites in general."...

He died and his tomb is at el Dakhila___

The following couplet is quoted of him:

ابن دشين قاضي العدالة الها بيميل بالضلالة
نسله نعيم اللالة الاوقدوا نار الرسالة

F

94. "FERAH IBN EL FEKI ARBAB³."

He and his brother Busati taught the doctrine of Unity [*tawhid*] after their father's death___ He had a son named Arbab.

95. "FERAH WALAD TAKTUK, el Bathani."

A pupil of the/?ib Arbab⁴... .He was the author of a poem beginning " Where are the days of the sons of Gabir," and of the saying:

الموت الهاب الموت يبشر بالموت

("Death! He that defies death may yet assure himself that he shall die.")

G

96. ⁵" GABIR and GABRULLA."

The sons of 'On ibn Selim ibn Rubat ibn Ghuldmulla, el Rikabi___ Gabir was the father of the four famous men, the AWLAD GABIR⁶, and their mother was named Sana... .The descendants of Gabrulla, the brother of Gabir, are the AWLAD U M SHEIKH of Hilalia mosque.

97. " GAD EL NEBI and GUBARA."

" They came from el Yemen and their home was in Hadramaut." ... Gad el Nebi settled at Delil.

98. "GADULLA."

The disciple [*howar*] of the *feki* Hammad ibn Mariam.

99. " GADULLA or HADULLA."

Gidulla el Shukayn died at Sennar.

100 " GAMIL IBN MUHAMMAD."

He was taught by Sheikh el Zayn⁷, and learnt Sufiism [*el tasuf*] from Hasan⁸ walad HasQna.

101. ^{9<<}GHANIM ABU SHIMAL, el Gama'i el Kordofah."

He was a pupil of 'Ah¹⁰ ibn Barn and the *feki* Arbab¹¹___ "He came [*kadam*] from Dar Kurun with his wives and his children and settled at Gebayl Auli on the White Nile."... "He married 'Ayesha el Fakira, the daughter of the pious Walad Kadal, and by her begot Busati ibn el Fakira."

¹ No. 23.

² No. 69.

³ No. 65.

* No. 65.

⁵ Tree 1.

⁸ No. 17, etc.

⁷ No. 258.

⁸ No. 132.

⁹ Tree 11.

¹⁰ No. 58.

¹¹no. 65.

102. "G6DATULLA and G6DA."

"They were both learned men of Kordofal____The former was **one** of the BENI MUHAMMAD and lived at Zalata in the north [*ddr el rih*] and was taught by el Kadal¹ ibn el Faradi."... G6da and Ed6ma were by origin of the BENI 'OMRAN and were taught by Sheikh el Zayn².

"GUBARA" (see *sub* "Gad el Nebi").

103. "EL GUNAYD or HUNAYD."

He was the son of Sheikh Muhammad... (*lacuna*)... ibn el Sheikh 'Abd el Razik³____He embraced Sofiism and died at el Halfaya.

104. "EL GUNAYD WALAD TAHA⁴ IBN 'OMARA."

He embraced Safiism, and was a follower of Sheikh Dafa'alla⁶ walad el Shafa'i____He died in the Hegaz.

H

105. ⁶"HABIB NESI, el Rikabi."

"He dwelt in Dongola Kashabi and was one of the great holy-men \awliyid\ of the RIKABIA, and many miracles were vouchsafed to him." The people of Dongola in his day used to say "O God, bless us."... (etc. as in No. 90).

"HADULLA" (see *sub* "Gadulla," No. 99).

106. "HAGA IBN 'ABD EL LATIF IBN EL SHEIKH HAMMAD⁷ WALAD ZURRUK."

He was born at Shanbat____Many miracles, to which Sheikh Khogali⁸ testified, were vouchsafed to him: *e.g.* when he was being buried and the sun was about to set, it suddenly went back to the east again to give more time for the burial.

107. ⁹"HAGO IBN BATUL EL GHUBSHA¹⁰."

His father was a Hamrani named Hammdd.. .He was educated by his mother's brother Sheikh Ya'akQb¹¹____He was buried at Um Ma-wdkih.

108. "HAGYU IBN EL FEKI SALIM IBN EL MAIDI."

He was a pupil of 'Abd el Rahman¹² ibn Belal, and, after the death of 'Abd el Rahman, of the *feki* Dayfulla¹⁸.

109. "'HALAWI/ el Hagagabi el 'Amri."

His real name was Muhammad ibn Gema el Din. . .He was born at el Kamnfn, and was a pupil of Sheikh Muhammad¹⁴ ibn 'Isa Sowar el Dhahab____He visited Egypt, and died and was buried at el K6z.

110. "HAMD EL SID IBN BELLA."

He was born at el Halfaya—His sons were the *fekis* Muhammad and Hammad, and 'Abd el Rahman.

¹ No. 147.

² No. 258.

³ No. 27

? ⁴ No. 248.

⁵ No. 83.

⁶ Tree 1

⁷ No. 127.

⁸ No. 154.

⁹ Tree 8.

¹⁰ reading القبشة for الغبشة.

» No. 254.

¹² No. 16.

¹³ No. 89.

¹⁴

No. 191.

in. * " HAMDAN IBN YA'AKUB ²."

He was called "el Batran," and was born at el Humr... He died in the year *el Wada'a* ("the year of tranquillity").

112. "IIAMID EL LAYN IBN EL FEKI SULAYMAN IBN EL SHEIKH IMMID³."

He was taught by Sheikh el Zayn⁴ and was a great collector of books. ...He was the first to introduce from Egypt the commentary of 'Abd el Baki on Khalil... He was a friend of the author's father.

113. "HAMID IBN 'OMAR, el Badiri."

He was known as "Abu el 'Asa" ["Father of the Stick"], because he always earned a stick... He was born at Sakadi and embraced Sufiism.... He was a follower of Muhammad el Mansur... His sons were Hammad, Ibrahim, Sulayman and Sheikh 'Ah. He was buried at el Gebayl.

114. ⁵"HAMMAD IBN EL FEKI 'ABD EL MAGID⁶."

He succeeded his father... Among his pupils was the *feki* Hammad⁷ walad el Maghub⁸.

115. "HAMMAD IBN 'ABD EL RAHIM, el Mashayrifi."

He was known as "Ilatik el Mahassi" . He was born at el Khartoum and taught law [*Khalil*] by Muhammad "el Azrak⁹" ibn el Sheikh el Zayn . He was buried at Abu Nagila

116. ¹⁰"HAMMAD ABU KURUN IBN EL SHEIKH MUHAMMAD¹¹ EL HAMIM."

117. "HAMMAD IBN ABU ZAYD, EL HADRI el Busaylabi."

He was born at Arbagi and educated by the *feki* Muhammad walad Hegazi... He was buried at Arbagi.

118. ¹²"HAMMAD IBN EL AGHBASH."

He was a pupil of Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman¹³ ibn Hammadtu... His father was Sheikh 'Abdulla¹⁴ el Aghbash.. He was born and buried at Berber... His sons were 'Abd el Magid¹⁵, 'Abd el Rahman¹⁶, 'Abdulla, 'Ah, Husayn and Abu Kerayn.

119. ¹⁷"HAMMAD *EL AspA' IBN EL SHEIKH DAFa'ALLA¹⁸."

He succeeded his father and taught law [*Khalil*] and apostleship.... Muhammad walad el Terayfi¹⁹ was his spiritual guide. "Sheikh el Gunayd²⁰ walad Taha told me that Sheikh Dafa'alla said to Sheikh Muhammad walad Dafa'alla²¹ ibn el Shafa'i 'Take advantage of the days of Sheikh Dafa'alla²² [while] you are young'; and [again] he said to Sheikh Muhammad 'You were instructed by

¹ Tree 8.

⁴ No 258.

⁷ No. 123

⁹ No. 204.

¹² Tree 2.

¹⁵ No. 10.

¹⁸ No. 84.

²¹ reading **ولد دفع الله** for **ولد دفع الله**, No 83.

² No 254.

⁵ Tree 2

⁸ reading **المعزوب**

¹⁰ Tree 1.

¹³ No 21.

¹⁶ No. 20

¹⁹ No 1771

³ No. 113.

⁶ No 10

¹¹ reading **المعزوب** for **المعزوب**.

¹⁴ No 190.

¹⁷ No. 31

²⁰ Tree 9.

²² No. 104.

" No. 84.

my son Hammad¹¹; and to Dafa'alia **walad** el Shafa'i² he said *You **were** taught by Sheikh 'Abdulla³"

120. "HAMMAD IBN HAMAYDAN, el Ga'ali."

A pupil of Sheikh Dafa'alla⁴—He taught at el Ilalfaya, and among those whom he instructed were "my grandfather [gid] the *feki* Muhammad ibn el feki Dayfulla⁸, and the *feki* Idris ibn el Izayrifi^c."

121. ⁶"HAMMAD IBN IIASAN 'ABU HALIMA' IBN EL FEKI⁷, el Rikabi."

A friend of Sheikh Idris⁸ and a pupil of Sheikh Muhammad⁹ ibn 'I sa Sower el Dhabab—He was held in great respect by Sheikh 'Agib the Great.

122. ¹⁰"HAMMAD IBN EL SHEIKH IDRIS¹¹."

He succeeded his father as *Khalifa*.

123. "HAMMAD IBN EL MAGDHUB¹²" (b. 1105^s A.H.; d. 1190¹⁴).

He was a pupil of *the feki* Hammad¹⁵ ibn 'Abd el Magid and a follower of Sheikh 'Ah el Dirawi, the disciple of Sfdi Ahmad ibn el Nasir el Shadhah... He died, aged 85, in 1190, and his tomb is at el Darner....He performed the pilgrimage... He had a son, Ahmad, born in 1159¹⁶ A.H.

124. ^{17<}"HAMMAD IBN MUHAMMAD IBN 'ALI, el Mashaykhi" (b. 1055¹⁸; d. 'i 1142¹⁹).

"He was commonly known as Hammad 'ibn Mariam,' his mother being Mariam. The latter's mother was a Mahassia Mashaynfia, a daughter of Walad Kadal²⁰ 'el Wali'; and her father was Walad Kishayb²¹, one of the holy-men [awliya\ of Abu Nagila whose tombs are visited, a Mesallami by origin."

Hammad was born on Tuti Island in 1055²- A.H.... He was a pupil of *the feki* Arbab²³ Khashan, but quarrelled with him... He died in 1142²⁴ A.H. aged 87.... His sons were Muhammad el Nur, Muhammad el Makbul and Muhammad el Shafih....

There are some five pages of anecdote, praise and poetry on this man. "El Sayyid walad Dolib said of him

ما أمثله إلا بعمر بن الخطاب

(Le. "I can compare him to no one but 'Omar ibn el Khattab.")

125. ²⁵"HAMMAD EL NAHLAN IBN MUHAMMAD, el Bedayri" (d. 1116²⁶ A.H.).

¹ No. 119.

² No. 83.

³ No. 34

⁴ No. 84.

⁵ No. 88.

⁶ Tree 1.

⁷ No. 149.

⁸ No. 141.

⁹ No. 191.

¹⁰ Tree 4.

¹¹

No. 141

¹² reading **المجذوب for المجذوب**.

¹³ 1693 A.D.

¹⁴ 1776 A.D.

¹⁵ No. 114.

¹⁶ 1746 A.D.

¹⁷ Tree 11.

¹⁸ 1646 A.D.

¹⁹ 1730 A.D.

²⁰ No. 147.

²¹ No. 208 >

²² 1646 A.D.

²³ No. 65. ²⁴ 1730 A.D.

²⁵ Tree 9.

²⁶ 1704 A.D.

"He was known as 'Ibn el Turabi.' His mother's name was ICafa. He studied law [*Khalit*] under the *feki* Muhammad¹ ibn el Tankar at Muays and excelled therein, having taken the course ten times [*lit.* 'took ten sealings']. Then he embraced Sufiism and devoted himself entirely to God and renounced the world, following the teaching of Sheikh Dafa'alla²; and [the latter] guided him—

And when he was nigh unto death he said to the people 'The world has lost its *fakir* and its commander and they will never repair the loss.' Those who benefit from his teaching are the rulers of the present generation....

He died, God bless him, in the year 1116 after the Flight of the Prophet."...

126. "HAMMAD EL NEGID, el 'Awadabi el Gamu'i."

He was a follower of Tag el Dfn el Bahari³ and was born at Aslang Island____"He was a man of power and rank at the court of Sheikh 'Agib and went to war with him, and was killed at Karkog⁴ in the battle against the FUNG: and Sheikh 'Agib built for him the mosque which is still standing, and devoted lands to its endowment."... He had a son, 'Abd el Wahhab⁵.

127. "HAMMAD WALAD ZURRUK."

He and the *feki* Gad⁶ el Nebi⁷ came [together[?]] from Hadramaut .. His sons were 'Abd el Salam, 'Abd el Latif and two others .. 'Abd el Salam begot Abu Delayk, and 'Abd el Latif begot Haga⁸.

" 'Abd el Salam was known as 'Sawak el Raka' ['the Jug-Driver'], for when they [his women[?]] went down to the river to fill his jug, he would drive them both along with a stick....

And Abu Delayk was called 'Yalam el Asad' ['the Lion's Roar'], because, while he was studying as a pupil of Sheikh Maskin el Khafi and had gone out one day to collect firewood, a lion killed his donkey."

128. "HAMMADNULLA WALAD MALAK."

He was born at Khartoum, and was a follower of Sheikh Khogah⁹.... His sons were Muhammad and Muhammadayn.

129. "HAMAYD EL SAKIDI."

" And SARID is a [sub]-tribe of GUDHAM." He was born at el Kubr, and was a follower of Basbar¹⁰. " My paternal ancestor, the *feki* Dayfulla el Fadli¹¹, was taught by him the doctrine of Unity [*tawhid*] and Arabic."

¹ No. 202.

² No. 84.

³ No. 67.

⁴ reading كركوج for كركوج.

⁵ No. 29.

⁶ reading جاد for جار.

⁷ No. 97.

⁸ No. 106.

⁹ No. 154.

¹⁰ No. 73.

¹¹ No. 88.

130. ¹"HAMMUDA IBN EL TAN\$AR, 'Giab el 'Agwa' ['the Bringer of Dates']."

His mother was Amna bint Serhan², and he was a follower of Sheikh Idris³. The reason of his nickname, "Giab el 'Agwa," was as follows: "His mother's brother, Sheikh Muhammad⁴ ibn Serhan fell sick, and it was said to him, 'The remedy for you is dates'; and as there was a dearth of them in the country, Hammuda, God bless him, brought some from Upper Egypt [*el Rif*], and they cured the malady.

He wrote a useful commentary in the form of marginal notes on Khalil, copied from that of his mother's brother and the AWLAD GABIR⁵."

131. ⁶"HASAN WALAD BELIL, el Rikabi."

He dwelt at Dongola el 'Afaj; and was a follower of Habib Nesi⁷—He performed a number of miracles . . . He had a son, Kurayshi.

132. ⁸"HASAN IBN HASUNA IBN EL HAG MUSA" (d. 1075⁹ A.H.).

"[Musa] came from Morocco [*el moghrab*], from el Gezirat el Khadra, from the land of Andalus, and married one of the MESAI - LAMIA and begot Hasuna; and he said 'I have put my seed in the source when I am sprung.' And Hasuna married the daughter of his mother's sister, Fatima bint Wahshia, the sister of el Hag Lukani¹⁰, [Wahshia's] mother being a Sandia Khamaysia; and by Fatima Hasuna had four children, Sheikh Hasan and el 'Agami¹¹ and Sowar and el Haga Nafisa. These four sons of Fatima all died childless. Sheikh [Hasan] was born at the island of Kagoi [Kagog], and his story breathes a sweet odour."...

Several pages follow, all concerning visions and wonders, dreams and miracles and manifestations of God's favour to Hasan walad Hasuna . . . After completing his religious education he performed the pilgrimage and travelled for some twelve years in the Hegaz, Egypt and Syria in company with various other persons, including Abu Hamayda and Ahmad Tad the Dongolawi . . . He finally returned to the Sudan, "and then, when his herds had become numerous, he went up to el Dururba and Kantur el Homar ['Donkey's Dam'] and dug his reservoir [*hafir*] of Urn Kanatir ['Mother of Dams']. He amassed slaves and mounted them on horseback and said 'I will guard my flocks with them'; and the tradition among the people is [that he had] 500 slaves, each one of whom bore a sword with scabbard-tip and plate and pin of silver: they consisted of a commander and troops [under him]; and [they also carried] clubs. And they used to trade in their swift horses to Tekali and Dar Borku (?)¹² and Darfur and Sennar and [the country

¹ Tree 1.

² No. 233.

³ No. 141.

⁴ No. 241.

⁵ No. 17, etc.

⁶ Tree i.

⁷ No. 105.

⁸ Tree 5.

⁹ 1664 A.D.

¹⁰ No. 156.

¹¹ No. 55.

¹² reading **بيتي** for **برقي**.

of] the A W L A D 'AGI B. And his slaves became [whole] villages; and so many¹ were the visits paid to him that they made an enclosure for the firstborn [of the flocks and herds offered to him]. The enclosure which Sheikh Hasan built for his house was as large as that of the King of Sennar——"

The following is one of the miracles related: "A girl died and her mother came to him [Hasan] and said, 'My lord, my daughter has died, and the property of her father is ill-gotten; I prithee shroud her for me.' And Sheikh Hasan went to her and looked upon her and said 'Your daughter is well: she has not died. Arise.'" And lo! her breath returned to her, and she arose and lived_____"

A second miracle relates how a man was drowned and remained three days in the river: then came Hasan Hasuna and said "Arise" and the drowned man returned to life, was married, and begot a son... Yet again, a man brought Hasan two dead birds, and Hasan took them from him, "and placed the sleeve of his shirt upon his head, and the birds flew away."... He was held in high honour by the FUNG king Badi walad Rubat who, on an occasion of their meeting, granted every request of Sheikh Hasan.

"Now his sister, the daughter of Hasuna, was named Fatima, and one of the SHUKRU married her, and when he wished to transfer her [to his home] he brought for her a camel with its howdah [**utfa*] and gave her four handmaidens *Jerkhdt*, lit. 'chickens' and a herd of camels and a herd of cattle and a herd of sheep....

And when he drew nigh unto death he summoned his brothers, the sons of Hasuna, 'Abd el Fattih and 'Abd el Kadir and Manid and said to them 'My successor is Belal el Shayb the son of 'Abd el Fattah'; and [then] he shaved [Belal's] head with his finger, using no razor; and he bequeathed a third of his wealth to five poor men [*fukard*] and each of them thereby received 36 head of slaves; and their masters² drove off the weak and the strong [together], some of them going down to Sennar and others going to Ras el Fil."...

Among Sheikh Hasan's followers were his brother el 'Agami³, and el Kilfi, and el Hag 'Abd el Salam el Begawi, and the *ftki* Muhammad⁴ walad Surnr, "and from among the Danagla, Sheikh Musa Ferid⁵ and Sheikh Munowwar and Ahmad Tud....

He reared a crocodile in the reservoir, and it did much harm, so he shot it with a rifle, and the charge exploded backwards and caused his death. He died in the year 1075⁶ A.H.; and in his death he rose as a Star of Religion."

¹ reading كثرة for كثرت.

² No 55.

³ reading فرید for فرید.

⁴ reading سیدهم for سیدهم.

⁵ No. 210.

⁶ 1664 A.D.

133. "HEGAZI."

He was son of Abu Zayd¹ ibn el Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir... "He died in the prison of Nasir, of hunger and thirst."

134. "HILALI IBN EL SHEIKH MUHAMMAD² IBN 'ISA SOWAR EL DHAHAB."

HIS mother was the daughter of Mek Hasan walad Kashash, the *mahk* ["king"] of Dongola.

"HUNAYD" (see *sub* "el Gunayd").

|

135. ⁸"IBRAHIM IBN 'ABUDI 'EL FARADI."

HIS mother was the sister of el Mesallami⁴ and daughter of Abu Wanaysa... He was taught first by el Mesallami, his "Sheikh," and then by 'Abd el Rahman⁵ walad Hammadtu___

"He compiled the marginal commentary known as *el Faratfia* on the study of what is obligatory [*el Farid*], and was nicknamed 'el Faradi' because he was a great authority on obligation."... He married the daughter of his maternal uncle el Mesallami but subsequently divorced her.

136. ⁶"IBRAHIM WALAD BARRI."

He was born at Nasn Island, and his mother was Umhani bint 'Ali walad Kandil, a holy-man of the SOWARDA. .He read law [*Khali*] under Sheikh Sughayerun⁷ and learnt what pertains to the sphere of faith [*tlm el kaldm*] from the *feki* Husayn Abu Sha'ar the disciple of Muhammad⁸ ibn 'fisa Sowar el Dhahab. . He was the companion⁹, in Safiism, of Sheikh Muhammad¹⁰ walad Daud__He performed the pilgrimage, and died, aged 120 years, in *Sannat el Wada'a* ("the year of tranquillity").

137. "IBRAHIM IBN NUSR."

"A learned man of Senndr, and its legal adviser [*mufti*]."... He was a pupil of el Kadal¹ walad el Faradi.

138. "iBRAHIM EL SA'UDI."

He was a Shafa'ite, and the preacher [*Khatib*] of Sennar.

139. ¹²"IBRAHIM IBN EL SHEIKH SUGHAYERUN¹³."

140. "IBRAHIM IBN UM RABI'A."

He was a Takagibi, born at Bahr el 'Asal, and a pupil of 'Abd el Rahman¹⁴ ibn Gabir.

141. ¹⁵"IDRIS IBN ARBAB."

[The earlier part of this biography, the first given, is missing. The first intelligible statements concerning Sheikh Idris make mention of a

¹ No. 53.

² No 191.

³ Tree 11.

⁴ No. 172.

⁶ No. 21.

⁸ Tree 3.

⁷ No. 241

⁸ No. 191.

⁹ reading ~~سوار~~ ¹³ ~~سوار~~ for ~~سوار~~.

¹⁰ No. 186.

¹¹ No. 147

¹² Tree 1.

No. 241.

¹⁴ No. 17.

¹⁶ Tree 4.

certain Moghrabi, Sheikh Musa el Raylabi, and the date 981 A.H. (1573 A.D.), and of an exchange of presents between Idris and Sheikh SughayerOn¹.]

"Sheikh Khogali² said 'The first to light the fire of Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir was Sheikh Idas.'"...

He was a most eminent teacher and a pillar of religion. One of his disciples [*howdr*] was Sheikh 'fsa el Talib.

He foretold many important events. "For example, his prophecy to Sheikh 'Agib when [the latter] applied to him for a prediction regarding the war with the FUNG: Sheikh ['Agib] said 'The FUNG have oppressed us* [*lit.* 'changed the customs upon us*]: [Idris] replied 'Do not make war upon them for they will kill you and subject your seed afterwards until the day of Resurrection.* And it happened as he had said. Again, his prophecy to King Badi Abu Rubat when he was Master of the Household [*Sid Kum*] to King 'Adlan walad Aya and [they] proposed making war on Sheikh 'Agib. Now this Badi was a disciple [*howar*] of Sheikh Idris and enquired of him concerning the matter and [the Sheikh] replied 'Ye shall kill Sheikh 'Agib and be victorious, and thou shalt return to Sennar as king, and the kingdom shall be in the hands of thy descendants after thee.' And it happened as he had said, and five [of Badi's descendants] ruled, Rubat, and Badi his son, and Ounsa walad Nasir, and Badi his son, and Ounsa his son; and the penod of their rule was no years.

Again, his prophecy that the kingdom of the FUNG would come to an end: and the reason that it did so was that they fought among themselves and divided themselves into two parties, each of which fought the other until their kingdom was lost."

142. "'fsA WALAD ABU SAKAYKIN."

He was born at Abyad Diri. . Both a Mahassi and a Mesallami married his mother in turn and claimed 'fsa as their son....

His *kubba* is on the road between 'Aylafun and Gebel el Maylakft

143. " 'ISA WALAD KANU."

A most holy man, the disciple and pupil of Sheikh Muhammad³ ibn fsa Sowar el Dhahab... He was born at Dongola el 'Aguz ("Old Dongola"), and was by birth a Hadan. .He instructed 'Abd el Rahman⁴ ibn el Aghbash and the *feki* Dow el Bayt⁵ in the art of Kuranic reading [*tagzeid*]—One of the miracles related of him is that "he was in prison, and the house in which he was imprisoned caught fire; but when the fire reached him, it died out: and in the corner of the house was a hen; and she ran hurriedly to drag her eggs to him, and he was

¹ No. 241.

² No. 154.

³ No. 191.

⁴ No. 20

⁵ No. 91.

heard to say * I am 'fsa to my hen* [i.e. 'the hen knows that I am the great *fsa Kanu']."

144. "'ISA IBN SALIH, el Bedayri."

He was the father of Sheikh Muhammad¹ Sower el Dhahab, and a pupil of 'Abd el Rahman² ibn Gabir

145. "ISMAIL SA.. (torn).. IBN EL SHEIKH MEKKI³ EL DAKA-LASHI."

His mother was Khayra, a Sakarnawia, who was given to Sheikh Mekki as a present by the Sultan of Tekali and bore to him el Nur and Isma'il.

146. "'IZZ EL DIN WALAD NAFI A."

He was born at el Manakil, and was a follower of Sheikh Dafa'alla, and later of Muhammad walad Medani and Muhammad walad 'Awayda.

147. ⁴ "'EL KADAL' MUHAMMAD."

He was the son of Ibrahim ibn 'Abtldi "el Faradi" by the daughter of el Mesallami⁵ walad Abu Wanaysa, and was surnamed "el Kadal" because he was an upright man. His father taught him law [*Khalil*] and apostleship. He was born on the White Nile, and went to Kordofan to visit his pupil G6datulla⁶, and was given a present of 50 camels by the king of the KUNGARA. He lived in the reign of Ounsa walad Nasir, and died at Um Talha after a residence there of four months, and was buried with "el Faradi" and el Mesallami. He is fabled on one occasion to have flown to the Gezira [*el Hum*] on his bedstead

148. ⁷ "KAKUMR IBN EL HAG IBRAHIM⁸ IBN BARRI IBN 'ADILA IBN TIMYA."

He was taught by his father's brother the *feki* 'Ah⁹, and was a contemporary of Basbar¹⁰.

149. ¹¹ "KASH IBN SIDR IBN 'ABD EL NEBI IBN 'AGIB IBN RIKAB IBN GHULAMULLA."

He begot Hasan, the father of the *feki* Hammad¹² and of Halima, and Husayn, the father of 'Ah; and 'Ah married Halima and by her begot the *feki* 'Othman "Sid el Ruaykiba" and another.. His son Hasan was nicknamed "Abu Halima" ["Father of Halima"] after his daughter Halima... As he lived among the MOGHARBA he was buried among them.

150. "KERRAR IBN EL SHEIKH SELMAN¹³ EL TOWALI."

151. "KHALfL IBN 'ALI, el Sandi el Khamaysi."

He was born at Kagoi Island and was a contemporary of Sheikh Hasan¹⁴ walad Hasuna.

¹ No 191.

⁴ Tree 11.

⁷ Tree 3

¹⁰ No 73.

¹³ No. 230.

² No. 17.

⁵ No 172

⁸ No. 136

ⁿ Tree 1.

¹⁴ No. 132.

³ No. 169.

⁶ No. 102.

• No. 58

¹² No 121.

152. "KHAIJL IBN BISHARA, el Dwayhi."

He was known as "Abu Sayf 'Ud" or "Sayf el 'Ud." ..He was DO, at Shanbat and was a pupil of Sheikh Muhammad¹ walad el Terayfi—He dwelt and died at Talha.

153. "KHAIJL IBN EL RUMI."

He was a Dongolawi Gabn by race, and migrated southwards to Surkum where he dwelt, living a holy life, for some years. Then he went, at el Hag 'Omara's request, to Dadun and built mosques. Several wonders and miracles are related of him; such as the following:

"There came to him a man, saying 'A slave-woman of mine ran away a year ago: pray God to return her to me.' [Khah'l] said *Fetch a jar of servants' beer and a gelded cock'; and the man fetched two jars of servants' beer and two gelded cocks: then they strained the beer and drank it, that is he [*sc.* Khalil] and his DANAGLA who were with him. Then came the man and said to him 'Where is my slave-woman?' He replied 'Go among the trees and say "O Bakhita²!" three times.' And the woman appeared, carrying a waterskin with the ropes of it [trailing] over her face; and she said 'My master, what has brought you here? This is the river Atbara.' Her master answered her 'This is Sennar.' Then he drove her with him and came [to Khalil] and [Khalil] from afar off said to him *Be off with you³.'"...

Again, "when the troops all revolted against the king of the FUNG at Kerri and Sennar and el fs, and the soldiers had surrounded him on every side, and had killed all who were with him, so that none were left but thirty horsemen, and when [the king] had hidden from them in the courtyard of Kimayr bint el Mek, his sister, Kimayr went to Sheikh Khalil and said to him 'My lord, my brother is losing his kingdom and we fear his destruction at the hands of his slaves.' And he said to her 'Your brother is the wrongdoer and the mischief-maker.' She replied 'Let him come to you, and he will repent at your hands of his wrongdoing and mischief-making.' He said *Bring him to me.' And she went to the king and brought him muffled and disguised in woman's raiment; and when he came before the Sheikh he said 'I repent of what you prohibit.' [The Sheikh] replied 'The FUNG have taken your crown [*lit.* "turban of the king"] from you, but here is my turban for you, and I guarantee to you the kingdom of your father until you die; but if you go forth to battle, take me with you and I will bring [or, "and take with you"] el Hag 'Omara [*sc.* to your aid].' And in the morning he went forth against those armies with his thirty horsemen, and took with him the Sheikh and el Hag 'Omara, as the Sheikh had commanded him, and he routed

¹ No. 177.

² reading بختة for بختة.

³ reading امس for امس.

the blessing of **the** Sheikh, **and** slew them with most dire
 ^ aughter, and remained king until he died. Now the king mentioned
 was Badi el Ahmar ibn Ounsa walad el Malik Nasir."

154. ¹<<KH6GALI IBN 'ABD EL RAHMAN IBN iBRAHIM" (d.
 II55²A.H.).

"His mother's name was Dowwa bint Kh6gali; and his father
 'Abd el Rahman was a Mahassi Kabani, and his mother a Mahassa
 iMushayriffa. His grandfather Ibrahim was one of the disciples of
 the AWLAD³ GABIR and a follower of Muhammad ibn el Sheikh
 Ibrahim el Bulad, as I have seen it written. Sheikh Khogali was
 born on Tuti Island, and was first taught to write by 'Ayesha el
 Fakira bint walad Kadal. He learnt what pertains to the sphere of
 faith [*'ihn el kaldm*] and Sufiism⁴ from the *feki* Arbab⁵, and studied
 law [*Khalil*] under Sheikh el Zayn⁶ walad Sughayerun... He went
 on the pilgrimage to the holy house of God, and followed the
 teaching of Sheikh Ahmad el Tabankatawi el Fellati, the divine
 saint [*kutb*] who resided at Medina."

His life and character are then treated of from three aspects {*nuzar*).
 Firstly are given records of things said by him, and of him by various
 eminent holy-men, secondly a description of his character and personal
 appearance; thirdly miracles performed by him. The following are quota-
 tions from parts two and three respectively

(1) "It was characteristic of him that he held to the Book and
 the Law [*sunna*] and followed [the precepts and example of] the
 Shadhalfa Sayyids as to word and deed. And he used to wear
 gorgeous raiments, such as a green robe of Basra, and upon his head
 a red fez [*tarbfish*], and [round it] as a turban rich muslin stuffs. For
 footwear he wore shoes [*sarmuga*]; and he fumigated himself with
 India-wood [*el 'ud el hindi*], and perfumed himself, and put Abye-
 sinian civet on his beard and on his clothes. All this he did in imita-
 tion of Sheikh Abu el Hasan el Shadhah, for all blessings come
 from God Almighty and he was thankful to Him for the same. And
 it was remarked to him that the Kadiria only wear cotton shirts and
 scanty clothes, and he replied 'My clothes proclaim to the world
 "We are in no need of you," but their clothes say "We are in need
 of you."'

It was also characteristic of him that he never rose up to salute
 any of the great ones of the earth, neither the AWLAD 'AGIB, the rulers
 of his country, nor the kings of GA'AL, nor any of the nobility,

¹ Tree 7.

⁸ No. 17, etc.

⁶ No. 65.

² 1742 A.D.

⁴ reading التصوف for المصوق.

• No 258.

excepting only two men, the successor [*KhaUfa*] of Sheikh the successor of Sheikh Sughayerun.

El Sha'ardwi says that such superiority, namely [that shown by] his not rising up, has not occurred among any [other] sheikhs, not even in the case of Sheikh 'Abel el Kadir, for the latter, if the 'Abbasid Khalifa came to see him, used to rise up. [The only exception is furnished by] Sheikh Muhammad el Hanafi el Shadhali in Egypt, who used not to rise up for any one, neither for Pashas nor for Sanjaks."...

(2) It is related that a sandbank formed off Tati Island and greatly impeded the working of the water-wheels of the MAHASS. The latter appealed to Kh6gah, pointing out that they would have to migrate elsewhere, since they were shut off from the water at low Nile; so Khogali mounted his donkey and went to the bank and dipped his staff in the river and said "In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful! O Sheikh Ahmad ibn el Nasiri!"—and the sandbank disappeared: "and this miracle has lasted until our own day, this year of 1219¹. Now his staff was of iron." He was, in addition, a great healer of the sick. "I and the King of Death," said he, on one occasion, "have contended together for the life of the daughter of 'Ebayd, and he has left her to me." ..

His final exploit is related thus: "When the Sultan Bukr, Sultan of [the] KUNGARA, heard of some abusive remarks of King Badi he swore that he would enter Sennar, and tear up its trees, and dam its river [so that] cavalry might ride over its bed. Then he made his preparations and set forth till he reached the outskirts of the country on the east side; and he was at el Mefaza when he saw Sheikh Khogali; and the Sheikh had in his hand a staff and rapped him with it on the finger-tips². And his hand swelled up and became paralysed [*lit.* 'died'], and this was the cause of his death, for the Sultan of the FUNG had besought the mediation of Sheikh Khogali, and said to him 'The Sultan of [the] FUR is coming against us.'—Then the Sultan Bukr, the Sultan of [the] KUNGARA, enquired of the river folk saying 'There came to me a dark man wearing a green robe and rapped me with a staff,' and described him to them as he had seen him; and they replied 'That was Sheikh Khogali.'..."

Elsewhere we find the following-

"As regards his original faith, the foundation thereof was Kadinsm, but in his methods of daily readings of the Kuran [*aurdd*] and in his rules of personal conduct he was a Shadhali, and indeed his * Sheikh' was a pupil of Sheikh Muhammad el Nasir the Shadhali."... We

¹ 1805 A.D.

² reading اصلاعه for اطلاعته.

.id the date of his death: "He died, God bless him, on the .loon of Sunday the 18th of Gamdd el Th£ni in the year fifty-five¹; and his son the *feki* Ahmad succeeded him by his father's direction, and was a pious servant [of God] and followed in his father's footsteps in all purity of heart; and the period of his holding office [as *Khalifa*] was six years."

155. ²"KURNI IBN EL FEKI MUHAMMAD³ ABU SABIB IBN EL FEKI 'ALI IBN BARRI."

He was a follower of el Hag 'Abdulla⁴ el Halanki.

L

156. ⁵"LUKANI."

The brother of the mother of Sheikh Hasan⁶ ibn Hasuna and a pupil of Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman⁷ ibn Gabir He was one of the 40 disciples all of whom attained the rank of *Kutb*.

M

157. ⁸"MAHMUD EL 'ARAKI, 'RAGIL EL KUSAYER."

"He was born on the White [Nile], and went for instruction to Egypt and was the pupil of el Nasir el Lukani and Shams el Din el Lukani; and he was the first to order the people to observe the period of probation [after divorce]. Before his time a woman could be divorced by her husband and married by another, all in one day or on successive days. He settled on Gezirat el Huoi on the banks of the White Nile and built himself a mansion, which is now known as Kusayer Mahmud....

Now his coming was before that of the AWLAD GABIR⁹: the latter studied under el Banufari, and el Banufari under 'Abd el Rahman el Ag hun, and Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman el Ag huri was a follower of Shams el Din and Nasir el Din, the two Lukanis. His coming was in the time of the FUNG, and Sheikh Khogali¹⁰ said that from el Khartoum to el *is* there were seventeen schools, all of which were destroyed by SHILLUK and *Urn Lahm*". . .

He died and was buried at el Kusayer.

158. ¹¹"MALIK IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABD EL RAHMAN¹² WALAD HAM-MADTU."

He lived at el Zora, and built a mosque wherein law [*Khalif*] was taught ... His son was 'Abd el Rahman, the father of the *fcki* Karbawi and Malik___" Among his pupils were the *fekis* Ahmad and 'Abdulla,

¹ 1743 A.D.	² Tree 3	³ No 178.	⁴ No. 33.
⁵ Tree 5	⁶ No. 132.	⁷ No. 17.	⁸ Tree 7.
⁹ No. 17, etc.	¹⁰ No. 154.	¹¹ Tree 10.	¹² No. 21.

the sons of the *feki* Ijlamad¹ ibn el Magdhub, and the *feki* Khogali, the *Khalifa* of the GHUBUSH, and the *feki* Muhammad ibn Hamid el Mitkenabi, and Tahir the grandchild [*sabf*] of Hammad² ibn Mariam, and 'Abdulla walad Mekka the grandchild of Sheikh Muhammad³ ibn el Terayfi."

159. ⁴"MARZOK IBN EL SHEIKH YA'AKUB⁵."

He succeeded his brother Musa⁶.... He was buried with his father and his brother at el Hurar.

160. ⁷"MAZRI IBN EL TANKAR."

He was a pupil of his mother's brother, el Hag Muhammad⁸ ibn Serhan, and a follower of Sheikh Idris⁹.

161. ¹⁰"MEDANI 'EL HAGGAR* IBN 'OMAR IBN SERHAN."

He was the nephew of Sheikh Sughayerun¹¹ and was taught by him, and so proficient did he become that he was nicknamed "el Haggar" ["the Rock"]___When Sughayerun died, [his successor] Sheikh el Zayn¹² invited him to assist him with the teaching in the mosque until Ibrahim¹³ was grown up... He was buried at el Koz, and his tomb is known as *kubbat el Haggar*.... His sons were Kutbi and Nurayn, the former father of the *feki* Ibrahim, and the latter of Muhammad "ibn el Rayda." " [This Muhammad's] mother was Burra bint el Sheikh el Zayn and the mother of his father Nurayn was Rabi'a bint el Sheikh Sughayeri; and he was taught by the *feki* 'Abd el Rahman¹⁴ ibn Asid; and when he died he was buried at el Koz in front of the *kubba* of his grandfather Medani."...

162. ¹⁵"MEDANI IBN MUHAMMAD¹⁶ IBN MEDANI EL NATIK."

He was taught by his father, and also by his grandfathers ('e grandfather and great-great-uncles), the Awlad Um Gadayn, Muhammad¹⁷ and Medani¹⁸.. Among his pupils was the *feki* Hammad¹⁹ ibn el Magdhub___He was buried at Nun with his fathers___" And the *feki* Sheikh ibn Medani said 'The MEDANIYYUN are the gold and we the silver.' "... He taught the Kuran to Basbar²⁰.

163. ²¹"MEDANI EL NATIK IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABD EL RAHMAN²² WALAD HAMMADTU."

He was called "el Tiar" ["the Aviator"]... The reason why he was called also "el Natik" ["the Oracle"] was that after his death a quarrel arose as to his successor, and a *feki* appealed to him at his tomb, "and he replied to him [*ndtikahu*] from the tomb 'The *Khalifa* is Sheikh': now Sheikh²³ was his full-brother."... After considerable wranghngs Sheikh was duly appointed and was known thereafter as "S6t

¹ No. 123.	² No. 124.	³ No. 177.	⁴ Tree 8.
⁵ No. 254.	⁶ No. 209.	⁷ Tree 1.	⁸ No. 241.
⁹ No. 141.	¹⁰ Tree 1.	¹¹ No. 241.	¹² No. 258.
¹³ No. 139.	¹⁴ No. 15.	¹⁵ Tree 10.	¹⁶ No. 194.
¹⁷ No. 203.	¹⁸ No. 164.	¹⁹ No. 123.	²⁰ No. 73
²¹ Tree 10	²² No. 21.	²³ No. 236.	

Medani" ["the Voice of Medani"]—His son was Muhammad____Among his pupils was Basbar¹.

164. ²"MEDANI WALAD UM GADAYN."

He was the son of Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman³ ibn Hammadtu. "Now Medani⁴ el Natik died during the lifetime of his father Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman, so he [walad Um Gadayn] was called Medani after him in the hope that he would be like his brother, and indeed God fulfilled this hope."...

His sons were 'Abd el Rahman Abu Fak⁵, 'Abd el Rahim, Sheikh ibn Medani and Hammadtu ibn Medani of Dongola____He had great influence with the kings of Dongola and the SHAIKIA.

165. "'EL MEDOWI'" (d. 1095 A.H.⁶).

His full name was Muhammad ibn Muhammad el Kadawi⁷ ibn el Sheikh Muhammad⁸ el Misn. ... He was taught by his grandfather el Misri____He visited Sennar and stayed there with the *feki* 'Omara⁹, who introduced him to King Ounsa ibn Nasir before all the court. On this occasion the king at once dismissed his court and rose up to greet him.... While at Sennar he was frequently received by the king and loaded with presents____He died at Koz Ragab in the year *Um Lahm*.

166. ¹⁰"MEDOWI IBN BARAKATibn Hammad¹¹ ibn el Sheikh Idris."

He was a pupil of *the fekis* Belal¹² and Abu el Hasan¹³, and highly spoken of by Sheikh KhogalP⁴ and Salih¹⁵ Ban el Nuka.... He "lit the fire of the Kuran" at three places, viz el 'Ayl Fung, Gedid and Elti____He had a son, the *fth* Muhammad

167. ^{1b}"MEDOWI IBN FL SHEIKH BEDOWI¹⁷."

He succeeded his father, and was succeeded by his son Sheikh Nasir el Din

168. "MEDOWI IBN MEDANI ibn 'Abd el Daim ibn 'fsa, el Ansari el Khazragi."

He was born at Kutrang, and was a follower of el Kadal¹⁸ ibn el Faradi. ... He was taught by Sheikh Barakat¹⁹ ibn Hammad and Sheraf el Din²⁰ walad Barn

169. "MEKKI EL DAKALASHI."

He lived between el Shekayk and 'Id el Gima'a and was a pupil of Sheikh Dafa'alla²¹.

170. "MEKKI EL NAHU, el Rubatabi."

He was a pupil and disciple of Sheikh Muhammad²² el Misri. Among his pupils were Sheikh Musa²³ walad Ya'akub "Abu Kussa," el Sherif 'Abd el Rahman, and *the fekis* Hamid el Layn²⁴ and Hamayd²⁶ el Sindi____

¹ No. 73.

² Tree 10.

³ No

⁴ No. 163.

⁵ No. 14.

⁶ 1684 A.D.

⁷ reading **ابداوى for الكداوى**.

⁸ No. 195.

⁹ No. 219.

¹⁰ Tree 4.

¹¹ No. 122.

¹² No. 79.

¹³ No. 47.

¹⁴ No. 154.

¹⁵ No. 226.

¹⁶ Tree 12.

¹⁷ No. 74.

¹⁸ No. 147.

¹⁹ No. 72

²⁰ No. 237.

²¹ No. 84.

²² No. 195.

²³ No. 209.

²⁴ No. 112

²⁶ No. 129

" His large commentary on the Senussia consisted of 40 pamphlets [*rurasi*], and his smaller commentary of 10 pamphlets. He also wrote a commentary on articles of faith concerning apostleship [*'akidat el risala*] and, it is said, a commentary on apostleship [*risala*], but of this I am not sure."

171. ¹ " E L MESALLAMI."

He was a disciple of el Kadal Muhammad², his " Sheikh" and paternal uncle, and was taught by him. His companion in Safiism was Sheikh Dafa'alla el 'Araki³ the son of Sheikh Abu Idrfs. He was buried at el Kubia with his " Sheikh" el Kadal and his grandfather el Mesallami⁴.

172. ⁵ " E L MESALLAMI WAD ABU WANAYSA."

" [Abu Wanaysa's] father was 'AH el Fakir, and Wanaysa was his daughter."... El Mesallami was a follower of Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman* ibn Gabir and lived on the White Nile, and was finally buried between that river and el Kharu'a... Among his contemporaries as pupils of Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman were Sheikhs Ya'akub⁷ ibn el Sheikh Ban el Nuka and 'Abdulla⁸ el 'Araki and 'Abd el Rahman⁹ el Nuwayri and el Hag Lukani¹⁰ and 'fsa¹¹, the father of Muhammad walad 'fsa " Sowar el Dhahab."

' " E L MISRI" (vide sub "Muhammad 'el Misri," No. 195).

173. " MUHAMMAD IBN EL 'ABBASI."

He was a pupil of Muhammad^u ibn 'fsa " Sowar el Dhahab." His son was the *feki* Musa.

174. " MUHAMMAD IBN 'ABD EL DAFA'I¹³."

A follower of Sheikh Kh6gah¹⁴.... He was the successor of Sheikh Muhammad¹⁵ walad Dayd el Lukr. He was buried at Hilla 'Agib.

175. ¹⁶ " MUHAMMAD IBN EL FEKI 'ABD EL RAHMAN IBN EL AGH-BASH."

He was taught by the *fekis* Belal¹⁷ and Abu el Hasan¹⁸ and Busati and Ferah¹⁹ walad Arbab, and succeeded his father. He united learning and good works."

176. ²⁰ " MUHAMMAD IBN 'ABDULLA²¹ IBN HAMMAD."

He was called "el 'Alim" ["The Learned"] and "Sahib el Hashia" ["The Commentator"]... He was taught by his paternal uncle the *feki* 'Abd el Magid²² and by the *feki* Muhammad el Azrak²⁸, and followed in his life the precepts of Sheikh Bedowi²⁴ walad Abu Delayk. He died at Berber.

177. ²⁵ " MUHAMMAD IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABDULLA²⁶ EL TERAYFI."

When Sheikh Dafa'alla²⁷ el 'Arab died, Muhammad's paternal uncle

¹ Tree 11

² No. 147

³ No. 84.

⁴ No. 172.

⁵ Tree 11

⁶ No. 17.

⁷ No. 254.

⁸ No. 34-

⁹ No. 23.

¹⁰ No. 156.

¹¹ No. 144.

¹² No. 191,

¹³ No. 4.

¹⁴ No. 154.

¹⁵ No. 186.

¹⁶ Tree 2.

¹⁷ No. 79.

¹⁸ No. 47.

¹⁹ No. 94.

²⁰ Tree 2.

²¹ No. 35.

²² No. 10.

²³ No. 204.

²⁴ No. 74.

²⁵ Tree 9.

²⁶ No. 41.

²⁷ No. 84.

Shams el Din married him to his daughter 'Ank6Hba___He had a son, Yusef¹___He was buried at Abu Haraz.

"MUHAMMAD 'ABU 'AKLA'" (*vide sub* "Abu 'Akla," No. 42).

178. ²"MUHAMMAD ABU SABIB ibn Timya, el Saridi."

"Sheikh Hasan³ appointed him to succeed his father⁴, and the reason for this was that the Sheikh's sons were in disagreement, some of them wanting 'Araki and some this Muhammad. Then the question was put to their father's brother el Hag Ibrahim⁵ as to who was to be the *Khalifa*, and he said 'I will not say to one of the sons of 'Ali⁶ "Come forward" and to the other "Remain behind." Will they go to Sheikh Hasan ?'

So they⁷ set out to see him, but 'Araki and his brethren reached the Sheikh first; and [the latter] condescended to them and slaughtered a sheep for them: then came this Muhammad and his brethren, and [the Sheikh] condescended to them and said 'Fetch the matting for the successor [*Khalifa*] of Walad Barri⁸.'"...

179. ⁹"MUHAMMAD IBN 'ABUDI¹⁰, Wakamir (?)."

A pupil of his father___A description of his clothes follows

180. "MUHAMMAD IBN 'ADLAN, el Shafa'i el Hoshabi."

He was a pupil of 'Abdulla el Moghrabi, a learned man of Medina.... Subsequently he went to Tankasi in the SHAI^A country and taught there. ..He also did missionary work in BomQ and Hausaland [*AfnG*]

Among his pupils were Isma'il ibn el feki el Zayn el Sherffabi, • Muhammad walad Ferah, Muhammad walad Sulayman and Sa'ad walad G6dulla.

"MUHAMMAD 'EL 'AGAMI' IBN HASUNA" (*vide sub* "el 'Agami," No. 55)-'

181. "MUHAMMAD IBN 'ALI IBN KARM EL KIMANI, el Misri el Shafa'i."

He entered the Sudan in the early days of the FUNG rule and took up his residence at Arbagi, Sennar and Berber, in turn. He died and was buried at Berber. "He was one of God's own miracles, for all the Sheikhs were taught by him knowledge and the laws of obligation [*el fend*], as for instance Sheikh 'Abdulla¹¹ el 'Araki and el Kadi Dushayn¹² el Shafa'i and Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman¹³ walad Ham-madtu and Sheikh Ibrahim el Faradi¹⁴.. and Sheikh Muhammad¹⁵ el Misri."...His sons were el Shakak and Shafa'i and Mekki and Medani.

¹ No. 256.

² Tree 3.

³ No. 132.

⁴ No. 5

⁵ No. 136.

« No. 58.

⁷ reading **سافر** for **سافر**.

⁸ No. 58.

⁹ Tree 11/

¹⁰ No. 54.

¹¹

No. 34.

¹² No. 93.

¹³

No. 21.

¹⁴ No. 135.

¹⁶ No. 195.

182. "MUHAMMAD IBN ANAS."

He was a follower of Pheikh Khogah¹ and the *fekis* 'Abd el Rahman² ibn Asid and 'Abd el Razik el 'Awadi.

183. "MUHAMMAD IBN ARBAB³" (d. 1170 A.H.⁴).

A follower of el Hag Khogali⁶, as were his brothers Busati and Ferah⁶.
.. He was buried at el Bashakira.

184. "MUHAMMAD IBN 'AWAYDA."

A pupil of el Kadal⁷ ibn el Faradi.

"MUHAMMAD 'EL AZRAK'" {*vide sub* "Muhammad ibn el Sheikh el Zayn").

"MUHAMMAD 'BAN EL NUKA'" {*vide sub* "Ban el Nuka," No. 71).

185. ⁸"MUHAMMAD IBN EL SHEIKH DAF'A'ALLA⁹ ibn el Sheikh Abu Idris."

He was taught by, assisted and succeeded his father.... He was a contemporary of the *fekt* Medani walad Dushayn.

"MUHAMMAD EL DARIR IBN IDR*S" (*vide sub* "Ddlib Nesi," No. 90).

186. "MUHAMMAD IBN DAUD EL LUKR¹⁰, el 'Udi."

His mother was Kerfta bint el Hag Tehamid, and he was born at Bayba between Elti and Urn 'Ukud... He was a pupil of Sheikh 'Abdulla el 'Araki¹¹, who, on his deathbed, appointed him his successor... He died at Hilla 'Agib on the Dinder.

187. ¹²"MUHAMMAD WALAD DOLIB "

His father was Muhammad el Darir¹³ ibn Idn's ibn Doh'b el Rikabi, and his mother was named Zaynab.. He was born at Debba, educated there and died there.... He lived in the reign of King Ounsa walad Nasir... Among the miracles related of him are the following:

(1) He was attacked by a scorpion and spat upon it, and it died.. .

(2) A dog barked at him and he turned round upon it, and it died....

188. "MUHAMMAD IBN PAID EL SHERIF."

He was born on the shore of the Bitter Sea [*Bahr el Murr*]... He was a pupil of Sheikh Idris¹⁴.

"MUHAMMAD IBN GEMAL EL DUN?" (*vide sub* "Halawi," No. 109).

189. ¹⁶"MUHAMMAD IBN HAG IIABIB ibn Habib Nesi¹⁶, el Rikabi."

He lived at Kashabi Island in Dongola.... It is related of him that when "King Dekin of Kordofal" presented him with 50 head [sc. "of slaves," or "of cattle"] he said that he did not deserve so much and asked that they should be given instead to Sheikh Ziada¹⁷ ibn el Nur who did deserve them___He was a descendant of Sheikh Ghulamulla, whose *kubba* is at Dongola el 'Aguz___He himself was buried at Kashabi.

¹ No. 154.

² No. 15.

³ No. 65.

⁴ 1756 A.D.

⁶ No. 154.

⁶ No. 9

4

⁷ No. 147.

⁸ Tree 9.

• No. 84.

¹⁰ reading

الامر for الامر. ¹¹

No. 34.

¹² Tree 1.

¹³ No. 90.

¹⁴No. 141.

¹⁵ Tree 1.

¹⁶ No. 105.

¹⁷ No. 259.

190. ¹"MUHAMMAD 'EL HAMIM' IBN 'ABD EL SADIK IBN MASHIR, el Rikabi."

He was nicknamed "el Hamim" ["the Earnest"] because the wife of his "Sheikh" sent him to buy a dish of bread [*kisra*], and, on his return, he found she had left the village, so he followed her with the dish of bread from Arbagi to Sennar and thence to Ktibia.... He was a pupil⁵ of Sheikh Tag el Din el Bahari² and a contemporary of Sheikh Idris³ and Bin el Nuka el Darir⁴, and the latter wrote some verses in his honour—He died and was buried at el Mundara.

"MUHAMMAD IBN HAMMAD ibn el Sheikh Idris" (*vide sub* "Ban el Nuka," No. 71).

"MUHAMMAD 'WALAD EL BAHR' ibn el Sheikh Ibrahim el Faradi" (*vide sub* "Walad el Bahr," No. 252).

191. "MUHAMMAD IBN 'ISA IBN SALIH, el Bedayri, 'Sowar el Dhahab' ['The Bracelet of Gold']."

His mother was Hakika .. Among his pupils were 'fsa⁵ walad Kanu, 'Abdulla⁶ el Aghbash the father of the GHUBUSH, Nusr el Tergami, and 'Abd el Rahman Abu Maldh the father of Sheikh Khogah⁷; and among his friends were Sheikh 'Awuda⁸ Shakal el Kanh, el Hag 'Abdulla the holy-man⁹ of Gern, Muhammad¹⁰ walad el 'Abbasi, and Hammad¹¹ walad Abu Halima the holy-man of SharaQ... He lived in the reign of Badi ibn Rubat—"He ruled the seven kings of the Gin, and the FUNG and the kings of GA'AL obeyed him."... He was buried at Dongola.

"MUHAMMAD 'EL KADAL'" (*vide sub* "'El Kadal' Muhammad," No. 147).

"MUHAMMAD EL KANAWI" (*vide sub* "Muhammad 'el Misn," No. 195).

"MUHAMMAD 'WALAD KUTA'" (*vide sub* "Muhammad ibn Musallam," No. 196).

192. ¹²"MUHAMMAD IBN MAHMUD¹³ EL 'ARAKI."

He was a most learned and pious man, and was buried with his famous father at el Kusayer.

193. "MUHAMMAD IBN MEDANI ibn Dushayn¹⁴ 'Kadi el 'Adala.'"

"Sheikh 'Izz el Din¹⁵ walad Nafi'a el 'Araki said 'After Sheikh Dafa'alla the man who had intimacy with God was the *feki* Muhammad ibn Medani.'".. Among his contemporaries were Sheikh Mdsa¹⁶ walad Ya'akab and Hammad ibn Dafa'alla, and among his pupils the *fekis* Dafa'alla ibn 'Abd el Hafiz and Khidr the holy-man [*ragil*] of el Naba and 'Abd el Hadi the holy-man of el Ruays—"He was buried in the village which is famous by his name."

¹ Tree 1.

⁵ No. 143.

⁹ reading راجل for راجل.

¹³ No. 157.

² No. 67.

⁶ No. 31.

¹⁰ No. 173.

¹⁴ No. 93.

³ No. 141.

⁷ No. 154.

¹¹ No. 121.

¹⁶ No. 146.

⁴ No. 71.

⁸ No. 66

¹² Tree 7.

¹⁶ No. 209.

194. ¹ " MUHAMMAD IBN MEDANI² EL NA711: ibn el Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman walad yammadtu."

He was taught by his father's brother the *feki* Sheikh⁸ el A'sir⁴, whom he succeeded____" And the *feki* Hammad⁵ ibn el Magdhub told me that Muhammad walad Sdim el 'Adawi said to him 'When I went to Egypt I found no one whose knowledge [*lit.* "who could read"] of law [Khalḥ] equalled that of Muhammad ibn Medani, excepting el Khadashi.'...

Now the Muhammads who shared one name and one father and one epoch were three, Muhammad⁶ ibn Medani ibn Dushayn and Muhammad⁷ ibn Medani ibn 'Abd el Rahman ibn Hammadtu and Muhammad ibn Medani ibn el 'Alim el Shafa'i."

195. "MUHAMMAD 'EL MISRI."

Also called Muhammad el Kanawi [Fatawi?].

He was taught by Sheikh Salim el Sanhuri⁸ and Yusef el Razkabi walad 'Abd el Baki____He visited the land of the FUNG, e.g. Sennar and Arbaji, "in the second half of the tenth century, in the days of Sheikh 'Agi'b." .He finally died at Berber.

"MUHAMMAD IBN MUHAMMAD EL KADAWI" (*vide sub* "el Medowi," No. 165).

196. ⁹" MUHAMMAD IBN MUSALLAM."

He was generally called "Walad Kuta" after his mother Kuta the daughter of Amna bint Fatima bint Gabir, [Fatima] being the sister of the four *Imams*¹⁰. . . His father was a Halanki of the Nas walad Sfda. . . He was taught by his mother's brother the *feki* Muhammad¹¹ ibn el Tankar He first taught at el Koz and then moved his residence to el Hilalfa.

197. "MUHAMMAD EL NUKR ibn el Sheikh 'Abd el Razik¹² Abu Kurun."

He was taught by his father and the Awlad Ya'akub¹³.

198. ¹⁴" MUHAMMAD IBN EL HAG NUR ibn el *feki* Hammad¹⁵ walad Abu Halima, el Rikabi."...

He was born at Sharau, and was taught by Hammad¹⁶ ibn Hamaydan and Sheraf el Dfn¹⁷ walad Barn . He instructed Ibrahim the son of his brother KaHng ..His sons, the *fekis* Nur and Medani, succeeded him in turn.

"MUHAMMAD IBN NUSR EL TERGAMI" (*vide sub* "Abu Sinayna," No. 51).

¹ Tree 1 0 ² No. 163

⁴ reading **العسر** for **الإعسر**

⁶ No. 1 ⁹ 3

⁸ reading **السنهوري** for **السنهور**.

¹⁰ No. 17, etc. ¹¹ No. 202.

¹³ No. 254. ¹⁴ Tree 1.

¹⁶ No. 120. ¹⁷ No. 237.

³ No 236

⁵ No 123

⁷ No 194.

⁹ Tree 1

¹² No. 27.

¹⁵ No. 121.

199. "MUHAMMAD IBN 'OMRAN."

He was taught what pertains to the sphere of faith [*Hltn el kaldm*] and logic [*el muntik*] at Shendi by el Medowi¹ ibn el Misn.

200. "MUHAMMAD IBN EL FEKI SALIM, el Maldi."

He was a follower of the *fekt* Belal² and his son 'Abd el Rahman³ and Sheikh Khogali⁴.

"MUHAMMAD IBN SERHAN" (*vide sub* "Sughayerun," No. 241).

"MUHAMMAD WALAD EL SHUKL" (*vide sub* "Walad el Shukl," No. 253).

201. "MUHAMMAD IBN SURUR ibn el Hag Ghanawa."

A follower of Sheikh Hasan⁵.

"MUHAMMAD TAG EL DIN" (*vide sub* "el Bahari," No. 67).

202. "MUHAMMAD IBN EL TANKAR, el Ga'ali el Bisharabi."

His mother was Amna bint Fatima bint Gabir, and he was taught by her brother SughayerQn⁶.

He was a follower of Sheikh Idris⁸ and would have liked to be his successor but was prevented by Sheikh 'Abd el Razik⁹. He then settled at el Muays and built a mosque there, and subsequently went south to el Bursi, where he died—Among his pupils were Muhammad "walad Kota¹⁰" and Sheikh Hammad¹¹ ibn el Turabi.

203. "MUHAMMAD 'IBN U M GADAYN' ibn el Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman¹³ ibn Hammadtu."

He was taught by his brother the *feki* Sheikh¹⁴, whom he eventually succeeded, and by his brother's son Ibn Medani¹⁵. Among his pupils were 'Abd el Rahman¹⁶ ibn Asid and Medani¹⁷ ibn Muhammad ibn Medani... He was buried with his brother Medani¹⁸ at el 'Egayga... His sons were 'Abd el Rahman, Hammadtu and Ibrahim. Muhammad, the son of the last-named, succeeded the Awlad Um Gadayn as *Khalifa*

204. "MUHAMMAD IBN EL SHEIKH EL ZAYN, 'el Azrak'" (d. 1108 A.H.²⁰).

He was taught by his father and his paternal uncle Ibrahim "el Haggar²¹." The latter died in 1098 A.H. 22 The *fekt* Sahn el Mafdi was one of his pupils... One of his miracles is related thus: "The late Sheikh Isma'il ibn Belal told me that one of the Hudur was in a boat on the Salt Sea, and a storm arose so that the boat was almost swamped, and the man called upon Muhammad ibn el Zayn, and saw him come flying through the air with his staff; and the sea became calm and the boat was saved,"...He died in the year *Um Htnaydil*, viz 1108.

¹ No 165.

² No 79

³ No. 16.

⁴ No 154

⁵ No. 132.

⁶ Tree 1

⁷ No. 241.

⁸ No. 141.

⁹ No 27

¹⁰ No. 196

¹¹ No. 125

¹² Tree 10

¹³ No. 21.

¹⁴ No. 236.

¹⁵ No. 194.

¹⁶ No. 15.

¹⁷ No. 162.

¹⁸ No 164.

¹⁹ Treei.

²⁰ 1696 A.D.

²¹ No. 139.

²² 1686 A.D.

205. ^{1c} MUHAMMAD EL ZAYN IBN EL SHEIKH MARZUK²."

He was taught by his father's brother Masa³ and by Sheikh SughayerQn⁴—His sons were Sheikh Ya'akab and MarzOk and Medowi.

206. "MUKHTAR WALAD ABU 'ANAYA."

A follower of Sheikh Taha⁵ ibn 'Omara... Sheikh Isma'fl el Daka-lashi⁶ and the *feki* Nafa'i were among his pupils.

207. "MUKHJAR IBN MUHAMMAD G6DATULLAV

His father was a disciple of el Kadal⁸ ibn el Faradi, and he himself was born at el Zalata in Northern Kordofal—"He died a martyr's death at the hands of Gunkul the Sultan of FUR—both he and his pupils—and their possessions were confiscated; and the reason was that [Mukhtar] ordered [the Sultan] to do the right, and warned him against wrongdoing. [For the Sultan] advanced from el Kab with 1000 horse to make war upon King Dekin, and [Mukhtar's] disciple the *feki* Nafa'i el Fezari said to him⁹ 'Send me¹⁰ to him'; and [Mukhtar] replied 'Tell him not to fight the FUNG in their country: if he does so God and the Prophet will be on their side, and I also ' And when [the Sultan] heard that he said 'Raise the sword,' and when they had done so he said * Please God I will kill the *feki* Mukhtar, and we will bury him among ourselves, and [then we shall be able to] visit [his tomb]!' And he set off to attack them (?) and found the *feki* together with his disciples reading, and he killed both the *jeki* and his disciples and his compatriots and confiscated their goods. Then through the grace of the *feki* in those days was Gunkul slain, and [he died] leaving about fifty sons, and these have been killing one another even up to this present day. That any one of them should die in his bed, as for instance el 'fsawi did, has been a rare occurrence."

208. ^H "MUSA WALAD KISHAYB, el Ga'ali el 'Armanabi el Mesal-lamabi."

One of his ancestors settled on the White Nile with the HASANAT; and, later, the KAWAHLA and others rendered Masa obedience....

He was a pupil of Sheikh el Zayn¹² and a contemporary and equal of Sheikh Khogali¹³... He was succeeded by his son the *feki* Medowi.

209. ^H "MUSA IBN YA'AKUB¹⁵."

His mother was named Marhab.... He was a famous saint and miracle-worker, and was taught by his father. He lived in the reign of Badi ibn Rubaf.... It is said that a stray slave-woman was found who could not communicate in any known tongue with any one, but Musa at once understood all she said—He was buried at el Humr.

¹ Tree 8.

² No. 159.

³ No. 209

⁴ No. 241.

⁵ No. 248.

⁶ No. 145.

⁷ No. 102.

⁸ No. 147.

• reading **تلمیذه** for **تلمیذه**.

¹⁰ reading **ارسلنی** for **ارسلنی**.

¹¹ Tree 11 (⁵)

¹² No. 258

¹³ No. 154."

¹⁴ free 8.

¹⁵ No. 254

210. "MUSTAFA EL SHERIF, el Moghrabi el Susi."

"He embraced Sufiism and followed Sheikh Muhammad¹ ibn el Terayfi"... He was buried west of Aslang Island.

N

211. ²"NABRAY IBN EL FEKI 'ABD EL HADI ibn el Sheikh Muhammad³ walad Doh'b_____"

He was born at el Halfaya and educated by the *Jeki* Dafa'alla, and by the *feki* Dayfulla⁴, and by his father's brother *thtfeki* Sughayerun in Don-gola. . . He was buried at el Halfaya.

212. "NAiM ' 'ABD EL SHERAKA ' ibn el Hag, el Ga'ali el Nawami."

He was born at el Kerrada and buried near el Hilalia... "He was called "Abd el Sheraka' ['Servant of the Partnership'] because he divided his year into two halves: during one half he would serve Sheikh Idris⁵, and during the other he would serve Sheikh Abu Idris⁶."

213. " NA'IM EL BATHANI."

He was the disciple [*howdr*] of Sheikh Idris⁷ .. "His tomb is in the desert in front of Walad Abu Delayk."

214. ⁸"NANNA IBN EL TURABI."

He was the brother of Sheikh Hammad⁹ el Nahlan

215. "NowAw IBN EL SHEIKH DOW EL BAYT¹⁰" (d. 1176¹¹ A.H.).

He was a Shdfa'ite.. His son the *feki* Muhammad, a follower of Sheikh Khogali¹², was taught by 'Abd el Rahman¹³ walad Belal and died in 1171^M, in his father's lifetime, and was succeeded by his son the *feki* el aAhir

216. ¹⁵"NUR EL DiN ABU SHIMLA ibn el Sheikh Muhammad¹⁶ el Hamim."

He was brother of Sheikh 'Ah el Nil¹⁷... Their father migrated from Rufa'a to Mundara, and it was there his sons were buried . . It is related that Sheikh 'Ah sent his sons to the country south of Mundara, to fetch wood from the country of the *dolayb* palms, for re-roofing his mosques, and gave them twenty-four camels for the purpose The party, however, met some elephants which frightened the camels by their trumpeting so that they bolted The sons accordingly returned and reported to Sheikh 'Ah, who was about to borrow other camels when Nur el *Din* said " ' I swear by Sheikh Tag el Din el Bahari the animals that caused our beasts to bolt shall bring [the wood] in their place.' Then he addressed an assistant of his father named Abu Sa'ad and said to

¹ No 177

² Tree 1.

³ No 187.

⁴ No 89.

⁵ No. 141.

⁶ No. 48.

⁷ No. 141.

⁸ Tree 9.

⁹ No 125.

¹⁰ No 91

¹¹ 1762 A.D.

¹² No. 154

¹³ No 16.

¹⁴ 1757 A.D.

¹⁵ Tree 1

¹⁶ No. 190

¹⁷ No. 62.

him 'Ab' Sa'ad!' and he replied '[Yes], master of Ah' Sa'ad's mother!' Then [Nur el Din] said 'Tell the animals which made our beasts to bolt that Sheikh 'All's order to them is "Come and carry in their place."' And the elephants came, and they were four in number, and carried the load of the twenty-four camels."

217. ¹ "EL NUR IBN EL SHEIKH MUSA² 'ABU KUSSA.'"

HIS mother was a slave-woman, and his father's brother was Sheikh Muhammad walad Marzuk.. He was buried at Mugaddala.

218. "NORAYN WALADE EL KUBGA."

He was born at el K62, his mother being the daughter of Sheikh Sherff the disciple of Sheikh el Zayn³... He taught at Arbagi... His son was the *feki* Senflssi⁴. He was buried at el Matassi (?).

O

219. "'OMARA IBN 'ABD EL HAFIZ el Khatib."

His mother was the daughter of el Labadi⁵, and he was born at Sennar. .. In *Ramadan* 1177 A H.⁶ he left Sennar and arrived in Egypt in *Safar* 1178 A H.⁷ After staying at el Azhar university he proceeded to the Hega? In 1180⁸ he returned to Egypt... In 1189⁹ he again performed the pilgrimage.. He married Fatima bint Salim, a merchant's daughter... He was a contemporary of Sheikh 'Izz el Dm¹⁰ walad Nafi'a of Manakil, the disciple of el Kadal¹¹ ibn el Faradi

R

220. "RADULLA IBN DELILA, el Saridi el Khamaysi."

He was born at Shanbat and was taught by *fekis* Belal¹² and Abu el Hasan¹³. Later he went to el Bursi and el Turfaya, and died at the latter

221. "RAHMA EL HALAWI."

A pupil of fag el Din¹⁴ el Bahan.

222. ¹⁵ RUBAT and RIKAB."

" They were the two sons of Ghulamulla. RUBAT was one of God's chosen [*ragul magdhub*]. The SOWARDA married a slave-girl of theirs to him, and deceived him about her, and she bore to him¹⁶ Selim. Then they confessed to him their deceit and said to him 'She is a slave.' So he complained of them to the Kadi, and the latter gave judgment for him that his son was free and bound him to pay the

¹ Tree 8.

² No. 209

³ No. 258.

⁴ No. 232

⁵ No. 61

⁶ 1764 A.D.

⁷ 1765 A.D.

⁸ 1767 A.D.

⁹ 1776 A.D.

¹⁰ No. 146.

¹¹

No. 147.

¹² No. 79.

¹³ No. 47.

¹⁴ No. 67.

¹⁵

Tree 1.

¹⁶ reading *له* for *له*.

value of the mother. This occurred in the time of the FUNG. NOW Selfm sought the daughter of his uncle Rikab in marriage, and her name was Ganfba; but she refused him because of [the taint of] slavery. Then it happened that Kandil el ' (5ni had a daughter who was sick, and he referred her case to Selim, and she recovered, so [Kandil] married her to him, and she begot '6n. And 'On begot Gabir, the father of the four Sheikhs. Again, Malik el Kanisa [*lit.* 'The king of the Church'] had a sick daughter, and she was cured, and he married her to [Selfm], and she bore to him Hadhlul. Then Ganfba bint Rikab regretted her refusal, for he was a man of piety and popular among the people; so he married her and she bore him four sons, Ruzayn and 'Abd el Razik and Dahmash and Misbah. Ruzayn was ancestor of the NAs HABiB NFSI¹, and 'Abd el Rdzik of NAs EL SHEIKH HASAN WALAD BEIJL, and Dahmash of the RUAYDAB, the people of Abyad Din, and Misbah of the RIKABIA of el 'Afat. Ends.

RIKAB ibn Ghuldmulla had four sons, 'Abdulla and 'Abd el Nebi (by a single mother), and Zayd el Ferid, and Habfb and 'Agib (by a single mother). 'Abdulla begot Hag and Hagag. Hag begot the DOALIB, and Hagag begot the NAs WALAD AK*HAL. 'Abd el Nebi begot the SADIICAB, and Zayd el Ferid the 'AKAZAB and the TAMRAB and the SHABWAB, and 'Agib the SIDRAB, the NAs WALAD ABU HAL^MA. Here ends the genealogical tree of the RIKABIA."

S

223. "SA'AD EL KURSANI."

He was a Shafki and taught at Nuri. . His teacher was 'Abd el Rahman² ibn Asid.

224. "SA'AD WALAD SHUSHAI, el Moghrabi."

He was buried near Shendi and north of it....A contemporary of Sheikh Sughayerun³.

225. "EL HAG SA'ID IBN MUHAMMAD el 'Abbasi."

He lived at el Takdki and was taught apostleship [*risdla*] by el Mesal-lami⁴ walad Abu Wanaysa ..He visited Berber, Shendi and Senndr.

226. ⁵"SALIH IBN BAN EL NUKA"⁶ (b. 1092⁷; d. 1167⁸ A.H.).

"He was the third of the *Khaltfas* who lit the fire of Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir in the land of the FUNG."

HIS biography is divided into three chapters; firstly, the evidence of his contemporaries as to his character, etc.; secondly, an account of his teaching and career, and thirdly praises of his virtues and some account of his miracles.

¹ No. 105

² No. 15.

³ No. 241.

⁴ No. 172.

⁵ Tree 8.

⁶ No. 70.

⁷ 1681 A.D.

⁸ 1753 A.D.

The following is from the second chapter: (Salih speaks)

"Now Sheikh fammad el Samflh, when he invaded Shendi, killed the king of the GAMO'U and more than 100 men, and ravaged the country and looted our slaves and our cattle and our sheep and camels____ Then I and my cousins went to ask for them back and he returned a part to us.. and promised the remainder. And that night I saw Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir sitting on a bed.. and I said to him 'Jrammad has looted my camels.. etc.'"

The following is from the third chapter:

"Sheikh Salih related that there came to him the divine message giving him leave to light the fire [of religion] after the death of Sheikh Bedowi. Now this was in the year ¹⁸¹ and in that same year el Samih attacked Shendi. His son, Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman², was born in the year '22⁸. And in those days the court gave him a share in the river-lands and the rain-lands; and he lit the fire [of religion] and lived honourably according to his obligations and the divine laws and commandments⁴; and there was no house, whether of a true believer or otherwise, over which he had not influence. And he divided the land granted him by the court among the people as though it had been a banquet....

And he died in the year '67⁵ aged 75... and his place was taken by his son Sheikh el Zayn, acting for Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman⁶ his brother, and [el Zayn] lit the fire like his father and executed all that his father had done at all times and places [*lit.* 'both when in a state of presence and of absence']. At the same time he never relaxed his reading of the Kuran, and especially [read it] during the last third of the night⁷. He died in the year '89⁸ aged 70, and his place was taken by his son Sheikh Ban el Nuka."

227. ⁹"SANHORI IBN MADTHIR ibn Sanhuri ibn Hammuda¹⁰ ibn el Tankar."

228. "SELIM, the holy-man [*rdgil*] of el Sayal____"

He was a Khahdi, and was much praised by Sheikh Hammad ibn el Turabi... He died at el Sayal.

229. "SELMAN EL 'AWADI" (d. 1121 A.H.¹¹).

He was taught, as a child, by Sheikh 'Abd el Razik^{1*}, and when grown up by Sheikh Muhammad el Nukr¹³. .. He died in the same year as the *feki* 'Abd el Magid¹⁴, viz 1121 A.H

¹ 1706 A.D.

² No. 25.

³ 1710 A.D.

⁴ reading منسوباته for مندوباته.

⁵ 1753 A.D.

⁶ No. 25

⁷ reading الليل for اليل.

⁸ 1775 A.D.

⁹ Tree 1.

¹⁰ No. 130.

¹¹ 1709 A.D.

¹² No. 27.

¹³ No. 197.

¹⁴ No. 10

230. "SELMAN EL TOWALI, 'el Zaghra^t"

He was a follower of Sheikh Muhammad el Hamim², and among his pupils were Sheikhs 'Abd el Kadir³ ibn el Sheikh Idris, Abu Delayk⁴ and Burt⁵ el Mesallami. He died at the age of 120.

231. "SENUSSI IBN EL FEKI MEKKI ibn el Sheikh 'Ali ibn el Sheikh Hamid" (d. about 1117⁶ A.H.).

A follower of the *feki* 'Abd el Rahman⁷ ibn Beldl. He died at el Gebel about the year 1117⁸.

232. "SENUSSI WALAD NURAYN⁹."

He was born near Arbagi. His mother was one of the GHODIAT¹⁰.

233. "'SERHAN IBN EL HAG MUHAMMAD ibn Serh^{dn}."

He was born at Arko Island, and had a son named Idris. He quarrelled with his cousins and migrated to the SHAFKFA country and settled to the east of the island on which the AWLAD GABIR dwelt, and married their sister Fatima, and begot el Hag Muhammad¹² and el Hag 'Omar and el Hag Abu el Kasim and Amna, "the mother of el Tankar's children."... He performed the pilgrimage.

234. "SERHAN IBN EL FEKI SUBAH walad Tera^f."

He was born at Gerf Kumr, died in 1206¹³ aged about 90, and was buried at his birthplace. He was a follower of 'Abd el Rahman¹⁴ ibn Belal.

235. "SHAMMAR IBN MUHAMMAD ibn 'Adlan, el Shdiki."

He was born at Arbagi. He was taught by the *fekis* Belal¹⁵ and Abu el Hasan¹⁶ and Busati ibn el feki Arb^{ab}¹⁷. He became a *mufti* [juris-consult] in the sects of both Malik and el Shafa'i and a teacher of the doctrine of both. The people of Arbagi called him 'The Indian Boat* [Markab el Hind]'. He was buried at Arbagi.

236. ^{18<} SHEIKH EL A'SIR¹⁹ ibn 'Abd el Rahman ibn Hammadt^u.*

He was born and resided at Nun, and was taught by his father and his brother Medani²⁰.... When the latter died a dispute arose as to whether Sheikh or Mdlik²¹ should be his successor, and the choice fell upon Sheikh.

Among his pupils were 'Abd el Magid²² ibn el Aghbash and 'Abd el Kadir²³ ibn el Sheikh Idris. And miracles were vouchsafed to him, one being as follows: He guaranteed to 'Othman walad Hammad that he should be victorious in war against the FUNG; and the circumstances were as follows: [Sheikh] fell ill and was told that his remedy lay in the fat of storks [rahu], and 'Othman shot a stork with a rifle and brought it to him, and his illness left him. Then [Sheikh]

¹ reading الزغرات for الزغرات.

⁴ No. 46.

⁵ No. 82.

⁶ 1705 A.D.

⁹ No. 218.

¹¹ Tree 1.

¹² No. 241.

¹³ No. 79.

¹⁶ No. 47.

¹⁹ reading الاعسر for العسر.

²⁰ No. 10

²³ No. 7.

² No. 190

³ No. 7.

⁴ 1705 A.D.

⁷ No. 16.

¹⁰ reading غدوية for غدوية.

¹³ 1790 A.D.

¹⁴ No. 16

¹⁷ No. 65

¹⁸ Tree 10

²⁰ No. 163

²¹ No. 158.

prayed for him that he should [always] hit the mark when shooting; and indeed it was only by rifle-fire that the FUNG were defeated, for of a truth they [*sc.* rifles] do not miss¹ their mark. Now when 'Othman had defeated the foe he came out of his retreat [*khalwa*] wearing a shirt of rough wool. [And] the armies parted and each went their way [*lit.* 'the horses parted, tail from tail'], and Sheikh 'Ali walad 'Othman sent to King Badi walad Rubat and informed him of the defeat and demanded of him his kingdom. Then King Badi told his troops the following: 'At midday, after the doors had been closed² and he that was inside was cut off [from the outer world] there came in to me a left-handed [*d'sir*] man wearing rough woollen clothes and like a eunuch³ in appearance, and said to me " [If] you send forth an army to Kagabi I will do so and so to you." ' And the SHAFIRI horse-traders said to him ' That was the *feki* Sheikh, and indeed 'Othman was putting his faith in him. ' "

237. ⁴" SHERAF EL DfN IBN 'ABDULLA el 'Araki ibn el Sheikh 'Ah⁵ lbn Barri."

His mother was 'Agabat bint el Hag Ibrahim ibn Barn....He was born at Nasn Island and taught by his mother's brother Muhammad Kakumr⁶....He performed the pilgrimage, and instructed many people of the Hegaz... He died at el Higayr. . He was a contemporary of the author's father: " My brother in God, el Hag 'Abd el Kadir walad Sa'id, told me that in his pilgrimage in the year '64⁷ he met a great sheikh who said to him 'I became a follower of the Way in the footsteps of Sheikh Sheraf el Din when he came on the pilgrimage.' My father⁸ also told me saying ' In the year that the small-pox raged I and the *feki* 'Abd el Dafa'i⁹ and the *feki* Idn's walad Nusar were sitting in front of the mosque, when there came up to us Sheikh Sheraf el Din riding a mare____"

238. "SHERAF EL DfN ABU GEMAL EL DIN."

The holy-man [*rdgit*] of Ankawi .. He was the son of Muhammad ibn Fakrun, whose tomb is at el Hilalia....He was born at Muays and then moved to Ankawi .. He was taught by Sheikh 'Abdulla el 'Araki¹⁰ and himself taught Sheikh Basbar¹¹ . He was buried east of Ankawi.

239. ¹²" SHERAF EL DIN IBN EL FEKI 'ALI walad Kuta."

He died at Koz walad Diab.

240. "SHUKRULLA IBN 'OTHMAN ibn Bedowi el 'Odi."

He was born at Shanbat; was taught by Hammad¹³ ibn Hamaydan,

¹ reading *تخصي for تخطي*.

² reading *السديد for التسديد*.

³ reading *كالخصي for كالخصي*.

⁴ Tree 3. ⁶ No. 58.

⁶ No. 148, reading *قائم for قائم*.

⁷ 1751 A.D.

⁸ No. 89 " • No. 4.

¹⁰ No. 34.

¹¹ No. 73 ¹² Tree 1.

¹³ No. 120

and was a contemporary of Sheikh Hammad el Samih and rjammad ibn el Turabi¹—His pupils were very numerous and included the *feki* 'Abd el Dafa'j²—He died aged between 40 and 50 and was buried at Shanbdt.

241. ³"SUGHAYERCN,' i.e. Sidi Muhammad ibn Serhan el 'Udi."

"His mother was Fatima bint Gabir ibn 'On ibn Selim ibn Rubat ibn Ghulamulla, nor has such fruit been born save from such a tree. He was called 'Sughayerun' because his mother's relatives, the AWL AD GABIR, used to call him Muhammad el Sughayer ['the Small,' or 'the Lesser'], and this was perverted into 'Sughayerun.' He was born, God have mercy on him, on Tarnag Island in the SHAIKLA country, and was, God bless him, one of those who united learning and Sufiism. He excelled in learning under his mother's brother Sheikh Isma'il ibn Gabir, who gave him leave to teach. Then he transferred himself to Sheikh Muhammad el Banufan and studied a certain amount of law [*Khalil*] with him, and Muhammad said that it benefited one's teaching. And God blessed him and he sat in the seat of his mother's brothers after them. He was one of the most ascetic of sages, one of the greatest of saints, and, in Sufiism, the lover of Sheikh Idris ibn el Arbab. The reason of his coming to Dar el Abwab ['Land of the Gates'] was that the sons⁴ of his father's brother were at violent enmity with him because he usurped their greatness and followed his mother's relatives in learning and piety. So they incited Zimrawi the king of the SHAIKIA against him and bid him slay him. Then [Zimrawi] mounted his horse and came to him [Sughayerun] while he was in the mosque, and found his mother, the daughter of Gabir, with him; and she said 'O Zimrawi, you have come to kill Muhammad'; and they lowered him from his horse in a fainting condition and he began [to groan] saying 'Hak! Hak! The cattle of el Hag Muhammad have butted me.' Then they came to [Sughayerun] and interceded with him for [Zimrawi], and he replied 'This thing is not my doing but that of my mother's brothers⁵.' Then he put a spell upon him and he recovered. And [Zimrawi] said to him 'I bestow upon you four *sdktas*, each of them 40 *uds* of the length of a spear [in breadth], and four brood mares and four head [of slaves].' But [Sughayerun] replied 'It would be impious for me to receive anything from you or to live in your country.'

Again, it is said that King Badi Abu Rubat, who was Master of the Household [*Sid Kum*] to King 'Adlan walad Aya, put his trust in [Sughayerun]; and when King 'Adlan, after killing Sheikh 'Agib

¹ N o 125

² No. 4

³ Tree 1.

⁴ reading اولاد for اولاء.

⁵ reading احوالي for احوالي.

at Kark6g, moved with his army to Dongola province and reached Meshwa (?), the FUNG deposed him and appointed Badi the Master of the King's Household. Then [Badi] requested [Sughayerun] to accompany him to the south, and [Sughayerun] said 'I will join you,' and he proceeded after [the king] to the south with his mother and his brethren and his wives and his children. And when he came to el Derira the holy men [*fukara*] of the south and of the north disputed among themselves, the former bidding him dwell in the south and latter in the north; and he said to them * God decide the matter!' And he took his ablution-jug and went into the desert and foregathered with el Sayyid el Khidr, God bless him; and el Sayyid told him 'Your dwelling-place shall be Koz el Mutrak, opposite the plain of Um Wizin.' And [Sughayerun] went thither and found it rough land and forest, so he went on to el Figayga and found it was an open site clear of trees, and he said 'This is el Figayga [*i.e.* 'The Little Clearing'] where the brethren of Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman¹ walad Hammadtu stop'; and this was why it was called 'el Figayga.' Then Sheikh² Ibn Serhan sent to King Badi at Sennar and informed him of his arrival and requested him to grant him a site on the unoccupied land³ to dwell in and a watering-place on the river. And the king sent for his henchman and said to him 'Give him all the land he wants and mark the boundaries for him'; and [the Sheikh] replied 'Beyond a site of unoccupied land⁴ and the watering-place for the holy men and a place for burial I want nothing', and this was characteristic of his self-restraint and asceticism in all earthly matters. Then the Sheikh, God bless him, built the mosque founded under the auspices of el Khidr, upon whom be the blessings of God; and it is said that with his own noble hand he set up⁵ the central pole [that supports the roof], [at the foot of] which the Sheikhs give their lessons: and men flocked to him from every quarter and camels were heaped upon him galore, and he found favour in the eyes of all men.

Among his famous followers were Sheikh Dafa'alla⁶ ibn el Sheikh Abu Idris, and the *feki* 'Abd el Hah'm⁷ walad Bahr, and the sons of Barn (the *feki* 'Ali⁸ and el Hag Ibrahim⁹), and Tor el Matan el Kahh el Berkani (who was buried in front of his tomb), and the three sons of el Tankar (the *feki* Muhammad¹⁰ and IJammuda¹¹ and Mazri¹²), and Medani¹³ el Haggar the son of el Hag 'Omar his brother, and Muhammad the son of el Hag Abu el Kasim his brother, a pious

¹ No 21.² No. 241.³ reading *حالا* for *حالا*.⁴ reading *الحلة* for *الحلة*.⁵ reading *قنر* for *قنر*.⁶ No. 84.⁷ No. 5.⁸ No. 58.⁹ No. 136.¹⁰ No. 202.¹¹ No. 130.¹² No. 160.¹³ No. 161.

and good man, who died about the same time as his uncle leaving no children excepting his daughter Haga the mother of the *feki* Belal¹. And the son of Serhan begot the *feki* el Zayn² and Ibrahim el Ilaggar³ and Abukr and five daughters, viz. Rabi'a, who was married by Medani el Haggar⁴ the son of [Sughayerun's] brother 'Omar, and Haga, who was married by Muhammad⁵ ibn el Tankar the son of [Sughayerun's] sister Amna, and Zaynab, who was married by Muhammad the son of el Hag Abu el Kasim, [Sughayerun's] brother. Now the length of time he was teaching at el Abwab [may be gauged by the fact that] he completed the course thirteen or fourteen or fifteen times [*lit.* dealings']. He was buried at el K6z, and his tomb is to be visited: through its medium the rainfall is obtainable for the crops."

242. "SUGHAYERUN EL SHAKALAWI."

He was born at el Shakal near Shendi, and lived and died at Urn el Rahi. . .He was taught by Sughayerun⁶ the son of Serhan, and was a follower of Sheikh Idrfs⁷, and a friend of Sheikh Hasan⁸ and 'Abd el Razik⁹ and Basbar¹⁰ and 'Ah¹¹ ibn Barn.

243. ¹² "SUGHAYERUN WALAD ABU WAGIBA."

He was a Zarnakhi, born at Abu Hashim, and educated in the SHAIKIA country____ "He was at the fight between 'Othman walad Hammad and the FUNG. " . . .He taught his brother's son Sheikh Salih¹³ Ban el Nuka. He died the year after "small-pox year "

244. "SULAYMAN EL ZAMLI."

His village was el Sayal... .He was taught by Rahma¹⁴ el Halawi, the pupil of Tag el Din¹⁵ el Bahari... His son was 'Abd el Rahim "Wadad Slati¹⁶."

245. "SURURE EL SARIDI."

He was born and died at el Khashab, and was a pupil of Hasan¹⁷ ibn Hasuna.

T

"TAG EL DiN EL BAHARI" (see "el Bahari").

246. "TAGUR EL NAHASI IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABDULLA WALAD HASOBA."

A learned and pious man

247. ¹⁸ "TAHA IBN EL HAG LUKANI."

A follower of Sheikh Hasan¹⁹ walad Hasuna.

¹ No. 79.

⁴ No. 161.

⁷ No. 141.

¹⁰ No. 73.

¹³ No. 226

¹⁶ No. 251.

⁵

² No. 258.

No. 202.

⁸ No. 132.

No. 58.

¹⁴ No. 221.

¹⁷ No. 132.

³ No. 139.

⁶ No. 241.

⁹ No. 27.

¹² Tree 8.

No. 67.

No. 132.

¹⁵

Tree 5.

¹⁹

248. "TAHA IBN 'OMARA el Furayn (el 'Aurayn ?)."

Born at el Kugr___A pupil of Dafa'alla¹ ibn el Shafa'i. His brother was called "el Akhrash.".. He died near Sennar.

249. "TAYRGUM EL RUFA'I."

Born and buried at el Hlilalia—A pupil of Sheikh Dafa'alla².

U

250. "UM BARAK IBN EL SHEIKH MASKIN."

W

251. "'WADAD' IBN EL SHEIKH SULAYMAN EL ZAMLI."

HIS name was 'Abd el Rahim___He lived at el Sayal in the HALA-WIYYCN country, and was buried there.

252. ³"WALAD EL BAHR."

His name was Muhammad ibn el Sheikh Ibrahim⁴ el Faradi___He was a pupil of his brother Muhammad el Kadal⁵....His sons were the *fetus* Ibrahim and el Berr; and the former begot the *feki* Ahmad el Fezan.

253. "'WALAD EL SHUKL."

His name was Muhammad___He was a pupil of el Kadal⁶ ibn el Farach.. He lived "near to the north of Um Talha at el A'dau."

Y

254. ⁷"YA'AKUB IBN EL SHEIKH BAN EL NUKA⁸."

He was a pupil of 'Abd el Rahman⁹ ibn Gabir, and one of the forty disciples, all of whom attained the rank of *Kutb*. He was buried at el Humr

255. "YA'AKUB IBN EL SHEIKH MUGELLI, el Mashaykhi."

He was born in Upper Egypt [*el Rif*], and entered the Gezira in the early days of the FUNG rule.

"And the king entertained him and gave him his daughter in marriage and apportioned to him in the neighbourhood of el Halfaya as much land as his horse could encompass¹⁰ eastwards and westwards and southwards [*lit.* 'right'] and northwards [*lit.* 'left'], and conferred it upon him fully and freely¹¹, and it remains so to the present day.".. He was buried half a mile [*mil*] from el Halfaya and his tomb is plain to see and should be visited."

¹ No. 83.² No. 84.³ Tree 11.⁴ No. 135.⁵ No. 147.⁶ No. 147.⁷ Tree 8.⁸ No. 71.⁹ No. 17.¹⁰ reading **يسور** for **يسور**.¹¹ reading **السبل** for **السبل**.

256. ¹"YUSEF IBN EL SHEIKH MUHAMMAD² IBN EL TERAYFI."

A pupil of his father___Before his death he appointed his son Sheikh Muhammad to succeed him.

Z

257. "ZAYN EL 'ABDIN IBN EL SHEIKH 'ABD EL RAHMAN ibn el Sheikh Dafa'alla."

A follower of Sheikh el Gunayd³.

258. ⁴"EL ZAYN IBN EL SHEIKH SUGHAYERON⁵" (d. 1086 A.H.⁶).

He was born in the SHAKIA country... His mother was H6da, one of the TERAYFfa. He followed the teaching of his father, and died in 1086 A.H.

259. "ZIADA IBN EL NCR ibn el Sheikh Muhammad walad 'fsa."

He was the *Khalifa* of Sheikh Muhammad⁷ 'Ah and, like all the pupils of that famous man, the recipient of favours from King Badi walad Rubdt. King Dekin too sent him on one occasion 50 head [of slaves]. He died at Dongoia el 'Aguz [Old Dongola], and was succeeded by his son Ahmad.

On the back of the last, i.e. the 220th page, is written in a rough and different hand:

"The ownership of this *Tabakdt* has been transferred to Muhammad ibn Ahmad Hammad el Nil el Rayyah. He has not... (*illegible*).. nor changed it."

¹ Tree 9.

² No. 177.

³ No. 49

⁴ Tree 1.

⁵ No. 241.

⁶ 1675 A.D.

⁷ No. 181 (>).

D 3 (NOTES)

I On the back of this fragment is written in a crude scrawl, in no way resembling the body of the text, "This is the '*Jabakit* walad Dayfulla. In the name of God.. *(invocation)*.. 1 he at the door of Sheikh Kh6gali... {praises of the Prophet}—"

Khogali ibn 'Abd el Rahman (No. 154), who died in 1155 A.H. (1742 A.D.), lived and was buried at el rjalfaya, the birthplace of the author's family (see No. 88).

The words "*my father*" must be taken to mean "my grandfather." The author's father was Dayfulla walad Muhammad walad Ipayfulla (No. 89). In No. 120 (*q.v.*) Muhammad Dayfulla is actually called "my grandfather."

It must be noted that the word "*Sheikh*" is, with very few exceptions (*e.g.* "Sheikh 'Agib"), used throughout in the technical sense as denoting not temporal power but the spiritual authority of a superior of a religious order. For the exact meaning of the term see Hughes, pp. 556 and 571, and Sell, pp. 104, no, i n .

The word "*fekt*" (or "*fekih*") means properly one learned in jurisprudence or dogmatic theology (see Hughes, pp. 106 and 128), but is used commonly to mean merely a learned man, or a cleric. It must not be confused with "*fakir*" a term used properly of one who is poor in the sight of God, *i.e.* "dervish,**

II It is impossible to say whether any pages are missing between this and the page on either side of it.

III This page also contains a reference to the tradition (see Hughes, p. 475) from the *Mishkdt* (Bk. xxiv, Chap. 1, Part 3) that there were in all 124,000 prophets, "but those mentioned in the Kurin are enough "

iv For the Arabic of the following passage and textual emendations see Appendix 1. The date, and the name of the founder of the FUNG dynasty of Sennar, are given correctly. For the chronology of the FUNG kings see D 7

Arbagi was, until late in the eighteenth century, one of the chief towns of the Sudan, but it was then destroyed by the SHUKRIA and 'ABDULLAB and has now disappeared (cp. D 7, xc) It is said to have been largely peopled by Hudur. For the foundation of Arbagi about 1474 A.D. by Hegazi ibn Ma'in, cp. Jackson, p. 18. It was visited by Poncet in 1699: he calls it (p. 17) "the Town of Harbagy.*" The earliest mention of it ("Arbatg") is in Ludolfus (Bk. iv, Chap. vi). He also mentions "Gem" (Kern) and "Helfage" (ftalfaya). The GELILAB of Wad Rawa claim that their ancestor was 'Abd el Gelil the nephew of Hegazi ibn Ma'in (cp. *sub* No. 67).

v The "*dda*" of Muhammadan law is "the term by the completion of which a new marriage is rendered lawful." (See Hamilton's *He day a*, Vol. i, Chap. xii, p. 128, *sub* "Edit.")

"*Sheikh...el Kusayer*" is Mafrmad el 'Araki (No. 157). The missing word (the page is chipped) is no doubt "*ragil*" a term used apparently to denote "the holy-man of...": other examples of this use of the word are to be found in Nos. 44 and 191. Mahmud is in No. 11 called "*Rdgil el Kusr*" ["the Holy-man of the Castle"], and so "*Kusayer*" may betaken to be a diminutive form: it is used also in No. 157.

It is not clear what was the relationship between MahmQd and the rest of the 'Araki family of holy men whose biographies are given, e.g. Abu Idrfs, Sheikh Dafa'alla, etc. (for whom see Tree No. 9 and D 1, ci).

The word translated "came" is > j j (*kadam*) and has a technical flavour: it is frequently used by the author in speaking of the advent of holy men. The technical word "*mukaddam*" (a sort of abbot or legate, see Sell, pp. 104-107) is formed from the same root. So, too {e.g. paras. VIII and x), the phrase [^]cj j S (*kaddam 'aid*) in the transitive sense is used, and I have there translated it "inspired."

"*Dwelt on the White [Nile]*" is in the Arabic u*H^*i)l ^jJSLm/, and "dwelt at el Obayd" would be the normal translation, but it is probable from No. 157, and certain from D 7,11 (q.v.), that the White Nile is meant and the words "*el bahr*" (the Nile) have here and in No. 157 been left out. In addition, el Obayd ["el Obeid"] was not built until about 1760 (see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 12). For the whole passage cp. D 7,11.

vi Abu Sakaykin (or Abu Sakakin) was the fourth of the FUNG kings and reigned about 1551-1559 (Bruce).

The term *Mangilak*, or *Mangil*, may roughly be rendered Viceroy. It was especially the title of those 'ABDULLAB sheikhs who ruled the country round el Halfaya for the FUNG kings. These 'ABDULLAB were a section of the KAWASMA branch of the RUFA'A, and it was their Sheikh 'Abdulla Gema'a who was the ally of 'Omara Dunkas (see para, iv) and assisted him to found his empire (see Budge, Vol. 11, pp. 200 and 204; Jackson, pp. 17-22; D 5 (a); and, in particular, the Appendix to Chap. 2 (a) of Part III).

Agib el Mdngilak was the son of 'Abdulla Gema'a, and he is occasionally called 'Agib KafOt (see Budge, *loc. at*, Jackson, p. 24, and Part III, *loc. at*).

For *Ibrahim el Buldd*, one of the famous AWLAD GABIR, see Nos. 17 and 23 and AB, LXXXIX, and cp. Jackson, p. 26.

For the terms "*Khalil*" and "*mala*" see AB, LXXXIX (note),

vii The text gives el Bahar for el Bahan. This syncope is very common throughout in proper names, e.g. we get 'Omar for 'Omara, el Hamr for el Hamra, el Kaf for el Kafi, el 'Ud for el 'Ddi, etc. I have not noted these particular alterations every time they occur as it would be unnecessary.

For *sufism* see Hughes, pp. 608-622 (including a bibliography), and Sell, pp. 1-45 (*The Mystics of Islam*). A large number of the technical terms used by the author are borrowed from the Sufi vocabulary, e.g. "*tarika*" "*salik*" "*dhikr*" "*zahid*" "*wall*" "*magdhub*" etc.

For this and following paragraphs, cp. D 7, xxi *et seq.*

vin No biography of el Telemsani is given

"*Instructed him in dogma*" is *سلكه طريق القوم* (*sallakhu taiik el*

kUm), a Soft phrase. Human life being considered as a journey, the **tarik" or "tarika" is the road to be followed, the "Sdlik"* is one who follows it, and "sallak" is to cause another to follow it. By "tarik el kUm" {lit. the road of the people) is meant particularly "tarik el fukara" i.e. the road of the holy men (cp. Appendix 5, etc., *passim*).

"Ilm el kalam" is the same as "akaid" (q.v. No. 52) and relates to matters of faith in contradistinction to "him el fekih" which relates to matters of practice, t.e. jurisprudence. Cp. No. 136; and see Hughes, pp. 106 and 286.

"The interpretation of .. syntax" is in the Arabic

علوم القرآن بتجويد وروايات ونحوها

Cp. Hughes, p. 517: "The recital of the Qur'5n has been developed into a science known as 'Ilmu '1 Tajwid...', which includes a knowledge of the peculiarities of the spelling of many words in the Qur'an; of the... various readings;... of the various divisions, punctuations, and marginal instructions; of the proper pronunciation of the Arabic words; and of the correct intonation of different passages."

IX "The doctrine of.. Kuran" is "el tawhid wa el tagwid." For the latter see para, VIII (note) For tawhid see Hughes, p. 629; but the word is also used technically by the Softs to denote the final identification of the saint with the Supreme Being by absorption (see Sell, p no).

x "Arose" is طُبِتْ وَلِيَّةٌ or, literally, "appeared the saintship of." For the term "wah" see Sell, p. 109, and Hughes, p 663, and ' u.

For *Abd el Kofi cp Jackson, p 27.

XII Probably Sheikh Muhammad Ibn 'AlI (No 181).

The repetition of the word قَدِمَ in the text is obviously a si *

El Shdfa't is the Imam Muhammad Ibn Idris, the founder of one of the four orthodox Sunm sects (see Hughes, p. 570).

XIII The Mashaikha are a small section who claim to be descended from the Khalifa Abu Bukr el Sadik They are related to the MES\LLAMIA.

In this particular context are meant Muhammad walad Fakrun (see No 86), Sheraf el Din (No 238), Ya'akGb Ibn Mugelli (No. 255) and Hammad Ibn Manam (No 124)

El Halfaya, now called Khartoum North, is on the right bank of the Blue Nile opposite Khartoum Previous to the Turkish conquest it was one of the most important towns in the Sudan and the seat of the power of the 'ABDULLAB With the founding of Khartoum its importance waned.

Poncet visited it in 1699 and calls it "Alfaa, a large village built with square stone, where the men are tall and comely" (p. 17).

NOTES TO THE BIOGRAPHIES

1. "El Shard'ana" is properly the name of a sub-tribe of KAWAHLA, but is here used for their village.

2. Gebel Moya lies about 20 miles east of Sennar.

This 'Abd el Baki el Wali is the eponymous ancestor of the WAIJA section of KAWAHLA, and is regarded by the family of the 'omda of the

BATAHIN, among others, as their "Sheikh," is. it is his tomb to which they pay their "visits" (*zidra*) and which they help to maintain, and to him that they would have recourse for any supernatural assistance: in other words they regard him as the particular medium through which they may approach Providence. If they lost a camel by theft they would enquire at his tomb, or if a woman was barren she would appeal at his tomb—the guardian thereof benefiting proportionately. Cp. note to No. 73, and see Jaussen, p. 309, on the subject of *zidras* and tombs.

'Abd el Baki's tomb is not at Gebel M6ya but at Um Karkur, some 40 miles N.N.W. of it.

Badi walad Nul ruled at Sennar from 1733 to 1766 A.D. (Bruce) He is generally known as Bddi "Abu ShelGkh" (for which name see note to D 7, XLVIII).

4. No. 174 is this man's son.

6. *Abu Haraz* is five miles north of Wad Medani, on the Blue Nile. It was the home of the 'Araki family.

7. *Abya4 Bin* is north of Khartoum near Wad Ramla station. Cp. Nos. 34 and 142. This man's descendants and those of his brother Muhammad (see No. 141, note) are at Wawissi, north of Khartoum.

8. *El Bashakira* is a village on the Blue Nile about 45 miles above Khartoum.

"Was taught it by..." is in each *أخذته عن أو أخذته من*, *e* literally, "took it from."

Which of the three men named Muhammad ibn Medani (for whom see No. 194) is meant here is not clear.

Ndfa'i el Fezan occurs again in Nos. 206, 207.

9. "Succeeded his father" *ولّى الخطابة مكان أبيه*.

The "khatib" is the preacher who recites the "*khuiba*" in the Friday service at the mosque (see Hughes, p. 472).

"King Badi" must be Badi "Abu Shehikh" (1733-1766, Bruce) as 'Abd el Latif's father (qv.) flourished about 1767. "Subr" I cannot identify.

From No. 25 (q.v.) we know No. 9 lived at el 'Egayga.

For the circumstances of his death cp D 7, LVII.

10. We know the date of his death from No 229 (q.v.).

For the word "*el Magdhiib*" see note to No 61

Feki Samih and his two sons are again mentioned in No. 79 (q v. note).

11. *El Kubia* is spelt "el Kubia" in No. 171.

"And he said to her...." The Arabic of the whole of this passage will be found in Appendix 2. The word used for dowry here is "*sadak*" which is properly the gift of the bridegroom to the bride, as opposed to "*mahr*" which is the purchase price paid to the bride's parents. (See Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes* ..., p. 49.) If a man divorce his wife she can by Muhammadan law "demand the full payment of the dower" (see Hughes, p 91) Since, however, it was the wife, and not the husband, who sought the divorce, and since she would not be able to effect this object legally, she would, as the price of her husband's compliance, be compelled to forgo her right to receive the full dower 'Abd el Mahmud, however,

instead of keeping the dowry himself, arranged for **it** to be given to the children of **the** marriage. When she married Hammad **she** demanded from him no dowry for herself, because, whereas it is customary in the Sudan for the second husband before marriage to repay to the first husband **the** amount of the dowry previously paid by the latter, in **the** case in point **the** woman cunningly represented 'Abd el MahmQd as not having yet paid her her dowry. She apparently let Hammad think that 'Abd el MahmQd had divorced her on his own initiative and denied receipt of her dowry, but at the same time did not mention that it had been transferred to the daughters.

" *God Almighty said....*" The quotation is from the 4th chapter of the Kuran (beginning): see Sale, p. 53.

For "*fakir*" see note to para. 1, *supra*.

Omdurmdn (or "Um Durman," correctly). I know of no evidence to show the existence of this village at any earlier date than that of Hammad Ibn Mariam. From No. 124 we know he was born in 1646 and died in 1730, and here we have Omdurman spoken of as "his village." It is not at all improbable that he and his relatives founded it. It was a small village of no importance at all until the Mahdia. Then the Khalifa massed whole tribes there, and it has now become the native capital of the Sudan. On the above evidence we may perhaps date its foundation about 1680-1700. Browne mentions it ("Emdurman") in 1794 {q.v. p. 459, App. II}.

"*Hts rooms*" is "*khalwdt*." A "*khalwa*" is properly a ilace of retreat, and is used also to mean the act of retirement by a holy man from the world (see Hughes, pp. 122 and 271). The term is now often used of the guest-houses or rest-houses provided in a village for strangers and attached, as a rule, to the mosque: it is often also used in its proper sense of a place of retreat for meditation: cp note to No. 90.

13 He is here called 'Abd el Rahman, but in the biography of his father (No. 34) the names of two of the latter's sons are given as 'Abd el Rahman Abu Shanab and 'Abd el Rahim Ibn el Khatwa, and " 'Abd el Rahim" is therefore obviously correct.

14. *Nuri* is a few miles north of Merowi in Dongola

El Abwab ["the Gates"] is another name for the Kabushia district, about 80 miles south of Berber. It was so called because it formed the meeting point of many roads, viz the two river roads, the road to Napata, the old caravan route that ran from KabQshfa N.N E. to the Atbara and the Red Sea, and the route that ran S S E through the cultivable valleys to Abu Delayk and Kayh (see *Arch Survey of Nubia*, XIth Memoir, by Crowfoot)

15. For *Nuri* see *sub* No. 14.

For "*Khalil*" see AB, LXXXIX (note) and cp. Jackson, p. 26.

We are told here that the year 1107 A.H. was called " *Um Hinaydil* ["Mother of little melons"], but in No. 204 that name is given to 1108 A. H.

No. 161 (q v.) was a pupil of No. 15.

"*Sheikh ibn Medam*" is the son of Medani walad Um Gadayn (Tree 10); q.v *sub* Nos. 164 and 162.

17. **Abd el Rahman* is one of the famous AWL AD GABIR, whose

descendants are called GABIRIA or GAWABRA. **He flourished about 980 A.H.** (1572 A.D.), as can be gathered from para, vi, *supra*, which roughly fixes the date of his elder brother, and from a rather obscure remark in the biography of Ibrahim ibn Um Rabi'a, one of his pupils (No. 140), mentioning "the year 982" *apropos* of a *nisba* written by one of the four brothers ("وكتبه وكتبه"), i.e. "And the *fakir* Ibn Gabir el Guhani wrote it as a *nisba* on the Arabs." Whether this *nisba* has any connection with the original of BA (q.v para, ccxxni and note) I cannot say. Ibn Gabir is called "el Guham" here because his ancestor Ghuldmulla's wife was of GUHAYNA origin (see Tree to D 1 and Tree 10 of the *Tabakat*).

'Abd el Rahman is mentioned in BA, ccv.

¹¹"He was one of..." The actual words of the Arabic are:

هو القطب الرباني والغوث الصمداني شيخ الاسلام والمسلمين

i.e. literally, "He was the divine *Kulb* the immortal *Ghauth*, the Sheikh of Isldm and the Muslims." "*Kutb*" and "*Gkauth*" are both high titles of sanctity: the former (see Hughes, p. 531) means literally an axis, and the latter a mediator or sin-bearer of the faithful (see Hughes, p. 139; and, for both terms, Sell, p. 108).

For *Ibrdhim el Buldd* see para, vi, *supra*, AB, LXXXIX *et seq.*, and BA, ccv.

Muhammad el Banufari (for whom see also No. 157) is also mentioned in AB, xcvi.

"He taught... forty times" i.e. in Arabic بلغت ختماته في خليل or, literally, "his seahngs in Khalil reached forty sealings" For the explanation of this see note to AB, xcix; and for Khalil see AB, LXXXIX. "He" in this passage ought, I think, to be understood to mean not 'Abd el Rahman but Ibrahim his brother: see No 23 and No. 60, and AB, xcix.

The DUFAR are BEDAYRIA: see AB, note III.

"The four sons of Gabir...." For the Arabic of this passage see Appendix 3. By a slip the name of 'Abd el Rahman is repeated twice: that in one of the two cases, probably the second, the reading should be "'Abd el Rahim" is clear from BA, ccv (q.v.), where the other brothers also are mentioned.

19. "He devoted.. God" is انقطع الى الله.

21. For *IsmdHl* and *el Banfifari* see *sub* No. 17

This No. 21 is the head of the large Hammadtu family of Dongola. From ABC, LVI, it seems they are ZENARKHA or MASHAIKHA by tribe.

22. *Ibrdhim walad Abu Maldh* was one of the disciples of the AWLAD GABIR (see No. 154).

In No. 157 is mentioned 'Abd el Rahman el Ag-huri as the teacher of el BanQfan, and el Banufari taught No 17 who in his turn taught 'Abd el Rahman ibn Masikh, the great-uncle of this No. 22. The 'AH el Ag-huri mentioned here (and in No. 66) was great-grandson of 'Abd el Rahman el Ag-huri (see note to BA, ccxII), and is known to have died in 1066 A.H.

(1655-6 A.D.). As Kh6gali, the son of No. 22, is said (see No. 154) to have died in 1742 A.D., there is no discrepancy in the dates.

At the end of biography No. 22 the text contains a reference to some book "written at the end of *Dhu el Higga* of the year 1030 by 'Ah Ibn Muhammad, who was known as 'Zayn,' son of 'Abd el Rahman el Ag-hQri el Maliki"; and here our author seems to be a little at fault, not in the date, but in the name: 'Ah was son of Muhammad ibn Zayn el Din ibn 'Abd el Rahman el Ag-hQri (see note to BA, ccxII). The book was no doubt one of the commentaries 'Ali is known to have written on *Khalil*.

23. *Dekin "Sid el 'Ada"* (cp. Cailliaud, 11, p. 255, "Sahib el 'Ada") was the fifth FUNG king. Bruce gives his date as 1570-1587. Sheikh 'Agfb is the same as he mentioned in para. vi. The appointments mentioned were judgeships as will be seen from No. 93, where the names of all four will be found. No. 23 is said to have been an 'Araki by race, but his connection, if any, with those in Tree 9 is not known. "Walad Gabir" is not No. 17 ('Abd el Rahman) but Ibrahim el Bulad, as we know from No. 60 and AB, xcix. The famous 40 are mentioned frequently, e.g. *sub* Nos. 156, 254, 60, etc. It may be noted that Ibrahim's contemporary, Tag el Din el Bahari (*q.v.* No. 67), is also said to have had 40 pupils: for this number 40, cp. Nos. 17 and 90.

25. In his biography the date of his birth is given as 1121 A.H.; but in that of his father (No. 226) as 1122. He had a son, Hasan, who, as appears from D 7, cxc, was the possessor of a library of books.

26. For this casting out of evil spirits by means of the alphabet, cp. No. 61. The Arabic from "*taught him...*" is as follows:

وادلنه في الطب وذل الناس عليه وكان يطب الشياطين بالف ب ت ث

ج ح خ الخ

His *kubba* is shown on the map very close to S6ba.

27. 1007 in the text must be a slip for 1070 in order to agree with the dates of the other persons mentioned here.

"*And there came to him* ." For the Arabic see Appendix 4

'*Adldn* is 'Adlan I of Sennar (1610-1615, Bruce).

"*Five times*" is literally "five knots," i.e. each time he made the promise he tied a knot (sc. in a piece of fibre or such-like) to signify that he was binding himself to the performance.

Muays is about four miles from Shendi.

"*And his tomb...*" is ^

وقبره طاهر يزاور عليه سكة ووقار.

There is a reference in the text to "GA'AL and its kings" (جعن وملوكها). This use of GA'AL for GA'AUYUN (the later form) is common in *nisbas*. Cp. AB, *passim*, and No. 154.

That No. 27 was a man of wealth is evidenced by a remark in the text that he killed 60 sheep in honour of an important visitor.

An anecdote is also related of how he restored to health a broken-down donkey.

Meshra el Ahmar is near Shendi.

28. *Um Dom* is an Island between Khartoum and S6ba on the Blue Nile.

29. "*Imam*" i.e. "precentor," is in the Arabic here "*sahib*" i.e. *lit.* "master."

Asldng is an island in the river about 22 miles north of Khartoum.

The "*King of the FUNG*" is 'Adlan I (1610-1615, Bruce): *vide sub* No. 126. "*Agib the Great*" is "'Agib the Mangilak" of para, vi, *supra* (q.v.)

32. I am told he was a Ga'ali Hasabullawi and was buried at Gebel Sakadi M6ya, west of Sennar.

33. *Taka* is the district round Kassala.

Abu Haraz is close to the north of Wad Medani.

For this biography cp. No. 8.

34. This man's pedigree is given in C 9.

36. "*Attached himself to*" is "*sahiba*."

There is a site near Soba called "Wad Has6ba" to this day.

Um Leban is an island on the White Nile between Dueim and Kawa.

38. *El Kalay'a*: there is a place of this name in the Gezira some 22 miles north-west of el Manakil.

40. *Fds* is Fezzan.

41. This man is mentioned in D 1, **cn**.

42. His descendants were called the 'AKLAB (see D 1, **cn**).

43. "*Among hts followers was.* ." is **مبين احد عليه طريق القوم** (cp. para, vm, *supra* and note).

The "*Sheikh Dafa'alla*" mentioned here cannot be, as is usual, No. 85, because it would be quite incorrect to say that all the stock of the latter were descended from No. 43' two sons: see Tree 9, which shows numerous other well-known descendants of Sheikh Dafa'alla el 'Araki.

44. "*Holy-man*" 1\$ "*ragil*" see note to para v, *supra*

Hagar el 'Asal is between Khartoum and Shendi.

"*He it was...*": the Arabic is:

هو الذي دل الشيخ حسن بن حسونة وكشف له الحجاب

46 The entire Arabic of this biography is given in Appendix 5.

"*Patches*" is "*gtbab*" (*sing.* "*gibba*")\ this word "*gibba*" (or "*jtbbeh*") became very familiar in the Mahdia, being used for the patched shirts worn by the Dervishes in obedience to the Mahdi's orders.

The simile involved in the nickname of "Scorpion's Tail" is "as a man stung by a scorpion dies at once, so he who swears falsely on the tomb of Abu Delayk will die at once " On this subject see Jaussen, pp 311,312.

The district and village of Abu Delayk, the headquarters of the BA-rAniN, lying about 90 miles east of Khartoum, is called after this man His real name was 'Ah and he is generally said (cp *sub* No. 74) to have been a Kahli, but his descendants are always called DELAYKAB.

El Nigfa is a low hill close to the south-west of the village of Abu Delayk: the tomb of Abu Delayk is on this hill and is still much used by the Arabs for the taking of oaths.

48. The text gives some three pages of praises and poetry in honour of "Abu Idris."

50. "*A pupil of...*" is **سلك طريق القوم على**.

51. " *His father... the people there* ** The Arabic is given in Appendix 6. The dialogue is more than typically difficult.

El Tergamy i.e. one of the TERAGMA. It will be seen from the Ga'ali Trees that Tergam was brother of that Kerdam from whom the great majority of the tribe claim descent.

"Dongola" is here written "Donkola" (دونقلا) but the author often elsewhere calls it "ponkola" (ضقلا), e.g. in Appendix 9.

52. *El 'akaid*, which embrace all matters of faith, are in contradistinction to *him el fekik*, which relates only to matters of practice. See Hughes, pp. 106 and 286, and also note to para, v m, *supra*.

"And the cause. .." For the Arabic see Appendix 7.

For the use of رضى for أرضين cp. note to No. 74 (end).

By Ddr Salih is meant Wadai."

53. *Ya'akub* was Sultan of Wadai from 1681 to 1707. He engaged in war with DarfQr and was defeated by the Sultan Ahmad Bukr at Kebkebia (see Schurtz, pp. 542 and 545).

54. " *'Abudi*" is written عيوي: see note to para, vn, *supra*.

55. " *Saridia*"; i.e. a woman of the So WARD A.

"*El 'Agami*" is written العجمي: cp. note to No. 54.

The AWLAD EL 'AGAMI live at Berber, and there are a few of them on Bundi Island. 'Agami is of course the brother of Hasan wad HasUna (No 132)

56. The date of *sannat d gidri* is not stated

58 For *Walt* see note to para, x, *supra*. For "Kandiltl Saridi," see note to No. 222.

For the "*famous case*" referred to *vide sub* No 73.

Mtsmdr el Halashi was one of the 'ABDULLAB *Mangilak* family of Kerri. For lists of these 'ABDULLAB see Budge, 11, p. 204, and Cailliaud, in, p 96, and Jackson, p 105, and Part III, Chap 2 (a) above; and see note to para vi, *supra*. The names here given as those of sheikhs of Kern will not square with the above lists, but the explanation is probably that those sheikhs who were deposed after only a few months' reign are not mentioned in the lists quoted by Cailliaud, etc. The Arabic of this final passage is given in Appendix 8 and it will be seen that owing to the indiscriminate use of personal pronouns it might be translated in several different ways: it is clear, however, that the author is not giving a consecutive list of sheikhs but only mentioning examples of such as were deposed after very short terms of power.

For '*Alt ibn 'Othman* see No. 236; and for Mismar No. 66.

" *Walad 'Agib*" and "*Sheikh 'Abdulla*" are the same person.

60 For the Arabic of the whole of this biography see Appendix 9. The village of Wad 'Ishayb lies about four miles below el Kamlin on the east bank of the Blue Nile, and its people are called 'ISHAYBAB: they are a section of RiKABfA and the descendants of this No. 60.

For *el Banufari* see No. 17.

^y*Agib the Great* is the *Mdngilak* of para. vi.

" *The Gezira*" is in the Arabic here "*el Huoi*" The full name of the Gezira, i.e. the land enclosed between the White and the Blue Niles, was

" **Gezira** Sennai " or " Gczfrat el Huoi. " **The** people of the **Blue** Nile region **more** often use "el Huoi" than "el Gezfra." The word Huoi is often pronounced almost as though it were *Hog'* and the fact is that there is no exact English equivalent to this final consonant, which is quite different from the soft *g* of, e.g., Karkog, or the usual hard initial or medial *g*. The same letter occurs in another word in this same biography, viz. "'Aydaï," as it is here written, or "'Aydag" (maps " Eidag ") as it is often pronounced (cp. *sub* No. 67). Other examples of this case are "Kagoi" in No. 132, "F6ga" (in western Kordofan), which is pronounced almost like "Foiya" by most natives, and "Fung" or "Funye" (q.v. in Westermann, p. hi). Cp. also notes to Nos. 108 and 200 for another case in point. Pere Jausen's remarks on the pronunciation of "*gim*" as "*yet*" among the Arabian tribes will be found on pp. 6, 7 of his book, and I may quote the following editorial from *Sudan Notes and Records* (No. 2, 1918): "We believe that >- m 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 (Berbenne) and has been recorded as occurring in other Arabic dialects (Landberg, *Etudes...*, I, p. 539: 'Quelquefois et dans quelques contrees en Hadramaut *z** est prononce avec un son entre *g* (*j*) et *g*. Ce n'est ni l'un ni l'autre'). The sound in question is articulated in the 'front,' / *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.. .that it very nearly corresponds to *dy*."

'Aydag is close to the north of Wad 'Ishayb.

For *lbrdhim el Buldd* see para, vi and No. 17, *supra*, and note to No. 23, and AB, xcix.

In No. 121 there is a passing mention (omitted in the translation) to "*the fekir Muhammad Kandil lbn el feki Hammad lbn el Sheikh 'AH walad 'Ishayb.*"

61 "*His father was...*" is **L>^Ja^« *^j »^**.

"*Magdhub*" is a San term (see note to para vii, *supra*): it is explained by Hughes (q.v. pp. 116, 301, 310, 612) as meaning "abstracted" or "attracted," "one chosen of God for Himself": "rapt" in English also suggests the meaning implied. For miracle-working by reciting the alphabet cp. No. 26.

62. The statement that 'Ali "el Nil" was the successor of Tag el Din implies that he succeeded to the Sheikhship of the Kadiria *tarika* {*vide sub* No. 67). In No. 216 we have his brother Nur el Din swearing by Tag el Din. The story of the *dolayb* palms (q.v. *sub* No. 216) 19 given at length both in No. 62 and 216.

63. "*A follower of...*" 1 *e.* he embraced Sufiism as taught in the first instance by Dafa'alla el 'Araki. See No. 8, where we have 'All's son Dafa'alla el Shafa'i instructing Taha the son of that 'Omara whom we have here teaching 'Ah walad el Shafa'i

"*And if he heard...*" For the Arabic see Appendix 10 I understand the meaning to be that if any other aspiring poet after 'All's death recited, as his own composition, lines he had borrowed from 'Ah, the spirit of the latter would be heard wailing and his wraith be seen in the air.

65. A Mahassi by race.

66. " 'AwUda*' is sometimes spelt by the a u t عووض and sometimes عوضة.

Musa Ferid is mentioned in No. 132.

" *Sheikh Muhammad*—" The Arabic is given in Appendix 11. The text here gives "Kashkash" for "Kashash," but the correct form occurs in No. 134.

"*El Hadari*" i.e. one of the HUDUR: very probably 'I sa Kanu (No. 143) is meant. The bracelets and anklets would be an offering to the *fejd* in return for his services. For the prayer-mat cp. No. 178.

"FUNG" is here and elsewhere spelt فونج but the author also often uses the form فنج.

"The grace of God," i.e. in Arabic الله :: this is pronounced "alii ulla" "Alii" means "what belongs to": "hddha Mi" ("this is mine") in the Sudan is thus the same as the more common "hadha bitdi." "Lili" is probably an abbreviation of "/// //," the colloquial Arabic for "which is mine" (lit. "to me"), and "alii ulla" would similarly be short for "ilili ulla" ("that which is to, or belongs to, God"). It will be seen that in this passage the author spells it الله three and الليل once.

The "*Sheikh of Kern*" is Mīsmār, one of the 'ABDULLAB *Mangils*. I do not know who is the "short pale bald man" unless it be 'Ah Ibn Barri (No. 58, q.v.). In No 58 Mismar is called "el Halashi."

"Straw some mertssa for htm [1 e 'Awuda, i.e. the sf iker]. .. " That is to say, "He will be everlastingly disgraced by drinking the forbidden beverage." Cp , however, No. 153.

"Pour it over hts tomb...," i.e. as an insult to his memory.

For "the Book and the Law, etc.. ." cp. BA, ix.

For 'Alt el Ag-hUrt cp. No. 22.

'AwUda is mentioned in A 2, XLIV.

67. Tdg el Din is wrongly called "el Bokhan" in Jackson, p. 27.

"Hts actual name. .." The Arabic is given in Appendix 14. For the meaning of the terms "*Sheikh*" "*Imam*" "*Kutb*" "*Ghauth*" see Sell, pp. 104-112. "*Imam*" may be translated "Precentor" or "Leader" or "Pattern" (see Hughes, p. 202); "*Kutb*" is literally an axis (see Hughes, p. 531); and "*Ghauth*" is literally a mediator (see Hughes, p. 139).

'Abd el Kddir el Gilam was the founder of the Kadin'a order and died at Baghdad in the second half of the twelfth century (see Hughes, p. 2, and Sell, p. 116). The Arab nomads of the Sudan chiefly belong to the Kadiria *tarika*, but their allegiance is somewhat nominal. For the successive *Khalifas* of this order see note to No 226. The influence of the Kadiria received a great impulse early in the nineteenth century, when Ahmad Ibn Idris sent missionaries from the Hegaz to the Sudan. The Senussi himself was a member of the order, and intellectually the Senussia and the Kadiria have close affinities. The latter's influence now extends from India to Algiers. Its propaganda is essentially peaceful.

'Abd el Gelil, the father of Daud, is the eponymous ancestor of the GELILAB, and nephew of Hegazi ibn Ma'in, the founder of Arbagi. Hillat Sa'fd, a few miles north of el Kamlin and the chief village of the Wad

Riwa district, is named after the Hag Sa'id **here mentioned**. Cp. **note to para, iv, supra**, and B 1, xxx. 'Aydag is also in the Wad Rawa group of villages (cp. note to No. 60).

The GEL/LAB still own lands at Wad el Sha'fr, which lies west-south-west of Rufa'a in the Blue Nile Province.

"*He married in the Gezira*—" From a remark in the biography of No 190 we know he married a woman of the 'AKK and by her had two daughters. The 'AKK were an Arabian tribe very largely represented at the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs in 640 A J>. (see Butler, *The Arab Conquest* .). They were Kahtanites

Shd'a el Din walad Tuaym is said to have lived eleven generations ago The subsections of the SHUKRIA all claim him or his father Tuaym as a common ancestor.

" 40 persons " See note to No. 23.

Tekalt is a mountain in southern Kordofan (see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, *passim*).

68. Presumably a relative of No. 1 (q.v.). He is said by natives to have been buried at el Kab between Sennar and Wad Medani. He died in 1803 (see D 7, CLXII).

69. Cp. No. 93.

70. "*He died...*" is

وتوفي رحمة الله تعالى وهو في حدود الأربعين سنة او نيف يسير

This branch of the family is omitted in Jackson's Tree (*Yacubabi Tribe*) as living not near Sennar but in the north near Shendi.

71. He is the head of the great Ban el Nuka family, of which one branch live in the north near Shendi, and the other, the YA'AKUBAB, near Sennar They are generally believed to be RAZKIA by race: Jackson (*Yacubabi Tribe*) speaks of them as "originally Shaigi "

"*He was called ..*" is

وسمي بان النقا لان امه قالت بان نقادي اي صفاي وكان عكازا عند
الملك نايل

King Nail was the second of the FUNG kings: his date was 1534-1551 (Bruce).

No. 71, called elsewhere "el Parfr" ["The Blind"], is given in Jackson's Tree (*Yacubabi Tribe*) as son of Hamdan Abu Dukn son of 'AbQd, and there appears as "Bennaga Derair."

72. "*He was a follower of* **سلوك الطريق علي** is

El Imam ^{ya}Ah was the Prophet's son-in-law.

'Arakt, like No. 64, was evidently so named after 'Abdulla el 'Araki.

73. Basbar's descendants are known as the BASAB/R. "El Shukri" was probably only a nickname He is always said now to have been a Shalki, and as the SHAIKIA are by origin GA'ALIIN and '(3n was son of Shaik (see D 5 (r), iv), the term "Ga'ali '(3ni" is quite explicable.

"*It is related...*" For the Arabic see Appendix 15.

This story is also related in almost the same terms in No. 58. The **latter** adds that it was for seven years that the Hammadi abstained from

going to the river; and in place of 'لعقيقة ولده' ("for the shaving ceremony of his child") gives 'ورد البعر يجيب الماء لسمية ولده' ("went to the river to fetch water for the naming of his child"). No. 58 also adds that Basbar, who was sitting under the acacia trees, was engaged in trimming a tablet (بصع لوح), i.e. the board used by *fekis* as a schoolmaster uses a slate. The point of the story of course is that Basbar's son in revenge translated himself into a crocodile.

Most of the AHAMDA are not riverain folk, hence the note that the particular Hammadi in question lived on the river, the implication being that it was very hard for him to avoid visiting the river for years.

As regards the shaving ceremony see Hughes, p. 554: "At the birth of a child it is incumbent upon the Muslim father to sacrifice a goat (one for a girl and two for a boy) at the ceremony called 'Aqiqah, which is celebrated on either the 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th, or 35th day after birth, when the hair is first shaved and its weight in silver given to the poor." On the Blue Nile the father names his child on the 7th day after birth and gives a party in honour of the event and kills a sheep or goat for the guests. The water fetched from the river, in this story, would, if it is really the naming ceremony that is referred to, be merely water wherewith to fill the jars from which the guests would drink. Elsewhere, however (p. 17), Hughes says: "'Aqiqah. A custom observed by the Arabs on the birth of a child; namely, leaving the hair on the infant's head until the 7th day, when it is shaved, and animals are sacrificed. . ."; and again (pp. 50, 51) "The naming of the child should, according to the Traditions.. be given on the 7th day ... On this, the 7th day, is observed also the ceremony of 'Aqiqah, established by Muhammad himself. .. It consists of a sacrifice to God, in the name of the child, of two he-goats for a boy, and one he-goat for a girl..., " which sacrifice is eaten by the friends assembled: while they eat they offer the prayer " O God! I offer to thee instead of my own offspring, life for life, blood for blood, head for head, bone for bone, hair for hair, skin for skin. In the name of the Great God do I sacrifice this goat "

It would appear therefore that the father went to fetch water for the "akika" proper, i.e. for shaving the boy's head, and that it is not strictly accurate to say he wanted it for the naming of the boy, although it is true both functions took place on the same day and presumably on the same occasion.

The occasion of the naming of a child is also celebrated among some Sinaitic tribes (see Jaussen, p. 16 note) For the 'akika as the ceremony of shaving the head of a child, cp. Jaussen, p. 94; and cp. Nachtigal (*Voy. au Ouadat*, p. 88) for the same custom as practised in Wadai, and Crowfoot, *Customs of the Rubatdb* (pp. 122 and 130), where the naming ceremony is described.

In the Sudan, when the child's hair is first cut, which is, by the way, often some four months after birth, a long tuft (the "'urn/" mentioned here) is left growing on that part of the head which was first visible at the time of birth. Now previous to the child's birth it is customary for the

parents to dedicate this tuft to some famous saint ("Sheikh"), to whose *kubba* the "visits" mentioned in note to No. 2 are paid, vowing at the same time some gift, such as a sheep or a camel or some money to the saint in case of their hopes being fulfilled. When the child has reached the age of about 4 or 5 years the parents, in fulfilment of their vow, take him (or her) to the *kubba* of the saint and discharge their vow. One of the guardians of the shrine, *i.e.* a descendant of the "Sheikh," then cuts off the tuft of hair. The tuft is as a rule left in the *kubba*, but, at Wad Hasuna for instance, it is hung up on a tree sacred to the Sheikh just outside the *kubba*, and remains there till some accident happens to remove it: see note to No. 132. The technical word for this dedication is **حور** ("howwara"): *e.g.* **نحور ولود للشيخ** means "we dedicate the boy (*t.e.* his hair) to the Sheikh." Cp. the word "*howdr*" "a disciple," explained in Hughes, p. 169, *qv*. There is a mention of the cutting of the tuft in biography No. 132 {*q>v*}.

That the origin of these customs is of ancient date is clear when one reads in Herodotus (Bk. 11, §65) "The inhabitants of the various cities [of Egypt], when they have made a vow to any god, pay it to his animals in the way which I will now explain. At the time of making the vow they shave the head of the child, cutting off all the hair, or else half, or sometimes a third part, which they then weigh in a balance against a sum of silver; and whatever sum the hair weighs is presented to the guardian of the animals."

It will not be out of place here to describe the votive offerings and such like which I saw in November 1913 hung on the gnarled old *heglik* tree standing in front of the *kubba* of Sheikh Hasan walad Hasuna (No. 132) at the village that bears his name.

1. Many small tufts of hair from children's heads ("*uruf*"); some of these were wrapped in little bags.

2. Large bunches of women's hair These had been left by women whose hair had begun falling out and who looked to the saint to restore it.

3. Several little bundles of the shin-bones of sheep and goats which had been sacrificed at the time of the naming ceremony ("*samdia*").

4. Several miniature shepherd's crooks of this shape—7—. These were about a foot long and were imitations of the long staff ("*tnah-gan*") of the same shape which the Arabs use for shaking down pods ("*ulayf*") from the acacia trees for their goats to browse upon. The dedication of these sticks is the equivalent of a prayer that the boy may become a good herdsman.

5. Some bundles of big bones, chiefly camels'. It was explained that these had belonged to animals which had died of some disease, and the owners had dedicated the bones to the Sheikh in the hope that he would stay the disease from the rest of the herd.

6. Many camels' hobbles ("*ukal*"). These were deposited by the owners of camels which had strayed or fallen sick, in the expectation of the aid of the Sheikh in finding or healing the beasts.

7. There were several articles such as a hair-tent, bowls, grindstones, etc., left temporarily by Arabs in charge of the saint until their return at the end of the season. These were not in any way dedicated to the Sheikh but only entrusted to him for the time being. For this cp. Crowfoot, *Customs of the Rubatab* (p. 123).

The other objects specified were left permanently.

The following quotations from Pere Jaussen's *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* show that the tree-cult underlying the practices described is not necessarily of African origin, although so widely spread through Africa, e.g. among the BASA on the Abyssinian frontier, who have a "sacred tree" (see James, *Wild Tribes...* > p. 193), and in Darfur and Wadai (see Chap. 4 of Part I):

(1) P. 36. "A d'autres sanctuaires on fait une simple visite, relevee d'une offrande, et on laisse un souvenir en attachant a l'arbre sacre qui ombrage la cour, ou aux barreaux des fenetres de la *qubbeh* quelques morceaux d'etoffe."

(2) P. 310. "En temoignage de confiance un bedouin arrache quelques cnns a la queue de sa chamelle, et les attache en ex-voto a une branche de tamansc dressee au milieu des pierres de la sepulture."

(3) F. 334- "Les arbres sacres. .se presentent sous un double aspect: ils sont joints a un sanctuaire ou bien ils sont isolés. Dans le premier cas, ils ne paraissent pas avoir une origine independante du lieu saint qu'ils ombragent, ni un role distinct de l'influence attribuee au *toily wali* qui les a fait croître, qui les vivifie et les protege.... La seconde categorie d'arbres sacres ne jouit pas du benefice de la proximite d'un sanctuaire; ils se dressent isolés, pres d'une source, sur une colline, ou au sommet d'une montagne...."

(See also Plate V to Jaussen's book.)

Cp. also Zwemer, p. 284, for remarks on what he calls "these rag trees" in Arabia.

74 The KAWAHLA themselves accept the DELAYKAB as distant relatives.

'Abd el Kaddir is 'Abd el Kadir el Gilani the founder of the Kadiria order: cp. note to No. 67. The phrase "the fire of 'Abd el Kadir... was with..." is the equivalent of "the mantle of so and so descended upon..." For this succession of *Khalifas* of the Kadiria see note to No. 226.

"And I was in doubt ...": for the Arabic see Appendix 16. "To light the fire" is here again used in the metaphorical sense. Sellama is probably Sellama el Hag Yasef near east of Khartoum.

The word "*ugub*" (عُجُب) is commonly used in the Sudan to mean "again."

This direction to Bedawi to settle "in the red country with the red people" is fastened upon by the BATHIN of Abu Delayk as proving conclusively that the country round el Nigfa and Abu Delayk was occupied by them before the advent of the DELAYKAB, and as disproving the latter's claim to own those parts. Most of the BATHIN are of the red-brown colour that generally distinguishes the nomad Arab.

For "*khalwa*" see note to No. 11.

The MAROHUMAB are a branch of KAWAHLA; some of them still graze

round Abu Delayk with the SHUKRIA. "O Sherff" is addressed to the man to whom Bedowī is telling the tale.

No. 86 used the same words as Bedowī on his deathbed: the Arabic is **يا كاهليات انا جبلنا يوم القيامة**. For this incorrect form ICL^Λ, i.e.

ICL*. for jjXL^Λ, cp. Appendix 7, where we have **رضخنا** for **رضخن**.

"El Samih" is Hammad el Samih, the fifth of the 'ABDULLAB Mangils of Item. Cailliaud (vol. in, p. 96) gives his name correctly, Budge (vol. n, p. 204) and Jackson (p. 105) wrongly as Hamid (or Hamed) el Shemfk. His attack on Shendj is again mentioned in No. 226.

75. This *feki* is reported to have been a Ga'ah and to have been buried near K6z Na'lm in the direction of Shendi. Probably he is the son of No. 229, the 'AWADU being GA'ALIIN.

"He embraced..." **اتسل مذهب الصوفية** **يا**; and "Was a follower of" **احد الطريقين**.

The wearing of wool was a sign of asceticism. Whether "Sufi" is derived from "sUf" (wool) is doubtful (see Hughes, p. 608).

76. This *feh* is reported to have been buned near J. Arang between Wad Medani and el Kedaref, east of the river Rahad. His descendants are mentioned in D 1, cxxv, as among the ASHRAF of the Sudan, being descended from Husayn.

For his date see No. 2, where it is mentioned that Sheikh Khogali, who died in 1742, was his contemporary.

77. He was brother of No. 246. The site of his *kubba* is shown on the map as on the Blue Nile, close south of Khartoum, near Soba. As he was buried elsewhere it is presumably his placenta or afterbirth that is marked by the *kubba*: cp. No. 78. This custom, which had its place, too, in ancient Egypt, is common in the Sudan, and among the Arab tribes appears to be varied according to whether the river is available or not. In the latter case the afterbirth is buried outside the threshold of the house, close in front of the door. With it, in the case of the Blue Nile tribes, are buried a date (if available), a thread of red silk, and a seed of corn (*dhu-raia*): a tuft of a few branches (*za'af*) from the crest of a palm-tree, still connected together at their base, as they grew, is stuck in the ground over the spot where the afterbirth is buried, the upper half of the tuft projecting visibly. If the river is close at hand the afterbirth is (in the case of the Blue Nile tribes) first placed in a dish and carried round the village by a band of boys and girls, soliciting alms, and then, after being weighted with a stone, thrown into the river together with the date, the silk and the seed. The benefits supposed to arise from the date and the seed are good growth and a long and prosperous life to the child: the benefit from the silk thread (which presumably represents the umbilical cord) is said to be to the mother, it being hoped that no ill effects will follow as a consequence of her not being entirely rid of the afterbirth. A similar custom is said to be observed both at the time of circumcision (the foreskin being substituted for the afterbirth) and when the boy is married; but in the latter case, instead of being buried or thrown into the river, the date, silk and seed are placed in a forked stick on the right side of the lintel.

For the whole subject of the importance of the afterbirth and the rites connected with the disposal of it see Sehgmán (*Hamitic Problem*, pp. 658 *et seq.*) and cp. Crowfoot, *Customs of the Rubdtdb* (p. 129).

78. For a *kubba* at the birthplace instead of at the bunalplace see note to No. 77.

"He had the prophetic gift" is **كان من اهل الكشف** {lit "he was of the people who revealed, sc. the future").

79. His pupil, No. 4, died in 1767, and his own father (No. 204) in 1696. The *feki* Samih is, in No. 10, called "el Tamirabi."

80. He is said to have been a Razki, and if so would be connected by birth with the Ban el Nuka family.

81. A Ga'ali by race (*vide* No. 212). El Kerrada is said to be near el Hilalia, i.e. south of el Kamlin.

82. "He had supernatural...": for the Arabic see Appendix 17.

"The saints {Aiohyd} shall come to you": sc "to visit you."

يجلسوك may mean, as I have translated it, "they shall make you be seated," i.e. absolve you from standing up as a sign of respect in their presence; or, possibly, "they shall make you sit [in a position of authority]": cp. the use of **نجد** in No. 66 (Appendix 11).

For "light the fire of 'Abd el Kadir" cp. notes to Nos. 74 and 67.

"His tomb. ..." The site is shown on the maps as "Id Burta" because there is now a well close by. The *kubba* has disappeared, but the tomb exists: it lies a few miles west of Abu Delayk.

83. From No. 33 we know he was an 'Araki. Cp. No. 8.

84 This is the famous "Dafa'lla el 'Araki" or "Sheikh Dafa'lla" Um 'Azam is about 15 miles south-west of Rufa'a. Note that he was born at his mother's village- her name has been changed from "Um Husayn" to "Um Hason" because it is known to the family as the latter at present. The DUBAB are a debased semi-negroid tribe (q v Vol. 1, p. 207).

Bddi walad Rubat reigned from 1651-89 (Bruce) or 1642-77 (MS. D 7).

"Um Lahm" ("Mother of meat") by a euphemism denotes a year of famine See D 7, xu

85. "Be of good cheer .." is as follows in the Arabic:

ابشرون يا هنوابيات [هتونايات] اما جبلكا يوم القيامة

I read "HATUNAB" for "HANUNAB" because Dafa'lla's mother's grandfather is given above as "Hatuna" and not "Hanuna." For the quotation cp. note to No. 74.

86 Y 1 (qv ci) says "The 'ARAKIYYON are descended from GUHUNA, but among them are the children of el Sherif Ahmad Mukbal, who married a wife from among the 'ARAKIYYON and begot Dafa'lla, the ancestor of their pious *Khalifas*; and the latter's sons were Bukr Abu 'Ayesha and 'Abdulla andammad el Nil."

"The west country" ("*Ddr el Gharb*") is Kordofan: the phrase is often used on the Blue Nile in this sense.

Bir Serrdr is about 30 miles north-north-east of Bara Muhammad walad FakrUn was father of No. 238 (q.v.).

The GIMI'AB country is a little north of Khartoum.

It is curious that the author only gives the biography of two of the five sons of Dafa'alla. The el Magdhflb here mentioned must not be confused with el Magdhab the father of No. 123. No. 123 was born in 1693 A.D., whereas the grandson (No. 84) of No. 86 died as early as 1683.

"He was known as..." is in the Arabic:

ونسبه مشهور بالعرقى سبه الى عرك قبيلة معروفة

but I know of no tribe called 'ARAK: the name 'ARAKIYYCN at present certainly only applies to the generations subsequent to No. 86.

The whole of the text of this biography is given.

87. *Muhammad Abu el Kaylak* was the famous vizier of Sennar, who died in 1776 A.D. after a career of king-making and conquest. Information concerning him will be found in MacMichael {*Tribes...*, pp. 10-13 and 211} and Jackson, pp. 50-59, and in MS. D 7 *passim*.

88 This is the author's great-grandfather.

For "*Urn Lahm*" see No. 84.

89. This is the author's father: cp. No. 120. Contrast ABC, xi.

90. For the Arabic see Appendix 18 the whole biography is quoted.

This *Dolib* is a descendant of the Hag Ibn 'Abdulla Ibn Rikab mentioned in No. 222, but the exact degree of relationship is not specified by the author. The intermediate generations as given from memory by one of the DoALIBare given in MacMichael, *Tribes*, p-93; but they may be inaccurate.

For "*khalwa*" see note to No. 11. For "*dhikr*" (pronounced "*zikr*") see Hughes, pp 703-710; and for "*tbdda*" see Hughes, p 612.

"A forty-days'-retreat" (Ar حلوة الاربعة) is a common expression for one of these retreats to which a recluse retires for meditation for 40 days. For this number 40 cp. No. 23 (note).

"O God, bless us..., etc." occurs again in No 105.

"*Walad 'fsa*" is probably No 191.

91. The ZAYDAB country is in Berber province, a little south of el Darner.

93. For these four judges see Nos 23 and 69- the Arabic here is

وهو احدي القضاة الاربعة الذين قضاهم الشيخ عجيبي

Dckin reigned from 1570 to 1587 A D (Bruce).

There are two villages of "Dushaynat" and one called "Wad el Kadi," all about 15 miles south-south-west of el Manakil.

This No. 93 is grandfather of No 193, the founder of Wad Medani. It is said that he was by race a Busaylabi from Upper Egypt.

The translation of the couplet is. "Son of Dushayn, the Just Judge, who does not err into error, his offspring are good men and true, who lit the fire of apostleship " Cp note to No 117

95. He belonged to the 'ABADLA section of BA-TAHIN and his *kubba* lies close to the east of Sennar (*vide* maps, "Sheikh Ferah").

The sons of Gabir are No 17 and Ibrahim el Bulad and their two brothers. Many similar apothegms to that quoted are attributed by the Arabs to Ferah: such are the following:

1. (of the rain) شِنْ جَانَا نَازِلْ شِنْ لَنَا بِالْمَنْازِلِ i.e. "if it descend upon us what matter to us the houses [we have built]."

2. (also of the rain) **جاءنا صاب شئ لنا بالسحاب** " *j.e.* " if it pour down upon us what matter the clouds to us."

The idea in both cases is that the primary consideration is that rain should fall: whether its coming is foretold by clouds or whether the houses are rainproof are secondary matters. Note the play on words in the first quotation.

96. These two brothers are only allotted four lines in the text: they lived at a date rather beyond our author's ken, *j.e.* about the middle of the sixteenth century.

Ifildia (*sic*) is between el Kamlin and el Rufa'a on the east bank.

97. *Gad el Nebt* is mentioned again in No. 127. The text gives no further details.

99. The title is **جاء الله وجاء الله** but the [^] should be interpreted as "or" instead of "and", or \ may be read. An exactly similar case arises in No. 103; and the inference is that the author was copying the names from a MS.: the writing of G and H only differs by a single dot, whereas the sound of the two letters is absolutely distinct. The text here and in No. 103 speaks as though one man and not two was intended.

101. " *El Gamut d Kordofdi*," 1 *e.* one of the GAWAMA'A of Kordofan (or Kordofal) for the spelling of the latter word see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p 223, and cp No. 102

Auh is a hill about 26 miles south of Khartoum.

Busati we no doubt so named after the son of Ghanim's teacher el Arbab (see No 94)

" *Walad Kaddl*" is perhaps son of No. 147; but see notes to Nos. 124 and 125. 'Ayesha is mentioned again in No. 154.

102 There is nothing in the text, which is translated practically complete, to show who Edoma was.

Godatulla in No. 207 is called "Muhammad Godatulla,"

103 Cp. note to No 99

105. For the meaning of " *Nesi*" see No. 90. Cp. D 1, CXVIII.

106. *Shanbat* is a few miles north of Khartoum.

107 Here note an instance of the common occurrence of a man being known not by his father's name but his mother's: cp *sub* Nos. 17, 46 and 85. Note also the almost universal mistake of writing a **ق** for an **غ** (الغيشة for القيشة). In the Sudan the **ق** is pronounced in ordinary dialect like a hard *g* but any one desirous of being thought learned pronounces it deliberately as *gh* (**غ**), and hence the *fekis* being used to pronounce the JJ ^{as} *gh* generally spell proper names really containing a **ع** with a **ق**.

This *Hagu* is called HagQ "Abu Kurn" in Jackson (*Yacubabi Tribe*) and appears to have been one of the most famous of a famous family. His mother Batul appears as such in Jackson's Tree, but Ya'akQb (No. 254), the eponymous ancestor of the YA'AKUBAB, is there shown as HagQ's brother, and son of Batal, instead of brother of Batul. Jackson's Tree being based on oral information is probably wrong, and the detailed consistency of the *fabakdt* is probably correct. The YA'AKUBAB too told Jackson that Batul's

husband Hammad was a *Sherifi* (descendant of the Prophet) and it is more likely the *Tabakat* is correct also on this point. Jackson speaks of HagO's *kubba* being at el 'Azaza (some 15 miles north-west of Sennar and ten miles south of a well and village shown on the map as "Hagu Abu Garn"), and "Urn Mawakih is presumably thereabouts. According to Jackson's Tree Hagu had four sons, Sheikh el T6m, Haggar, 'Abd el Kadir and Tai el Din.

108. "*El Mdi*" (المدي) is now generally pronounced "el Magdi." There is a village called "Wad el Magdi" a few miles south of el Kamln: cp. No. 200.

109. "*El 'Amri*" i.e. one of the 'AWAMRA.

"*El Kdmnin*" (for which cp. ABC, vi) is the old, and more correct, form of "el Kamlin": cp. Poncet (p. 17), who speaks of "Camin" in 1709, and Trémaux (vol. 11, p. 71), who in 1862 calls it "Kamnyn." The word is connected with "*kamna*," an ambuscade, the root being كمن [to hide oneself]: the site is so called because it lies very low and is invisible from a distance.

"*El Koz*" is probably the place of that name west of Shendi [maps, "el G6z"].

in. Cp. No. 159. "*El Batran*" means "petulant" or "insolent" His *kubba* is near Sabil in Sennar Province.

"*Sannat el Wada'a*" is also mentioned in No. 136.

El Humr is near Sennar.

112. "*'Abd el Baki*" is 'Abd el Baki el Zurkani, for whom see note on AB, LXXXIX and BA, XLVIII.

113. "*Badin*" i.e. one of the BUADIRA.

This man is great-grandfather of No. 231 who died about 1117 (A.H.), i.e. 1705 A.D., and the two were buried at the same place (assuming el Gebel to be the same as el Gebayl). "*El Gebayl*" is Gebayl Um 'Ah near Kabushia in Shendi district.

The 'OMARAB, who include the well-known religious family of the AWLAD 'ABD EL MAGID, are descended from and named after 'Omar, the father of No. 113. They are reckoned GA'ALI/N, but on the mother's side claim to be ASHRAF owing to "Abu el 'Asa" having married a daughter of the Sherif Hammad Abu Denana (q.v. in No. 141, note). See also ABC, xm.

114. One of the GHUBUSH of Berber.

115. "*El Mashayrifi*" i.e. a Mahassi (cp. *sub* No. 124) He is evidently connected with Tree 11 (note his tribe and place of burial). Abu Nagila is at Khartoum North, opposite Tuti Island

117 Evidently some connection of No. 93 (q.v. note).

119. "*Take advantage of...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 19.

121. In No. 191 this man is called "The holy-man of Sharau"

123. A contemporary of the author: see No. 194 and note to D 1, cxxv. For "*el Magdhub*" see note to No. 61

This man is mentioned in Jackson (p. 64) and in No. 15, *supra*: in the latter he is spoken of as "el Rihaywabi of Abharaz" [i.e. Abu Haraz]: i.e. he was a Ga'ali.

"Was a pupil of" is **مُتَلِمٌ لِكِتَابِ عَلِيٍّ**; "a follower of..." is **مُتَلِمٌ لِكِتَابِ عَلِيٍّ** (see note to vnr, *supra*).

124. A story of this man is in No 11, q v.

The Arabic of this biography down to "...by origin" is given in Appendix 20.

Abu Nagila. cp. No. 115.

By "*Walad Kishayb*" I think No 208 is meant: note that the latter's ancestor settled on the White Nile and that Kadal "el Wali" (No. 147), whose daughter (?) "*Walad Kishayb*" married, was born on the White Nile. No 208, in his biography, is called a Mesallamabi, and "*Walad Kishayb*" is here called a Mesallami.

For "*a daughter of Walad Kadal*" I think "a daughter of Kadal" should probably be read. see note to No. 125 on this superfluous "*walad*" or "*wad*" If the mother of Mariam was a grand-daughter of Kadal chronological difficulties arise owing to the excessive number of generations between 'AbQdi and No. 124 (see Tree 11)

"Visited" is the technical term, see note to No. 2.

This No. 124 was probably (see note to No. 11) the founder of Omdurman: his *kubba* is to the south of Khartoum and is called "Wad Urn Mariam" ("Wad Urn" being equal to "*ibn*" a curious periphrasis). His descendants are called the MARIUMAB, "Manum" being a colloquial corruption of "Mariam": similarly "*harum*" is a corruption of "*harim*" ("women") in some parts of the Sudan.

For No. 124's pedigree and nickname see ABC, L V. He was a descendant of No. 255.

125 "*He was known* " is **الْمَشْهُورُ بِأَنِ التُّوْرَابِيِّ**: this must be wrong, and as he is always known as "Wad el Turabi," and as his brother Nanna (No 214) is called "*ibn el Turabi*" I have read >JL> for ^U. As a matter of fact he was not "son of el Turabi" at all but "el Turabi" himself, if his own descendants are to be trusted, and they are very positive. It is true that this colloquial "*wad*" does sometimes creep in where it has no place, and this has happened, I think, in No. 124 (q v note). Hammad was called "el Turabi," it is said, because when at Mekka he was asked "What is your race?" and replied "Turabi"; and again when asked "Whence come you?" he replied "Min el turab" (note, "*turdb*" means "earth" or "soil" and his reply was therefore, as it were, "I am of the earth, earthy") As a matter of fact, however, "Abu Turab" was the sobriquet of the *Imam* 'Ah, whose veterans used the war-cry of

الجنة الجنة الى التورابية

("Paradise, paradise for the Turabia"), and it is very likely that "el Turabi" means no more than "the followers of 'Ah": see Mas'udi (ed B. de M), vol. v, Chaps 87 and 94 (pp. 80, 217, 261). There is no evidence of any connection with the TURABIIN who live north of Nekhl in the Sinai Peninsula.

His *kubba* is a few miles north-west of el Kamlin and is much in vogue at the present day.

His descendants declare his father's name was 'Abd el Rahman, and

not Muhammad. His mother Kate was the daughter of el Hag Salama el Pubabi (q.v. m No. 84) and he was thus, it is said, connected with the 'Araki family.

The name "*Nahldn*" is a corruption of "*wahaldn*" ("dirty," "unkempt"): he is said to have remained for thirty-six months shut up in his *khalwa* in a course of asceticism and retirement.

The present *Khalifa* is the eighth in descent from him, the names being as follows: Abu 'Akla (present *Khalifa*), Ibn Hammad, Ibn Muhammad, ibn Hammad, Ibn el Sayyid, ibn el Na'im, ibn 'Abd el Irlabib, Ibn Hammad.

"*He studied....*" For the Arabic see Appendix 21.

Muays is close to Shendi.

"*Took ten seahngs*": see note to AB, xcix.

"*Sultana*" ("*rulers*") here probably means spiritual rulers *orfnkara*

The text mentions that he, like No. 241 (q.v.), met "el Sayyid el Khidr," and followed his teaching. For el Khidr see note to 241.

Some six pages are devoted to the biography of No. 125. He is mentioned in D 7 (q.v. XLIII) but is there called Ahmad instead of HammaJ. D 3 carefully dates his death as in سنة ستة عشر بعد المائة والالف and the dates of his contemporaries corroborate the accuracy of this. He is also mentioned in Budge (vol. 11, p. 202). Jackson by confusing Badi el Ahmar with Badi "Sid el Kum" has antedated "Wad el Turabi" by about a century

126 Cp. No. 29 (his son)

Kargog. The word is here written "Kargog" (كرجوج), and the same spelling occurs incidentally in No. 117 (not in the translated text). For remarks upon the accuracy or otherwise of this spelling see note to BA, ccxvi

127. "*Sawak el Raka? for when, donkey*": for the Arabic see Appendix 22. The "*rakd*" is the leathern jug used by Muhammadans for their ablutions

Maskin is the father of No. 250.

129. By "*GUDHAM*" here is not meant the Arabian tribe of that name but the descendants of Gudham (or Agdham), who appears in the GUHAYNA pedigrees as brother of Sand, the ancestor of the SOWARDA (cp. eg. D J, xcviII).

"*My paternal...*" is

واخذ عليه التوحيد والعربية جدي لابي الفقيه ضيف الله الفضلي

130. "*Agwa*" are properly dried dates of best quality, pressed in baskets.

"*His molhtr's brother.. Gabir*": for the Arabic see Appendix 23

131. Cp D 1, ccxi D 3 does not mention the exact connection of Belli with the rest of the RIKABIA but see No. 222 and BA, CCIII.

132 This is the famous "Wad Hasuna," founder of the village of that name about 27 miles west of Abu Delayk, and eponymous ancestor of the HASUNAB. The present inhabitants of Wad Hasuna claim to be ASHRAF (see C 6 and cp. ABC, x), but many are of very mixed descent. Sheikh Hasan

is reputed to have owned all the surrounding country and some sixty-four *hafirs* [reservoirs, dug to hold the rain water] and innumerable slaves. The brand he used for his animals was i u , t.e. 118, that being the total arrived at by adding together the numerical values of the consonants of his name (HSN), but his descendants of the present day use w_h i.e. 171, as their brand: see Hughes, p. 3, sub "Abjad."

The *kubba* of Sheikh Hasan is one of the most highly venerated in the Sudan and liars are very chary of swearing upon it, for "it kills." Just outside it is the "tree of the Sheikh" covered with votive offerings (see note to No. 73).

For the Arabic of the first portion of the biography see Appendix 24.

"Andalus" is southern Spain: the author probably regarded it as a part of Morocco.

"/ have put my seed...": there is a play on "nasi" and "as/": it is implied that the ancestors of Musa were originally connected with those of the MESALLAMU: the latter consider themselves descendants of the Khalifa Abu Bukr el Sadik (see C 8).

"And by Fatima.. ." HasOna had other children by another wife, as will be seen later from the text. For "Wahshfa" ABC, x, gives "Ha-bashia "

"Kagot" (so pronounced as a rule) is spelt "Kag6g" [كجوج]: cp. note to No. 60, and No. 151. It lies between Khartoum and Shendi (maps, "Koggug").

"He went up to el DurGrba.. ." for the Arabic see Appendix 25.

"El DurUrba" is a hill near to the north-west of Wad Hasuna.

"Donkeys Dam" was so called, it is said, because Sheikh Hasan killed a wild ass there.

"Plate and pin of silver": on the sling of a sword is hung a circular plate of silver ("mihdhir," sing "mu-hara"), through which the leather passes. This is held in position by a long silver pin ("tbzaym") which is welded on to the plate thus (the shaded part being the leather):



"Commander" is "sid kum" The same phrase was used at the FUNG court to denote the marshal or "mayor of the palace," whose prime duty was in early times the ceremonial slaying of a king when, through age or impotence, it was considered that he should for the good of the state be superseded, see Vol. I, p. 50.

"Troops" the word is "gundi" and the plural "gunud" means troops. It is possible "gundi" here denotes some officer of rank.

"The property of her father.. for me": the Arabic is ابوها ماله مال لي. The father was presumably a thief and the expenditure of illgotten money on a shroud would be regarded with abhorrence; "hardm" is the Latin "nefas"

"And [then] he shaved...": for the Arabic see Appendix 26.

The reference is to the cutting of the "uruf" (see note to No. 73).

The " *utfa* " is a howdah, with framework of wood, fixed on the saddle of a camel. It is used on state occasions, such as a " *rahtt* " (moving the bride to the bridegroom's house) or the moving of camp, for the women-folk. They are shrouded from view by the hangings and are surrounded by a display of all their household valuables fastened to the saddle outside: see illustrations in MacMichael, *Tribes* ..., pp. 192, 193

Rds el Fil is on the Blue Nile, south of Rosayres.

The tomb of the " Hag 'Abd el Salam el Begawi " here mentioned is close to Wad Hasana (see maps).

Musa Ferid is mentioned in No. 66.

" *He reared a crocodile* .. ". for the Arabic see Appendix 27. The reservoir mentioned was Um Kanatir. It is said at Wad HasQna that the crocodile was brought from the river by Sheikh Hasan's slaves

Eight pages of MS. are devoted to this biography.

ABC gives Sheikh Hasan's date as 968-1059 A.H. (ABC, x).

133. For this man see D 7, ci, cxxi and ccvII, and cp. Jackson (p. 65), who says he was of the family of Idris wad el Arbab.

Ndnr was the HAMAG vizier who ruled the FUNG kingdom from 1787 onwards: he was son of Muhammad Abu el Kaylak (see D 7, *ci et seq*).

134. Cp. No 66 (para. 2) See also note to No. 187.

135 The ancestor of the " FARADIYYCN "

" *Fard* " is " a term used for those rules and ordinances of religion which are said to have been established and enjoined by God Himself, as distinguished from those which are established upon the precept or practice of the Prophet, and which are called ' *sunna* * " (Hughes, p. 124)

" *He compiled* .. ": for the Arabic see Appendix 28 The fact of his marriage and divorce is taken from No. 252

136. Cp. No. 58.

For " *ilm el kalam* " see note to para, vin, *mpra*

" *Sannat el Wada'a* " is also mentioned in No. 111

Ibrahim had a son YOsef, as is mentioned incidentally in No 33

137. For " *mufti* * " see Hughes, pp. 58 and 367.

139. Cp. Nos. 89 and 204. He was called " el Haggar " and died, as we know from No. 204, in 1098 A.H. (1686 A.D.).

140. See note to No 17. " Bahr " may be an error for " Haggar " () for ).

141. See postscript to para XIII, *supra*.

Sheikh IdrU (q.v. also in D 7, xxi) is one of the most famous of all the " saints " of the Sudan. His *kubba* is at el 'Aylafun and his family (MAHASS) reside there: cp. note to A 9, in ABC gives his pedigree in full.

The present generation is the eighth after him, thus: Muhammad ibn Barakat ibn Hammad ibn Muhammad ibn Barakat ibn Medowi ibn Barakat ibn Hammad ibn el Sheikh Idris

His descendants state that the mother of Idris was Fatima, surnamed " Sulha," the daughter of el Sherif Hammad Abu Denana (q.v. C 8, note xxxn), and that he was born in 913 A.H (1507 A.D.) and died in 1060 A.H. (1650 A.D.) aged 147 [lunar] years. This information is derived from their

copy of the *fabakdt wad Dayfulla*: cp. also ABC, n; Jackson, p. 27; and D 7, i n.

Idris belonged to the KARDAKAB section of MA#ASS and was granted land at el 'Aylafun by the FUNG king. Previous to his coming, which was soon after the commencement of the FUNG dynasty, the land had been occupied by slaves of the FUNG, and hence its name, " 'ayla" being, it is said, a Sudanese word for "slaves," and "fun" being the same as "FUNG". cp. No. 166, and ABC *passim*, where the village is called "el 'Ayl Fang" and " 'Aylat el Fang."

The people of el 'Aylafan are chiefly descendants of Barakat (see Tree 4), and with them are a few SHA/H/A (HANNAKAB), RIKABIA and GA'ALIIN.

The biographies of three of Sheikh Idris's sons are given, viz. Hammad, 'Araki and 'Abd el Kadir. he had also three other sons, viz. Muhammad, Ramli and Belal. The first and second were by one mother, the third and fourth by another, and the fifth and sixth by another.

"The first to light the fire ..." See Nos. 74 and 226 and notes thereto, and cp. No. 67. The present generation are followers of the Khatmia branch of the Kadiruia *tarik*a.

Sheikh 'fsa el Talib, is ancestor of the TALBAB BEDAYRI'A now under the *omda* of the SHUKR/A KADORAB. He was a cousin of the Bedayri "Wad el Turabi" (No. 125). His *kubba* is near the hill named after him, between el Kamlin and Gebel Kayh.

"For example, his prophecy.. ": for the Arabic see Appendix 29. This passage is full of valuable information: it gives us the cause of the war between the FUNG and the 'ABDULLAB of Kern, and its result, the manner of the accession of Badi "Sid el Kum," and the duration of his dynasty and its limitations

For the war with the 'ABDULLAB see No 126 and D 7, xx, and Jackson, p 26.

'Adlan walad Aya reigned from 1610 to 1615 A.D (Bruce), and Badi "Sid el Kam" from 1615 to 1621 (Bruce).

The reigns of Badi's five descendants according to Bruce occupied from 1621 to 1729 (109 years), according to Cailliaud from 1611 to 1717 (107 years), and according to Tremaux's computation from 1623 to 1729 (107 years): the last named agrees most closely with the no (lunar) years of the text Ounsa walad Badi "was the last of the true royal family to lule" (cp. Jackson, p 37)

142. The BEDAYRI'A of Wad el Turabi claim 'fsa as a Bedayn and cousin of No. 125.

Nos. 7 and 34 were born at the same place.

143. "A Hadart": ie one of the HUDUR: cp. No. 66.

"He was in prison...": for the Arabic see Appendix 30

145 He is mentioned also in No. 43, *qv*. The obliterated word is probably "Sabun," a not uncommon sobriquet, or *'Sahib...."

By "Sakarndwia" is meant one of the SAKARANG of Tekah (cp. BA, txxxix).

146 He is one of the 'Araki family, but lived some four generations later than Dafa'alla el 'Araki (see Nos. 193 and 219).

147. "*ElKadal*." قَدَلَ is a word used in the Sudan to mean "he walked in a dignified manner."

Ounsa walad Ndsir reigned at Sennar from 1689-1701 (Bruce).

148. For "*Tmya*" see No. 178.

149 "Was nicknamed..." is جَاب حَلِيمَةً وَبَا كُنِي.

151. For *Kagoi*, spelt "*Kagog*" see No. 132 and note.

Sheikh Hasan HasQna was born at the same place, and his mother's maternal grandmother was, like No. 151, a Saridia Khamaysia (*i.e.* one of the SOWARDA).

152. The nickname means "Father of the Swordstick," or perhaps "Father of the sword of wood."

Shanbdt is just north of Khartoum.

There is a "*Talha*" between el Kamlm and Rufa'a, but the name is common. "*Dwayhi*" denotes his tribe.

153. *Surkum* is a hill a few miles north of Omdurman.

"*Gabri*" *i.e.* one of the GAWABRA or descendants of Gabir.

"*There came to htm.*": for the Arabic see Appendix 31.

"*Servants' beer*": Arabic "*merisa shalddit*." "*Shalddit*" {*sing.* "*shaldU*" } is, I am told by natives, a term for servants, whether freemen or slaves; and "*merisa shalddit*" might mean either "beer, the unclean drink of servants" (and cp. note to No. 66), or (more likely here) "such coarse beer as servants are given to drink." In either case the difference of opinion between Nos. 66 and 153 as to beer-drinking is noteworthy. The story ends as abruptly in the text as in the translation.

"*When the troops...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 32.

Another account of this rebellion, of which the leader was el Amin Aradib walad 'Agib, will be found in D 7, XLII. The difference between the clerical and lay versions is worth noticing.

Note that "FUNG" in this story is once فونج and once فنج: e variation is common.

Budi el Ahmar ruled from 1701 to 1726 (Bruce).

Kern, north of Khartoum, was the centre of the 'ABDULLAB domain, and el fs (Kawa) the headquarters of FUNG power on the White Nile. El Is, Bruce's "el Aice," is also Browne's "Allais, on the Bahr-el-abiad, the place which the ferry-boats frequent" (p. 452).

By "*slaves*" is meant the soldiery: the FUNG army was almost entirely recruited from slaves drawn from such localities as Tekah and Daier in southern Kordofan (cp. Bruce, *passim*).

El Hag 'Omdra was apparently the patron saint of Khali'l el Rumi.

154. *Khogali* is one of the most famous holy-men of the Sudan, and his *kubba* at el Halfaya is very well known. For his biography and pedigree cp. ABC, iv.

For "*him el kalam*" see note to para, VIII, *supra*.

Ayesha was the wife of No. 101, q v.

"*It was characteristic.*": for the Arabic see Appendix 33. For the Shadhalia order see note to AB, u. For the different types of clothing

affected by the religious orders see Hughes, p. 119 (*sub* "Faqir") and pp. 92 *et seq.* (*sub* "Dress").

"Cotton shirts" ("*gibba*"). An allusion to the patched shirt of the *fakir* that became so familiar at a later date, in the Mahdia.

"The kings of GAAL" *i.e.* the *Meks* of the GA'ALI'AN. See note to No. 27.

Kh6gah's rising to greet the successor of Sheikh Idris Arbab would be in compliment to Sheikh Idris as having been the representative of the Kadin'a order (see No. 141), and (incidentally perhaps) as being of the same tribe (MAHASS) as Khogali. Sughayerun (*q.v.* No. 241) was the "lover" in the Soft sense of Sheikh Idris and the successor of the AWLAD GABIR, whose disciple and follower Khogali's grandfather Ibrahim had been: his successor was Sheikh el Zayn (No. 258)

The text later mentions in the following terms

ومن احلاقه تعظيمه واجلاله اولاد المراتب مثل الركابية والمشاخنة

that Kh6gah paid considerable respect to the RIKABIA and MASHAI'KHA "nobility" and others. The whole of this passage describing the attitude of superiority assumed by Khogali suggests a suspicion that interested parties may have obtained the insertion of these qualifying exceptions in the interests of their own prestige, or that a later copyist did not wish to give offence; otherwise "el Sha'arawi's" remarks are somewhat inapposite.

"Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir" is of course "el Gilani"

"Ahmad el Nasiri" is later on called "Muhammad el Nasir" (but see note to para, vn, *supra*) This story of the sandbank gives us the only intimation in so many words of the date of the composition of the *Taha-kdt.*

"When the Sultan Bukr.": for the Arabic see Appendix 34. Bukr reigned in Darfur from 1682 to 1722 (see Schurtz, p. 545) The story ends abruptly as in the translation.

"As regards his original faith .". for the Arabic see Appendix 35.

The "*awrd*" (*sing.* "*wird*") are portions of the Kuran set aside for daily reading

"He died .": for the Arabic see Appendix 36.

Where the date is in the twelfth century the author as a rule omits the first two figures: if the eleventh or thirteenth century is intended he always inserts them.

155. "*Abu Sabib*" is here written ايسبيب ("*Absabib*")

156. "The 40 *disctples*": *sc.* of Ibrahim el Bulad (*cp.* Nos. 23 and 254).

The holy-men whose names begin with M are divided into two groups by the author, the northern and the southern: the following are the southern group: Nos. 157, 159, 166, 168, 169, 174, 177, 179, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 190, 192, 193, 198, 200, 201, 205, 209, 210. The last two of these to be treated of by the author are Nos. 157 and 192 (Mahmud el 'Araki and his son Muhammad), and at the close of the latter's biography, and before commencing the northern group, the author says:

فلما فرغنا على ما يسره اسر لنا من فضل اعيان الصعيد اتفقنا نكمل على اعيان السافل من حرف الميم

("Having completed the pleasurable task of relating the virtues of the notables of the south, we transfer our attention to the notables of the north whose names begin with M.")

All the M's, excepting the numbers quoted, above fall into the northern group. The dividing line between the two is, roughly speaking, the latitude of the junction of the White and Blue Niles.

157. "Born on the White [Nile]" (مولده بالابيض). See note to para v, *supra*, for remarks upon this, and "period of probation" (" idda "), and "Rdgil"

Practically the whole of this biography is here translated, but Mahmud lived too early for the author to know much about him: he is mentioned in Jackson, p. 22.

For *el Banufan* see No. m, and for *el Ag huri* No. 22.

" Studied under" is تعلموا عند; " was a follower of" is اخذ عن.

" Sheikh Khogah said..." is

قال الشيخ خوجلي كان من الخرطوم الي اليس سبعة عشر مدرسة
كلها خربت شلوك وامر لخم

For *el Is* cp. 153 (note); and for " *Um Lahm*" No. 84 We may infer from this passage that there was a successful raid made by the SHILLUK from the upper reaches of the White Nile between about 940 A.H (Mahmud's approximate date: see paras, iv to vi, *supra*) and 1095 A.H (1 e 1533 to 1684 AD).

158 For *Zora* see BA, cLix and A 11, xx

The GHUHUSH are the AWLAD EL AGHBASH (Tree 2)

159 Cp Nos. i n and 3.

1 6 1 " The former father of . " the Arabic is فولد قطبي والد

الفقيه ابراهيم, and this would make Kutbi grandfather of Ibrahim The addition of 0 to the first word makes the sense more correct

" *El Rayda* " is presumably the name of Muhammad's mother The pronouns in this passage are characteristically vague, but the meaning is clear

El Koz is the " Goos " of Bruce's map, lying some miles east-north-east of the junction of the Atbara with the Nile.

162 This *Sheikh ibn Medani* is son of No. 164, called, apparently, after his father's half-brother (No. 236)* cp. Nos. 164 and 15.

" The MED \NI\ YUN are " is as follows- البننيين الذهب ولعن الفضة. The MFDANIYYUN are the descendants of Medani el Nâtik (i.e. Nos. 194, 162, etc.), and "we" denotes the descendants of Um Gadayn, i.e. of a different mother.

163. He was no doubt called "el Tiar" because of his supposed power of transporting himself through the air from place to place. For his death see No. 164.

164. *Um Gadayn* was evidently the mother's name

"Now *Medani el Nafik* died. . " * for the Arabic see Appendix 37.

165 *Ounsa ibn Ndnr* reigned from 1689 to 1701 A.D., according to Bruce; and as "el Medowi" died in 1684 Cailhaud's date (1675-1687) is probably nearer the truth.

166. "El 'Ayl Fung" (العيل فنج) is now called "el 'Aylaftln" (maps, "Eilafun"); see No. 141 (note).

Gedid is on the west bank of the Blue Nile opposite el 'Aylafun: as there are three villages there now they are generally called, in the plural, "elGedaïd."

Elti is on the same bank as, and south of, Gedid.

167. His tomb is with that of his father at Abu Delayk.

168. *Kutrang* is a village on the east bank of the Blue Nile above el 'Aylafun. This man's tomb is at Wad Digays, south of Urn Dubban, east of Kutrang

169. *El Shekayk* is west of the White Nile between el Dueim and Omdurman.

170. "His large commentary ..": for the Arabic see Appendix 38.

"*The SenUssia*" is a work on *tawhid* ("doctrine of unity"). For *sharah* ("commentary") see Hughes, p. 572.

171. "His companion..." is

وصحب في التصوف الشيخ دفع الله العركي

For *el Kubia* see No. 11.

172. Cp. No. 17.

174. See No. 186.

175. "He united ..": the Arabic of this common phrase is

كان ممن جمع بين العلم والعمل

The author mentions in this biography that one of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd el Rahman's disciples gave him the information he has written in the *Tabakat* concerning him.

177. The author states that one of this man's disciples, *fakir* Mustafa Ibn Abu Shama, gave him the information retailed here. See No. 2

178. Cp. No. 148 Timya was not literally the father but the great-great-grandfather of No. 175. The name Timya is here written **تيمية** [for **تيمية**], but in No. 148 it is once written **تيمية** and once **تيميه**.

"His father" is 'Ah Ibn Barn, and "Araki" is 'Abdulla el 'Araki, father of No. 237, and brother of No. 178

"The matting" ("el bursh") would be for the *Khalifa* to sit upon (cp. No. 66).

For the Arabic of the text see Appendix 39.

180. *Tankasi* Island is near Debba in Dongola Province.

181. "He was one of ..": for the Arabic see Appendix 40.

183. The *kubbas* of this man and of his son 'Abd el Rahman are close to Bashakira West: they are of red brick and unplastered.

185. *Medam* is father of No. 193.

186. The form "el Lukr" occurs in Nos. 12 and 174, though here "el Aghir" is used.

Um 'Ukud [maps, "Urn Mughud"] and *Elti* lie on the west bank of the Blue Nile below el Kamlin.

187. *Ounsa walad Nasir* reigned 1689-1701 (Bruce).

This Muhammad is given the surname of "el Nin" in No. 90 (q.v).

In the text of No. 134 mention is made of "SughayerQn and 'Abd el Hadi, the sons of Sheikh Muhammad walad Dohb."

189. "*Ibn Hag*" is qualified by قبل {i.e. "said to be son of, etc."}.

"*King Dekin of Kordofal*" is الملك دكين من دار كوردفال. See note to No. 207.

For *Ghuldmulla* see No. 222.

There occur in this biography the words "...What my grandfather, Musa walad Ria, told me..." (وما حدثني به جدي موسى ولد رية), and it would appear therefore that the author's mother was probably the daughter of this Musa and a Kahlia by race: see No. 85.

190. "*Hts Sheikh*": i.e. Tag el Din el Bahan.

El Mundara is a hill about halfway between el Kamlin and the Atbara: the tomb of No. 190 is to be seen there.

191. A very famous holy-man of the DAHMASH (A section of BEDAYRIA). HIS present *Khalifa* resides at Omdurman and is a merchant held in considerable respect. See Jackson, p. 27, but "'Ah" is there an error for "Muhammad." The fabled reason of his nickname is that he was born with a bracelet of gold on his wrist, but see Vol I, p. 177.

For "*holy-man*" ("*Rdgtl*") see No. 44, note.

Bddi ibn Rubat reigned 1651 to 1689 (Bruce).

"*He ruled* .": this phrase occurs elsewhere in the *Tabakat in toto*

For the *Gin* see Hughes, pp. 133-138.

193. The town of Wad Medani, capital of the Blue Nile Province, is so named after this man. He was a Busaylabi from Upper Egypt, and so far as one can deduce from the *Tabakat* he probably died about 1700 A.D.

El Nilba is a village on the Blue Nile a short distance above Khartoum: it is reputed to have been founded by some NUBA from el Hardza in Kordofan

"*He was buried* ... etc." is دفن في حلقته المشهورة به.

194. "*Now the Muhammads...*" is

والمحمديون الذي اشتركوا في اسر واحد وفي ابوا واحد وعصر واحد
ثلاثة

By "*one father*" is meant "fathers of the same name"

195 Cp Jackson, pp. 26, 27.

For *Salim el Sanhilri* see note to AB, iv. He died in 1606 A.D.

196. "*ElKoz*" is "Koz walad Diab" (cp. No. 239)

198. Cp. No. 191, *re* Sharau.

200 For *Salim el Maidi* see also No. 204; and cp. No. 108

"*Maidi*" is now often pronounced, and spelt, "Magdi": see note to No. 60 on this point. A few miles south of el Kamlin is a village called "Wad el Magdi" and it is probable this was the home of No. 200 or of No. 108.

202. *Amna* is mentioned also in No. 196.

204. "*One of his ?mracles...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 41.

For "*Um Hinaydil*" see note to No. 15.

Of the year 1098 the text says "The year of the Nile which collected the people after the dispersion of *Urn Lahm*, viz. 1098"

(سنة النيل التي جمع الناس من نجعة اهل حمروهي سنة ١٠٩٨)

Urn Lahm, the famine year, was 1095 (see No. 84), and presumably in 1098 there was a high Nile which relieved the distress caused by 1095.

205. Jackson (*Yacubabi Tribe*) gives Medani as son of Muhammad el Zayn.

206. From No. 8 we know this man was a Gama'i by tribe. For Nafa'i see Nos. 207 and 8.

207. "*He dud...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 42.

Gunkul was king of the MUSABA'AT, a branch of the FUR who ruled in Kordofftn. In the reign of Musa Ibn Sulayman (Schurtz, 1637-1682) Gunkul laid claim to the throne of Darfur. For his pedigree, etc., see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 55 (note): he was the father of the 'fsawi mentioned later; and the latter was father of the famous Hashim.

King Dekin is mentioned again in No. 189: he appears to have been the FUNG representative in Kordofan, and the seat of his power would be near Tekah and Daier, the locality intended by "their country."

Nafa't is mentioned *passim*, e g. in No. 206. The author probably means to denote by "He said 'raise the sword'" that NaTa'i was executed on the spot, but this is not certain.

I do not know what قبقبي عليهم means, but have translated it "set orf to attack them."

208. See note to No. 124.

"*Rendered obedience*" is انقادت له, 1 e he was their *Sheikh*.

209. This *Musa* is generally known as "Abu Kussa," and was one of the chief of the YA'AKOBAB: see Nos. 170 and 217. He and his brother (No. 111) have a *kubba* at Sabil (see No. i n , note)

"*Mafhab*" is Marhaba bint Fadl (see Jackson, *Yacubabi Tribe*).

211. The *feki* SughayerQn mentioned here is claimed as ancestor by the D6AUB in Kordotan (see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 93).

212 For *el Kerrada* see No. 81.

"*He was called...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 43.

213. "*In front of*" is "east of," 1 e. 15 miles north-north-west of Gebel Rera, between Abu Delayk and the Atbara.

214. This man has a conspicuous white *kubba* at el Hilalia. See note to No. ١٢٤;. Nanna is said to have had a son Musa. His name is spelt in D3 س.

216. "The " *dolayb* " palm is *Borassus flabeUifer*.

"*I swear by Sheikh...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 44. Tag el Din was the *Sheikh* of this family: cp. No. 62, where the anecdote here related is also given.

221. Cp. C7, in.

222. For the Arabic of the first part of this biography see Appendix 45.

For the genealogical items given in this biography cp. D 1, paras, civ to cxxiv and BA, CLXXXI *et seq.*

Kandil el 'Oni is possibly the "Kandil el Saridi" of No. 58. 'On was a descendant of 'Amir Ibn Dhubidn, one of whose brothers was Sdnd (ancestor of the SOWARDA) and another was Shatir the ancestor of Rikab and Rubat (see BA). If these two Kandils are one man it may be noted that the Barri family (No. 58, etc.) were related on their mother's side with the RIKABIA of Dongola.

"*The four Sheikhs*" are No. 17 and his three brothers.

"*Nds*" means, and is often translated, "the people of...", i.e. (here) "the descendants of."

"*El Fetid*" denotes literally an only son.

226. "*He was the third...*" apparently Tag el Dm (No. 67) is not counted. The other two were Bedowi wad Abu Delayk and Idrls Arbab (see No. 74 and note).

It is mentioned incidentally in this biography that Sdhh's paternal uncles were named Sahn Abu Naib and el Zayn respectively; and from No. 27 (q.v.) we know there were also two others, Bedowi and Hegazi.

The invasion of Shendi alluded to was in 1706 A.D. (see No. 74).

"*J saw Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir...*" sc. "el Gilani, in a vision."

"*Sheikh Sdhh related...*": for the Arabic see Appendix 46

228. For *el Saydl* see No. 251. It is in the Gezira.

"*A Khdhdt*" i.e. one of the KHOWALDA.

230. "*El Zaghrdt*" means one who makes the "*zagharit*" i.e. the shrill cry of "loo-loo-loo" generally used by women. It is said that Selmdn when alone in the wilds would make this noise and the wild gazelle and anel would come to him to be milked. He was a Ga'ali, and was buried at Wad Sak Orta near Rufa'a. A number of his descendants live at Abu 'Ushara and el Sellama, on the Blue Nile, south of el Kamlin.

The "*zagharit*" is not purely African. Burton speaks of it at Mekka. (See *Pilgrimage...*, 11, 159)

233. He is elsewhere called Muhammad Serhan el 'Cdi

234. *Gerf* (or *Gerayf*) *Kumr* is on the east bank of the Blue Nile, just outside Khartoum.

235. "*He became...*" * for the Arabic see Appendix 47.

236. *Malik* was one of the AWLAD UM GADAYN and a half-brother of Sheikh el A'sir.

"*And miracles ..*". for the Arabic see Appendix 48

'*Othmdn walad Hammad* was the liberator of the SnAfIdA from the yoke of the FUNG. A traditional account of this incident is in Nicholls ("*The Shaikiya*"), pp. 10-14, from which it would appear that the SHAtEfA about 1690 (I should say a few years earlier) quarrelled with the 'Abdullibi viceroy, defeated him by a ruse, and obtained their independence.

Poncet was at Korti in 1699 and says (p. 15). "Whereas the People who are beyond Korti upon the River Nile are in Rebellion against the King of Sennir, and that they Pillage the Caravans..., they are forced to keep at a Distance from the Banks of the River and.. to enter into the Great Desert of Bihouda...": the reference is certainly to the SHAI'IA,

who were notorious freebooters. See Vol. 1, p. 216. 'Othmin is mentioned again in No. 243 (q.v.).

The account given by Nicholls varies from that of D 3 as to the name of the FUNG king and of the 'ABDULLAB sheikh: D 3 is much more likely to be right.

'Alt *zvalad* 'Othmdn, who occurs again in No. 58, was one of the 'A B - DULLAB of Kern The Arabic is very vague and confused, but it may be the SHAFKfA defeated the army of the 'ABDULLAB and that the leader of the latter then sent word of the defeat to his FUNG suzerain at Sennar and (possibly) seized the opportunity to join forces with the SHAIKIA against the FUNG.

"He came out of his retreat": "he" must refer to Sheikh although the Arabic hardly admits of it as it stands: cp. note to No. 12. The whole story is somewhat confused.

Kagabt is in the SnAfida country.

"Small-pox": cp. No 243

238. A Mashaykhi. A section of MASHAI'KHA called themselves SHERAF-ELDINAB after him. For his father set No. 84

239. A *Halankt*, see No 196.

240. For *Hammad el Samih* see No. 226

241. This biography is given in its entirety in Appendix 49 (in Arabic).

For the AWLAD GABIR and their sister Fatima see Nos. 17 and 222 and notes.

⁴⁴ *The lover of el Sheikh Idris*: see note to No. 154.

"Four *sdkias*". 1 *e* the land of 4 *sakias*, i.e. about 40 acres of riverain land. An *'Ud* is a variable measure. The word for a spear here is "*solatia*" i.e. the long broad-bladed spear used by horsemen and not the smaller, generally barbed, throwing spear Grants of land mereh mention a given breadth parallel to the river, and the grantee can push his cultivation as far inland, within this limit, at the levels of the ground and the nature of its soil and the water-raising capacity of his water-wheel permit. An average water-wheel cultivates perhaps seven acres, but under favourable conditions ten acres can be watered

Karkog* see note to No 126.

For "*el Sayyid el Khidr*" see Hughes, p 272 He is a mysterious prophet. "Some say he lived in the time of Abraham and that he is still alive in the flesh, and most of the religious and Son* mystics are agreed upon this point, and some have declared that they have seen him " He is sometimes confounded with Elias, sometimes with Phineas, sometimes with St George of England' He is generally supposed to have drunk of the fountain of life See also Sell (pp 106, 107): he is said to be the intermediary between God and the founder of a religious order, and to exercise great influence with holy-men and to unveil the future to them and give them supernatural powers.

El Berkdnt: *le* of the BERAUNA section.

"Five daughters": only three are mentioned by name.

"dealings": see note to No. 17.

"the rainfall ..": see note to No. 2.

242. "Taught by": *تلقاه علي*; "was a follower of" *سلك الطريق علي*..

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243. For the "fight" mentioned cp. No. 236.

"The year after small-pox year": cp. No. 237: the Arabic is **توني عقب الجدري**.

244. *El Saydl*: cp. No. 251.

246. The brother of No. 77.

248. "El Furayn": the text here gives **العورين**, t in No. 206 we have **العورين**.

250. "The father of No. 76. He is said to be buried near Gebel Arang in Mefaza district.

252. The application of a tribal name, "el Fezari," as a nickname to a member of the MAHASS tribe, which is totally distinct from the FEZARA, is analogous to the use of "el Guhani" in the case of 'Abdulla el Guhani (see BA, LVIII).

254. Cp. No. 156. This Ya'akab is the eponymous ancestor of the YA'AKOBAB (see Jackson, *Yacubah Tribe*).

255. A section of the MASHAIKHA are called MUGELLIAB after this man's father. Mugelh is said to have died in Egypt in Zernikh Island and to have been a descendant of the Khalifa Abu Bukr. Cp. No. 238, and see A 2, XXXVII and ABC, LIV.

"And the king. .": for the Arabic see Appendix 50.

It is a not uncommon expression to say that a courtyard, e.g., is "big enough for a horse to gallop in," and the phrase "as much land as his horse could encompass" probably means, as it has been explained by natives, "as much land as a horse could gallop round "

The word "mil" means properly a distance as far as one can see under normal circumstances. Burton (*Pilgrimage* .., 11, 63) defines a "mil" as 1000 paces.

256. He died in 1802 (see D 7, CLII).

259. *Bddi walad Rubat* reigned from 1651 to 1689 (Bruce).

For *Dekin* see note to No. 207.

APPENDIX 1

(Paras iv to xiii)

اعلم ان الفنج ملكت ارض النوبة وتقلبت عليها اول القرن العاشر سنة
عشرة بعد التسعماية وخطت مدينه سار خطاها الملك عمارة . قس¹ وخطت²
مدينه ارجي قبلها بثلاثين سه خطاها حجاز بن معين ولم تستمر³ في
تلك البلاد مدونة علم ولا قروان يقال ان الرجل يطلق المرأة ويتزوجها غيره
في نهارها من عبر عدة حتي قدم الشيخ .⁴ القصير العركي من مصر وعلم
الناس العدة وسكن الابيض وبسا له قصر يعرف اعلان بقصر محمود وفي اول
النصف الثاني من القرن العاشر⁵ ولي السلطان عمارة ابو سكين الشيخ
عجيب المانجلك ففي اول ملكه قدم الشيخ ابراهيم البولاد من مصر الي
دار الشايقية ودرس فيها حليل والرسالة وانتشر علم العقية في الجزيرة ثم
بعد يسر قدم الشيخ تاج الدين البهارة من بغداد وادخل طريق الصوية
في دار العلم ثم قدم التلمساني المغربي⁶ علي الشيخ محمد بن عيسى
سوار الذهب ولكنه طريق القوم وعلمه علم الكلام وعلوم القرآن بتجويد⁷
وروايات ونحوها وانتشر علم التوحيد والتجويد في الجزيرة لانه اخذ عليه
القروان عبدالله الاعيش وبصر ولده العقية ابو سبيه في ارجي ثم طهرت
ولاية الشيخ ادريس من غير شيخ قدم عليه قيل اخذ من الرسول وقيل قدم
عليه رجل من المغربي بالخطوة اسمه عبد الكاف وبعد يسر طهرت ولاية
الشيخ حسن ولد حسونه نعمة من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ثم قدم
الشيخ محمد بن قدم دار بربر وادخل فيها مذهب الشافعي وانتشر مذهبه
في الجزيرة ثم قدمت المشايخة وخطت مدينه الحعلاية

¹ for دنقس (page torn)² for خطت³ for تستمر.⁴ sc. واجل⁵ for العاشر⁶ for البهاري⁷ for المغربي⁸ written بهجوتيد⁹ for والد

APPENDIX 2

(From No. 11)

و قال لها اكتبني صداقك لبناتي فلما فعلت ذلك طلقها فذهبت الي
 الفقيه حميد او هبت له نفسها وعفت من صداقها وتزوجها وقالت له انا
 مظلومة من عبد المحمود غصب شرطي بدورك ترد لي شرطي منه فان
 الفقيه حميد صدقها في قولها وشكاه على الجنود في نزولهم في ابو زريبة
 قالوا له ما يندخل في حديثكم وكتب له الفقيه حميد كتابا في لوح
 وصورته من عند حميد بن مرير الي عند عيد المطرود اما قال الله تعالى
 وهاتوا السا صدقاتهن نحلة وانت خالفت كتاب الله وعصيت صداق المرأة¹
 انت ماك عبد المحمود عبد المطرود هو ابليس فاعطا الكتاب لفقيه قزاري
 [قزاري?] فقال له انت حواربي وخرجتك تجيب لي مثل هذا الجواب
 والفقيه توفاه الله في يومه والفقيه حميد نازل في حلتة الفى امر دُرَّمان
 انطلقت النار اكلت جميع خلواته والخلوة الذي فيها احاطت النار بجميع
 جهاتها قالوا له الناس امروق قال ما يمرق اترك كتيبي فدخل عليه احمد بن
 على العونابي فشاله بعقريبه مرقه ثم لبوا الحلوات بالحجر فسوجت النار
 في الحجر وقد راين² بسط الفقيه حميد قال بعد مروقني من النار اعتقدته
 العوام ونفسه تعصبت منه قال والتي هذا كله سوته الحسنه قالت عصب
 صداقي الله حسيها انتهي

¹ for المرأة.² راينا.

APPENDIX 3

(From No. 17)

اولاد جابر الاربعة كالطبايع الاربعة كل واحد له خاصية اعلمهم ابراهيم
 واصلمهم عبد الرحمن واوورهم اسماعيل واعدهم عبدالرحمن¹ واختهم
 فاطمة امر بن سرحان نظيرتهم في العلم والدين
 عبد الرحيم¹

APPENDIX 4

(From No. 27)

وحادثه زوجة الملك عدلان وقالت له يا سيدى وليداتي مات بدورك
 تسئل الله يعوضي اياهم قال لها اوبتك واوبتك الي خمسة عقد فولدت
 خمسة عيال هم اجداد العدلاناب

APPENDIX 5

(No. 46)

ابو دليق عمر الشيخ بدوي سلك طريق القوم علي الشيخ سلمان الطوالي وانقطع الي الله ولبس الجيب والدلاقين وسمى ابو دليق وسمى ذنب العقرب لكونه لا يحمّل امور الظلمة سريع الغضب لهر وسلك وارشد ومن اخذ عليه طريق القوم بن اخيه الشيخ بدوي وله من الاولاد حسين وعائشة ولها دنع الوفاة قالوا له من الخليفة بعدك قال عائشة بنتي وتزوج بها الشيخ بدوي وولد منها النقر والشيخ مضوي وعبدالله وتاج الدين وتوفي ودفن في النجفة وقبره طاهر

APPENDIX 6

(From No. 51)

ابوه نصر قوا القروان واحتكاه علي الشيخ محمد بن عيسي و اشار له بتزويج امر ابوا سنية وذلك ان الشيخ محمد رآها وهي صغيرة فقال له تزوج هذه البنية تجيب لك ولدا صالحا قال له تجيبك انت فقال في الثالثة او الرابعة تجيبني وذلك ان اهلها يسافروا من دنقلة الي البويض بارض الابواب فلتحقها وتزوج بها فولد له ابو سنية ثم سكن مدينة اربجي ودرس بها الناس

APPENDIX 7

(From No. cz)

وسبب وفاته قتلته سواريه فرضن¹ راسه وهو ناير بالحجارة قاتلهم الله
¹ فرضن for فرضن.

APPENDIX 8

(From No. 58)

فعزلوا من الدرجة الي زمانا هذا فان حضر ولده شاخ بعد العجيل ستة شهور ثم عزل ومسمار ولد ولده عجيب شهران بعد الشيخ عبدالله ثم عزل

APPENDIX 9

(No. 60)

علي ولد عثيب مولد ببندر ضنقله وطلب العلم عند الشيخ محمد
البنوفري بمصر وبرع فيه فسكن دار الصعيد وبنا له الشيخ عجيب الكبير
مسجد وتصدق عليه ملك الفنج بديار كثيرة في الشرق واليه في دار المطر وولي القضا وعدله فيه وحكمه بالمتفق عليه والقوي من الخلاف
وكان رفيق الشيخ ابراهيم البولاد بن جابر في طلب العلم بمصر ويقال
كل منهما دعا علي صاحبه دعوة فاستجبت فيه فدعا الشيخ علي ولد
عثيب علي الشيخ ابراهيم البولاد فقال له الله يقصر عمرك صبي جميع
المسألة¹ السنوك تجيب فيها وقال له البولاد الله لا ينفع بعلمك فان البولاد
تدرسه سبعة سنين وعلم فيها اربعين انسانا ثم توفاه الله والشيخ علي
لم يبلغنا له تدريس له بال الا ان عدهم² القضا ودفن بالعبيدي وقبره طاهر
والعشيباب كلهم ذريته

¹ for المسألة.² for عنده.

APPENDIX 10

(From No. 63)

وكان اذا سمع شعره ينشده غيره يبكي ويطير في الهوى وقد شوهد ذلك
منه مرارا

APPENDIX 11

(From No. 66)

الشيخ محمد بن عيسى لما دنع الوفاة قالت له زوجته ست الملك حسن
ولد كشكش¹ ملك ضنقله امر حلالي ولده اولادك الكبار رشدتهم اما وليدي
من ليه² قال لها عليك بالحضري جاءت وجابت اسورتها وحجولها وقالت
له مرادي تقعد وليدي في محل ابوه فقال له ولد شينبي اقعد موق
سعادتي نقعد فقام حمام الخلوه ثم جاء برك في وجهه فاخذ يده فقبلها
وقال له قعدتلك في مكان ابوك فان حلالي حطلي³ عند الفونج والعرب حظا
وافرا وولي القضا وتدرس جميع فنون العلم

¹ for كشاش.² for له.³ for حطلي.

APPENDIX 12

(From No. 66)

جاءه رجل يقال له بن عباد كان فاسقا بالحوارج² كلها قال له عندي
ساقية معيشة أعتيك فيها ربع قال له ايش تدور عندي قال بدور الليل²
الله قال له اعطيتك ربع اليل الله فان الرجل تاب واستغفر ثم جاءه ثانيا
قال له كملت لك النصف اءلاخر قال له اعطيتك نصف اليل الله فمشا في
النخيل والزيادة ثم جاءه قال له ادبتك الساقية كلها ثم قال له ادبتك اليل
الله كله فوقع مغشيا عليه ايام حتي فاق فصار من اولياء الله تعالى
اليل² for اليل.² حوارج¹ for .

APPENDIX 13

(From No. 66)

وان مسهار ولد عويبي في سفره الي ضنقلة سنة سبعين بعد الالف حوب
المراتب وكسر الاحواء² فاستغاث به الناس وقال لهم خوابه علي يد الرجل
الاصفر القصير الاصلع اما انا ضامن لكم شيخ قروي ما بيج² في ضنقلة فان
جاء عوضه حي صفوا له المريسة يشربها وان مات صبوها فوق قبره قلت
فهذه الوقايح من الشيخ كثيرهم بلغ مبلغ التواتر وهي جايزه كتاب وسنة
واجماع³ انتهى
اجماع³ for . بيجي² for . اجواء¹ for .

APPENDIX 14

(From No. 67)

اسمه محمد والبهاري نعتة ماحوذ من قولهم قمر باهر مضي وسمي
بذلك لضيا وجهه ريشانة من اخباره هو الشيخ الامام القطب الرباني
والغوث الصمداني خليفة الشيخ عبد القادر الجيلاني مولده بغداد وحج
الي بيت الله الحرام ومن¹ قدم بلاد السودان باذن من رسول الله صلى
الله عليه وسلم والشيخ عبد القادر الجيلاني وقدم مع داوود بن عبد
الجليل ابو الحاج سعيد جد ناس العيدتي وقدمه اول النصف الثاني من
القرن العاشر اول ملك الشيخ عجمب وسكن مع داوود في واد الشعير
ضبرت² امر عظام
ضبرة² for . منه¹ for .

APPENDIX 15

(From No. 73)

وحكى أن الشيخ بأسار تزوج بامرأة حمدية وطلقها ثم جاء ابن عمر لها
 حمدي تزوجها وكان حوار الشيخ عبد الوازق أبو قرون فنهاه من ذلك ولم
 ينتهن وقال لشيخه أنت تكافيه مني فقال له لا تقرب البحر الناس بحريين
 يقال أن ذلك الرجل لم يقرب البحر سنين حتي أن زوجته حملت فولدت
 وورد بالقرب لعقيقة ولده أول ما أدخل كراعاه في البحر اختطفه تمساح
 فوضه حتى مات ثم رماه في ساحل البحر وبأسار تحت السدرات صاح شاله
 شاله علي ولدي وعلي يومئذ ولدا صغير له عرف انتهى

APPENDIX 16

(From No. 74)

ترددت في النار هل أوقدها في الضمرا أو أدلي البحر أوقدها في سلمة
 عجب رايت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال لي اسكن الأرض الحمرا
 مع الناس الحمرا والأرض الحمرا قلعت¹ النجفة والناس الحمرا البطاحين
 بنيت خلوة قدامها راكوبة رحلا من المرقوماب² قتل ولد الشيخ نعيم
 البطحاني والرجل وقع عندي وأدخلته في الخلوة وقعدت في الراكوبة
 دخلوا عليه قتلوه قالوا الي الشيخ نعيم يزرط العبرات وانت مسوي لك
 وقاعة طلقوا النار في الخلوة أبت ما تأكلها قلت ما الناس ما يسكن
 معاهمة رايت الرسول ثانيا أنا قاعد في وجهه رايت رايت نملا كثيرا من
 الجهات الأربعة بمشي طالبه قلت يا سيدنا يا رسول الله ايش هذا النمل
 قال وقاعدك أقعد في مكانك ما يجيهم أحد تران³ يا شريف في هذا المكان
 ناكل ورقنا ونرجي اجلنا

¹ قلعة² معبر³ for المرقوماب⁴ for تراني.

APPENDIX 17

(From No. 82)

وكان من ارباب الاحوال وقال للشيخ صالح ولد بان انما يكن لك شان
 عظيم يجوك الاوليا يجوك الاوليا يجلسوك وتوقد نار عبد القادر

APPENDIX 18

(No. 00)

دوليب نسي هو محمد الضوير بن ادريس بن دوليب ومعني نسي في لغة
الضناقلة هو ولد الولد وكانت مجاهدته فوق السد وكان يعمل للذكر
والعبادة الخلوات المربعات ومحل اربعين خلوة في جبل البرص وكل
خلوة اربعين يوما والبرص جبل من بين دار الشايقية وضنقلة وناس ضنقلة
يقول النهر ارزقا عبادة دوليب نسي وكرامة حبيب نسي وعلم ولد عيسي
وله من الاولاد الشيخ محمد النهري وسياتي في حرف المير والفقير ادريس
وهو مقرى القرعان واحكامه ومكى ومدني [مدين or?] وهما فاضلين ودفن
بالدبة وجميع الدواليب نسله انتهى

APPENDIX 19

(From No. 119)

أدركوا زمن الشيخ دفع الله صفارا فقال للشيخ محمد ارشادك على يد
حمد وندي وقال لدفع الله ولد الشافعي مدرك على يد الشيخ عبدالله
انتهى

APPENDIX 20

(From No. 124)

حمد بن محمد بن علي المشيخي المشهور عند الناس باسمه مريم
امها محسبة مشيرفة من بنات ولد قidal الولي وابوها ولد كشيبي من
اوليا ابو نحيلة الذين تزار قبورهم وهو مسلمي الاصل

APPENDIX 21

(From No. 125)

قرا خليل على الفقيه محمد بن التتار في مويس وبرع فيه فاحذ عشر
محتات ثم انتحل مذهب التصوف وانقطع الي الله وتزهد وسلك علي
الشيخ دفع الله وارشده ... ولما دنع الوفاة قال للناس الدنيا انفقوت¹
فقبورها واميرها ما يهرقعوها اتاخذ منه السلطنة الحية

¹ انفقوت for

APPENDIX 22

(From No. 127)

عبد السلام مشهور بسواق الركا يوردوه بالركا للبحر يسوقهما بالمطوق ...
 وابو دليق ولد عبد السلام مشهور بيلام الاسد وذلك انه بهقرا عند الشيخ
 مسكين الخفي وفزع للخطب فقتل الاسد حمارة

APPENDIX 23

(From No. 130)

خاله الشيخ محمد بن سرحان مرض قيل له شفاك في العجوة وكانت
 مفقودة في البلد فجابها لهم حمودة رضي الله عنه من الريف وكانت سبب
 شفاؤه وشرح على خليل حاشية مفيدة صورة خاله واولاد جابر انتهى

APPENDIX 24

(From No. 132)

حسن بن حسونة بن الحاج موسى قدم من المغرب من جزيرة الخضرا
 من [دا]ر الاندلس تزوج في المسلمية فولد حسونة وقال وضعت نسلي
 في اصلي وحسونة تزوج بنت خاله فاطمة بنت وحشية اخت الحاج
 لقاني واصبا صاردية محبسة وولد حسونة من فاطمة اربعة الشيخ حسن
 والعجمي وسوار والحاجة نفيسة واولاد فاطمة الاربعة عقروا ما ولد وولد
 الشيخ بالجزيرة كجوج ربحان من اخباره

APPENDIX 25

(From No. 132)

طلع الي الدرورة وقنطور الحمار حفر ام قناطر حفره وسعي العبيد
 وركبهم الخيل وقال بحرس بهم سعيتي والمتواتر عند الناس لمحساية
 عبد كل واحد شابل سيف قبعه وابزيمه ومحاسيره فضة وليهم¹ سيد قوم
 وجندي وعكاكيز وان الخيل المعدات يجلبوها الي قلبي ودار بوق² (?)
 ودارفور وسنار واولاد عجيب ورقيقه سار حللا ومن كثرت³ الزيارات زربوا
 المهار

¹ لهم for.² يبق written.³ كثرة for.

APPENDIX 26

(From No. 132)

وزينه بأصبغه بلا موسى وأوصي لخيسة فقرا بثلاث ماله كل فقير جاءه
 ستة وثلاثين رأس في رقيق الخدمة الرقيق الاعيان والفرسان ساقوا سادهم¹
 بعضهم ادلوا سار وبعضهم شالوا رأس الغيل
 سيادهم¹ for

APPENDIX 27

(From No. 172)

وكان من قضاء الله وقدره ربا تمساحا في الحفير وكثر صرره فضربه
 ببندق فانعكس الشرار عليه وكان سبب موته وتوفي سنة خمسة وسبعين بعد
 الالف وفي ذلك طلع كوكب الدين

APPENDIX 28

(From No. 135)

والف الحاشية المشهورة بالفرضية في علم الفريض ونقب بالفرض¹ لانه
 كان له باعا طويلا في الفريض
 بالفرض¹ for

APPENDIX 29

(From No 141)

ومنها اخباره للشيخ عجيب حين شاوره علي حرب الفنج قال الشيخ الفنج
 غير العوايد عليا قال له لا تحرب عليهم فانهم يقتلوك ويملك ذريتك من
 بعد الي يوم القيامة فكان الامر كما قال ومنها اخباره للملك بادى ابوا
 رباط حين جاء سيد قوم للملك عدلان ولد اية طالبيين قتال الشيخ عجيب
 وبادي المذكور حوار الشيخ ادريس فساله عن امره فقال له تقتلوا الشيخ
 عجيب وتنتصروا وانت ترجع الي سار ملك ويكون الملك في ذريتك من
 بعدك فكان الامر كما قال وقد ملك منهم خمسة رباط وبادي ولده واوسة
 ولد ناصر وبادي ولده واوسة ولده ومدت ملكهم مائة سنة وعشر سنين
 ومنها اخباره ان ملك الفنج ينقضي وسبب انقضايه انهم يتحاربون
 ينقسمون الي قسمين تقاتل كل طائفة الاخرى حتي يضيع ملكهم

APPENDIX 30

(From No. 143)

منها انه في حالة السجن البيت المسجون فيه انطلقت فيه النار فالتار
لها قابله ماتت وفي كعوم البيت دجاجة مركضة¹ تجر في بيضها اليه
وسمعه يقول انا عيسى عند دجاجتي²
¹ for فركضت. ² for دجاجتي.

APPENDIX 31

(From No. 153)

[ظهرت له كرامات وخوارق عادات منها] انه جاءه رجل وقال له شردت
لي خادم من ذو عام وقال له اسأل الله يروها لي فقال له جيب برمة مريسة
شلاتيت وديكا خصي فجاب الرجل برمتين شلاتيت وديكين خصيان فصفا
البرمة وشربوها هو وضناقلته الذين معه ثم جاءه الرجل وقال له ابن
خادمي فقال شيل الشجر وقل يا بخية¹ ثلاث مرات فجاءت الخادم شائل
قربة ماء وجبالها على وجهها وقالت يا سيدي ان جابك هنا هذا بحر
التيرة وهو قال لها هذه سنار فساقلها واتاه بها وقال له من بعيد امس²
¹ for بخية. ² for امش

APPENDIX 32

(From No. 153)

ومنها ان ملك الفسج لها خرجت عليه العساكر بجميعها من قروي وسنار
وأليس واحاطت به العساكر من كل جانب وقتلوا جميع من كان معه
وما بقي له الا ثلاثين فرسا واختفي منهم في حوش كمير بنت الملك
اخوته فذهبت كمير المذكورة الي الشيخ خليل وقالت له يا سيدي ان
اخي فارقه ملكه ونخشي عليه من الهلاك من عبيده وقال لها اخوك الظالم
المفسد فقالت اتبه اليك ويتوب علي يدك من الظلم والفساد فقال ماتيه
التي فأتت الي الملك وجاءت به مختفيا والبسته ثوب امرأة فلما حضر بين
يدي الشيخ قال انا تبته مما تسأمني عنه فقال له الفونس اخذوا عمامة
الملك منك فهالك عمامتي وضمت لك ملك ابيلك الي ان تموت ولكن اذا
خرجت للقتال احضرنني واحضر حاج عمامة فلما أصبح خرج الي تلك
الجيش في ثلاثين فرسا واحضر الشيخ والحاج عمامة كما امره الشيخ
وهزمهم ببركة الشيخ وقتلهم اشرف قتلة وبقي في ملكه الي ان مات والملك
المذكور باذي الاحمر ولد اونسه ولد الملك ناصر انتهى

APPENDIX 33

(From No. ICJ.)

ومن أخلاقه تمسكه بالكتاب والسنة ومتابعة السادة¹ الشاذلية في أقوالهم وأفعالهم وكان يلبس الإثياب الفاخرة مثل البصراوي الأخضر وعلى رأسه الطربوش الأحمر ويتعمم بالثياب الفاخرة ويتنعل الصرموجة ويتبخر بالعود الهندي ويتعطر ويجعل الزباد الحبشي في لحيته وثيابه ويدخل ذلك اقتداء بالشيخ أبو الحسن الشاذلي والمহার² النعمة الله تعالى ويحمد الله علي ذلك وقيل له أن القادرية أسما يلبسون الحبيب والهرمقات قال ثيابي تقول للمخلوق أنا غنية عنكم وثيابهم تقول أنا مفتقرة إليكم ومن أخلاقه أنه لا يقوم يسلم علي أحد من الجبابرة لا أولاد عجيب سلاطين بلده ولا ملوك جعل ولا لأحد من المراتب إلا الاثنين خليفة الشيخ أدريس وخليفة الشيخ صغبرون قال الشعراوي هذه المرتبة يعني ترك القيام ما وقعت من المشايخ ولو الشيخ عبد القادر فإنه إذا دخل عليه الخليفة العباسي يقوم له إلا الشيخ محمد الحنفي الشاذلي يصبر فإنه لا يقوم لأحد لا البواشات ولا السناجك

¹ for السادة² sic for مهار

APPENDIX 34

(From No 154)

ومنها أن السلطان بلو سلطان كنجارة حين بلغه سبة من الملك هادي حلف ليدخل سنار ويقطع الشجر ويسد البحر وتمشي الحيل عليه فلما تحبب وصار حين بلغ طرف الدار من جهة الصبح وبقي علي المفازة فرا الشيخ خوجلي ويده عصا فوكزه بها في مأخر أصلاعه¹ فانتعخت يده فماتت فكان سبب موته لأن سلطان الفسج استغاث بالشيخ خوجلي وقال له سلطان فور قادم اليها ثم إن السلطان بكر سلطان كنجارة سال أولاد البحر وقال لهم حادني رجل أزرق وعليه قميص أخضر فوكزني بعصا ووصفه لهم كما رآه وقالوا له هذا الشيخ خوجلي استبي

¹ أطلقه.

APPENDIX 35

(From No. 154)

وأما أصل طريقته فلا أساس قادري والأوراد والاحلاق شاذلي فإن شيخه تلميذ الشيخ محمد ناصر الشاذلي

APPENDIX 36

(From No. 154)

وتوفي رضي الله عنه ضحوة الاحد ليلار تمانية عشر في جواد الثاني سنة
 خمس¹ وخمسين وجلس في مكانه ابنه الفقيه احمد باشارة من ابيه وكان
 عبدا صالحا قام مقام ابيه في جميع صفاته ومدت² خلافته³ ستة سنين
 1 for خمسة 2 for مدة. 3 for خلافته.

APPENDIX 37

(From No 164)

(From No 164)

فان مدني الناطق توفي في حيات¹ ابوه الشيخ عبدالرحمن فسماء مدني
 عليه رجاء ان يكون مثل ابيه وقد حقق الله رجاء
 1 for حياة.

APPENDIX 38

(From No 170)

شرحه الكبير علي السنوسية في اربعين كراس¹ وشرحه الصغير في عشرة
 وشرح عقيدة الرسالة ويقال انه شرح الرسالة ولم اقف عليه
 1 for كراسي

APPENDIX 39

(From No. 178)

وخلفه الشيخ حسن بعد ابيه في مكانه والسبب في ذلك ان اولاد الشيخ
 احتلموا فطايعة مسكت عركي وطايعة مسكت محمد هذا وقيل لعمهم
 الحاج ابراهيم الخليفة منه فقال اولاد علي ما بقول لهذا تقدم وللاخر
 تاخر هل يمشوا للشيخ حسن فسافر¹ اليه فسبق عركي واخوانه الي الشيخ
 فرحهم لهم وذبح لهم شاة ثم قدم محمد هذا واخوانه فرحهم لهم وقال حييوا
 البرش لخليفة ولد بري
 1 for سافروا

APPENDIX 40

(From No. 181)

والشيخ محمد بن قورم فهو ااية من ايت¹ الله لان جميع الشيوخ
 كلها اخذت منه العلم والفريض
 1 for آيات

APPENDIX 41

(From No. 204)

ومنها ما أخبرني به الشيخ اسماعيل بن بلال رحمه الله تعالى قال رجلا
من الحضور في مركب الساح حاجت عليهم الريح كادت المركب تفرق
قال يا محمد بن الزين شافه جاء طائرا بعكازه فبهط البحر سلمت المركب

APPENDIX 42

(From No. 207)

وقتل مظلوما شهيدا قتله جنقل سلطان دور هو وطلبته وسي اموالهم
والسب في ذلك انه امره بمعروف ونهاه عن مكرانه قدير من الكتاب في
الف جواد لقتال الملك دكين قال لتلميذه¹ الفقيه نافع الفزاري ارسكي²
اليه قال قولوا له لا تقاتل الفونج في دارهم ان قاتلتهم الله والرسول
معاهم وانا معاهم فلما سمع ذلك قال ارفعوا البير فلما رفعوه قال ان
شاء الله العقيه مختار اقتله ودمه عندنا نزره فقبب عليهم فوجد العقيه
في المجلس وحيرانه في المطالعة فقتل الفقيه وحيرانه واهل بلده وسي
اموالهم فبركة الفقيه حكمل في تلك الايام قتل وتروك نحو حسين ولدا
هذا يقتل هذا الي زمننا هذا الهوت علي الغراش فيهم قليل مثل عيسوي³
¹ تلميذه for ² ارسلني for

APPENDIX 43

(From No. 212)

وسي عيد الشركة لانه قسم السنة نصفين نصفان يخدم الشيخ ادريس
ونصفا يخدم الشيخ ابو ادريس

APPENDIX 44

(From No 216)

وحاط الشيخ تاج الدين البهاري الحيوان الجمل زملا يجي يشيل
في مكانين كلهم حوارا لايه اسمه ابو سعد فقال له اسعد فقال له سيد
امر اسعد فقال له قل للحيوان الجمل زملا الشيخ علي قال لك تعال
شيل في مكانها فجاءت الفيلة وهي اربعة فشالت حملة اربعة وعشرون جمل

APPENDIX 45

(From No. 222)

رباط وركاب ابنا غلام الله اما رباط كان رجلا مجذوبا فزوجوا الصوارد
امة لهم غروه بها فولدت لسليم¹ ثم اقروا له بالغرور وقالوا له هي خادم
لشكاهم للقاضي فحكم له بحرية ولده والزمه قيمة امه وهذه الواقعة في
زمن الفتح فان سليم خطب ابنت² عمه ركب اسمها جنبه فابته لاجل
العبودية ثم ان قنديل العوي عنده ابنة مرضانة فعزور لها سليم فوفيت
فزوجها اياها فولدت عون وولد عون جابر ابوا المشايخ الاربعة وايضا ملك
الكية عنده بنتا مرضانة فشفيت فزوجها اياها فولدت له هذلول ثم رجسية
بنت ركب ندمت علي امتناعها لكونه رجلا صالحا والناس رعبوا فيه
فتزوجها فولدت منه اربعة عيال

¹ له سليم for² ابنة for

APPENDIX 46

(From No. 226)

الشيخ صالح ذكر انه اتاه المدد الالهي بالاذن له في وقود النار بعد
وفات¹ الشيخ بدوي وذلك سنة ثمانية عشر ومي تلك السنة قتل المسيح
شدي وولد ولده الشيخ عبد الرحمن ست² اثنين وعشرين فحميد شاطوته
السلطنة في ديار البحر والمطر فوقد النار وقام بالكوم بغرايضه وسه
ومندوباته فما من³ بيت من بيوت الدين وغيرها الا وله عليه يد ندار
السلطنة قسمها علي الساس مثل الولية . وتوفي سه سبعة وستين
عن خمسة وسبعين سنة . وقام بعده ابنه الشيخ الزين بوكالة من
الشيخ عبدالرحمن احيم واوقد النار مثل ابيه ونفذ جميع ما فعله ابوه في
حالة الحصور والغيبة ومع ذلك مداوما تلاوة القرآن لا يفترو عنه وخصوصا
ثلث الليل⁴ الاحر

¹ وفاة for² سنة for³ في؟⁴ الليل for

APPENDIX 47

(From No. 235)

فصار مفتيا في مذهب مالك والشافع ومدرسا فيهما وسماه ناس ارجحي
مركب الهند

APPENDIX 48

(From No. 2^٨6)

حصلت له كرامات منها انه ضمن لعثمان ولد حميد النصر على حربة الفنج والسبب في ذلك انه مرض وقالوا طبه في دهن الرهف لضرب عثمان رهوة بالبنديق انا بها اليه فزال منه المرض فدعا له بالاصابة في يندقه وما كسر حربة الفنج الا بضربة البنديق فانها لا تخصي^١ وان عثمان لما كسر الحربة خرج من خلوته لابس قميص الشملة السخيل ديل انفصلا من ديل وان الشيخ على ولد عثمان ارسل اليه الملك بادي ولد رباط اعلمه بكسر الحربة وطلب منه الملك فان الملك بادي احبر العسكر قال لهما نصف النهار بعد ما جروا السديد^٢ وانقطع الداخل دخل علي رجل اعسر لابس شملة انه كالحصي^٣ قال لي تمرق حربة لكجي اعمل بك كذا وكذا فان الشايقة الجالبيين الحيل قالوا له هو الفقيه شيخ فان عثمان معتقدا فيه كالحصي^٣ for ؟التسديد^٢ for تخطي^١ for .

APPENDIX 49

(No 241)

صغبرون وهو سيدي محمد بن سرحان العودي وامه فاطمة بنت جابر بن عون بن سليم بن رباط بن غلام الله فيها طابت تلك الشجرة الا من تلك الشجرة وسي صغبرون فان اولاد اخواله اولاد جابر يقولوا له محمد الصغبر فقلب على صغبرون ولد رحمه الله بالجزيرة ترنج من دار الشايقة وكان رضي الله عنه ممن جمع بين الفقيه والتصوف وبرع في الفقيه على حاله الشيخ اسماعيل بن جابر وجازه بالتدريس ورحل الي الشيخ محمد البوفري وقرا عليه شيا من خليل وقال محمد هذا يصلح للتدريس فجعل الله بركة فيه وجلس في مجلس اخواله بعدهم وكان من زهاد العلما وكبار الصالحين ومحب في التصوف الشيخ ادريس بن الارباب وسبب قدومه الي دار الابواب اعدوا له اولاد^١ عبه عداوة شديدة لكونه حاز منصبهم وقام مقام اخواله في العلم والصلاح وساقوا عليه الملك زمراوي ملك الشايقة وامروه بقتله فركب جواده وجاده وهو في المسجد فوجد امه بنت جابر معه فقالت له يا زمراوي جيت تقتل محمد فنزلوه من الجواد مغشيا عليه فجعل يقول حلك حلك بكر الحاج محمد نطسني لجاوه فشفعوا به

^١ for اولاد .

وقال لهم انشي هذا ماء مني من اخوانائي¹ فعلمهم له فشفي وقال له اعطيتك اربعة سواني وكل ساقية اربعين هودا يعود الصلطة واربعة فروس ولادات واربعة روس فقال له مائكم حرام علي وسكن بلدك حرام علي وقول ان الملك بادي ابوا رباط وكان سيد قوم الملك عدلان ولد اياه وكان معتقدا فيه فان الملك عدلان بعدما قتل الشيخ عجب في حكر كوج سافر بجيوشه دار دنقلة فلما جاء في صهوة عجلوه الفنج من الملك وولوا بادي سيد القوم الملك فحيث² طلب منه ان يسافر معه الي الصعيد فقال له بلحقك ثم قدم بعده الي ارض الصعيد بامه واخوانه وزوجاته واولاده فوقع في الديرة فاختلف فقواه ناس الصعيد سكن الصعيد وناس السافل امروه يسكني السافل فقال لهم احثار الله علي ذلك فاحذ ركوته وشال الخلا فاجتمع بالسيد الخضر عليه السلام لال له مسكنك قوز المطرق مقابل سبلت³ ام وزين فسار اليه ووجده شجرا ووعزا فمشا الي المفججة فوجدها فجة ساهلة من الشجر وقال هذه المفججة ينزل فيها اخوان الشيخ عبد الرحمن ولد حميدت وهذا سبب تسميتها بالمفججة ثم ان الشيخ بن سرحان ارسل الي الملك بادي بسار واعلمه بالقدوم وطلبه ان يعطيه بقعة الحلا⁴ للمسكن والمشرع للورود فان الملك جاب زوله له وقال له اعطه جميع الدار اليدورها وحددها له وقال له بلا بقعة الحلة⁵ والمشرع للمفقر وموضع موضع⁶ المقبرة ما ندور شي وهذا في حق رحمة الله تعالى من الوراعة والزهدي في الدنيا ثم ان الشيخ رضي الله عنه بنا المسجد بتأسيس الخضر عليه السلام ويقال ان الشعية الوسطي التي⁷ في موضع التدريس للمشايع قزه⁸ بيده الكريمة وشدت اليه الرجال من سير الاقطار وضربت اليه اكباد الابل واتفقت به الناس ومن اخذ عليه من الاجلا الشيخ دفع الله بن الشيخ ابو ادريس والفقير عبد الحلهم ولد بحر واولاد بري الفقيه علي والحاج ابراهيم وتور المتن الكاهلي البرقاني فهو مدفون امام قبره واولاد التتار الثلاثة الفقيه محمد وحموده ومارزي ومدني الحمر بن الحاج عمر اخيه ومحمد ولد الحاج ابوا القاسم اخيه وكان صالحا فاضلا وتوفي بدور عمه وليس له

¹ for اخواني.² for حيث.³ for سبلت.⁴ for حلا.⁵ for حلا?⁶ dele.⁷ for قزه.

عقب الا بنته حاجة فولدت الفقيه بلال وولد بن سرحان الفقيه الزين
 وابراهيم الحجر وابكر وله من البنات خمسة رابعة تزوجها مدني الحجر
 بن اخيه عمر وحاجة تزوجها محمد بن التنقار بن اخته ءامنة وزينب
 تزوجها محمد بن الحاج ابو القاسم اخيه ومدت¹ تدريسه في الابهواب
 هل ثلاثة عشر ختمة او اربعة عشر او خمسة عشر ودفن بالقوز وقبره يزار
 يستقي بقبره العيش اتشي

¹ مدة for .

APPENDIX 50

(From No. 255)

وحضاه الملك وزوجه ابنته وقطع له في الدار بنواحي الحلفاية قدوما
 يشور¹ جواده شرقا وغربا يمينا وشمالا وجوها له من جميع السبل² فبي
 الي الان كذلك

¹ يسور for

² السبل for

MANUSCRIPT D 4

Introduction

THE full work of which a *precis* and part translation¹ follows contains about forty pages of Arabic MS. It was written so recently as 1911 by Daud Kubara ibn Sulayman, a Berberi of Haifa, and is a medley of history and tradition. Much of it relates to such irrelevant facts as the names of village sheikhs and the kinds of vegetables grown in different parts. The account given of the intestine troubles of Nubia in the eighteenth century is of some interest, and the record of what is presumably the traditional belief of the people as to the origin of the Nubian race is of distinct value.

I The author of the work is Daud Kubara ibn Sulayman of Haifa town

II In his prefatory remarks he states that, being moved by enthusiasm to learn the history of Nubia, he consulted "the learned men of the NUBIANS (النوبيين) and the Turks whose ages were about a hundred years and more" on the subject, and from their statements compiled this work, which he calls "*The Precious Pearls of Useful Knowledge*" or "*A Compendium of the History and Geography of EL NUBA (النوبة), and the Reasons of the Coming of the Turks in the Time of the Sultan Selim I and in the Time of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha, the Founder of the Khedivial Dynasty, until the Present Day.*"

III The opening remarks are an eulogy of the ancient glories of the NUBIANS (النوبة), with special reference to "the city of Parkal, the first capital of the NUBIANS (النوبيون)," and "the city of Donkola el 'Aguz, the seat of the power of King Donkol," and el Khandak, and Arko, and Sai, and Wadi Haifa, and "Faras, which was the capital of the famous kingdom of King Kaykalan," and Ibrim.

IV The work proper now begins, and the first chapter is headed "*The Capital of the Kingdom of the NUBA*" and straightway proceeds as follows:

"Its capital was Gebel 'Abd el Hadi, which lies between Dongola

¹ So much as is a *precis* is given in small type. Actual quotation only (in inverted commas) is in ordinary type.

and Kordofan, and various other hills. Now the cities and hills of the NUBIANS were dense with troops and horsemen, and when their power had become firmly established in the Sudan a great army was assembled, under the leadership of King Tahrak and of Sebach the King of Abyssinia, to make war on the kingdom of Egypt; and after much fighting and great slaughter Egypt was conquered.".. ."Then the Assyrians conquered Egypt as far as the first cataract, that is the Sudan cataract, after ejecting the armies of the NUBIANS (النوبيين) and the Abyssinians.".. .The Egyptians then recovered their power and not only expelled the Abyssinians but overran "the lands of the NUBA (النوبة) and the Sudan, and set up mighty monuments."

V Subsequently the Romans conquered Egypt and "the land of the NUBA" (النوبة). Then followed a period of dire oppression, and the people were reduced to extremities when the torch of Islam was first lighted.

VI Egypt was conquered in the KhaHfate of 'Omar Ibn el Khattab by 'Amr ibn el 'Asi, and its people, excepting a few Jews and Copts, were converted

The armies of the Muhammadans also penetrated "to the furthest limits of the land of the NUBA, to Dabat el Dolib and the hills of the NUBA," and left garrisons there to keep the peace.

VII "Finally the civil war between the BENI OMMAVYA and the BENI HASHIM broke out in the Hegaz; and when they considered the armies which had settled in the land of the NUBA, they took up their abode there and mingled with the NUBIANS, and took their women to wife, and intermarried with them, and made the land of the NUBA their home, and dwelt in complete concord with the NUBIANS: and this is the sole reason of the presence fin the Sudan] of the ASHRAF and Arabs of the Hegaz; and in the course of time they multiplied and formed a great proportion of the inhabitants of the country of the NUBA."

VIII This chapter, the second, is in praise of the Nubian character, its nobility, piety and courage.

IX We are now told that the power in Egypt passed from hand to hand until the time of "T6man Bai, the last of the GERAKISA dynasty," when the 'Othmanfa Turks prepared to invade the country; and a long description is given of the means whereby the Sultan Selim finally overcame Toman Bai on January 22nd, 1517A.D., and conquered Egypt and founded a dynasty which remained in power for some 139 years.

X Selim gradually extended his conquests up the river till he reached IJalfa, and there "he imposed a tax on the water-wheels and the palms, payable in cash and cloth and produce, and made the seat of his power the city of Aswan and Ibrim."

XI Subsequently "Hamam Abu Yusef el Sa'idi, **the** chief of **the** tribe of the HOWARA revolted [sc. against the *MamlUk* rule] and became Sultan of Upper Egypt and part of the NUBA country as far as Wadi Haifa, and these parts became subject to him. It was part of this man's policy to sell the right of ruling the lands of the NUBA to anyone who wanted it for fixed sums; and this system continued for a long time, and as a result it caused greedy competition between the various Turks, that is the *Kashifs*. On this account the tribes of Ibrim formed an alliance, viz. the IBRAMAB¹ and the MAGRAB and AGHA HUSAYN and the SAKRAB (?) and the KIKHiAB and the TUBASH*A and the HAMDUNAB and the KARAMB, with a view to making war on four other tribes, viz. the DAUDAB and the DABABJA and the MAN-DULAB and the AZRIHAN (?).

XII And when these four tribes saw that they could not compete with their foes at Ibrim, they moved to the vicinity of el Derr, which lies ten miles to the south of Ibrim, and made their preparations there for carrying on the conflict; but before fighting actually took place a settlement was arranged between the parties by the mediation of the learned and sensible elders among the NUBIANS on the following conditions: the tribes of Ibrim who had settled at Ibrim were to be allotted six places to rule, viz. Ibrim and 'Aniba and Ganiba and Masmas and Tushki East and Tushki West; and the four tribes were to take fifteen places, viz. Armana and Farayk and Balana and Kustal and Arnadan and Faras and Faras Island and Sarra East and Sarra West and Dabayra and Ashkit and Arkayn and Dabarus and Ankash and Halfd Deghaym. Thus the settlement was effected, and this state of affairs continued for a long time without any tribe encroaching on another.

XIII And the *Kdshifs* coalesced with the NUBIANS by intermarriage until it came to pass that most of the tribes of *Kashifs* were descended from NUBA mothers; and thus the *Kdshifs* became partners of the NUBIANS in their possessions, and the tribes became closely connected for the preservation of order, and lived together in peace.

XIV Finally there arose two persons, one from the tribe of the MANDCLAB, and the other from the DAUDAB, and went to King Hamam Abu Yiisef, the King of Upper Egypt (*el Sa'id*), and gave him many presents with a view to obtaining from him appointments as rulers of the part of Nubia lying between the first and the second cataracts, i.e. from Wadi Haifa to the cataract of Aswan, for one year.

¹ ابراماب for ابراماب reading

This appointment he granted to them for the period of one year; and on their arrival at Derr they appointed employees and assistants for their rule, and started from Derr for W3di Haifa to collect the taxes. But when they reached the neighbourhood of Ferayk they fell to disputing as to which of them was chief, and the two of them remained there, each enrolling the names of his fellow tribesmen. Then the two tribes met there, and a great fight took place, and the army of the MANDULAB was defeated.

XV After this an alliance was formed between the MANDULAB and the ASHRAF, i.e. the DABABIA, and the AzRfaAN, against the DAUDAB, and there was war between them for a long space, and all the chieftains and horsemen of both parties were slain——"

XVI The author then gives the names of the *Kashifs* who were the heads of the four tribes mentioned, and the names of certain of their descendants, and the places where the latter severally reside at present.

XVII The next chapter deals very briefly indeed with the career of Muhammad 'Ah Pasha and his successors up to 1882 A.D. Nothing of interest is recorded

XVIII This chapter mentions by name those whom the author considers to be the most learned or noteworthy personages of the present generation in Nabia. The list contains thirty-one names, chiefly of *Kddts*, Sheikhs and Dervish *amirs*.

XIX Following the above is the heading "*Learned Men** but our author states there is not room to include a list of these, but "I pray Almighty God," says he, "that our Government may see fit to educate our sons, for the children of to-day are the men of the future."

XX The author now passes to the geography of Nabia. Its boundaries on the Nile are, he states, from the north of Aswan to Dabat el Dolib on the northern frontier of the SHAKIA country, * not counting the hills of the NUBA lying between Dongola and Kordofan, and the hills of the ZING NUBA in southern Kordofan."

XXI He next proceeds to mention all the places of interest in Nubia, dividing the country for this purpose into a series of districts and taking them one by one from north to south.

The first ten districts are on the river: the tenth reaches on the south to "Dabat el Dolib, near Old Dongola."

The eleventh district comprises "the hills of the NUBA between Dongola and Kordofan."

The twelfth comprises "the hills of the ZING NUBA in southern Kordofan."

The thirteenth is Gebel Barkal.

XXII These thirteen districts are then subdivided into smaller areas, generally villages, and a few remarks are given concerning natural features or any point of interest.

D 4 (NOTES)

11 The Arabic for the title is

كتاب العرالفريد في الاخبار المفيدة المحتوي علي ملخص تاريخ الامة
النوبية وجغرافية بلادها واسباب دخول الاتراك في مدة السلطان سليم الاول
ومدة محمد علي باشا مؤسس العائلة الخديوية الي زمننا هذا

The words "NOBA" and "Nobian" are used by the author indiscriminately to denote the people of what is known now, as in past times, as Nabia, as well as the inhabitants of the hills of northern Kordofan. He includes the mountaineers of south Kordofan (Noba Mountains Province) in his category of NOBIANS or NUBA, but differentiates them as "ZING NOBA": see note to para. xx.

in Barkal, or Napata, was the seat of the Nubian kingdom which is known to have risen to power between 600 and 700 B c. Piankhi reigned about 721 B c (see Breasted, pp. 367-8, and Budge, vol. 11, pp. 1-2). For the ruins at Barkal see Crowfoot {*Arch. Survey of Nubta*, XI Xth Mem. p 31).

Donkola el 'Aguz ("Old Dongola") was the capital of northern Nubia for some 600 years: it took the place of Napata (see Budge, vol. 11, pp. 297, 299» 372)

Of "King Donkol" nothing is known. An older form of "Donkola" was "Domkola" (e.g. see Yakut, *Geogr. مدينة النوبة اسمها ومقالة*).

Faras was "certainly one of the leading cities of Lower 'Nabia'" and should probably be identified with the mediaeval Begrash (see *Egypt. Expl. Fund Report* 1910-11, and Budge, vol. 11, p. 303). I can find no mention of "King Kaykalan"

iv "Its capital was .." is as follows in the Arabic:

اما عاصمتها فهي جبل عبد الهادي الواقع ما بين دنقلا وكردفان وحلاها
من الجبال لا تحصى

Gebel 'Abd el Hadi is Gebel el Haraza in northern Kordofan. 'Abd el Hadi was the most famous of its chiefs, and was a Dolabi by race, i.e. by origin a Rikabi from Dongola. Pallme met him in 1838 (see Pallme, pp. 96 and 240, and MacMichael, *Tribes...*, pp. 93,94). Cp. Cuny (p. 138), "Le Djebel Haraza, ou Djebel Abd-el-Kadi" [misprint for Hadi], "du nom de son chef recemment decede" (1857). Cp. also Ruppell, p. 125.

The word عاصمة here translated "capital" must mean the ancient headquarters, if not the cradle of the race, as distinct from its more obvious meaning of "capital" in para. xxIII

The suggestion that el Hardza was once the headquarters of the present Nubian stock is extremely interesting and significant. If one re-read in the light of this passage the well-known quotation given by Quatremer anent the expedition of KaldOn against King Any (q.v. in vol. 1,

p. 185), it at once seems probable that, when Any fled away to the " 'ANAG country" across a desert waste, it was at el Haraza, as would be natural, that he sought refuge. Traditions of the 'ANAG as being the ancient inhabitants of el Haraza are universal and there is no doubt whatever that from an early period there was intercourse between the riverain " NUBIANS " and the settlers in the western hills. I incline to think that this intercourse is far older than has been supposed, and there is no reason why it should not date back at least to the seventh century B.C. It is of course more probable that emigrants from the river should have colonized el Haraza, Um Durrag, etc., than that the opposite process should have occurred, but it is often overlooked that there was in early times an enormous nomad population of Hamitic affinities, who roamed the inland country west of Dongola and the junction of the Niles, the "desert of Gorham" and the neighbourhood of el Haraza that is, and who were partly of BERBER origin, and whom Marmol (vol. m, ed. Perrot), in speaking of their wars with "the prince of Dongola," calls "ceux de Gorhan, qui est une espece d'Egyptiens qui courent par les deserts."

The modern Nubian or Berberi may owe nearly as much from the genealogical point of view to these nomads as to their riverain congeners. (See vol. 1, pp. 27 *et seq.*)

"King Tahrak" is of course Taharka, "who flourished in the second quarter of the seventh century before Christ and was the second Sudani conqueror of Egypt" (see Budge, vol 1, p. 482. Breasted gives his date as about 688-663 B.C.).

By "Sebak" may be meant Shabataka, the Ethiopian monarch who succeeded Shabaka about 700 B.C. Manetho calls him Sebichos and mentions that he was killed by Taharka, who succeeded him (see Breasted, *Hist.* pp. 377-8) - .

The Assyrian invasion by Esarhaddon was about 670 B.C.

v THE NUBIANS first had dealings with Romans about 30 B.C. when a prefecture was established in Egypt. From then for a period of 500 years the BLEMYES and NOBATAE (*i.e.* the NUBIANS) were more or less continually in touch with them.

VI 'Amr's conquest of Egypt was in 641 A.D.

Dabat el Dolib, mentioned again in para, xxi, is immediately south of "Debba" (*i.e.* Daba), on the eighteenth degree of latitude

vii This is in agreement with the usual Sudanese tradition: the main immigration to the Sudan of 'Abbasid tribes, as represented by the Ga'ah group, and of Ommayyad tribes, as represented by the FUNG, is generally represented as contemporaneous with the civil war in the middle of the eighth century between the 'Abbasids and the Ommayyads in Asia.

IX The date January 22nd, 1517, is quite correct. Toman Bai was put to death by Selim I (see Lane-Poole, *History...*, p. 354; and Muir, *Mameluke Dynasty...*, Chaps, xx, xxi).

"GERAKISA" is the same as Circassian,

xi For Hamam and the period of HOWARA rule in Upper Egypt and Nubia see Burckhardt's *Nubia*, and Part I I I, Chap. 8 above.

The HOWARA had held considerable power since 1412 A.D., when they

took Aswin from the BENI KANZ, but the period of their greatest power was the eighteenth century, when, under Hamim, they "had assumed the whole government of Upper Egypt south of Siout and the Mamelukes had been obliged to cede it to them by treaty" (Burckhardt).

The names of tribes mentioned in the latter part of the paragraph are doubtful.

XIII The *Kdshifs* were minor officials appointed by the Turks to administer villages or small groups of villages: they were nominally subject to the Beys who were responsible for the larger provinces (see, *e.g.*, Norden, *Travels...*, vol. I, pp. 58-62).

xx Cp. para. 11 (note) for "ZING NUBA" (النوبة الزوج), and D i, CLXXXII. Broadly speaking "ZING" seems generally to denote blacks whose original home was south, south-east and south-west, as distinct from the Nilotic negro proper.

MANUSCRIPT D 5 (a, b, c and d)

Introduction

THE following is a series of four translations. The Arabic text was sent by the native headmaster of Man&kil school to an Inspector in the Education Department in 1913 as being of some interest. They are referred to as (0), (6), (c) and (d) respectively. The first (a) is evidently not copied from any original manuscript but is merely an oral tradition. It is headed simply "This is the history of the A B - DULLAB."

The second (b) is a short note of eight lines about the ARA-KiiN, based, one would say, on some casual verbal information, and by no means accurate, but headed "This is copied from the *nisba* of the 'ARAKIYYUN in possession of the Khalifa of the 'ARAKIYYUN, Sheikh Abdulla."

The third (c) is headed "This was copied from the *nisba* in possession of el Ostadh el Sheikh AH Muhammad, Imam of the mosque of el Manakil and educated there. He took it from the *History of Dongola* word for word (الحمد من تاريخ دنقلة مصححاً)."

To the end of para, xxvII may be, and probably is, an extract copied from a manuscript. The remainder is probably from oral tradition: it agrees in some points and differs in others from the account given by Nicholls (*The Shaikiya*), but from the latter it is obvious that there is no really authoritative version.

The fourth (d) is headed "This is copied from the *nisba* of the RIKABIA in possession of el feki el Bashir ibn el feki Muhammad.*" It is merely a variant of the accounts given in BA and D 1.

D₅(a)*The 'Abdullah*

I Among the most famous and bravest of the tribes of the Sudan is the ABDULLAB.

II This tribe used to rule from Hagar el 'Asal to the old kingdom of Kerri. They were viziers of the FUNG.

III Serious fighting occurred between them and the SURCRAB west of Halfaya el Muluk at a spot called nowadays Fasher el Sheikh 'Agfb el Hag, [that being the name of] the ancestor of the tribe.

IV The cause of the fight was as follows: the SURURAB attacked the 'ABDULLAB at el Halfaya; and in old days fighting was done only with swords and spears, and it was customary in warfare that the opposing armies should stand aside and the fighting be begun by the kings. They were followed by the viziers, and the latter by the rest of the armies.

V In this particular engagement the Sheikhs of the 'ABDULLAB and the SURURAB respectively came forth to battle, and the first to begin the fight were the Sheikh of the 'ABDULLAB and the king of the SURCRAB. Then the former stood up on his steed and said to the latter "Hit the leather" ("shew your strength"), and [the king of the SURURAB] hurled at him a spear of the kind called by them *el salatia* so that it came out at his back. And when [the Sheikh of the 'ABDULLAB] knew his end had come he drew his sword and smote the king of the SURURAB with it, and they two both died. And the Sheikh of the 'ABDULLAB did not fall from his mare, though dead, and no one knew that he was dead till the end of the battle. And when the SURURAB knew that their king was slain they fled in utter disorder, and complete victory rested with the 'ABDULLAB.

VI One of their customs was that their chief man was liable to death at any time whatsoever, for if any one of the sons of his father's brother wished to slay him he would inform him of the fact and appoint a date for him; and the chief would reply "yes" for fear that report should become current that he was afraid. So he prepares himself to meet the demand of his cousin and shaves his head and gets out his sword and places it in front of him and prostrates himself twice in prayer and seats himself to await [his cousin's] coming. Then his cousin arises and takes his sword and goes to find the king we have mentioned and orders the chamberlain to procure him permission [to enter] from the king. Then the chamberlain informs him by knocking at the door, and he gives [his cousin] leave to enter. The latter enters drawing his sword and stands behind the king, who is facing southwards, and strikes him on the neck without the king's saying so much as a word. Afterwards the great men [of the tribe] gather together and place the king's hat on his [*sc.* the slayer's] head and appoint him their ruler. Such were their customs of old.

D 5 {a} NOTES

iv The SURURAB belong to the Ga'ali group of tribes, and are a branch of the GAMU'IA.

v "Hit the leather...etc" is دَقَّ الجَلْد (اظهر قوتك)

vi "Chief man" is ريس ("rais"); "sons of his father's brother" is ابناء عمه, and "hh cousin" ابن عمه; "chamberlain" is حاجب ("higib"); "hat" is قلنسوة.

It would appear that we have in this paragraph a reference to the well-known African cult of the Divine King, the belief that the king incarnates the divine spirit and that he should be periodically killed with a view to the appointment of a successor whose virility has not suffered from retention in an ageing body. The custom is practised by the DINKA and by the SHILLUK, and the killing of the king is a matter of high ceremony and reverence. The same custom was held among the FUNG at Sennar, where Bruce relates that "It is one of the singularities of this brutal people that the king ascends his throne under an admission that he may be lawfully put to death by his own subjects or slaves, if the great officers in council assembled decree that it is not for the advantage of the state that he should be suffered to reign any longer. There is one officer of his own family who alone can be the instrument of shedding the blood of his sovereign and kinsman...." The officer was called the "SidelKttm." The FUNG were largely SHILLUK by origin (see Westermann) and the 'ABDULLAB rose to power in alliance with the FUNG: it is not therefore surprising to hear of a form of the belief in the Divine King as existing among the 'ABDULLAB. (For this subject see Seligman, *Hamitic Problem...*, pp. 664, 665, and vol. 1, p. 50 above.)

"Who is facing southwards" وهو متقبل القبلة.

D5(b*)

The 'Arakiyyun

I The pedigree of these tribes goes back to our lord el Husayn ibn 'Ali. Their ancestor was Muhammad Abu Idris el 'Araki son of Dafa'alla son of Ahmad. The tribe is connected by descent with the BADRAB, whose *Imams*, Sheikh 'Abdulla el 'Araki and his brother Sheikh Muhammad, gave instruction to many folk.

II Their number includes many holy men that visited the holy sanctuary and Medina... (among their holy men the following are mentioned:

- (1) Sheikh 'Abdulla walad Husayn.
- (2) 'Ah walad Nafi a.
- (3) His son Falih ibn 'AH.
- (4) 'Abdulla walad el Kusayer).

D 5 (b) NOTES

I Cp. C 9 and D 3, Tree 9. From these it would appear that the information given is inaccurate. The biographies of Muhammad Abu Idris, of his father Dafa'alla, of 'Abdulla el 'Araki, and of Muhammad ibn Dafa'alla, are given in D 3 under Nos. 48, 86, 34, and 185 respectively. The BADRAB seem out of place here altogether.

II None of these holy men occur in D 3: they would seem to have lived at a later date and to have been of negligible importance.

The 'Abbsia now living in the Sudan

I The 'ABBAS'A now living in the Sudan are descended from Silih surnamed "Subuh" and nicknamed "Abu Merkha." He was the first to come to the Sudan, [viz.] after the decay of the BENI 'ABBAS and at the beginning of the 'Othm&ni dynasty, which are described by the historians in their works. He was a pious man, and the Sudan was honoured by his presence in it as the lands of Irak had been honoured by the presence of his ancestors.

II The vulgar saying of the people of the Sudan that Subuh Abu Merkha was a foolish man who used to wipe himself upon *merakh* bushes is nonsense, and unpardonable in the sight of God: possibly it may be due to the NUBA on account of their enmity to his descendants, who conquered them.

III He was son of Muhammad el Mutawakkil 'ala Alia son of Ya'akub son of 'Abd el 'Aziz el Khalifa el Mutawakkil 'ala Alia, the last of the 'Abbsid Khalifas. This 'Abd el 'Aziz was son of Ya'akub son of Ga'afir el Mutawakkil 'ala Alia. The last named was killed by the TARTARS, and at his death Baghdad was sacked, and then the power of the 'Abbsid dynasty waned and gradually disappeared like all other dynasties: glory be to God. Ga'afir was son of Harun el Wathik son of el Mu'tasam son of the Commander of the Faithful Harun el Rashid son of el Mahdi son of Abu Ga'afir el Mansur son of Muhammad son of 'AH son of 'Abdulla the ancestor of the nation, the translator of the Kur'En, son of our lord el 'Abbas the uncle of the Prophet....

The Tribes of the Hasandb

IV These tribes are descended from Hasan son of Zayn el Dm son of 'On son of Shaik. rlasan was the youngest son of Zayn el Din son of '(3n, and his mother was Fatima daughter of Sheikh Hasan, the Sheikh of the HASANIA; and he was called after his grandfather.

V When Zayn el Din died and his son Hasan was grown up he came to his brothers and his first cousins on the father's side and desired them to give him some of the properties and lands of his father, which were in their possession; and they refused because [though ?] he was their brother, the son of their father, and the [cultivable] lands of the SHA^KIA consisted of only a very narrow strip of shelving river bank; and at that time the river bank was where at the present day runs the road known as *Darb el Sultan*.

VI And when he saw their unwillingness he went away and devised a scheme, and said to them "We will meet, if it please God, on horseback." And they laughed at him and said "By whose aid will you do it, considering that we are your first cousins?"

VII Now at that time the strong among them used to prey upon the weak, and looting was rife; and the sons of '(3n ibn Shaik lived at Korti West and thereabouts. Then Hasan went and married a wife in the country of his brothers and she bore him four sons and one daughter.

VIII One of the sons he called Fahd ("Leopard"), another Sima'a ("Wolf-hyaena"), a third yanid (?), and a fourth Durban ("Porcupine") after the names of beasts and birds of prey, his intention being that they should thereby affright their foes, as was the custom of KURAYSH. And his daughter he named Makash (?).

IX And he taught his sons to ride on horseback, to fight with the sword, to use the spear and to shoot with arrows; and when they had attained the proficiency in warfare that he desired he collected them and his daughter and made them swear that never would they be taken prisoners but would rather fight until all died or all were victorious. Especially upon his daughter did he enjoin that she should fight until she died and not let her cousins capture her to marry her, and she acquiesced.

Then they prepared themselves for death and attacked their cousins and slew many of them; and after this they crossed the river at the ford of el Karafab on the east bank, and Hasan ibn Zayn el Din swore an oath that their horses should not be unsaddled until he found a country for his children to inhabit whether [other folk] liked it or no, or else had all been killed.

X And when they reached the Wadi el Mahfur there met him the sons of his [great-] uncle, that is the sons of el Hag Muhammad the brother of 'On, and they greeted him and were overjoyed, for they desired his aid against their foes and to secure that he and they should be as one single hand against all others.

XI And they said to him "The lands that contain us will contain you." He replied "What will contain me and my sons will only be the distance that contains me on my horse." They said "That shall be so "; and he galloped his horse from the landing-place of the village of el Hag Muhammad to the landing-place of Shilluk, now known as "Taraf Bakarish," and again from this to the landing-place of Kubbat el Sheikh el Nuwabi.

XII Then he set up a stone as boundary between himself and the lands of the king of the BAZA, king 'Akil, the master of Kardafil (*sic*), and this stone is called "*el ShaykhBn*" and is still standing in the middle of the road.

Now this road was then the river frontage, and the site [of the stone] was the [summit of the] shelving bank, which was stony and of little value.

XIII So Hasan and his sons became entirely separated from all intercourse with their cousins, the stock of '(on ibn Shaik, the KANUDAB and the 'AMRAB, and became united in life and in death with the children of their [great-] uncle el Hag Muhammad.

XIV This is the story of Hasan ibn Zayn el Din and what happened between him and his cousins the 'ON!A in the year in which died the king of the BAZA, namely the year 900¹.

XV And the above is taken [منقول] from the *History of Old Dongola* ("Donkola el 'Aguz"). But the NOBA and the BAZA did not know the [true] date and took their reckoning from the years in which their famous men died.

The Tribes living in the Shaikia Country

XVI The tribes living in the SHAFIDA country are of various races. The greater part of them are NUBA, and these live in certain definite places, some of them at el Kadir and Massawi Island, and some in the vicinity of Nuri and el Belial and Kenana (as far as the limits of el Dakait), and others at el Kasimgar and its vicinity eastwards and westwards, and [the] islands. These are the habitations of the NUBA.

XVII Another of the tribes among the SHAIKIA is the BAZA, who live near el Zoma.

¹ 1498 A.D.

XVIII Another is the 'IRAKAB, who live at el Nuri. Their ancestor, el 'Iraki, came from el 'Irak, and it is said they are ASHRAF, and God knows best; but people are to be believed as to their pedigrees and what good is apparent in them, for their progenitors were learned and pious men, as were also the HAMMATTUWIAB.

XIX Among the SHAIK A too are the DWAYHIA. Their ancestor was DWAYH, of the stock of el Ghulam el Rikabi; and they and the RIKABIA have a common descent to our lord 'Okayl ibn Abu Talib.

XX Among the SHAFID A too are the TERAYF*A, the inhabitants of el Ghariba and K6rti and the neighbourhood. Their ancestor el Terayfi came from Darfur as a trader and settled in the country [of the SHAFID A] and begot there his offspring.

XXI Among the SHAIKI A, again, are the HALANKA, the inhabitants of Um Bakol. Their ancestor came from el Taka and settled here.

XXII The BEDAYRIA are of the stock of Abu Merkha, the ancestor of the 'ABBASIYA, SHAIKIA and others, and every genealogical record mentions them.

XXIII Living in the SHAIKIA country too are the FELLALI'T, the sons of Fellati. Their ancestor came from the FELLATA country as a pilgrim, and settled near Uska on the west of the SHAIKfA country.

XXIV Other tribes are the SHELUFAB and the SHIRAYSHAB, and the TAKARAR who live near el Ghazali and el Duaym, west of Merawi.

XXV The ancestor [of these TAKARIR] came from Hausaland and settled in the country [of the SHAIKIA] and mingled with the people of the land and adopted their habits (تزووا برهم), and their complexions changed from very black to brown (*samra*) by reason of intermarriage (*lit.* "women").

XXVI The remnants of all tribes we have mentioned are still occupying these regions, excepting the tribe of FUNG. These latter have disappeared and left no trace excepting the sons of their daughters, the 'ADLANAB¹, the sons of Muhammad "the younger" (*el sughayr*) son of Shaik.

XXVII The kings of the FUNG were bold and cunning, oppressive and unjust, and when the SHAIKIA came and established their power the authority of the FUNG was dispersed, their kingdom brought to nought and their rule destroyed, and they and their progeny went away altogether by reason of the cry of the oppressed... (there follow a few pious reflections)....

XXVIII The above is what I have found and copied and heard, and God knows best the truth, and to Him do all men return.

¹ reading عدلناب for عدلاناب.

XXIX The 'on who was mentioned above was *(5n son of Shaik, and he had three sons, Zayn el Din and Kanud (Katud ?) and 'Amr, [whose descendants were] surnamed KANUDAB (KATUDAB?) and 'AMRAB and ZAYNELDINAB and HASANAB; and the best known tribal names are 'ON! A and HASANAB.

XXX Such descendants of el Hag Muhammad ibn Shaik, *(3n's full-brother, as are to be found to-day are the stock of Yusef, MANATAB and KUTAB and MAHMUDAB: these were the sons of his own begetting. But the allies (الوالي)¹ who are mixed with them are for the most part SOWAKIRA and SHELLALIL and others.

XXXI The mother of Sower ibn Shaik was one of the TUNGUR of Darfur. He had no full-brother. He had six sons, Hamdulla and Tamalayk and Nimr and 'Aid and Wasif and Gadat.

XXXII The sons of Hamdulla are 'AKUDAB and AMINAB, of Tamalayk TAMALAYK, of Nimr 'ANAYNAB and HAMARTUDAB, of 'Aid 'AfDAB, and of Wasif ZILAYTAB.

XXXIII The sons of Muhammad Kadunk¹ ibn Shaik are the KADUNKAB², and these fall into three divisions, BANADIKA, SUBHAB and 'AYNAB (?)³.

The KADUNKAB⁴ used to be the most numerous of the SHAIKIA, but they were continually intermarrying [with others], like every [other] tribe with a few rare exceptions.

XXXIV Muhammad "the younger" ibn Shaik was full-brother of Muhammad Kadunk⁵, and was ancestor of the 'ADLANAB, but the ancestresses of this section were all daughters of the FUNG, for they lived close to the latter at Merawi. And they acquired the characteristics of the FUNG; for the latter in those days were the ruling power and gave to the 'ADLANAB a share of their dominion as being the children of their daughters. Thus you see the 'ADLANAB have lost their brown complexion and their natural love of the open air.

XXXV Howwash ibn Shaik had no full-brother. He was ancestor of the HOWWASHAB, and the ancestresses of these were nomad Arabs. They used to marry whatever they found, good or bad, among the races of mankind, and in consequence their natures are invariably evil.

XXXVI Nafa'a ibn Shaik was ancestor of the NAFA'AB. He had no full-brother.

¹ reading كندق for كندق.

² reading عياب for عياب.

³ reading كندق for كندق.

⁴ reading كندق for كندق.

⁵ reading كندق for كندق.

XXXVII Salim ibn Shaik had four sons, Khalid and Serayh and Ya'akub and Rashid.

XXXVIII Khalid's descendants are the KHALIDAB, Serayh's the SERAYHAB, Ya'akub's the YA'AKUBAB, and Rashid's the RISHAYDAB.

D 5 (c) NOTES

III The author's knowledge of history is so hopeless that it is not easy to guess at the date at which it is suggested that Subuh immigrated to the Sudan.

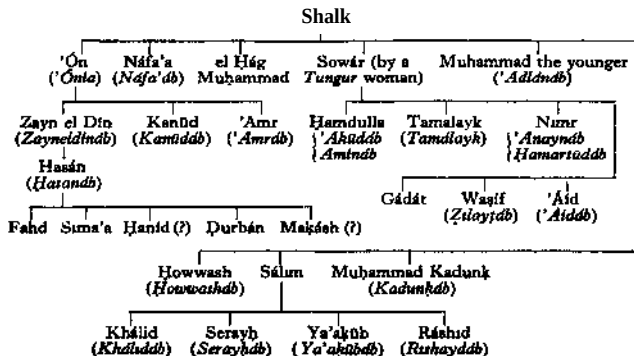
From Harun el Wathik to el 'Abbas the generations are correct; but Ga'afir was Harun's brother, not his son. Ga'afir ruled from 847 to 861 A.D. and was not killed by "the Tartars" at all. The author seems to have gloriously confused the Saljuk Turks, the Mongols or Tartars, and the Ottoman Turks.

The last of the 'Abbasids, 'Abdulla el Musta'sim was killed by Hulagu the Mongol in 1258 and the sack of Baghdad followed; but no less than twenty-six Khalifas ruled, at least nominally, for a total period of nearly 400 years, at Baghddd, between the death of Ga'afir el Mutawakkil and the accession of 'Abdulla el Musta'sim.

The probability is that the author means to suggest that Subuh came to the Sudan about the middle of the thirteenth century. Cp. ABC, xxII, where Ghanim, Subuh's grandson, is spoken of as being the first immigrant, i.e. in 1277 A.D.

"Merakh" is *Leptadenia Spartium*, a switch-like shrub without leaves,

iv The connection of the Hasanab with the rest of the SHAKIA, according to the version given by the author of D 5 (c) in the following paragraphs, if given in the form of a genealogical tree, would be as follows:



viii "*Sima*a*" (سمع) is a mongrel beast, the offspring of the wolf begotten from the hyaena (so Lane's *Dictionary*).

The meaning of "*Hanid*" if that be the true reading, is unknown: the same applies to "*Makdsh*."

ix For other mentions of this participation of SHAIKI A women in battle see Cailliaud (Chap, xxv) and Nicholls, pp. 10, 21 and 31.

xi The custom of granting a man as much land as he could gallop round is said to have been not uncommon.

XII Baza (or Basa) lies east of Kabushia. The name is an old one: see Quatremere, who, quoting a mediaeval Arab historian, speaks of the king of "the Gates" [*i.e.* Kabushia] and "the Princes of Barah (Bazah), el Takah...etc.": this in 1286 A.D. See vol 1, p 183 and cp. D 6, XLI.

XVIII See C 8, xxxII (note) for 'IRAKAB.

"People are to be believed..." is

الناس مامونون على انسابهم والحير فيهم طاهر لان اسلافهم كانوا علماء
و صلحاء و كذلك الحمّويّاب

For this cp. AB, xxvi and BA, xv and D 6, XL.

The HAMMATTUWIAB or HAMMADTUWIAB are the descendants of Hammadtu, for whom see D 3, 21 and 158.

xix By "*Ghuldm*" I presume Ghulamulla Ibn 'Aid is meant. Cp. Nicholls, p. 39.

xx Cp. Nicholls, p. 19.

xxiv In Nicholls (Appendix 11) the SHELUFAB and SHIRAYSHAB are given as being themselves SHAIKI.

XXVII Cp. Nicholls, Chap. 11.

xxx "*SOWAKIRA*" is the plural of "*sokan*" z word used on the river for the village watchman who is chosen by the villagers to take charge of stray goats, etc, that are found damaging their cultivation. He is, in return, paid so much a head by the owner for each animal so impounded.

"*SHELLALIL*" are inhabitants of the cataracts ("*sheldl*").

xxxi Cp. Nicholls, p. 50. The descendants of Sowar are generally known as SOWARAB.

xxxn "*HAMARVUDAB*" (حميرتوداب) may possibly be an error for "*HAMMADTUWIAB*" (حميتوياب or حميرتوياب), q.v. para, XVIII.

XXXIII In the name "*KADUNKAB*" or "*KANDUKAB*" we probably have, not a mere misprint, but an instance of the very common Sudanese-Arabic habit of inverting syllables. Similar examples are "*ADNALAB*" often used for "*ADLANAB*," "*istibalia*" for "*isbitalia*" (a hospital), "*goz*" for "*zog*" (a husband), "*lahbat*" and "*halbat*" (to mix up), etc.

XXXIV Others give the 'ADLANAB a Kanzi origin (see Appendix to ABC).

D5(d)

The Tribes of the Rikdbia

i The ancestor of these tribes was Sheikh Ghulamulla. He was born on an island called Nowawa after his father had come from the land of Yemen.

II He begot two sons on one of the islands of the Red Sea, called Siakia, and thence he proceeded with them to the land of Dongola, which, when he arrived there, was utterly sunk in error owing to the lack of learned men. When he arrived there he built a mosque and taught the Kuran and the sciences.

III Now his two sons were Rikab and Rubat.

IV Rikab had five sons, 'Abdulla, 'Abd el Nebi, Habib, 'Agib and Zayd el Fend.

V Rubat had six sons, Ruzayn, Dahmash, Muhammad 'On, 'Abd el Razik, Misbah and Hazlul.

VI Ruzayn's descendants were [the family of] Habib Munesi; and Dahmash's were [those of] the *feki* 'Ali Manofali at Dongola.

VII Muhammad '(5n begot the AWLAD GABIR, the great men of learning.

VIII The descendants of 'Abd el Razik were [the family of] Sheikh Hasan walad Belil at el Kenara.

IX The sons of Misbah are among the KABABISH and consist of many subdivisions.

X The descendants of Hazlul are at el Haraza.

XI The sons of 'Abd el Nebi were 'Abd el Sadik, ancestor of the SADIKAB, and Shakara, the ancestor of Hasan walad Shakara at Dongola.

The descendants of Habib are the people of el Sababi.

XII The descendants of 'Agib are (*sic*) Sheikh Muhammad walad Abu Halima.

XIII The descendants of Zayd el Ferid are (*sic*) Walad Hag Magid.

XIV Hag Magid's descendants are the BAHIGAB and the 'AKIZAB.

D 5 (d) NOTE

For the whole of this extract cp. BA, CLXXIX *et seq.* to ccvIII; D i, xcII and civ *et seq.*

MANUSCRIPT D6

Introduction

THIS work was written in 1860, almost certainly by a certain Ahmad ibn el feki Ma'aruf. From internal evidence one would say that he was a Fadni.

He devotes much space to the FADNIA, who are not a very important tribe, and is obviously anxious to glorify their origin and exploits.

It is also clear that the author wrote from the north-eastern Sudan. His explanation of the word "*Ga'ali*" (para, xi) is the one that could only be current in the north, and he speaks (para, xii) of the KAWAHLA as a southern tribe. That he did not live on the river is suggested (a) by his vagueness as to Dongola and Berber (paras. Lix and LX), and (b) by his interest in and knowledge of the tribes of nomads living between the Nile at Kabushia and the Abyssinian frontier. As regards the sources of the information given, it is obvious that they are much the same as those of A 11 and A 2, and that we have here another of the "Samarkandi" group of *nisbas*; but though the opening paragraphs are apparently copied almost word for word, the author soon breaks away and gives various details drawn, in all probability, from purely oral sources.

The actual manuscript translated, which consists of seven folios, is frayed and stained and may well be the original text of 1860. It came into the possession of the Education Department of the Sudan Government in 1913, but in what manner or from what direction is not known. The Arabic is indifferent and the style loose and disconnected.

I In the name of God_____

II I have composed this essay to explain the origins of the Arabs each in their turn to whoso wishes to know them.

IIII say, and God is my help, that I have heard from our lord Abu Sulayman el 'Iraki and Abu Mahmud el Samarkandi that they heard our Sheikh Abu Sulayman el Bahrani say in some of his retreats (i.e. schools, "*khalwat*") "We have undertaken a mighty task. Verily pedigrees have fallen into confusion. What hero will take them in hand that the *Sherif* may be known from the pretended *Sheriff*" Then he would correct himself and say "But to contradict one who calls himself a *Sherif* is a large and difficult matter and a pure heart

cannot encompass it, for men are of different classes: some are modest..." (several lines, showing the difficulties to be encountered owing to men's different characters and motives, follow).

IV I must now return to my subject, namely the mention of the Arab tribes that are occupying the land of the Sudan—in our day that is; and God knows best what the future may be.

V The first of them to be mentioned is the family of the noble Sherif el Sayyid Mahmud son of Muhammad son of Sulayman son of Ga'afir son of 'Abdulla, and his pedigree goes back to Muhammad ibn el Hanafia.

They include numerous tribes, almost innumerable, known as the FADNIA, or, as they were originally called after the manner of Arabic, "the FAWADANI." These include the family of Hasan ibn Ba Fadni ibn Muhammad, among whose descendants was a man called Barakat ibn Kasim ibn Mahmud ibn Musa ibn Husayn ibn Katada ibn Hasan ibn Ba Fad (*sic*). This man was a powerful personage and married the daughter of 'Anka ibn 'Atif, who bore to him a son and a daughter; and [the former] was named Ibn Gebel ibn Barakat ibn Kasim. And when he saw the condition of 'Anka's family and knew their ways he feared lest his son should become like them, so he worried him saying "Join your people" and "You will see me on your tracks." So he joined his people at Wahayn, which lies north of the city of el Abwab, which is a great city said to contain stone images of such beasts as lions and wolves and snakes; and it has seen much of the ravages of war and the blessings of peace in the days of Islam and the days of ignorance.

VI [The FADNIA] also include the family of Mas'ud ibn Ba Fad (*sic*), who has descendants still tracing to him their parentage.

VII They include also the family of Salimayn ibn Ba Fad whose descendants are well known on account of their condition and their good characters to this day.

VIII They include also the family of Mas'ud ibn Ba Fad, and of Sa'id ibn Ba Fad, whose stock has died out.

IX Chapter giving an account of the Arabs known as GA'AL, they being still the ruling power of that country. Their pedigree is to Sa'ad el Ansari, but I am not sure of their ramifications—only that it is to Sa'ad that the great majority of the pedigrees are traced.

X The reason of their migration to the Sudan was their quarrel with the OMMAWIA at the time of the quarrel between the BENI OMMAYYA and the BENI HASHIM. SO they migrated to the west, and then returned to Dongola and conquered its people, and advanced by degrees till they overcame GUHAYNA.

XI The reason of their being called by this name was that they had an ancestor who was black and hideous to look upon, and so his father's sister called him "Beetle" (Gua/), and the tribe was called after him.

XII The KAWAHLA. They include the family of Kahil son of 'Omara son of Khalifa son of Ibayrak son of Muhammad son of Seiim son of Khalid son of el Walid. And they include innumerable tribes in various places, all in the South. Most of them live in the desert of the BEGA and seldom come down to the Nile; nor do they pass the site at Soba called Balula.

XIII FEZARA. A well-known sub-tribe of TAMIM. They have been settled in the Sudan since the conquest of el Bahnasa. Their story is well known.

XIV GUHAYNA. They are famous among the tribes of the Arabs and there is no need to relate wherein their fame lies. In the Sudan they include the family of Sa'id ibn Gamil, and the family of Madir ibn 'Amir, and the family of Musa'ad ibn Kelayb, and the family of Bathan ibn Dagna.

The reason of their emigration (مغروجه) was that 'Asam el Moghrabi, king of Berbera, slew a number of their merchants; and God knows best. Then they went out against him and conquered his country and looted its wealth; and so they continued until, as mentioned above, GA'AL came and defeated them and conquered the country; and GUHAYNA became a subject people therein, and they entered the island of Anagil the Begawi after his stock had died out and his rule come to an end.

XV The SHUKRIA are the family of Shukr ibn Adrak, and their pedigree goes back to 'Abdulla el Gawad son of Ga'afir el Tiar son of Abu Tahb.

They are a great tribe and their stock continues to the present day. I do not know what was the reason of their emigration.

XVI The HASANIA are similarly descended from Ga'afir el Tiar. They are the sons of Hasan ibn Gamil and their pedigree goes back to 'Abdulla el Gawad ibn Ga'afir el Tiar. Their pedigree and that of the children of Shukr meet in the person of 'Ali el Zayni.

XVII The 'ANIMU are the descendants of 'Anim ibn Gawad el Ya'arebi, a very small tribe. Of their number was a certain clever man called 'Ali, who in the time of Barakat was his companion. Now he loved making mischief and stirred up Barakat and his people to revolt; and the nomads offered prayers against him, and Almighty God caused him to be overcome, and they took him prisoner and enslaved him for a time. Then Barakat attacked them and rescued

him, and he used to say in praise of Barakat and his people... (here follows a page or so of rhymed prose and poetry).

XVIII The HAMRAN are one of the tribes of HARB, who are nomads living between Mekka and Medina.

Of their number in the Sudan are the families of Hamal and of Musa'ad ibn Garulla and of Salim Ba'aid, and Ibn Lohay. I am not sure of the real reason of their emigration, but it is said that it was their fight with MUZAYNA.

XIX The BENI 'AMIR are the descendants of 'Amir ibn el Tufayl. They entered Abyssinia and were its rulers. They are famous for their bravery and courage. A story is told about this 'Amir and the Prophet.. (short story follows).

The reason of their emigration to Abyssinia was that they killed their Sheikh Fa'asi ibn 'Abdulla. They wander about the borders of Abyssinia.

XX The BENI AHMAR are a tribe of BENI OMMAYYA. They were in Abyssinia, but most of them have disappeared and only a few remain.

XXI The RAWAGIH are the descendants of Ragih ibn Sa'ad el Thakfi. Their stock¹ still exists.

XXII The 'AWASIM are the descendants of 'Asim ibn 'Amir ibn Nash* el 'Omari, a descendant of 'Omar ibn el Khattab. It was he who first settled them in Egypt: then they invaded the Sudan in the days of el Zahir Abu Barri.

XXIII The family of MUSALLAM, namely Musallam ibn Hegaz² ibn 'Atif el Ommawi. He moved from Syria in the time of 'Omar ibn 'Abd el 'Aziz, God bless him, and settled in the Sudan, and he has left many descendants.

XXIV The ATAIA are nomads descended from Ata ibn Zaim el Himyari. I am not sure either of the reason of their emigration or of their ramifications, but it is said that they are the people who aided el Haggag in the slaying of Ibn el Zubayr.. etc.

XXV The RIKABIYYUN are the descendants of Rikab ibn 'Abdulla, and their pedigree goes back to Sheikh Ahmad ibn 'Omar el Zila'i, the descendant of 'Okayl ibn Abu Talib, God bless him. It is probable that they are the children of Rikab el Guhani.

XXVI The 'AMRIYYUN (SO spelt) are the descendants of 'Amr ibn Sulayman the Ommawi. It is said that they are at present the ruling people in the Sudan. They and the people of Luluh, one of the Hamag districts, have intermarried to such an extent that they have become like these people in every respect, and they are known as the FUNG.

¹ reading القعب for العقب.

² reading حجاز for حجاز.

XXVII The I^AAMZAT are the descendants of Hamza ibn 'Abd el Muttalib. There are a number of them on the bank of the Kadimia near el Khor.

XXVIII KENANA are a great tribe belonging to the famous KENANA of el Yemen. In the Sudan they include the families of Duhaym el Kenani and of Ragih and of Selim. They live in the same locality as FEZARA.

XXIX The ROWASI are the descendants of Rasi el Kahtani. They were in Abyssinia but most of them disappeared. In Abyssinia they contain a number of BENI BA'ALA. A number of them apostatized.

XXX The KALLA are by origin Arabs. In Abyssinia they are infidels. They are a nuisance to the Abyssinians, killing them and capturing their women and children. There is a difference of opinion as to their origin, some saying they are descended from Kahtan and some from Himyar and some from the BENI GHASSAN, and the last is true.

XXXI THAKIF. A very small community and unimportant among the Arabs... (some depreciatory lines by Ibn el Moghrabi about them are quoted).

XXXII The SALAHIIYYUN are the descendants of Salah ibn Gabir ibn Ghassan. They are numerous, and most of them live in Abyssinia towards the coast.

XXXIII The GABmiA in Abyssinia are a considerable tribe, but most of them are between the MAHASS country and Dongola the famous. They are the family of Gabir ibn 'Abdulla el Ansari, who begot them at the time of the conquest of Dongola, when it was destroyed and God gave the Muslims the victory in the invasion of 'Amr ibn el 'Asi, God bless him.

XXXIV The GERATIMA are the family of Geratim ibn 'Ukba el Rabi'i of the tribe of RABi'A. They live between Abyssinia and the BEGA.

XXXV RUFA'A. They lived at first in Abyssinia and [among] the BEGA¹, and then they moved to the Nile lands. They are one of the Kahtanite tribes in the Sudan. Our Sheikh Abu Nusr Muhammad el Shadhali² said "I do not know exactly how they are descended, beyond that it is certain they are descended from Kahtan."

XXXVI The ZENARKHA are the family of Zernikh ibn A'gif of the BENI LAM, the famous tribe in Neged³ el Hegaz.

XXXVII The 'AwAsi are the family of 'Asi ibn Gama'a el Mukhal-ladi, the MUKHALLAD being also an Arab tribe.

¹ reading البعجا for البعجا. ² reading الساذلي for الساذلي.

³ reading نجد for نجد.

XXXVIII The YERABIA are also Arabs and descended from Himyar. They originally lived at Sana'a in el Yemen. They settled in the Sudan in the time of 'Abd el Malik ibn Marwan.

XXXIX The 'ABBASIYYUN are descended from el Fadl ibn 'Abbas. In the Sudan they include the family of el Saffah. They are a mighty tribe and more of them are in the Sudan than elsewhere. The reason of their emigration thither was the rise to power of the Fatimite dynasty in Egypt, and they declined with it and dispersed into the Sudan.

XL The GABARTA are originally Arabs, it is said KURAYSH, but I do not vouch for this and know only that people are under this impression. I have enquired from some of their learned men saying "I hear from the people of el Taka that you are descended from KURAYSH/" and they replied "We also say so"; and I think it is [true], but God knows best, and we assume that pedigrees are [properly] kept.

XLI The 'ADILIYYUN are the family of 'Adil ibn 'Aziz the Sa'adi. They fall into two divisions: some live in the district of Ousa near the GABARTA, and the others live in the strongholds known as el Taka, west of the hills of the BAZA. And it is said that beyond these strongholds, and between them and Abyssinia, is a great mountain called el Los, where they suppose the Companions of the Cave are, and they live in these strongholds and are known as the HALANKA. It is therefore possible that they are the family of Halayk el Sa'adi son of Dhulayma son of Bardhal son of Amal son of 'Amir son of Hawazin son of Mas'ud son of Sa'ad son of Bukr, or that they are descended from Halak el Mundabi (?); and the former is more correct.

They contain numerous tribes that cannot be enumerated. They have intermarried with the BEGA SO much that they have become assimilated to them. It is said that their language resembles that of the BEGA [and is] a branch of it.

XLII The 'ALAMIYYUN are the descendants of 'Alam ibn Sa'ad el Ziati and are known as the "House of 'Alam." Most of them live near the TUNGUR in the districts of el Takrur.

XLIII FELLATA settled in the land of el Takrur. They are the family of Fellat son of 'Abdulla son of 'Ukba son of Yasir.

XLIV The BEKRIYYUN are numerous in the land of el Takrur, and in Egypt they form the well-known House of el Bekri. And the genealogists make mention of the Sheikh who was descended from the said Sheikh [el Bekri], and who lived in Upper Egypt (*ard el said*), and who was a very great man and one of the saints famous for piety; and it is a remarkable thing that his descendants remember nothing important about him: yet by the grace that is

given him he has facilitated the granting of their prayers, and their holy men and their tribe [itself] are called el MASHAIKH¹.

XLV The SAWAIL are the family of Sail ibn Yerbu'a el Muzani and are a sub-tribe of MUZAYNA who migrated from near Jedda. There are many of them in Egypt. They left el Yemen at the same time as Humayl el Selmi.

XLVI SULAYM are a well-known tribe of the Hegaz. Most of them live between the Holy Places, and some of them settled in the Sudan, and these latter are the YUASIFA.

XLVII The MASHA'ALA are the family of Masha'al ibn Ya'akub el Gahadli, and are a branch of the GAHADLA, who again are an Arab tribe, partly sedentary and partly nomad, residing to the right hand of Mekka, and represented in the Sudan by the family of Masha'al ibn Gahdal.

XLVIII The 'AGARIFA are the family of 'Agraf ibn Ma'amir el Khuza'i, KHUZA'A being the well-known tribe at Mekka and thereabouts, who are represented in the Sudan by the family of 'Agraf only. They are a moderate sized community. The reason of their immigration to the Sudan was the ill-treatment they received from el Haggag at the time when he [re-]built the temple. God and the Prophet know best.

XLIX The 'AAGiN are the people of those countries, and were not Arabs of the Hegaz. They were extremely skilful and versatile. It is said that among them was a man called 'Aziz the Poet... (some verses follow).

L The SENABLA are the family of Sanbal ibn Gabr. They are a large Arab tribe.

LI The HADAREB. I was told by Sidi 'Abdulla Bawaziz el Hadari that they came originally from Hadramaut, and were said to be a branch of the HAMUM, who are nomads in Hadramaut, and that they emigrated thence to the Sudan in the days of el Haggag ibn Yusef, and settled among the BEGA until they became exactly as if they were BEGA themselves, and took up their abode at Suakin, the well-known island on the coast of the Sudan near Abyssinia; and [he said that] they were called "the HADAREM," deriving the name from "*hadra*" but from ignorance the d was changed into d and the m into b, as can be understood, and they became the "HADAREB."

LII The GA'AFIRA are a great tribe. Their descent is from Ga'aflr el Tai and it is said that their ancestor was Hatim el Tai. They are famous for their generosity, as he was.

LIII The MOSIYYUN are the family of Musa ibn Sa'id el Thakfi.

¹ reading الماشيخ for المشايخ.

They are a branch of THAKIF and numerous. In the Sudan they live like [nomad] Arabs.

LIV Among them was a powerful man called 'Ali ibn Gubara, and there is a story of him and the kings of the Arabs. It is said that Abu Ya'akub, one of the Arab Sultans, sent him to the king of el Takrur with a letter written as follows, "In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful, this from Abu Ya'akub to the Sultan of el Takrur. If you want to preserve your self-respect and maintain your honour, submit to me: otherwise I will most surely equip¹ against you an army like locusts in swarm, who will lay waste your lands and loot your goods and take captive your sons and make an end of your women. So when you read this letter, you will have a correct idea of my dominion, and if you desire relief from ill and survival from annihilation, then subject yourself to me as I order you."

LV When this letter reached the king of el Takrur he told his servant to beat him [sc. 'Ali ibn Gubara] and impale his companions. This was done; and that very night the Sultan heard [sc. one] say "If you slay this man, [sc. he will be avenged]"; and his vizier said to him "It is not the custom of kings to kill envoys nor punish them," so he ordered him to be released

LVI Then, after releasing him, he mounted him on a horse and said to him "Go, tell yon Sultan that when Gog and Magog have obeyed him I will obey him: his wits are wandering: does he order me to obey him before I order him to do anything at all? He is one of those that carves the mountains with his fingernails." And when this message reached the king of the Arabs he turned to his troops and said "Is there any one of you I can send to deal with him?" And 'Ali ibn Gubara said "I have a prior right in this matter over all."

LVII Then [the king] equipped a force, to go with him, of 3000 cavalry and 2000 riflemen and 1000 bowmen and 1000 swordsmen using the short Moorish sword, and the expedition started.

LVI 11 And when they reached the land of el Takrur, the two armies met, and God gave the victory [to 'Ah] and he returned in joy and happiness [from the field of battle]; and God the Almighty made him ruler of el Takrur, and to this day the Sultans of el Takrur are his descendants.

LIX Chapter mentioning the wonders of that land and its chief places.

BERBER is an immense village. It has had many rulers, including the giant dynasty of which each king began his reign as a true believer

¹ reading جهزت for جهزت.

and ended it a pagan. West of it is a great mountain called Gebel el Ruus, where there are marvels that it would take too long to relate.

LX DONGOLA is a great place and its story is well known. It was conquered by 'Amr ibn el 'Asi.

LXI The people of Berber were converted by the people of Dongola; and there are there (*i.e.* in Dongola) great cities and islands encompassed by walls, and a great mosque built by 'Amr ibn el 'Asi and known as "the mosque of 'Amr," and the entrenchment (*khandak*) made by Ibn 'Ukba el Gabiri el Ansari in the time of Ayyub.

LXII Here ends the history of the Arabs who settled in the Sudan.

This history is the property of the *fakir* Ahmad ibn el feki Ma'aruf, and I finished writing it in *Gemdd* 1277¹.

D 6 (NOTES)

in Cp. A 11, 11 and m.

" *The pretended Sheriff* is المشرف.

v The Arabic begins اول ما يذكر منه من هناك السيد but this is clearly corrupt, and should, I think, read اول ما يذكر منه من ال سيد.

Compare BA, CLXXIV for these FADNIA "Fawādin" would be the normal Arabic plural formed from Fadin, the name of their ancestor.

The Arabic translated "*He worried him.. tracks*" is

ازعجه ان الحق بقومك وستراني بآثرك

For el Abwab see D 3, 14 (note).

ix " *That country*" (¹/J3*\$\ JUi) is presumably the [northern] Sudan.

x Cp A 11, vII Contrast para, xxxix later.

xi This version of the origin of "Ga'al" is not, it is almost needless to say, in vogue among the GA'ALIIN themselves, though not uncommon in Dongola Cp. A 3, vn, and see Robertson Smith, p. 196.

XII Cp A n, XLVIII. Balola is the name of a village and ferry situated on a bend of the Blue Nile a mile or two below el Kamlin.

XIII Cp. A 11, LIV.

xv Cp. A 11, L.

xxIII Cp A 11, LI.

xxv Cp. A 11, LII.

xxvi Cp. A II, LIII.

XXVIII Cp. A 11, LVI.

xxx *t.e.* the "GALLA."

XXXIII Cp. A 11, LVII.

xxxv Cp. A 11, LVIII.

XXXVII Cp. BA, CXXVI for MUKHALLAD.

XXXVIII " YERABIA is a plural from Yerbu'a, which name occurs **later** in para. XLV.

¹ 1860A.D.

'Abd el Malik ibn Marwan was the fifth Ommayyad Khalifa and died in 705 A.D. after reigning twenty years.

xxxix Cp. AB, XLIII and ccxm and ABC, xxII.

"f ABB AsiYYUN" is used here practically as the equivalent of "GA'ALIYYAN." Contrast para. x.

The Fajimites conquered Egypt in 969 A.D. and were supplanted by the Ayyubites in 1171 A.D.

XL Cp. A 11, LX and AB, xxvi.

XLI "And it is said..." is as follows in the Arabic, which appears corrupt:

ويقال ان في طرف تلك الإجمة بينها وبين الحبش جبل يقال له اللوس
جبل عظيم وهم يتجهون فيه باصحاب اهل الكهف وهم اهل تلك الإجمة
يشتهرون بالحلقنة

The Companions of the Cave (*Ashdb el Kahf*) are the legendary "Seven Sleepers of Ephesus." Muhammad borrowed the story from Christian traditions and introduced it as a revelation into the kuran (*q.v.* Chap. XVIII. See also Sale's notes thereto, Hughes, p. 24, and Gibbon's *Decline and Fall...*, Chap. xxxi).

El L6s is Gebel Kassala. See Werne (p. 217). "In former times the race of the Hallenga had, at the foot of the hill of Kassela-el-Lus, a great city___The true name of the hill is el Lus, and the word Kassela is the name of a sainted Sheikh. The rock-dome of Kassela is surrounded by six pillar-like rocks; and hence the saying 'Kassela-el-Lus saba Rus' (Kassela-el-Lus of the seven heads)." Again of the caves in Gebel Kassala Werne (p. 245) says: "They are said to be inhabited by men of ancient days, spirits, and ghosts."

"Halayk" may be a misprint for "13alank." The proper names following are probably corrupt.

XLII Darfur and westwards are meant.

XLIII Cp. A 11, LXI.

XLIV The MASHAIKH or MASHAIKHA are meant. They claim descent from Abu Bukr el Sadik, the first Khalifa of Islam. The unnamed Sheikh is probably Mugelh (*q.v.* A 2, xxxvn and D 3, 255).

XLVI YUASIFA is a plural formed from Yasef, *ie.* "sons of Yasef."

XLVIII El Haggag ibn Yasef's date was 42-95 A.H. It was in 74A.H. (693 A.D.) that he pulled down the temple of Mekka and restored it to its old pre-Islamic form. For this and the cruelties he perpetrated at this period see Ockley (p. 480).

XLIX It is not clear what "those countries" refers to: the Arabic is **العراجين من تلك الديار واهلها**. From para. LIX it seems the northern Sudan is meant.

L "Sanbal" and "SENABLA" are probably misprints for "Shanbal" and "SHENABLA."

LI Cp. A 11, LXI 1, from which it seems **(بأوزير)** s an error for "Abu el Wuzfr" **(أبو الوزير)**.

LII Cp. A 11, LXIII.

LIV There is little clue as to what war is referred to in this story. There

is no historical Sultan named Abu Ya'akub. In para, XLII "*el TaktUr*" is apparently meant to represent any of the western states of the Sudan, and if the same is the case here the reference may conceivably be to the incident of 'Abd el Kerim, the first Muhammadan ruler of Wadai, the grandfather of the Sultan Ya'akub and the conqueror of the TUNGUR. He reigned 1635-55 and was of a Ga'ali stock from near Shendi (see vol. 1, pp. 68 and 198).

The Arabic translated "*you will have a correct idea of my dominion*" is **اعلم انك قد وقفت على صراط ملكي**—the word *sir* at being literally "the [right] way" (see Hughes, p. 595).

LV The Arabic of this passage is as follows:

**فلما وصل الكتاب الى ملك التكرور امر خدامه ان يضربوه وان يضرقوا
رفقه ففعلوا فلما كان ذات ليلة سمع السلطان يقول لو قتلت هذا الرجل
فقال له وزيره ما جرة عادة الملوك ان يقتلوا الرسل ولا يعذبوهم فامر باطلاقه**

Lix "*It has had.. pagan*" \s

ولها ملوك كثيرة وكان فيها ملك جبار يعبد كل منهم جديدا ويكفر باخر

LX Cp A 2, xxxiv; D 4, vi, etc.

LXI By "*the mosque of 'Amr*" is perhaps meant the mosque superimposed at Old Dongola upon the ruins of an ancient Christian church (see Budge, 11, p. 372 and *Anglo-Eg Sudan*, 1, p. 31). At Khandak there is an old brick fort in the middle of the town, which may be alluded to here (see Gleichen, p. 29)

LXII The Arabic of this paragraph is

**انتهى اناب العرب المسوون (sic) بالسودان و مالئها الفقير الى الله احمد
بن الفقه (sic) معروف وقد فرغت من تحريريه في جباد ١٢٧٢**

MANUSCRIPT D 7

Introduction

VERSIONS of this work, which represents the only known attempt by a native historian to give a detailed chronological account of the FUNG and Turkish days, are by no means uncommon. General Gordon possessed a copy and presented it in 1881 to the British Museum, where it is numbered "Arabic 2345." It was no doubt from this same copy that Colonel Stewart had obtained most of the historical facts given in the *Report on the Sudan* which he wrote at Khartoum in February 1883.

Professor Budge similarly made use of this MS. in writing *The Egyptian Sudan*, and Na'um Bey Shukayr must have had access to this or another copy.

Mr Jackson has paraphrased yet another copy, and, by adding facts drawn from other sources, has woven the whole into the narrative he has entitled *Tooth of Fire* (published 1912). In the introduction he says he knows of eight copies in all, and mentions that one copy is in the Imperial Library at Vienna.

My own acquaintance with this work dates from 1907, when Sir F. R. Wingate, the Governor-General, showed me the rough translation of a copy found in Sennar by Sir R. von Slatin, the Inspector-General.

Notes I took from this MS., which I referred to as "*The Sennar History*" were incorporated in *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan* (published 1912).

The particular copy here translated was made for me at Omdurman in 1914 from the MS. belonging to Mek 'Adlan of Sennar, the lineal descendant and heir of the FUNG kings. This had been temporarily borrowed for me by Mr S. A. Tippetts, the Senior Inspector of Sennar Province.

While engaged on editing this copy I found another in possession of the *feki* Muhammad Abd el Magid of Omdurman. One of his pupils had made this copy for him in the *Mahdia* from the MS. in possession of the respected *feki* Hagyu wad Masia, the Ya'akubabi, of Sennar Province.

The original work, to which there is no reason to attribute other than a single authorship, was undoubtedly based, so far as the FUNG

period is concerned, on those chronologies of the FUNG kings which were shown at Sennar to Bruce in 1772 and to Cailiaud in 1821. The former was shown an "undoubtedly authentic" list by the *Sid el Kum* ("Master of the Household"). The latter says "Je m'elais procure, chez les erudits de la ville [Sennar], plusieurs listes chronologiques des rois FounGIS du Sennar: mais, en les comparant entre elles, je doutais de pouvoir arriver a un travail satisfaisant: enfin, par rentremise d'Ismayl, j'en obtins une du roi Bady lui-meme. Je puis done garantir que la chronologie que je donne ici est plus exacte que celle de Bruce" (vol. 11, 255).

The main difference between these two lists is that Bruce dates the accession of 'Omara Dunkas, the first FUNG king, in 1504, and Cailiaud in 1484. The discrepancy is explained in an appendix, and the date 1504 may be taken as correct.

With one or more of these chronologies as a basis, and with the *Tabakdt wad Dayfulla* (MS. D 3) for occasional reference and quotation, the original of the work which is here translated was probably compiled gradually during the *regimes of successive Turkish rulers* and completed about the time of Mumtaz Pasha (1871-1873).

Its author is unknown and its exact date is doubtful. The British Museum copy, it is said, "consists of 108 octavo pages and was written, and perhaps also composed, by Muhammad Abu Bakr Makki Ahmad in 1879" (Budge, Preface, p. xi). It ends with the year 1871. One would suppose that Muhammad Abu Bakr would have carried the history down to his own date had he been the composer and not merely a copyist.

Mr Jackson says that all the copies he has seen "seem to be derived from the account put together by Abd el Dafa'a and an abstract of this, with a few alterations and additions, made by Zubeir wad Dawwa." He does not say to what year the narrative is in each case carried down. By "'Abd el Dafa'a" he means Ibrahim 'Abd el Dafa'i the elegist, who is twice mentioned in D 7 in the third person. Of this Ibrahim more anon.

The copy found by Sir R. von Slatin was made, as is stated at the close of it, on the 19th of *Sha'bdn* 1322 A.H. (October 30, 1904 A.D.). The copy I have translated consists of no octavo pages and gives an account of events down to 1288 A.H. (1871 A.D.). That of Muhammad 'Abd el Magid ends abruptly with 1865.

None of these gives any direct indication as to the author's name, and *Mek 'Adlan's* evidence is practically worthless: he fluctuates between vague reminiscences of the *Tabakat wad Dayfulla* and "an unknown scribe" who may have lived in the lifetime of *Mek*

'Adlan's father 'Othman or in the time of 'Adlan I I, *i.e.* in the eighteenth century. He does not even know his own family history and has not the faintest idea whether the book was written by one man or half a dozen.

There is, however, internal evidence which makes it easy to guess at certain probabilities. In the first place, the author only describes in detail events that occurred in the Gezira, from Sennar to Khartoum, and he is familiar with the geography of this region and the details of its administration.

It is also evident that he was frequently in Khartoum, for he is interested in the various buildings that were erected there, knows various junior officials, tells of visitors from Egypt, and knows exact dates of arrivals and departures.

Similarly he shows far more knowledge of the Blue Nile than of the White. Kordofan, Berber, Dongola, Kassala and other more distant provinces hardly come within his ken at all.

Again he speaks with exaggerated respect of Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir wad el Zayn, the Ya'akubabi, and represents him as having an almost supreme influence. Here there must be considerable exaggeration, for whereas several of 'Abd el Kadir's contemporaries are mentioned by travellers, I have seen no reference to 'Abd el Kadir, and his name is not universally remembered. No other secular Sheikh is spoken of in similar terms.

Another man upon whom the author heaps titles of respect is Sheikh Ahmad el Taib, the introducer of the Sammania *tarika*, who lived a day's journey north of Omdurman. Other holy men receive no more than passing words of praise.

He also indulges in gross adulation of Ga'afir Muzhar Pasha, and abuses his successor Mumtaz Pasha with an almost equal lack of proportion. Other Governor-Generals are treated very leniently.

One also notes the author's familiarity with Turkish ranks and titles.

For the FUNG and the HAMAG he holds no particular brief, and of the history of the 'ABDULLAB of el Halfaya and the SA'ADAB of Shendi he expressly mentions his ignorance. The successive Sheikhs of Khashm el Bahr, near Sennar, are, on the other hand, fairly well known to him.

From a consideration of the above facts and other minor points one would say that the author of this history was perhaps by birth one of the YA'AKUBAB of Sennar, and by training a follower of the Sammania *tarika*. He had an education better than the average, and was much in touch with the Turkish officials—as were the sue-

cessive heads of his family. Probably he throve most successfully in the times of Musa Pasha and Ga'afir Muzhar Pasha, and was employed at Khartoum in some minor administrative position, or else was one of those tactful "vicars of Bray" who were always to be found attached to the suites of the secular dignitaries.

From his expressed opinion of Mumtaz one would hazard the opinion that he fell into disfavour during that Pasha's *regime* and completed his history after passing beyond his reach.

On the other hand, the author of ABC (para, xxi), speaking of the HAMAYDANIA section of the GAMU'IA, says "Among them was the *feki* Ibrahim 'Abd el Dafa'i, the author of the *History of the Sudan*"; and one notes that the family of the much belauded Sheikh el Taib (*q.v.* in ABC, *Tree* 3) are very closely related to the HAMAYDAN*A. The history mentioned may certainly be assumed to be the one under discussion. Na'um Bey Shukayr, in his *History of the Sudan*, also speaks of "Sheikh 'Abd el Dafa'i, author of the *FUNG chronicle*" (Part II, Bk. iv, Chap. 1, p. 73).

Thus, in support of the theory that Ibrahim 'Abd el Dafa'i wrote it, we have (1) the tradition recorded by Mr Jackson and Na'um Bey and quoted above, (2) the express statement in ABC, and (3) the close relationship between Ibrahim and the founder of the Sammania *tarika*.

On the other hand, (1) the history is carried up to a date between 1870 and 1880, and yet Ibrahim was composing elegies in 1809 and 1823 (see paras, CLXXXV and ccxxxv). (2) One would expect more references to the GAMufA and their *Meks* from a Gamii'i author, and a larger interest in the affairs of the GAMUI'A country along the west bank of the White Nile. (3) The tradition that Ibrahim 'Abd el Dafa'i is the author is not by any means universal: my acquaintance with it is limited to the two quotations made above. (4) The general setting of the two passing references to Ibrahim in paras. CLXXXV and ccxxxv does not seem quite to suit the theory that Ibrahim was speaking of himself.

There is of course the possibility of a divided authorship, but there is no particular evidence to support such theory.

One can only leave the question of authorship doubtful, and say that, all things considered, the history is a very creditable piece of work. It is written in a simple and straightforward way, with a reasonable sense of proportion; and the author never loses the thread of his discourse.

Of the Turkish days he writes as a courtier, but it would have been unsafe, and less lucrative, to do otherwise: in fact he is at

times unexpectedly critical. He has rescued from oblivion the scanty records of many events that happened in the reigns of those kings of Sennar of whom little more than the names are recorded by Bruce and Cailliaud, and he has given us the only extant account of the Sudan in Turkish days as regarded from a native point of view. In addition, so far as I am aware, he provides the only connected narrative from which we can learn the names and dates of the successive Turkish Pashas and Beys who ruled the country, and he alone draws our attention to the experiments that were made in administrative decentralization between 1857 and 1862.

The account of S6ba in pre-FuNG days (see para. 1) is evidently taken from the passage of Ibn Selim el Aswani preserved by el Makrizi and quoted above in Part II, Chap. 2.

I In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful. Praise be to God....

Now this is a history of the lands of the NUBA and relates who ruled them, beginning with the kings of the FUNG, and what happened in their time [and] until this present day, and who succeeded them, and how their kingdom came to an end; but God Almighty best knows and judges of that which is hidden.

It is related in the histories which I have seen that the first of the kings of the FUNG who was invested with the royal power was King 'Omara Dunkas, who founded the city of Sennar in 910 A.H.¹

Previously to his date the FUNG had overthrown the NUBA and made the city of Soba (*sic*) their metropolis; and in that city were beautiful buildings and gardens and a hostel occupied by the Muhammadans. Its site was on the east of the Nile, near to the confluence of that river with the White Nile; and the chief food of its inhabitants was the white *dhurra* known as *el kassdbi*. Their religion was Christianity, and they had a bishop appointed by the prelate of Alexandria, as had the NUBA before them. Their books were in Greek (*Rumia*) but they used to commentate upon them in their own language.

II These people were overthrown in the ninth century, and in those days there were no schools for the Muhammadans who lived among them and no observance of the Muhammadan law, so that it is even said that a woman might be divorced by her husband and married by another man on the same day without any purificatory period. This state continued until the coming among them of Mahmud el 'Araki from Egypt. He taught them some of the elements of Muhammadan law: he also built himself a hostel on the White Nile

¹ 1504 A.D.

between el Is¹ and the HASANIA, and lies buried there at the present day.

III Previous to this man's time there were certain learned men in the country, such as the AWLAD DAYPULLA, whose tombs near Abu Halima, east of the Blue Nile, are well known, and Sheikh Idris walad el Arbab, who was born in 913².

IV Islam first entered the land of the NUBA in the Khalifate of Harun el Rashid el 'Abbasi, but, as we mentioned, there was no real observance of the law (*el sharfd*).

V Let us now return to our subject. The commencement of the reign of 'Omara Dunkas was at the beginning of.. (a line of the text has been inadvertently omitted here, it appears).. the people collected round him and ceased not visiting him where he lay at Gebel Moya, which is east of Sennar; and finally there came to him 'Abdulla Gema'a of the KAWASMA Arabs, the father of Sheikh 'Agib el Kaftita the ancestor of the AWLAD 'AGIB; and they determined to make war upon the 'ANAG, the kings of S6ba and el Kerri.

VI So 'Omara and 'Abdulla Gema'a with their men went and made war upon the kings of S6ba and el Kerri and defeated them and slew them.

VII Then their people agreed that 'Omara should be king in place of the king of 'Aloa, that is Soba, because he was the more powerful ["elder" ?], and that 'Abdulla Gema'a should take the place of the king of el Kerri.

VIII So ['Abdulla] went and founded the town of Kerri, which is by Gebel el Royyan on the east bank, and made it the seat of his kingdom; and likewise 'Omara founded the town of Sennar, [so called because] previously a woman called Sennar lived there, and made it his capital. This was in 910³.

IX Now 'Omara and 'Abdulla lived like brethren, but 'Omara's rank had precedence over that of 'Abdulla if they were together in the same place; but if 'Omara were absent 'Abdulla had exactly the same powers as were vested in 'Omara, and this system remained in force among their respective descendants until the end of their rule

X After the victory of the FUNG over the NUBA, the latter scattered and fled to Fazoghli and Kordofan, with the exception of a few of them who were converted to Islam and mixed with the Arabs settled in their country. These at present are few in number and live in the neighbourhood of Shendi and Gerayf Kumr; and not many people

¹ reading أنليس for اليس.

² 1507 A.D.

³ 1504 A.D.

know that these men are by origin NUBA, for their language has become Arabic and their complexion assimilated to that of the Arabs as a result of cross-breeding with them.

XI And indeed the immigration of Arabs to the Sudan increased greatly, most of them belonging to the tribes of HIMYAR, RABI'A, BENI 'AMIR, KAHTAN, KENANA, GUHAYNA, BENI YASHKUR, BENI KAHIL, BENI DHUBIAN, BENI 'ABS (viz. the KABABISH), FEZARA and BENI SELIM.

XII And King 'Omara continued living at Sennar, carrying on the affairs of state, until he died in the year 940¹ after a reign of 30 years.

XIII He was succeeded by his son 'Abd el Kadir, who reigned ten years and died in 950².

XIV After him reigned his brother King Nail, and he resided at Sennar like his father and brother, carrying on the government for twelve years. He died in 962³.

XV His successor was King 'Omara Abu Sakaykin, one of the royal family, and in his days died 'Abduila Gema'a, and in his place 'Omara appointed his son Sheikh 'Agib el Kafuta as Sheikh of Kerri. And 'Omara continued at Sennar, carrying on the government, until his death in 970⁴ after a reign of eight years.

XVI King Dekin walad Nail then came to the throne. He was one of the greatest of the kings of the FUNG. He reorganized the administration in the best possible manner, and made fixed laws that no one of all the people of his kingdom might transgress; and to every district of his kingdom he appointed a chief; and to such as were wont to be seated in his presence he gave a definite order of precedence when they were so seated in the council chamber; and he ceased not to devote himself to the organization of his realms until, after reigning fifteen⁵ years, he died in 985⁶.

XVII He was succeeded by King Tabl, who followed in the footsteps of King Dekin until his death in 997⁷ after reigning twelve years.

XVIII Tabl was succeeded by King Ounsa, who reigned ten years.

XIX Then King 'Abd el Kadir reigned for six years, and died in 1013⁸.

XX He was succeeded by King 'Adlan walad Aya, and in his reign Sheikh 'Agib rebelled, and the king sent a large army against him and a battle was fought near Kalkol, and Sheikh 'Agib was slain and his hosts routed, and his family fled towards Dongola. Then the king

¹ 1533 A.D.

⁴ 1562 AD

* 1577 A.D

² 1543 A.D.

⁶ reading "fifteen" for "twelve."

⁷ 1589 A.D

³ 1554 A.D.

⁸ 1604 A.D.

sent to them Sheikh Idris Muhammad Ahmad, who was noted for his piety, with a promise of immunity, and when they returned he lavished favours upon them and appointed the eldest of them, el 'Agayl, Sheikh of ICerri as his father had been.

XXI King 'Adlan continued reigning at Sennar until his death in 1020¹ after a reign of seven years; and in his reign flourished a number of holy men, such as Sheikh Idris, whom we mentioned. This latter attained a remarkable age, for he was born in 913² and died in 1060³, and so lived 147 years. He was instructed by Sheikh 'Abd el Kafi el Moghrabi.

XXII So too, in the reign of King 'Adlan, there came [to the country] Sheikh Hasan walad Hasuna el Andalusi. He had been visiting the Holy Places and Egypt and Syria for about twelve years, and then settled where he now lies buried; and his tomb is well known and much visited. His was, God bless him, an austerity of the first order though he was blessed with this world's goods in abundance.

XXIII During this king's reign too came Sheikh Ibrahim el Bulad from Egypt. He was the first to introduce and teach the *Mukhtasar* of Sheikh Khalil el Maliki into the land of the FUNG, and through him God manifested many miracles.

XXIV There also came Sheikh Muhammad el Misri and visited Sennar and Arbagi, and then he returned and settled at Berber and there taught all the sciences, and was made a judge, and as such conducted himself with continence and rectitude.

XXV Sheikh Tag el Din el Bahari too came from Baghdad, and Sufiism obtained great fame in the land of the FUNG through him.

XXVI And a certain Moghrabi of Tlemsan, too, inspired Sheikh Muhammad walad 'fsa Sowar el Dhahab, and from him this Sheikh obtained direction in the right way, and taught others many of the branches of knowledge.

XXVII After King 'Adlan King Badi Sid el Kum came to the throne, and reigned three years, and died in 1023⁴.

XXVIII He was succeeded by el Rubat, who continued living at Sennar until his death in 1052⁵.

XXIX After him reigned his son King Badi Abu Dukn. He was a man of bravery and generosity and high purpose. He raided the White Nile and engaged its inhabitants, who are called SHILLUK, and he invaded the mountains of Tekali that lie west of the White Nile some two days' march. The reason of his invading Tekali was

¹ 1611 A.D.

² 1507 A.D.

³ 1650 A.D.

⁴ 1614 A.D.

⁵ 1642 A.D.

that the king of Tekali had attacked one of his friends who journeyed thither, and plundered his goods, and when told that the victim was a friend of the king of Sennar had replied "If the king of Sennar wants me on his account and crosses the wastes of Um Lama'a, then let him do what he will."

XXX Now the desert spoken of by the king of Tekali is difficult to cross owing to lack of water, but must be passed by one going from Sennar to Tekali. And when the man returned to his friend the *Mek Badi* he told him how his possessions had been plundered and what the king of Tekali had said, and [Badi] at once equipped his troops and said to his friend "When we reach the wastes of Um Lama'a, let me know." And when they arrived there the man told him, and the king and all his men dismounted from their horses and crossed over on foot. Then they remounted and rode on until they reached the hills of the NUBA; and there they slew many and took numerous prisoners and so proceeded until they came to Tekali and laid siege to it.

XXXI And the king of Tekali had fortified it against them, and he used to come out to meet them by day, and send them provisions by night; and when the king of Sennar saw the generosity of his spirit he made terms with him on the basis of a fixed tribute payable yearly by the king of Tekali.

XXXII Then he returned to Sennar with the prisoners taken from the NUBA and Tekali, and on arriving there built a village for each different race of prisoners; and these villages surrounded Sennar like a wall to the east and west, and the inhabitants acted as troops for the aid and protection of the realm, and they bred and multiplied until the fall of the FUNG kingdom. Now each village was named after the race inhabiting it, for instance "Tekali" and "el Kadero" and "el Kanak" and "el Karku."

XXXIII And this king was a man of continence and piety and paid great respect to the men of learning and religion, and he used to send presents with the guide Ahmad walad 'Alwan to the learned men of el Mahrusa; and his virtues became so famous among them that they celebrated him in many poems, including that in which Sheikh 'Omar el Moghrabi says. ..(thirteen lines of poetry follow)...This poem is a long one, consisting of about seventy lines.

XXXIV And the same Sheikh also said of him. ..(nine lines of poetry follow); and this also is a long poem of about sixty lines.

XXXV Similarly all the best men of el Mahrusa sang thus in his praise, and the evidence of these learned men is sufficient honour.

XXXVI Among the praiseworthy monuments he left are the great

mosque he founded at Sennar, and the royal palace. The latter consisted of five stories on the top of one another, and a number of buildings adjoining them for the storage of government equipment, such as arms and the like. He also built two halls [*dtwdnayn*] where he might sit in council, one of them outside the palace and the other inside its enclosure, and round the whole he built a vast wall and made therein nine gates, and to each of the great men of his kingdom he appointed a special gate for entry or exit thereby.

XXXVII Likewise he made a special hall for the great men of the kingdom, wherein they might sit to consider their business; and if one of them [*lit.* "this chief"] wished to enter the hall [*diwan*] of the king he must enter alone, unaccompanied by any of his people. But the ninth gate was reserved for the king himself, and no man might enter with him or go out by it, save only the king and Walad 'Agib the king of Kerri.

XXXVIII All these gates opened from the same frontage of the wall, which formed a straight line, and in front of them was a roofed area supported by two pillars, and under it a high bench [*mustaba*] called "Dakka man Nadak" ("The bench of him that hath called upon thee").

XXXIX These buildings survived until the time of the late Effendina Isma'il Pasha the son of Effendina el Hag Muhammad 'AH Pasha; but in his days the palace fell and all traces of it disappeared. All glory be to Him whose kingdom continueth for ever!

XL King Badi continued at Sennar like his predecessors, applying himself to the work of his kingdom and to doing good until he died in 1088¹ after a reign of thirty-six years.

XLI After him his brother's son Ounsa walad Nasir came to the throne, and in 1095², during his reign, there occurred a great famine, so that men ate dogs; and they called this year " *Urn Lahm* " (" Mother of Meat "), and many folk died, and certain districts were devastated owing to the famine and small-pox.

And King Ounsa remained at Sennar until his death in 1100³ after a reign of twelve years.

XLI I He was succeeded by his son the *Mek* Badi el Ahmar ("The Red"), and he was the first FUNG king against whom a section of his people revolted; for el Amin Aradib walad 'Agib rebelled with about a thousand men of the FUNG and others, and appointed over them as *Mek* one named Awkal. And they designed to depose the *Mek* Badi el Ahmar and made ready for war, but he, though having only about forty-five horsemen, met them and routed them and drove them

¹ 1677 A.D.

² 1684 A.D.

³ 1688-9A.D.

to a place called el 'Atshan, and slew el Amfn Aradib, and returned victorious.

XLIII And in his days lived the pious saint Ahmad walad el Turabi. And Badi reigned, honoured and respected, until his death in 1127* after a reign of twenty-seven² years.

XLIV After him came to the throne his son Ounsa; and he gave himself up to frivolous amusement and the practice of immorality, until the news of his doings reached the FUNG in the south, namely the troops of Lulu, and they determined to depose him, for it is they who depose and appoint whatever king they choose without any slaying.

XLV And when they reached their decision they moved northwards until they reached el Kabush near Sennar, and then appointed Nul to rule as king, and sent word to king Ounsa saying " I f you put your vizier to death we will confirm you in your old position and not oppose you." Then Ounsa did as they bid him, and after some demur slew his vizier and sent the herald and some of the chief men [*'omad*] of Sennar to request forgiveness in accordance with their promise. But they paid no attention to these and maintained their resolve to depose him; and when he had abandoned all hope he begged for immunity for himself and his family, and this they granted him, and his reign came to an end.

XLVI This was in 1130³, and he was the last of the line of FUNG kings who belonged to the royal family.

XLVII He was succeeded by King Nul, a connection of the OUNSA family on the mother's side. He did not belong to the stock of the kings who preceded him, but his appointment was merely agreed upon because he was a sensible man and an orthodox follower of the Faith. And indeed the common opinion of him was justified, for he showed himself just and steady in his conduct, and in his days the people had complete rest, so that they called him "El Norn" [" Sleep"] because he was so just. He reigned until his death in the eighth month of 1135⁴.

XLVIII After him ruled his son King Badi "Abu Shelukh"; and he was the last of the kings who were powerful, for at the close of his reign the Sheikhs of the HAMAG overcame him, and the constitutional appointment of kings became a farce, and all power, whether of loosing or of binding, passed into the hands of the HAMAG.

XLIX Now the HAMAG are a section of those Arabs who are descended from the ANWAB [*i.e.* NUBA], or, as another account says, a branch of

¹ 1715 A.D.

³ 1718 A.D.

² reading w for rc.

⁴ 1723 A.D.

the GA'ALIYYUN EL 'AwADI A, who are of the seed of our lord el 'Abbas ibn 'Abd el Muttalib; but God knows best.

L In the reign of Badi "Abu Shelukh" the Abyssinians advanced to the number of about 100,000, and the king made ready the troops of Islam against them with all their equipment and their arms complete, and begged the men of piety and learning to strive in prayer for the victory of Islam, and [appointed] over the army el Amin and some of the great men of the realm who were noted for their strength and skill.

LI There also joined them Khamis, the chief of the FUR troops, with a large army; and in command of the cavalry was Sheikh Muhammad Abu el Kaylak, the chief of the HAMAG.

LII Then they set forth with Islamic resolve and ardour, and the engagement took place east of the river Dinder, near 'Agib, and a furious combat ensued, and men innumerable were slain; but God gave the victory to the troops of Islam and the Abyssinians suffered a terrible defeat.

LI 11 And the Muhammadans took great booty and a quantity of rifles and cannon and tents and horses, etc., and the fame of this victory spread throughout the world of Islam, so that embassies came [to Sennar] from the Hegaz and el Sind and el Hind, and people [immigrated] from Upper Egypt and Morocco and settled there.

And owing to the terror of this victory the Abyssinians never attacked or raided Sennar [again].

LIV [The news of] the victory of the Muhammadan troops also reached the [Sultan of] the Sultans of Islam and the Emperor of the mighty Emperors, and he rejoiced exceedingly, and his heart dilated with pleasure.

LV After the victory the army returned to Sennar and held festivities and thanksgivings, and the king gave alms to the poor and needy and showed humility and abasement before God Almighty.

LVI Now this battle befel in *Safar el Khayr* 1157¹.

LVII And King Badi reigned for a long time, and in the early and middle years of his reign he had a good and devout vizier who managed the affairs of state excellently until death overtook him, but then the king undertook the ruling of affairs, and his first act was to slay the remainder of the OUNSA; and he changed many of the laws and the established customs, and invoked the aid of the NUBA, and appointed them chiefs in place of the old nobility, and consented to an evil policy of plunder and slaughter, even going so far as to connive at the murder of (?) the well-known man of learning el Khatib

¹ 1744 A.D.

'Abd el Latif. And, not content with the wrongs he inflicted himself, he let his sons also commit deeds of injustice and malice. So in general the atrocities which he committed alienated the hearts of his people, and especially those of the FUNG nobility and others.

LVIII While things were thus he made ready a great army to fight the MUSABA'AT, and in command was his vizier Walad Toma, and among the chiefs was 'Abdulla walad 'Agib, and among the famous warriors was Sheikh Muhammad Abu el Kaylak. Thus he set forth with his army until he reached the MUSABA'AT, and a battle took place at a place called Kihayf in the year 1160¹, and the commander-in-chief Walad Toma and 'Abdulla walad 'Agib were killed and the army took to flight. But Sheikh Muhammad Abu el Kaylak rallied them and exhorted them and put strength into their hearts, and they returned and met the MUSABA'AT a second time, and a furious struggle ensued, and Shammam walad 'Agib and el 'Agayl his son were slain.

LIX Then the king was informed of all that had taken place in both encounters and of the determination and patience of Sheikh Muhammad Abu el Kaylak and how he had rallied the soldiers, and he sent word appointing him commander-in-chief in Walad T6ma's stead.

LX And when he had learnt of his appointment Abu el Kaylak returned to war against the MUSABA'AT and used all his endeavours until God gave him the victory over them and suffered him to turn them out of Kordofan; and this was in the early part of the year.

LXI Now there were with Abu el Kaylak a number of the FUNG nobles, and news reached them that during their absence the king had ill-treated their dependants, so they came before Sheikh Muhammad and voiced their grievance against the king and asked for his consent to their deposing Badi and appointing another. And after discussion he consented to their plan and took up the matter in complete accord with them.

LXI I The same day he struck camp and set out for Sennar with such troops and great men of the FUNG, that is slaves of the king, as were with him. This was in 1174². And after he had crossed the White Nile he camped at el fs³ and sent to Nasir, the son of the *Mek* Badi, saying that if he came to him he would appoint him king.

LXIII And Nasir came secretly to Sheikh Muhammad at el fs⁴, and they took the [usual] oaths and assurances from him, and set out for Sennar taking him with them.

LXIV On arriving there they besieged the *Mek*, and [finally]

¹ 1747 A.D.

² reading *هاليس* for *هاليس*.

³ 1760 A.D.

⁴ reading *هاليس* for *هاليس*.

granted him immunity for his person **and safe conduct** to Soba; and he left Sennar in abasement.

LXV And when they knew he had left they entered Sennar unopposed and fulfilled their promise to the *Mek* Nasir and made him king. This was in 1175¹.

LXVI In these days the power of the FUNG dissolved and the power, whether of loosing or binding, passed to the HAMAG, and Sheikh Muhammad Abu el Kaylak subdued the king and put to death numbers of the great men of the FUNG.

LXVII And *Mek* Nasir remained *Mek* at Sennar until 1182², but Sheikh Muhammad then deposed him and exiled him to the village of Bukera beyond el Tamayn.

LXVIII After his expulsion the *Mek* Nasir sent to some of the FUNG and asked their aid to make war upon Sheikh Muhammad; so [the latter] sent his brother's son Badi walad Ragab and Ahmad walad Mahmud, the Sheikh of the FUARI, and a detachment of troops, and they came in unto [Nasir] and slew him; and they had found him with the Kuran on his right hand and his prayer-mat on his left, for he was a learned man, and his handwriting was beautiful, God have mercy upon him!

LXIX Nasir's death was in 1182², and thereupon Sheikh Muhammad appointed his brother Isma'il, son of the *Mek* Badi, king at Sennar; but all power remained in the hands of Sheikh Muhammad Abu el Kaylak

LXX And [Isma'il] removed abuses and acted justly by his people and treated well the men of religion, so that in return they prayed for him, and God blessed him in his lifetime and his seed after him.

LXXI And in this year there befel a great famine, and it was known as "*Sannat el Kabsa*" ("The Year of Pressure"); and in 1185³ the river rose to a great height, and likewise in 1189⁴.

LXXII In 1190⁵ Sheikh Muhammad Abu el Kaylak died, may God have mercy upon him! And Sheikh 'Adlan walad Subahi, the Sheikh of Khashm el Bahr, also; and between these two there had been great affection.

Now [the latter] was a continent and temperate man, honourable and pious.

LXXIII After the death of Sheikh Muhammad the Sheikhs appointed Sheikh Badi walad Ragab, the son of Sheikh Muhammad's brother, and when this was done the FUNG collected and came before the *Mek* Isma'il seeking to be relieved of Sheikh Badi. But when

¹ 1761 A.D.

² 1768 A.D.

³ 1771 A.D.

⁴ 1775 A.D. (reading A^ for KV).

⁵ 1776 A.D. (reading m. for M*A)

Badi heard of this he exiled the *Mek* Isma'il to Suakin and put the *Mek* 'Adlan upon the throne in his stead.

LXXIV And the viziership of Sheikh Badi was successful, and he treated the people justly and extended all the boundaries of the realm* and even surpassed his uncle Sheikh Muhammad in boldness and might and strength and bravery.

LXXV In his days the SHUKRIA Arabs rebelled, so he made ready his army and marched against them and killed Sheikh Abu 'Ali, the Sheikh of the SHUKRf A.

LXXVI Then he sent Sheikh 'Agib walad 'Abdulla and Sheikh Kandalawi to Taka to make war upon the HALANKA Arabs, and they did so, and Sheikh 'Agib and 'f sawi were killed. Kandalawi returned, but the SHUKRIA opposed him on his way and slew him. This was in 1193¹.

LXXVII And Sheikh Badi remained at his home, the village of Rufa'a, east of the Nile, until the SHUKRIA had been brought into subjection. And while there he beat Nasir the son of Sheikh Muhammad Abu el Kaylak violently with whips, and deposed Sheikh Muhammad el Amin and sent him to el Kerbayn; and he also deposed Sheikh Ahmad walad 'Ah², the Sheikh of the district of Khashm el Bahr, and appointed [in his place] Subahi walad 'Adlan.

LXXVIII Then his cousins, the sons of Sheikh Muhammad, changed their attitude towards him on account of his having beaten their brother, and asked him for permission to go to Sennar for the treatment of the illness which had resulted to their brother from the beating. And he gave them leave, and when they reached Sennar they began plotting war and entered into an agreement with the *Mek* 'Adlan and some of the great men of the FUNG whose attitude Sheikh Badi had caused to change.

LXXIX There also joined them Sheikh Ahmad walad 'Ali, the Sheikh of Khashm el Bahr district, and Sheikh Muhammad el Amin, the Sheikh of Kern; and they all assembled at Sennar and made known their rebellion, hitherto covert, against Sheikh Badi, and took all the horses and arms they could find from the Arabs, and marched for el Dakhila against Sheikh Shanbul and Sheikh Subahi, whom Sheikh Badi had sent to collect the tribute of the RUFA'A Arabs.

LXXX The forces met at el Dakhila and fought, and Sheikh Shanbul was killed and Sheikh Subahi taken prisoner alive, and all the horses and the arms that had been with them were captured.

¹ 1779 A.D.

² reading محمد ولد شيخ أحمد ولد علي شيخ

LXXXI Now as soon as ever they had resolved upon rebellion the news thereof had reached Sheikh Badi, but he had not bothered himself until he heard that Sheikh el Amin walad 'Agib was privy to the plot, but hearing this he said "Now it is war," for he knew that Sheikh el Amin was a match for him in bravery and strength; and he started at once and crossed the Nile and paused not, not even at Sennar, in his eagerness against them, until they met in battle.

LXXXI I The commander of his troops was his son, and after a fierce battle his army and his son fled; and when he saw that he drew his sword and plunged into the [enemies'] army alone, and he asked every man he met [his name], and he would reply "So and so," and Badi would pass on, until finally there met him Sheikh el Amin, and when questioned [as to his name] the latter replied "Muhammad el Amin"; and when Badi had made sure of this he struck him three blows, but they did him no hurt because his mail was strong and Sheikh Badi struck blindly from the excitement of his anger.

LXXXIII Then Sheikh el Amin struck Badi a single and surer blow, for his sword was sharp and his knowledge of warfare complete, and Sheikh Badi tried to keep his balance upon his horse's back but could not, and fell to the earth.

LXXXIV And lying thus he called for his uncle's sons, Ragab and Nasir and Idris and 'Adlan and their other brothers, that he might give them his last instructions. Then Sheikh Ahmad walad 'Ali said to him "Are you even yet alive?" and smote him on the mouth with his sword, and he died.

LXXXV But when the sons of his uncle Abu el Kaylak came up they were exceedingly wroth with Sheikh Ahmad walad 'Ali for striking their brother as he lay on the ground, and thus were laid the foundations of the enmity between the sons of Abu el Kaylak and those of Ahmad.

LXXXVI The death of Sheikh Badi was in 1194¹, and he was succeeded as Sheikh and vizier by Sheikh Ragab walad Muhammad, and the king, if he could be so called, was 'Adlan.

LXXXVII And Sheikh Ragab went to Kordofan and remained there besieging the mountains, and he sent his brother, Sheikh Nasir, with about 700 horsemen to the Gezira to give battle to Sheikh el Amin at el Hilalia, which lies east of the Blue Nile.

LXXXVIII And when they came upon Sheikh el Amin he had with him only sixteen horsemen of his own family and slaves, but a fierce engagement took place and the troops of Sheikh Nasir were routed and driven into the river.

¹ 1780 A.D.

LXXXIX When Sheikh Nasir had established himself in the Gezira he summoned Badi walad Mismar, the brother of Sheikh el Amin, and made him Sheikh in the place of his brother.

XC This was in 1198¹; and when Sheikh el Amin learnt that it was the people of Arbagi by whose influence his brother Badi had been appointed, he betook himself to the SHUKRIA and enlisted their aid, and with them attacked the town of Arbagi and put its fighting men and such as were scattered in different parts to the sword, and razed it to the ground and left it desert, though it had been the fairest town in the Gezira, populous and prosperous in trade, with fine buildings and schools of learning and religion, inhabited by men of wealth and well stocked with provisions. But from that day forward it lay waste until now.

XCI While all this was happening Sheikh Ragab was in Kordofan, and his brother Ibrahim, who was known as "Walad Salatin," at Sennar with the king, acting for his brother, in charge of all his possessions.

XCI I Then 'Adlan bethought himself of how the HAM AG had treated his father the *Mek* Isma'il and his grandfather the *Mek* Badi, and sent for Sheikh el Amin and the AWLAD NIMR; and they came before him, and he mustered his courage and arrested Ibrahim walad Muhammad by their advice, for when he had sought their alliance they had said to him "We will not agree unless you arrest Ibrahim."

XCI 11 So he arrested him and the HAMAG who were with him and Sheikh Ahmad walad 'Ah and el Zayn walad Hariin and el Amin walad Tiktak and Walad Kandalawi and slew them all in the *fdsher*, that is in the market-place (*silk*)

XCIV Then he fetched out the daughters of Sheikh Muhammad and distributed them to the chiefs of the troops as slaves. This was in 1199². Now el Na'isan, the famous poet, was living at Sennar at this time, and the king designed to put him to death because of his inclination towards the children of Abu el Kaylak, and menaced him with angry words; and he, seeing his death was intended, fled away to Kordofan; and so soon as he saw Sheikh Ragab he wept and sobbed and recited a number of woeful elegies wherein he described the slaying of Ibrahim and the enslavement of the daughters of Muhammad.

XCV And when Sheikh Ragab heard of the murder of his brother and learnt how he had been dishonoured, he set forth straightway with his troops; and there were with him the *Malik* Sa'ad ibn el Mek Idris walad el Fahl and el Hag Mahmud el Magdhub, the worker of miracles.

¹ 1784 A.D.

² 1785 A.D.

XCVI And Ragab pushed forward until he reached the village of Shadli. And as they marched Sheikh Mahmud el Magdhub used to say "O Sennar the flames have come upon thee I" and at times "The flood has quenched the flame!"; and on the eve of the battle he said "I and thou!"—referring to the [impending] death of himself and Sheikh Ragab.

XCVII And the armies met at a place called el Teras and fought, and Sheikh Ragab and el Hag Mahmud were slain.

XCVIII Now the sons of Sheikh Ragab were Muhammad and D6ka and Badi and Hasan and 'Ali and Ibrahim and Kamatu.

XCIX And it is said of el Hag Mahmud that after he had been buried the call to prayer used to be heard nightly at his tomb, for in his lifetime he was a *muedhdhin* ("one who calls to prayer").

C And when Sheikh Ragab had been killed his troops fled in disorder and reached the village of 'Abud, and when they had camped there they were all of different minds and some said one thing and some another, but in the end they decided to scatter in flight.

CI Then the *feki* Hegazi Abu Zayd sent to them and bade them be of good heart and promised them victory and said he would inspire them; so they were reassured and made Sheikh Nasir walad Muhammad their Sheikh. This was in 1202¹.

CI I And Sheikh Nasir remained at el Tomat for two years and then moved to Taiba Kandalawi for a space.

CIII Meanwhile King 'Adlan was being treated for his illness, and [on his recovery] he prepared a mighty host and appointed to command it el Amin Rahma walad Katfawi, with whom were Muhammad walad Khamis Abu Rida and a number of the great men of the FUNG.

CIV The armies met at a place called Intarahna and a fierce battle followed. The troops of the king were routed, but among the HAMAG was slain 'Ali walad Salatin, the son of Sheikh Muhammad and brother of Ibrahim, a man renowned for his bravery.

CV And there was great slaughter among the troops of the *Mek*, and some of them were drowned in the river. And Sheikh Nasir's men pursued them and drove them into Sennar. Then the *Mek* was exceedingly sorry that he had not accompanied his troops in person, and so great was his grief that he survived but a few days and then died.

CVI But Sheikh Nasir encamped with his army at el Labayh and closely besieged the *Mek's* troops, and the population fell into dire straits, so that finally the *Mek's* army sallied forth to give him battle; but they were discomfited before any fighting actually took place,

¹ 1787 A.D.

and Nasir and his men entered Sennar and made great havoc there and pursued the routed army to el Sali, and then returned.

CVII This was in 1203*, and from now onwards the FUNG cease to have any authority or leadership, and their king was quite powerless: in fact the kings were like prisoners in the hands of the HAMAG even as one of the 'Abbasid Khalifas said when their rule had fallen into decay and their power gone, " Ah! Is it not wonderful that one like myself should see even the least thing forbidden him, and, though the whole earth was once dependent upon him, have nought whatever of it in his hands?"

CVIII And in the same year Sheikh Nasir appointed Awkal king, but after a short space he replaced him by Tabl, and proceeded with the latter northwards to fight against Sheikh el Amin and Abu Rida.

CIX The armies met at a place near Shendi and *Mek* Tabl was slain and the Sheikh suffered a severe defeat.

CX Then he appointed Badi king, and he too was killed at el Halfaya, and at the same time was killed *Mek* Rubat, the nominee of Sheikh el Amin and Abu Rida. *Mek* Hasab Rabbihi was then appointed, but he too died.

CXI All this occurred in 1204², and in the same year Sheikh Nasir returned to Sennar.

CXII And in 1205³ Sheikh Muhammad el Amin walad Mismar was killed by Abu Rida because the former had severely flogged Sheikh 'Abdulla walad 'Agib. [Sheikh Muhammad] was residing at the village of Walad Ban el Nuka, and all his sons were away; so when they saw him all alone they determined to kill him, but they dared not openly attack him because he was known to be a man of great bravery and courage. But they went to work secretly and climbed on to the top of his house and pulled off the roofing and stoned him from a distance until he was dead.

CXI 11 The same year Sheikh Nasir made Nowwar king. And Nowwar remained at Sennar, and Sheikh Nasir perceived that he was a man of sagacity and strength, so he grew afraid of him and made haste to put him to death.

CXIV He then appointed *Mek* Badi walad Tabl, who reigned until the time of the late Isma'il Pasha, the son of Effendina Muhammad 'Ali Pasha.

CXV Now at the time of his accession *Mek* Badi was very young, but as all the power [of the FUNG kings] was now merged in that of the HAMAG I have not mentioned the exact length of time [each reigned].

¹ 1788 A.D.

² 1789 A.D.

³ 1790 A.D.

CXVI Sheikh Nasir was fond of amusement and play, and very capricious. It is even said that he never touched gold with his hand, excepting on one occasion, when it befel that one of his friends came to him and told him that he proposed going to the Hegaz; and Nasir opened his coffer and filled both his hands with gold to give it to the man, and he intended the man to hold out the flap of his robe so that he might bestow upon him lavishly; but the man held out [only] his two hands, so Nasir gave him what was in his own hands and no more.

CXVII And many tales are told of his generosity, and it is said that four kings who were all famous for their generosity lived at the same time, namely Nasir at Sennar, and the Sultan 'Abd el Rahman in Darfur, and Murad Bey in Egypt, and Ahmad Pasha el Gazar in Syria, and each of the latter three had a larger empire than Nasir.

CXVIII And between him and el Hag Sulayman walad Ahmad existed complete friendship and trust, and when the latter came to him he used to honour him and bestow on him bountiful gifts; and he was, God have mercy on his soul, a man held in honour and respect.

CXIX Nasir continued in residence at Sennar, and Muhammad walad Khami's Abu Rida at el Turfaya, east of Sennar, paying no heed to Nasir but occasionally entering Sennar alone, by night and secretly, to have discourse with his friends, and then leaving it.

CXX Things remained thus for some time, and in 1211¹ Nasir crossed the river with his troops, accompanied by his brother 'Adlan, to attack Abu Rida; and a fight ensued and Abu Rida was killed and the villages on the east bank were looted and laid waste. But with all his generosity Sheikh Nasir was an oppressor and held not his hand from taking the possessions of true believers, but enriched one man by impoverishing another.

CXXI And in his time the *feki* Hegazi died of thirst in prison. A number also of the HADARMA were slain by the hand of his brother Husayn. But subsequently he turned upon this brother and seized all the possessions and herds he had.

CXXI I In his time, too, died the *feki* 'Abd el Rahman Abu Zayd, the pious and learned saint, and also that other holy man the *feki* Muhammad Nur Subr.

CXXIII During the days of his rule, again, the Sultan Hashim walad 'fsawi and the sons of Sheikh el Amin, supported by FEZARA and BENI GERAR, advanced into the Gezira; and Nasir went out against them and met them near Siru. And they came to terms and all returned to Sennar excepting the BENI GERAR, who went back

¹ 1796 A.D.

whence they came after Nasir had honoured them and given presents to their chiefs.

CXXIV Now Sheikh Nasir had entrusted the management of the kingdom to his vizier el Arbab Dafa'alla, while he himself devoted his time to frivolity and amusement; and he had become infatuated with his slaves, and they took to oppressing the people without any hindrance from him, for he had given them orders that none of his brethren nor the chief men of the kingdom were to have access to him until they had applied to his vizier el Arbab Dafa'alla.

CXXV And [the nobles] were thereby irritated, and the hearts of the people were alienated by the oppression they suffered; and his brethren for the same reasons threw off their allegiance to him and defied him. So they openly rebelled, and collected at 'Abud and thereabouts, and were joined by all those whose purpose it suited that Nasir's rule should come to an end.

CXXVI This was in 1212¹; and when Ndsir learnt of it he went out to fight them, and camped at el Sabil and tried to win them over by the medium of men of learning and rank. He likewise sent to them their sisters the daughters of Abu el Kaylak; but they would have no truck with him at all on any condition save that he should resign the sheikhship. And when he saw there was no hope of winning them back to allegiance he returned to Sennar; and his brethren quitted 'Abud and followed him until they reached el Bukera, a village near Sennar. And when Nasir saw they were at el Bukera he took some of his treasures and fled to the southern districts by night. And news of his flight reached them the following morning, and on receipt of it they entered Sennar.

CXXVII Then Idris remained at Sennar, and 'Adlan followed in [Nasir's] tracks as far as the village of Siru, which lies west of the Nile, but failed to overtake him, and, hearing that he had made for Deberki on the river Dinder, and despairing of coming up with him, he returned to Sennar.

CXXVIII And Nasir remained near Deberki for a time and then moved northwards to seek protection with Sheikh 'Abdulla walad 'Agib.

CXXIX And when Nasir arrived Sheikh 'Abdulla gave him protection, and he stayed with him at el Halfaya, and after a while he crossed the Nile and took up his abode at the village of 'Abud.

CXXX But when his brethren heard of his whereabouts they set forth from Sennar and went to the village of Abu Haraz, which lies east of the Nile, and camped there. And Idris remained at Abu

¹ 1797 A.D.

Haraz and sent on 'Adlan with his slaves **and** some of the troops, but he took the precaution of including no HAMAG or FUNG among them for fear of disaffection.

CXXXI And when el Arbab Dafa'alla, the vizier of Nasir, got the news of 'Adlan and the dissension among the troops, he took his helmet off his head and went to meet 'Adlan's army and sought peace for himself.

CXXXII And Nasir was captured without any bloodshed and taken back by 'Adlan to Abu Haraz and handed over to Subahi walad Badi to be slain in revenge for the slaying of the latter's father Badi walad Ragab. And Subahi slew him and buried him at Abu Haraz close by the tomb of Sheikh Dafa'alla el 'Araki. This was in the early part of 1213¹.

CXXXI 11 Idris was then chosen to be Sheikh. He was a patient and brave man, kind of heart and just to the people, and by nature he loathed thieves and never inflicted upon them any other punishment than death, so that in his days the crime of theft was stamped out, and men left their possessions and their wares spread out in the market-place all night and all day with no one to guard them, and yet nothing whatever was taken, and there was no fear unless it were that a dog might take some meat.

CXXXIV And complete contentment reigned, and Idris was assisted by his brother 'Adlan in organizing his kingdom and quelling such Arab tribes as were rebellious and seditious; and indeed 'Adlan undertook no expedition but he returned victorious.

CXXXV Most of their efforts were directed against the nomad Arabs with a view to weakening their power of revolt, and in consequence the inhabitants of the villages enjoyed a period of peace.

CXXXVI Among the viziers of Idris were el Arbab Kurashi and el Arbab Zayn el 'Abdin walad el Sayyid el feki 'Abd el Gelil walad 'Amir and the *feki* el Amin walad el 'Asha, but he did not entrust them with the management of his kingdom as his brother Sheikh Nasir had entrusted it to his vizier el Arbab Dafa'alla, preferring to direct affairs himself.

CXXXVII In consequence his position was strengthened, as the poet has it of a man who does his work in person.. (a few verses follow).

CXXXVIII Then, when everything had been settled, Sheikh Idris went in person to el Halfaya, towards the close of 1214², to war upon Sheikh 'Abdulla walad 'Agib on account of certain words the latter had been reported as having uttered in favour of their brother Sheikh Nasir.

¹ 1798 A.D.

² 1799 A.D.

CXXXIX And the armies met and a fierce battle ensued, until finally Sheikh 'Abdulla walad 'Agib was slain and his troops routed.

CXL Then Sheikh Idris offered them peace and appointed over them Sheikh Nasir walad el Amin, who was still in power in the time of the late-lamented, the dweller in Paradise.

CXLI Now Sheikh 'Abdulla was a just ruler, an ardent follower of the faith and an observer of the Kuran; and during his rule he ordered that when women were married smaller dowries should be paid, and the result was an increase in the number of marriages and consequently of births.

CXLII It was he, too, who bade everyone in the market, even the butchers, when they heard the call to prayer, to assemble at the mosque for public worship; and this became a general custom and continued even after his death.

CXLIII Among his praiseworthy acts, again, was the extirpation of the robbers who were known as "el 'Akaliit": he caught them band by band and cut off their heads, and so stamped out theft and robbery in his days.

CXLIV Sheikh Idris remained at el Halfaya and sent his brother 'Adlan with a troop of soldiers to the neighbourhood of Shendi, and 'Adlan, on reaching Walad Ban el Nuka, wrote to the *Mek* Muhammad walad Nimr promising to sanction his appointment as king of the country of the GA'ALIYYUN,—for the *Mek* Sa'ad had died.

CXLV And when the letter reached the *Mek* Muhammad walad Nimr he was surprised at it and forgot how he and his brothers had acted in the time of King 'Adlan the Fungowi in the matter of enslaving the daughters of Muhammad Abu el Kaylak, for in the hour of his fate he was blinded.

CXLVI So he and a number of his brothers and cousins and his son Idris, who was still small, went out [to meet 'Adlan]; but Sa'ad and Nimr refused to go with them and fled away by themselves.

CXLVII And when King Muhammad and his brothers and cousins and his son Idris presented themselves, ['Adlan] imprisoned all of them, and *Mek* Muhammad died in prison from the grievous weight of chains heaped upon him. And as for the *Mek* son Idris, his mother came and ransomed him for 300 *wukias* of gold. But of the rest of the prisoners only el Fahl was released, and he only at the intercession of el Hag Sulayman walad Ahmad.

CXLVIII 'Adlan then started for el Halfaya with the other captives, keeping Nimr and his companions, who offered no resistance, surrounded; but when it was dark Nimr and his companions escaped.

CXLIX Then the chiefs of the MAGADHIB intervened to the end

that 'Adlan should return to Shendi; and at Shendi he appointed Musa'ad as *Mek*, and, this done, returned to his brother Sheikh Idrfs at el Halfaya with the rest of the captive AWLAD NIMR. And after he had reached el Halfaya and met his brother they proceeded to Sennar and there executed the prisoners.

CL In 1216¹ war broke out between the *Mek* Nimr and the *Mek* Musa'ad, and this war was called "The war of the 'AwALiB," and during its course 'Adlan went west and fought with the *Mek* 'fsawi and defeated him and brought him back captive to Sennar, where he died in prison.

CLI In 1217² occurred the war of the BATAHIN and the SHUKRiA, and Sheikh 'Awad el Kerim Abu Sin, Sheikh of the SHUKRIA Arabs, was killed.

CLII In the same year died el Hag Nasir walad Matassi, a man of piety, and also the *fekt* Misri walad Kandil, a student of the Kuran and a pious man; and also Sheikh Yusef the son of Sheikh Muhammad walad el Terayfi. He too was a pious man, and the *fekt* Ahmad walad el Taib and others composed elegies upon him.

CLIII We will now return to the history of the Sheikh. The historian states that Sheikh Idris followed in the steps of his father Muhammad Abu el Kaylak in justice and beneficence until he died in the month of *Cemdd el Akhir* 1218³.

CLIV He was succeeded in the Sheikhship by his brother 'Adlan, but the latter neglected his kingdom and exercised no vigilance in its affairs and gave himself up to pleasure. But he only ruled for the rest of *Gemdd* and *Ragab* and *Sha'aban*, and on the 16th of *Ramadan* he was slain.

CLV And the manner of his death was thus. As soon as he became distracted from the affairs of state and ceased to give his attention to them, his foes roused themselves, and their ambitions were excited. The first to make a plot for his downfall was Muhammad walad Ragab walad Muhammad, who conspired with Kamtur and the *Mek* Ranfi and some of the FUNG and some of Sheikh 'Adlan's own entourage. These dared not yet openly proclaim their revolt, but lay quiet awaiting an opportunity, and finally God willed the consummation of their hopes, for Muhammad walad Nasir "Abu Rish," who was in great need of corn, moved from the village of el Kubr; and this man had had a brother named 'Ali, who was bold and reckless and used to abuse roundly all that 'Adlan did, and it was said—and God knows the truth—that 'Adlan had poisoned him: so then ""Abu Rish" left el Kubr and joined Muhammad walad Ragab and

¹ 1801 A.D.

² 1802 A.J).

³ 1803 A.J>.

the others who have been mentioned above, and their hearts were fortified and their backs strengthened because of their knowledge of the temerity and enterprise of Muhammad "Abu Rish" in all matters of difficulty. Now on the night agreed upon by the conspirators 'Adlan was being wed to the daughter of Walad Guma'a and was filled with happiness and joy, and there was with him a clever man to whom news had come of the conspiracy, and this man quoted to him the following lines as a warning against being taken unawares... (two lines of poetry follow: the author then recounts how 'Adlan was none the less surprised and wounded, but got on his horse and rode off with his son Muhammad, but fell dead at Sennar from his wounds)... And when the conspirators received news of this they went thither [to Sennar] and bore him into a compound that belonged to him and buried him there.

CLVI Then King Ranfi and Sheikh Kamtur and Muhammad walad Nasir all agreed to the appointment of Muhammad walad Ragab, and he was made Sheikh, but the real power lay with Muhammad "Abu Rish."

CLVI I And the *Mek* Ranfi and Sheikh Kamtur and Walad Ragab¹ and Muhammad "Abu Rish" all remained at Sennar, but they were no longer of one mind, and, as God Almighty said, "You deem them to be together but their hearts are far apart."

CLVIII And the month of *Ramadan*, in the middle of which 'Adlan had been slain, had not passed before they were at open enmity. The KAMATIR {i.e. family of Kamtur} formed one party and the sons of Muhammad [walad Nasir "Abu Rish"] the other, and they came to blows... (the author gives details of the fighting: Muhammad walad Nasir and Muhammad walad Ragab were ranged against KamtOr, Kamtur proved victorious; Walad Ragab was imprisoned at Sennar; Walad Nasir was wounded; and KamtQr's followers took to looting at Sennar. Then the *'Ulema* tried to effect a reconciliation and Kamtur was persuaded to return the loot and release Muhammad walad Ragab, but Muhammad walad Nasir * "Abu Rish" refused the overtures and gave battle to Kamtur, late in 1218², and drove him across the river)..

CLIX And when Walad Nasir had won the victory he entered Sennar and put to death the *feki* el Amin walad el 'Asha, the vizier of his uncle Sheikh Idris. ftp!

CLX And the sheikhship was confirmed to his cousin Muhammad walad Ragab in name, but in actual fact [Muhammad "Abu Rish"] directed affairs entirely.

CLXI And [the latter] prepared to reside at Kassala, but when all was quiet again and the fighting had ceased, he entered Sennar and

¹ reading **ولدت رجب** for **ولدت رجب**.

² 1803 A.D.

put to death the *Mek* Ranfi and sent for the *Mek* Badi, whom his uncle, Sheikh Idris, had deposed, and appointed him king. And Badi remained king until the coming of the late Isma'il Pasha the son of Effendina.

CLXII And in this same year 1218¹ died the famous and learned *feki* 'Ali Bakadi.

CLXIII Then Sheikh Kamtur gathered together such of his family and relatives as remained with him and set out for Khashm el Bahr, that is the east bank of the Nile, and settled there until the year *i9², and in the latter part of that year he moved northwards.

CLXIV And when Walad Ragab heard of this he had Kamtur pursued until he was forced to cross the Nile. And Kamtur stopped at Omdurman, and the '*Ulema* and men of religion intervened and prevented Muhammad's people [from touching Kamtur], so they returned to el Gedid, while Kamtur crossed over to the east bank and went back.

CLXV Meanwhile, Walad Ragab was camped at Walad Medani, and Walad Nasir went to Kassala [and stayed there] till the beginning of 1221³.

CLXVI Then Walad Ragab and Walad Nasir fell out until they came to be actually at war, and their forces met at a place called el Haraba and attacked each other, and the *feki* Zayn el 'Abdin walad el Sayyid was killed, and Walad Ragab was routed and driven to el 'Aylafun. But Walad Nasir, instead of pursuing him, went home to Kassala and appointed as Sheikh his uncle Sheikh el Husayn walad Muhammad, while he himself with his slaves remained at Kassala enjoying and amusing himself.

CLXVII And Walad Ragab entered into correspondence with Sheikh Kamtur and the family of Sulayman ("Awlad Sulayman"), and Sheikh Kamtur and his brethren came and camped at Abu Haraz, and with them the Awlad Sulayman and the Awlad Shanbul, excepting Sheikh 'Adlan; and Walad Ragab met them there, and they entered into a compact to war upon Walad Nasir, and appointed as their king one called 'Agban.

CLXVIII (The author describes how in the middle of the year both Walad Nasir and his brother died suddenly on the same day. The slaves of Walad Nasir and of [his uncle] 'Adlan [walad Muhammad Abu el Kaylak] then fell to quarrelling together, as Walad Nasir had only left a small son and 'Adlan's slaves preferred their master's son Muhammad. The two factions fought and 'Adlan's slaves fled and joined Muhammad Walad Ragab and Kamtur. With this new addition to his forces Walad Ragab then attacked

¹ 1803 A.D.

² 1804 A.D.

³ 1806 A.D. (reading \%x\ for \%x).

Walad Nasir's slaves, but he was defeated at Taiba Kandalawi and el Ilag Sulayman walad Ahmad was killed. Walad Ragab then fled to 'Aylafun and Kamtur to Abu Haraz, and Walad Nasir's slaves retired again to Kassala, via the village of Walad el Magdhab, and made one Tayfara their ruler)

CLXIX And among the sons of their masters the slaves had with them Muhammad walad Ibrahim walad Muhammad Abu el Kaylak; and when they were returning after their victory this man asked their leave to make a raid on [the] BAKKARA, and they gave him leave: so he parted [from them at] Walad el Magdhub and raided [the] BAKKARA and took some spoil, which he sent to the slaves at Kassala.

CLXX Then he met [the] FEZARA and entered into league with them to fight the slaves and accompanied them to el Khartoum, where they looted as they willed and slew Ibrahim Ibn el feki Muhammad walad Ali, the *khalifa* of the *feki* Arbab.

CLXXI Muhammad walad Ibrahim then went to 'Abud and stayed there. The slaves meanwhile remained at Kassala in impiety and drunkenness and villainy; and all power, for loosing or for binding, was in their hands for eight months.

CLXXII (The author then tells how Muhammad walad Ibrahim was joined by many of the notables and made his plans. The slaves being apprised of this went to Sennar and put the family of Ragab in chains and took them to Kassala. Muhammad then attacked them and killed a number and captured the rest. He put all the prisoners to death excepting Tayfara, who during his brief rule had done no harm in word or deed.)

CLXXIII Thus the power passed to Walad Ibrahim, and he resided at Taiba Kandalawi for a time and then moved to Um Daraysa.

CLXXIV Meanwhile Muhammad walad Ragab had been at el 'Aylafun, but he now moved to Abu Haraz and looted the FADNIA Arabs.

CLXXV Then the 'ARAKIYYUN came to him and told him that the loot had not belonged to the FADNIA but to themselves. He, however, refused their request and reviled them, wherefore they named him "The Rough-tongued," and affairs came to such a pass that he attacked them and slew Sheikh Dafa'alla walad el Samuta and Abu 'Akla Ibn el Sheikh Yusef, though he had but few troops with him; and his victory was so complete that they fell into¹ the grain pits (*matmura*) and hid therein and were put to the extreme of shame.

CLXXVI Then Sheikh Muhammad walad Ragab relented and left the 'ARAKIYYUN and went towards el Turfaya to meet Sheikh Kamtur and seek his protection, and Kamtur accorded it him because of the fear of Walad Ibrahim that was in his heart; or rather, as soon as

¹ reading سقطوا for سقطوا.

ever Walad Ibrahim made representations to him, he seized him [Walad Ragab] and sent him to him [Walad Ibrahim]. And when he arrived Walad Ibrahim handed him over to Muhammad walad 'Adlan to be slain in revenge for his father ['Adlan], So he was put to death, God have mercy upon him!

CLXXVII And when Walad Ibrahim had settled his affairs and got all the power into his own hands he rested awhile without any quarrels; but on hearing that Muhammad walad 'Adlan had entered into an agreement with el Arbab Dafa'alla walad Ahmad and the *feki* Medani walad el 'Abbas and others to attack him and throw off his sway, he seized the *feki* Medani and put him to death; but el Arbab Dafa'alla received news of the execution and fled eastwards to Saba'a Dolib.

CLXXVIII Then Walad Ibrahim, with his vizier el Arbab Kurashi and a body of his men, went to the village of Walad Baha el Din and sent for Muhammad walad 'Adlan from the village of Borku; and when he arrived Walad Ibrahim and his vizier Kurashi took him into the *khalwa*, that is the place of worship of that pious man, and Kurashi began addressing him with rude and offensive words. Walad 'Adlan, however, replied in conciliatory and gentle terms, so finally Walad Ibrahim bade his brother cut his throat.

CLXXIX Now the slaves of Nasir who were following Walad Ibrahim were standing outside the *khalwa*, and as soon as they heard the "cut his throat" they cast earth upon the heads of the slaves of 'Adlan, who had come with Muhammad walad 'Adlan, and the latter at once drew their swords and took up their position at the door of the *khalwa*. And the slaves of Walad Ibrahim and the slaves of Nasir wavered, for they were not averse to the appointment of [Walad] 'Adlan and detested Walad Ibrahim on account of his having handed over the charge of affairs to Kurashi. And the slaves of 'Adlan demanded Walad Ibrahim from them and threatened them and frightened them by saying they would loose their master Walad Ibrahim upon them or else burn them and him together in a fire.

CLXXX And Kurashi was very nervous and blustered greatly and showed his disquietude and fear; and finally they brought out Walad 'Adlan; and Walad 'Adlan saw the gulfs of death yawning before him and was terrified, and his breath was choked with the imminence of the destruction that was upon him, and he stood fascinated.

CLXXXI Now the horse of Walad Ibrahim with the king's caparisons upon it was standing near, and Abu Sulayman the slave of 'Adlan shouted to him [Walad 'Adlan] "Why are you stupified? Mount the mare and plunge your sword into the hearts of these dogs who wished to kill you!" And when Walad 'Adlan heard him and realised what

was before him he sprang upon the mare as it stood and drew his sword.

CLXXXII Then the slaves of Nasir at once gathered round him, and he regained his confidence and ordered them to fetch out Walad Ibrahim and Kurashi from the *khalwa* after taking away from them their swords. And the soldiers rallied to Walad 'Adlan and took Walad Ibrahim and his vizier Kurashi to the village of Borku; and on arrival [Walad 'Adlan] at once slew Kurashi, in accordance with the wishes of Nasir's slaves who were following him, and proceeded to Sennar accompanied by all the soldiers, and there imprisoned Walad Ibrahim in the house of his father's sister Mahayra.

CLXXXIII This all occurred in 1223¹ and the rule of Walad Ibrahim, which had lasted for sixteen months beginning from *Ragab* '23 ['22?], came to an end; and the power passed to Muhammad walad 'Adlan, who slew all the sons of Ragab except Hasan, who was in the end destined to cause his death.

CLXXXIV He also put to death Muhammad walad el Sheikh Idris, and many people who rebelled against him, and Muhammad walad Ibrahim who had been held captive near el Manakil, and then he went in the direction of the White Nile and collected the remnant of the slaves of Nasir and a young son of his and slew them all... (The author adds further remarks as to the severe measures taken by Walad 'Adlan to consolidate his power)

CLXXXV And in the days of Walad 'Adlan, in '24², an epidemic was caused by yellow fever, and many people perished; and this illness was called by the natives "*el kik*" and among the notables who succumbed to it was el Hag Muhammad walad Nurayn of the stock of Sheikh Hamid walad Abu 'Asa, and the *feki* Muhammad Nurayn of el Halfaya, the author of the *Biographies* (lit. series) of *the Saints of the Sudan* ("*Tabakdt el Awliya bVI Sudan*"), who was mourned by Sheikh Ibrahim 'Abd el Dafa'i in a very beautiful elegy of about twelve lines, beginning as follows: "Let the eye weep all its days with grief for the running of the river dry. He was rich in learning, a pontiff and son of a pontiff, a guest of God's own. Verily he has won prestige and glory in the earth."

CLXXXVI Early in 1225³ Muhammad 'Adlan moved northwards to war against Sheikh Nasir walad el Amin, and the latter heard of his coming and fled to Shendi. And Walad 'Adlan reached el Halfaya and stayed there awhile accompanied by the *Mek* Badi and his uncle Sheikh Husayn and all his troops.

¹ 1808 A.D.

² 1809 A.D.

³ 1810 A.D.

CLXXXVII Then he returned to Sennar without having fought. In '26¹ occurred a war between the SA'ADAB and the GIMI'AB in which was killed el Arbab Banuka [*i.e.* Ban el Nuka], a brave and noble and pious man; and a number of his cousins fell with him, and the remainder took to flight; and as a result of this war the power of the GiMf'AB was greatly enhanced and their heads were raised over the kings of the GAMU 1A and Walad 'Agib.

CLXXXVIII In '27² Walad 'Adlan set out to collect tribute from the RUFA'A Arabs in the vicinity of Gebel Moya; and el Labayh fled from him but was pursued by the troops and overtaken, and some of his people were killed and much booty taken.

CLXXXIX In '28³ Walad 'Adlan went to el Turfaya and stayed there awhile, and there came to him Sheikh Khalifa with a certain Effendi. And in the same year there appeared a comet, which was followed by a severe famine; and that year was called "The Year of Hardship" [*"Sannat el Gtbts"*].

CXC In '29⁴ died Sheikh Hasan ibn el Sheikh 'Abd el Rahman walad Ban el Nuka. He was the possessor of a library of books, all of which were lost at the time of Nimr's revolt in the Turkish days. There also died the pious el Hag Dafa'alla walad Dayfulla this year at el Halfaya...

CXCI (The author describes how in the same year Walad 'Adlan, who was at 'Abud, prepared to attack Nasir walad 'Agib, the 'Abdullabi, at el Halfaya. He was interrupted by news that the *Mek* Badi was starting from Sennar against him and had enlisted the KAMATIR, *i.e.* the AWLAD KAMTOR, to assist him. Walad 'Adlan therefore turned south and besieged the *Mek*, but a friendly agreement was soon reached and Walad 'Adlan visited the *Mek* at Sennar and was received with due honour. In 1231⁵ Walad 'Adlan resumed the offensive against Nasir walad 'Agib and replaced him by Nasir walad 'Abdulla. This however was only a temporary move, as, on his return to Sennar, Walad 'Adlan ordered the reinstatement of Nasir walad 'Agib)..

CXCI I And in 1232⁶ the most learned and pious Sherif, the noble el Sayyid Muhammad 'Othman el Mirghani el Mekki, visited Sennar and met its rulers and called upon all men to follow his *tarika*; but only a few people did so, and the rulers paid no heed to him but wished to test him by examination, so they brought forward the *feki* Ibrahim walad Bakadi, one of the most brilliant of the 'Ulema, to examine him. And the *feki* Ibrahim arrived at Sennar with a racking headache, and the pain increased until he died,—and this before he had ever met the Sherif.

¹ 1811AD.² 1812A.D.³ 1813A.D.⁴ 1814AD.⁵ 1816 A.D.⁶ 1817A.D.

So the Sherif left Sennar; and at that time his age was twenty-five years.

CXCIII In 1233¹ there was a very high Nile and the village of el Bashakira on the east bank was swept away. This Nile was known as "The Nile of Abu Sin" because Hammad², the son of Sheikh 'Awad el Kerim Abu Sin, was killed the same year by the BATAHIN³. And the latter took refuge with the *Mek Nimr*, and Sheikh Muhammad Abu Sin advanced against them with all his Arabs in a great army and prepared to make war on *Mek Nimr*. But the '*Ulema* and religious Sheikhs intervened and prevented their fighting, so they returned to their own country.

CXCIV In 1234⁴ el Arbab Muhammad walad Dafa'alla walad Sulayman was treacherously murdered by Muhammad walad 'Adlan in order that he might marry his widow, who was very beautiful.

CXCV In 1235⁵ Walad 'Adlan plotted the death of Kamtur in revenge for his father's death...

(The author tells how Walad 'Adlan fell suddenly upon Kamtur, who was almost undefended, and slew him and the *feki* Ahmad walad el Taib. He then returned to Sennir rejoicing at having now achieved his revenge on all who had participated in his father's death. Kamtur's brothers then appointed Derrlr as Sheikh in place of Kamtur and, in 1236⁶, while Walad 'Adlan was out collecting tribute from the Arabs, they attacked him by night in the house where he was. They were, however, detected by Walad 'Adlan's men and a fight ensued in which the latter lost heavily. Aided by the darkness Walad 'Adlan and his women broke through the wall of the house and escaped, and meanwhile great confusion prevailed among the combatants. In the morning, when it was light, the scattered forces of both parties reassembled and the fight was continued.)...

CXCVI And the party of Walad 'Adlan was victorious, and sent tidings of the victory after him; but he paid no heed, for he was consumed with shame at his flight. However el Arbab Dafa'alla walad Ahmad Hasan, who had been one of those who stayed behind and brought the news of the victory, had speech with him and told him "There was no fighting like that which took place while you were there," and "They were only routed by fear of you," so that Walad 'Adlan was reassured by skilful arguments and took his men and went to Sennar.

CXCVI I And after they had settled down at Sennar certain tidings reached them of the advance of Isma'il Pasha the son of Effendina into their country; and they were thrown into great perturbation, and

¹ 1818 A.D.

³ reading بطاحين for بقطاجيون.

⁵ 1820 A.D.

² reading حميد for احمد.

⁴ 1819 A.D.

⁶ 1821 A.D.

each man began to look after his own interests, and the soldiers scattered in the attempt to prepare themselves for eventualities, so that Muhammad walad 'Adlan was left at his village with only el Arbab Dafa'alla walad Ahmad and a few men.

CXCVIII Then Hasan walad Ragab seized his opportunity and fell upon Walad 'Adlan by night with only five horsemen and a few of his relatives, and broke open the door and entered his house. And Walad 'Adlan came out and fought fiercely against them alone, and three times he repulsed them, but finally one of the relatives [of Hasan Ragab] struck him and cleft his leg while his attention was elsewhere. And when he collapsed they fell upon him with their swords and dispatched him and buried him in his house.

CXCIX Now the days of Walad 'Adlan were days of prosperity excepting only the "Year of Hardship"; and after his death they had no settled rule, and their councils were divided, and they fought among themselves in revenge, and scattered, and broke away from all control; but glory be to Him whose kingdom has no end and whose rule is everlasting!

CC Now as regards the Sheikhs of Khashm el Bahr, among them was Sheikh 'Adlan walad Subahi who was with Sheikh Muhammad Abu el Kaylak and died a few days after him.

CCI After him his brother's son, Sheikh Ahmad walad el Sheikh Kamtur, succeeded.

CCII He was deposed by Sheikh Badi walad Ragab, who appointed Subahi walad 'Adlan in his place.

CCIII Then Sheikh Ahmad, who had been deposed, succeeded again and remained in power until Sheikh 'Adlan deposed him.

CCIV After him ruled Sheikh Muhammad Kamtur, who was killed by Walad 'Adlan. He was a gentle man, who never showed anger nor was insolent nor abusive; but if his anger was aroused he would curse the Devil. He had numerous brothers, all of whom were noble of character and withal brave and generous and well versed in their religion.

CCV And Sheikh Kamtur was succeeded by one of them, namely his brother Sheikh Derrar, in whose days the period of their eminence came to an end.

CCVI Of the successive rulers among the AWLAD 'AGIB and the kings of the SA'ADAB I have no knowledge.

CCVII The kings of the FUNG who were possessed of power began with 'Omara Dunkas and ended with the *Mek* Badi walad Nul, and after the reign of the latter all power, whether of loosing or of binding, was in the hands of Sheikh Muhammad Abu el Kaylak and his family

until '36¹. Then Muhammad walad 'Adlan was slain and their influence ceased and they no longer directed affairs, and it was even as Sheikh Idris walad el Arbab had said, "In the end they will be divided and fight² among themselves and their rule will disappear and the Turks will conquer the country." So, too, the *feki* Hegazi walad Abu Zayd, of the family of Sheikh Idris, foretold by shaking letters together that the days of the sons of Muhammad [Abu el Kaylak] would end with Muhammad walad 'Adlan.

CCVIII Now after the death of Walad 'Adlan dissension was rife, and they continued quarrelling during *Ragab* and *Sha'abdn* until the country passed under the sway of Effendina Isma'il Pasha, the son of the late Muhammad 'Ali Pasha.

CCIX Now [Isma'il Pasha] arrived in the latter part of *Sha'abdn* and camped on the west [bank] opposite el Halfaya; and Sheikh Nasir walad el Amin met him and submitted to him and was granted peace and presented with a splendid robe and left in his own country; but Isma'il Pasha took with him on his march to Sennar Nasir's son el Amin and the kings of the SA'ADAB, namely the *Meks* Nimr and Musa'ad. And he camped with all his forces and the boats which were accompanying him by river at Omdurman. Then he crossed the river and camped at el Khartoum, and was met by the *feki* Muhammad walad 'Ali, the *khalifa* of the *feki* Arbab, and treated him with honour and granted him peace; and he did not stretch forth his hand against the districts which he crossed excepting only to obtain provisions.

CCX And [Isma'il Pasha] started from el Khartoum for Sennar on the last day of *Sha'abdn*, accompanied by the *Kadi* Muhammad el Assiuti, and el Sayyid Ahmad el Baghli, the *Mufti* of the Shafa'ites of the Sudan, and el Sayyid Ahmad el Salawi, the *Mufti* of the *Sayyids* of the Maliki sect, and camped at a village west of el Mesallamia. Here he was met by some of the notables and granted them peace; and, after he had started, there met him Ragab walad 'Adlan and el Arbab Dafa'alla walad Ahmad and tendered their submission, and to these also he granted peace and gave robes as he had done previously in the case of the kings of the GA'ALIYYUN.

CCXI And before he reached Sennar the *Mek* Badi and some of the HAMAG came and tendered their submission...

(The author mentions that honours and presents were heaped upon Badi and his nobles by Ismd'il, who entered Sennar on the 12th of *Ramadan*. A proclamation was then issued nullifying all complaints based on events previous to the conquest. Isma'il acted with the utmost fairness and won

¹ 1821 A.D.

² reading يتقاتلون for يتقاتلون.

all hearts by his justice," for he heard the plaint of the poor man in person without any intermediary." Ragab walad 'Adldn was then sent with troops to chase Hasan walad Ragab, and caught him and brought him and some of his supporters back as prisoners: several of the latter were put to death at Sennar.)...

CCXII Then he sent Muhammad Sa'id Effendi with a force of soldiers and Sheikh Rahma walad Rahala against *Mek* Idris el Mih-ayna, the *Mek* of the GAMO'IA, because the latter had not met him and he had heard of his looting villages. And they came upon him at his house on the White Nile and slew him and took his possessions and returned to Sennar.

CCXIII And, when affairs were settled satisfactorily, the first taxes were imposed by the issue of an order for the classification of houses¹ [into three groups, namely] high, medium and smaller. Then he had lists made of slaves and flocks but did not impose any tax upon them; and he took nothing from the country except fodder for his horses. Early in *38² arrived His Highness Eftendina Ibrdhim Pasha... (The meeting is described. The author says that in *RabVa Atoal* both went south, but Ibrahim "returned in a few days and went to el Mahrusa." Ismd'il meanwhile proceeded to Fazoghli, where he captured the local chiefs and "expelled the merchants who resided there and imposed a tax of eold upon them ")

CCXIV And while he was away in the *Gebels*, Diwan Effendi Sa'id [imposed] taxation on the people with the compliance of the *mu'alhm* Hanna el Mubashir and el Arbab Dafa'alla walad Ahmad. On each head of slaves they made the tax fifteen *rials*, on each head of cattle ten *rials*, on each sheep (5U») and donkey five *rials*. Meanwhile a false rumour spread that Isma'il Pasha had been killed in the *Gebels*... (The author describes how some showed sorrow and some joy and some withheld judgment. When Isma'il returned safe and was told of this he "punished no one for what he had done, but treated them with gentleness and mercy, as was the custom of his late-lamented father, and he put no one to death except Walad 'Agaylawi, whom he impaled.")...

CCXV And Isma'il Pasha, on his arrival, found that Diwan Effendi and el Mubashir had apportioned the collection of the taxes to various employes, and appointed clerks, and arranged the assessments, and issued ledgers, and sent these employes out to the villages to collect the money. And from his compassion for the folk he was displeased at what had been done and called in the ledgers for alteration; but it was found that el Mubashir had sent them to el Mahrusa.

So he sent Sheikh Sa'ad 'Abd el Fattah after them, to bring them back, but Sa'ad failed to overtake them... (The author explains how Isma'il Pasha, since he had been unable to alter the amounts in the ledgers,

¹ reading منازل for مازل.

² 1822 A.D.

ordered special leniency in the collection of taxes. We are also *told* that as a result of the amount of fever in Sennar, Isma'il Pasha, in 1237¹, moved with his court to Wad Medani. In 1238² troops were sent for Hasan walad Ragab, but he decamped. Several of Isma'fl's suite died this year.)...

CCXVI In *Safar* 1238³ His Excellence moved northwards by boats, and when he reached Shendi the *Mek* Nimr and the *Mek* Musa'ad met him, and he requisitioned from them many things, and they were unable to provide them all and were afraid. So they made outward show of obedience to his orders, but asked for an extension of time, and engaged to fulfil his requirements before the time limit he appointed. They also begged him to leave his boats and honour them with his presence in the town. Accordingly he landed and camped in one of the houses at Shendi, unaccompanied by anyone except his *MamlUks*. Then they fell upon him in the night and set fire to the house, and Isma'il Pasha [*lit.* "the late-lamented one"] and his *MamlUks* were burnt to death within. And, oh! To what deeds was the way thus prepared! Their act was the cause of the devastation of the land and the death of true believers, the shedding of their blood, the plunder of their goods, the dishonouring of their wives, the general ruin of the countryside, the captivity of the women and the children and the dispersal of the people into other districts.

CCXVII When the news reached Muhammad Sa'id Effendi el Kadakhdar at Walad Medani, he collected his scattered forces, and fortified himself at W^Talad Medani, and sent Shama'dan Agha and Mustafa Kashif with some mounted men to verify the report; and they reached el Khartoum and then returned to him with the facts.

CCXVIII Then el Arbab Dafa'alla fled from Walad Medani and camped at 'Abud, and bands of men rallied to him there...

(The author describes how an expedition was then sent from Wad Medani to 'Abud but found the bird flown; so they laid the village waste and killed the local *khalifa*, Muhammad walad 'Abd el 'Alim, and returned

El Arbab had, meanwhile, gone south and joined Hasan walad Ragab, and the two of them collected an army at Abu Shoka. Muhammad Sa'id then sent a second expedition, composed of SHA/KM and *Delatia*, which gave battle to the rebels at Abu Shoka and defeated them with great slaughter. Hasan Ragab, his uncle Husayn and his son Muhammad were among the slain. Much booty was taken, and the force returned triumphantly to Wad Medani) ..

CCXIX Now when the news of the murder of Isma'il Pasha reached Muhammad Bey Defterdar, who was at the time in charge of Kordofan, he at once started with some of his troops and a certain number of FUR for el Abwab, and [thence] proceeded, slaying and looting

¹ 1822 A.D.

² 1822 A.D.

³ 1822 A.D.

unceasingly, to el Metemma. There he found a number of people collected, and some of them came and asked him for peace, and he granted it to them. Then one of these same people sprang at him and wounded him with a spear that was in his hand.

Seeing this, the Defterdar ordered them all to be slain; but a few escaped. Then he went to the *feki* Ahmad el Rayyah in his *khalwa* and ordered all [there] to be burnt.

CCXX He next moved to Shendi and found the *Mek* Nimr had fled, so he returned along the east bank to look for Walad 'Agib at el Halfaya.

So far from finding them, however, he found el Halfaya deserted; so he burnt it and passed on to Kubbat el Sheikh Kh6gali, but similarly found no one there. Then he crossed the river to Tuti Island and there slew many people.

CCXXI After this he went to el 'Aylafun. Now he had been preceded there by some of his FOR soldiery, and the people of el 'Aylafun had come out and given battle to them. So when the Bey arrived he slew them all and burnt down the village and took prisoner slaves and freemen alike.

CCXXI I Thence he marched along the east bank to Walad Medani. Now Walad 'Agib was at this time living at Kutrang, and, as soon as he heard of what had happened at el 'Aylafun, he quitted the village and left the river and camped at el Kubba and thence crossed over to Omdurman with his men.

And there joined him the remnant of the HAMAG, who had survived the battle at Abu Shoka.

CCXXIII The Bey, meanwhile, went to Walad Medani with the captives of el 'Aylafun and stayed there a short time and gave orders to Husayn Agha el Gokhadar to proceed to the White Nile.

CCXXIV On his way thither Husayn Agha passed through the villages of el 'Adayk, and when he reached Walad el Turabi he turned eastwards, away from the river, and looted camels and sheep from the SHUKRiA, and then went across to the White Nile and stopped at the camp of the GA'ALIYYUN. And the troops raided the camps and took what booty they wanted. Then some [of the Arabs] begged for peace, and he granted it and ordered their flocks to be returned to them after they had accepted his conditions.

CCXXV Afterwards there came to him one of the soldiers and told him that the *feki* Fadlulla, from the camp of the 'AKAidR on the White Nile, was one of those who had raised their heads and stretched out their hands to slay the soldiers, for his brother had been killed.

So el Gokhadar enquired for the *feki* Fadlulla, but could not

find him; and, having with him 72 men from the encampment of the GA'ALIYYUN, he ordered their hands to be cut off; and the sentence was carried out on all of them, and in consequence some died, and others survived. Then he moved elsewhere.

CCXXVI The Defterdar, for his part, went to Kordofan, and then returned the same year to the country of the GA'ALIYYCN.

CCXXVII And while the Defterdar was on his way to Kordofan, Walad 'Agib and the HAMAG refugees who were with him were on the west bank at Omdurman, and they were attacked there by 'Ali Agha el Busayli and some *SnAlKiA* and MOGHARBA troops, and they fled before them to the neighbourhood of Shendi and joined the *Mek* Nimr, and remained with him until they heard that the Defterdar was advancing from Kordofan.

Then they scattered, and some of them settled down at el Hilalia. And news of this reached el Kadakhdar Muhammad Sa'id, and he sent troops in boats who came upon them at early dawn and killed a number of them and put the rest to flight.

Then the soldiers returned to Walad Medani with the loot they had taken.

CCXXVIII And when the Defterdar Bey reached the country of the GA'ALIYYUN, the *Mek* Nimr fled and camped at a place called el Nasub in the desert, but the Bey overtook him with a troop of Turkish and SHAIKfA soldiery, and a fight took place. And after many of the *Mek*'s men had been killed he was put to flight. This was a great battle, and much plunder was taken and many women and children captured.

CCXXIX Then the Bey returned with his loot and prisoners to Um 'Aruk and camped there; and so numerous were the captives that he made a thorn-enclosure for them and supplied it with water by means of a trench; and some of them died from the severity of the conditions and some were ransomed by Sheikh Bashir walad 'Akid, and others were sent to el Mahrusa.

CCXXX The survivors of the battle of el Nasub had, in the meanwhile, scattered in every direction, and the Bey now advanced from Um [Ariik](#) to fight them, that is Musa'ad and Walad 'Agib.

CCXXXI And on his way he seized the *feki* Ibrahim 'fsa, and with him one called 'Agib walad Dekays, and beat them and took them with him towards Abu Haraz and kept them prisoners awhile and then released them.

CCXXXII And he continued the pursuit of the refugees until he overtook Musa'ad at a place called Makdur, between the Dinder and the Rahad, and there he inflicted great slaughter upon them and took much booty and many captives. Now among the slain was Sheikh

Salih, one of the AWLAD BAN EL NUKA, and their possessions were looted and the books of Sheikh Hasan were scattered [and lost]. This occurred early in 1239¹.

CCXXXIII The Defterdar now moved to Sabderat, and on his return thence directed the captives, both the freemen and the slaves, to be sent to el Mahrusa, and instructed Muhammad Sa'id el Kadakhdar also to proceed to el Mahrusa with such as were left of the entourage of EfTendina the late Isma'il Pasha and all his belongings.

CCXXXIV And he appointed K61ali el Hag Ahmad to act for him, and dispatched him to Walad Medani, while he himself returned to Um 'Aruk with el Sayyid Ahmad Effendi el Salawi and remained there.

And el Hag 'Abd el Razik was his clerk at this period.

CCXXXV On the 17th of *Ragab* of this year there passed away the Leader m the Way, the Authority on Sacred Law and Truth, the Leader of the Zealous, the Guide of the Seekers after Knowledge, Sheikh Ahmad el Taib ibn el Bashir, upon whom be the mercy of God; and Sheikh Ibrahim 'Abd el Dafa'i composed a long elegy upon him, which contained the following lines:... (six lines of poetry follow) ...

CCXXXV I At the end of that year the Bey ordered all the slaves whom he had acquired by requisitioning them from the people to be sent to el Mahrusa, and himself prepared to go northwards also, having heard of the coming of 'Othman Bey Barungi to the Sudan. He stayed at Um 'Aruk until the arrival of 'Othman Bey, and then proceeded to el Mahrusa, taking with him el Sayyid Ahmad el Salawi.

CCXXXVII This was in *Muharram* 1240²; and in *Safar* of the same year 'Othman Bey reached Omdurman with his *Gehadia* troops—and this was the first time that the *Gehadia* entered the Sudan—and the *mu'allitn* Mikhayil Abu 'Ebayd as a *Mubdshir*.

CCXXXVII I Then he crossed over to el Khartoum and was met by Sheikh Shanbul³ walad Medani, and bestowed upon him honours and robes and appointed him Sheikh over all the lands from Hagar el 'Asal to the hills of the FUNG.

CCXXXIX There also met him Sheikh 'Abdulla walad 'Omar, and him he blew from a cannon's mouth.

CCXL He then left el Khartoum for Walad Medani, after appointing 'Othman Agha el Khurbatli, the Director of Military Supplies, to act for him, and ordering the *feki* Arbab walad el Kamii to be blown from a cannon also. On his arrival at Walad Medani he put a large

¹ 1823 A.D.

² 1824 A.D.

³ reading شنبول for شنبول

number of people to death with the cannon, and ordered el Sayyid Ahmad el Baghli, the *Mufti* of the Shafa'ite Sayyids, to depart to el Mahrusa.

These evil acts excited great discontent among all the people, and their hearts were alienated from him, and they loathed this occupation of the country.

CCXLI Then he ordered the payment of the taxes...

(The author describes the distress that followed: soldiers were sent out to collect the taxes, and in consequence most of the people fled far afield. Some fled to el Kedaref, and the officer who was sent after them overtook them there and shot them down in heaps. A drought and an epidemic of small-pox then both occurred and the people were reduced to eating dogs and donkeys, and corn rose to a piastre for a *roll*. Thus "half the population perished by the sword and sickness and famine " 'Othman Bey is described as quite pitiless, and curses are hurled at him by the author.)...

CCXLI I And el Khurbatli 'Othman remained acting as vice-governor, but his rank was that of a lieutenant whereas in the army were *Kdimakdms* [Colonels] and *Beykbashis* [Majors] and *Yuzbdshis* [Captains], and these paid no attention to his orders or prohibitions, and each man acted as he pleased. Thus the people were ruined, for they had no ruler to care for them.

CCXLIII However this state of affairs did not last long, for God in his goodness relieved the people by the destruction of 'Othman Bey and the advent of Mahhi Bey. 'Othman Bey died in the middle of *Ramadan* 1240¹, and his lieutenant [el Khurbatli] hid the fact of his death until he sent for His Excellence Mahhi Bey from Berber; and the latter came secretly, and camped on the east of the river near the village of Hammad for a few days, and then returned to Berber, and, after a short stay there, came back with all his troops and took up his residence at el Khartoum and stationed his men at el Kubba. This was in 1241².

CCXLIV Mahhi Bey cancelled the taxation and prohibited the *Gehadia* troops from the aggression they had practised in the time of 'Othman Bey, and then he sent for the '*omdas* and notables and such religious leaders as were left in the Gezira, and, when they arrived, he consulted them as to how best to serve the interests of the people and secure their means of livelihood and persuade them back to their lands. And each of those present gave his views, but he agreed only with the opinion of Sheikh el Zayn, who was at the time Sheikh of a *khut* {*lie*. district); and him he honoured before all of them and gave a splendid robe, and bestowed on him the sheikship of the

¹ 1825 A.D.

² 1826 A.D.

district of el Ku'a, and took him with him to the neighbourhood of el kedaref to consult with him as to the necessary measures.

CCXLV And when Mahhi Bey entered el Kedaref he ordered corn to be sent to the Gezira, as there was none whatever there... (The author describes how this saved the situation and how blessings were called down upon Mahhi Bey's head. He adds, however, that the soldiery, who were known as *el Bayrakia*, and who were camped at Iʿubbat Khogali, were bad characters and destroyed the tomb and everything near it. He adds a list of several *fekis* who died this year owing to an outbreak of small-pox: they include "Muhammad Nur, the *khalifa* of Sheikh Kh6gali.")..

CCXLVI And in the month of *el Ka'ida* of that year His Excellency Khurshid Agha arrived as ruler of the Sudan; and Mahhi Bey met him at Omdurman, and they stayed there awhile together...

(The author mentions a few unimportant circumstances of Mahhi Bey's departure and enlarges on the excellence of his rule, the soundness of his policy of repatriating those who had fled before the extortions of 'Othman Bey, and his courtesy to the natives)...

CCXLVII And in *el Higga* 1241¹ plentiful rains fell, at which the people rejoiced greatly, and counted it of good augury, and hastened to sow the crops.

CCXLVIII The same month Khurshid Agha went up the White Nile and captured some booty and returned in safety. Then he went to Dar el Abwab and arrested Sheikh Bashir walad Ahmad 'Akid and his brother Mustafa and extorted great wealth from the former.

CCXLIX Now before his expedition up the White Nile he sent Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir with a promise of peace to Sheikh Idris 'Adlan in the south; and Idris was given safe conduct and brought back by Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir to meet Khurshid Agha at Berber.

And Khurshid Agha reassured Sheikh Idris and bestowed great honour upon him, for since the time of Effendina Isma'il Pasha Sheikh Idris had met none of the rulers of the land, and had only come to him under promise of peace. Therefore Khurshid Agha paid particular attention to him and invested him with the sheikhship of the FUNG mountains and gave him permission to remain there.

CCL Then Khurshid Agha returned to el Khartoum and made an expedition against the Arabs of Walad el 'Igba round Siru and returned in safety.

CCLI After this he collected the Sheikhs at el Khartoum to fix the official taxation, and bade them choose one who should be invested with the sheikhship over all of them and so be the medium between him and themselves. And they unanimously chose Sheikh 'Abd

¹ 1826 A D

el kadir, and Khurshid Agha at once issued a *firmdn* to him making him Sheikh over all the other Sheikhs from Hagar el 'Asal to the far end of the FUNG mountains, and gave him a splendid robe and a sword of honour.

CCLII And when he had finished all he wished he fixed the amount of taxation *perfeddn* with the universal consent of the Sheikhs.

CCLIII In *Muharram* 1243¹ he made an expedition against the DfNKA, and thence proceeded to the FUNG mountains...

(The author mentions the death there of one of Khurshid Agha's *mudzvins*, and speaks of them as an experienced company whose advice the Governor-General always took.)...

CCLIV In the same year trouble was caused by Sheikh Khalifa el 'Abadi walad el Hag, who showed himself disobedient and rebellious and came to Berber and attacked the troops stationed there.

And when the news reached Khurshid Agha he at once started with a force of *Gehadia* in boats, and when he reached Berber he found the soldiers had killed Khalifa and the trouble had died down; so he returned.

CCLV In *44² he attacked the FUNG mountains in person and slew some of [the people of] Gebal Abu Ramla, and the hearts of the people of el 'Atish were filled with respect for him, and some of those who had fled returned.

CCLVI Then Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir advised him to exempt the chief men among the people from taxation in order to obtain their goodwill in the development of the country. And he did so, and the result of this policy was apparent, for, as an example, if he exempted one of the *fekis* or chiefs from payment on ten *kada'as*, the man so exempted at once reassured the people and persuaded them to return to their lands, so that Khurshid Agha obtained from them [the taxes on] one or two hundred *kada'as* or more: thus owing to his wisdom and the farsightedness of his advisers the development of the country progressed and the population increased.

CCLVII In 1245³ there was such a high Nile that the people were afraid of being drowned on their lands.

CCLVIII The same year Sheikh Ahmad el Rayyah el 'Araki came from Dar el 'Atish...(The author tells how the Governor-General honoured him and sent him back with letters, to reassure the people of his district, and to promise them that he was coming to visit them shortly, and that such as came down from the hills he would pardon and such as did not he would put to death. He then went to el 'Atish district and collected the people, many of whom came to meet him and others of whom he compelled to come in by force, and sent them, to the number

¹ 1828 A.D. reading wtr for tTtv. ² 1829 A.D. ³ 1830 A.D.

of 12,000 souls all told, under escort to their lands; and when the people saw that he was consulting their welfare they ceased all resistance and became loyal subjects.)...

CCLIX Then Khurshid Agha returned to el Khartoum and began the building of the mosque in the same year, and ordered the people to build houses, for most of them lived in tents of hair-matting and cowhide and there were no buildings of brick, excepting those of the family of the *feki* Arbab near the mosque and those of the families of the *Kadis* and of the *feki* Hammadnulla and those of the BUDANAB¹.

CCLX Similarly he ordered work to be started on barracks for the troops and storerooms for the equipment of the *Gehadia*. The Government buildings, that is the present *hakimddria*, had been begun by Mahhi Bey...

(The author speaks of the energy shown in building the mosques and dwelling-houses. Some unimportant changes of personnel in the Government are also mentioned.)..

CCLXI In 1246² Khurshid Agha made an expedition in boats against [the] SHILLUK and inflicted upon them such slaughter as had never been seen since the time of the *Mek* Badi Rubat.

CCLXI 1 In the same year died the *feki* 'Abd el Kadir walad Dayfulla.

CCLXIII In 1247³ Khurshid Agha made the Sabderat expedition and hemmed them in so strictly that they desired to submit and asked for peace: and Khurshid Agha granted them peace and returned... (certain transfers of personnel are mentioned)___

CCLXIV The same year occurred a great earthquake, and the excellent Muhammad el Magdhub Kumr el Din, son of Sheikh Hammad walad el Magdhub, died and was buried at el Darner; and el Khurbatli Hasan Kashif, the ruler of el Halfaya district and the White Nile, also died and was buried at Kubbat el Sheikh Khogali.

CCLXV In 1248⁴ Khurshid Agha went to Kordofal and returned... (In 1249⁵, the author says, Khurshid Agha was promoted in rank by Muhammad 'Ah Pasha: great rejoicings and festivities in the Sudan are said to have followed the receipt of this news)...

CCLXVI In 1250⁶ Khurshid Agha went to Kordofan and returned in safety. Then he visited Shendi, accompanied by the Grand *Kadt*, with a view to the settlement of the disputes that had arisen between Sheikh Bashir Ahmad 'Akid and the GA'ALIYYUN people about the lands which the former had occupied. And His Excellence sent for all the Governors of Provinces, and they all assembled at Shendi and

¹ reading بدتاب for بدتاب.

² 1832 A.D.

³ 1834 A.D.

² 1831 A.D.

⁴ 1833 A.D.

⁶ 1835 A.D.

held a meeting there at the end of *Dhu el Higga*, that is at the end of the year '50, and then he sent them back to their provinces...

CCLXVII (The author adds that early in 1251¹ Khurshid Agha visited Dongola and thence proceeded to Egypt and met the Viceroy and came back again as Governor-General. As soon as he reached Khartoum he sent for all the *Kdshifs* and *Mamurs* and Sheikhs, and they came and waited his will with great trepidation having heard rumours of conscription.). .

And their fears increased as he kept silence for two days, for he was closeted with Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir and insisting upon taking the Arabs for the *Gehadia* > while the Sheikh was begging him not to do so for fear the people would disperse and the land lie waste. And finally they agreed to call for the slaves, and when His Excellency had accepted this compromise he summoned the officials and Sheikhs who had come to el Khartoum and promised them that freemen should be exempt and decided the number of slaves which each district was to produce for the *Gehadia*, according to its capacity.

CCLXVIII So all men were then reassured and ceased to fear, and began bringing in the slaves needed for the *Gehadia*.

CCLXIX This same year the sun was eclipsed after the evening prayer and its light disappeared and it was divided into two halves, one dark and the other not, and it remained so until near sunset and then shone brightly again.

CCLXX The same year again His Excellency visited the southern mountains with his troops and busied himself there and collected many slaves, some of whom he enlisted in the *Gehadia* to serve the Government, and others of whom he distributed to the *Mamurs* or sent elsewhere.

CCLXXI Then he returned to el Rosayres and there awaited Muhammad Effendi, whom he had sent with the *Gehadia* to Dar el 'Atish as he had heard that the MAKADA had come down accompanied by Ragab walad Bashfr and killed the pious Walad 'Arud and many people; and when the troops had arrived in Dar el 'Atish God had moved the hearts of the inhabitants not to fight, so Ragab walad Bashir was taken prisoner and the troops returned in safety.

CCLXXII And in the same year Muhammad Effendi was granted the rank of *Miraldi* and went with the Sudanese troops to the Hegaz.

CCLXXIII In '52², in *Safar*, a violent wind blew for two successive days. On the first day it blew red; and this was after the time of the evening prayer, and it became very dark and then suddenly light again. On the second day the wind blew black and the air was darker

¹ 1835 A.D.

² 1837 A.D.

than on the previous day: this too lasted from the time of the evening prayer until the sunset.

CCLXXIV^j In the same year occurred a serious drought, and corn of any kind was unobtainable; but His Excellency the Hakimdar issued a hundred *ardebs* of *dhurra* at his own expense to the poor and needy, and ordered a hundred *ardebs* from the Government store to be sold in the market to help the people. He also ordered prayers to be made for rain and attended them in person.

CCLXXV And in this year too the people were visited by cholera, which was known as "The yellow wind" [*el rih el asfar*], and so great was the mortality that in el Khartoum itself more than twenty corpses were taken out [for burial] daily.

CCLXXVI And when the epidemic was at its height the Hakimdar went to Shendi and stayed there for some time. And from there he sent Ragab walad Bashir to el Khartoum, where he was put to death by being impaled.

CCLXXVII Now the notables who perished by this novelty were the *feki* el Senussi Ibn el *feki* Bakadi, and the *feki* el NakhI, the reader of the holy Kuran at the village of Bakadi, and the *feki* Muhammad ibn el Hag el Taib, the *Imam* of the mosque at el Khartoum, and the *feki* Muhammad 'Ah walad el 'Abbas, and Sheikh el Terayfi ibn el Sheikh Yusef, and Sheikh Muhammad ibn el Sheikh Hasan walad Ban el Nuka, and Sheikh Sa'ad 'Abd el Fattah el 'Abadi, and Sheikh Mustafa, the *khalifa* of Sheikh Dafa'alla el 'Araki.

CCLXXVIII This same year His Excellence pulled down the mosque which he had begun to build in '45¹, because it was too small: so, when el Khartoum increased in size as a settlement and the population multiplied, he demolished it down to its foundations, and began building on its site the present mosque, which is much more spacious.

CCLXXIX In *Ramadan* of this year Ahmad Kashif, the ruler of el Kedaref, made an expedition in the direction of the lands of M A - KADA, and slew many of them, and sent the captives to el Khartoum.

CCLXXX The same year appeared a great star in the middle of the day and sparks flew from it. Also an epidemic of fever broke out, which the people called "*Um Saha'a*" ("Mother of Seven"), and caused great mortality; and among the notables who died was el 'Awag el Darb el *feki* Muhammad Barakat, a man well known for his generosity, descended from Sheikh Idris. The fever was called "Mother of Seven" because most of those who were stricken by it died on the seventh day, and if one survived the seventh day he was saved.

¹ 1830 A.D.

CCLXXXI In 1253¹ Mustafa Bey came as Governor of the whole of the Gezira of Sennar. He had previously been in Kord ofan.

CCLXXXI I In the same year there was an eclipse of t¹ he moon for about two hours and it became very dark.

CCLXXXI 11 This year too occurred the battle of WE dad Kaltabu, which is a place near Rashid, where the Abyssinas and the Muhammadan troops met and fought. In this battle was killed Sheikh Miri, the Sheikh of el Kallabat, and Sheikh Aim nad walad 'Abud of the SHAIidA SOWARAB cavalry and many men; and the major of the battalion, and 'Ah Agha el Sahbi, the *Sanjak* *; of the MOGHARBA, and the *Malik* Sa'ad of the SHAIKIA A cavalry were ah 1 taken prisoners and ransomed.

CCLXXXIV And towards the end of the year the Hakimdar 1 ed a large expedition against the MEKADA, and left Sulayman Kashif h^y b¹ Daud to act for him at el Khartoum.

CCLXXXV In *el Kaida* of the same year Mirmiran Ahmad Pasha with Firhad Bey, *Miraldi* of the *Gehadia*, arrived with troops from el Mahrusa to assist the Hakimdar, and overtook him on the road as he was returning without having met the Abyssinians. Then they went back together to el Khartoum and stayed there until the beginning of 1254².

CCLXXXVI In *RabVa elAwed* 1254 dispatches came for Khurshid Pasha, permitting him to go back to el Mahrusa and appointing Ahmad Pasha to succeed him as Hakimdar of the Sudan.

CCLXXXVII So Khurshid Pasha made all preparations for his family and belongings and set forth by boat; and this was a great sorrow to all the people, and when he bid them farewell they began to weep, and of Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir it is even said that he abstained from eating or drinking for two days from grief at the parting.

CCLXXXVIII And when Ahmad Pasha heard of the affliction of this Sheikh he sent for him and promised him all prosperity and happiness, until his grief was assuaged; for Khurshid Pasha had recommended him strongly to his successor. And indeed Ahmad Pasha fulfilled his promises, because he entrusted him with the whole direction of the Government and never issued a single order except by his advice, so that Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir had more influence than a Governor...

CCLXXXIX (The author describes how Ahmad Pasha devoted himself to reorganization and efficiency and put a stop to unauthorized looting by the soldiery, so that the prosperity and security of the country increased greatly "and prices fell until the *ardeb* of *dhurra* could be bought for five

¹ 1838 A.D.

² 1838 A.D.

piastres." It is remarked that Khurshid Pasha had collected the scattered natives, relieved the effects of past famines and stamped out sedition; but Ahmad Pasha even surpassed him in the success of his measures and attained to great popularity, for he was fairspoken, no lover of bloodshed, firm of will, sparing of words, and insisted on his orders being carried out without procrastination.)...

CCXC And he remained at el Khartoum for a time and set the affairs of the provinces in order, and then he went to the neighbourhood of Walad Medani, leaving behind him 'Abd el kadir Agha to act for him at el Khartoum. And while he was away in those parts, in *Ramadan* of the same year, His Highness... Effendina Muhammad 'Ali Pasha honoured the country with a visit and entered el Khartoum... (The author speaks of the Hakimdar returning, and the reception of him and the chief functionaries by the Pasha, and their joy thereat. Muhammad 'Ah Pasha then went south with the Hakimdar "as far as the mountains of Fazoghgh," and held a reception for all the chief Sheikhs of the country, such as Sheikh Ahmad Abu Sin, and presented them with robes.)...

CCXCI Then His Highness turned his attention to searching for mines and remained for some time in those parts. Afterwards he returned to el Khartoum, in the month of *el Higga* in the same year, and after a short stay there returned to el Mahrusa.

CCXCII The Hakimdar, however, remained awhile in the [southern] mountains and came back to el Khartoum early in 1255¹. Thence he proceeded to Dongola and stayed a few days there. He then turned back and reached Shendi, where he heard news of the flight of Ahmad walad el Mek. So he pursued him accompanied by some troops and the *Malik* Kanbal; but the latter was killed the same year.

His Highness then returned to el Khartoum.

CCXCIII On the 4th of *Showdl* in the same year died the learned Sidi Muhammad el Bulaydi, the *Mufti*.

CCXCIV In 1256² the Hakimdar went to the neighbourhood of el Taka with the *Gehadia* and cavalry composed of *Delatia*, Mo-GHARBA and SHAIKIA, and remained there till the district had submitted. Then he made it a *mudiria* and appointed as governor Kurkatli 'Omar Kashif.

CCXCV The same year there was a very high Nile; and Ahmad Hashim, the vice-governor [*zvakil el mudiria*] died; and His Excellence Mustafa Bey, the Governor of el Khartoum, returned from Kordofan to el Khartoum sick and there died.

CCXC VI After the return of the Hakimdar from el Taka he appointed Hamdi Musa Bey *Miralai* to succeed Mustafa Bey as Governor of

¹ 1839 A.D.

² 1841 A.D.

el Khartoum and the whole of the Gezfra of Sennar proper, and Hamdi Bey held this post during the lifetime of the late Ahmad Pasha.

CCXCVII Now H. E. the Hakimdar gave himself no rest, but was always visiting again and again the districts of his *hakimddria*, one time going to the [FUNG] mountains, and another to Kordofan and Tekali; and finally he returned to el Khartoum in 1257¹, and in *Ramadan* died there.

CCXCVIII After his death the affairs of the *hakimddria* fell into disorder, and confusion reigned owing to the division of the country into seven provinces, each one with its own *Amir Lewa* as Governor.

CCXCIX Then, the same year, came Menekli Ahmad Pasha as a reformer, but no reforms resulted and nothing was settled, for each governor concerned himself only with the work of his own province and failed to render full obedience to the reformer.

CCC For a time the latter stayed at el Khartoum: then he went to el Taka with the army, taking with him el Arbab Muhammad Dafa'alla and Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir and Sheikh Ahmad Abu Sin.

At el Taka he took captive a number of the rebels and brought them back to el Khartoum when they were all executed.

CCCI And Menekli Ahmad Pasha stayed at el Khartoum until '61² and then proceeded to el Mahrusa in company with el Arbab Muhammad Dafa'alla and Sheikh Abd el Kadir walad el Sheikh el Zayn...

(The author says the two Sheikhs were received in audience by Muhammad 'All Pasha, and Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir made a speech of which the eloquence amazed the Pasha, who conferred upon him the decorations of a *Mirdldi* set in jewels. The two Sheikhs were also shown round Cairo and Alexandria and other places.)..

CCCI I Finally the Pasha appointed Khalid Pasha as their Hakimdar and recommended them to his care; and in *Muharram* 1262³ Khalid Pasha entered el Khartoum in company with those we have mentioned. There also accompanied him Sheikh Ibrahim el Hinami as *Kadi* over the whole Sudan. For awhile His Excellency stayed at el Khartoum: then he undertook a tour of inspection which took him into every quarter of his *hakimddria*. At one time he visited el Taka, at another the mountains of Fazoghli and the mines of Kassan, at another Kordofan and the mines of Shaybun. And he remained in power as Hakimdar until the latter part of 1266⁴.

CCCI Then 'Abd el Latif Pasha came as Hakimdar in the place of Khalid Pasha, in *Rabi'a el Akhir* of the same year, and the latter returned to el Mahrusa after 'Abd el Latif Pasha had importuned

¹ 1842 A.D.

² 1845 A.D.

³ 1845 A.D.

⁴ 1850 A.D.

him [to do so] and repeated complaints had **been made** on the subject. In fact had not Sheikh 'Abd el kadir been charged to reply for the people on his behalf he would have been ruined.

CCCIV 'Abd el Latff Pasha stayed at el Khartoum busying himself with hearing cases and petitions innumerable¹, and he did no other work unless it were what he did in the matter of renewing and beautifying the buildings of the present *hakimddria*.

CCCV In his time Rufa'a Bey, the Director of Schools, came, and with him *Kdimakam* Bayumi Effendi and many Effendis and gentlemen; and the Hakimdar continued at el Khartoum and never left it; and nothing happened in the *hakimddria* except the dismissal of Sheikh Idris 'Adlan from the position of Sheikh of the [FUNG] mountains and the appointment of his brother's son 'Adlan in his stead, and the matter of Hasan Mismar, the Superintendent of Customs, who was beaten and imprisoned, and what followed, and the dismissal of Hasan Khalifa el 'Abddi, who had been in charge of the road across the Abu Hammad desert, from the sheikhship, and his imprisonment, and what followed, and the appointment of his brother Husayn Khalifa as Sheikh, and the granting to Sheikh 'Abd el Kddir of the rank of *muauin* of the *hakimddria* in addition to his being *Sheikh el Mashaikh* of the whole of the Gezira, and the extreme deference paid to him, and also to Sheikh Ahmad Abu Sin.

CCCVI Early in 1268² Rustum Pasha arrived as Hakimdar of the Sudan and 'Abd el Latif Pasha retired to el Mahriisa. In his days the Members of the Council, Mahr Bey and the others, visited the country; but his period of rule was short: in fact he stayed a few days in el Khartoum, visited Walad Medani district, returned thence sick and died at el Khartoum.

CCCVI I In *Ramadan* of the same year Isma'il Pasha Abu Gebel was appointed to succeed Rustum Pasha. He came to el Khartoum and stayed there awhile, and then went to the district of Khashm el Bahr. Thence he proceeded to the eastern districts, toured them awhile, and finally returned to el Khartoum until he was recalled in *Sha'abdn* '69³.

CCCVIII He was succeeded as Hakimdar by Selim Pasha, who lay sick at el Khartoum until his recall at the end of *Gemad el Awal* '70⁴.

CCCIX Selim Pasha was succeeded by Sirri 'Ali Pasha Arnaot: he never left el Khartoum except to visit Senna⁵, and his rule was brief for he was recalled in *Gamdd el Akhir* '71⁵.

¹ reading لا حضر لها for لا حضر لها.

³ 1853 A.D.

⁴ 1854 A.D.

² 1851 A.D.

⁵ 1855 A.D.

CCCX The next Hakimdar was Garkas 'AH Pasha. He stayed at el Khartoum for some time. And in his days Effendina 'Abd el Halim Pasha honoured the country with a visit, but he did not remain for long, for cholera, known as *el rih el asfar*, broke out; and when the epidemic was at its height, namely in *Ragab* '73¹, the doctors advised a change of air for him, so he went by boat up the White Nile, and thence returned to Berber without leaving his boat once until he reached el Khartoum. From Berber he returned to el Mahrusa.

CCCXI Now this epidemic killed great numbers of the people and penetrated to every part of the Sudan; and among the notables who died from it was Sheikh Abd el Kadir el Sheikh el Zayn, *Sheikh el Mashdikh* of the Gezira of Sennar and el Khartoum, a noble and good man, and one of the greatest in the land. He died at el Khartoum and was buried there, and every community was represented at his burial, as well as the Hakimdar and the vice-Hakimdar.

CCCXII There also died Sheikh Yasin, *Sheikh el Mashaikh* in Kordofan Province, one of the greatest in the land; and Sheikh el Terayfi ibn el Sheikh Ahmad el Rayyah el ' Araki; and the *feki* 'Omar Bakadi, the famous man of learning (God bless him'); and many of the nobles.

CCCXIII And 'Ah Pasha Garkas, after the departure of H. E. 'Abd el Halim Pasha, remained as Hakimdar until the coming of Effendina Muhammad Sa'id Pasha.

CCCXIV The last-named [returned] to Egypt in '73² after a short stay at el Khartoum, and [before] his return he dismissed the Hakimdar and appointed Arakil Bey el Armani Governor of the whole of the Gezira of Sennar and el Khartoum on the 16th of *Rabia Thani* 1273³.

CCCXV Arakil Bey remained Governor until his death in '75...

(The author says he was a skilful and well-endowed statesman of kind disposition, and all went well during the first part of his rule because he took the advice of Sheikh el Zubayr, who had succeeded his father Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir, but mischief-makers caused a breach between them and el Zubayr fled to Cairo "and remained there as a *mu'dwin* in the Interior " Arakil Bey then ceased taking the advice of any of the native notables of influence and increased his seventy, so that he completely alienated most of the Sheikhs, and some of them even revolted and took to the hills) .

CCCXVI In *Ragab* 1275⁴ Hasan⁵ Bey Salama el Garkasi was appointed in his stead as Governor. This Bey was a man of bad natural attributes, coarse and rough, ignorant of statesmanship and unfitted for rule, but withal regular in his prayers, a keeper of faith and temperate

¹ 1857 A.D.

⁴ 1859 A.D.

² 1857 A.D.

⁵ reading حسن for حسين .

³ 1857 A.D.

CCCXVII In *Muharram* 1278¹ he was recalled, and Muhammad Rasikh Bey, the Governor of Kordofan, was appointed in his place.

He reached el Khartoum in *Safar* of the same year.

CCCXVIII Rasikh Bey was fond of ease and enjoyment, and did no work except to begin building the fort which stands on the east bank of the Nile, opposite the fort of the *hakimdaria*.

CCCXIX He was the last of the Governors (*MudiriyyUn*) who were restricted to the control of the province of el Khartoum and the Gezira.

CCCXX Only a short account has been given of these and of the Hakimdars who were appointed after the late Ahmad Pasha, for they made no great mark, and no important events happened [in their days]. We have therefore contented ourselves with merely enumerating them and recording their names. The real power of the *hakimddria* and its proper organization had ceased with Ahmad Pasha; and in the same way the *regime* of the *Kadis* who were held in awe by the people and could speak authoritatively ceased with the late *Kadi* el Salawi, and after him things fell into decay, and the *Kadis*, as has been seen, were mere names with no authority.

CCCXXI Rasikh Bey continued to hold the position of Governor until the good news was received of the appointment of His Excellence Musa Pasha as Hakimdar of the Sudan. And the people rejoiced at this news and were sure that it meant relief and security.

CCCXXII Musa Pasha arrived on the 4th of *Safar* '79² to the joy and relief of all men, and after its time of trial the *hakimdaria* regained its splendour.

CCCXXI 11 After the *firman* had been read, Musa Pasha sent for all the Governors and the Sheikhs of the provinces and the notables, and on their arrival at el Khartoum he thoroughly reorganized the system of Government and fixed the taxation... (The author explains how, in his care for the interests of the people, Musa Pasha made the yearly taxes payable in three instalments and caused each taxpayer to be provided with a *sirki* on which was entered the amount he had to pay and a note of each payment made to the *serrdf*.) . .

CCCXXIV He also created district *nazirs* (*nuzar aksam*) and officials over the people, and as *nazir* over all he appointed el Zubayr 'Abd el Kadir, who had been *Sheikh el Mashaikh*. All this he did that the people might tread the paths of civilization and progress. He also ordered them to wear Turkish clothes.

CCCXXV (The author speaks of the improvement in the state of affairs occasioned by these reforms, and then mentions an expedition made by

¹ 1862 A.D.

² 1863 A.D.

Mosa Pasha to the Abyssinian border, where, failing to meet the Abyssinians, he turned his attention to the AWLAD NIMR—who had retired there from Shendi after the murder of Isma'il Pasha—and broke their power. He went on to el Tdka, and finally returned to Khartoum the same year. There he received news of his promotion to be *Ferik*, and the event was duly celebrated by the populace.)...

CCCXXVI On the 3rd of *Muharram* 1280¹ Musa Pasha set out for el Mahrusa to meet His Excellence the Khedive and was greatly honoured and returned, after a short stay, to his *hakimddria*, and el Khartoum was honoured by his arrival on the forenoon of a Friday in *Gemad el Akhir* 1280...

CCCXXVI I (The author now suddenly breaks off his history to say that he will give a short *rteumi* of the events that happened during the *regimes* of Musa Pasha's successors.

CCCXXVIII He then recounts in fulsome language how in 1282² Ga'afir Muzhar Pasha came to Khartoum with Ga'afir Sadik Pasha, the new Governor-General, as the latter's *wakil*, and at once proceeded to el Taka and repressed a rebellion there. On the 17th of *Showal* 1282³ he returned to Khartoum and by virtue of a *firrndn* received from Egypt took the place of Ga'afir Sadik Pasha as Governor-General. On the 18th of *Showdl* the *firman* was publicly read and a formal reception held, and the new Governor-General appointed 'Ah Bey Fadli to be his *wakil*.

CCCXXIX In 1283* the Governor-General was summoned to Cairo and sent up the Red Sea to Massawa on a mission of enquiry. After his return to Cairo he was sent back again to Khartoum in 1284⁵. His departure, journey and return were celebrated in a poem addressed to him by Sheikh el Amm Muhammad, the Chief of the '*Ulema*. He then remained at Khartoum and earned on the Government with great success. Eulogies of his modesty, generosity and other virtues are poured forth in a stream of nauseous adulation.

CCCXXX In 1288⁶ the catastrophe of his recall befel the Sudan, and universal grief was shown.) ..

CCCXXXI And while they were distracted with uncertainty and conjecture and were relieving the tension by clinging to the ropes of hope, lo! they were overwhelmed with a great disaster and stricken by a terrible blow, by comparison with which their previous affliction was of no account, for in the month of *Ragab* el Khartoum and its neighbourhood suffered a calamity such as had never been known, namely the appointment of one who was in every respect the opposite of his predecessor, and whose name [viz. Mumtaz, i.e. "Distinguished"] was completely distinguished [Ar. "*mumtaz*"] from his character; for his character was that of those men of whom God in His precious

¹ 1863 A.D.

⁸ 1866

⁵ 1868 A.D.

AD.

² 1866 A.D.

⁴ 1867 A.D.

⁶ 1871 A.D.

Book spoke the words " Be ye separated¹ this day [from the righteous], O ye evildoers!"

CCCXXXII This substitute, whose works were perversion and substitution, arrived on the 2nd of *Ramadan* in this year, and from the day of his arrival he terrorized the people by such wholesale injustice as had never been experienced by them individually or collectively at the hands of any of the rulers who preceded him, and as would, if mentioned, blacken the pages of the records and cause the heart of the historian to bleed for pity. Therefore we have drawn a veil over the details and recognized that to shroud the foulness of his deeds in a short summary is preferable to expounding them at length.

¹ reading امتزرو for امتزرو.

D 7 (NOTES)

I The first page of *Mek 'Adldn's* MS. is missing and the second page begins with ".../el Kassdbi * *Their religion....*" The first paragraph, as far as that point, is translated from Muhammad 'Abd el Magid's MS., which is to all intents and purposes the replica of that of *Mek 'Adlan*.

The description of S6ba bears a strong resemblance to that given in the tenth century by Ibn Selim and quoted in Vol i, p. 171 above.

For the date of the foundation of Sennar see note to para. viii.

Soba lies a few miles upstream of Khartoum on the Blue Nile and is the ancient 'Aloa. It is described as follows by Abu Sahn the Armaman, writing at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. "Town of 'Alwah. Here there are troops and a large kingdom with wide districts, in which there are 400 churches. The town lies to the east of the large island between the two rivers, the White Nile and the Green Nile. All its inhabitants are Jacobite Christians. Around it there are monasteries, some at a distance from the stream and some upon its banks. In the town there is a very large and spacious church, skilfully planned and constructed, and larger than all the other churches in the country; it is called the church of Manbali. The crops of this country depend upon the rise of the Nile, and upon the rain. When they are about to sow their seed, they trace out furrows in the field and bring the seed and lay it at the side of the field, and beside it they lay a supply of the drink called '*mizr*,'^y and go away; and afterwards they find that the seed has been sown in the ground and the *mizr* has been drunk. So again at the time of harvest they reap some of the corn, and leave beside the rest of it a supply of *mizr*; and in the morning they find the harvest completed; and they say that this is done by beings of a different order from ours " (Trans Butler and Evetts, pp. 262 *et seq*.)

The churches were under the jurisdiction of the see of S Mark at Alexandria.

Ruins to be seen at Kutrang, Kasemba and other places (see Vol. 1, p. 48) probably represent the remains of some of the 400 churches: they are in red brick and of a meagre description, almost level with the ground.

Alvarez, some four hundred years later, also records the existence of ancient Christian churches hereabouts. Yakot, el Mas'udi and Eutychius all mention that the particular form of Christianity in vogue was the Jacobite or monophysite (see Abu Salih, p. 264, note)

The most flourishing period of the Christian kingdom of 'Aloa may have been between 1100 and 1300. Budge (Vol. 11, pp 303-306) gives a good *resume* of the subject. A description of the ruins at Soba may be found in Budge, Vol. 1, 324, and a photograph of them in Peacock's *Report*, p. 6. A very full discussion of the whole question of Christianity in the

IV. D 7 x. NATIVE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SUDAN 407

Sudan will be found in Letronne (*Materiaux...*), and reference should be made to Part I, Chap. 3 and Part I I, Chap. 2 above for further information re S6ba and 'Aloa.

"A hostel occupied by the Muhammadans" is in the Arabic **رباط معبورة بالمسلمين**. See note to D 7, para. 11, and see explanatory note in Vol. 1, p. 171 re Ibn Selim's use of the same word.

The spelling "Soba" for "Soba" is unusual and incorrect.

The *mizr* spoken of is the older form of the modern *merissa* (native beer). El Tunisi (*Voy. au Ddrfour*, p. 224) speaks of "le mizr, le oumbulbul, sorte de vin rouge." He explains it in a note (p. 426) as "une boisson fermentee et enivrante, tout a fait analogue au *bouza* qu'on prepare en Egypte." "*Bouza*" and "booze" are no doubt the same word and so both appear to be of the same derivation as the word "*merissa*."

"*Kassabi*" is the fine white variety of millet which is still grown in large quantities in the Gezira.

11 This paragraph closely resembles D 3, v and D 3, 157 (q.v.).

The word translated "*hostel*" is again **رباط**. In D 3 the word used is **قصر**. In Muhammad 'Abd el Magid's MS., in place **بي له رباط** e have **بي لبر رباط**.

"*El ts*" is definitely written **تس** in at least one copy. See D 3, 153 (note).

in By the AWLAD DAYFULLA are probably meant the DAYFULLAB, i.e. the family of the author of D 3.

For Idris el Arbab see D 3, 141 and note thereto.

Muhammad 'Abd el Magid's MS. gives 912 for 913.

v Cp Jackson, *Tooth of Fire*., p. 17.

vii Cp Jackson, p. 22

"Because he was the more powerful" **كونه هو الكبير** لا

vin There is no warrant for deriving "*Sennar*" (**سنار**) from "*sin*" (**سن**, a tooth) and "*ndr*" (jU, fire) Schoff (*Penplus*., p. 61) identifies Sennar with the ancient Cyeneum. The author of the *Penplus* says that it is three days' journey inland from Adulis to Coloe (modern Kohaito), and from Coloe to the city of the Auxumites (i.e. Axum) "there is five days' journey more; to that place all the ivory is brought from the country beyond the Nile through the district called Cyeneum and thence to Aduhs " Cyeneum may correspond geographically with Senndr but it certainly does not philologically as the former is spelt *Kvrjvtioi*.

910 A H IS the generally accepted date of the foundation of the FUNG kingdom: cp Bruce. The original MS may, however, have given 915 (**٩١٥**) in mistake for 910 (**٩١٠**), or the last of the three figures may have been indeterminate, for one other MS. I have seen gives 915, and another gives 910, and in the MS. here translated there is a marginal note to "910" implying that the text read "915" and that the copyist made the emendation: the note is **الموافق لما تفره ٩١٠**.

x Gerayf Kumr, or Gerayf East, is on the east bank of the Blue Nile a few miles outside Khartoum. Jackson (p. 19) wrongly translate "*Gereif Gimrt*."

XI Cp. A-E. *Sudan* (which reproduces Stewart's *Report...*), p. 229, where "Khamir" (خمير) is a mistake for Himyar (همير), "Beni Abbas" (بنی عباس) for 'A (عبي), i b a n " (زيان) for Dhubian (ذبيان), "Ferd" (فرازة) or Fezara (فزازة), and "Shaker" (شكر) for Yashkur (يشكر).

The tribes mentioned are well-known Arabian tribes, frequently mentioned in the *Sudan nisbas*.

The BENI YASHKUR are a branch of KAYS 'AYLAN (see Wiistenfeld, D and ABC, xxvm (note)). From the remarks of the author of ABC one gathers that the SHUKRIA are intended here to represent the descendants of the BINI YASHKUR.

Of the 'ABS Burton says "Those ancient clans the Abs and Adnan have almost died out... The Abs, I am informed, are to be found near Kusayr (Corseir) on the African coast, but not in Al-Hijaz" {*Pilgrimage...*, 11, 119).

XIII See note to BA, ccxvi for this and following paragraphs.

For the following chronology of the kings cp. Appendix 1, BA, ccxvi, D 2, 11, *Anglo-Eg. Sudan*, p. 328, Bruce, Cailhaud, Tremaux, Na'um Bey and Jackson, in ail of which similar lists are given though the dates vary to some extent.

XVII Of Tabl Cailhaud says (Vol. 11, p. 256): "fut tuc a Chendy par les gens du roi de cette ville."

xx See remarks re the battle of Kalkol in the note to BA, ccxvi, and also D 3, 241 and 141.

xxi Sheikh Idris el Arbab's biography is given in D 3 (No. 141); see also Jackson, pp. 27, 28

xxii Hasan wad HasGna's biography is given in D 3 (No. 132).

xxiii For Ibrahim el Bulad and "Khalil" see AB, 89-101; D 3, 6, etc

xxiv The biography of Muhammad el Misri is No. 195 in D 3.

xxv Tag el Din's biography is No. 67 in D 3.

xxvi Cp. D 3, viii. The same words **قدیم علی** ("inspired") are used in both cases: see note to D 3, v. "*Obtained direction in the right way*" is **اخذ طريق القوم**

xxviii El Rubdt was son of Badi Sid el Kam (see Cailhaud, 11, 256). In his reign the Abyssinians repeatedly invaded Sennar, but no mention is here made of the fact. An account of the circumstances will be found in the note to para. L and Appendix 2.

xxix In the text, as in that used by Jackson (qv. p. 35), the people attacked by Badi are called "Shakka" (شكا) and there is a marginal note saying "perhaps SHILLUK" (شلك). "SHILLUK" is certainly the right reading: cp. Stewart (*Report..*) or *Anglo-Eg. Sudan*, p. 229.

xxxii Bruce noted this fact concerning the nomenclature of the villages round Sennar.

XXXIII The word "*el Mahrusa*" is used throughout D 7 instead of the usual "Misr" (Cairo): it means literally "the well-guarded," and is an epithet applied to any large town.

xxxvi Cp. Jackson, pp. 34 and 82.

Cailhaud (11, 258) m 1821 describes Sennar and says: "Au centre

domine l'ancienne residence des aieux de Bady. C'est une construction en briques cuites, elevee de quatre etages; abandonne'e, ainsi que toutes ses d'pendances, elle est deja a demi delabree."

Poncet in 1699 says (p. 19): "the King's Palace is surrounded with high Walls of Brick bak'd in the Sun, but has nothing regular in it. You see nothing but a confus'd Heap of Buildings, without Symmetry or Beauty."

xxxviii Cp. Poncet (p. 19): "When we had almost past over the Court, they oblig'd us to stop short before a Stone, which is near to an open Hall, where the King usually gives Audience to Embassadors." Burton {*Pil-grimage*. ., 11, p. 31) uses the word "*dakka*" for a stone bench at Medina.

XLI "*Um Lahm*" is several times mentioned in D 3 (see Nos. 84, 88, 157, 165), and is similarly identified with 1095^{A-H} (1084 A.D.).

XLI 1 Badi el Ahmar would appear to be the king whom Poncet found reigning in 1699. Bruce gives his dates as 1701 to 1726, but I agree with Jackson (q.v. p. 98, note) in thinking those dates must be less accurate than the dates given by Cailliaud (1687-1714) or D 7. Poncet describes him thus: "That Prince is Nineteen Years of Age, black, but well shap'd and of a Majestick Presence, not having thick lips, nor flat Nose like the Rest of his Subjects " In other words, he was more of an Arab than a negro type and therefore likely to have been paler in complexion (ie. "Ahmar").

The rebellion referred to here and Badi's exploit are also mentioned in D 3, 153 (q.v.). Cp. Jackson, pp. 35-36. El Amin Aradib *walad*'Agib was presumably one of the 'ABDULLAB of Kern. Cailliaud (11, 256) notes that Badi's vizier was Nasir el Tamani.

XLIII The biography of this saint is given in D 3 (No. 125). From D 3 and the statements of his descendants it seems that his real name was Hammad and not Ahmad.

The reading rv is given, and not cr, in other copies.

XLIV "*The ncus of his doings reached the FUNG in the south...*" etc., is as follows in the Arabic:

بلغت اخباره الي الفسح بالصعيد وهم جنود لولو فصمموا علي عزله لانهم
هم الذين يعزلون ويولون من يريدوا في الملوك بدون قتل

Lulu is not mentioned elsewhere: Jackson (p. 36) assumes it to be the commander's name.

The "*slaying*" referred to may be the ceremonial slaying of the king as practised at Sennar (*vide* Bruce, and cp. Vol. i, p. 50 and note to D 5 (a), vi), or the sense may be no more than the obvious one, that the military were all-powerful and that no one could oppose them.

XLV Cailliaud (11, 256) mentions that Ounsa died at Sennar of small-pox.

XLVII We have seen from the preceding paragraphs that the succession to the throne had been purely patrilinear. For the OUNSA see BA, 214 and D 2, 1: they were the royal family.

XLVIII "Abu Shelukh" (أبو شلوك) has been quite incorrectly called *'Abu Shilluk" (أبو شلك) by several writers. Westermann is thus led into using the name as evidence of what may perhaps be taken as true

on different grounds, namely that the FUNG were racially an offshoot of the SHILLUK. "Shelakh" are the cuts on the face used by most Sudanese Arabs: "*musshellakh*" is the usual adjective to describe one so marked.

The Sheikhs of the HAMAG, it will be seen, only usurped the royal functions in fact, but were very careful not to attempt to do so in name. They acted as "kingmakers," but in deference to public opinion never failed to insist upon the existence of a king of the royal house. Their position in some respects resembled that of the hereditary viziers under the fifth dynasty in ancient Egypt (*q.v.* Breasted, *Hist.*, pp. 113, 114).

XLIX Contrast D 1, CLXXX, and compare D 2, v m and xxx.

"ANWAB" is a curious plural formed from "NOBA."

L For this war with Abyssinia see Jackson, Chap. 111, and Budge (Vol. n, p. 203). The latter says: "'Iyasu I, 'Adyam Sagad I, king of Abyssinia, invaded Sennar because Badi had stopped certain presents which 'Iyasu had sent to the king of France. A battle was fought on the Dinder river, and the Abyssinian army was defeated with great slaughter." As Budge says later that 'Iyasu I was murdered in October 1706, and that Badi Abu Shelakh reigned from 1724 to 1762, "'Iyasu I" must be an error for "'Iyasu II."

Jackson (p. 48) gives a variant translation of paras L-LVI—not differing to any extent from D 7. We note, however, that the "el Amin" of para. L was el Amin Mismar, the 'Abdullabi, of Kern. The only MSS. I have seen give simply "el Amin."

The Abyssinian account of the war, as gathered from the Portuguese records, admits the defeat but shows that Sennar was actually abandoned by Badi and that but for a brilliant manoeuvre carried out by Khamis, the Far, the Abyssinians would probably have been completely victorious.

It may be as well to give here a brief historical *resumi* of the previous relations between Sennar and Abyssinia. The first detailed record of these relations will be found in the *Historia Aethiopiae* of P. Petri Paez, who was a Jesuit father, born about 1564. (See Beccan, *Rerum Aethop.*, Vol. 111, pp. 327-354, 370 ff.; and cp. Bruce, *loc. at.*) 'Abd el Kadir II had been on good terms with the great Abyssinian conqueror Susneos ("Socinius") but had been deposed by his brother 'Adlan I. He fled to Tchelga, a frontier district of Abyssinia leased to Wad 'Agfb by a special arrangement (see Bruce, Vol. in, p. 300) and under the joint protection of the two, but was subsequently killed in a local rebellion. About 1613 we have Badi Sid el KOM, who had succeeded 'Adlan I and was son of 'Abd el Kadir, sending a present of two indifferent horses to Susneos: he appears not to have been satisfied with the treatment meted out to his father. About a year later, el Rubat having succeeded his father Badi, Susneos, irritated by a number of incidents that had occurred, entered into a league with "Nael filho de Agub" (Nail wad 'Agib, an 'Abdullabi?) and sent his generals to make a series of raids into the provinces of Sennar (including Suakin), and considerable loot was captured yearly. In 1619, as the marginal summary puts it, "Melca Christ6s, Ionael et Oald Haureat regnum Funye invadunt, plunbus praelus hostes profligant, regem capiunt et, universa regione depopulata, a Suaquem usque ad Fazcolo (*i.e.* Fazoghli), ingenti praedi

oniwti ad Imperatorem redeunt." [Extracts from **the** Portuguese of Paez will be found in Appendix 2. See also Bruce, Vol. in, pp. 311-319.]

After the expedition just described, to quote Bruce (*he. cit.*), "Still the vengeance of Socinios was not satisfied. The Baharnagash, Guebra Mariam," was commanded to march "against Fatima, queen of the Shepherds¹, called at that time Negusta Errum², queen of the Greeks. This was a princess who governed the remnant of that antient race of people, once the sovereigns of the whole country, who, for several dynasties, were masters of Egypt, and who still, among their ancient customs, preserved that known one, of always placing a woman upon the throne. Her residence was at Mendera, on the north-east of Atbara, one of the largest and most popular towns in it " Mendera, that is Mundera, was on the great east-to-west trade and pilgrim route, and its queen, the modern representative of Candace, derived her income from the fact. She surrendered to Guebra Mariam and was taken to Abyssinia but was released and sent back home with presents.

The Abyssinians no doubt considered Sennar, or at least that portion of the kingdom which was bounded by Abyssinia, as theoretically a subject state. For instance, Ludoifus, basing his history chiefly on the works of Tellez and the Jesuit memoirs, says in Bk. 1, Chap. xvi (published 1681 and translated by Gent in 1684) that to the south Abyssinia is bounded by "the Kingdom of Sennar or Fund, governed by its peculiar king, formerly a tributary to the Abessines, but now absolute"; and in Bk. 11, Chap. xviii, we find "as for the king of Sennar, he has often revolted and made warr upon the Abessines."

Menelik II was of the same opinion so late as 1891: see note to D 1, CLXXXIII

Between the reigns of el Rubat (died 1642) and Badi "Abu Shelukh" (*acc.* 1723) there seems to have been a period of comparative peace.

The el Amin walad Mismar mentioned here is not to be confused with the Muhammad el Amin walad Mismar of paras, LXXVII *et seq.*: see Na'um Bey, *Hist. Sudan*, 11, 99.

LI Khamis is mentioned by Bruce (Vol. 11, p. 635): "Hamis, pnnce of Dar Fowr had been banished from his country in a late revolution occasioned by an unsuccessful war against Sele and Bagirma, and had fled to Sennaar, where he had been kindly received by Baady, and it was by his assistance the Funge had subdued Kordofan."

Muhammad Abu el Kayhk was probably the greatest man that the Sudan produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His sons and grandsons were virtually supreme in the Gezira after his death until the Turkish conquest, and he himself not only conquered and administered Kordofan but also raised himself to the position of a dictator at Sennar.

I do not think that there can be much doubt but that he was one of the HAMAG by race, though Jackson (p. 51) says (rashly, I think) that the "general consensus of native opinion" is in favour of his being a Ga'ah, and quotes an account of him given by the *Mek* of the GAMU'FA from which it would appear that Abu el Kaylak's mother was HAMAG and his father a Gamu'i

¹ The BEG A tribes, that is. ² *I.e. el Ram.*

(i.e. of Ga'ali extraction). The term "HAMAG" is often used as almost the equivalent of barbarians, and, on the other hand, in so far as the HAMAG have Arab blood in them, it is supposed to be derived from BENI 'ABBAS (i.e. Ga'ali) ancestors. In fact, where some people would say that the GAMC'TA were partly HAMAG, the GAMU'U put it differently and speak of the H^AMAG (e.g. Abu el Kaylak) as being partly Ga'ali. There is, however, the possibility that Abu el Kaylak was called a Hamagi because of his mother belonging to that race. Such an example of the survival of a matrilineal system would be by no means anomalous

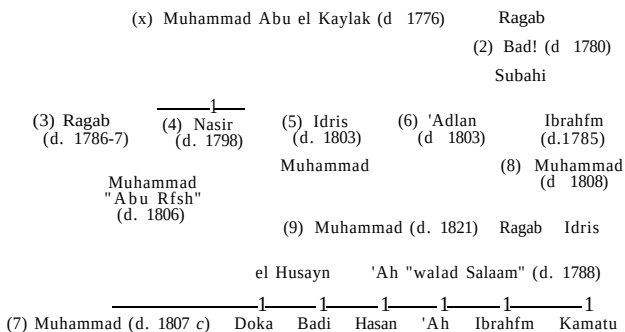
From Bruce (Appendix 28, p 226) one would suppose that Abu el Kaylak was the son of Sheikh Subahi. The vizier 'Adlan is repeatedly referred to as his brother and in 1176 (1762 A.D.) wrote a letter of recommendation for Bruce signed "el Sheikh Adlan son of el Sheikh Subahi." But Subahi was the Sheikh of Khashm elBahr (see para LxxII) and one of the KAMATIR (RuFA'A), which Abu el Kaylak certainly was not, so it is evident that Bruce was simply misled by the use of the term "akhu." From para, LXXII it is clear that 'Adlan and Abu el Kaylak were bosom friends.

As regards Abu el Kaylak's career: in Appendix 46 (pp 416-7) Bruce says (1772): "From these two provinces [viz the Gezira and southern Kordofan] are all the riches of the kingdom; and they are both in the hands of the two brothers, Adelan, and 'Abd el Calej, who have killed two kings, and keep the third [i.e. Isma'il] without forces or revenue."

Again, on p 425, Bruce says "News brought (Aug. 1st) that the people of Darfoor have marched with an army to take Kordofan, which, it is apprehended, they soon will do, being about 12,000 horse, and an infinite number of foot. There are at Kordofan about 1500 horse, with Mahomet Abou Calej; who, it is thought, will fall back on Sennaar, if not surrounded...."

Browne, writing in 1793 from DarfQr, says (p. 307): "A king of the name of Abh Calik is the idol of the people of Kordofan where he reigned about fourteen years ago and is renowned for probity and justice."

The following Tree, compiled from D 7, will be found useful in following the career of Abu el Kaylak's descendants:



The name "Abu el Kaylak" is alleged (by *feki* Muhammad 'Abd el Magid of the 'OMARAB, for whom see D 3,113 note) to be more correctly "Abu Lakaylak." He explains "*Lakaylak*" as a diminutive of "*lak*" meaning 100,000, and says the nickname was given because Sheikh Muhammad commanded 100,000 men. This, however, is not very convincing.

LVII 'Abd el Latff el Khatfb's biography is No. 9 in D 3.

The text is corrupt here, reading thus:

وتجاري علي.

علي فعل امور ذميمة من النهب والقتل حتى انه تجارا علي
الخطيب عبد اللطيف العالم المشهور وقتله

The MS. of Muhammad 'Abd el Magid omits the middle line.

"The FUNG nobility" : **كبراء الدولة من الفنج** : paras, LXI and LXII.

LVIII Cp MacMichael (*Tribes* , pp. 9-11), and Jackson (p. 50) who adds el Amm Mismar (for whom see para, L) among the commanders. The FUNG army was probably composed largely of 'ABDULLAB from Kerr if we may judge from the names "'Abdulla walad 'Agib," "Shammam walad 'Agib," "el Amfn Mismar" and "'Agayl." Khamis the Far was probably assisting the FUNG in Kordofan during the war: see the first passage from Bruce quoted in the note to Li.

LXI "Fts G nobles " here is **اكابر دولة العنج** : cp. paras LVII and LXII.

LXII " Great men of the FUNG, that is slaves of the king," is **كبراء الفنج** : cp. paras, LVII and LXI.

It would appear that slaves had attained in Sennar to a position analogous to that of the *Mamluks* in Egypt.

LXIV Cailhaud says (11, 256) that Badi died at Suakin.

LXVII Cailhaud speaks of Nasir (11, 256) as "tue a el-Bouqra par Bady Oualed Regeb."

LXVIII "FUARI" may be a plural formed from FUR: cp. "ANWAB" in para. XLIX. Jackson (p. 59) says. "Ahmed wad Mahmud, Sheikh of the Furs " Muhammad 'Abd el Magid's MS., however, gives "Kawaria."

"Prayer-mat" is **موطا**. Jackson (p. 59) translates "pen."

LXIX It was in Isma'il's reign that Bruce visited Sennar. In the text Bruce speaks of him as "white in colour as an Arab," with short black hair; but in the MS. notes (Vc\vi, p. 417) he speaks of him ("the *mek*") as having "woolly hair and black flat features."

LXXI The reading '89 instead of '83 is adopted from another MS.

LXXII The reading "1198" as the date of Abu el Kaylak's death is obviously an error, as his successor died in 1194A.H. (see para, LXXXVI). Two other MSS. to which I had access, and which agree with that here translated as regards other dates, give 1190.

As regards the relationship between Abu el Kaylak and 'Adlan see note to para. Li. Cp. also para. cc.

Feki Muhammad 'Abd el Magid writes to me of 'Adlan walad Subahi: " He was one of the KAMAT^{AR}, a learned and pious man. His tomb is at

Sennar **and** is still visited. In times of distress people call upon him Saying *Ya 'Adlan, Wali and Sultan.' He has performed many miracles, **and has** a marvellous power of curing club-footedness (*el nabt*). If one **has** a club-foot and visits him on seven Saturdays, by God's leave one will be healed of it."

"*Khashm el Bahr*"* was the name given to the district bordering on either side of the river from Sennar southwards. Muhammad 'Abd el Magid writes to me again on this subject: "It was the custom of the kings to grant to the man they put in charge of these villages the rank of 'Sheikh of Khashm el Bahr,' and to the man they put in charge of the cultivable lands the rank of 'Sheikh of the lands of the villages of Khashm el Bahr.' The inland villages, which water from wells, were called 'the rainland villages' (*hilldl el kutr*) and also had two Sheikhs, one for the villages and one for the lands: the former was called 'Sheikh of the rainland villages,' and the latter 'Sheikh of the lands of the rainland villages.'"

LXXXIII Of Isma'il Cailhaud (n, 256) notes "mort du cote de Saouakin "

LXXV Abu 'All's full name was Abu 'AH wad Muhammad wad 'Adlan wad Nafl, Nail being the ancestor of the AWLAD NAIL section.

LXXVII Muhammad el Amin (walad Mismar) was Sheikh of Kern, an 'Abdullabi. He had apparently succeeded the Sheikh 'Agib of para, LXXVI. Badi his brother seems to have succeeded him, but when Badi died, or was deposed, he again became Sheikh and did not die till 1790 (see para, cxn).

The reading "*Ahmad walad 'Ah*" for "Muhammad" is correct and occurs in other MSS.: cp. paras LXXIX, CCI and ccm and note to cci.

Jackson gives (p. 61) "Mohammed wad Ah."

LXXXI El Amin walad 'Agib is the Muhammad el Amfn of para LXXIX, etc. (cp. note to para L) "Wad 'Agib" was practically the hereditary title of the 'ABDULLAB.

LXXXIV "*His uncle*" is Abu el Kaylak. Jackson (p. 63) is in error in making el Amin give Badi the *coup de grace* Such MSS as 1 have seen all agree with the text as translated

LXXXVI Ragab was son of Abu el Kaylak.

LXXXVIII Jackson (p. 63) makes Nasir the victor. No MSS. that I have seen do so.

xc Cp D 3, iv (note) and Jackson (p. 63).

xcI In para civ it is Ibrahim's brother 'Ali who is called "Walad Salatin "

xcn The AWLAD NIMR are the Ga'ali *Meks* of Shendi

xcni For "*fdsher*" cp. el Tdnisi (*Voy. au Ouad&y*, p. 98): "Le mot de Ouarah, chez les Ouadayens, est analogue au mot de Facher chez les Foriens.. Au Darfour, la denomination de Facher s'apphe egalement a la grande place qui est devant la demeure du sultan... et a cette demeure elle-meme. Ou donne encore ce nom, hors de Tendelty, a la ville, ou au bourg, ou au village ou le sultan s'&abht Mais au Ouaday, le nom de Facher ne s'apphe qu'a la grande place qui est devant le *palms*____"

xcv Sa'ad Ibn el Mek Idris was the Ga'ah *Mek* of Shendi. According to Cailhaud's list (HI, 106) he ruled for 40 years.

xcvi The Arabic of the three phrases given is

W. **يا سنان جاتك ناز.**
 (٢) **التار طفاها السيل.**
 W **انا وانت.**

c 'Abud lies south-west of Wad Medani, in the Gezira.

ci Hegazi's biography is given in D 3 (No. 133).

"Said he would inspire them **اووعدهم بقدمه عليهم**-a technical phrase for which cp. para, xxvi above.

civ Infarahna is west of Rufa'a.

For 'Ah "walad Salatfn" cp. note to para. xci.

cvi From Cailhaud (11, 256) it seems that after 'Adlan's death his son Rubat reigned for a month and was then put to death by Nasir at Sennar. See para, ex

cvn The Arabic of the quotation is

اليس من العجايب ان مثلي يري ما قل مبتعنا عليه وتوكل باسمه
الدنيا جميعا وما من ذاك شئ في يديه

cvin Awkal is said by Cailhaud to have reigned 18 months and to have been killed by Nasir at el Darner (Vol. 11, p. 256).

cix Cailhaud (11, 256) says Tabl reigned a year and 5 months and "fut tue" a Chendy par Oualad-Agyb "

cx This Badi is Badi V. For Rubat see note to cvi. Cailhaud omits Hasab Rabbihi

cxii Cp. notes to paras, LXXVII and LXXXI.

CXIV This is Badi VI.

cxvII See Na'um Bey (*Hist. Sud.* 11, 87) for such tales.

The Sultan 'Abd el Rahman el Rashid reigned from 1785 to 1799. Murad Bey, the *Mamluk*, was defeated by Napoleon's army in July 1798, made Governor of Upper Egypt in 1800, and died in 1801.

Ahmad Pasha el Gazar was Governor of Acre at the time the French besieged it. He is said to have been "a monster of rapacity and cruelty" (Paton, 1, 259).

cxvni "*Came to him*" is the technical **قدم عليه** (see note to para. xxvi).

exx The author appears to fluctuate in his estimate of Nasir's character; or else remarks from another hand have been inserted in the text. The MS. of Muhammad 'Abd el Magid agrees with that translated. Cp. para, cccxvi

cxxi Cp. D 3, 133. For "*Husayn*" Jackson (p. 68) gives "Hassan." Such other MSS. as I have seen give "Husayn."

exxm This Siru is north of Omdurman, so "advanced into the Gezira" (**دخلوا الجزيرة**) is probably an error: the southern SirQ (q.v. para, cxxvn) can hardly be meant here. It is too far from the FEZARA and BENI GERAR country.

Hashim, the Musaba'awi Sultan, had lately been expelled from Kordofan by the KUNGARA and had fled to Shendi. He was eventually put to death there by the *Mek Nimr* (see Burckhardt, and MacMichael, *Tribes...*, P- 63)-

cxxrv See note to CLXXVII.

CXXVII Idris and 'Adlan were Nasir's own brothers. This Sim is on the west bank just south-west of Karkog. Deberki is nearly due east of Kark6g.

CXXVIII This 'Abdulla walad 'Agfb is the one first mentioned in para. cxn. See also exxxvm.

cxxix "Gave him protection" is اعطاه الزمام

exxxn Badi walad Ragab had been actually killed by Ahmad walad 'Ali, but (see LXXXIV) the latter was merely the ally of Nasir and the other sons of Abu el Kaylak. Ahmad's grievance had been his deposition from the sheikhship, but a more mortal quarrel existed between Badi and Nasir on account of the former's having flogged the latter (see LXXVII). In the result Badi was deposed and killed, and here we have 'Adlan handing over Nasir, his own brother, to Badi's son for vengeance to be taken. Jackson (p. 69) gives "Sahi" (صاحي) or "H y (حماص) r "SubaTu" (صباحي) which is obviously the correct reading.

Sheikh Dafa'lla el 'Araki is repeatedly alluded to in D 1.

CXL See para cxix. The r e f (المرحوم حنتيكان)s to Isma'il Pasha.

CXLI Jackson (pp. 70, 71) wrongly attaches the following description of 'Abdulla walad 'Agib to "Agib."

CXLIV The Mek Sa'ad was mentioned in para, xcv According to Cailliaud's list (m, 106) Musa'ad (q.v. para CXLIX) succeeded Sa'ad.

This is, according to tribal accounts, quite correct. The ruling family at Shendi were the SA'ADAB, and Musa'ad inherited in due course Then Muhammad walad Nimr, also a Sa'adabi, rebelled and tried to enlist the aid of the HAMAG towards the realizations of his pretensions. The HAMAG (i.e. 'Adlan) played Muhammad false as related in D 7; but his son Nimr (see para, CXLVI) escaped and took refuge with the SHUKRIA nomads for a time, and then returned in 1801 (see para, CL) and relegated Musd'ad to an inferior position. Jackson (p. 71) has confused Muhammad walad Nimr and his son Nimr walad Muhammad. Cailhaud (copied by Budge, Vol. 11, p. 206) made the error of allotting Musa'ad and Muhammad each 13 years and not noting that they overlapped; and Jackson makes things worse by putting in definite dates (which Cailliaud did not), viz. Musa'ad 1778-1791 and Muhammad 1791-1804. See Part III, Chap. 1 (k) on the subject.

CXLV See paras, XCII-XCIV. It had been on the advice of the GA'ALIIN of Shendi (AWLAD NIMR) and others that the king had enslaved Abu el Kaylak's daughters.

CXLIX "MAGADHIB" = AWLAD LL MAGDHCB. Cp. D 1, cxxv, D 3, 123; and D 7, CCLXIV.

CL This Mek 'fsawi was a Gamu'i, the eponymous ancestor of the ISAWLA section and nephew of Bdbikr Sulayman (q v. note to para, cxix)

CLI 'Awad el Kerim Abu Sin was the grandson of the Abu 'Ah of para. LXXV. HIS father was 'Ah, and his son was the well-known Ahmad Bey Abu Sin (see para, cexe and Part III, Chap. 2 (d)).

CLII YOsef s biography is No. 256 m D 3.

CLIII "The historian states..." is قال المورخ (sic in each MS. seen).

CLV Muhammad walad Ragab walad Muhammad [sc. Abu el Kaylak] was 'Adlan's nephew.

"Kamatur" is Muhammad Kamtur (see para, cciv) of Khashm el Bahr (q.v. note to para. LI).

Badi VI had been deposed by Idris walad Muhammad (see para, CLXI) and Ranfi set up in his place.

Muhammad walad Nasir [sc. walad Abu el Kaylak] "Abu Rfsh" was 'Adlan's nephew.

CLVII The quotation runs **تحسبهم جميعا وقلوبهم شتي**.

CLXI So, too, Cailliaud (n, 257): "Ranfa regna 5 ans. Fut tue a Sennar par Mohammed Regeb. Le trone fut vacant pendant un an et demi, ensuite revint a Bady, fils de Tabl."

CLXII 'Ali Bakadi is the *feki* whose biography is numbered 68 in D 3.

CLXIV The Gedid referred to is the village on the Blue Nile a little above Khartoum.

CLXV The text gives **.... الي كسله الي اوائل سنة ١٢١٤ غتبارزو**.

Another MS. gives **الي كسلا وأقام بها في أوائل سنة ١٢٢١ تبارزو**.

CLXVI For "*Hardba*" (هرابة) Jackson (p. 73) gives Meheria (مهريّة) Muhammad 'Abd el Magid's MS. gives "Hawdwa."

CLXVII Sulayman is presumably the Hag Sulaymin Ahmad of paras cxviii and CLXVIII.

CLXXV The 'ARAKifN had great religious influence owing to their alleged nobility of descent and the number of their *fekts*. See D 3 *passtm*.

The emendation in the final sentence is adopted from another MS.

CLXXVII An "el Arbab Dafa'alla" is mentioned in paras cxxiv, cxxxi and cxxxvi (i.e. about 1797). In this paragraph (CLXXVII), 1 e about 1808, we have "el Arbab Dafa'alla walad Ahmad" or "el Arbab Dafa'alla." In para, cxcvi, i.e. in 1821, we have "el Arbab Dafa'alla walad Ahmad Hasan"; and in paras cxcvn, rex, ccxiv and ccxviii "el Arbab Dafa'alla walad Ahmad" or "el Arbab Dafa'alla." Probably the same man is meant in each case. See note to para, ccxviii.

"*Arbdb*" is properly a title: see Jackson, p. 94, and cp. Poncet, p. 8 "The Erbab or Governour of this province . lives at Argo."

CLXXIX To cast earth upon a person's head is to show contempt for him The Arabic is **حشوا التراب علي**.

CLXXXIV It is noteworthy that all the five sons of Muhammad Abu el Kaylak whose children are mentioned at all named their (eldest ?) sons Muhammad after Abu el Kaylak.

CLXXXV "Yellow fever" is **حمى صفراوية**.

Hamid walad Abu 'Asa is No 113 in D 3.

"*Muhammad Nurayn*" is either another form of, or a mistake for, Muhammad Ndr, for whom see the introduction to D 3 and ABC, XI.

Ibrahim 'Abd el Dafa'i is mentioned again as a poet in para, ccxxxv. He was possibly the son of that 'Abd el Dafa'i el Kandil whose biography is in D 3 (No. 4). The question of his authorship of D 7 is discussed in the Introduction.

The Arabic of his verses is:

دع العين تبكي دهرها بتوجد علي غضيف بحر كان بالعلم مزيدا
هو الصبر ابن الصبر ضيف الالهنا لقد حاز فتحوا لى الانام وسوددا

In Muhammad 'Abd el Magid's copy, in the first line, **غضيف** occurs for **زغصيف** ^{and} in the second line we have **نجل** or **ابن** and **الهما** for **الاهنا**. The sense is unaffected.

CLXXXVIII El Labayh was the Rufa'i Sheikh. His headquarters were at Kawa.

CLXXXIX "*Gibts*" (**حبص**) is a purely Sudanese word, and is variously explained. The idea of stickiness seems to be primarily involved.

cx c Cp. para CCXXXII. Sheikh Hasan was the son of the 'Abd el Rahman ibn Sahh ibn Ban el Nuka whose biography is in D 3 (No. 25). See Introduction to D 3.

cxci Nasir "walad 'Agib" is the Nasir walad el Amin of paras CXL and CLXXXVI: see para. ccix. "Walad 'Agib" was practically a hereditary title. Na'Qm Bey (11, 99)—followed by Budge (11, 204) and Jackson (p. 105)—gives three separate persons in succession (Nasir wad el Amin, Amin ibn Nasir and Nasir wad 'Agib) by error for one.

cxcn El Sayyid Muhammad 'Othman el Mirghani was the great-grandfather of Sir Sayyid 'Ah el Mfrghani, K.C.M.G. He entered the Sudan by way of Massawa from Mekka in 1817 and visited Kordofan as well as Sennar. In Kordofan he married a Dongolawia, and his son el Sayyid el Hasan was born at Bara. The shrine erected over the latter's afterbirth at Bara is described by Sehman in the volume of *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*. El Sayyid el Hasan visited Mekka and finally returned and settled at Kassala. His son el Sayyid Muhammad 'Othman II resided at Massawa and died in Egypt in the Khalifa's time, leaving two sons, el Sayyid Ahmad, who lives at Kassala, and el Sayyid 'Ah, who lives at Khartoum and Omdurman. The Mirghania *iarlka* is a branch of the Khatmia.

cxcin "*Ahmad*" is given in the Arabic by error for *'Hammad" 'Awad el Kerim Abu Sin had a number of sons, and the best known of them, Ahmad Bey (see paras ccxc, etc.), lived on into Turkish days. One of Ahmad Bey's brothers was named Hammad; and other copies I have seen give "Hammad" and say both he and his father "were killed by the BATAHIN." The text of D 7 gives "BAHTAGIYYUN" but no such people exist.

"*Religious Sheikhs*" is **مشايخ السجاطين**

cxcv See para CLV.

CXCVIII Hasan was Abu el Kaylak's grandson. Of him and Wad 'Adlan Cailhaud, who accompanied Isma'fl Pasha in 1821, speaks as follows: "Ces deux usurpateurs, ennemis l'un de l'autre... n'accordaient au roi legitime que la faible part qu'il leur avait plu de lui assigner. A'dlan [*i.e.* *Walad 'Adlan*] tenait sa cour au village de Mouna, 011 il tentait de se former une petite province: il avait le don de se faire aimer, et son parti etait plus fort que celui de Regeb [*i.e.* *Hasan Ragab*]. Au mois d'avnl, le bruit des brillans succes d'Isma'yl sur les Chaykyes et de l'approche de son armee, vint jeter l'alarme dans le Sennar. A'dlan et Regeb sentirent alors **que leur**

interet commun exigeait qu'ils reunissent leurs forces pour repousser un ennemi egalement redoutable pour tous deux. lis formerent done une alliance momentanee, et prirent l'engagement reciproque d'agir de concert contre le pacha, tant que le danger subsisterait.... Sur ces entrefaites, Regeb, abusant de la confiance d'A'dlan, concut le projet de se debarrasser de son competeur par une lache trahison..vers la fin de mai, A'dian, livre au sommeil, fut assaili par une foule d'assassins qui enfoncerent ses portes: il se leve, saisit ses armes, et se defend avec fureur; mais couvert de blessures, il succombe sous le fer d'Abdallah-Niknitt el d'ldns-Ouad-A'quindi, buyers de Regeb, payes par lui pour commettre cet attentat. Regeb croyait alors avoir vaincu tous les obstacles, mais les troupes d'A'dlan . firent eclater l'horreur que leur inspirait une action aussi atroce___A Gondal, le i^c juin, ces memes troupes, commandoes par le ministre d'A'dlan, en vrent aux mains avec celles de Regeb...Regeb remporta l'avantage; mais cette victoire fut loin d'augmenter la force de son parti. Quelques jours apres, ayant appns que l'armee d'Ismayl avait passe' le fleuve Blanc et qu'elle s'avancait sur Sennar, Regeb ne songea qu'a fuir...et alia se refugier dans les montagnes sur les confins de l'Abyssinie. Alors Bady...reunit a lui l'ancien parti d'A'dlan, et se porta au-devant du pacha jusqu'a Ouad-Modyen [*i.e. Wad Medani*]." (Cailhaud, PP- 233-5)

cc See note to para, LXXII.

CCI-CCH See note to para, LXXVII where Ahmad is called "walad 'Ah."

cevi See Part III, Chap. 1 (k) and Chap. 2 (a).

ccvn "Foretold by shaking., " **ترمز بهر و ف مقطعة** method of divination.

ccix Cailhaud's narrative (Vol. 11, 192 *et seq*) may be compared. Nasir walad el Ami'n is Cailhaud's "Lod-A'guyb" (*i.e. Wad 'Agib*): the two narratives agree remarkably closely as to Isma'iTs movements.

ccx The *Kadi* Ahmad el SalaVi was known to Werne as he accompanied Ahmad Pasha's Kassala expedition. Werne (p. 253) says: "This great Kadi is a hypocntical but intelligent Mograbin, drinks stoutly his wine in private...and...during Ramazan, when even the poor half-starved soldiers fasted, openly set them the fine example of eating and drinking before his tent "

ccxi See note to para, cxvIII. Cailhaud mentions this expedition against Hasan walad Ragab (ol 11, 238 *et seq*): it was under the command of Diwan Effendi (q.v. para ccxiv) and consisted of 400 irregular horse.

The murderers of Walad 'Adlan were put to death by impalement.

The *Mek Badi* is thus desened by Cailhaud. " Il etait vetu d'une large chemise de toile blanche, les jambes nues, de longues sandales aux pieds, la tete couverte du bonnet particuher aux meliks [*i.e. the 'takia,' for a description of which see Vol. 1, pp 248 and 249*]..Bady est un homme de quarante ans environ, d'une taille moyenne, robuste, d'une figure pleine et agreable, ayant les cheveux crepus et le teint de couleur cuivree, qui est ceiui de la race des Founjis." (11, 298-9.)

CCXII This is evidently the expedition referred to by Cailhaud (11, 307-8). It started on August 22nd and only took eighteen days. Cailhaud's

"**Djameyehs**" refers to the GAMU'IA. "**Leur** chef fut tue\ .on **leur prit** trois cents chameaux, beaucoup de boeufs, et de moutons."

Idris el Mihayna was related as follows to the present *mek* of the GAMU'IA, Nasir:

Sulayman

1	i
Mihayna	Babikr
Idris	Ibrahim
'Abd el	Kadhir
Makbul	Nasir el Mek

The Muhammad Sa'id Effendi mentioned is the same as the "Dfwan Effendi Sa'id" of paras ccxiv, ccxv, for Cailliaud mentions that "Divan Effendy" commanded this expedition,

ccxm The reading JjU* occurs in other MSS.

Cailliaud accompanied the expedition to Fazoghgh (Cailliaud, Vol. u, Chaps, XXXVI-XLIII).

There is no other record, so far as I am aware, of the taxation fixed by Isma'il Pasha: Cailliaud gives no information on the subject. There was no regular budget until 1881 (see Deherain, p. 181), and nothing is known of the details of taxation previous to the time of Khurshid Pasha (for which see Deherain, p. 182).

A rial at present is worth, in the Gezira, 10 piastres (2s.), and in most other parts (e.g. Kordofan) 20 piastres. An exhaustive note on the subject of the currency in use in Egypt in 1845¹⁵ added to his edition of el Tunisi's *Voyage au Ouaday* by Dr Perron (see pp. 675-682). Among the silver coins there were (1) the "*rialabu madfa'a*" (the Spanish dollar of Charles IV, value 20 pt. 28 paras), (2) the "*rial aguz*" (a worn and defaced coin), (3) the "*rialabu arba'a*" (the same as No. 1, except that 1111 occurs instead of iv. Date 1798 "Tres recherche au Soudan"), (4) the "*rial abu shubdk*," or "*rial abu ibra*" or "*rialabu nukta*" (Austrian), (5) the "*nal abu layra*" (Russian), the "*ndl chinco*" or "*abu shagera*" (5-franc piece). Nos. 4 (the Austrian thaler, or talari) and 5 were also known as "*rial kushh*" (value 20 pt.).

Cailliaud writing of Berber in 1821 similarly says "Les piastres d'argent d'Espagne, sur-tout celles de Charles IV, y sont preferees: mais celles ou le nom du prince est ecrit Charles IIII, par quatre I, et qu'ils nomment 'rEal France abou-arba ..' obtiennent sur les autres un surcroit de valeur qui va a 2 francs et plus" (Vol. 11, 118); and again (Vol 11, 296), writing of Sennar, "l'argent qui a cours dans le pays sont les piastres d'Espagne: mais ici, comme au Barbar, celles qui portent Pempreinte de Charles IIII, par quatre I, obtiennent une preference marquee "

If the *rial* be reckoned at its very lowest possible value, viz. 10 pt., the taxation specified in para, ccxiv still appears almost unbelievably onerous, and to amount to something approaching confiscation.

As no mention is made of camels, which presumably were not taxed per head because there was no means of counting them, we may assume that a tribute was, in the case of the nomads, demanded from the whole

tribe. It may also be taken for granted that it was not paid and that the herds of the nomads were, practically speaking, spoils of war for any official who could catch them (see note to CCLXXXIX).

CCXIV The spread of the false rumours mentioned was described by Diwan Effendi to Cailhaud (*q.v.* Vol. H1, 75-76).

An insurrection actually occurred at el Halfaya (*op. cit.* Vol. 11, 93; cp. also Deherain, pp. 94-96).

ccxv Sa'ad 'Abd el Fattah (*q.v.* para, CCLXXXVII) was one of the 'ABABDA.

A "*muallim*" was a clerk and a "*mubashir*" a kind of superintendent.

For the move to Wad Medani in March 1822 cp. Cailhaud, i11, 89

ccxvi Several accounts of the murder of Isma'il Pasha by *Mek Nimr* are extant. Cailhaud had parted from the Pasha, luckily for himself, and only heard of the murder when he arrived at Marseilles on the 14th December 1822. He gives the following description, based presumably on the first account received in Cairo: "Arrive a Chendy, il commit l'imprudence grave de s'eloigner de son camp, et d'aller dans un village voisin celebrer par un banquet nocturne, avec un petit nombre des siens, le bonheur d'etre bientot rendus a leurs foyers. Nimir ou Nemr, ancien roi de la province .. avait voue a Ismayl une haine eternelle. A la faveur des tenebres, il accourut a la tete de sa troupe chargee de matieres combustibles, et en un clin d'oeil un vaste incendie enveloppa la maison ou le jeune prince et ses amis dormaient dans une secunte perfide. Il leur fut impossible de se frayer une issue a travers les flammes, et lis penrent suffoques—Nimr prit la fuite avec ses complices, et se retira dans le Darfour" (Vol. in, 336, etc.)

The last detail is certainly wrong: Nimr fled towards Abyssinia not Darfur.

Ruppell was at Shendi in 1824 ^{and} gives a rather different account (see *Reisen...*, p. 111). Isma'il Pasha gave Nimr two days in which to produce 1000 slaves as tribute. Nimr protested that this was impossible. Isma'il struck him and threatened him with impalement, and Nimr pretended to give way. He then persuaded the Pasha to leave his boat and stay in the village, and, under pretext of furnishing fodder for the horses, piled masses of *dura* stalks outside the house where the Pasha was. When night came and Isma'il and his companions were half drunk, Nimr set fire to the *dura* stalks, and Isma'il and his friends were burnt to death.

Werne (1840) also gives the story with slight variations and additions: e.g. Nimr was given *three* days to pay the impost, and Isma'il struck him on the face with his pipe-stem as he knelt asking for a longer period of grace (see Werne, p. 77).

Zaydan (11, 164) speaks of a time limit of five days and a demand for a boat-load of gold and 2000 men—modified finally to 20,000 *rials* of silver and 2000 men. Isma'il was then persuaded to attend a dancing entertainment to which all the inhabitants also assembled, and at a given signal the straw was lit and the Pasha and his suite driven within its circle and killed.

The account given in D 7 is practically the same as that given by Ruppell.

Of Nimr himself Cailhaud (11, 300) says: "On m'avait prevenu de son

caractere hautain, de sa fierte: je le trouvai assis sur un *engareb* lisant le Coran___Nimir est un homme de six pieds; il a le regard dur, l'humeur sombre; il est reflechi, plein d'orgueil et d'audace, studieux et deVot." See also note to cccxxv

ccxvn "*Kadakhddr*" is said to have been a title denoting "Master of the Household."

CCXVIII El Arbab Dafa'alla (previously called "el Arbab Muhammad walad Ahmad") is mentioned by Werne (p. 77). Speaking of Isma'fl Pasha's murder he says: "At the same time, the father of our Defalla [*q.v. paras ccc, ccci*], Mohammed Adlan Defalla, Great Sheik of the Fungh, on the Gesira, murdered all the Turkish soldiers to be found in his countries." Our author omits this! Werne adds (p. 78) that this same el Arbab Dafa'alla "fled from the Gesira, and, according to report, died in Habesch." See note to CLXXVII.

The family of el Arbab Dafa'alla are said to have been SURURAB, *i.e.* GAMu'fA, but they intermarried with the FUNG royal house (see note to para. ccc). Their headquarters were at el Surayba. Abu Shoka is a few miles south of Sennar (see Marno's map)

The people of 'Abud were nearly all KAWAHLA

"*Delatia*" were irregular troops such as were later called Bashi Bazuks.

ccxix Cp. Cailhaud, *in*, 337-8; Ruppell, 111-2; Deherain, 98; Werne, 77; and Budge, 11, 212.

The Arabic of the last sentence is:

ودخل على الفقيه أحمد الريح في خلوته فامر بحرقهم جميعا

ccxx This "*Walad 'Agib*" is the Nasir walad el Amin of para. ccix. For Sheikh Khogah see D 3, 154.

ccxxn Kutrang is on the east bank of the Blue Nile below el Kamlin

By "*el Kubba*" is meant, as usual, the site of Sheikh Khogah's tomb at Khartoum North. Werne's translator (p. 17) calls it "Chobba."

ccxxiv El 'Adayk is a colloquial name for the Blue Nile

ccxxv The 'AKAK{R are a section of GA'ALIIN.

ccxxvm El Nasub is a hill in the Bujana between the Blue Nile and Kassala Province.

ccxxix Bashir walad 'Akid (*q.v. para, CCLXVI*) was one of the MRAFAB of Berber.

Um 'Aruk ("mother of roots") was properly a large *hardz* tree and gave its name to a site on the west bank of the White Nile close to the site of the present *Commandania* of Omdurman.

CCXXXII See para cxc.

CCXXXIII Sabderat is just east of Kassala. Werne (pp 217-8) refers to this expedition. Sabderat was destroyed and the population put to the sword.

ccxxxv Cp. para, CLXXXV for Ibrahim 'Abd el Dafa'i.

Sheikh Ahmad el Taib ibn el Bashir's tomb, built in 1906, is at the village, called after him "Sheikh el Taib," on the west bank some twenty-five miles below Omdurmdn. He introduced the Sammanfa *iarika* into the Sudan. He himself adopted it, when at el Medina, from its founder "el Sammani " Sheikh el T^{alid}'s descendants speak of themselves as

GAMO'IA, but it is said that as a matter of fact the Sheikh's father, el Bashir, was a Baza'i from Kordofan who married one of the GAMU'IA of the SURURAB section and settled permanently on the Nile.

Sheikh el Taib's full name was Ahmad el Taib Ibn Bashir ibn Malik ibn el feki Muhammad ibn el feki Surur.

"*El Sammanis*" full name was Muhammad ibn 'Abd el Kerfm, and he is alleged to have been a Kurashi. He was born in 1130 A.H. (1718 A.D.) at el Medina and was taught by Sheikh Muhammad ibn Sulayman el Kurdi. He was then instructed in the tenets of the Khalwatia *tarika* by el Sayyid Mustafa ibn Kamal el Din el Bekn and adopted it. Later he founded the Sammanfa *arika* himself. It was so called because he was by trade a seller of *samn* (fat). He died in 1189 A.H. (1775 A.D.). Cp. also Burton, *Pilgrimage...*, 1, 162.

ccxxxvII Cp Budge (11, 213), who says 'Othman Bey succeeded in 1825 *Muharram* is the first month of the year and *Safar* the second

The *Gehadia* were trained troops drawn by the Turks from subject races. They were not irregulars as were the "*Delatia*": see para CCLXVI. For "*Mubdshir*" see note to ccxiv.

ccxxxviii Budge (*loc. at*) has mistranslated and misunderstood the Arabic.

Sheikh Shanbul walad Medani, or an ancestor of the same name, was eponymous ancestor of the "SHENABLA" of the Gezira. These are not to be confused with the quite distinct SHENABLA nomads of Kordofan, but are connected with the KAWAHLA. Their ancestor is said to have come from Subia in Yemen. Arbagi was their headquarters. Medani the son of Shanbol was killed in 1883 with Hicks Pasha.

CCXLIII Kubbat Kh6gah was the usual military camping place. It was healthy, and troops could easily be marched thence to Berber Province (cp. Werne, p. 17).

CCXLiv This Sheikh el Zayn was great-grandson of the el Nur walad Mosa Abu Kussa whose biography is in D 3 (No 217). He was a Ya'akG-babi and his full name was el Zayn walad el Sheikh Salim (see Jackson, *Yacubabt Tribe...*).

El Ko'a (or el Ki'an)—meaning literally "a bend" or "elbow" (sc. of the river)—is a district on the Blue Nile south of Sennar.

CCXLV For "*Bayrakia*" some copies give "*Baraykia*". The literal meaning is probably "standaru-bearers" {i.e. *Barakdaria*}.

CCXLIX Sheikh 'Abd el Kadir was the son of the Sheikh el Zayn of para. CCXLIV (cp. Jackson, *Yacubabt Tribe...*, p 3).

Idrfs walad 'Adlan was met by Werne, who calls him (1840) "After Aburow [*i.e. Abu Rd*] the most powerful ruler in the peninsula" (p. 161).

Idrfs walad 'Adlan was a brother of the Muhammad walad 'Adlan who was murdered by Hasan Ragab (see Cailhaud, 11, 238).

CCL The Arabs meant are the HAMMADA, Sheikh Abu Gin's people

The SirO mentioned is the one near Sennar.

CCLli "*He fixed...*" etc., is ربط الاموال على العدان. A *feddn* — 1.038 acres (5024 square yards).

CCLIII The date 1243 (for 1247) is given in the other MSS.

CCLIV Khalifa was Sheikh of the 'ABABDA.

CCLV El 'Atfsh lay between Rosayres and Lake Tsana in what is now Abyssinia. It was the headquarters of a *Kashif* (see Werne, p. 197).

CCLVI A *kada'a* is about 5^h *feddns*.

When Muhammad 'All reproached Khurshid Pasha for not sending more money to him the latter replied "When my Sennanans cultivate ten times as much as they do they will still only have corn and beasts and no money to give you." Khurshid Pasha had pleaded their poverty, to which the Pasha's reply had been "They have two Niles and I only one: make the lazy work as I do in Egypt and they will become rich" (Brun Rollet, *Bull. Soc. Geog.* 1855, ix, p. 367, quoted by Deherain, p. 168).

Between 1830 and 1838 the taxation rose to 3,125,000 francs, and between 1838 and 1842 to 5,000,000 (Deherain, pp. 182, 183).

CCLIX Hammadnulla is presumably the Hammadnulla walad Malak of D 3, 128.

"*Budandb*" for "*Budatab*" is adopted from Muhammad 'Abd el Magid's MS. They are a section of MAHASS and their present representatives live at Burn on the outskirts of Khartoum: cp. ABC, vi

The making of Khartoum into the official capital of the Sudan dates from this time (1830). In 1822 a permanent military camp only had been made there (Deherain, p. 117, quoting Werne, *Expedition zur Entdeckung der Quellen des Weissen Nil*, pp. 44-5). Cp also Holroyd, p. 167. He visited Khartoum in 1837. It had then 15,000 inhabitants and many houses "built of sunburnt bricks."

CCLXII 'Abd el Kadir walad Dayfulla was a Gamu'i (FITIHAB section, HAMAYDANIA subsection). He is buried at el Debba in Gayli district.

CCLXIII This expedition was a failure and Khurshid Pasha suffered defeat. Ahmad Pasha in 1840 said to Werne (q.v p. 8) • "First Darfur, and now Taka, will pay no tribute, nor have they done so since Churschid Pascha was in the Chaaba (the forests where he was defeated)." The enemy had been the HADENDOA under Sheikh Muhammad Din "the defeater of the Turks under Churschid Pasha" (Werne, p. 55)... "It seemed to us most wonderful that the Haddenda, a tribe that numbers over 80,000 fighting men, did not set on us, and give us a lesson such as Churschid Pascha had received from them" (p. 176) . "The fatal defeat of Churschid Pascha, in which he also lost two guns, to recover which a whole battalion, save one or two men, were sacrificed" (p. 177). Khurshid Pasha managed however to get 3000 head of cattle and some cash as tribute (see Werne, P «>9')

CCLXIV Hammad walad el Magdhub is No 123 in D 3.

"The ruler of.. Nile" is حاكم إقليم الحلفاية والبحر الأبيض

CCLXXI "*Makdda*" is a synonym for Abyssinians or Abyssinia. Werne uses the word *passim* in this sense. See, too, his remarks (p. 247)

CCLXXV The cholera evidently spread westwards. El Tunisi speaks of it {"*elhaoua el-asfar*"}) in Wadai in 1838 (*Voy. Darfour*, p. 283).

CCLXXVI Ragab walad Bashir is said to have been one of the 'ABDULLAB.

CCLXXVII El Senussi was no doubt the son of the Bakadi who is mentioned (No. 68) in D 3 and in para, CLXII above.

Muhammad ibn el Hag and Muhammad 'Ali were MAHASS, el Terayfi was an 'Araki and Sheikh Mustafa the same.

Sa'ad 'Abd el FattaVs son, Sheikh Hasan, was a *Kddi* in Dongola a few years ago, and died on the pilgrimage.

CCLXXX The village of 'Awag el Darb opposite el 'Aylafdn is called after the man here mentioned. "*Sheikh Idris*" is Idris wad el Arbab of el 'Aylafun.

CCLXXXI The Gezfra of Sennar comprised all that "the Gezfra" does now. The term is so used (*e.g.*) in Marno's map (1870). Mustafa Bey was of course subject to the Governor-General (*Hakimdar*): his title as given here is "*Mudir 'aid 'umUm gezira Sennar*" See note to paras ccxcv, ccxcvn, cccxiv and cccxvu.

CCLXXXIII Sheikh Miri is mentioned by Werne (p. 75): he says (in 1840) "Under their lately deceased Sheikh Myri, who possessed more than ninety suits of chain armour . . the Tokruri [*i.e.* the TAKARIR] enjoyed a pretty considerable power, highly dangerous for their frontier neighbours, as they had also for warfare about a hundred muskets, a large number for these lands; but since Sheikh Myri's death they have sadly declined in power and force." Mansfield Parkyns also mentions him (11, 357).

'Ali Agha is also mentioned (Werne, p. 144): "Ah Aga, whose family name is Sobi, leader of 300 Magrabms...." He was "wofully slashed in an attack by the Turks on Makada Never have we seen on any skull such severe scars...." He was "descended from one of the principal families of Fez."

Of the *Malik* Sa'ad Werne (p. 160) says "The Schaigies every morning wait on the old Sheik Melek Saat, and kiss his hand. They never steal or make a prize of anything, without preserving the best of it for him, and in all ways provide for and attend to him, as if he was still in possession of his old rank and dignities." And again (p. 137) "The Schaigie Melek Saat, whose father yet [*sc* 1840] rules the old Dongola, had received, a month before the present chasua [*i.e. the expedition by Ahmad Bey to Kassala*], some hundred blows of the stick at the order of the Pascha."

CCLXXXIV Sulayman Kashif was a Circassian. He led Ahmad Pasha's White Nile exploration expedition. He lived at Kerren (see Werne, pp. 14, 62, 63, 186, etc.).

CCLXXXVI Ahmad Pasha was a Circassian, "stolen from his native land when only six years old" (Wene, p. 156).

CCLXXXIX From the nomads in the east Ahmad Pasha used to demand 20 pt. poll-tax on adult males and a tenth of all produce and animals (see Werne, p. 61).

ccxc 'Abd el Kadir Agha is probably Werne's "Abd el Kader, the jovial Topschi Baschi," the commandant of artillery (Werne, pp. 28, 139).

Ahmad Abu Sin was the greatest of the SHUKRfA Sheikhs: he attained to the rank of Bey and was given practically complete control over the Arab tribes in and east of the Gezira. Werne describes him (p. 54) as "a handsome large man, with noble countenance, and his character is described by all as vigorous, able, and generous."

Baker's description of him is also worth quoting: "He was the most

magnificent specimen of an Arab that I have ever seen. Although upwards of eighty years of age, he was as erect as a lance, and did not appear more than between fifty and sixty; he was of Herculean stature, about six feet three inches high, with immensely broad shoulders and chest; a remarkably arched nose; eyes like an eagle, beneath large, shaggy, but perfectly white eyebrows; a snow-white beard of great thickness descended below the middle of his breast... As a desert patriarch he was superb, the very perfection of all that the imagination could paint, if we would personify Abraham at the head of his people" (*Nile Tributaries...*, p. m).

ccxcII Kanbal was a Shaiki. Werne says of him (1840): "Even now, though dead, Kamball still lives in the people's mouths: they have a great number of songs about him, in which he is described, on account of his cruelty and savage deeds, constantly wandering round, without grave, rest, or peace, as the punishment of his crimes. He was shot in the back, most likely by the soldiers of Achmed Pascha, in a fight between them and the Schaigies of Melek Hammet" (Werne, p. 177).

Werne himself, however, speaks of Kanbal as "a distinguished soldier, an honest man, and general favourite, and from his generosity to the poor, ever in debt." He was extraordinarily brave and much valued by Ahmad Pasha. "After his death the Pascha himself took charge of his infant son, had him educated, and allows him 500 piastres a month" (p. 179). This son was the lately deceased Bashir Bey Kanbal who was "mudwin of Arabs" in Kordofan.

"Hammet" is the same as Ahmad walad el Mek. He did not submit to the Turkish government but fled for the Abyssinian border. The Pasha took Kanbal's SHAIKIA in pursuit and rode himself with them from Berber to Abu Haraz, where "Hammet" was captured: he was not however put to death,

ccxciv It was this expedition which Werne accompanied. Its object was primarily to collect tribute from the HADENDOA. "I need money, much money—want it most badly," said Ahmad Pasha to Werne. He also hoped to open up the Abyssinian trade routes and conquer that country (Werne, p. 8). He took with him about 10,000 regulars, and about the same number of irregulars and camp-followers (Werne, p. 197). The expedition was conducted in a perfectly haphazard manner but the HALANKA and HADENDOA submitted eventually and the town of Kassala was founded (see Deherain, pp. 108-110; Lepsius, *Letters*, p. 200; Werne *passim*; and Budge, Vol. 11, pp. 214-217).

ccxcv This Mustafa Bey is the man mentioned as Governor of the Gezira of Sennar in para, CCLXXXI. As we see from the next paragraph and para, cccxiv the control of the two (Khartoum and the Gezira) was generally vested in one man.

ccxcvm The seven provinces, according to Budge (11, 217), were Fazoghli, Sennar, Khartoum, Kassala, Berber, Dongola and Kordofan.

ccxcix "Reformer" is "munazam" {مُنَازِم}. It is not certain from the text and the context whether the author intends to say that Menekli Pasha was made Governor-General (*Hakimddr*) as were his predecessors and successors, or that an experiment was being made in decentralization, which was abandoned as a failure and tried again in 1856 (see para, cccxiv).

According to Lepsius, who writes in 1844 (January), Ahmad Pasha Menekli was "the new Governor of the Southern Provinces." Lepsius also says "On the sudden death, by poison, of Ahmed Pasha, the governor of the whole Sudan, at Chartum... the south is divided into five provinces, and placed under five pashas, who are to be installed by Ahmed Pasha Menekle" (*Discoveries in Egypt...*, pp. 133-135).

ccc This el Arbab Muhammad Dafa'alla is the son of the el Arbab Dafa'alla mentioned previously, and is the man mentioned by Werne as accompanying Ahmad Pasha's Kassala expedition in 1840. Werne calls him (p. 37) "Mohammed Defalla, a great Sheikh of the neighbourhood of Wollet-Medina... his relations of the old royal family have whole heaps of such" (sc. armour as that he wore). Again Werne says (p. 76) "Defalla has already given many causes for suspecting his fidelity and both his own and father's names are too often connected with that of Nimr."

He is referred to as "our herculanean neighbour" and "our fat friend." His command consisted of 150 men (p. 78). He married Nasra, the sister of Idris walad 'Adlan (see Werne, p. 160).

Cecil The "*mines of Shaybun*" were once famous. Russegger in 1838 (p. 200) says "The bed of every stream in the vicinity of Jebel Sheibun and Tira... exhibits a gold-bearing alluvium." As a matter of fact Mr S. C. Dunn tells me that at Shaybun itself there was never any gold; but the people of Shaybun, the SHAWABNA, used to get it from the north side of Gebel Kinderma, a day's journey away. The Arabs thought the gold was from Shaybun itself.

Khalid Pasha was Governor-General when Petherick visited Khartoum. He was "a veteran soldier of the Syrian and Arabian wars... by birth a Greek" (Petherick, *Egypt...*, p. 127).

cccv Rufa'a Bey and Bayumi Effendi were both members of the first educational congress held in Egypt in 1836 under the presidency of Mukhtar Bey. A portrait of Rufa'a Bey is extant (see Zaydan, 11, 192-193).

Hasan Khalifa and Husayn Khalifa were sons of the Khalifa mentioned in para. ccuv.

"*Mu'dwm of the Hakimddria*" — *Ndib Hakimdar* = Assistant Governor-General.

"*Sheikh el Mashaikh*" or "Sheikh of Sheikhs" was a rank invented by the Turks (see MacMichael, *Gribes...*, p. 33). 'Abd el Kadir's authority would be confined to the Gezira and north of Khartoum and would not extend, eg, to Kordofan (cp. paras cccxi and cccxn).

cccx "Garkas" or "Sharkas" — "Circassian."

By "*Abd el Halim Pasha*" is meant Prince Halim Pasha, who visited the Sudan during Sa'id Pasha's viceroyalty of Egypt. Zaydan (11, 202) says "In his [Sa'id Pasha's] days certain privileges (**امتيازات**) were conferred on the Sudan, and Prince Halim Pasha was appointed as its Governor-General (*'Hakimdar*)" This is no doubt inaccurate.

CCCXII For Yasfn (i.e. Yasin Muhammad Dolib) see MacMichael (*Tribes...*, p. 33). He was a Dolabi of Khorsi, the grandfather of the *feki* Dardiriof Di.

'Omar Bakadi was presumably a relative of the men mentioned in paras CLXII and CCLXXVII.

CCCXIV The author of D 7 is quite precise and consistent as to this administrative change. It seems from D 7 that after the conquest of the country a Governor-General (*Hakimddr*) was appointed with practically absolute powers. Subject to him were the Governors of Provinces. This system remained in force until the death of Ahmad Pasha in 1842, Khartoum and the Gezira forming a single province.

Then (para, ccxcvm) the Sudan was divided into seven provinces, without (it is implied) any Governor-General.

Later in the year, according to D 7, came Menekli Pasha and attempted some reforms without much success. What these reforms were remains vague, and Lepsius (see note to para, ccxcviii) throws little light on the matter. But in any case decentralization seems to have failed, and with the succession of Khalid Pasha in 1845 the Governor-Generalship was certainly revived. On this point there is no contradiction and Petherick, *e.g.*, speaks of Khalid Pasha (1845-1850) as "Governor-General." There can also be little doubt that D 7 is correct in saying that Khalid Pasha's six successors were all Governor-Generals.

But in 1857 (says D 7) came Sa'id Pasha and appointed Arakil Bey, not Governor-General, but only "Governor of the whole of the Gezira of Sennar and el Khartoum" (مدير عموم جزيرة سنار والخرطوم); *ie.* the other governors of provinces were independent of him. Arakil Bey's successors, Hasan Bey and Rasikh Bey, we are told, held the same position; but apparently it was a failure, as Musa Pasha was in 1863 made Governor-General (see paras cccxix and cccxxi). If these facts are true they have generally been overlooked as Arakil Bey and his two successors always appear in lists of "Governor-Generals of the Sudan." The fact that they alone were Bays (the usual rank of a provincial governor) while all the rest were Pashas lends strong support to the account given by D 7.

Petherick, in spite of his having called Khalid Pasha (1845-1850) "Governor-General," writes in 1859 as follows (see *Upper Egypt*, p. 128): "The town of Khartoum contained two different administrations, one the Governor-Generalship, and the other the Local Authority of the province, with a population of about sixty thousand inhabitants. Since the visit of the present Viceroy to Khartoum in the year 1847, the Governor-Generalship has been abolished, the governor of each province now communicating directly with the Minister of the Interior at Cairo."

The state of affairs described was no doubt true of 1859 (though it was altered in 1863 when Musa Pasha was given the Governor-Generalship); but it seems that the provincial governors had not been independent since 1847 but only since 1857.

Arakil Bey was a brother of Nubar Pasha and a Christian Armenian. In 1862 his body was disinterred and sent to Egypt (see Petherick, *Travels...*, p. 77).

For el Zubayr see note to cccxxiv.

cccxvi Other MSS. correctly give "*Hasan*" for "*Husayn*."

cccxix The Arabic is as follows:

هو ماعر المديريون الذين انفردوا بولاية مديرية الخرطوم والجزيرة

See preceding note.

ccxxx For el Salawi see para, ccxxxvi.

ccxxxi Baker's description of Musa Pasha Hamdi is as follows: "This man was a rather exaggerated specimen of Turkish authorities in general, combining the worst of omental failings with the brutality of a wild animal" (*Albert Nyanza*, p. 8). He was originally a Circassian slave bought by a Turk in Cairo market. He entered the army, was caught by the Arabs in the Syrian war, and escaped. He was then sent to the Sudan and rose in turn to be a colonel of infantry, Governor of Khartoum, *aide-de-camp* to the Governor-General, a commander of irregular cavalry, Governor of Dongola, of Berber, and of Kordofan. He was dismissed the service for inhuman treatment of prisoners, but was later appointed Governor of Kena in Egypt, Chief of Police in Cairo, President of the Council, and finally Governor-General of the Sudan and a general of division for operations against Abyssinia and the White Nile. Murder and torture were no more to him than pastimes. (See Petherick, *Central Africa...*, Vol. 1, pp. 51, 52, 147.) To judge from Baker's and Petherick's descriptions of the Sudan in this man's time, the reforms described by D 7 are purely chimerical.

ccxxiv A *nazir* is properly an overseer.

Of el Zubayr 'Abd el Kadir (q v cccxv above) Jackson (*Yacubabi Tribe* ..., p. 4) says that after his return from Egypt "he was made President of the Court of Appeal by Jaafer Pasha but later served for about four years as Sub-Governor of Sennar with the rank of Bimbashi. He quarrelled with his Governor Yusef Pasha (some time between 1879 and 1882) and both were recalled to Khartoum; but on the outbreak of the Mahdist movement he offered to raise a battalion in Sennar. He accordingly went to Sennar but was so unpopular with the people that the Government decided to remove him quietly: he was put on board a sailing-boat by night but in midstream the sailors threw him overboard and he was drowned at the age of 59 in the year 1885."

ccxxv Cp. Baker (*Nile Tributaries* ..., pp. 140, 278-280): "Mek Nimmur" (the son that is of the man who killed Isma'f Pasha) "was a most unpleasant neighbour to the Epyptian Government, and accordingly he was a great friend of the King Theodorus; he was, in fact, a shield that protected the heart of Abyssinia... Upon several occasions expeditions on a large scale had been organized against Mek Nimmur by the Governor-General of the Sudan; but they had invariably failed; as he retreated to the inaccessible mountains...." In March 1862 Baker visited Nimr: "Since our departure from the Egyptian territory, his country had been invaded by a large force, according to orders sent from the Governor-General of the Soudan. Mek Nimmur as usual retreated to the mountains, but Mai Gubba and a number of his villages were utterly destroyed by the Egyptians" (p. 444).... "Mek Nimmur's territory was an asylum for all the blackguards of the adjoining countries..." (p. 451, and cp. Werne, p. 78). Baker found him "a man of about fifty, and exceedingly

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dirty in appearance" (p. 458). Baker interceded, on his return, with MOsa Pasha for Nimr, but Masa Pasha " declared his intention (1862) of attacking him after he should have given the Abyssinians a lesson, for whom he was preparing an expedition in reply to an insolent letter that he had received from King Theodore.. upon a question of frontier... Masa Pasha subsequently started with several thousand men to drive the Abyssinians from Gallabat... but upon the approach of the Egyptians, they fell back rapidly. .. The Egyptians would not follow them, as they feared the intervention of the European powers" (pp. 559-561).

cccxxvii Other MSS. correspond.

CCCXXVIII *Fekt* Muhammad 'Abd el Magid's MS. breaks off with the mention of the repression of the rebellion in Kassala (Taka).

cccxxxi The quotation is from the 36th chapter of the Kuran (Sale, P- 333).

APPENDIX I

The Chronology of the Fung Kings

N B. *Br* Bruce, *Ca.*-Cailliaud, **and** MS. refers to D 7 In the following.

	Name of King (MS.)	Date of accession (MS.)				
	'Omara Dunkas (" 'Amru ibn 'Adlan," <i>Br.</i>)	1504	Bruce	1504	Cailliaud	
	^ AbdelKidir I ibn 'Omara Dan-	1533	„	1551	Cailliaud	42 years 10 „
3-	'Naillbn 'Omara Dunkas	1543		1534		
4-	'Omdra Abu Sakaykin ("tbn 'Omara Dunkas," <i>Ca.</i> , " 'Amru tbn Nail," <i>Br</i>)	1554		1559		
5-	² Dekin walad Naill (" Sahib el'Ada," <i>Ca.</i>)	1562		1570		17
6.	² Tabl I ("tbn 'Abd el Kadir," <i>Br</i> , <i>Ca.</i>)	1577	Bruce	1590	Cailliaud	4
7	Ounsa I ("tbn Tabl," <i>Ca.</i>)	1589	„	1593		
8	'Abd el Kadir II ("tbn Ounsa," <i>Br</i>)	1598	„	1606		
9	'Addn I "walad Aya" ("tbn Ounsa," <i>Br</i>)	1604	„	1610		
10	Bddi I, "Sid el Kum" ("Abu el Rubat," <i>Ca.</i> ; "tbn 'Abd el Kadir," <i>Br</i>)	1611	„	1615		
11	el Rubat ("tbnBddi I," <i>Ca.</i> , <i>Br</i>)	1614	„	1621		27
12	Badi II lbn el Rubdt, "Abu Dukn "	1642	„	1651		37
13-	Ounsa II walad Nasir (nephew of "Abu Dukn")	1677	„	x689		
14.	Bddi III lbn Ounsa II, "el Ah.- mar"	1688-9	„	1701		27
15-	Ounsa III lbn Badi III	1715	>	1726		3
16	Nll ("tbn Badi," <i>Br.</i>)	1718	,	1729		4
17-	Badi IV ibn Nul, "Abu Shelukh"	1723		1733		40
18.	Nasir ibn Badi IV	1761	„	1766		
19.	Ismd'fl ibn Badi IV	1768	,	1769		

(Bruce's chronology ends with 1772)

¹ Bruce and Cadhaud give these two in inverted order.

* Between these two Bruce **and** Cailliaud insert "Douro" or "Dorah" or "Daour" (see note).

	Name of King (MS.)	Date of accession (MS.)			
20.	'Adlan 11	1776-8	—	Cailiaud	12 years
	¹ Rubat (ibn Adlan II," Ca.)	1788	—	"	30 days
21.	^x Awkal (" ibn Ounsa," Ca.)	1788	—	"	1 yr, 6 mths
22.	Tabl II	1788-9	—	"	1 yr, 5 mths
23.	»Badi V ("ibn Dekin," Ca.)	1789	—	"	1 year
24.	*Hasab Rabbihi	1789	—	"	—
25.	Nowwar	1790	—	"	1 year
26.	Badi VI walad Tabl II (first reign)	1790	—	"	6 years
27.	Ranfi	(date not given)	—		5 »
28.	³ Badi V walad Tabl II (second reign)	1803, deposited in 1821	—		16 »
					"335 annees de regne" (Ca.)

¹ Rubat was a pretender appointed in antagonism to Awkal, Tabl II and Badi V, or to B6di V alone (see paras cvIII to cx)

² Omitted by Cailhaud.

³ Between 27 and 28 Cailhaud inserts an interregnum of 1½ years.

B

The dates as given by Na'um Bey correspond with those of the MSS., with the immaterial proviso that, in converting the Muhammadan date to the corresponding Christian date, a difference of one year frequently appears (e.g. Na'Om Bey "1505," MS. "1504," etc.). This is owing to the fact that the first or last day of the Muhammadan year does not coincide with that of the Christian year, or, in other words, any given Muhammadan year falls partly in one Christian year and partly in another.

Professor Budge accepts Na'um Bey's dates (Vol. 11, pp 201-204).

Between Dekin and Tabl I (Nos. 5 and 6) Bruce and Cailhaud insert a third king Bruce speaks of him as "Douro," son of Dekin, with a reign of three years (1587-1590). Cailhaud gives "Dorah ou Daour, fils de Dakyn.. .8 ans." Mr Jackson, in his appendix (*Tooth of Ftre*, p 98), gives "Dudu" and adds a note "also given as Duda, Daru, Dor, and Dora " The Arabic transliteration of these names in the order given is as follows:

دورو دوره داور دودو دوده دور دور دودو

It would therefore appear not unlikely that the king's name was DaOd, i.e.

He was probably omitted by an oversight of the author. As he was the son of the preceding king, and not a mere usurper, it is unlikely that he was left out from any ulterior motive.

D

Adding **together the information to be gathered from Bruce**, Caiiliaud and **the MS.**, as to the relationships between the first fifteen or sixteen kings, we obtain the following genealogical tree of the OUNSA.

(1) . 'Omdra Dunkas

2 (or 3). 'Abd el Kadir I	3 (or 2). NsUl	4 ('Om4ra Abu Sakaykln) Ca.
6. TaW I	5 Dekin,	4. (" 'Amru" 1 e 'Omdra Abu
7 Ounsa I	"Sdhibel 'Ada"	Sakaykin) Br.
	or	
	"Sid el 'Ada"	
8. 'Abd el Kiidir II	9. 'Adlan I,	
J	"WaladAya"	
10. Badi I, "Sid el KOm" (or	6 (Douro, or D6rah, etc.) Br. and Ca.	
"AbuelRubat" Ca.)		
11. el Rubat		
12. Badi II, "Abu Dukn"	Nasir	
	13 Ounsa II	
	14. Badi III, "el Ahmar"	
	15. Ounsa III	

The 16th (or 17th) king, Nul, was only connected with the above on his mother's side (see para XLVII, MS).

In place of the date 1504 (the date of the foundation of the FUNG kingdom) Caiiliaud gives 1484, and he is alone in doing so. He then states the numbers of years that each king (including "Dorah") reigned: the total down to 1821 A.D. he gives as 335 years; but in adding up this total he omits 6 months + 5 months -f 30 days, so 336 years would be more correct. To this must be added the interregnum of 1 \ years in the time of Ranfl, which Caiiliaud mentions but does not include in the total; and the result is 337 to 338 years.

The dates of accession are not given except in the case of 'Omara Dankas

Now it is very suspicious that if 337 be subtracted from 1821 the result is 1484. I say suspicious advisedly, because, in the first place, one notes that the period from 910 A.H. (1504 A.D.) to 1236 A.H. (1821 A.D.) covers 327 lunar years, namely the period given in the MS., and that, if eight years be added on account of the inclusion of "Dorah" ("Douro," etc.) as given by Caiiliaud, we arrive at 335 lunar years, namely the number quoted by Caiiliaud. The period from 1504 A.D. to 1821 A.D. covers only

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318 solar years. Secondly, the length of each reign must have been given in lunar years in the Arabic MS. consulted by Cailhaud, and if Cailliaud had wished to give in each case the exact equivalent in solar years he must have used fractions (which he did not do), or the total would have necessarily been wrong.

Thus, apparently, we have Cailliaud obtaining the figure 1484 A.D. by subtracting 337 lunar years from the solar date 1821 A.D., and not noticing that 337 lunar years only equal 327 solar years.

He also adds 12 years to 'Omara Dunkas's reign. Bruce and the MS. only give 30 years, but Cailliaud gives 42. The above, I think, accounts for the difference between the date 1504, which I take to be correct, and Cailliaud's " 1484"; and it vitiates Cailliaud's chronology¹.

¹ Of the chronological list he accepted Cailliaud says (Vol n, p 255) "Je m'^tais procure, chez les erudits de la ville [Sennir], plusieurs hstes chronologiques des rois FounGIS du Sennar" .. (etc , as quoted in the introduction) "Enfin. . j'en obtins une du roi Bady lui-meme..."; and to this Cailliaud adds in a note "Elle etait ecrite en arabe- j'en dois la traduction a l'obligeance de M. Agoub, professeur d'arabe au college royal de Louis-le-Grand " So if there is blame to be apportioned perhaps M. Agoub rather than Cailhaud should be the scapegoat.

APPENDIX II

*Extracts from the Portuguese of C. BeccarVs "Rerum
Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti a
saeculo XVI ad XIX." (12 Vols.)*

EXTRACT I

From Paez, *Historia Aethiopiae*, Vol. H I, pp. 353, 354. Susneos lays waste Sarqui (carqui¹) and enters into a league with Nail: this in the reign of el Rubat ibn Badi at Sennar.

Depois foi caminhando devagar e entrou em sua corte de Gorgorra; e nam esteve alii mais que duas semanas, porque logo tomou a sair e foi polio caminho de Tacuca e Tancal a terra que chamam Gunque, e dalli mandou chamar a Nael filho de Agub, com que primeiro tinha concerto, e como veio, beixou o pe ao Emperador e prometeo do servir dalli por diante e nam tornar mais a seu senhor Urbat rey de Senaar, e o Emperador lhe deo ricos vestidos e pecas de ouro e *depois (sic) guiou Nael ao Emperador ate chegar a terra del Rey de Funye e deo na terra (parqui e matou muytos e cativou suas molheres e filhos e queimou suas casas. Fez isto o Emperador por cinco causas. A primeira porque, mandando elle muyto ncas pecas de presente ao Rey de Bade, elle nam respondeo como debia, e mandou dous cavallos muyto ruins. A 2^a, porque deo Nael nas terras que pertecem a Dambia e fez muyto dano e, mandandolhe dizer o Emperador se fora aquello com seu consentimento ou nam ?, ouvindo este recado, calou e nam respondeo. A 3^a, porque Aleb cnado do Emperador fugio pera elle come muytos cavallos e lebou os atabales de Macaga, e o Emperador lhe escreveo que nam detivese la seu criado, que elle lhe perdoava, e que, se nam quisesse vir, que lhe mandase os atabales, e elle nam quis facer huma cousa nem outra. A 4^a porque, indose a gente Chuken a Qarqui, os agassallhou e depois os seus lhe ficeram muyto maltratamento e nam lhes deixaram enterra seus mortos sem que pagasem, polio que elles quiseram facer amizade com seu senhor o Emperador e, quando vinham, deram nelles os de (parqui e mataram muytos e tomaram suas molheres e filhos. A 5^a, porque, vindo pera o Emperador a may de Joseph filho de Gibara, a tomou a gente de carqui e nam a deixaram passar. Por tod estas cousas se enfadou o Emperador e fez amizade com Nael e destruiu as terras del Rey de Bade sugeto a el Rei de Senaar.

*Translation**

Afterwards he went away slowly and entered his district of Gorgorra, but he did not remain there more than two weeks, for he then left and went by Tacuca and Tancal to the country called GunqueS, and thence summoned

¹ In the index "Qarqui" is described as "regio in regno Funye"

* With this passage compare Bruce, Vol in, Bk in, pp 311-319.

Nail walad 'Agib, with whom he previously had an agreement. When Nail came he kissed the foot of the Emperor and promised to serve him from thenceforward and never more to return to his liege lord Rubat the king of Senndr. The Emperor gave him rich garments and ornaments (?) of gold, and Nail afterwards accompanied (?) the Emperor until he reached the land of the king of FUNG and descended on the (carqui¹ country and killed many and captured their women and children and burnt their homes. This the Emperor did for five reasons. The first because, when he sent the king of Badi [King Badi ?] many costly presents, the latter had not replied as was due but had sent two very poor horses. The second because, Nail having raided lands belonging to Dambia and done much damage, and the Emperor having sent to him [the king ?] to ask whether this was with his consent or not, [the king ?] on receipt of the message kept silence and made no reply. The third because, when Aleb², the Emperor's servant, absconded to him with many horses and took with him the kettledrums of Macaga, and when the Emperor wrote to him not to detain the servant, and said that he would pardon him, and that if he was unwilling to come back he should send him the kettledrums, [the king] was unwilling to do the one thing or the other. The fourth because, [when some Chucen people came ?] to carqui, he gave them lodging but subsequently illtreated [them?] grossly and would not allow them to bury their dead unless they paid, because they wished to make friendship with his lord the Emperor; and when they arrived the carqui people fell upon them and killed many of them and took captive their women and children. The fifth because, when the mother of Joseph son of Gibara was on her way to the Emperor, the people of carqui took her and would not let her pass. For all of these reasons the Emperor was exasperated and made friendship with Nail and laid waste the lands of the king of Bddi [King Badi ?] subject to the king of Sennar.

EXTRACT II

Paez, Vol. m, p. 370.

The Abyssinian generals make war on the FUNG and take much booty: this in 1618.

Estando amda o Emperador em calabaca, lhe chegou carta do Cantiva Za Guiorguis, em que decia que tinha dado em as terras Berta, Caeba, Batel e outras que senhorea el Rey de Funye Erobat e que cativara muitas molheres e meninos, queimara suas casas e tomara muyto fato. Depois soube o Emperador como Erobat mandara muyta gente de pe e de cavallo pera que guardassem a terra de carqui. Tambem lhe disseram como o Abuna Isaac, a quem tinha mandado pera Ethiopia o patnarche de Alexandria abba Marcos, morrera da terra de Senaar muyto tempo depois que o tomou Erobat; o que Emperador sintio muyto e alevantou logo de (palabaca e foi caminhando ate Dabola, e dalli mandou a Jonael com muyta gente a as terras Gema e caben e dando nellas tomou muitas vacas e fato e tomou, e o Emperador alevantou logo de Dabola, passou por Bed e foi a terra Tancal e mandou a Jonael, ao Cantiba Za Guiorguis e a Caba

¹ Bruce, *he. at.*, "Serke."

³ Bruce, *loc. at.*, "Alico."

Christos com muyta gente de guerra pera da na terra de carqui, e chegando la em sete dias, o seguinte muyto cedo se puseram em ordem e os del Rey de Funye estavam ja aparelhados com muytos cavallos e gente de pe; mas, dando batalha *foram desbaratados os Balous e morreram muytos e a Jonael lhe trouxeram 326 cabeças e tomaram muytos cavallos, malhas, capacetes, espinguardas, atabales e camelos e tornaram com grande alegria onde estava o Emperador que os recebeo com muyta festa, mas dalli a 8 dias morreo de fevre o Cantiba Za Guiorguis, e o Emperador o chorou muyto, porque o amava e era seu parente; e assi pus em seu lugar por Cantiba de Dambia a seu filho mais velho.

Translation

While the Emperor was still at calabaca there reached him a letter from the Cantiba Za Guiorguis in which the latter stated he had attacked the lands of Berta, Caeba Batel and others which were under the rule of Rubat the King of the FUNG and had captured many women and children, burnt their houses and taken much booty. The Emperor learnt later how Rubaj; had sent many footmen and horsemen to defend the district of Qarqui. He was also told how the Abuna Isaac, to whom the Patriarch of Alexandria had sent Abba Marcos to Ethiopia [? *Whom Abba Marcos the Patriarch of Alexandria had sent to Ethiopia*] had died in [lit. "from"] the land of Sennar a long time after Rubat had seized him. The Emperor felt this greatly, and at once started from Qalabaca and journeyed as far as Dabola, and thence sent Jonael with a large force to the districts of Gema and (pab^u; and he fell upon them and took many cows and goods and returned. Then the Emperor at once set forth from Dabola and, passing by Bed, went to Tancal district and despatched to Jonael the Cantiba Za Guiorguis and Caba Christos with a large body of troops to attack the land of carqui. And he [Jonael] reached [(carqui) in seven days and on the following day very early set forth his array. And the troops of the king of Sennar were already standing ready with many cavalry and footmen. But when battle was joined the Balous were routed and many were killed and 326 heads were brought to Jonael, and many horses and suits of mail and helmets and muskets and camels and drums were taken, so that they returned with great elation to the place where the Emperor was, and he received them with lavish entertainment. But eight days later the Cantiba Za Guiorguis died of fever; and the Emperor sorrowed greatly for he loved him like a father, and so appointed in his place as Cantiba of Dambia his eldest son.

EXTRACT III

Paez, Vol. in, p. 372. The Emperor, after wintering at Gorgorra moves to Debaroa. In 1619 Melca Christos and others invade the Sennar territories in force.

Partindo Abeitahun Melca Christos e Jonael, foram como o Emperador lhes mandou e, chegando destruíram todas as terras de Funye, matando e cativando muyta gente e tomaram muytos cavallos e armas e atabales, e chegando a Abromela (com ser serra tam forte que, revelandose huma

yen a gente daquella terra contra el Rey de Dequin, veio elle com todo seu poder e nam a pode entrar e assi se tornou). Elles a subiram por forza de armas e mataram muytos e tomaram alii seu Rey e o trouxeram presso e chegando ao Emperador com grande festa e alegria lhe apresentaram aquella Rey com os escravos, armas e cavallos que tomoram em suas terras. Tambem Deye Azmach Oald Haureat foi como lhe mandou seu senhor e, caminhando 19 dias, chegou a Atebera terra de Funye e logo domingo antes de meio dia deo nella e venceo ao capitam que alii estava, e fugindo elle, mataram muytos dos seus e cativaram suas molheres e filhos de maneira que tudo ficou despovoado e tomaram muyta prata e ouro, pecas e vestidos ricos, muytos camellos, espingardas, malhas e capacetes, e tres pares de atabales, com o que todos os do exercito ficaram cheos, e assi lhe succedeo ao Emperador Seltan (pagued o que o nem hum de seus antecessors, porque em huma mesma semana destruiu desde cuaquen ate Fazcolo, de onde tiram o ouro, cumprindolhe nosso Senhor o que desejava. Como Deye Azmach Oald Haureat teve esta victoria, tornou logo dando gracias a Deos. . . . Por estas victorias, que Deos N. Senhor deo ao Emperador de cuaquen ate Fazcolo, fez grandes festas e deo muytos louvores ao Senhor, de quern lhe vieram tantas merces. E nisto se occupou ate o mes de mayo de 1619.

Translation

Abeitahun Melca Christos and Jonael set forth as the Emperor had ordered them and on arrival laid waste all the lands of the FUNG, killing and capturing many people and taking many horses and arms and drums; and reaching Abromela (which was so strong that on one occasion, when the people of that country had fared against the king of Dekin [King Dekin?], he came with all his power but was unable to effect an entry and so returned), they subdued it by force by arms and killed many and there captured its king and brought him prisoner to the Emperor with great celebration and joyfulness and handed him over together with the slaves and arms and horses taken in his country. Also Deye Azmach Oald Haureat, as commanded by his lord, journeyed 19 days and reached Atbara [in?] the FUNG territory and at once, on a Sunday, before noon, fell upon it and defeated its local chieftain and put him to flight and killed many of his people and captured his women and children in such manner that the whole district was depopulated, and took much silver and gold, pieces of cloth and rich garments, many camels, muskets, suits of mail and helmets and three pairs of drums, so that all the troops were sated. Thus the Emperor Sultan cagued [*i.e.* SUSNEOS] was successful beyond all his predecessors, for in a single week he wrought destruction from Saakin to Fazoghli, whence they bring gold, understanding what Our Lord desired.

When Deye Azmach Oald Haureat had won this victory he returned forthwith giving thanks to God...{*descriptions of festivities, etc., follow*}... For these victories which Our God granted to the Emperor from Suakin to Fazoghli he made great festivity and offered many thanksgivings to the Lord from whom had come to him so great favours. In this he occupied himself until the month of May 1619.

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N.B. i. Where figures are in italics the reference is to notes.

2. The references are generally in groups of three. The first {Roman figures} denotes the Party the second (ordinary figures) denotes the chapter, the third (Roman) denotes the section.

3. T.=a tribe, S.T.-a sub-tribe, Ar.T. -an Arabian (non-Sudan) tribe, G. -a "gebel," V. =a village, W. -wells, R. = river.

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'Abdbsa, T., *Refs. tn native MSS. (Part IV)*, BA, CLXXIII, AB, xxiii and tree, D 2, vm.

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A 3, tree.
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