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A HISTORY OF THE ARABS
IN THE SUDAN

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME I

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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 DARFÜR

BY

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

VOLUME I

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1922

Mr de Herbelot pretends that the *Arabs of the Defart* exceed the other *Arabs* in Wit and Cunning....Be this as it will; both the one and the other are mightily fond of the Noblenefs of their Extraction.

The Chevalier D'Arvieux, *Travels in Arabia the Defart* (1718 A.D), pp. 96-7.

INTRODUCTION

ONE of the first steps which anyone desirous of studying the history of a people naturally takes is to consult such native records as may be extant and appraise their importance as evidence.

Following this course in the case of the Sudan Arab one is surprised to find that a large proportion of the population is in possession of scraps of paper which they regard as having a historical value. The owner often cannot read, but he is prepared to produce for inspection a handful of disreputable papers, torn, frayed and filthy. Some turn out to be unintelligible contracts concerning the cultivation of a plot of land, some are extracts from a manual of prayer and ablution, some are promissory notes: others contain strings of names, pedigrees of the owners to 'Abbás the uncle of the Prophet or some other notable. If the native is asked the source of the genealogical fragment either he thinks that he found it among his father's papers or says that it is an extract which was taken for him from a larger work owned by some "*feki*." In the latter case one's hopes are perhaps raised by a graphic description of an enormous tome, centuries old, said to have been composed "by el Samarkandi perchance; but God knows!" And one proceeds in search of the "*feki*." Then comes disillusionment. Sometimes the manuscript has been lost or burnt, or it has been lent to a relative at the other end of the country, or eaten by white ants. Sometimes the "*feki*" admits possession and with great care produces a few pages of genealogies obviously written within the last few decades. In this case one is generally referred for the original manuscript to some other "*feki*" who either lives beyond one's reach or died some years ago.

In time, however, one does hear of some accessible "*feki*" whose manuscript has been the *fans et origo* of many of the ragged shreds in circulation and from him one learns that he or his father copied this "*nisba*", fifteen or twenty years ago, from the copy that was in possession of some other learned "*feki*"

Occasionally one finds a "*nisba*" that is known to have been in the hands of the owner's family for several generations. An original author's manuscript a century or more old I have never seen, though such may possibly exist.

The chief reason for this disappearance of documents is not so much the reluctance of the "*fekis*" to risk their possessions in alien hands, though this motive has to be combated where confidence has not been established, as the indubitable fact that both the Mahdi and the Khalifa, and especially the latter, gave stringent orders for the destruction of all modern books and documents¹. The Mahdi feared that research might tend to invalidate his pretensions to be the Expected One, and the Khalifa, who was a Ta'aishi from Darfur, was only interested in genealogy to the extent of declining to appear less nobly born than his subjects. Consequently vast numbers of documents were deliberately burnt during the period of Dervish rule, many others were buried and so lost, or destroyed by white ants, and only a few survived to the present day.

My first impression after examining a medley of these copies fragments and extracts was to the effect that they were worthless; but a closer acquaintance shewed, on the one hand, that there were various scattered remarks and indications which had a certain value in themselves, and, on the other, that some passages recurred almost word for word in the majority of the longer "*nisbas*" and pointed to a common origin dating from about the sixteenth century.

It also became more and more clear that, however faulty the details might be, the larger tribal genealogies, particularly those connected with the name of el Samarḳandi, contained in the form of a genealogical parable much valuable information concerning the interrelation of the tribes of the Sudan.

Even allowing that the intrinsic value of these documents is comparatively small it is none the less true that anyone wishing to conduct researches into the history or sociology of the country would have the unwelcome choice either of delaying his work to collect specimens of these manuscripts from all over the country, and then examining them* for what they were worth, or of ignoring the documentary evidence altogether. If he could afford the delay he would presumably choose the former alternative and would rapidly find himself sinking deeper and deeper into a morass of contradictions and inaccuracies from which a year or two of work would hardly serve to extricate him. To obviate the occurrence of this dilemma and smooth a little the path of research, by collecting, comparing and annotating such documents as I could find in the course of my work

¹ Cp., for the case of the Mahdi, Slatin Ch. viii.

in various districts of the Sudan, was the object I set before myself in the first instance. If the zeal of a fool has outrun angelic discretion I can only hope that someone, with a more comprehensive grasp of the necessary scientific and historical material than I could ever pretend to, will be stimulated to undertake the task so imperfectly attempted in the following pages. The general plan adopted is as follows. The ethnological characteristics of the people who lived in the various quarters of the northern Sudan before the coming of the Muhammadans is first discussed in Part I, since it is to them that the non-Arab element in the population of the present day is chiefly due. The extent to which the institution of slavery has affected the racial type of the Sudan Arab is perforce ignored. Its consideration would have postulated a knowledge, which I do not possess, of half the negro races of Central Africa; and in the second place the fact that certain racial and cultural modifications have been caused by breeding from slave women, chiefly NGBA, DINKA, FUR and FERTIT, need only to be kept in mind throughout and their exact definition and classification is rendered less essential.

Secondly, in Part I I, an attempt is made to trace the earlier history of some of the more famous Arabian tribes of whom branches eventually settled in the Sudan, and to accentuate the degree of racial connexion or distinction existing between them.

A more general account of the fortunes of the Arabs in Egypt from the seventh to the fifteenth century, shewing some of the causes that led to their southward movements and the conditions that accompanied these, is given in a second chapter; and at the same time, where there are any data forthcoming, some note is taken of the course of events in the Sudan during the same period.

Part I I I is occupied with a series of notes upon the history and composition of the Arab tribes now in the Sudan.

Part IV opens with a chapter on the origin value and limitations of the native manuscripts. Then follow translations of thirty-two native manuscripts, with explanatory notes, appendices and genealogical trees. It will be objected that some of them are worthless excerpts and might well have been omitted. Two considerations chiefly induced me to include them. In the first place this portion is intended to represent a small corpus of manuscripts typical of the country rather than a Golden Treasury of historical fact. In the second place it is instructive to note the extent to which variations

and coincidences respectively occur in the presentation of the same facts by a number of documents which for the most part are either copied one from the other or traceable to a single source. One not only learns something of the accuracy or inaccuracy of the particular facts stated—a small matter as a rule—but is also enabled to gauge more confidently the degree of reliability which is likely to attach to native manuscripts in general when circumstances do not admit of the application of the comparative test.

H. A. M.

5 *October*, 1921

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PART I

THE INHABITANTS OF THE NORTHERN SUDAN
BEFORE THE TIME OF THE ISLAMIC INVASIONS

CHAPTER 1

The Pre-Islamic Arabian Element

I With the country which roughly speaking lies south of the twelfth parallel of latitude we are not here concerned as to all but a limited extent it falls outside the sphere of the Arab. Tribes of Arabs, it is true, pasture their herds at certain seasons south of this line, and in some cases cultivate: the BAḲḲARA tribes of southern Kordofdn and Ddrfür and the SEL*M BAḲḲARA on the White Nile are the most notable examples of this: but allowing a few exceptions due to the suitability of the sub-tropical zone for cattle-breeding it is fairly accurate to say that the country south of the twelfth parallel is not yet arabicized in the sense that is true of the drier zones of country further north, where the Arab, or *soi-disant* Arab, is in undisputed possession.

It is proposed in these first chapters to give some general idea of the ethnic characteristics of the people who inhabited this northern portion of the Sudan¹ before the period of Muhammadan immigration.

II Now, it is well to realize in advance, the fact that the Muhammadan settlement in the Sudan caused a profound modification of the pre-existing native stock is apt to obscure the other equally important fact that long before the Islamic period Arabian races had been crossing over into Egypt and the Sudan. Let us then, as a first step in the discussion of our subject, attempt to estimate the extent to which non-Muhammadan immigration to the Sudan took place from Arabia during this earlier period.

III It would be a most surprising fact if the connection between the two sides of the Red Sea had not been intimate from the earliest dawn of history, for their inhabitants were to a large extent cognate races² and the passage was an easy one.

The merchant led the way. From the most ancient times trade in aromatic gums, ivory and gold flourished between Arabia and the ports of Egypt, the Sudan and Abyssinia³. Settlements arose on the African coast and traders carried their wares at least as far as the

¹ I limit the meaning of the term " Sudan " throughout to the country at present so called. This excludes Abyssinia and Eritrea.

² Cp. Elliot Smith, *Ancient Egyptians*, p. 87.

³ See *Periplus*, Introduction and p. 60; Crowfoot, *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* May 1911, pp. 523, 524.

Nile. Of the Widi Hamdmāt route that runs east and west between the Red Sea and the Thebaid Professor Elliot Smith says:

From the records inscribed upon the rocks along this route we know that there was some traffic along it in the times of the fifth dynasty: but it is such an obvious means of access from the Nile to the sea that we can be sure it must have been a trade route even in predynastic times, or at any rate a highway where the Arab and the Proto-Egyptian met and intermingled. The widespread occurrence of marine shells, presumably from the shores of the Red Sea, in the predynastic graves of Upper Egypt and Nubia is positive evidence of the reality of such intercourse¹.

IV Some again have held that the conquering dynastic Egyptians who worshipped Horus were in fact Arabians who entered Africa by way of Massowa, and in the course of developing this theory Professor Navile² quotes the saying of Jūba, recorded by Pliny, that the Egyptians were of Arabian origin, and "as for the neighbours of the Nile from Syene to Meroe, they are not Ethiopian nations but Arabs. Even the temple of the Sun, not far distant from Memphis, is said to have been founded by the Arabs³." Without going so far as this, one would allow that in early dynastic days Arabians did enter Egypt in large numbers by way of the Eritrean coast and settle there; and in that case far more of them are likely to have settled nearer home and south of the Egyptian frontier, in the Sudan.

V Some such movements are probably reflected in the ever recurrent tradition that the early dynasties of Egypt were of Ethiopian origin. It is perhaps too often assumed that "Ethiopian" is necessarily the equivalent of "negro." Certainly in the second millennium B.C. south-west Arabia was beginning to colonize the highlands of Abyssinia, and those cross-currents of migration had begun to flow which reached their height during the hegemony of Md'in and Saba (c. 1500-300 B.C.)⁴.

Throughout the whole of this period a large proportion of the world's commerce passed by way of Abyssinia and the coast of the Red Sea to the Nile⁵, and the populations on either side of the straits of Bēb el Mandeb became more and more assimilated to one another⁶.

¹ Elliot Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 88.

² Navile, *Origin of Egyptian Civilization*, Smithsonian Rep. 1907, pp. 549-564.

³ Pliny, Bk. vi, 34.

⁴ See Sir H. Johnston in *Journ. R. A. S.* XLIII, 1913, p. 385; Winckler, in *World's History*, p. 249, etc.

⁵ See Schurtz in *World's History*, p. 433.

⁶ Cp. Palgrave, *C. and E. Arabia*, n. 240 ff.; and Ludolphus: the latter says of the Ethiopians of Abyssinia, "They are not natives of the land but came out of that part of Arabia which is called the Happy, which adjoins to the Red Sea" (*ap. Bent*, p. 175).

VI Under the Ptolemies trade thrived equally, and there is ample evidence of Arab trading-stations in the first and second centuries A.D. on the coast from Bib el Mandeb to the Gulf of Suez¹.

VII As regards early Arabian immigration by land to Egypt, there are some who, while rejecting the theory that the early dynasts came through Ethiopia, would yet bring them from Arabia into Egypt by way of the peninsula of Sinai². This is very doubtful. The positive evidence, dating from the time of the earliest dynasties, does, however, prove that the eastern side of the Delta was being perpetually harried by nomads from Sinai and Syria³, and there are numerous early reliefs shewing a Pharaoh smiting the Beduin, "the sand-dwellers" of the mining regions of Sinai⁴.

VIII During the twelfth dynasty, nearly 2000 years before the Christian era, the monuments prove that there was also trade with these Beduin. "The needs of the Semitic tribes of neighbouring Asia were already those of civilized people and gave ample occasion for trade⁵"; and hence the famous picture from the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan, in which is depicted the arrival of a band of Beduin traders⁶.

The more amicable conditions now prevailing are also suggested by the wording of the Tale of Sinuhe's flight to Palestine during the time of the same dynasty:

I came to the Walls of the Ruler, made to repulse the Beduin...I went on...I fell down for thirst...I upheld my heart, I drew my limbs together, as I heard the sound of the lowing of cattle, I beheld the Beduin. That chief among them, who had been in Egypt, recognized me. He gave me water, he cooked for me milk. I went with him to his tribe, good was that which they did (for me)⁷.

IX About 1657 B.C. occurred the Hyksos invasion of Egypt⁸. This people may have been Hittite or possibly Arabian by race: the evidence points to the former⁹, but we may assume in any case that Arabia sent its quota of Beduin in the wake of the invaders¹⁰ and that during the Hyksos period and that succeeding it trade between east and west flourished to a larger extent than formerly.

¹ See *Periplus* and Ptolemaeus, *passim*.

² E.g. Lepsius, *q.v. ap. Naville, loc. cit.* ³ Elliot Smith, *loc. cit.* pp. 92, 93.

⁴ See Breasted, *A.R.* 1, 168, 236, 250, 267, 311-315. The first of these dates from the first dynasty, and all fall within the period of the first six dynasties.

⁵ Breasted, *Hist.* p. 159.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 158, and *A. R.* 1, 620; Schurtz, *loc. cit.* p. 619.

⁷ Breasted, *A. R.* 1, 493.

⁸ Breasted, *Hist.* pp. 179, 442.

⁹ Von Luschan, *Journ. R. A. I.* XLI, 1911, p. 242.

¹⁰ Breasted (*Hist.* p. 181) remarks that the Hebrews in Egypt may have been
¹¹but a part of the Beduin allies of the Kadesh or Hyksos."

X When the Empire was at the noontide of its glory and the Syrian wars of Thutmose III (1479-1447 B.C.) had broken down such barriers as remained, "all the world traded in the Delta markets¹," and an inscription from the tomb of Harmhab (1350-1315) is particularly interesting as proving that Arab settlement in Egypt had been taking place for some time: it records how fugitives from Palestine begged the Pharaoh to give them an asylum in Egypt "after the manner of your fathers' fathers since the beginning²." By now, too, the Shasu or Khabiri, the desert Semites, including Arabs, Hebrews and Aramaeans, were inundating Syria and Palestine, until, in the reign of Ikhnāton (1375-1358) they became paramount on the eastern borders of Egypt³.

Their power received a check at the hands of Seti I (c. 1313-1292), and they were also no doubt affected by the repulses inflicted by Rameses II (1292-1225) on the Hittites.

By the time of Rameses's death there were numbers of Arabians captured in war and enrolled as serfs in Egypt, or employed as mercenaries⁴.

XI The power of Egypt then began to decline, and during the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first dynasties the Libyans so overran Egypt that by 950 B.C. they had gained the supreme power⁵. The presumption is that some of the eastern nomads, who were divided by no great racial gulf from the Libyans, took the opportunity at the same time to settle with them in the Delta and intermarry with them as they had probably already intermarried with the native Egyptians.

XII In the Nūbian period which followed, Assyria rose to the height of her power and subdued Egypt. Psammetichus I (663-609) was practically a vassal of that power in the early years of his reign; but later, as Babylon supplanted Assyria, he asserted his independence and entered into widely ramifying foreign relations with the powers to the north and east; and his successors imitated his example.

XIII Sixty years after the death of Psammetichus I Cyrus founded the Medo-Persian empire, and in 525 B.C. Cambyses, King of Persia, occupied Egypt.

XIV The Arabs may have strengthened their footing in Egypt during the Assyrian and Babylonian periods. Herodotus⁶ indeed speaks of Sennacherib as "King of the Arabians and Assyrians"

¹ Breasted, *Hist.* pp. 244, 253.

² Breasted, *A. R.* in, 10, 11.

³ Breasted, *Hist.* pp. 263, 284, 285.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 254, 317, 318.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 298, 327, 328, 333 ff.; and cp. *A. R.* 111, 570; iv, 35, 83, 84.

• Bk. ii, 141.

and his army as "the Arabian host." So, too, the Persian period lasted for about 200 years and presumably the settlements of Asiatics that now occurred included a proportion of Arabs. The presumption is made more certain by the fact that when Alexander the Great conquered Egypt in 332 B.C. he appointed Cleomenes of Naukratis to be governor of "Arabia about Heroopolis" with the title of "Arabarch," and so important was this official's position that he was also responsible to Alexander for the whole tribute of Egypt¹.

XV In the reign of the first Ptolemy we hear of the Arabs providing great convoys of camels for the abortive invasion by Antigonos², and no doubt they transported and raided both sides alternately throughout all the wars of the successive Ptolemies on the Syrian frontier; but to what extent they made any permanent settlement in Egypt during this period it is impossible to say.

XVI Meanwhile let us not forget the more continuous intercourse that was proceeding further south. Not only were trade relations maintained, but the Ḳaḥṭdnites or Ḥimyarites of southern Arabia were forming a definite link between the Arabs and the negro population of Abyssinia³, and periodically invaded the Nile valley. We need not pay much attention to the tale of Sheddidd, a Ḥimyarite king of the 'Adites, who invaded Egypt in the days of Ashmūn the great-grandson of Ham son of Noah, and built pyramids and reservoirs before he was compelled to retreat⁴, but the tradition that one of the early kings of Yemen, 'Abd Shams Saba, the founder of Marib, invaded Egypt⁵ probably refers to an actual incursion from the south-east during the Nūbian period.

XVII More important matters were the expeditions of Abraha "Dhu el Mandr"⁶ and Afriḳus.

The former was born, according to Caussin de Perceval, about 134 B.C., and was king of Yemen, and brother or son of el Ṣa'ab "Dhu el Ḳarnayn" ("The two-horned")⁷. He is said to have made

¹ Mahaffy, *History of Egypt*, pp. 20, 21.

² Mahaffy, *loc. cit.* 49.

³ Cp. Palgrave, *Arabia*, I, 453, 454.

⁴ Makrizi, *Khetdt*, II, 523.

⁵ See, e.g. Abu el Fidd, pp. 114, 115, quoting Ibn Sa'id; Van Dyck, p. 15; and Caussin de Perceval, I, 52.

⁶ "He of the Signposts." For his expedition see Abu el Fidd, p. 117; Van Dyck, p. 16; and Caussin de Perceval, I, 67 (citing el Nuwayry, *Hist. Imp. Vet. Yoct.* P-52).

⁷ Caussin de Perceval (I, 65) calls el Sa'ab "Essdb." He was called "The two horned because he wore two plaits of hair hanging down over his temples" (Van Dyck, p. 16), or else because "he wore a crown with points like horns" (C. de Perceval, *loc. cit.*). By reason of the nickname he was sometimes confused with Alexander the Great "Dhu el Karnayn." It is possible there is a connection here with the "two horns" worn by the Mek of Bujaras (q.v. Part III, Chap. 2, xxxIII) and the two-horned "takia" worn by the Fung (see Part III, sub "'Abdulteb"). "On ne sait pas précisément pourquoi Alexandre recut le surnom de 'Zou-1-

an incursion into the Sudan and advanced as far as the Moghrab. This story evidently points to a Ḥimyaritic expedition into the Sudan by way of Abyssinia. Abriha's son Afrikus, or Ibn Afriki, invaded northern Africa probably about 46 B.C.¹

XVIII There are grounds for supposing that these invasions were followed by two distinct ḥimyaritic settlements in the interior of Africa.

In the first place, numbers of them are said to have settled west of Egypt among the Libyan tribes and multiplied with these under the common name of Berbers: such is the origin assigned with very reasonable probability to the ṢANHAGA and KETAMA sections of the Berber². In this connection it may be noted that at the battle of Actium Arabs of the Yemen fought for Antony on the galleys of Cleopatra³.

Secondly, it seems certain that colonies of Ḥimyarites settled in Nūbia, though it is hard to say whether the traces of Ḥimyaritic

carnayn' ('a deux cornes'). Les uns pretendent que c'est parce qu'il avait deux Eminences sur la tete, d'autres parce qu'il avait deux cornettes a sa couronne, d'autres parce qu'il avait deux longues tresses de cheveux pendantes, d'autres parce qu'il subjuguä l'univers, de l'Orient reel a l'Occident reel, etc....ha denomination d" Alexandre aux deux cornes* est l'analogie de celle de Jupiter Amnion." (Perron, *ap. el Tunisi, Voy. au Darfour*, pp. 456, 458.)

¹ Caussin de Perceval (1, 70) points out that Caesar in 46 B.C. was opposed in Africa by the Numidians of Jūba, i.e. by the Libyo-Berber tribes, and that these latter were compelled to retreat before meeting Caesar because of an invasion of Jūba's state at the instigation of Caesar by a certain Sittius at the head of an army of adventurers. Sittius may be Afrifcus, and the name Afrikus may have been merely conferred in honour of the expedition. Ibn Khaldūn (1, 27) calls him "ibn 8316." Concerning the expedition itself see Ibn Khaldūn, 1, 168-176 (citing Ibn el Kelbi); Pococke, *Spec. Hist. Ar.* p. 60; Abu el Fida, pp. 116, 117; Caussin de Perceval, 1, 69 (citing the above and el Nuwayry's *Hist. Imp. Vet. Yoct.* p. 52); Carette, *Explor. Scient. de l'Algerie*, in, 306; and Leo Africanus (Hakluyt ed.), 1, 122.

² See Ibn Khaldūn, 1, 27 and 184, and n, 178; and cp. el Mas'ūdī, in, 240. Ibn el Rafeik (q.v. *ap. Carette, loc. cit.* p. 49) says that the first people to inhabit Barbary were five colonies of Sabaeans under Ibn Afrfci, king of Yemen, and that they gave birth to 600 tribes of Berbers. These five colonies were taken to be the Ṣanhaga, Mašmūda, Zendta, Ghomdra, and Howdra. Ibn Khaldūn only allows the Ḥimyaritic origin of the Ṣanhaga and the Ketdma. He says المشهور أنهم من

اليمينية وإن أفريقش لما غزا الفريقية أنزلهم بها (ed. ar., vi, 97, Bk HI). He puts down the rest as related to the Philistines and descended from Canaan.

Cp. also Ibn Batuta, n, 196. This traveller visited Zhafar, a month's journey by land from Aden, and records the striking resemblance between the food, the habits and the women's proper names among the people there and among those in the Moghrab. He says

وهذا التشابه كله مما يقوي القول بأن صنهاجة وسواهم من قبائل المغرب أصلهم من حمير

("This resemblance bears out the statement that Ṣanhaga and other tribes of the Moghrab are of Ḥimyaritic origin.")

³ Caussin de Perceval, *loc. cit.* p. 70, quoting Virgil, *Aeneid*, VIII, 706.

influence which occur there, and which will be noticed later¹, date in the main from this or a later period.

At this period sun-worship was flourishing **both in** Southern Arabia and among the Himyaritic colonists of northern Abyssinia² and the worship of the same deity that survived at Talmis (Kalabsha) until the time of Justinian³ may well have formed a bond of sympathy between Himyarite and Nūbian through the medium of Abyssinia and so have facilitated and encouraged intercourse between the two. Pliny, as we have already seen, even quotes Jūba to the effect that the Nile dwellers from Aswan to Meroe were not Ethiopians but Arabians⁴—a statement which though obviously exaggerated may be taken as containing at least some grain of truth. There is, too, a tradition⁵ that Abu Malik, one of the last of the true Himyarite dynasty, made an expedition into the BEGA country in quest of emeralds and there perished with most of his army. The event on which this tale is founded probably occurred during the early decades of the Christian period⁶.

XIX In 25 B.C. Augustus, under the impression that the merchandize brought to the Red Sea ports by the Arabs was produced by Arabia, commissioned Aelius Gallus, the Prefect of Egypt, to conquer that country⁷.

This expedition was a failure; but about thirty years later, having learned that the most valuable merchandize brought by the Arabs came originally from India, and desiring a monopoly for ships from Egyptian ports, the Romans imposed a 25 per cent, import duty on goods from Arabian ports and destroyed Adane, the chief trading centre of them all⁸. For about two centuries Roman shipping was developed at the expense of the Arab⁹, but the old freedom of intercourse between the two coasts does not seem to have been checked thereby, and by the time of Diocletian (284-305 A.D.) the Axumites of Abyssinia and the Himyarites of the Yemen had entirely regained the trade ascendancy¹⁰.

XX These two peoples, closely connected by race, were now united by the bond of a common religion. Axum had been finally converted

¹ See Index, sub "Ijimar."

² Cp. Van Dyck, pp. 18 and 38; and see Part I I, Chap. 2, xxvi.

³ Letronne, *Matiriaux**...

⁴ "Quin et accolis Nili a Syene non Aethiopum populos sed Arabum esse dicit usque Meroen." Pliny, Bk vi, para. 34.

⁵ Caussin de Perceval, 1, 82; Van Dyck, p. 18.

⁶ Caussin de Perceval puts the date of Abu Malik's birth in 31 A.D.

⁷ Milne, pp. 19, 20.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 34.

⁹ Cp. Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, pp. lxxix, lxxx. He attributes to this cause the northward migration of the Ijūd'a and Beni Azd.

¹⁰ Milne, p. 94.

to Christianity by Frumentius about 330 A.D., and the faith spread very rapidly throughout Abyssinia¹. The Yemen had been converted half a century earlier and remained nominally Christian until about 500 A.D. when the king, Dhu Nawas, a descendant of Abraha, adopted Judaism².

XXI Both Anastasius (491-518) and Justinus I (518-527) sent embassies to the Ḥimyarites seeking their aid to check the increasing inroads of the Persians by an attack in the rear³; but their plans were nullified by the trouble that had arisen between the Ḥimyarites and the Axumites as a result of the persecution of Christians by Dhu Nawás. Elesbaan, king of Axum, invaded the Yemen and subdued it about 522 A.D.⁴, and until about the end of the century it remained subject to Abyssinia, though the actual administration remained in the hands of the Ḥimyarites.

XXII The last of the Ḥimyarite viceroys was Sayf, the son of Dhu Yazan and grandson of the Dhu Nawas mentioned above. This man, with the aid of the Persians, succeeded in driving most of the Abyssinians out of el Yemen and enslaving the rest. Some of these latter, however, murdered him about 608 A.D. and he was buried at Ṣana'a. The Persians then occupied the country until it was conquered from them by the Muhammadans in 634⁵.

Now, curiously enough, this Sayf ibn Dhu Yazan is fabled to have founded the kingdom of Kanem⁶. That he did not do so is quite certain, great traveller though he is related to have been in Arab tradition⁷. But during the tumultuous years which ushered in the seventh century in Arabia and immediately preceded Islam, there may have been, and probably was, some emigration from the Yemen to Africa, and it is not outside the bounds of possibility that some of these Ḥimyarites penetrated to the far west, called themselves members of the royal family of el Yemen and were accepted as such by the ignorant natives⁸.

¹ Letronne, *loc. cit.*

² Van Dyck, pp. 20, 21. The legend that a yimyarite founded a dynasty in Bornu at the end of the sixth century (Nachtigal *ap.* Schurtz, *loc. cit.* pp. 534, 582) is curious but unsupported by evidence.

³ Milne, pp. 103, 104.

⁴ Procopius, *De Bell. Pers.* 1, 19 (*ap.* Bent, p. 178).

⁵ Van Dyck, pp. 21-24, and Abu el Fidd, pp. 118, 119.

⁶ He appears under the names "Sayf ibn Dhu Yazan" "Muhammad Sayf Ullah," or "Sayf ibn IJasan." See Carbou, 1, 4-7, Barth, 11, 261, 262, 268, 269, 633, and Nachtigal.

⁷ Abu el Fida\ *loc. cit.*

⁸ Cp. Carbou, *loc. cit.* and Barth, n, 269. I suppose Sultan Bello to refer to this movement when he speaks of certain Berber slaves and conscripts in el Yemen as rebelling against the Ḥimyarites and being forced in consequence to emigrate to the African coast. " They then went to Kanoom, and settled there, as strangers, under the government of the Tawarek, who were a tribe related to them, and called

XXIII **But** to revert: the Persian armies were active in the sixth century A.D. in the north as well as in el Yemen, and their pressure on Egypt steadily increased until in 616 A.D. that country and Asia Minor had been wrested out of the hands of the Romans.

The Persians themselves, as a race, had affinities with the Armenoid invaders of an earlier date¹, but among their number were members of many Syrian and Arab tribes², and with these latter their congeners already settled in Egypt were no doubt in active sympathy³.

XXIV The rule of Persia in Egypt only lasted for ten years. They had lost the support of the Arabs as a result of the Islamic movement, and by 626 Heraclius had driven them out.

But by now both Roman and Persian were enfeebled by continuous warfare and the Arabs began to swarm over the frontiers of Egypt. For a while they were bought off by subsidies, but in 639 'Amr ibn el 'Aṣi led his forces into the country, defeated the prefect Theodorus at Heliopolis, and drove the Romans back into the Delta.

By 641 Babylon had fallen and Alexandria was besieged.

Terms were then agreed upon, and in September 642, Alexandria was surrendered and Egypt passed under the domination of the Arabs.

Their immediate success cannot be credited wholly to religious fervour. A proportion were no doubt inspired by the new faith, but many were with equal certainty animated by purely material considerations; and their task was the easier in that they were freeing from a foreign yoke a country in which numbers of the population already consisted of their own kith and kin.

XXV We have thus seen that in pre-Islamic times there was a direct current of Arab immigration into Egypt, and most probably into Libya, through southern Syria, and a similar influx into the Sudan through Abyssinia, and a channel of trade from the mid-Red Sea coast to the Thebaid. It may therefore be regarded as more than probable that the ever-increasing infiltration of Arabs from these three directions, and their converging movements up and down the common highway of the Nile, whether in search of trade or pasture, had by the beginning of the seventh century led to the implanting at various points of a definite, if racially indeterminate, Arab strain in the population of the northern Sudan.

Amaketan. But they soon rebelled against them, and usurped the country.... Their government flourished for some time and their dominion extended to the very extremity of this tract of the earth; and Wadai and Bagharmee, as well as the country of Houssa...were in their possession." (See Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney, 11, 446, 447.)

² Butler, *Arab Conquest*, p. 81 note.

³

¹ Von Luschan, p. 244.
Milne, p. 114.

CHAPTER 2

The Nūbians, the Nūba and the Libyan Element

I The way has now been cleared for the discussion of the non-Arab races which the Islamic Arabs found in the Sudan.

II AH of these, with the exception of the nomad BEGA in the eastern desert, were commonly included by the invaders under the vague denomination of NŪBA. This term first occurs in literature in the geography of Eratosthenes¹, who was born in 276 B.C. He speaks of "the" Later the name occurs as . . . , or in the Latinized form of Nobatae.

The ultimate derivation of the word is not known, but it appears to be of very ancient origin and may be connected through the Coptic NOTBT (meaning "to plait") with "*nebed*" the word used in the inscription of Thothmes I (date c. 1540 B.C.) to denote "the plaited-haired ones," or as it is perhaps with less accuracy translated "the curly-haired ones" whom that monarch overthrew in the neighbourhood of the third cataract: "He hath overthrown the chief of the ""Nubians¹; the Negro [*nehesi*] is helpless....There is not a remnant among the curly-haired, who came to attack him²."

I imagine that the Arabs simply adopted the word which they found commonly used in Egypt to denote collectively the races living south of the first cataract³. With ethnological differentiation they

¹ Ap. Strabo, Bk. xvII, ed. Casaubon, p. 786.

² Breasted, A. R. 11, 71, and Seligman, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XLIII, 1913, pp. 616, 618. The latter says, "With regard to the word in the inscription of Thothmes I rendered 'the curly-haired,' i.e. as a synonym of 'Negro' (*nehesi*), written earlier in the inscription...it is necessary to exercise a certain amount of caution, for Miss Murray points out that this word reads *Nebed*, and is determined by a lock of hair, i.e. 'the curly-haired' stands for *the *nebed*-haired.' But '*nebed*,' according to Brugsch, does not mean *curly,' but is the equivalent of the French *tresser*, *natter*, *entrelacer*, and is akin to the Coptic NOTBT-*plectere*, *intexere*." Seligman does not, however, allude to the possibility of any connection between NOTBT and "*Nuba*." The word "*Nuba*" is sometimes derived from "*nubu*," the word used for "gold" in, e.g., the inscription of Amenemhet (Ameni) in the time of the twelfth dynasty (see Breasted, A. R. 1, 520). Gold and slaves have been the chief attraction of the Sudan in all ages. (Cp. Budge, 1, 534, 541.)

³ Elliot Smith says: "We are not justified in calling both the early and the late inhabitants of Nubia 'Nubians'; in fact, it is very doubtful whether we ought to apply the name to the pre-Hellenic population of the Nile valley between Aswan and Meroe" (*Arch. Surv. Nub. Bull.* 11, Cairo, 1908). R. Lepsius speaks of the probably incorrect extension of the name "Nūba" to all lands out of which slaves were brought to the north (*Nubische Grammatik*).

were little concerned, and until late years that subject remained sufficiently obscure.

THE PRESENT INHABITANTS OF NUBIA

HI At the present day the inhabitants of Nūbia, which may be taken as extending along the Nile banks from Aswan as far south approximately as the eighteenth parallel, to the vicinity, that is, of Debba and Korti¹, are commonly known to the north as BARABRA ("Berberines") and to the south as DANAGLA, *i.e.* inhabitants of Dongola².

The term "BARABRA" is used to include the KANUZ between Aswan and Korosko, a people whom we shall see to be an element distinct, the "NŪBA" round Ḥaifa, the SUKK6T, the MAḤASS proper, and frequently the DANAGLA. The DANAGLA extend as far north only as the vicinity of Arkō Island and do not admit that they are BARABRA. Physically and linguistically the SUKK6T and MAḤASS fall into a single group and are distinct from the KANŪZ and DANAGLA. The two latter, however, bear obvious resemblances to one another and their languages are similar. This curious fact is due without doubt to the geographical peculiarities of the Nile valley between Korosko and Dongola, the effect of which is to leave the MAḤASS and SUKK6T more or less isolated³.

IV All these people are Muhammadans and have Arab blood in their veins, but racial characteristics derived from non-Arab ancestors have survived very persistently, and more noticeably so among the MAḤASS and SUKK6T. The KANŪZ and DANAGLA approximate very much more to the Arab type.

At the same time, the importation of slave women from the south, which has proceeded uninterruptedly for centuries, has lent a further measure of spurious homogeneity to all of these Nūbian peoples⁴.

¹ The southern limit of "Rush" under the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty was practically the same, *viz.* Napata (Breasted, A. R. n, 1020).

² "Danāgla," or more correctly "Danāgla" is the plural of "Dongolawi" or "Donkolawi." There is probably a connection between "Danakla" and the "Danakil" of the northern Somali coast (see Johnston, *The Nile Quest*, pp. 34-42).

³ Cp. Beckett, *Cairo Se. Journ.* Aug. 1911; Burckhardt, *Nubia*, pp. 25, 26; and *Anglo-Eg. Sudan*, 1, 83, where the term Bardbra is used to include the Dandgla. Burckhardt (*he. cit.*) says: "The inhabitants of Nouba, and Wady Kenous, as far as Dongola, are known in Egypt under the name of Berdbera (sing. Berbery); but that appellation is seldom made use of by the inhabitants themselves, when speaking of their own nation." As usual, he is accurate. By "Maḥass proper" are meant the Maḥass of Mahass district as distinct from the Mahass settled, *e.g.* on the Blue Nile.

⁴ Cp. Schweinfurth, 11, 194.

V As regards the BARABRA as a whole one thing is quite certain: there are no grounds for closely connecting them as a race with the NOBA of southern Kordofan as Ruppell, Rossi and Keane did¹. They are very similar in type to the Middle Nūbians who lived between 3000 and 4000 years ago in the same locality, but these had no more racial affinity with the southern NUBA than the BARABRA-DANAGLA have, and the latter are almost the complete antithesis of the southern NUBA both physically and culturally².

It may be the case, and probably is, that the southern NUBA are to some extent the modern representatives of the race of negroes who temporarily held Dongola and the cataract country south of Haifa in the days of the Middle Kingdom and early Empire and whose congeners, no doubt at a later date, formed part of the forces of the Ethiopian dynasty that conquered Egypt and ruled it for something less than a century, but these negroes were aliens in the northern Sudan and most of them were forced back to the south, and their place in Lower Nūbia was taken by its original inhabitants and settlers from Egypt.

In the Dodekaschoinos³ it is probable that the negroes had hardly displaced the original inhabitants, but south of Halfa they must have done so temporarily and to some extent modified the racial type in the process. But, even so, allowing for periods of interruption, it is true to say that from the time of the Middle Empire (2000-1600 B.C.) and onwards for centuries, and throughout the Meroitic, Ptolemaic and classical periods, and again in the years preceding the decisive Arab conquest of the Sudan, a strong infiltration of the Egyptian and, later, of the Egypto-Arab type was steadily and almost uninterruptedly proceeding in the northern Sudan and the negro element was correspondingly decreasing in that region.

VI It will be seen too that this prolonged infiltration to the south was more than the return of an ancient population, reinforced by fresh blood, to its quondam home on the river. When once the Arabs had overthrown the Christian kingdom of Dongola and established themselves in its place, they rapidly amalgamated with the local Nūbians and began to send colonies further afield.

Thus it came about that BARABRA, with an Arab leaven, penetrated into Kordofan and settled round about the most northerly of the NOBA mountains and intermarried with the negroes who were

¹ See Seligman, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* 1913, XLIII, 610, and Beckett, *loc. cit.* pp. 200 ff. For Keane, see *Man: Past and Present*, p. 75.

² Seligman, *loc. cit.*

³ See Part I I, Chap. 2, xxxix.

probably descendants of the erstwhile conquerors of Nūbia¹, The immigrating race, in addition, imposed its own language upon the blacks in their vicinity, and thus are explainable the linguistic affinities which have troubled so many generations of investigators. The BARABRA, in short, do not speak a language akin to that of the northern NUBA of southern Kordofan because the negroes conquered Nūbia,—the negroes probably spoke some language or languages of their own that may still survive in the mountain fastnesses of the far south,—but because the BARABRA colonized the country round the foot of the northern hills of Dār Nūba. The conclusion, however, has here anticipated the argument and we must revert.

THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS OF NŪBIA

VII As regards the earliest period it has been proved that those shadowy inhabitants of northern Nūbia, who are known to archaeologists as "Group A," were contemporaries of the pre-dynastic Egyptians, that both buried their dead in the same way and that in cultural matters there were marked similarities. The two peoples must have been practically uniform², and their stock may have extended in a more or less diluted form from Egypt to the Blue Nile and Abyssinia³. They were a "small, dark-haired, black-eyed, glabrous people" bearing a close resemblance to the Libyans of the southern Mediterranean seaboard, and were, in the earliest period of all, devoid of all negro characteristics⁴.

THE FIRST ARRIVAL OF THE NEGROES

VIII Later, about the time of the third dynasty, negro types began to settle in Nūbia as far north as Aswān, and from now onwards "the population that grew up was a mixture of early Nubian and dynastic Egyptian with an ever increasing Negro element⁵."

(a) *The Bahr el Ghazal Type*

These negroes were for the most part "short and relatively broad-headed," of a type akin to that found at the present day in the south

¹ Further evidence on this subject will be found in Part III, Chap. i, where details of the Bedayria and other Danagla tribes are given.

² Elliot Smith, *Ancient Egyptians*, p. 66, and in *Arch. Surv. Nubia*, Report for 1907-8, n, Chap. I I; Reisner, *Sudan Notes and Records*, Jan. 1918, p. 7.

³ Elliot Smith, *Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 78, 79. Of this stock he also says (p. 54):

'There is a considerable mass of evidence to shew that there was a very close resemblance between the proto-Egyptians and the Arabs before either became intermingled with Armenoid racial elements.'

* Elliot Smith, *Cairo Scient.Journ.* March 1909, pp. 56, 57.

⁵ Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 614.

of the Balir el Ghazal province, and entirely distinct from the invaders of the Empire period.

(b) *The Nilotic Type*

The tall Nilotes, SHILLUK, DINKA and NUER of the White Nile valley, who now intervene between the Bahr el Ghazal and Nubia, and are dissimilar to either group and display certain BANTU affinities, could not at the time of the earlier (Bahr el Ghazal) invasion have yet occupied their present position¹. It is likely that they arrived there during the second millennium B.C., or later.

THE "C GROUP" IN LOWER NUBIA

IX By the time of the twelfth dynasty the fusion of races in Lower Nubia had resulted in the production of the singularly homogeneous blend of traits which distinguish the people of the Middle Empire, that is, dynasties twelve to seventeen, or "C Group"; the very type which in a modified form is represented in the same locality by the BARABRA of the present day.

By the same date the population further south must have become almost exclusively negro (*nehes*).

EARLY LIBYAN INFLUENCES IN NUBIA

X Concurrently with the early negro infusion into Nubia further racial modification was probably being caused by the settlement on the Nile of Libyans (*Temehu*) from the western oases and the steppes of northern Kordofan.

In the time of the sixth dynasty, about 2750 B.C., Harkhuf, the Governor of the district round Aswan, went to Yam, *Le.* Lower Nubia on the west side², and, he says, "I found the chief of Yam going to the land of Temeh to smite Temeh as far as the western corner of heaven. I went forth after him to the land of Temeh and I pacified him...³." Harkhuf then went southwards through Upper Nubia, crossed over to the east bank, and returned downstream to Egypt bringing with him incense, ebony, oil, grain, panther-skins, ivory and throwing-sticks⁴. The advocates of the Libyan theory find here evidence that the Libyans (*Temehu*) lived between the first and second cataracts, but as Giuffrida-Ruggeri remarks⁵, "there is still the possibility suggested by Hrdlička⁶ that these Temehu lived...on the oases of Kharga and Dakhla, which are in the Libyan desert...."

¹ Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 624.

³ Breasted, *A. R.* 1, 335.

⁵ *Loc. cit.* p. 54.

² Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 613 note.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 336, and Seligman, *loc. cit.*

⁶ *The Natives of Kharga Oasis, Egypt*, Smithsonian Misc. Collections, LIX, No. 1, p. 5, Washington, 1912.

Budge¹ thinks from the list of products brought back by Harkhuf that he probably penetrated Kordofan and Darfur *via* the oases of Kurkur and Selîma; and Professor Navile² accepts the inscription of Harkhuf as proof that the Libyo-Berbers were occupying Kordofan and Dârfûr and possibly Borķu. The negroes, he thinks, must have ousted them at a later date.

Reisner thinks Harkhuf followed the river and doubts if he penetrated as far as Sennar. The products brought back, he points out, might have been obtained in trade anywhere between Dongola and Sennar, whatever their ultimate origin³. However, as large and wealthy Arab tribes have chosen to live in the Bayûda desert for centuries it is also likely in any case that races of similar habits and inclinations occupied it before them. That the earliest of such to do so were of Libyan origin appears to be sufficiently established, but the extent, if any, to which these races settled on the Nile and mixed with the Nûbian population of the Middle Nûbian period is still undetermined⁴.

XI The Middle Nûbian stock was also mixed, it is probable, with another strain, that of the red-skinned BEGA from the eastern deserts⁵. But in the main, from Assuan for some distance south of Ḥaifa, it was negroid, though certainly not true negro⁶.

NÛBIA IN THE TIME OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY

XII During the time of the great kings of the twelfth dynasty (2000-1788 B.C.) events of great importance occurred in the northern Sudan⁷. At least three serious military campaigns were carried out, by Amenemhat I (1971), by Sesostri I (1962) and by Sesostri III (1879). In connection with these a series of forts and garrisons was established from the Egyptian frontier as far as the lower end of the present Dongola Province, and at several of these, notably at Semna and Kerma (Inebuw-Amenemhat), regular colonies of Egyptians were founded. During this period the district between Aswân and Semna became populous and prosperous.

Every lateral valley had its village or group of huts. Every square meter of alluvial soil appears to have been cultivated. The people were

¹ I, 512.

² Smithsonian Rep. 1907, pp. 549-64.

³ See *Sudan Notes and Records*, Jan. 1918, p. 12.

⁴ Bates (*The Eastern Libyans*) would go so far as to class the Middle Nûbians as a race with the Libyans rather than with the Negroes. Giuffrida-Ruggeri combats this theory in *Man*, April 1915. The question of Berber influences in the western desert at a later date occurs again later in this chapter.

⁵ Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 619. A discussion of the ethnic place of the Bega follows in Chap. 3.

⁶ Reisner, *loc. cit.* pp. 12, 13.

⁷ For the following see Reisner in *Sudan Notes and Records*, April 1918.

Nubians, perhaps descended in part from the harried population of the Old Empire, but increased by immigrants from the more exposed districts south of Semna. Culturally they were still in an uncivilized state, nearly neolithic. *They were sowers and herdsmen, hunters and fishermen. The only crafts were pot-making, cloth and mat-weaving, and basket-making, —all carried out by hand with the simplest of tools.

South of Semna, of course, conditions were far less settled and periodical punitive expeditions were necessary.

The expedition of Sesostri I appears, however, to have resulted in the "thorough subjugation of the country, certainly as far as the upstream end of Dongola Province, and perhaps well into Berber Province." The year 1962 marks the first real conquest of the north-central Sudan. The fort at Kerma was enlarged and the settlement increased, and the result has been shewn by Reisner's recent excavations. These prove that a "special local civilization, a curious modification of the culture of Egypt, deeply affected by local forms, materials and customs," was developed and thrived. About 1879, however, Amenemhat's fort was sacked as the result of a rising or invasion from the south. Sesostri III at once led an army into the Sudan and crushed the rebels and set up the famous stela at Semna, 37 miles south of Haifa, inscribed with the order forbidding the¹ 'negroes' to pass downstream beyond it for ever¹. From his time until the New Empire no mention of Nubia is found in the Egyptian inscriptions, but its occupation certainly continued and one infers that local conditions were more or less settled.

Kerma had been restored and made the administrative centre of a province, but it seems that about 1600 B.C. it was burnt out and never rebuilt.

NUBIA IN THE TIME OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.

ITS EGYPTIANIZATION

XIII The Egyptianization of the northern Sudan was proceeding steadily in the time of Ahmose (Ahmes) I, the founder of the eighteenth dynasty (c. 1580-1350 B.C.²) and under his successors. Ahmose I placed Lower Nubia ("Wawat") under an Egyptian Governor, and his successor, Amenhotep (Amenophis) I, appointed in 1548 the first of a long line of Egyptian viceroys, who ruled Ethiopia during the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties.

In the following reign, that of Thothmes I, occurred the serious revolt and its suppression to which reference has already been made.

¹ See Breasted, A. R. 1, 652.

² For the following, to the close of the quotation ending "...kings of Ethiopia," see Reisner in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Oct. 1918.

By the time of Thothmes III the northern Sudan was administered by two sub-governors, one for Kush (the south) and one for Wawat (the north). Mines were worked by the Government, taxes were collected, and considerable trade was developed with the out-districts. In fact, from 1548 B.C. to about 1090, for some 558 years that is,

Ethiopia was governed by Egyptian officials and paid tribute to Egypt.... The Egyptians followed up their military and political occupation by filling the land with Egyptians,—soldiers, officials, priests, merchants, and craftsmen. Southwards of Phile, temples were made, decorated, and maintained at Kalabsha, Gerf Husein, Kubban, Es-Sebua, Amada, Derr, Ibrim, Abu Simbel, Haifa (Buhen), Semneh, Soleb, Delgo (Sesi), Kawa, Gebel Barkal, and other places. Each of these was a centre of propaganda, a community of scribes learned in Egyptian medicine, law, and religion, and of artisans trained in every ancient craft....The better agricultural areas at least as far south as Semneh were assigned to the support of the temples and turned over to immigrants from Egypt and their descendants for cultivation.... The viceroy himself with his personal staff probably shifted his quarters from el-Kab or Elephantine to Semneh or Napata as the season or the necessities of the administration made it seem advisable....Most of the Egyptians were permanently domiciled in the country and had brought their families with them. The decimated tribes grew into a completely submissive population, were racially affected by intermarriage with the ruling class, and became more or less Egyptianized. The country, as a whole, was thoroughly Egyptianized, especially in religion. The names of the local gods were remembered, and all the gods of the Egyptian pantheon were called upon in their special functions, but the great god was Amon-Ra, the god of the Theban family who had conquered so much of the world....He dwelt in the midst of the "Holy Mount** which we now call Gebel Barkal, and in the days to come his oracles were to decide the fates of even the kings of Ethiopia.

Now there are no pictorial representations of Nūbians dating from any dynasty earlier than the eighteenth, but it has been suggested as curious¹ that from then until the time of the twentieth dynasty—at a time, that is, when we know the Middle Nūbian population to have been physically similar to that of the present day—the Nūbians who were conquered by the great kings of the New Empire, and who were probably the same people as those whose boundaries Senusert (Sesostris) III some three centuries before had fixed at Semna, are habitually represented as "full-blooded Negroes with coarse negro features." This, however, would appear to be perfectly natural. The negroes living south of the second cataract and in the country beyond used to raid periodically to the north of

¹ Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 617.

it. Senusert HI repelled them¹ and fixed their boundary above Ḥaifa. Later, the negroes—no doubt the same ones—gave further trouble, and Thothmes I defeated them even more completely and forced them back to the third cataract. It seems probable that it is these negro invaders who are depicted from the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasty, and not the more permanent and rightful inhabitants of Lower Nūbia.

DISCUSSION OF THE NEGRO TYPE FOUND IN NUBIA UNDER THE
TWELFTH AND EIGHTEENTH DYNASTIES. THE KORDOFAN TYPE?

XIV There is some reason to think that these negroes whom Senusert III defeated and forbade to pass north of Ḥaifa, the "plaited-haired ones" with whom Thothmes I later warred farther to the south, the men depicted as tall, coarse, full-blooded negroes, were probably akin to the tall mesaticephalous type that now survives in southern Kordofan and whose remains, dating from the time of the twenty-fifth dynasty (Taharka, Tanutamun, etc.) and earlier, have lately been found at Gebel Moya and other hills in the Gezira². They no doubt followed the Nile in their northward movement, impelled perhaps by the Nilotic stock behind them, but it is as well to bear in mind the possibility that some of them also came overland through Kordofan by way of the Wadi el Mukaddam³.

XV It is to this type, the "*nebed*" that the name NUBA is, I suggest, most properly applied, and it is a noticeable fact that the Arab of the present day hardly ever speaks of the Nilotic negro of the south by that name: he instinctively reserves it, on the other hand, (a) for the big black of southern Kordofan, (b) the hybrid race living

¹ See above, and Breasted, A. R. I, 640.

² Dr Derry, who examined the burial sites at G. Moya, and Prof. Seligman who has closely studied the Nuba of southern Kordofan, agree as to the close resemblance between the early Ptolemaic negro of the Gezira and the present type in southern Kordofan (see Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 625).

"The cemeteries of this site [G. Moya] have yielded the remains of a tall coarsely built Negro or Negroid race with extraordinarily massive skulls and jaws. In a general way they appear to resemble the coarser type of Nuba living in south Kordofan at the present day, and it is significant that the cranial indices of the men of Jebel Moya and the Nuba hills agree closely." (Seligman, Address to the Anthropol. Section of the Brit. Assoc. for the Advancement of Science, *Report*, 1915, p. 9.)

Of the physical characteristics of the Nuba of southern Kordofan Prof. Seligman says: "They are a tall, stoutly-built, muscular people, with a dark, almost black skin. They are predominantly mesaticephalic...nearly 60 per cent, of the individuals measured are mesaticephals, the remainder being dolicocephalic and brachicephalic in about equal proportions." ("The Physical Characters of the Nuba of Kordofan," *R. A. I.* XL, 1910.)

For Reisner's remarks on the excavations at Gebel Moya see *Sudan Notes and Records*, Jan. 1919, p. 65.

³ See later in this chapter.

at el Haraza, Kaga, and other hills in the north of Kordofdn, and (c) to denote the aborigines extirpated by the FUNG at the beginning of the sixteenth century in the Gezīra and the neighbourhood of the Shablŭka cataract.

In the form "Nūbia," however, the name came to be applied not to the country whence these negroes came but to the scene of their greatest triumphs, the valley of the Nile between the first cataract and Napata. Nay more, by the irony of fate, although the northern portion of this same country throughout the early and the later dynastic, the Ptolemaic, and Roman periods, and again in the time of the Mamlŭks, was considered almost an annex of Egypt and was largely populated by Egyptian colonies, the use of the name "Nūbia" was tending more and more to be restricted to it rather than to the southern portion, and we shall see that by the time of Ibn Selim in the latter part of the tenth century it was not uncommon to regard it as applying *par excellence* to that most northernly district of the Sudan commonly called Maris, which ended some way north of the second cataract¹.

THE LIBYO-EGYPTIAN PERIOD IN NUBIA AND THE NUBIAN CONQUEST OF EGYPT

XVI About 945 B.C. the Libyans, who in the course of centuries had obtained a strong footing in Lower Egypt and the Delta and became partly Egyptianized, seized the throne of the Pharaohs and founded the twenty-second dynasty². How this affected the Sudan immediately we do not know, but in the records of 750 B.C. the northern Sudan appears "no longer as a province of Egypt but as the seat of an independent monarchy of which the Thebaid was the northern province," and Reisner thinks it likely that, as the Libyan kings subsequently weakened and power became decentralized, Kashta, the Libyan (?) representative commanding in the northern Sudan and a member of the royal family, assumed independence. He even, it appears, invaded Egypt and established his supremacy as far north as Thebes. His capital was at Napata (Gebel Barkal), and we may assume that though he and his staff may have been Egypto-Libyans, the mass of his subjects were Nūbians of the present darker type in the north and negroes or semi-negroes in the south.

¹ Cp. Budge, 1, 651, and 11, 105; also Letronne, *loc. cit.* Evidence of the consistency with which this tract south of Aswan was considered an annex of Egypt will be adduced later (see Part II, Chap. 2).

² For the following see Reisner in *Sudan Notes and Records*, for Jan. and Oct. 1919.

XVII Kashta was succeeded by his son Piankhi (744-710 B.C.¹). This king took further advantage of the decadence that had overtaken Egypt and completed the work begun by his father in over-running the whole country and making it tributary to him.

XVIII Piankhi was succeeded about 710 B.C. by his brother Shabaka. This monarch, not content with merely receiving tribute, firmly established his authority over the whole of Egypt.

He was followed by Shabataka², and the latter, about 688 B.C., by Taharka (a son of Piankhi), who in the reign of Shabaka had commanded the Ethiopian army that was sent to Palestine to assist Hezekiah against the Assyrians of Sennacherib, who were now approaching the eastern borders of Egypt.

THE ASSYRIAN DANGER

XIX Taharka's main preoccupation throughout his reign was to stem the tide of this Assyrian invasion. But he was unsuccessful, and in 670 B.C. Esarhaddon forced his way to the Egyptian frontier and heavily defeated him. Taharka retired southwards leaving the Delta and Memphis in the hands of the Assyrians³.

Esarhaddon, however, did not press his success, and as he withdrew northwards Taharka reoccupied Memphis and renewed his intrigues with the Palestinian kings.

XX On the death of Esarhaddon in 668, his son Ashurbanipal continued the fresh campaign that had been started against Taharka and achieved a decisive victory in the eastern Delta. Taharka again retired southwards. The Assyrians followed and occupied Thebes, reinstated the Libyo-Egyptian dynasts as Governors in Egypt and left garrisons. Ashurbanipal himself then returned with his spoil to Nineveh.

Shortly afterwards Taharka died⁴.

XXI Tanutamun, a son of Shabaka (who had married Taharka's

¹ The dates given for the twenty-fifth dynasty are as amended by Reisner in Oct. 1919.

² Manetho makes him son of Shabaka, but Breasted (*Hist.* p. 377) thinks this a little doubtful. Piankhi, Shabaka and Shabataka, it may be noted, were all buried at Gebel Kurru near Barkal (Reisner, *Sudan Notes and Records*, Oct. 1919).

³ Breasted (*loc. cit.* p. 378) says of Taharka: "His features as preserved in contemporary sculptures shew unmistakeably negroid characteristics." Reisner, on the contrary (*Sudan Notes and Recordsman*. 1919, p. 50), says that though the Assyrian king chose to represent Taharka as a negro, he "was not a negro, for the statues of both himself and his descendants shew features which might be Egyptian or Libyan but certainly not negro."

* He was the founder of the great royal cemeteries of Ethiopia at Nūri, near Merowe.

sister¹), the last king of the twenty-fifth dynasty, came to the throne in 663 B.C., and, though in name he ruled over both Egypt and the Sudan², in fact the only result of his attempts to recover Lower Egypt was that he was driven back and Thebes was sacked by the Assyrians.

By 654 B.C. Tanutamón was dead and buried with his great forefathers Piankhi, Shabaka and Shabataka near Gebel Barkal, and the power of the Sudan over Egypt had come utterly to an end.

THE MEROITIC PERIOD AND AFTER

XXII On the final separation of Ethiopia from Egypt Psammetichus (Psamtik) I, who had been installed by the Assyrians as King of Sais and Memphis and become founder of the twenty-sixth Egyptian dynasty, did not concern himself greatly with the Sudan. The rulers of that country, too, turned their attention southwards and the province of Meroe was consolidated and developed near the junction of the Atbara and the Nile³. It was

made an integral part of Ethiopia as Ethiopia had been of Egypt. Meroe was Ethiopianized, that is, brought under the influence of the Egyptian culture which had been inherited from the days of the viceroys. But this Egypto-Ethiopian culture...was certainly greatly diluted by its extension to Meroe. Meroe was Ethiopianized, not Egyptianized.

About 440 B.C., as Reisner believes, and certainly before 350 B.C.:

Meroe had in its turn absorbed Ethiopia itself, just as Ethiopia, three centuries before, had absorbed its mother country Egypt. The degeneration of the culture became more rapid...even the race was changing. The Egyptian element was being overborne by others, Libyan, Nubian, negro, or whatever it may have been. The fine traits of the educated and skilled Egyptian were visibly fading into the coarse features of a negroid race which may have been slow at forgetting but was incapable of giving a creative impulse to art, learning, or religion.

XXIII We now have, as a result of Reisner's work at Nūri and the vicinity, an almost complete list of the kings that followed Tanutamón, but there is no point in recording them here. More important is the fact that certainly by the time of Nastasen (Nastasen), who reigned from 298-278 B.C., and probably by about 440 B.C., the political capital was at Meroe while the religious capital remained at Napata.

The temples of Napata with their endowed bodies of priests and craftsmen educated in the learning of Egypt remained the cultural centre of the

¹ Breasted, A. R. iv, 920, note.

²

Ibid, iv, 920.

³ The date of the actual foundation of the city of Meroe is not known. For further details as to Meroe and for the settlement of the Automoloi in the south see the following chapter.

kingdom, while Meroe became the centre of material wealth and political power....It was not until a generation or so after the death of Nastasen that the rulers of Meroe introduced a revival of learning and art under the influence of Ptolemaic Egypt and made their capital for the first time the cultural centre of Ethiopia.

XXIV Some further remarks on Meroe and its people will be attempted in the next chapter, but, before leaving the subject of the inhabitants of Nūbia proper, we must first turn to the classical geographers of the Ptolemaic period, since they provide certain items of information that are of value.

XXV We have seen that it was Eratosthenes who first used the term *Noû fiat*, in the third century B.C. As quoted by Strabo he says:

On the left side of the course of the Nile live the Noubai, in Libya, a great race, beginning from Meroe and extending as far as the bends [of the river]. They are not subject to the Ethiopians but live independently, being divided into several sovereignties¹.

Agathemerus (third century A.D.) in a bald list of African races includes (sic) on either side of the Nile².

Pliny says: "The island of the Semberritae on the Nile obeys a queen. Eight days journey further [north] are the Ethiopian Nubei. Their city of Tenupsis is on the Nile³."

Ptolemaeus simply mentions a number of Ethiopian tribes with outlandish names, but contributes nothing definite to our knowledge of them beyond that they lived on the Nile, in the Island of Meroe and beyond, and in the western steppes⁴.

Procopius⁵ says of Elephantine (Aswán) in the latter half of the sixth century, "There live, besides many other races, the very large tribes of Blemyes and Nobatae. The former occupy the interior of the country and the latter reside in the Nile valley"; and relates that

¹ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν δὲ τῆς ῥύσεως τοῦ Νείλου Νοῦβαι κατοικοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, μέγα ἔθνος, ἀπὸ τῆς Μερῆς ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι τῶν ἀγκύωνων, οὐχ ὑποταττόμενοι τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ καὶ (?) πλείους βασιλείαις διειλημμένοι. Strabo, ed. Casaubon, xvii, 786.

² Bk. n, Ch. 5, p. 41 ap. Geogr. Minores. Agathemerus wrote in Greek an abridgement of Ptolemy's Geography entitled *Geographias Hypotyposis*.

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* Bk. vi, § 35. "Insula in Nilo Semberritarum reginae paret. Ab ea Nubei Aethiopes dierum octo itinere. Oppidum eorum Nilo impositum, Tenupsis." For the island of the Semberritae (Sembritae), which is perhaps the district between Kassala and Kallabat, see following chapter.

Pliny also calls some tribe in Syria by the same name of Nubei. "Nee non in media Syriae ad Libanum montem penetrantibus Nubeis, quibus junguntur Ramisi. Deinde Taranei, deinde Patami." (Bk. vi, § 32.)

⁴ Ed. Müller, Bk. iv, 748-783.

⁵ *De Bello Persico*, Bk. I, 59. The text is as follows: ἐνταῦθα ἔθνη τε ἄλλα πολλὰ ἰδρυται καὶ βλήμενός τε καὶ Νοβάται, πολυανθρωπώτατα γένη ἄλλα βλήμενός μὲν ταύτης δὴ τῆς χώρας ἐς τὰ μέσα ὤκηται, Νοβάται δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ Νεῖλον ποταμὸν ἔχουσι. Procopius was born about 500 and died about 565 A.D.

Diocletian (284-305 A.D.) as well as paying to both tribes a sort of Dane-geld, gave the NOBATAE a tract on the Nile banks and entrusted to them the care of the Dodekaschoinos, the district south of Aswan¹.

XXVI In *The Egyptian Sudan* Budge speaks² of these NOBATAE or NŪBA as "a powerful tribe of nomads who lived in the Western Desert" and adds "The Nobatae appear to have come originally from Dâr Fâr and Kordôfân and in Diocletian's time their settlements extended to the oasis of Kharga." Again he says⁸ "The people who lived in the deserts on the west of the Nile...were known to classical writers as 'Nubae/ or Nubians, and 'Nobadae* or ⁴Nobatae.' In Roman times the Nubians consisted of a league of the great tribes of the Western Desert⁴."

The statement that the settlements of the NŪBA extended to the oases of Kharga rests on the remark of Procopius⁵ to the effect that the NOBATAE who were settled by Diocletian between Egypt and the BLEMYES had originally lived "about the city oasis" (i.e. Kharga). It has been objected⁶ that the inhabitants of the oases were undoubtedly of a Libyan stock, and that the NOBATAE were essentially a Nilotic race and could not have been so far north, and that therefore Procopius was at fault. But this is a very risky line of argument: there is no proof that the NOBATAE were essentially Nilotic, and there is a quite definite probability that the Libyan races, the ancient TEMEHU, and the NOBATAE, whether on the river or west of it, had commingled. Throughout history the nomads of the west, Libyans or Berbers, have maintained an intimate connection with the dwellers in the Nile valley; and there may have been both Libyans and NOBATAE at Kharga, or a mixture of the two.

XXVII As regards the religion of these Nūbians the evidence is very slight. In 452 A.D., Priscus tells us⁷, a peace was made between Maximin, the Roman general, and the BLEMYES and Nūbians, and one clause of it stipulated that the Romans should allow the others, according to their ancient custom, to make a journey to Philae and visit the temple of Isis and take thence the statue of the goddess and bring it back after a certain time.

But Christianity had by now begun to find converts in Nūbia.

¹ See Evetts, p. 260.

² 11, 176.

³ II, 417.

⁴ In these quotations Budge seems to press somewhat ahead of the evidence. To what extent I agree with him will appear later.

⁵ Loc. cit.

^a Hall, Review in *Man* of May 1912.

⁷ Fragm. 21 (ed. Mtiller) *ap. Letronne, Matriaux...*, n, 205 ff. Priscus is a good authority as he was in Egypt at the time and a friend of the general.

The statement of Eusebius¹ that so early as the reign of Constantine (313~337) Christianity had penetrated to the Ethiopians and BLEMYES refers to the Abyssinians and Troglodytes converted by Frumentius in the east², but it is none the less probable that there were Christians in Nūbia at the same period, and the record of Cosmus Indicopleustes prove that there were some there in the fifth century³.

XXVIII In the sixth century conversion took place on a larger scale. A certain priest named Julianus "...was greatly concerned for the black people of the Nobades, who lived on the southern border of the Thebaid, and as they were heathen he wished to convert them...." He accordingly persuaded Theodora, the Empress of Justinian, to send him on a mission to Nūbia. There he "taught and baptized the king and the nobles, and...thus were all the people of Kushites converted to the orthodox faith⁴, and they became subjects of the throne of Alexandria⁵."

By the latter half of the century⁶ northern Nūbia had been formed into a Christian kingdom under Silko, the king whose Greek inscription was found in the temple of Talmis (Kalabsha). It is not unlikely that he was the actual convert of Julianus, and he was almost certainly the founder of Dongola, which was to remain the capital of Nūbia for the seven centuries during which that country barred the progress of the Arabs and their religion from the upper valley of the Nile.

XXIX But when all is said we know very little of the state of affairs in Nūbia in Silko's time or of the people over whom he ruled, their racial characteristics, their customs, or their polity.

They were it seems almost continuously at war with the still pagan BLEMYES⁷ who occupied the lower valley of the Nile from Primis (Ibrim) to the frontiers of Egypt; and Silko also speaks of his raids against "the others, above [*i.e. south of*] the Nobadae⁸."

¹ *Vit. Constantini*, 1, 8, *ap. Letronne, loc. cit.*

² See I, 1, xx above.

³ See Butler, note to Abu salih, pp. 265, 266.

⁴ *I.e.* the monophysite beliefs. The narrator was a Jacobite or monophysite Christian.

⁵ Translated by Budge (11, 295) from the Syriac of Barhebraeus's *Ecclesiastical History*. Barhebraeus, or Abu el Fardg, drew upon the earlier work of John of Ephesus. Letronne quotes Pococke's Latin translation. Budge places Julianus's date between 540 and 548. Barhebraeus elsewhere, speaking inaccurately and in contradiction to the passage quoted, says that in the reign of Constantine were converted "all the negroes, such as Ethiopians, Nubians and others" (see Letronne, *loc. cit.*).

⁶ So Letronne dates the inscription of Silko.

⁷ The inscription of Silko says: *ἐποίησα εἰρήνην μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὤμοσαν μοι τὰ ε*, "I made peace with them and they swore to me by their idols.*" They were converted shortly afterwards.

⁸ The Greek is *οἱ ἄλλοι Νομβάδων ἀνωτέρω*. Budge (11, 292-3) wrongly translates "the other Nobades": Letronne is correct. These others, "the other kings"

He calls himself βασιλίσκος Νουβάδων καὶ ὅλων τῶν Αἰθιόπων, which may be translated "*Mek* of the NUBA and all the Ethiopians." But even if one allow some truth to his pretensions to overlordship it is clear that with the lapse of time a process of disintegration set in, and the petty kings, the βασιλίσκοι, who are mentioned in the inscriptions of Axum and Talmis, were evidently prototypes of the *meks* who ruled Nūbia so late as the nineteenth century and who still survive in name among the GAMU'IA and some other debased Arab tribes in the Nile valley to the present day¹.

XXX Now the manuscript numbered "D 4," written by a Berberi of Ḥaifa, speaks of the ancient capital of the NUBA or Nūbians—he uses the words interchangeably—as Gebel el Ḥardza in northern Kordofdn, and it is clear from the context that he refers to the time of the twenty-fifth dynasty, i.e. "The Nūbian Period." I am inclined to think this is not so far from the truth as might at first sight be supposed. The people of the hills of el Ḥarāza, Abu Ḥadīd and Um Durrag, which lie some 150 miles west of the junction of the Niles, are still called NUBA in spite of the racial modifications they have undergone by admixture with DANAGLA from the Nile; and both the hills mentioned and also the now uninhabited hills in their neighbourhood show plentifully such traces of ancient occupation as stone villages on the slopes and old tumuli, presumably graves, by the sides of the little water-courses cut by the rains in the wet season, and on the crests of the hills. Similar tumuli are to be found at intervals all along the banks of the great Wādī el Muḡaddam which, starting from near Bagbagi, about seventy miles east of el Ḥarīza, runs across the Bayūda desert to Korti at the southern end of the great bend of the Nile².

XXXI From el Haraza to Korti is only two hundred odd miles and the journey is easy. One can follow the course of the Wādī el Muḡaddam for most of the way and find plentiful water at a shallow

as they are elsewhere called in the inscription, were no doubt the "several sovereignties" spoken of by Eratosthenes 700 years earlier, but Silko does not specifically call them Nobadae.

¹ Sir C. Wilson (p. 12) aptly compares these "Meks" with the kings of Palestine overthrown by Joshua.

² I have opened some of these tumuli, but neither in them nor under them have I found anything: they certainly were not houses and the only feasible suggestion that I can make is that they were cairns made to protect the bodies of the dead from wild beasts and that the action of wind and rain percolating among the boulders of which they are composed and the ravages of insects have destroyed all trace of flesh and bones alike. It is probably to the custom of erecting such cairns that Agatharcides (*q.v. ap. Strabo*, in, 34) refers when he says that among the Megabarai the dead are tied neck and heels and carried to the top of a hill where they are pelted with stones until they are covered over (see, however, Bent, p. 78). The cairns are roughly circular in shape and the stones are entirely unshaped.

depth all along it, or if one prefer there is a more direct route, that followed by the Turks in 1821 and by most of the Arab caravans, *via* the deeper desert wells of el Sīfia, Hōbagi, and Elai. Further west and very roughly parallel to the W&di el Muḳaddam is the similar Wadi el Melik running from the Darfur border into the Nile at Debba, only forty-five miles west of Korti.

At el 'Ayn on this Wadi and at Abu Sufidn to the west of it are similar traces of human occupation well known to the nomads¹, and at the southern end of it near the *Darfur* border they are very common indeed.

XXXII In these parts the underground water supply has decreased to a very striking extent of late years, and that in ancient days the rainfall was considerably more heavy is proved, I think, by the presence of gigantic baobabs (*tubeldi*: *Adansonia digitata*) that are centuries old and could hardly have passed through the early stages of growth had the country been as dry as it now is. Some hundreds of years ago the country on both sides of the two great W&dis mentioned may have been habitable all the year through².

XXXIII Now it is certain that in past centuries DANAGLA from the Nile have settled at el Ḥarāza, and fresh colonies have joined the older ones within recent years³. It is also believed by the people of Gebel Midob in Darfur, about 140 miles west of the Wadi el Melik, that their ancestors were MAḤASS and DANAGLA from the Nile⁴, and, as Professor Seligman has pointed out⁵, there are very close linguistic resemblances between a list of their numerals which I collected in 1912⁶ and those of the BARABRA on the river.

Emigrant BARABRA may have reached Gebel Midob by way of el Ḥariza and Kdga, or more probably by way of the Wādi el Melik⁷. But if BARABRA from Korti and Debba, which are between the third and fourth cataracts and only a few miles from the pyramids of Barkal, could settle at el Ḥarāza, as we know they did, and at Midób, as we may be fairly sure they did⁸, there is no reason to deny the probability of corresponding movements along the same lines in the

¹ I have not visited personally these two sites.

² During six years that I passed in northern Kordofan I never saw a young baobab growing self-sown. The Arabs also declare there is no such thing and say the "tubeldis" date from the time of Noah.

³ For details see MacMichael, *Tribes*,., Chap. vi.

⁴ *Ibid.* Chap. vii. Matrilinear descent with inheritance by the sister's son still holds good at Midob as it did in Christian Dongola. See p. 59,

⁵ *Loc. cit.* Cf. the vocabularies of Kenuz and Nubians given by Burckhardt.

⁶ Published in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, XLII, 1912, p. 339.

⁷ Marauders from Midob and thereabouts follow this line in the rainy season and early winter when raiding the Arabs.

• Sec Part I, Chap. 4.

opposite direction at other times, and I am strongly inclined to think that the NOBATAE were once lords of the Bayūda and the country south of it and that their negro ancestors may have previously ousted the Libyan races therefrom, or, more probably, become fused with them in race.

XXXIV The *nehes* of Senusert III and Thothmes I, and, to a modified extent, most of the western and southern subjects of the Nūbian dynasty which ruled Egypt, may have been of the same stock as these negro ancestors of the NOBATAE and their partly Libyanized descendants respectively; and if the racial substratum was the same, it is natural to suppose that the extent and direction of migration to and from the river were at different periods regulated by the weakness or strength, as the case might be, of other and hostile races living on the Nile.

For instance, when the tide of negro invasion was rolled back from northern Nūbia in the time of the New Empire, most would retire southwards along the river, but the presence of alien Nilotic negroes in their path, or other causes, may have led a proportion to move westwards, where their kin may or may not have been already established. If the same stock, as modified by Libyan admixture, was strong enough at a later date to support the Nūbian Empire of Napata it was by then probably predominant also in northern Kordofan, and a steady intercourse would naturally exist between the riverain and western groups, until the third century B.C. when Eratosthenes spoke of them collectively as

In any case there is evidence of a close connection between the negro invaders of the second millennium B.C., the rank and file of the Nūbians who conquered Egypt under the twenty-fifth dynasty, the inhabitants of the Gezira at the same period, the present inhabitants of the NUBA mountains of southern Kordofan, the NOBATAE of Lower Nubia, and the so-called NUBA of northern Kordofan.

XXXV The weakest link in the chain is perhaps that connecting northern and southern Kordofan, but even here, at the present day, though the general physique is obviously quite different, there is a common fund of superstitions connected with rainmakers and serpents, and recognizable cranial resemblances¹.

¹ Particularly the flattening of the fronto-parietal region. This was pointed out to me in 1912 at Kaga by Professor Seligman (*q.v.* in *Harvard African Studies*, 11; *Varia Africana*, 11, 181). It may be worth mentioning in this connection that some years ago I was told at Kiga that the ancient ("Anag") population used to bury their dead upright. Lepsius was told the same of *Southern Kordofan* (*Discoveries...*, pp. 221-2). Kordofan takes its name from the hill of that name close to el Obeid. As used by the natives the name does not properly apply to the nomad country to the north nor to the Kaga-Haniza group of hills adjoining it nor to the Nuba mountains in the south. See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, App. I.

XXXVI Other minor points that possibly serve to connect the old inhabitants of central and northern Kordofan with the people who lived at the time of the twenty-fifth dynasty in the Gezira, and even east of it, are, firstly, the occurrence of tumuli, exactly similar to those described above, both on the Kerreri hills close to Omdurman and on the small rocky eminences, such as Gebel el Q̣ehayd, round Wad Ḥasūna and Abu Delayk¹, and, secondly, the similarity between the contents of some middens² found at Faragab in Central Kordofan near Bdra and objects found at Gebel Moya (e.g. ostrich-egg beads³) and at Meroe⁴, and, thirdly, the finding of flat stone rings which may conceivably have been ceremonial mace-heads, or in some cases weapons of offence, but which, I think, are more likely to have been weights⁵, or stands for round-bottomed jars, both in the

¹ Both several days' journey east of Khartoum.

² See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, Appendix and Plate XIX, and Seligman in *Annals of Arch. and Anthr.* July 1916.

³ These ostrich-egg beads also provide a link with the Northern Nuba hills. Pallme (p. 156) speaks of the people of the latter (Daier, Tefcali, etc.) as wearing round their loins "a number of small buttons of about the size of a shirt-button, made of the shell of the ostrich's egg, with a perforation in the centre, through which a string is passed, connecting them together. I took the trouble," he says, "of counting the single buttons of one of these ribbons in my possession, and found a total number of 6860."

At the same time the use of ostrich-egg beads is not confined to the Nūba stock. The Shilluk men commonly wear girdles made of them. They break the shell into irregular bits, pierce the fragment in the centre, and then round off the edges by crushing (Westermann, p. xxxi).

⁴ See Seligman, *loc. cit.*, discussing these resemblances, especially that between the types of pottery at Meroe and Faragdb. He thinks that "At a somewhat remote period—perhaps at least as far back as the Ptolemaic—the Faragdb site was occupied by a people rich in cattle, living in huts of grass or straw, and using bone points for their weapons; a people rich in ivory, which they worked with implements of stone."

⁵ MacMichael, *loc. cit.* Plate II. Some of these—they are in the museum at Khartoum—are porphyrite, felsite, gneiss, or granite, i.e. as at Basa, but most are of soft sandstone and too light and friable for use as weapons. The Nūbas of southern Kordofan use spherical stone-headed clubs (Seligman, "A Neolithic Site..." *Journ. R. A. I.* XL, 1910). The stone rings from Ifayli, of which I have collected numbers and which, though rougher in workmanship, are exactly the same as some of those from northern Kordofan, are dated by Crowfoot from about A.D. 150 to A.D. 350 (Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 214).

In ancient as in modern Egypt there were public weighers, and money was in the form of rings of gold and silver, and was also tested by its weight. Wilkinson, speaking of these rings, says: "And it is remarkable that the same currency is today employed in Sennar and the neighbouring countries." Furthermore, he notes, "The Jews also weighed their money. Their weights were of stone; and the word weight in Hebrew...also means a stone" (*Manners and Customs...*, II, 10, 11). The illustrations from Thebes depicted by Wilkinson show that these weights were very like the stone rings of Meroe, and the latter may possibly have been made in imitation of the Egyptian system. Cp. also Breasted, *Hist.* p. 92, for the metal rings. He adds that "stone weights were...marked with their equivalence in such rings. This ring money is the oldest currency known." The most ancient coinage of Darfur also took the form of rings. "Le premier genre de numeraire qui fut etabli au Darfour,

northern hills of Kordofan, at Gebel Moya, Gebel Kayli (on the Khartoum-Kassala road), in front of the altar at Basa¹, and in fact all over the Island of Meroe.

XXXVII One may say then that when the Muhammadan Arabs invaded Lower Nūbia in the seventh century A.D. they found there a race radically compounded of pre-dynastic Egyptian and cognate Hamitic elements blended with dynastic Egyptian and Libyan stocks and deeply and repeatedly modified by forty centuries of dilution with Negro blood². One of the two main Negro strains was probably derived from Kordofan and the Gezira and in classical times had been represented in modified form by the NOBATAE or NUBA.

XXXVIII As further evidence of a fusion of Nūba and Libyan elements in the Bayūda and west of it another fact may be cited.

So late as the seventeenth century A.D.³ the Bayūda was still known, as it had been a century earlier to Leo Africanus, as the Desert of Goran, or Gorham, or Gorhan, a name connected with "KORA'AN" and, as I believe, with "Garama" and "Garamantes⁴."

XXXIX These KURA'AN ("GURAAN"), whom el Hamdāni⁵, by the way, includes with the NŪBA, ZING and ZAGHAWA as descendants of Canaan, son of Ham, are a mixture of TIBBU and negro and at the present day they form a large nomadic section of that race in the deserts north of Darfur and Wadai⁶, and are commonly spoken of as "TIBBU KURA'AN." Their language is a dialect of TIBBU.

Of the TIBBU Keane says:

The Tibu themselves, apparently direct descendants of the ancient Garamantes, have their primeval home in the Tibesti range, i.e. the "Rocky Mountains," whence they take their name (Ti-bu = "Rock People"). There are two distinct sections, the northern Tedas, a name recalling the Tedomansii, a branch of Garamantes located by Ptolemy somewhere

le fut par les habitants du Fâcher....lis prirent pour monnaie des anneaux detain..." (Tanisi, *Voy. au Darfour*, p. 315). On the whole, however, I lean to the theory that these rings of stone were simply stands on which to balance jars (Crowfoot in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Apr. 1920, p. 91).

¹ Crowfoot, "Island of Meroe" (Mem. XIX, *Arch. Surv. Nub.* pp. 16, 17, and Plate XI).

² Cp. Elliot Smith, *Arch. Surv. Nubia*, Bull. in, 1909, pp. 22 ff.

³ See R. Blome's *Geographical Description...* (1670) quoted in the Hakluyt ed. of Leo Africanus, 1, 28.

⁴ I have discussed this subject more fully in an Appendix to *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan*.

⁵ See Makrizi, *Khetat*, 11, 571.

⁶ The name Kura'an also occurs in Arabia as that of a section of IJuwaytft near Qiba on the Red Sea coast. Burton (*Land of Midian*, n, 97) mentions these people: he says that the port of Dumaygha belongs to the Beli ("Baliyy") who are "mixed with a few Kura'dn-Huwaytat and Karaizah-Hutaym." Burckhardt (*Nubia*, p. 510), commenting on the passage from el Hamdāni, says: "The Negroe Moslems to this day apply the name of Koran indiscriminately to all the pagan Negro nations."

between Tripolitana and Phazania (Fezzan); and the Southern Dazas, through whom the Tibu merge gradually in the negroid populations of [the] central Sudan. This intermingling with the blacks dates from remote times, whence Ptolemy's remark that the Garamantes seemed rather more "Ethiopians" than Libyans....The full-blood Tibus...are true Hamites¹.

XL The accounts given by Herodotus, Ptolemy and Pomponius Mela² give an impression of the Garamantes as a nomad race extending from north of Fezzan as far south as Nubia.

Herodotus says: "The Garamantians have four-horse chariots in which they chase the Troglodyte Ethiopians³," and Ptolemy "Some very great races inhabit Labya, namely that of the Garamantes which extends from the sources of the river Bagrada as far as the lake of Nūba,"...&c.⁴

XLI Again, more than a millennium later, we have Leo (fl. 1513-15) saying⁵:

Nubia...is enclosed on the south side with the desert of Goran. The king of Nubia maintaineth continuall warre partly against the people of Goran (who being descended of the people called Zingani⁶ inhabite the deserts and speaks a kinde of language that no other nation vnderstandeth) and partly against certain other people... {i.e. the "Bugiha" or Bega⁷}.

XLII On the strength of these quotations alone, one would, I think, be justified in assuming that, just as for many years before the Christian era there had been contact and fusion between the dark Nūbians and the Libyan races descended from the TEMEHU in the country between Dongola and Dárfūr, so, too, in the Christian period there was similar contact between the NŪBA (NOBATAE) and the TIBBU in that region.

¹ *Man: Past and Present*, p. 474. The latest anthropological researches in no way clash with Keane's view. M M, Gaillard and Poutrin, authors of *Etude anthropologique des populations des régions du Tchad et du Kanem*, agree that they are largely Berbers, and measurements shewed that they "belong to a physical type closely resembling the Nigritians of the Sahara" (Review in *Man*, March 1915). Carotte (*loc. cit.* p. 312) also says that the Tibbu and Tuwdrek are by origin Lamta Berbers. Nachtigal regarded them as a "population intermediate between the indigenous peoples of North Africa and the Negroes of the Sudan" (Vol. 11 of *Sah. und Sudah*, quoted by Carbou, 1, 120).

² *De Situ Orbis*, ch. iv.

³ Bk. iv, chaps. 174, 183.

⁴ Bk. IV, p. 742. καὶ μέγιστα μὲν ἔθνη κατανέμεται τὴν Λιβύην τό τε τῶν Γαμαμάτων διῆκον ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Βαγράδα ποταμοῦ πηγῶν μέχρι τῆς Νούβα λίμνης...καί....

⁵ n, 836. For the Zingani see p. 56. Marmot version of the passage quoted is: "Le prince [i.e. of Dongola] a guerre ordinairement tantost contre ceux de Gorhan, qui est une espèce d'Egyptiens qui courent par les deserts et parlent un langage particulier, tantost contre les peuples qui demeurent au Levant du Nil dans le desert" (trans. Perrot, in, 71 ff.). Marmol flourished about 1520.

* Leo's original is "una generazione di zingani" (see Carbou, 1, 118).

⁷ For further remarks on the Kura'an of the present day see Chap. 4 of this Part.

A strong argument for the hypothesis is also provided by the case, already quoted, of Gebel Midob, where we have a negro-Hamitic population claiming relationship with the Nūbians of the Nile and speaking a language akin to that of the latter¹.

XLIII Further evidence is perhaps to be found in the rock-pictures at Shalashi² one of the small hills composing the Haraza range on the southern fringe of the meeting-ground of the two races. These are very similar in type to those which occur elsewhere throughout that portion of North Africa which has been principally subjected to Libyan influences³.

XLIV At what date the modified NUBA stock in northern Kordofan was replaced in the plains by the nomad Arabs it is hard to say, but the KABABISH insist that only some five or six generations ago their grandfathers were still engaged in extirpating "NUBA" from the small and less easily defensible hills. The country is so eminently suitable for camel-breeding that the Arab is not likely to have overlooked it when he first began to settle in the Sudan. The orographical, hydrographical and climatic conditions and the vegetation of northern and central Kordofan all wonderfully resemble those of the Arabian highlands: it is a land of steppes and pasture with sufficient water obtainable for the scanty needs of the nomad: it is not given over to the agriculturist and there are no great mountain chains to impede free roaming. But in Leo's time, early in the sixteenth

¹ The case of the Birred of south-central Darfur, who also speak a language closely akin to that of the Barabra will be dealt with in Chap. 4 of this Part.

² Lejean saw them and gave a highly fanciful and misleading description of them, which is quoted by Hartmann in *Die Nigritier* (Berlin, 1876, p. 41). I copied them as closely as I could in 1908, and published the result with some notes in *fourn. Anthr. Inst.* xxxix, 1909. They are quite distinct in type to the rudely engraved (or sometimes painted) "uncouth outlines in shepherd's ruddle" which occur on other hills at el Hardza, near F6ga in western Kordofan, at G. Daier on the northern fringe of Dar Nuba, in Somaliland, in Arabia, and all over the Tuwarek country, and which by the inclusion of the camel prove themselves not earlier than the beginning of the Christian era, and may be much more recent since the natives of the present day in the Sudan draw such, e.g. on the walls of rooms. The pictures at Shalashi are full of life and movement and are graceful and well proportioned: they are in red and white pigment, and represent men on horseback; also giraffes and hyenas. See *L'Anthropologic*, XII, 1901 (Flamand) for pictures of this type; and for the ruder type *L'Anthropologic*, vii, 1897 (Flamand); xvii, 1906 (Carette-Bouvet); xv, 1904 (Gautier); *Fourn. Anthr. Inst.* XLIV, 1914 (Zeltner); etc.

³ One of the ancient place-names in the same locality is also curiously suggestive. At Kaga, some 100 miles west of el tjarEza, is a large outstanding hill called Bakaldi, a name which recalls a passage, following on mention of the island of Meroe and the tribes south of it, in Ptolemy's *Geography*: "In the rest of the country, but farther west of the Ethiopian hills, in the sandy and waterless region, dwell the races of Phazania [Fezzdn] and Bakalitis." See Ptolemy, Bk. 111, p. 783, ed. Muller: τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῆς χώρας δυσμικώτερα δὲ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν ὁρέων κατέχουσι μετὰ τὴν διαμμοῦν καὶ ἄβροχον χώραν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Φαζανίαν καὶ Βακαλίτιν. Barth (rv, 580) identifies Ptolemy's Bakalitis with Wargela, far to the north.

century, it seems to have been still held by the darker people whose affinities we have discussed. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Arab element entered the country from two sides. In the first place the nomads came in from the direction of Dongola and soon obtained a predominance in the plains north of the latitude of KAGA. Here at the present day the so-called NUBA, whose type ranges from the negroid to the debased Arab, and a smattering of DANAGLA, hold only the largest of the hills, el ḤarḤza, K&ga, Katīl, Um Durrag, and Abu Ḥadid, which alone possess a water supply sufficient to support their population. They live in comparative amity with the nomads, and are not afraid to place their villages at the foot of the hills instead of, as previously, on the slopes, and to cultivate and graze in the plain. In a few generations they seem likely to be indistinguishable from the sedentary inhabitants of central Kordofan.

XLV In the second place, in the sixteenth century the allied forces of FUNG and Arab, having taken S6ba and Kerri from the 'ANAG or NOBA and founded the kingdom of Sennar, began to push northwards and westwards. By the middle of the following century they had begun definitely to assert themselves in central Kordofan. The population there in all probability was still essentially NUBA, but it may already have become to some extent adulterated with the negroid D&rfurian races¹, some remnants of whom still exist in the northern hills and further south.

¹ Q.v. Chap. 4. For an account of the people of el Ijardza, Kdga, etc. see Chap. vi of my *Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan*. They are still known as Naba and the common people call themselves so. Their subdivisions shew traces of totemistic origin: five of them are named respectively (in Arabic) "Cattlefolk," "Ratfolk," "Sheepfolk," "Woodfolk," "Horsefolk." For this subject refer to Robertson Smith, pp. 186 ff. and 217 ff., and for other examples see p. 94 *et passim*.

CHAPTER 3

The Bega, the Blemyes and the Nûba of Meroe

I Let us now turn to the Eastern Desert between the river and the Red Sea.

II Here lived in the seventh century the Hamitic BEGA, who in the far distant mists of antiquity may have come from Arabia¹, and who in their present form still largely resemble the pre-dynastic Egyptian type.

At the present day the BISHARIN, HADENDOA and BENI 'AMIR are the three great tribes which represent the BEGA.

The two former still speak To-Bedawi; but the latter, who live further south on the confines of Abyssinia, speak the Semitic Tigre, and "from the national standpoint...are less homogeneous than the Hadendoa and kindred tribes," and physically differ distinctly from the other BEGA. There is a "steady rise in the cephalic index from 747 in the south (Beni Amer) to 79 in the north (Bisharin)." The BENI 'AMIR are shorter and shew less trace of Negro and Armenoid admixture than the others. They are "the most dolichocephalic of modern Bega²." Professor Seligman considers that the HADENDOA are representatives of the BENI 'AMIR stock modified chiefly by miscegenation with the tall negroes of the Nile Valley, and also, in all probability, with the quite alien long-bearded, round-headed Armenoid population which since the third millennium B.C., if not earlier, exerted a profound influence on Egypt as the immediate result of the ever-increasing intercourse with northern Syria³. He holds that the HADENDOA and BISHARIN owe the fact of their being more round-headed than the BENI 'AMIR to their subjection to

¹ Seligman, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 1913, XLIII, 595.

² Seligman, *loc. cit.* pp. 598-610.

³ Elliot Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 60, 95, 135; Seligman, *loc. cit.*, p. 603. The various Armenoid groups of Asia Minor "are all descended from tribes belonging to the great Hittite Empire" (von Luschan, "The Early Inhabitants of Western Asia," *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, XLI, 1911, p. 242). Of these Hittites von Luschan (*loc. cit.* p. 243) says they were settled in Western Asia when "about 4000 B.C. began a Semitic invasion from the south-east, probably from Arabia, by people looking like modern Bedawy. Two thousand years later began a second invasion, this time from the north-west, by xanthocroous and longheaded tribes like the modern Kurds, half savage, and in some way or other, perhaps, connected with the historic IJarri, Amorites, Temehu, and Galatians."

Armenoid influences and not to immigration by the brachycephalic Arab population of the *Hegaz* and the Yemen because

where the Semite (Arab) and Hamite have mixed the latter have ever adopted the language of the former, and when mixed people have arisen I think it can be said that they are more Arab than Hamite. It is clear that nothing of this sort has happened in the Red Sea Province of the Sudan....It is obvious that while the Bisharin have been most modified by the foreign round-headed element, the Beni Amer are the least influenced, so that, broadly speaking, their physical characters may be taken to be those of the original Bega inhabitants of the eastern desert¹.

III One notes in this conjunction that non-Bega traditions, as preserved in the native *nisbas*, are united in attributing to the BENI 'AMIR an Arab descent which is denied to the BISHARIN and HADENDOA : " BENI 'AMIR " too is a purely Arab name. If the greater brachycephaly of the BISHARIN and HADENDOA were due to Arab immigration it is not unlikely that the fact would have been reflected, rather than tacitly contradicted, in the traditions.

IV A comparison between the physical characteristics of the BEGA of the present and of the pre-dynastic Egyptians and the Nūbian contemporaries of the latter shews very marked resemblances to exist, and, as Professor Seligman says,

it seems...that it is justifiable to regard the Beni Amer, the least modified of the Bega tribes, as the modern representatives of the old pre-dynastic (and Nubian) stock, and it further appears that the modification undergone by the latter during a period of some 7000 or more years is extremely small².

V Very closely related to the BEGA tribes are the 'ABABDA, whose habitat is from Aswan and Kena to the Red Sea and of whom a lesser branch live east of Berber.

Reisner compares them with the Middle Nūbians ("C Group") on the one hand and with the present-day Beduin of Lower Egypt on the other. Like the former they have been " metamorphosed by a cross with the negro " and therefore resemble the BARABRA in race³; but if tradition be any guide they have more Arab blood in their veins than the BARABRA⁴.

VI One may say then, in short, that when the Arabs invaded the

¹ Seligman, *loc. cit.* pp. 603, 604.

² *Loc. cit.* pp. 606, 607.

³ Giuffrida Ruggeri, *loc. cit.* pp. 51-54.

* See Part IV (index), and cp. G. A. Hoskins quoted by Cameron (*Journ. Anthr. Inst.* Feb. 1887, " On the Tribes of the Eastern Sudan "). In one case at least a whole section of them have joined a nomad Sudanese Arab tribe, viz. the Kawahla in Kordofan, *en bloc* and to all intents become an integral part of them. (See Part III, Chap. 9.)

eastern desert they met in the interior a race of Proto-Egyptian origin which was more modified in the north by Negro and Armenoid influences than in the south and which was distinctly akin to the riverain peoples. It may be added, and further justification will appear later for the statement, that if there are not traces of H̱imyaritic infusion to be found among the more southerly of these BEGA tribes, it is a very remarkable fact.

VII Now in the classical period there are frequent allusions to a people called the BLEMYES on the east bank of the Nile. These BLEMYES have commonly been assumed to represent the same people as the BEGA, but hitherto this has remained "a mere theory, at present undemonstrated¹."

VIII Claudian² (born c. 365 A.D.), Ammianus Marcellinus³ (c. 320-390 A.D.), Sulpicius Severus⁴, Palladius⁵ and Olympiodorus⁶ refer to the BLEMYES as close to Syene (Aswan) and the cataracts.

Olympiodorus actually visited their country between 407 and 425 A.D.: he specifies Primis (Ibrfm, 60 to 70 miles below H̱aifa) as their last city on the Nile; and the inscription of Silko, who warred with them in the sixth century, corroborates this⁷. It is also clear that they were a race of invaders holding in subjection the older Nūbian and negro population⁸, and practically dominating the whole of the Thebaid⁹.

The name of BLEMYES was, however, also applied to the desert nomads, presumably BEGA, near the Red Sea, for we read in the Acts of the Martyrs of Rai'the¹⁰ of some three hundred BLEMYES embarking about 378 A.D. on a vessel of Aila which they had taken near the Ethiopian coast and sailing along the Red Sea to attack Rai'the. But it would not be legitimate to insist for this reason that the nomads of

¹ Crowfoot, "The Island of Meroe," *Arch. Surv. Nubia*, xix, 35.

² *Carmen de Nilo*, v, 19:

"Inde vago lapsu Libyam dispersus in omnem
Aethiopum per mille ruit nigrantia regna,
Et loca continuo Solis damnata vapore
Inrorat, populisque salus sitientibus errat,
Per Meroen, Blemyasque feros, atramque Syenen."

³ Bk. xiv, Ch. iv, sect. 3. (Also quoted by Quatremère, II (*Mem. sur les Blemmyes*), from *Etytnologicon Magnum*, p. 13.)

⁴ *Vitae Patrum*, p. 542 (*ap. Quatremère, loc. cit., and Letronne*).

⁵ *Hist. Lausiaca*. (*ap. Quatremère, loc. cit., and Letronne*).

⁶ *Ap. Photium, Bibliothec. Cod. LXXX*, p. 194 (*ap. Quatremère, loc. cit.*).

⁷ See Chap. 1.

⁸ H. R. Hall, Review of the Publications of the E. B. Coxe, Jnr. Expedition to Nubia, *Man*, May 1912.

⁹ See Milne, p. 81.

¹⁰ *Illustrium Christi Martyrum lecti triumphum*, pp. 107-109, quoted by Letronne (*loc. cit.*) and Quatremère, 11, 130 and 133, Rai'the is near Sinai.

the eastern desert really bore this name as it was common to misapply some known name to any unknown folk who appeared similar¹.

Eratosthenes², Theocritus³, Ptolemaeus⁴, Procopius⁵ and Vopiscus⁶ refer to the BLEMYES in terms which would make their main habitat round Aswin extend much further southwards and eastwards towards the territories of Axum and Adulis, and are clearly referring to the country which we know was peopled then as now by BEGA⁷.

The inscriptions of Axum and Adulis, though enumerating the peoples between Abyssinia and Egypt who were conquered by the king of Axum, make no mention of the BLEMYES by name, but speak instead of TANGAKTES and BOGAITES (BEGA).

IX One concludes, therefore, with Letronne, that the people who called themselves BLEMYES lived chiefly in the valley of the Nile below Nūbia on the confines of Egypt, and the people of the east and south-east between the Nile and the Red Sea, to whom the historians mentioned vaguely gave the same name, called themselves something else. In fact, early Christian writers were very haphazard in their nomenclature and used the name BLEMYES to represent the BEGA who seemed to be much the same type of people.

X The BEGA were essentially a nomad folk and the BLEMYES primarily sedentary and riverain⁸, and there can be little doubt that the BLEMYES were originally a branch of the BEGA who had settled on the river and abandoned the nomadic life.

A similar tendency has been and still is very marked all along the Nile valley. It has already been suggested that there was probably a similar connection at one time on the western side between the riverain Nūbians and the nomad NOBATAE; and in more modern times the forbears of many of the "Arabs*" at present settled on the river were wont a few generations ago to lead a nomad life inland.

This is not to deny many cases of a movement in the contrary

¹ Letronne (*loc. cit.*)

² *Ap. Strabo*, p. 786.

³ *Idyll*, VII, 114:

“ἐν δὲ θέρεσι πυμάτοισι παρ’ Αἰθιοπέεσσι νομέουσιν
πέτρῃ ὑπο Βλεμύων, ὅθεν οὐκέτι Νεῖλος ὕρατος.”

Theocritus was born 290 B.C. and died very old.

⁴ Bk. iv, Ch. VIII. He follows Eratosthenes. His date is about 500-565 A.D.

⁵ *De Bello Persico*, 1,19, p. 59. He places them east of the Nile between Axum and Elephantine (Aswdn).

⁶ In *Hist. Augustae Scriptores*, pp. 220 and 239, quoted by Quatremere, *loc. cit.*, and Letronne, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Letronne, *loc. cit.*

⁸ Woolley and M^cIver have shown that the old ruin called Karandg near Ibrfm was the castle of a Blemyan chief. See *Karandg: the Cemetery* (1910) and *Karandg: the Town* (1911) in the Publications of the E. B. Coxe, Jnr. Expedition to Nubia, Univ. Museum, Philadelphia (reviewed by H. R. Hall in *Man*, May 1912).

direction: the two tendencies may even be at work contemporaneously, and the movement is definitely directed one way or the other at any particular period by the political conditions of the moment.

XI Whenever mention is made of BEGA or BLEMYES by classical or mediaeval historians it is, I believe, always in connection with the eastern bank of the river and the eastern deserts. There is hardly a suggestion that there were also BEGA or BLEMYES to the west of the river.

A passage in Pomponius Mela would naturally be taken, as Quatremere¹ and Letronne apparently do take it, to mean that the Blemyes, or rather some of them, were west of the Nile: he says:

Above those parts which are washed by the Libyan sea are the Egyptian Libyans and the Leucoaethiopes and the large nation of the Getuli with its numerous branches. Beyond these is a vast empty region, uninhabitable throughout its length. Beyond it again [are other races]. Beginning from the east these are first the Garamantae, then the Augilae and the Troglodytae, and lastly and furthest west the Atlantes. Further inland are people who, if one may believe it, are scarcely human, but rather half-wild-beasts, the Aegipanes and Blemmyae and Gamphafantes and Satyri, who wander about without any settled habitation and may be said rather to occupy than to dwell in the country².

But this passage does not necessarily bear the interpretation that the BLEMYES were west of the Nile, and if it did need not be accepted as strictly accurate, for as we have seen there is the evidence of a perfect host of writers to the contrary. If Mela thought that the bulk of the BLEMYES were west of the Nile he was certainly wrong: if he did not the passage has no value as evidence that they were there. Strabo, who ascended the Nile with Aelius Gallus in 24 B.C., quotes Eratosthenes to the following effect³:

Lower down, on either side of Meroe, along the Nile [and] towards the Red Sea, are Megabari and Blemyes, subject to the Ethiopians and

¹ n. 128. "Pomponius Mela...les place dans l'interieur de l'Afrique au dela les Garamantes."

² "Super ea quae Libyco mari abluuntur Libyes Aegyptii sunt, et Leucoaethiopes et natio frequens multiplexque Getuli. Deinde late vacat regio perpetuo tractu inhabitabilis. Turn primos ab oriente Garamantas, post Augilas et Troglodytas et ultimos ad occasum Atlantias audimus. Intra (si credere libet) vix iam homines magisque semiferi Aegipanes et Blemmyae et Gamphasantes et Satyri sine tectis passim ac sedibus vagi habent potius terras quam habitent." (Pomp. Mela, *de Situ Orbis*, Ch. iv.)

³ τὰ δὲ κατωτέρω ἐκατέρωθεν Μερῶς, παρὰ μὲν τὸν Νεῖλον πρὸς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν Μεγάβαροι καὶ Βλέμναι, Αἰθιοπῶν ὑπακούοντες Αἰγυπτίοις δ' ὁμοιοὶ...ἐξ ἀριστερῶν δὲ...&c. (Strabo, xvii, 1, 53).

Budge (11,174) says of the "tribes of the Eastern Desert" about the third century "it is said that these tribes had settlements even in the oasis of Kharga," but no authority for the statement is quoted. Makrizi (*Khetat*, 561-571) quotes a very full description of the Bega from Ibn Selim, who lived in the tenth century, but there is no hint in it of any Bega west of the Nile.

neighbours of the Egyptians...*but* on the left side of the course of the Nile live the Noubai..." (etc., as quoted in Chap. 2).

XII Having once settled on the river the BLEMYES were strongly influenced by the contemporary Ethiopian civilization of Meroe.

"It is certain," says Crowfoot, "that in the fifth century or earlier Kinglets of the Blemyes used the Greek tongue and aped much of the complicated ceremonial of a Byzantine court...by virtue of a common script and mutual indebtedness to Egypt they stand in close relation with the rulers of Meroe¹."

XIII The account given by Olympiodorus at the beginning of the fifth century, the terms of the peace recorded by Priscus as made a few years later between them and the Romans, and the inscription of Talmis in the following century prove that they were still pagans about the middle of the sixth century. Apparently they worshipped Isis at Philae previous to their conversion². But Procopius, writing about the middle of the same century, and mentioning this, also adds that they used to sacrifice men to the Sun³, and it is almost certain that, as a matter of fact, their chief religious place was at Talmis where the temple is known to have been sacred to the Sun worshipped under the name of Mandoulis, and that for that reason Talmis was chosen by the invading Silko as the site for his inscription⁴.

The BLEMYES may have been converted to Christianity as a result of Silko's expedition, or perhaps he or his successors so crushed them that they ceased to exist as a separate race. In any case, when the Muhammadans, less than a century later, invaded the country south of Aswān we hear nothing of "BLEMYES," and the population was simply "NUBA" and Christian⁵.

XIV An even more difficult problem is presented by the country which lay a little further south. As already mentioned the capital of the Libyo-Nūbian kings who conquered Egypt in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. and of their immediate successors was at

¹ *Arch. Surv. Nub.* xix, 35, 36. Cp. Hall (*Man*, May 1912); he says: "If the people of Karan6g were Blemmyes the Blemmyes spoke and wrote in Meroitic."

² We have seen (Chap. 2) that the statement of Eusebius to the effect that as early as the reign of Constantine Christianity had penetrated to the Ethiopians and Blemyes refers to the people of Abyssinia and the Troglodytic whom Frumentius converted, and not to the riverain Blemyes with whom Silko fought.

³ *De Bello Persico*, I, 60 of edn 1662, quoted by Quatremere (11, 133).

⁴ Letronne, *loc. cit.* There were also at Meroe temples sacred to Isis and to the Sun respectively, dating from the sixth or seventh century B.C. (see p. 9 above).

⁵ It may be noted here that Herodotus divided the Ethiopian race into Eastern Ethiopians with straight hair, that is the Bega and suchlike, and Western Ethiopians ("they of Libya") with curly hair, that is the negroids, each group speaking a different language. (Bk. vii, 70. The context is the composition of the army of Xerxes.)

Napata, but probably by 440 B.C. the political headquarters had been shifted to Meroe, about two hundred miles away to the south-east near the junction of the Atbara with the Nile, the religious capital remaining, as before, at Napata.

The original substratum of population in the country round Meroe, or at least to the south and east of it, may have consisted of that same red-brown race which is held once to have occupied the banks of the Nile, the south-western littoral of Asia and the Red Sea coast¹; but by the first millennium B.C., if not long before, this race must have become submerged in the negro hordes which had surged up from the south and acquired predominance in the Nile valley,

XV The earliest extant remains at Meroe prove that, though the population was predominantly negro in the fourth and fifth century B.C., Egyptian motives in art and manners were still predominant, and that they continued so until about the third century B.C. The account of Meroe given by Herodotus² (c. 450 B.C.) is evidence leading to the same conclusion; but before we deal with this and with the scraps of information left us by later Greek and Roman geographers a digression is necessary to point out that there was apparently another cultural influence at work besides that of Egypt.

XVI We have already had occasion to note the continued connection between Abyssinia, the Nile valley and the Yemen of Arabia, which probably began at least four or five thousand years before the Christian era and became intimate in the second and first millennia B.C.³ The temples of Meroe, the Sun Temple, the Lion Temple, and the original Temple of Isis, all of which belong to the "Early Meroitic" period, and the sitting stone lions of Bdsa, Naka, el Musowwarat, Um Soda and Soba are certainly connected with the Sun Temple of Talmis⁴, the two lions before the great pylon of the temple of Isis at Philae, and, one supposes, with those sitting "dogs" which Bruce saw in Abyssinia and which Heeren and Crowfoot unite in thinking were lions of the same type as those at Bása and the other places mentioned⁵.

"In Abyssinia/* Bent considers⁶, "Christianity must have succeeded a form of Sabaeen sun-worship; the monoliths and altars all point to this; and in the ritual of their church we can still clearly see traces of this cult. The nightly services which end at sunrise, the circular churches with four

¹ Elliot Smith, *Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 61, 79.

² Bk. 11, 29.

See Chap. 1.

⁴ Sun worship was, of course, prevalent in ancient Egypt from the time of the Old Kingdom: see Breasted, *Hist.* pp. 59, 62, etc.

⁵ Crowfoot, *loc. cit.* p. 23. Stone lions of this type are rare in Egypt.

⁶ *The Sacred City...*, p. 83, and *cp. ibid.* pp. 138-197 and 231-293.

doors **orientated** to the four points of the compass, the sacred groves surrounding the churches, and the dancing of the priests—all recall what we know of Baal worship, which was closely akin to the sun-worship of Southern Arabia."

He remarks in this connection on the suggestiveness of Herodotus's statement¹ that "Ethiopia borders on the Southern Sea and the table of the Sun in Ethiopia is a meadow on the skirts of their town full of the boiled flesh of all manner of beasts." The ancient Abyssinian capital of this Sabaean*or Himyaritic colonization was Ava (Yeha), where there are monoliths, "a mass of Himyaritic inscriptions," and a sun-temple. Its founders (the "Avalitae"?) are supposed to have been traders in the first instance, but as they increased in numbers and strength and were reinforced by their kin from over the Red Sea they succeeded in imposing their language, their religious rites, and to some extent their racial type, upon northern Abyssinia. Its name of Ava is presumably connected with the Sabaean worship of Baal-Ava. The capital was subsequently removed to Axum, also a Himyarite foundation with monoliths and "a highly perfected form of stone worship associated with sacrifices to the Sun."

Resemblances between the later Meroitic architecture of el Muṣowwardt, etc., dating from about the third century A.D., and the roughly contemporaneous architecture of Axum shew that the links of connection between the main valley of the Nile and Abyssinia held fast in the generations that followed. Crowfoot notes in particular "the exact resemblance of the plan of the upper storey in the old Dongola church with the plan of Enda Giorgis near Adowa²."

XVII Bearing these facts in mind, we may now revert to the descriptions of Meroe left by the classical geographers.

In the time of Herodotus the inhabitants of Meroe itself worshipped Jupiter (*i.e.* Amen-Rā) and Bacchus (*i.e.* Osiris)³.

The Ethiopian tribes in the vicinity, however, practised circumcision, wore skins, used palm-branch bows, stone-headed arrows, spears tipped with horn and clubs of wood, and painted their bodies before going into battle⁴.

As far south from Meroe as Meroe was south of Aswan lay the country in which had settled the "Automoloi" or "Asmach"

¹ Q.v. Bk. m, § 7.

² *Loc. cit.* p. 40, but Crowfoot is inclined in the case of el Muṣowwardt and Axum to regard the Axumites as the borrowers.

³ Herodotus, II, 29, 144, 156.

⁴ Herodotus, VII, 69 (speaking of Xerxes's army). He does not specifically mention that they lived round Meroe but speaks merely of the "region above Egypt/'

("Aafiax), the descendants of the "240,000" mercenaries¹ who, having been sent by Psammetichus I (663-609 B.C.) to garrison Upper Egypt against the Ethiopians, deserted to the south and were granted lands there by the ruler of Ethiopia². Of these Automoloi Herodotus says: "their acquaintance with Egyptian manners has tended to civilize the Ethiopians."

XVIII Eratosthenes in the third century B.C. also speaks of the Automoloi, or "Sembritae" as he calls them, and says that their sovereign was a queen but they recognized the overlordship of Meroe³.

XIX Artemidorus, more than a hundred years later⁴, tells of a district, probably the country between the present sites of Kassala and Kallabdt, inhabited by the Sembritae, and describes them as ruled by a queen "to whom Meroe also is subject," a statement which, if true, implies a revolution between the third and the first century B.C. and the overthrow by the southern colonists of the suzerain power at Meroe⁵. Conceivably the drastic measures of Ergamenes had not been well received by the people and had proved the cause of the downfall of his house.

XX Now Ptolemy I came to the throne of Egypt in 323 and his accession introduced a period of prosperity there. Some portion of this was reflected in Meroe and Hellenistic ideas began to pervade that capital and to supplant the older Egyptian influences. This tendency is apparent in various *objets d'art* that have been unearthed and in the altered style of architecture. Direct evidence of it is also provided by Diodorus in his story of Ergamenes.

Diodorus⁶, writing in the time of Julius Caesar and Augustus, speaks of the Ethiopians of Meroe as the earliest of mankind and indigenous to the country, and he mentions the Ethiopian custom whereby the king at Meroe used to be ordered by the priests to commit suicide when they became tired of him⁷. This custom, he states, continued until the time of the enlightened Ergamenes, Arq Amen, that is⁸, who was a contemporary of Ptolemy II (284-247 B.C.)

¹ They are generally called Egyptians: Maspero thought they were Libyans (Budge, n. 55)

² Herodotus, 11, 30.

³ Ap. Strabo, p. 786.

⁴ Artemidorus wrote about 100 B.C.

⁵ Cp. Crowfoot, *Island of Meroe*, p. 33. It is conceivable, though purely hypothetical, that it was these southern colonists who transplanted to Meroe the matriarchal system which gave to Ethiopia the line of Candaces. The *matrilinear* system was certainly earlier, as is proved, *eg.* by the stele of Aspelut (*q.v.* Budge, n. 65), and "mother kin very rarely carries with it 'matriarchy' or the power of the female" (Farnell, in *Quarterly Review*, April 1915, p. 482).

⁶ He depends for his facts to a large extent on Agatharcides and Artemidorus.

⁷ Diodorus, ed. Wesselingius, Bk. III, 177.

⁸ See Budge, n. 109, 112, 115. Apparently Ergamenes survived the second third and fourth Ptolemies also. The last died in 205 B.C.

and had received a Greek education¹. Ergamenes declined to acknowledge the authority of the priests and put them to death.

Strabo² gives a similar account of Meroe, based largely on Eratosthenes.

To these and the rest of the Greek and Roman geographers the Ethiopians who lived not in Meroe itself but in the surrounding country were no more than wild savages, "wretched Kush," as the Pharaohs would have called them.

XXI Soon after the beginning of the Christian era began the great days of Meroe which are associated with the Queens Candace. The first of these who is a historical personage and not purely mythical³ appears to have ruled from Napata⁴. She was powerful enough to capture Syene (Aswan) with its Roman garrison of three cohorts in 24 B.C.; but in the following year Petronius defeated her and Napata was destroyed⁵.

About 60 A.D. Nero's centurions, sent to explore the Nile, found another Candace reigning at Meroe⁶. They reported, too, that the kings of Ethiopia were forty-five in number, and that the country between Meroe and Aswdn was mostly deserted, little trace remaining of all the towns and the thriving civilization mentioned by the earlier geographers. In fact, a period of decadence in Egypt synchronized with a state of comparative desolation in Ethiopia, a further proof of the dependence of the southern state upon its great northern neighbour⁷.

XXII Meroe did not, however, cease to be a place of importance. The state of its fortunes still continued to reflect those of Egypt; and

¹ μετασχηκῶς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας. Mahaffy (p. 140) makes Ergamenes a contemporary of the fourth Ptolemy (222-205).

² Born between 64 and 54 B.C. Died after 21 A.D.

³ See Pseudo-Callisthenes, *ap.* Budge, 11, 108, in *re* Alexander the Great.

⁴ Crowfoot, *loc. cit.* p. 33, citing Strabo, p. 820.

⁵ Petronius chose Primis (Ibrim) to be the Roman boundary, but within a year it was abandoned in favour of Hierosykaminos (Muharraka), the old Ptolemaic frontier town. The frontier remained at Hierosykaminos until Diocletian retired the legions to Aswan.

⁶ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi, Ch. 35. Griffith (*Arch. Surv. Nubia*, xix, 80) surmises that "possibly this dynasty of Candaces is identical with the Natakamani-Amanitere series of royalties" whose remains are found at Meroe and Naka. There are no records in history of any Candace living after the first century A.D. and from the pictorial evidence of the monuments it seems that kings ruled in the second, third and fourth centuries (see Crowfoot, *loc. cit.* p. 39). In the note to para. L of D 7 is given a quotation from Bruce which, if the facts are authentic, shews that in 1619 there was a modern Candace ruling at Mundara in the Isle of Meroe and deriving her income from the great trade-route between east and west as her prototype no doubt did.

⁷ Crowfoot, *loc. cit.* p. 36. Pliny says (*loc. cit.*) that warfare with Egypt was responsible for the desolation of Ethiopia, but, as Crowfoot says, there is no warrant in history for this.

in the first part of the fourth century, the period of the Flavian and Antonine Emperors, a revival of trade occurred in both countries. The buildings erected at this period at Basa, el Musowwarat and Naka (the Graeco-Roman temple), all probably the work of a single dynasty, represent, in Crowfoot's words, "a bye-product of the imperial prosperity, directly due to the overflow of Romano-Egyptian energy and wealth beyond the imperial boundaries"¹.

XXIII Thus we are left with a general impression of the outlying districts of the Island of Meroe as peopled during the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era by half-nomadic half-sedentary indigenous savages living by the chase and sparse cultivation of the soil. To the south was the colony founded by the Automoloi or Sembritae, who were probably of Egyptian, but possibly of Libyan origin. To the north lay the comparatively highly civilized town of Meroe shewing both a successive predominance of Egyptian, Greek and Roman influences and also a certain measure of indebtedness to the Himyarites of southern Arabia.

There seems to be little evidence to date that the ruler of Meroe exercised at any period a permanent control inland and southwards further afield than Gebel Kayli and Gebel Moya².

XXIV Meroe, standing at the meeting of several great trade routes, owed most of its fame and prosperity to the popularity and accessibility of its markets. North and south were the riverways, westwards the road to Napata, eastwards the great caravan route which crosses the Atbara and runs to the Red Sea ports, and southwards the *waddi* routes which tap the cornlands and grazing areas of the Haw&d and Abu Delayk.

Meroe thus formed an excellent site for an emporium where slaves, ivory and gold might be obtained by exchange³.

¹ Crowfoot, *loc. cit.* pp. 37-39.

² There is a rock at Kayli with a carving representing an Ethiopian king wearing the uraeus, and a Sun God (see Crowfoot, *loc. cit.* p. 25); and in a cave close by I found in 1912 a drawing which Mr Griffith thinks represents the lion-headed Arsenuphis or Apizemak. Upon the rock with the carving are heaped a number of stones. This may illustrate the Arab practice whereby, it is said, the passer-by signifies his detestation of something abominable (see Jaussen, p. 336), or may be connected with the ancient beliefs exemplified in a similar way in northern Ddrtr (see App. 5 to Part I, Ch. 4).

From the Nastasen stela (298-278 B.C.) it appears that that monarch may have invaded Kordofan, and "operations at this distance from Meroe would imply that the Gezira or a large part of it was permanently occupied by the Ethiopians." (Reisner in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Jan. 1919, pp. 65, 66.)

³ So Crowfoot, *loc. cit.* p. 7. He continues, however, in agreement with Lepsius (*Discoveries...*, p. 163), "but the true basis of their prosperity was agricultural and pastoral," and this, I think, is something of an overstatement. In a year of good rains the *wadis* produce a fair crop of millet, but even if one allow that the rainfall

XXV But about 340-350 A.D., as we learn from one of the Axumite inscriptions¹, an expedition was made by Aeizanes or Aizana, the powerful king of Axum, against the ruler of the NUBA in the Island of Meroe on account of his aggressions on the frontier:

²I took the field against him, and arose in the strength of the Lord of the World, and I smote them at the Takaze³ beyond Kamalkê. And then when they withdrew themselves to a distance, then followed I [during] three and twenty days, during which I smote him, and took from him prisoners and booty, and took away from where the prisoners dwelt, booty, and during which my people returned who had gone to the war, and during which I burnt their towns of mason work and of straw, and they plundered his crops and his iron and his ore and his copper, and destroyed the pictures (or statues) in his temple, and the provisions of heaped up corn, and threw them into the river Seda⁴....There were of leaders who perished five, and one priest, and I reached to the Kasu and smote them and annihilated them at the confluence of the rivers Seda and Takaze. And the day after I had arrived I sent out a marauding party...and they laid waste up the Seda the towns of mason work and of straw⁵... and came

was rather heavier 2000 years ago, there would still have been no great surplus. Again, as regards pastoral wealth, the steppes of the Island of Meroe could have supported large herds for most of the year, as they do to-day, but the savagery of the roaming tribes must have made it impossible for flocks from Meroe to be driven for grazing as far afield as they are now, and though "hafirs" were dug to preserve the rain-water supply as long as possible the grass supply would have failed if large flocks were concentrated all the year on a limited area. See also Reisner in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Jan. 1919, pp. 50 ff.

¹ I follow Bent, pp. 263 *et seq.* where Dr D. H. Muller's translation and notes are given. The translation followed by Crowfoot (*loc. cit.* pp. 36-38) is that of Littman and Krencker (1906) and differs in several particulars. For instance, Crowfoot says the expedition was against the Nûba "who had recently conquered the Island of Meroe. It seems that a wave of Negro aggression had lately surged up from the south and overwhelmed the *Red' races on the Island and even north of it. The Blacks had captured towns of masonry belonging to the Kasu, occupied them and built towns of grass huts near them, such as the negroes still use; they had harried their neighbours without a cause, and three times they had broken their word and insulted the envoys of the King of Kings, confident that he would never cross the Atbara. The King recounts how in revenge he had sacked both towns of masonry and towns of grass huts, and sent expeditions up and down the Nile from the point of its junction with the Atbara...." Müller's translation gives no warrant for any recent conquest of the Kasu by newly immigrant Nûba.

² The following quotation omits several unimportant lines of the original as given by Bent.

³ *I.e.* the Atbara.

⁴ *I.e.* the Nile.

⁵ Of the towns of masonwork 'Aloa (*i.e.* S6ba) is mentioned. The first mention of 'Aloa, I believe, is in the stele of Nastasen, who, according to Reisner's calculation, ruled from 298 to 278 B.C.: "Amen of Napata...came forth from the Great House, and he made me to be King over Ta-Kenset and Alut and the Nine Tribes who fight with bows and the country on both sides of the river and the Four Quarters of the World" (Budge, 11, 98). See Para, xxviii.

Crowfoot thinks that by 'Aloa in the inscription of Aeizanes is possibly meant Meroe (see following note); but whenever 'Aloa is mentioned in any context that defines the locality the region round S6ba is always clearly intended. The name

in good condition back...and thereupon I sent the troop Halen and the troop Dakân and the troop Sabarât, and they plundered and laid waste down the Seda the Nuba towns of straw (houses) four, Naguso i. Towns of masonry of the Kasu and Noba, Naszato i. D. v-r tâli i, and reached as far as the district of the red N6bâ, and in good condition returned my people back....And I set up my throne within the confluence of the river Seda and Takaze, in sight of the town of masonry¹...the island, which the Lord of heaven has given me...and I set up my throne here at the Seda through the strength of the Lord of heaven....

XXVI Here we have three distinct races mentioned: firstly, the NOBA in the Island of Meroe, as far east as the Atbara, secondly, the KASU to the north-west near the junction of the Nile and the Atbara, and, thirdly, the "Red Nûba" some distance further downstream.

Immediately downstream of the junction of the rivers the KASU and the NÛBA would seem to have been dwelling side by side. It is hard to avoid hazarding an opinion that the "Red NÛBA" may have been southernly colonies of Blemyes. As regards the difference between the "KASU" and the "NÛBA" of the inscription much obviously depends on whether the interpretation of Muller or of Littman and Krencker is correct; but in either case the "KASU" would appear to be the more civilized and Egyptianized Meroitic type and the "NÛBA" the negro tribes of the out-districts. The matter must simply remain doubtful.

It is at least clear that by the middle of the fourth century A.D. Meroe had fallen on evil days and a process of disintegration had set in. From now onwards we know nothing to speak of about the history of the people living south of the confluence of the Nile and the Atbara until the time of el Mas'ûdi and Ibn Selim el Aswâni who wrote their descriptions of Nûbia in the tenth century.

XXVII At what date the Meroitic peoples became Christian we do not know. Abyssinia was converted about 330 A.D. and northern Nûbia about two centuries later; but the severance of friendly relations between the two countries which occurred in the middle of the fourth century militated henceforth against the spread of the religious beliefs of the one to the other, and so much so that when Christianity

of 'Aloa, be it noted, is also applied, both in the Axumite inscription and later by Abu salih, to the town (Soba) as well as to the district. The name seems to survive in the dual form of "Alwrfn," the name of a district inland from S6ba.

¹ From "Takaze" to "heaven has" forms line 40 of the inscription.

Crowfoot remarks that it is curious that there is no mention of Meroe itself in the inscription, although we know that it was still the largest town in the district. But in line 40 there is a gap after the words "the town of masonry" which might surely have contained the name if the words translated "within the confluence of" can be applied to a site which is in the angle of the two rivers though fifty miles away from the actual junction.

was finally established in Nūbia in the sixth century it was by way of Egypt that it came.

XXVIII In all probability it was about the end of the same century, or early in the seventh, that the faith was received by 'Aloa.

The town of Sôba, or 'Aloa, had been a place of importance even in Meroitic days, for a temple there dates from that period¹; and though "Alut" on the stele of Nastasen refers no doubt to the district, it is natural to suppose that its capital was the town subsequently famous by the same name.

When 'Aloa was converted pagan temples were turned into or replaced by churches. With Christianity and the importation of liturgies and holy books came also a more general use of Greek writing for purposes of religion and ceremonial², and a line of communication was opened for the future between Alexandria and the villages of the Blue Nile³. At the present day there are still visible some traces of an ancient civilization even beyond Sôba, such as the old red-brick buildings, probably remains of churches, near Elti, Kutrang, Kasemba, Bronko and Haṣṣa Haṣṣa⁴. Their date is not known, but they appear to belong to the same period as the Christian remains found at Sôba.

XXIX Further north, as the power of Meroe declined the allegiance of the petty *meks* who had once owned its overlordship began to be drawn to the one side by the magnet of Abyssinia or to the other by that of the rival Nūbian kingdom which centred upon Dongola. Whenever we catch a glimpse of these two powers, as, for instance,

¹ Budge, II, 304. The name "Sôba" suggests "Astasobas," the name by which Strabo denotes the Blue Nile.

² The same probably does not apply to Abyssinia, where the use of Greek writing was chiefly due to trade influences (see Letronne, *loc. cit.*).

³ 'Aloa, or Sôba, is mentioned ("'Aloa") in the treaty of 652 A.D. between the Arabs and the Nūbians (see Part II, Chap. 2, v), and by the tenth century it was the most important town in the Sudan south of Dongola (see Ibn Selīm's account in Part II, Chap. 2). It remained so for some two or three hundred years and, though with the fall of the Christian kingdom of Dongola and the invasion of the Arabs its importance no doubt diminished, it apparently revived somewhat at a still later date, for at the beginning of the sixteenth century it was the capital of the 'Anag or Nūba whom the Fung dispossessed (see D 7, 1, in Part IV).

⁴ Cp. Crowfoot, *loc. cit.* p. 8; and see note to MS. D 7, 1. Alvarez mentions these churches. It is stated locally that the ancient name of Elti was Anti. Anti and Rūdis are said to have been sister and brother, 'Anag by race, who settled one (Rūdis) on the east bank on the present site of Bashākira East (or Rodos, Cailliand's *Rodess*, II, 210), and the other (Anti) on the west bank.

Ibn Selīm and el Mas'ūdi, it is true, speak of the tribes south of Sôba in much the same terms as do the classical geographers, and call them worshippers of the moon, stars, fire, trees and animals, "blacks naked like the Zing," but they clearly refer to the tribes living inland, away from the river, or else to those who dwell considerably farther upstream.

in the seventh and eighth centuries¹, they appear to be bickering and the lesser princelets who were wedged between the two, probably succeeded in maintaining some measure of local independence, whatever nominal allegiance they may have professed.

XXX It is indeed difficult without further scientific data to get any but a vague impression as to the race to which the various occupants of the country round Meroe belonged in the period immediately preceding its conquest by the Arabs. Four distinct races at least met thereabouts. Inland to the north and east were the BEGA : to the north-west were the NCBA tribes; to the south-east was Abyssinia: to the south along the White Nile and the Sobat were the people of whom the modern representatives are the SHILLUK.

XXXI As regards these latter, as has been mentioned², they display Bantu affinities, and probably they moved into the country south of the Sobat and the upper reaches of the White Nile during or rather later than the second millennium B.C. They did not extend their occupation to the lower White Nile, to the vicinity of Káwa and Dueim, until the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D., the period, that is, of the rise of the FUNG kingdom³.

Bruce was told in Sennár in the eighteenth century that these FUNG were descended from the SHILLUK, and Westermann has lately adduced proofs of the correctness of the tradition. To what extent, if any, the Nilotic negroes modified the racial composition of the

¹ In 687 the Patriarch of Alexandria sent a message exhorting the kings of Nūbia and Ethiopia (Abyssinia that is) to concord (Renandot, *Hist. Patr. Alex.* 178, *ap. Letronne*).

In 737 A.D. the Patriarch writes to Cyriacus "King of Nūbia" to cease raiding Upper Egypt, and the biographer speaks of the king's power as extending over thirteen other kings (*ap. Le Quien in Orient. Christian.*, ii, 662, for which see Letronne). But as a matter of fact there is a continual confusion in the ideas of the early Christian writers between Nūbia and Abyssinia, and even in some cases between Abyssinia and India, and "Nūbia"* should probably read "Abyssinia" in this passage. The subject of this confusion will be further dealt with later, but one may quote a note by A. J. Butler to a remark by Abu Šalīf (p. 285): "Our author here seems to look upon South-west Arabia as identical with or forming part of Abyssinia or Ethiopia, an error akin to the confusion of Abyssinia with India which appears lower down."

In the thirteenth century we shall see that the Sultan of Egypt in addition to sending an embassy to the king of Dongola had to approach ten separate *meks* to the south (see Part I I, Chap. a).

* P. 16.

³ Westermann, L I I ff. In 1842 they inhabited the islands as far north as the fourteenth degree of latitude (Dehe'rain, Fig. V I I, opp. p. 262). Cp. Schweinfurth, 1, 9-10: "On the 13th of January, on one of the thronging islands, we had our first *rencontre* with the Shillooks. This tribe of negroes formerly extended themselves much further north than at present, having settlements on all the islands; but now [1869] they only exceptionally penetrate to this latitude (12° 30') in their canoes.... In a few places inhabited by Shillooks on the White Nile."

inhabitants of the Island of Meroe is unknown, but some indication of connection is perhaps furnished by the existence in Meroe until the third century B.C. of the custom of killing the king when he was considered to be no longer sufficiently vigorous to rule. This constitutes presumably one more example of the ancient belief in kings "believed to incarnate the divine spirit...who were periodically killed lest that spirit should suffer from its retention in an ageing body¹." If so, it is probably to be connected on the one hand with the "sed" festival of ancient Egypt, which is thought to have originally celebrated the Osirification of the king through death, and certainly, on the other hand, with the still-existing custom according to which the Nilotic SHILLUK and DINKA put their kings to death before their bodily vigour passes away².

Traces of the same custom existed among the FUNG of Senndr, at whose court there was a personage who combined the functions of Master of the Household and Executioner of the Kings; and, it seems, among the 'ABDULLAB of Kerri³. Of the former Bruce says⁴:

It is one of the singularities which obtains among this brutish people that the king ascends his throne under an admission that he may be lawfully put to death by his own subjects or slaves upon a council being held by the great officers, if they decree that it is not for the advantage of the state that he be suffered to reign any longer. There is one officer of his own family who alone can be the instrument of shedding his sovereign and kinsman's blood. This officer is called Sid el Coom, master of the king's household or servants, but has no vote in deposing him; nor is any guilt imputed to him however many of his sovereigns he thus regularly murders.

XXXII But until the beginning of the sixteenth century the Nilotic negroes do not appear either racially or culturally to have exercised any influence in the Island of Meroe comparable to that of the other three groups mentioned. Of these the most important was probably the NUBA. The ancient inhabitants of S6ba, the Island of Meroe and 'the hills of northern Kordofan are still commonly spoken of as

¹ Seligman, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, XLIII, 1913, p. 664. The *locus classicus* of the subject is Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Part I I I. Cp. also *Man*, Feb. 1915, "Killing the Divine King,*" by Geza Roheim, for some Ural-Altaic instances of the custom.

² Seligman, *loc. cit.* pp. 665, 666; and see, in particular, Miss Murray's "Evidence for the Custom of Killing the King in Ancient Egypt," in *Man*, Feb. 1914. For the custom in Fazoghli see Lepsius, *Discoveries...*, p. 221.

³ See "D5 (a)" in Part IV.

⁴ Bruce, Bk. vn, Ch. ix. For another ancient Egyptian custom which survived among the Fung, that of the king personally hoeing a piece of land, see Part I, Chap. 4, xxvi. The connection between the two lies in the typically Hamitic conception of the king as a rainmaker and the medium whereby the yearly renaissance of vegetation is ensured. Cp. Seligman, *loc. cit.* pp. 681, 683.

"'ANAG," and this term, it will be seen, is used in the native MSS. as practically synonymous with "NOBA," though originally it seems to have denoted one particular branch of NOBA who had become semi-independent.

The NOBA strain was the most potent racial element in the Island of Meroe from the days of the dynastic Egyptians until the coming of the Muhammadans, though one would of course concede very considerable local modifications due to admixture with the BEGA, the people of Abyssinia and, to some slight extent in the south, with the Nilotic negroes.

CHAPTER 4

The non-Arab Races of Darfur

I The consideration of the races who inhabited Darfur¹ before the Arabs is, on the one hand, rendered more difficult by the lack of modern scientific research, and, on the other, made more easy by the fact that the Arabs have coalesced so slightly with the older population that it is still easy to pick out the non-Arab elements. Several intrepid and accomplished travellers have visited the country and brought back valuable information, but anthropology had not in their days made such giant strides as now, and their statements are not always backed by scientific data of the type available for Egypt and Lower Nūbia. It is the researches of Barth and Nachtigal and the acute observations of el Tūnisi that have cast most light on the pre-Arab element in Dárfūr.

II BEDAYAT. The northern portion of Darfur is contained in that vast unfertile northernly portion of Africa which is set aside by nature for those who lead a pastoral life. Scattered in insignificant numbers as far south as Kebkebia and Kuttum, but chiefly roaming further north in the Ennedi district outside Dárfūr are the BED AY AT, a wild and entirely nomadic race related to the ZAGHAWA. Their geographical position between the KURA'AN (to the north) and the ZAGHAWA (to the south) roughly represents also their ethnographical status. Barth² calls them "Terauye" and says the Arabs call them "A'uwa." The Arabs of Kordofán and Ddrfur speak always of "Bedaydt," and "A'uwa" seems to be the KURA'AN name for them and "Terauye" or "Terdwa" a name applied to them by the Arabs of Borḡu³. Lieut. Ferrandi divides the BEDAYAT into (a) a northern group, and (b) a southern group called BILLIA, and says they claim to have once been Christians⁴. In Barth's time most of them were pagans, but they now profess Muhammadanism⁵. Parties of these BEDAYAT periodically swoop down over the deserts that intervene

¹ "Ddrfur" means "The Country of the Fūr."

² Vol. in, App. i, p. 496.

³ See "Renseignement8 Coloniaux," p. 308, in *L'Afrique Franfaise* (Suppl.), Dec. 1914.

⁴ *Ibid.* On this point see App. 5 to this chapter.

⁵ El Tūnisi (*Voy. au Ouad&y*, p. 17) speaks of the Bedaydt as not of Arab origin though their manners and way of life, but not their language, are those of the Arabs. He classes them (p. 25) as nomadic negroes or "pseudo-beduins."

between them and the Arabs and raid camels, women and children from the latter, and they even venture as far as the riverain districts of Dongola. Their hand is against every man's, but so remarkable is their power of endurance and their sense of direction that it is very difficult to overtake them.

Slatin had dealings with them when he was an official of the Turkish Government in Darfur before the Mahdia. After mentioning that they are pagans in all but name, he adds¹:

Under the widespreading branches of an enormous *heglik*² tree, and on a spot kept beautifully clean and sprinkled with fine sand, the Bedayat beseech an unknown god to direct them in their undertakings, and to protect them from danger. They have also religious feasts at uncertain dates, when they ascend the hills, and on the extreme summits, which are whitewashed, they offer sacrifices of animals. They are a fine, stalwart race, very dark in colour, with straight features, a thin nose and small mouth, and resemble Arabs more than Negroes. The women are famed for their long flowing hair, and there are some great beauties amongst them, as one often finds amongst the free Arab tribes. They generally wear skins of animals round their waists and loins; but the higher class and their women dress in long flowing robes made of white Darfur cotton cloth. Their food is very plain. Corn does not grow in their country, and is almost unknown to them. They take the seeds of the wild pumpkin, which grows there in abundance, and they soak them in wooden vessels made from the bark of trees. After taking the outer shells off, they leave the seeds to steep until they lose their bitterness, and then, straining them off and mixing them with dates, they grind them into a sort of flour, which is cooked with meat, and forms the principal food of the country.

They have also most strange customs as regards inheritance and succession. The cemeteries are generally situated at some distance from the villages; and when a father dies, the body is taken by all the relatives to be buried. The ceremony over, on a given signal they all rush together at the top of their speed to the deceased's house; and he who arrives first and fixes his spear or arrow in it is considered the rightful heir, and not only becomes possessor of all the cattle, but also of his father's wives and other women, with the exception of his own mother. He is at perfect liberty to marry them if he wishes, or he can set them free. A man's female household is entirely regulated by his financial position. It is great or small according as the lord and master is rich or poor.

As I before remarked, most of the people still adhered to their pagan customs, and it amused me greatly when Saleh Donkusa, who was by way of being a good Moslem himself, denied to me, in the most emphatic manner, that such customs were still in vogue in his tribe. I asked him what the great *heglik*-tree was which I had passed the previous day when

¹ Bk. 1, Ch. 3.

² *Balanites Aegyptiaca*. For the cult connected with trees and stones in Darfur see later *sub* Dagū and Fur.

riding through the Khor, and why the ground underneath was sprinkled with fine sand. The question surprised him, and for a moment he was silent; he then answered that it was the usual meeting place in which tribal matters were discussed. "The Maheria Arabs," said I, "wanted to graze their cattle near the tree; but when I saw that it was dedicated for some special purpose, I prevented them from doing so." He thanked me most heartily, and I could see that, though a fanatical Moslem himself, he was determined to uphold the ancient manners and customs of his tribe, and so retain his hold over them. I subsequently learned that it was entirely through him that the holy tree was preserved.

Among the subdivisions of the BEDAYAT in Darfur are the BIRAYRA, the GALLIGERKI, the KOTIERRA, the SAR and the URDIA.

III KURA'AN. The KURA'AN for the most part live to the north of the BEDAYAT and also outside Darfur, but a few of them are scattered among the latter tribe and the ZAGHAWA. Their possible identity with the ancient Garamantes and their other racial affinities have been discussed in an earlier chapter. I may add here that such of them as I have met in Darfur identify themselves with the DAZA (they say the terms are synonymous) as a branch of the TEDA (or ANKAZZA). They admit only a distant relationship with the BEDAYAT and an even more remote one with the ZAGHAWA and do not understand the common language of those tribes. The TIBBU to the north of them, they say, speak a language similar to their own, but not identical with it¹. They disclaim all connection with the TUWAREK ("KENIN"). The only branches of KURA'AN I have heard mentioned are the following:

BULTA	D6NZA
GAIDA	KILLIA
BIRRASA	DUDIRNIA
KOKURDA	NOARMA
MURDINGA, or MURDIA	JIGADA (in the west)

IV ZAGHAWA. Mixed with the BEDAYAT, but mainly to the south of them, in northern Ddrfür, are the ZAGHAWA². This large tribe is mainly a mixture of Hamitic TIBBU and negro⁸, and has Libyo-Berber affinities. They were known to the mediaeval Arab geographers, but the bulk of them in the middle ages appear to have been consider-

¹ Curiously enough, when I was asking some Bedaydt, Kura'an and Zaghiwa with what tribe in particular they connected the Tibbu they replied that the Tibbu were reputed to have been in old days relatives of the Hadendoa of the Eastern Sudan. The strain common to both is of course the Hamitic.

² See MacMichael in *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, XLII, 191 2, and *Tribes...*, Ch. VIII.

⁸ Keane, *Encycl. Brit.* art. "Sudan," and cp. Cust, 1, 253, and Carbou, 11, 209. Nachtigal, on the other hand, denied, on grounds that seem insufficient, that they were a Tibbu face. See *Voy. au Ouadai*, p. 73.

ably further west than at present, on the same latitude. Their native language is a dialect of TIBBU¹, but most can also speak Arabic of a kind.

They are first mentioned by that "Herodotus of the Arabs" el Mas'ūdi, about 943 A.D.² He speaks of the descendants of "Kush the son of Kana'in," whom he refers to in general terms as "Ḥabsha" and "Aḥābīsh" (*Le.* literally, Abyssinians), as moving westwards after the flood and then dividing into two main branches. The NUBA, the BEGA and the ZING became separate, he says, from the others, who continued westwards "towards el Zaghawa and el Kanem and Marka and Kaukau and Ghdna and the [s.c. countries of the] other kinds of blacks and Demidem." Later he speaks of these western migrants themselves as containing "Zaghawa and Kaukau and Karikir and Madfda and el Melana and el Kumati and Duwayla and el Ḳarma³." What he obviously means is that certain Ethiopian races at a very early period pushed westwards to those countries bordering on the Niger west of Lake Chad which were subsequently known as Zaghāi, Ghāna, etc.⁴

El Idrfsi, who wrote his *Geography* about 1153 after extensive travels in West Africa, in dealing with the desert of Tiser and the ZAGHAWA and FEZZAN describes the precarious semi-nomadic existence of the people, and says⁵:

Les deux residences les plus considérables du Zaghawa sont celles de Sakouat (سقوة) et de Chameh (شامة). On y trouve une tribu voyageuse appelée Sadraiet (صدراية), qui passe pour être Berbère. Les individus qui la composent ressemblent aux Zaghawiens; ils ont les mêmes habitudes, ils se sont identifiés à leurs races et ils ont recours à eux pour tous les objets qui leur sont nécessaires, et pour leur négoce. Chameh est un gros bourg, aujourd'hui mal peuplé, dont les habitants se sont transportés pour la plupart à K (كوكو), ville située à 16 journées de distance. Ils boivent beaucoup de lait, leurs eaux étant saumâtres, et mangent de la viande coupée en lanières et sechée au soleil. Ils se nourrissent aussi de reptiles, dont ils font une chasse abondante et qu'ils font cuire après leur avoir coupé la tête et la queue. Ces peuples sont très sujets à la gale, en sorte qu'il y a ce signe, dans tout le pays et dans toutes les tribus du Soudan, on reconnaît un Zaghawien. S'ils s'abstenaient de manger du serpent, ils en seraient totalement exempts. Ils vont nus et cachent seulement leurs

¹ Cp. MacMichaers vocabularies in *Journ. Anthr.* with those of Carbou, 1, 213 *et seq.*

² Vol. III, Ch. 33, pp. 1, 2, 37, 38.

³ The names vary in different MSS. Kaukau (Leo's "Gago") is Kigho (or Gao or Gogo) on the Niger. See Cooley, p. 32.

⁴ Cooley learnedly discusses the exact geographical situation of these western kingdoms and may be consulted for details.

* P. in in Vol. v of the *Recueil de Voyages*,.,

parties honteuses au moyen de cuirs tannés de chameau et de chevre, qui sont couverts de diverses sortes d'incisions et d'ornements.

Il y a dans ce pays une montagne nommée Loukia (لوكية)¹, très haute et d'un difficile accès, bien qu'elle soit formée d'une terre blanche et molle. Nul ne peut, sans périr, approcher des cavernes qui se trouvent sur son sommet, attendu, d'après ce qu'on assure, qu'on y trouve des serpents d'une grosseur énorme qui s'élancent sur quiconque se dirige sans le savoir vers leurs retraites, ce qui fait que les habitants du pays les redoutent et les évitent... Les habitants de ce canton sont Zaghawiens et leur tribu se nomme Sakouat; ils sont très sédentaires, possèdent de nombreux troupeaux de chameau de race estimée, fabriquent leurs vêtements et les tentes où ils demeurent avec le poil de ces animaux, et se nourrissent de leur lait, de leur beurre et de leur chair. Chez eux les légumes sont rares; cependant ils cultivent le dhorra, qui (comme on sait) est la principale production du Zaghawa: on y apporte quelquefois du blé* de Wardjelan et d'ailleurs.

Late in the fourteenth century, it is said, the ZAGHAWA came under the domination of the BULALA².

Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) speaks of the TAWAREK as a section of ṢANHAGA Berbers who include the kindred tribes of LAMTŪNA, ZAGHAWA and LAMTA and have frequented the tracts separating the country of the Berbers from that of the blacks since a time long previous to Islam³. But he also quotes Ibn Sa'id (1214-1287) to the effect that there were Zaghāwa living next to the Nūbians, i.e. further east, and that they were Muhammadans and included a section called "Taḡūa"⁴.

Maḡrīzi (fl. 1400), or Ibn Sa'id from whom he copies, tells us that "all the nations between Abyssinia on the south, Nūbia on the east, Barḡa on the north, and Taḡrūr on the west are called 'ZagMiV'"

Leo Africanus (fl. 1528) evidently refers to the ZAGHAWA and the cognate ḲURA'AN when he speaks of the journey between Cairo and Bornu as dangerous owing to the depredations of "certain thieves called Zingani," and when, in the passage previously quoted, he says "the king of Nubia maintaineth continually war partly against the people of Goran (who being descended of the people called Zingani, inhabit the deserts and speak a kind of language that

¹ Or "Lounia" (لونية).

* Barth, in, Ch. LI, p. 428, quoting Maḡrīzi and Abu al-Fida; but it is probable that the allusion is merely to the Zaghāwa of Kanem.

* Ed. de Slane, Bk. II, 64.

* *Ibid.* p. 100, and ed. ar., vi, 199; Bk. in. A variant for "Tagua" (تاجوة) reads "Tagra*" (تاجرة).

* Cooley, p. 98.

no other nation vnderstandeth) and partly against certaine other people¹."

The ZAGHAWA are still much where they were in Leo's time, but the nomad Arabs have interposed to a larger degree between them and Nūbia, and the only colony of them now between Ddrfūr and the Nile is at Kagm&r in Kordofan. This settlement was probably made early in the eighteenth century² and includes the "ZAGHAWA hills" of el Roy'ian and el 'Atshan: it is now in gradual process of arabicization; and the same applies in a less degree to the semi-nomadic ZAGHAWA of Dárfūr, who, though they do not call themselves Arabs and have not yet faked Arab pedigrees, speak Arabic and with Muhammadanism have adopted many Arab customs. They still, however, retain their belief in rainmakers (*hógi**). They are a lithe, stalwart and active folk, of the same cast of countenance as the TIBBŪ, very black-skinned⁴, and much addicted to raiding and blood feuds.

The FUR call them "MERIDA," the Midobis "KEBADI," the TAMA (and ERENGA) "Kuyuk," and they call themselves "Berri"; but in the dialects of the DAGU and others they appear as "ZAGAWA." The BIRKED use the form "Zauge."

El Tūnisi gives⁵ a number of details concerning the ZAGHAWA at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Their country, a very spacious area in north-western Ddrfūr was ruled by a tributary sultan who had twelve *meliks* subject to him. It was often known as "Dar Tekenyaouy,"⁶ a term also used however to include the BERTI country immediately east of it. The ZAGHAWA and BERTI, though living as neighbours, "par un trait frappant de la sagesse divine," were very different in character, the advantage both in morals and appearance lying with the latter. The ZAGHAWA were at feud with the MAḤAMFD Arabs.

¹ Cp. Chap. 2, XLI, of this Part. The reference to Leo is Bk. VII, 826 and 828. Temporal translated "Zingani" as "Gypsies" and Dr Brown (Leo, p. 828) thinks this correct. On p. 826 (*loc. cit.*) he says the Zingani cannot be classed with any known people. Sir C. Wilson (*Journ. Anthr. Inst.* Aug. 1887) thought the Zingani might be Kabdbfsh Arabs "not yet arabicized." The Gypsies in Syria and Asia Minor are still called "tchingene" (von Luschan, *loc. cit.* p. 227).

* See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 109.

⁸ "H6gon" is also the word used on the Hombori plateau (Upper Niger) for a rainmaker or sorcerer (see MacMichael, *loc. cit.* 114). For their belief in certain holy stones and trees see Para. vnt of this chapter.

⁴ Cp. Carbou, 11, 209. ⁵ *Voyage au Darfour*, pp. 128, 132, 133, 136-139* 297.

⁶ The term is said by el Tūnisi to mean "the left arm or wing [of the Sultan]"; but the Fur of the present tell me it denotes the loins ("sulub"). "Tekenyaouy" was the title of its ruler, a functionary quite distinct from the local Sultan and apparently a kind of viceroy of the Sultan of Darfur (see *loc. cit.* pp. 132, 133, 138). The title still survives, though its holder has neither authority nor duties.

At present the ZAGHAWA are divided into several large sections, of which the chief are the following¹:

ARTEYT*

MIRRA.

AḲABA.

KAITINGA². This large community, living close to the north of Kuttum, regards itself, and is regarded by others, as TUNGUR by descent on the male side and ZAGHAWA on the female side. They are inclined to demur to the appellation of ZAGHAWA, though not flatly disowning it, and to speak of themselves as a separate tribe. They never call themselves TUNGUR.

KOBBE. (Including the KUBGA.) This section is in the extreme north-west of Darfur and north-east of Wadai. There is a colony of KUBGA, with other KOBBE (NAS FIRTI), near Kebkebia, but their habitat proper is in a mountainous district north-west of Dar Tama.

The KOBBE are subdivided into ANGO, MIRRA, NOWRA, WAYRA, BAYBELA, KERAYKO, BIRRIARRA, BURSUS, SIGERLA and GODE; the KUBGA into BIGI, ERLA, HOTILLIA, DERBULA and BIRGABELA³.

KALIBA.

NIKIRI.

GALIGALGERA, or GANIGALGERA (under the KALIBA).

AWLAD DIḲAYN and AWLAD DOURA. Under AḲABA. Until the latter part of the eighteenth century, however, the AḲABA were under the Awlād DIḲAYN *naḥḍ*s.

Each main division of the ZAGHAWA now has its own *melik*, subject to no single Zagh&wi Sultan or overlord. Their habitat stretches across practically the whole of northernmost Darfur and part of northern Waddi⁴, and in its more southerly districts (in Dārfūr) is largely peopled by FfjR and TUNGUR.

V MfD6B. Gebel Mid'ob lies about 400 miles west of Khartoum or 350 miles west-south-west of Debba, in the north-eastern corner of Dārfūr, and mention has already been made of its people as having a Nūbianstrainandspeakinga dialect that resembles that of the BARABRA⁵.

¹ The Zaghāwa generally add the Bedaydt to the list of their subtribes.

² The Kaitinga brand is as shown. The "crow's-foot" at the base is common to most Fūr and Tungur brands and appears to be borrowed from the royal Kayra section of FQr (*q.v.* in Para, xx, and cp. Paras, vii and xix).

* The details of subdivisions of Kobbe* and Kubga were supplied to me by Mr E. G. Sarsfield Hall of the Sudan Civil Service, Inspector of Northern Darfur.

⁴ See Carbou, *il*, 209, 210.

⁵ Part I, Chap. 2, xxxiii and XLII. The account of Midob which follows is partly identical with an article I contributed, under the title "Nubian Influences in Darfur," to the first number of *Sudan Notes and Records* (1918), but certain additions have been made. For a comparative vocabulary of Mfd6b, Birred and Bardbra, see later *sub* Birred.

The range itself is a jumbled mass of hills of volcanic origin, between 100 and 200 miles in circumference, divided by numberless small valleys. The people are semi-nomadic: for the greater part of the year they are constantly shifting camp from place to place in and about their hills according to the grazing facilities, and in the rains, though a few folk remain stationary in villages for the sake of cultivation the great majority are away with the flocks in the great uninhabited area lying east of the range and west of the Widi el Melik, where the KABABISH Arabs send their camels and sheep at the same season from the opposite side. They are primarily herders of sheep and goats and have little cultivation. They buy most of their corn from the BERTI to the south and there is a small but long-established colony of Midobis living in the northern Tagabo (BERTI) hills.

The huts which compose a Midó'b village are of a curious—and to me unique—design. As having no permanent value they are built in a ramshackle manner, and when the site is changed they are simply abandoned. In shape they are roughly circular and in appearance not unlike great beehives: in content they slightly exceed the ordinary village *tukl* of Kordofdn and Darfur.

The sides are formed of long boughs stuck in the ground so as to bear slightly inwards. Their tops do not converge so as actually to meet—this would make the house too small—but the space between their tops is filled by interlacing many other shorter boughs horizontally from fork to fork in the manner of a rook's nest. Stability and support are given to the structure by two or more stout roof-trees, forked at the top, which are planted side by side a few feet apart near the centre of the hut. Smaller boughs and sticks are thrust in and across the forks of the larger boughs and interstices are crudely plugged with bunches of grass and cornstalks. The doorway opens to the south and is low and formed of two *shaybas*. The interior is not open as in the case of a *tukl*. On entering the door one advances along a kind of gangway which extends as far as the roof-trees. This gangway consists of a high partition of grass-matting (*sherkania*) on either side, reaching nearly to the roof. On one side the partition is continued at a right angle along the line of the roof-trees to the outer wall in such a way as to form a private room in the angle: on the other side it ends near the centre of the hut, thus leaving about three-quarters of the interior open. The villages are all on the plain but usually close to the foot of the hills.

The people are Muhammadans, but there are plentiful traces of more ancient manners and beliefs. For instance, a matrilinear system

of inheritance and succession is still followed, and on the death of a *mek* he is succeeded by his sister's son. There are two *meks* in Mid6b, one of the northern portion of the range (URTI section), the other of the southern (SHELKOTA section), and in both cases the practice is the same.

In the matter of inheritance it is usual, in order to conform to Islamic practice while preserving the ancient custom, for a man before his death to give his wealth to his sons, and the sister's son therefore finds nothing left to inherit. The well-to-do carry a sword, the rest a few throwing spears or a knobbed stick. The throwing stick, universal in the rest of Dárfūr, is not used at Midób.

Circumcision of both sexes is practised. Marriage with the daughter of the paternal uncle, usual among the nomadic Arabs, is taboo at Midób, but the same does not apply to marriage with the daughter of the maternal uncle.

A very interesting annual festival is held by the Midóbis of the north and south alike. It begins, it is said, on the eighth day of a lunar month, when the corn is ripe and the first few heads are being cut, but before the general reaping. On this occasion the young men and the girls go (in the case of the southern Midóbis) to Kh6r Oding&r and camp there for fifteen days, enjoying themselves with dancing and horse-play. The elder folk merely act the part of spectators and bring out the food and drink for the others.

A month later, on the eighth of the following month, that is, the young men go (in the case of the southern Mid6bis) to Khór Tit and take part in manly sports, running and riding, etc. The women and girls look on. In the evening each young man has to jump over the Khor; and then all go home.

So much—the date in the month excepted—I was told at Midob, and it was added in passing that the young men had their heads anointed for the festival. But in 1918 I was travelling with some MEd6bis and noticed that one of them, a youth aged 19 or so, wore his hair long and thickly plaited and parted down the middle—somewhat after the fashion of the BEDAYRIA A youths—with the plaits tied together for temporary convenience at the back of his head. This led to enquiries and the following additional facts transpired. The whole festival described above is known as the *bazza*, and if the year is a bad one from the point of view of the harvest (*bukkali*, Arabic¹; *urung'ul*, Midob) it is not held.

The plaited hair {*dirwa*, or *tirwi*, Arabic¹; *rufan*, Midob)

¹ The M(d6bis speak of this as an Arabic word, but, if so, it seems to be a corruption of some sort.

is an important feature in the proceedings. In anticipation of the festival the lads of Mfd6b allow their hair to grow long, and about spring-time they begin to pay special attention to anointing and plaiting it. Thus, when the time comes for the celebration of the second half of the festival, if the fathers, judging the harvest sufficiently good to warrant it, give sanction and anoint their own heads (which are, of course, close shorn), the lads dress themselves up with women's ornaments, bracelets, beads, etc., and take a drum (*nu-gdra*) and form a procession and go round visiting all the neighbouring villages, beating their drum and inviting contributions.

In a good year there will be some fifty to a hundred youths thus celebrating the *bazza*, in a poor year perhaps only a dozen or so; and evidently it is a matter for distinct pride in after-life to have been one of the lads of a good year: of my informants one boasted that he had been one of sixty-three and another one of fifty-five. If the numbers are sufficiently large two independent processions are formed instead of one.

Before setting out on their series of visits (which may extend over a week or a fortnight or so, according to the number of villages to be visited and the length of the gaps between visits) the lads select from among the elders of their tribe, for the maturity of their judgment, two old men ("*baraga sirigi*," i.e. "rulers of the young men¹") as advisers: it was explained that two were chosen, and not one only, because in human affairs "two heads are better than one." It is a matter of formality that these two elders at first refuse, and only allow themselves to be over-persuaded when the lads engage solemnly to them to behave themselves and lead a decent orderly life, avoiding quarrels and irregularities and insubordination. This done, the two elders consent to act, and instruct the lads in the proper ritual. The same elders may never serve more than twice.

In addition, the lads select from among their own number two leaders² for each procession, or for the single procession, as the case may be; but for this privilege only those are eligible whose fathers and mothers are still alive and hale. During the course of the processional visits all the lads submit to the orders of the leaders thus chosen.

Then the procession sets out and visits the villages, beating the drum and collecting whatever is offered of corn, money, sheep, strips of cotton material, etc. Small girls, not yet come to puberty, may

¹ The word "sirigi" is also that used for a village sheikh at Mid6b.

² Also apparently called "baraga sirigi," as are the two elders. It appears to be immaterial which of all the youths beats the drum.

follow in the train of the procession, but it is not customary for anyone else to do so.

At the end of the festival the offerings are all handed over to the two elders, who divide up one-third of the total among the lads and keep two-thirds for themselves. The leaders of the procession get no more in this distribution than their companions.

Then the lads disperse to their homes and the father of each (or in default the father's brother) cuts off his son's locks and gives them to the mother, and she hangs them up in the home and there they remain suspended indefinitely.

This cutting of the hair is the final consummation of the whole affair, and every male Midóbi goes through the process on the threshold of his manhood, and once for all. There is no particular age specified, and the rite has apparently no connection with puberty, marriage, etc. One simply waits for a reasonably good harvest year. It is only forbidden for sons of the same mother to go through the ceremony in a single year, though sons of the same father by different mothers may do so. Until his hair has been shorn it is improper for a boy to leave the mountain, and, in the case of the one with unshorn locks whom I encountered, nothing but the force of particular circumstances would have induced him to do it, and he was obviously ashamed of himself¹.

¹ So far as I could ascertain no other neighbouring Ddrftr tribe has any strictly analogous rite. The somewhat similar practice among the Kimr (see Para, xxi) is associated with circumcision and has nothing to do with the harvest.

The obvious interest in the Midóbi festival is the resemblance it bears to May-Day festivals, whether that associated with the holy bull of Magnesia (Asia Minor) in pre-Christian days, or that still held in Thuringia, or in the country districts of England "where," as Miss Harrison says, "the Queen of the May and the Jack-in-the-Green still go from house to house. Nowadays it is to collect pence; once it was to diffuse 'grace' and increase" (*Ancient Art and Ritual*, P. 175).

Take the case of the Thuringian festival first: "As soon as the trees begin to be green in spring, the children assemble on a Sunday and go out into the woods, where they choose one of their playmates to be Little Leaf Man. They break branches from the trees and twine them about the child, till only his shoes are left peeping out. Two of the other children lead him for fear he should stumble. They take him singing and dancing from house to house, asking for gifts of food, such as eggs, cream, sausages, cakes..." (*Art and Ritual*, p. 60).

Even more striking is the parallel from ancient Asia Minor: "It was not only at Elis that a holy Bull appears at the Spring Festival. Plutarch asks another instructive Question: 'Who among the Delphians is the Sanctifier?' And we find to our amazement that the Sanctifier is a Bull. A Bull who not only is holy himself, but is so holy that he has power to make others holy, he is the Sanctifier; and, most important for us, he sanctifies by his death in the month Bysios, the month that fell... 'at the beginning of spring, the time of the blossoming of many plants/

"We do not hear that the 'Sanctifier' at Delphi was 'driven/ but in all probability he was led from house to house, that every one might partake in the sanctity

Just before the rains the southern Mid6bis hold a quite different ceremony at the holy rock of Udru, a broken unshaped block of granite some 2½ feet high lying at the foot of Gebel Udru (called by the Arabs "Mogrin"), a large and conspicuous detached hill on the south side of Mi'dób. The holy rock is called Telii (northern dialect) or Delli (southern dialect) and the same word in the Mfd6bi language means God. Over it is built a rough hut of boughs, which is repaired yearly before the ceremony, but left in bad repair for the greater part of the year. The rock, when I saw it in July 1917, was still covered with milk stains. Another smaller boulder near by had similar stains upon it and some stones and cow-dung on the top of it. This second boulder was referred to as the son or younger brother of the larger one, and the reason of its having also been honoured was said to be that the hut built over the big boulder had so consistently fallen to pieces that the people thought the rock was perhaps annoyed at the neglect shown to the smaller boulder, so of late years they had taken to making offerings to both. The stones and cow-dung had been placed upon the smaller boulder by the children in play.

The ceremony at Udru is performed by certain old women of the Ordarti section, who inherit the privilege from mother to daughter. The offerings of milk, fat, flour, meat, etc., are handed by the votaries to these old women and by them placed on the rock. The rest of the people stand some way off and pass the time jumping and dancing and singing.

There is said to be another holy stone at which similar rain-that simply exuded from him. At Magnesia, a city of Asia Minor, we have more particulars. There, at the annual fair year by year the stewards of the city bought a Bull, *the finest that could be got/ and at the new moon of the month at the beginning of seedtime they dedicated it for the city's welfare. The Bull's sanctified life began with the opening of the agricultural year, whether with the spring or the autumn ploughing we do not know. The dedication of the Bull was a high solemnity. He was led in procession, at the head of which went the chief priest and priestess of the city. With them went a herald and the sacrificer, and two bands of youths and maidens. So holy was the bull that nothing unlucky might come near him; the youths and maidens must have both their parents alive, they must not have been under the *taboo*, the infection, of death. The herald pronounced aloud a prayer for 'the safety of the city and the land, and the citizens, and the women and children, for peace and wealth, and for the bringing forth of grain and of all the other fruits, and of cattle.* All this longing for fertility, for food and children, focuses round the holy Bull, whose holiness is his strength and fruitfulness."

The bull is set apart and fed and "it is good" for those that give him food. He lives on through autumn and winter but early in April the end comes. Again a procession is formed, senate and priests, "children and young boys and youths just come to manhood" take their part in it, and the Bull is sacrificed so that his strength and vigour may pass to his people. And "'when they shall have sacrificed the Bull, let them divide it up among those who took part in the procession/" that each "may get his share of the strength of the Bull, of the luck of the State" {*Art and Ritual*, pp. 86-89).

making ceremonies are held, a day's journey away, at Gebel Abu Nu&a. It also is called Telli (Delii).

We shall see that elsewhere in Dirfūr analogous ceremonies are held with the object of ensuring good rains, and in every case the medium is an old woman, and offerings are made at some particular stone or tree; but in the case of Mid6b there is, so far as I could discover, no suggestion of the usual serpent or other demon having its lair beneath¹.

The three main sections into which the people of Mid6b are divided are the URTI (in the northern hills), the TORTI (or DORTI), and the SHELK6TA (in the southern hills), but there are also certain well-defined subdivisions such as the ORDARTI, the GENANA—who are reckoned to have a strong Arab strain and whose name is familiar from the "nisbas" (q.v. in Part IV)—the TURKEDDI, the USUTTI and the KAGEDDI. All alike (the GENANA excepted) claim to be MAḤASS from Dongola but they preserve no written record nor oral tradition as to the time at which they settled at Midob nor as to the circumstances of their migration. They call themselves Tiddi².

The old burial grounds at Midób are invariably at the foot of the hills and the sites are marked by rough cairns of stone. Exactly similar cairns occur between Midob and the Widi el Melik, on the Wddi el Melik, at Kdga and Katūl, on the Wddi el Muḡaddam, in the hills immediately west of Omdurman and in the hills between the Blue Nile and Abu Delayḡ.

VI BERTI. South of the Midob hills, in eastern Darfur, live the BERTI, a large tribe of mixed origin. To the FÜR they are known as KURMU, to the BIRḲED as SULGU, to the Mfdób people as Bayti. They call themselves SIGATO. Their upper classes put forward shadowy claims to be related to the GA'ALIIN of the Nile valley and to the HOWARA³ by descent and to the DAR ḤAMID group of Kordofdn by intermarriage, but in appearance they are all alike negroid.

The true home of the BERTI is in the Tagdbo hills between Mfd6b and el Fisher, but in recent years, owing partly to the oppressiveness of the FÜR Sultan's rule and partly to the local failure of the crops, large numbers of them have settled to the south-east in Gebel el Ḥilla and Tawaysha districts, Where there used to be only insignificant colonies of BERTI, and in western Kordofdn. They are entirely sedentary and are rightly described by el Tūnisi⁴ as a mild and

¹ Compare Ibn Selim's record of the vogue of a sacred stone in connection with rainmaking in the S6ba (Gefra) region in the tenth century (see Part I I, Chap. 2).

² "Tiddi" in the Berti language means "white"—probably a mere coincidence.

* See Part I I I, Chap. 8.

* See *Voy. Darfour*, pp. 128, 133, 136, 297.

good-natured people. In fact the Arabs despise them as spiritless and cowardly. Apart from cultivation their only industry appears to be the making of *burmas*, or jars for water or *merissa*. The process is the same as in northern Kordofan, for instance. The ball of clay is placed on a piece of rough matting, the fist is driven into it and the walls of the jar are driven out from the inside. The mouthpiece and neck are made separately and superimposed.

Iron-workers are, as usual throughout Darfur, held in detestation, but both the ZAGHAWA and the BERTI harbour small colonies of servile iron-workers from the west¹.

There are two or three holy stones and trees in or near the Tagábo hills², where rites are performed once or twice a year. The usual occasion is just before the rains are due to commence, but it is not unusual for recourse to be had to these sites ("*mǧhalldt ʿawdid*" = "places of customs") also at harvest time, immediately before the reaping, in the hope of ensuring a good crop and fat kine. As at Midób, the intermediaries are old women who hold the right from mother to daughter, but the daughter does not practise until she has had children or is advanced in years. The space round the tree or stone is carefully swept and sheep are sacrificed and offerings of meat, milk, fat and flour are made and "worship is rendered." The families of the old women officiating are allowed to sit close by and watch the rites, but the rest of the populace remain afar.

One informant denied any idea of a spirit or animal living below the sacred tree or rock, but others on the contrary held there were *afrit* (*sing*, *afrit* = an (evil) spirit) there, though they had no notion of their shape or form or attributes. The old women, they say, talk to these and stroke and soothe the stone.

But, as a matter of fact, those BERTI who have acquired some measure of civilization by contact with the Arabs are inclined to regard the whole matter as a superstition, and it seems to be only among the ruder type living among the Tagábo hills that the rites are still practised.

The BERTI are subdivided into innumerable sections and the names of the greater number of these correspond to the names of hills in or near Tagdobo, but it was insisted by the head *Sharṭdi* (*ʿomda*) of the tribe, from whom I obtained the following list, that it was the hills which were called after the sections, and not *vice versa*.

¹ See p. 89.

* One is at Saydh, one at the small hill which gives its name to the whole Tagabo range. The latter of these is the most important site of all.

WAMATO	WAMIRTO	MINA	WIMATO
KAMDIRTO	MASANDIAT	BASINGA ²	KADARINTO
SINFANTO	KAYLINGA	WARL	SELBALTO
DIBAYRTO	ARMADIAT	KAMLINGA	BURMATO
BISHINANTO	WADKENIAT	WIZATO	MIRARTO
WIDARTO	KAMARSHOWAT	KASHRITO	MANGILTO
'ABDINTO	ATABIRTO	KIBRANTO	SOWARANTO
DUKURTO	KAMALKUA	BOBARTO	WIRATO
F6BATO	MUSABA'AT ¹	MISMARTO	SANDILTO
KUATO	KUDIL	WIMARTO	SAMBANGATO ⁴
AMINKATO	UMBATO	BURANTO	LABABIS ⁵
DADAMARTO	KIRATO	(3DATO	KINATO
TOFITO	UMZATO	KADANTO	UMZIRARTO
UMBATO	JJANDILTO	H6BATO	SHOKANTO
KOLIAT	KARAKA	MADINKIRTO ³	

The dialect spoken by the BERTI bears marked resemblances to that of the ZAGHAWA⁶.

VII **TUNGUR**. The TUNGUR were reported to Barth⁷ as having come originally from Dongola " where they had separated from the Batilesa, the well-known Egyptian tribe originally settled in Bēnesē." Now "Baṭālesā" is simply a regular plural formed from "Baṭlūs," the Arabic form of Ptolemy (Ptolemaeus)⁸, and the legend suggests that the TUNGUR were an ancient pre-Arab tribe from Nūbia. From certain customs that survive among them⁹ one would infer that they were Christians at the date of their migration to the west. Carbou states¹⁰ " La tradition des Toundjour parle aussi d'un séjour de leur tribu sur les bords du bahr Nil "; and one notes in confirmation that their name survives in that of the "Tungur" Rapid seventy-two miles south of Wadi Haifa. On reaching Darfur, probably in the fifteenth or sixteenth century¹¹, they took up their abode in the northern or central districts. They have been spoken of by travellers as dispossessing the DAḠU in Dārḡūr, but there is no doubt that there

¹ Presumably Fūr by origin.

* The headman's own section. Cp. p. 95.

³ Cp. " Madargarkei " among the Birred?

⁴ Cp. " Sumbinange " and " Sambelange " among the Dagu.

⁶ Cp. other Labēbs, claiming to be Kababish by origin, among the Fur.

⁶ For examples see Appendix 1 to this chapter.

⁷ Q.v. Vol. in, Ch. LI, p. 430.

⁸ See, e.g., Abu el Fidā, *Hist. Ant.* p. 104, "

I see that Dr Brown, editing Leo, calls (p. 645) the "Batalises" one of the Zeneta (Berber) tribes.

⁹ See Appendix 5 to this chapter.

¹⁰ 1, 74.

¹¹ It may well have been earlier than the sixteenth century, but the Tungur are not mentioned by Leo at the beginning of the sixteenth century: cp. Barth, *ibid*, pp. 429, 430. Nachtigal thought they entered Darfur in the fifteenth century (see Carbou, 1, 74).

has been some misapprehension on this point. It is true that natives will tell one that first the DAGU ruled, then the TUNGUR, then the FCR; but what they mean in the case of the first two is that each in turn was the most powerful tribe in the country and not necessarily that one subdued the other or even occupied the same part of Darfur. For instance, the DAGU never had any shadow of power or influence in northern Darfur or Gebel Marra, and the TUNGUR never had any connection with the southernmost districts of Ddrfur or Gebel Marra. The main spheres of the two people were always distinct, except that they certainly met and overlapped in central-eastern Ddrfur, that is to say, in the neighbourhood of el Fasher.

I incline, too, to think that there has been a further misconception as to the TUNGUR. Nachtigal¹ speaks of the last TUNGUR king, *Shiu Dorshid*, as living in Gebel Si, and it has been inferred that the TUNGUR (all or part) lived in those mountains and that they had the seat of their rule there. But the term "Gebel Si" is a very-wide one. It does not include only the rocky, almost impassable, range which forms the northern prolongation of Gebel Marra, but all the cultivable sandy country with smaller outcrops of rock which flank the hills for a day's journey or so to east and west. Even in 'Ali Dindr's time and at the present day the head *Shartai Si*, which is thus a district as well as a range, does not live in the hills but on the sandy fertile tract to the east of it; and there is no local record or tradition that I have been able to trace, even in Si itself, that the TUNGUR ever occupied the mountains of Si proper or had their headquarters there. Nor is it in the least likely from what we know of their history that they ever bothered—or were able—to overrun these inhospitable crags and settle there. Why should they when the fertile country to the east, and perhaps to the west also, was ample for them?

The truth seems to be simply that the TUNGUR, when they arrived in northern Ddrfur made their headquarters at Ferra in Dār Furnung to the north-west of Kuttum—all local tradition agrees as to this—and their control extended over the eastern plains of Gebel Si². That the savage mountaineers of Si were overawed by them and perhaps paid them some tribute is not impossible, but there is no definite evidence of it. That there was copious intermarriage between FOR and TUNGUR in this neighbourhood is indubitable. The name of Shdu Dorshid is familiar in Gebel Si itself to the present day, but the greatest vagueness prevails as to details and opinion is even

¹ See *History of the World* (Helmolt), p. 585.

² For a description of their remains at Ferra see Appendix 5 to this chapter.

divided as to whether he was a Tungurdwi or a Furdwi or one of the T6 R£, the prehistoric people who, according to tradition, preceded the FUR both in the mountains of Si and Turra (the northernmost portion of Marra, immediately south of Si). For this confusion the local blending by marriage of FUR and TUNGUR stocks is obviously responsible, for an exactly similar doubt surrounds the ethnical status of the people of Dar Furnung themselves at the present day.

The TUNGUR were not content to remain for long in Darfur. In less than a century they began to extend their conquests over Waddi and up to the borders of Baqirmi.

In proportion, however, as they moved westwards they weakened their hold over the most easternly part of their dominions and their place was taken by the KAYRA section of the FtiR with whom they had intermarried¹.

In the west they were overcome in the first half of the seventeenth century by 'Abd el Kerim, the founder of the Muhammadan empire of Wadai². They then moved into Kanem and overcame the BULALA and compelled the Arab tribes to pay tribute. By this time, if not before, they had been converted to Islam. Subsequently they were subdued by the Bornuans, but in the middle of the nineteenth century regained the mastery by the aid of the Sultan of Wadai. Shortly afterwards, however, the AWLAD SULAYMAN invaded their country and made them tributary. Since then they have been of little account³.

The tradition given by Slatin⁴ is to the effect that the TUNGUR came from the north from Tunis under "Aḥmad el Ma'aḳūr" (of the BENI HILAL, the commonly reputed ancestor of the KAYRA FOR), but this story is so obviously intertwined with the fabulous "Abu Zayd" or "Beni Hilal" cycle current in Egypt and the Sudan⁵, and there may so easily be a confusion between TUNGUR and FUR traditions, due to the extent to which they intermarried in northern Darfur,

¹ Note that the mother and not the father of Dāli, who is spoken of as the first Kayra Sultan, belonged to the Kayra family: the father was a Tungurdwi (Carbou, I, 77). So, too, 'Abd el Kerim (*q.v.* next paragraph) is said to have married the daughter of the Tungur king (Carbou, I, 78).

² Barth, *loc. cit.*; Nachtigal, *Sah. und Sudan*, HI, 449 ff. and *Voy. au Ouadai*, PP- 72, 93; Schurtz, pp. 541-544, and Carbou, I, 73-84, 25, 26. The last two are quoting Nachtigal.

³ Carbou, I, Ch. 111.

⁴

Chap. n.

⁵ The subject is discussed in my *Tribes...*, pp. 56, 57. See also Escayrac de Lauture, *Le Désert et le Soudan*, and Carbou, I, 74, 84, and 11, 17. The last-named also refers to an article "Schoa und Tundscher" by Hartmann in *Der islamische Orient*, I, 29-31, and to C. H. Becker's "Zur Geschichte der östlichen Sudan" (in *Der Islam*, i^{re} année, fasc. n), pp. 161, 162. Becker brings the Tungur from the east. Kampffmeyer (*Studien der arabischen Beduinendialecte Inner Afrikas*, p. 166), *ap.* Carbou, I, 84, brings them from Tunis.

For an account of the Beni Hilal see Part II, Chap. 1, xiv.

that one would hesitate to accept any of its details as historically correct.

The TUNGUR, however, are generally regarded as having some intimate connection with the BENI HILAL, and, though this may only be an echo of the KAYRA tradition, the converse may equally be true, and there also remains the possibility that about the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D., or even earlier, some Arabs or Arabo-Nūbians with a BENI HILAL connection, moved westwards from the cataract region of the Nile to D&r&fur, mixed with the native races, and came to be generally known as TUNGUR¹, a theory not unsupported by local tradition².

There is also the bare possibility that the TUNGUR may have been related to the Berber tribes dispossessed by the BENI HILAL in North Africa, and perhaps through them to the BENI HILAL themselves. Or they may conceivably present a parallel to the case of the HOWARA settled in and near el Fisher: these latter are by origin Berbers from Upper Egypt who in Dongola and Kordofdn are represented by the nomad HAWAWJR and the negrified GELLABA HOWARA respectively³.

The word "Tungur" in Nūbian or Bafabra means "a bow for shooting"⁴; Nūbia was known to the Pharaohs as Ta-sety (Land of the Bow), and "Les Nubiens, dit Masoudy,...se servent d'arcs arabes pour lancer des fleches. C'est d'eux que les peuples du Hedjaz, du Yemen, et les autres Arabes, ont appris a tirer de Tare"⁵.... Les Arabes les nomment *les archers habiles**: Their traditions connect them with Dongola and the BENI HILAL, they preserve (as may be seen in Appendix 5) the custom of using the sign of the Cross, their name survives in a rapid on the Nile, and, all things considered, one may say that such evidence as there is clearly indicates a Nūbian origin for the TUNGUR.

If this is correct, a parallel is provided by the case of the BIRKED which will shortly be discussed.

The TUNGUR have generally been referred to by travellers as

¹ This seems to be Carbou's view (q.v. i, 74 note).

² Cp. MS. D 1, CXLIII, and cp. Sir H. H. Johnston's views in *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XLin, 1913, p. 399. He considers that a large proportion of the "Hilalian" invaders found their way from the cataract region of the Nile "across Darfur to Wadai, Bornu and Baghirmi, where they are represented at the present day by the Shawia. Others again mingled with Hamitic and negro elements and founded the powerful Funj dynasty of Senaar." From the second of these statements I would entirely dissent.

³ See App. to Part II, Chap. 1.

⁴ Reinisch, *Die Nuba-Sprache*, p. 165.

⁵ Quatremère, n. 28.

• Mas'Qdi, 11, 383 (and cp. II, 2, xxIII above): the Arabic is

Arabs, and they still, after the debased Ga'ali manner, make perfunctory claim to be descended from the BENI 'ABBAS, however difficult it may be to reconcile this with the BENI HILAL connection.

In Dárfūr and Kordofān it is not uncommon to see both the distinctively negroid and the distinctively dark Arab type among the TUNGUR; but in Wadāi, on the other hand, Nachtigal found the TUNGUR with "a skin almost white." They spoke Arabic and had the reputation of being Arabs¹.

M. Carbou speaks of the western TUNGUR as a population intermediary between the Arabs and the KANEMBU and TIBBU, and mixed with other tribes among whom they have lived. As regards their appearance he says: "On trouve chez les Toundjour le teint clair des Arabes ('hamer': rouge), mais la nuance 'akhdher' (litt. vert: bronze foncé) est la plus répandue. Quelques-uns d'entre eux, assez rares d'ailleurs, ont le teint 'azreq' (noir-gris)."

Their chief, he says, is known as the *fougbou*, a word of KANem origin².

Most of them are in Kanem: others are in Bornu and Waddi (Dār el Zīūd, etc.) and Dárfūr. M. Carbou scouts the idea that they came from the east and has little doubt but that there is good foundation for their claim to be connected with the BENI HILAL and to have come from Tunis³. They do not practise female excision as the Arabs and Waddyans do⁴.

The TUNGUR of Darfur are mentioned by el Tunisi among the minor Sultanates of that country, neighbours of the BIRKED, living between Gedfd Ris el Ffl and Tubeldia⁵. They had "une certaine dose de religion et d'intelligence, ce qui les maintient dans les limites d'une conduite plus modérée." Unlike the other petty sultans, the ruler of the TUNGUR used to wear a black turban, and he told el Tūnisi that he did so as a sign of mourning for the glory that had departed⁶.

As we have seen, in the early days of their predominance in Dárfūr their capital was at Ferra, north-west of Kuttum, near Sī, but they pushed southwards thence and made Gebel Ḥarāyz, south of el Fisher, one of their headquarters. Moderately large colonies of TUNGUR still exist both round Kuttum and Ḥarāyz. With the exception of the indeterminate TUNGUR-FUR of Furnung they speak Arabic only and are known by no other name than TUNGUR to the various dialect-speaking tribes of the country. They are divided into a large number of sections, mostly small and negligible, but the following appear to

¹ Voy. au Ouadal, p. 93.

²

Carbou, 1, 82-84 and 167.

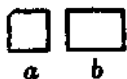
³ *Ib...id.* 11, 17; and 1, 73, 74. ⁴ *Ibid.* 11, 17, 22.

⁵ Voy. au Darfour, pp. 128, 133.

• *Ibid.* p. 128. The custom does not survive now.

be the most important. The brands which each most commonly uses for its animals are added, but of course many of the subsections use variants,

A. KIRATI (the ruling family at Ḥarayz). They use the brand (a) or (b) and call it (probably by error) the *ankarib* ("bedstead").



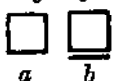
B. DOWLUNGA (the ruling family at Kuttum). They use the *dingar* (i.e. *nugdra* or small war-drum) with sticks as in the figure.



C. KIRWA. They use the *tuḡdi* ("reaping knife"), (#), or vary it to (b). They also use (c).



D. KURUKURI. They use the *ankarib*, as (A), or as (E), but in the latter case call it a *nugdra*.



E. NIMINGA. They use the brand as shewn.



F. U M KADARIX. They use the *rigl el ghordb* ("crows-foot") in the form shewn.



G. SUḲŪRI. They use a *rigl el ghordb* in the form shewn.



H. WARINGA. They are said to be a branch of SUḲŪRI. The figure shews their brand, which is alleged to represent a sword hilt with an extra line for the scabbard.



J. INGUNGA. They are said to be a branch of the KIRATI. Their brand, round Kuttum, is as in the figure.



VIII DAGU. One of the most ancient Darfūrian races, one which now forms with the BIRKED and BAYKO¹ a distinct, albeit heterogeneous, negroid group in central Ddrfūr, east and south-east of Gebel Marra, to the north of the BAḲḲARA country proper, is the DAGU.

The grounds for any possible identification of these DAGU with the Tāḡūa branch of ZAGHAWA mentioned by Ibn Sa'id as living forty days eastwards of Tādmekka, which is in the hilly country north of Agades², would be, so far as I am aware, nil, and neither DAGU nor ZAGHAWA lend any support to such theory either by their own traditions or by obvious physical characteristics.

Browne states³ that he gathered from native tales in Ddrftir about 1794, that "The Dageou race came originally from the north, having

¹ For the spelling of these two names see note later under Birked.

² See above *sub* Zaghāwa, and Cooley, p. 30. The occasional spelling of Dāḡū as "Tagu" alone leads me to mention the possibility of the identification by error of Dāḡū and Tāḡūa.

³ p. 280.

been expelled from that part of Africa now, nominally at least, under the dominion of Tunis." This story also has nothing to recommend it.

Browne refers, too, to an alleged custom practised by the DAGU of lighting a fire on the inauguration of their king and keeping it burning till his death. A similar custom appears to prevail in Uganda¹.

El Tūnisi mentions the DAGU, the MAṢALIṬ, the MfMA, the KASHMARA and the KURA'AN as the five aboriginal tribes of Waddi², and of the first-named says :

Les Dadjo sont au sud du Dar-Seleih [*i.e. Wadai*], voisins des Koukah... [ils] sont généralement d'un noir foncé; leur caractère est encore sauvage. Ils sont, aux yeux des Ouadayens, ce que sont les Berty aux yeux des Foriens [*i.e. people of Darfur*], Les Berty sont au nord du For, et les Dadjo au sud de Ouaday.

El Tunisi here of course refers not to the DAGU of Darfur but to those of Dar Sula in southern Wadai. The former group he mentions briefly in his book on Dārfūr as living next the BAYKO under a tributary " Sultan " of their own³.

Barth speaks of the DAGU as having dominated Dārfūr in the tenth century of Islam and as being called in his time (1849-55) "Nds Fara'ón" ("Pharaoh's Folk"⁴). He regarded them as entirely different from the ZAGHAWA and thought they might have come from the mountains of Fazoghli south of Senndr. Their traditions lend colour to this theory and their customs suggest a Bantu connection.

Nachtigal (1872), who met the DAGU on the frontier of Darfur and Waddi, speaks of them⁵ (the western or Sula branch, that is) as "black as jet/" strongly built, and hideously ugly. As regards their state of culture they were nominal Muhammadans with numerous pagan beliefs.

¹ Browne, p. 306. A survival of this custom, now forgotten, may lie in the use of the word " nEr " (" fire ") as the equivalent of " sovereignty ": thus it is said that such and such a tribe is " in the fire of " (" ff nar ") another tribe, meaning it is subject to it; or again that so and so has been appointed " to the fire of " (" ff nar ") a tribe, meaning he has been made chief over it. When I directly questioned the Ddgu as to the truth of the story told by Browne, they denied it, but spoke very vaguely of some similar custom which, they believed, had prevailed among the Dāgu of Dar Sula. One man vouched for the fact that Sultan Bakhft Abu Risha of Sula (deposed by the French in 1916) had six times caught his slaves (probably Fertft, q.v.) lighting some such fire against his wishes and had caused it to be put out. Cp. Roscoe in *Harvard Afr. Stud.* 1, 37, 38; and *Baganda*, pp. 103 and 202.

² *Voy. au Ouaday*, pp. 245, 248. The spelling is taken from the Arabic (q.v. pp. 728ff.).

³ *Voy. au Darfour*, pp. 128-138.

⁴ Vol. in, Ch. LI, p. 426. The Tibbu are called " Nas Fara'on " in the " Tarikh el Khamis," a native MS. of Wadai (see Carbou, 1, 116). Cp. remarks at the close of this chapter.

⁵ *Voy. au Ouadai*, p. 68.

They have a shrine for their deity whom they supply very freely with merissa, and the ministers of the sanctuary do not fail to profit by this lucky fact. They have also a sacred tree which they similarly water with merissa, and a holy stone. Death is seldom attributed to natural causes or the will of a Supreme Being, but as a rule to the evil eye of a magician¹. If by the help of the Gods and by means of some tricks of magic some of these sorcerers are discovered they are massacred without pity, their goods are seized, and their households sent in slavery to Waddi.

The "sacred tree" and the "holy stone" at once recall Bruce's description² of the NUBA slaves, captives from Daier and Tekali in Kordofan, whom the traveller met in Sennar and who adored the moon and trees and stones "though I could never find out what tree or what stone it was, only that it did not exist in the country of Sennar but in that where they were born." But as a matter of fact, as has already been noted in dealing with the BERTI and the people of Mid6b, this cult is so widespread as to be almost universal in Darfur. Some account of its practice by the FUR is also given later. With them, as with the ZAGHA'WA it is associated with the idea of placating some evil being, generally in the form of a snake, believed to live beneath the tree or stone. The spread of Muhammadanism has, needless to say, wrenched the ancient superstition from its original setting and re-set it in a modified form among the unobjectionable, if not quite orthodox, observances of the local True Believers; and the latter would never fail to represent their prayers as directed to the One God, however much their fears might really centre upon the hidden demon known to their forefathers. The position, from the point of view of the educated native of Darfur, is perhaps expressed most easily by repeating the gist of a dialogue I had with the *Makdum* Sherif, lately the Sultan's viceroy in northern Darfur:

Ques. Have the ZAGHAWA any holy places in their country? If so of what kind?

Ans. Yes, if anyone wants anything, or is undertaking any venture, he visits some rock or tree and makes the usual offerings of meat and *dih̄n* (grease) and voices his appeal.

Ques. Would any rock or any stone be good enough?

Ans. No. There are certain definite ones, three or four in Dār Zaghiwa.

Ques. To whom does he appeal?

Ans. To God, of course.

Ques. Does he have no local demon also in view?

¹ Cp. Roscoe, *Baganda*, p. 98.

² See Bruce, iv, 420 ff.; and cp. Roscoe, *Baganda*, p. 271.

Ans. Well, there used to be, but nowadays they appeal to God only.

Ques. Did they adopt this system of holy sites from the FUR?

Ans. It is general in Darfur. The DAGU and the BIRKED and the FUR * and the ZAGHAWA and BEDAYAT all do the same, and the practice is practically universal except among the Arabs.

Ques. Is there a medium ?

Ans. Yes, a woman generally. Her position is hereditary from mother to daughter, irrespective of age. Among the ZAGHAWA she is called the *bdda*.

Ques. Is there any particular season more favourable than another ?

Ans. No, but of course at this present season (June) it would be for rain most people would be praying and making their offerings. The DAGU of Dar Sula make a regular festival of it. The Sultan and his nobles attend and all the horsemen, and they place the *dih̄n* in front of a hole in a certain rock and wait. If the ants—the big black battling ants—come out, it is a good sign and all rejoice. If not the prospect is bad. This particular system I believe to be confined to Dar Sula. Throughout Darfur it is merely a question of making offerings at certain places and praying for success.

The DAGU in Dárfūr live by cultivation and breeding cattle in the fertile tracts round Nyala and Takala to the west of Dara.

They have a hereditary Sultan, tributary to the Sultan of Darfur of course, as head man, and his right-hand man is the *sambei*—a sort of president of the tribal sheikhs or *damdlig*¹, who does most of the work. All the sections of the tribe are subject to the *sambei*'s orders except the Sultan's own and one or two others closely related to it. The position of the *sambei*, however, is not hereditary, but almost elective. He is chosen by the people from among the body of the tribe by a consent that is as near as possible unanimous. In theory he can be dismissed by the Sultan, but in practice he is secure so long as he commands the confidence of the people.

In addition to the main DAGU settlement in Darfur and the colony in Dar Sula there are also smaller groups of DAGU in Dar Messina, in Kordofan, on the north-west fringes of the NUBA country in what are known as the DAGU Hills, and even a few small and scattered settlements farther east near el Obeid² and, it is said, east of Tekali³.

¹ In Ddrfur, even among the Arabs, the tribal elders, the body that chooses or deposes the head sheikh that is, are known as "damalig" (*sing.* "dimlig"). See para, xxi to follow. The term is not used elsewhere in the Sudan. For the position of the "sambei" among the Dagū cp. that of the "dingar" among the Mašālf (Para. xvi). The two exactly correspond.

² Cp. MacMichael, *Tribes...*, pp. 51, 52. See also Carbou, 1, 371, and 11, 218-220. The Dagū in Kordofan are regarded locally as "Hamegs" or "Nuba" by origin.

³ These last I have not met and I only heard of them when in Darfur.

In Darfur the DAGU call themselves FININGA. They are known to the FUR as MIRINGA, to the BIRRED as NISHIGI, and to the MESALIT as BEREJE.

In view of Barth's theory, quoted above, that the DAGU may have come from south of Senndr, and the evidence of their own traditions, is it not possible that there is a connection between the words "Fininga" (*sing.* "Finichei") and "Fung"? It will be noticed that the period of DAGU ascendancy in Dárfūr corresponds to the time when the FUNG, having founded their kingdom in 1504, were extending their power over the neighbouring provinces.

They perfunctorily claim descent from the BEDUIN of the Ḥegáz and say that their ancestor, who brought them from Arabia, was a certain Ḳedir who gave his name to the well-known Gebel Ḳedir¹, one of the NŪBA mountains lying west of the upper reaches of the White Nile, south of latitude 11°, east of Talódi. From Ḳedir, they say, the DAGU moved westwards, leaving small colonies in Kordofan, to Darfur, and there took up their abode.

The successors of Ḳedir were in turn Mai, Zalaf, Kamteinyei², 'Omar, 'Abdullahi Bahur and Ahmad el Dag. Of the first three nothing is recorded, but it was 'Omar who finally ejected from the DAGU country of the present day the FOREGE or FOROKE WHO inhabited it previously, and drove them back south-westwards to their original home in Dr Fertit³. Of Ahmad el Dag is told the story, not peculiar to him⁴, that his pride and presumption were such that he was not content to ride a horse or any other animal but a tiang, and that his mount ran away with him and galloped to Dar Sula, and he was never more seen in Darfur. They explain thus the foundation of the western colony of DAGU⁵. It is impossible to arrive at any exact date for this event, bpt the Sula colony must have broken away from the main

¹ Gebel Kedir was chosen in 1881 by the Mahdi as the starting point of his campaign. He called it Gebel Masa because the Muhammadans believe that the true and "Expected" Mahdi will come from a hill named Masa (see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 37).

² "Teinyei" means a cow in the language of the Dagū of Darfur and of those in Sula.

³ It may be noted that the Fur are known to the people of Dar Tama by the name of Forok. Dar *Foroge* is shown, on Nachtigal's map, for instance, in Dar Abo Dima, north of the Ta'aisha country. El Tunisi (*Voy. Darf.* p. 134) calls it "Dar-Faraougueh."

⁴ At Turra I was told practically the same story of the Fūr Sultan 'Omar Layla ("Lele") who died in Wadai in 1739. It was added that whenever "karamas" were being offered in memory of the various Sultans, 'Omar's bull invariably gave much trouble and refused to be sacrificed though all the rest came quietly to the slaughter.

* The Dagū of Sula call themselves "Koska" instead of "Fininga" as in Darfur.

stem some centuries ago since the language of the one is all but incomprehensible to the other¹.

It is well established that the DAGU were at one time the predominant race in central Ddrfūr, the earliest known founders of a monarchy there, and that they were supplanted by the TUNGUR about the sixteenth century². The coming of the TUNGUR resulted in the restriction of the DAGU to the districts where they still live.

The main divisions of the DAGU of Darfur are the following:

A. *To the east—*

TULINDJIGERKE, the royal house, holding the <i>naḥds</i>	SUMBINANGE BUHARKJS
CHORTINENGE, closely related to the TULINDJIGERKE	DUFUGE DAMBOGE ³
KALWAKE	

B. *Round Nyala and south of it—*

TUMBUGE	TARCUNGE
KEIAWARKE	DORUNINGE
ADAJUNGE	

The DAGU use either of two brands on their animals, namely the "*kindirei*" or the "*lohonei*." The former is shaped as (a) and the latter as (ft).

TO
a b

¹ The following list of common words collected at random shews the extent of the difference. The corresponding words in the Bayko dialect are also added.

ENGLISH	DARFÜR	DAGU	SULA DAGU	BAYKO
one	nuani		ungun	nuáni
two	fadda		biddak	fidda
three	kodd6s		kodd6s	kodd6s
four	kashfe*		tishek	teshwet
five	muddak		muddak	middik
six	arann		arann	arann
seven	fahtindi		faktindik	fatindi
eight	kosonda		kohandak	kosonda
nine	wishtanda		bistandak	tibishtenda
ten	assing		assin	assin
man	yohe		yogi	fabange*
grass	niarte'		nierke*	nierte*
head	ase*		fsi	ise*
black	gill		gira	tdia
red	firr		pirra	kayle*

* Schurtz, p. 544; Slatin, n. Ch. 2. One would, however, be inclined to suppose from the authorities that the Dagū (and cp. the case of the Tungur above) ruled all Ddrfūr. But it is beyond all doubt that they never held any power in northern Darfur (the Tibbu sphere), nor in Gebel Marra nor in the country north-west of it (the Fūr sphere). They do not even advance any such claim.

* Included in this section are the Sambelange" (Sumbinange?). This name is said to be the Dagū form of "Shenibla." They say certain Shendbla at a remote period became incorporated among the Dagū. Cp. "Sambangdto" among the Berti (Para, vi above), and "Sambellanga" among the Tungur-Fūr of Furnung (App. s to this chapter).

IX BIRKED. The BIRRED¹ live north and east of the DAGO and BAYKO, between Gebel Harayz and the RIZAYKAAT country, and are a much larger tribe than either. They have also a small colony, a day's journey north-east of el F&sher, at Turza near Sania Kuldingyi. Others are in Wadái, and these el Tūnisi called² the lowest and most despicable of folk, "traitres, brutaux, pillards...la honte et la plaie du Ouad&y." "C'est de cette peuplade," he added, "que sortent les ouvriers en fer et les chasseurs." He described them as black and slim and short. In speaking of the BIRKED in Darfur he generally grouped them with the TUNGUR, and his opinion of them was that they were "traitres, voleurs et rapaces à l'excès, sans crainte de Dieu ni du Prophete³."

Barth merely mentions them⁴ ("Birkit") among the negro tribes on the Wadái-Darfūr frontier.

Nachtigal says⁵:

This tribe, composed of the slaves of the Sultan [of Wadái] has remained free of all racial admixture. The Birguid are dark grey ("*gris foncSs*"), darker than the Mabas, and are of a negro type and have the character and customs of the Central Africans, and speak a language entirely peculiar to themselves⁶.

Their main divisions in Dárfūr at present are as follows:

MADARGARKE ⁷ , the ruling house	TURINGE
TUDDUGE, said to be HILALIIN	FILEIKE
SIRINDIKE	'ERAYKAT, i.e. some "Arab"
TOGONGE, said to be HILALIIN	'Eraykat living with the BIRKED
KAMUNGA	TONGOLKG
MIROWGE	KAGURTIGE
KULDUKI	MOROLKE
IZMANDIKE	SASULKE

There are also many other less important divisions. The component parts of all are, in the view of other tribes than the BIRKED, largely adulterated by alien elements.

¹ The spelling of "Birred" and "Bayljo" is taken from the Arabic of el Tūnisi. The words are pronounced "Birged" and "Baygo" respectively, and should perhaps be so spelt.

² *Voy. au Ouaddy*, pp. 249, 250.

³ *Voy. au Darfour*, pp. 133-136.

⁴ in, 543 (App. 7).

⁵ *Loc. cit.* p. 67.

• They now speak Arabic as well. Their "rotdna" is distinct from that of the Dagū, etc. See later.

⁷ The brand of this section, called after it the Madargarke*, is as shewn, representing, as a comparison with the royal Fuṛ brand and I. II) that of the Tungur will show, a war-drum and sticks. It is interesting 1. . . 111 in view of what follows to note that the Serdr Bulger ("Cattle Folk") at Gebel el Haraza in northern Kordofa n also use a brand called " Bayt el Nugdra," which represents a small round drum and stick, as in the I. I figure. (See MacMichael, *Camel Brands*, p. 34.)

In the palmy days of the Ddrfür Sultanate the BIRRED country was the appanage of the Fûr dignitary known as the *Urundulu*¹. The latter employed four *mulUk* (literally, "kings") as farmers of revenue there². The BIRKED, unlike the BAYKO, DAGU, ZAGHAWA, BORKU, MfMA and TUNGUR, had, it seems, no "Sultan" of their own³, and it is stated at the present day that they only had a *Sharḡdi* or local 'omda at the head of their tribe. Consequently, it may be presumed that they had no *nahds*, and certainly they had no *tvakll* or vizier corresponding to the *dingar* of the MASALIṬ and the *sambei* of the DAGU, but only a number of *damdlig* subject to the *Sharḡdi*.

Their country was known by the name of Kajjar—a term said to have included the DAGU and BAYKO lands also—and the BIRKED themselves are still known to the FuR as KAJJARA, to the DAGU as KAGARUGEI and to the BAYKO as KAJARGE⁴. They call themselves MURGI.

A few BIRKED live in Kordofan, south of el Obeid, and it is traditionally reported in northern Kordofan that about the beginning of the eighteenth century they were the ruling people in the hills of K&ga and Katûl and were ousted thence by the BEDAYRIA⁵.

The tendency among their neighbours near el Obeid is to class the BIRKED with the TOMAM and TUMBAB, who are negroid tribes with pretensions to a Nūbian-Ga'ali connection⁶, as of HAMAG or NŪBA descent.

Now in collecting a small vocabulary of BIRKED in Ddrfür in 1917 I found two interesting facts. In the first place, the BIRKED of Turza mentioned that the people to whom they were most nearly related in Ddrfür were those of Gebel Midóḃ; and in the second place the dialect of the BIRKED in southern Darfur⁷ bears an obvious similarity to the Nūbian and Kanzi vocabularies collected by Burckhardt⁸. These two facts transpired quite independently of one another and provide a clue to the origin of the BIRKED. It will be remembered that the people of Midóḃ claim to be an ancient colony of MAḤASS and

¹ See later *sub* Fûr.

² El TONISI, *Voy. Darf.* p. 137.

³ *Ibid.* 138, where no Birred Sultan is mentioned.

⁴ Their name probably survives too in that of the great wadi Kajjar (maps "Kdga," "Kajja," "Kia," etc.) which runs between Dar Masalit and Wadai.

⁵ See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 66.

⁶ See Part I I I, Chap. 1, and the genealogical trees of the "A" group in Part I V.

⁷ The Birred of Tarza only speak Arabic. They say their fathers all spoke a "rojána," as the southern Birred still do. The latter are a large tribe, and not a small settlement with Arabs living round them as is the case at Tarza.

⁸ See Appendix 2 to this chapter.

DANAGLA from Nūbia and that their language resembles that of the BARABRA: so it seems that the BIRKED too found their way into Darfur from Nūbia.

Their connection with Midób, the similarity between the names "Kajjara" ("Kagdruegi," "Kajargi," etc., all meaning BIRKED) and "Riga" (or "Kdja"¹) and "Kageddi" (a subtribe of Midob), the occurrence of old ironworks² at el Hariza between Kaga and Dongola coupled with the fact that the BIRKED of Waddi are ironworkers, and the local tradition at Kaga that the BIRKED once ruled there and at Katul³, all suggest that it was by way of northern Kordofan that the BIRKED came.

There are also indications as to the period of their arrival. It has been noticed that el Tūnisi usually groups the BIRKED with the TUNGUR and that two of the BIRKED subtribes call themselves BENI HILAL by origin. The traditional connection between the TUNGUR and the BENI HILAL is strong, however difficult it be to define its details, and the BIRKED are evidently implicated in this ethnological imbroglio. Since there is no trace of the TUNGUR having ever spoken any tongue but Arabic, whereas the BIRKED still speak a *rotana* as well as Arabic, and since the BIRKED are socially indistinguishable from the DAGU, who preceded the TUNGUR in Darfur, and since the BIRKED have forgotten everything about their Nūbian connection and are generally regarded as having lived in south-central Darfur from time immemorial, whereas it is common knowledge that the TUNGUR immigrated and are not indigenous, it appears likely that the BIRKED reached Darfur before the TUNGUR immigration. The TUNGUR came in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and the BIRKED may have left Nūbia soon after the dismemberment of the Christian kingdom in the fourteenth century, or even earlier. The so-called Hiteli sections of BIRKED may be no more than TUNGUR who joined them in Darfur, or may represent BENI HILAL elements who joined the BIRKED in the same manner as others joined the TUNGUR.

There is even extant what I believe to be a seventh century reference to the BIRKED ("Kajjara") when they were still in Nūbia.

¹ The name of Kdga applies to the broken chain of hills comprising the Gebels of Katfil, Kdga, Kaga Surrug in north-western Kordofan, and the Lughud hills near Gebel el liilla in Darfur. From it the term Kagawi is formed to denote an inhabitant.

² See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 240. Iron is no longer smelted at el Ijardza, but was so until a generation ago. I lay no stress on the argument derived from the existence of ironworks at el Hardza since such are common in Kordofan and may have been due to races other than the Birked.

³ Curiously enough, in MS. D 1, CLXII, it is the Daggu who are grouped with the people of Kaga and Katul.

Immediately after Ibn Selim's account of the Sudan Makrizi places the following passage:

J'ai vu aussi dans une lettre adressee par certaines tribus a Temir des croyants 'Ali ben Abou Taleb¹, qu'il eait fait mention des Bedjahs et des Kadjahs lesquels sont tres medians, mais peu pillards². Les Bedjahs sont ainsi; quant aux Kadjahs, on n'en connait que ce qu'en dit 'Abdullah ben Ahmed l'historien de Nubie³.

'Abdulla ibn Aḥmad is Ibn Selim el Aswdni, who wrote between 975 and 996 A.D., but what he had to say about the "KAJJARA" we do not know because the extracts from his work quoted by el Makrizi contain no mention of them.

X BAYKO. The BAYKO, neighbours of the DAGU and BIRKED, are said by Slatin⁴ to belong to the MONOLKA family and to have emigrated from the Baḥr el Ghazl in ancient days and to have been granted lands in Darfur on condition of supplying annually a maiden for the royal harem. But the mother of the Sultan Muḥammad Faḍl (1800-1838) was a Baykawia and he, in consequence, declared the tribe free for ever, and forbade the buying and selling of them under penalty of death. The BAYKO at present, as is natural, deny the implication of "slave" (*i.e.* negro) origin and merely point with pride to the fact of their intermarriage with FUR royalty. As a tribe they do not claim to be Arabs but, as usual in Darfur, the royal house of BAYKO, the holders of the *naḥds*, the TERKIT ḤAGGAR section of the ṢUBḤANAN that is, affect a Ga'ali origin. It was one of them, by name Um Būsa, who married the father of Muḥammad Faḍl. Of their early history the BAYKO know little, but the general tradition among them is that their ancestors came from the East *via* southern Kordofān and the NUBA country at much the same time as the BAḲḲARA. The tradition is, however, much too vague to have any real value. Browne identified the BAYKO ("Bego") too closely with the DAGU in speaking of "the people of Bégo or Dageou who are now [*i.e.* 1799] subject to the crown of Fūr but are a different tribe which formerly ruled the country⁵"; but at the same time the dialects of the BAYKO and DAGU are almost identical⁶ and it is curious that when I asked

¹ The letter must therefore have been written within twenty years of the conquest of Egypt.

² Burckhardt translates (p. 509): "Warlike nations who do not make much booty." The above quotation is from Bouriant's translation (II, 570).

³ Burckhardt translates: "But I know not who the Kedja are." ⁴ Ch. n.

⁵ Browne, p. 285. There is a mention by Ibn Sa'id (*ap.* Abu el Fidd, p. 158) of a people called the Baj6, connected with the Zaghawa, and the term puzzled Barth (*q.v.* Vol. 111, Ch. L I, p. 426). It is, however, very unlikely that the Bayko are meant.

⁶ *E.g.* see examples given above when speaking of the *Dagu*.

the present Sultan of the BAYIJO for his pedigree he traced it (as follows) to Ahmed el Dag, whom we have already met as a DAGU Sultan: Muḥammad "Kebkeb6" son of Abukr "Naḡa" son of 'Omar son of IJusayn son of Ibba son of Nafi' son of Haggar son of Ahmad el Dag. At the same time he repudiated all relationship with the DAGU and attributed the similarity of dialects to the fact that the tribes had long been neighbours in Darfur.

It seems probable that the BAYKO either came to Darfur from much the same direction and at much the same period as the DAGU—physically the two are indistinguishable—or else that the DAGU came from the east and were joined in Dārfūr by the negroid BAYKO from the south-east, and that the latter borrowed the language of the former but preserved their independence. The DAGU dialect bears resemblances to those of Nuḡbia but in this respect falls far behind the BIRKED dialect¹.

The status of the BAYKO in el Tūnisi's day seems to have been much the same as it is now, but little is said of them beyond that they were ruled by a petty Sultan of their own². The tribal *wakll* or vizier or President of the Council of Sheikhs (*Damalig*), the *sambei* of the DAGU, is among the BAYKO called the *gindi* (*plur. genadi*). His chief function, outside the sphere of administration, is said to be that of performing the accession ceremony³ for a newly succeeded Sultan.

Of the subdivisions of the BAYKO, once very numerous, only a few are now remembered. These fall into the two main groups of Subhdnin ("Easterners") and Gharbanin⁴ ("Westerners") and include the following:

TIRKIT HĀGGAR⁵ (the royal house) TIRKIT MARSHOT⁵
KOROBĀIKI⁶ FAMAKI⁵

¹ E.g.-

ENGLISH	BAYKO	DAGU of DARFŪR	DAGU Of SULA	(MIDOB)	From Burckhardt's Nubia	
					NŪBA	KANZI
cow	teinye*	teinye*	teinye*	(tur)	tyga	tyg
horse	murtanne*	murtani	murte*	(porrnyi)	mortyga	koky
ass	kdtchine*	kachine, or kakine*	katche"	(utchi)	kadja	hanoub
mouth	ikunga	akke*	uke	all)	akka	agilk

The percentage of Birred words that resemble Nūbian words is a good hundred per cent, higher, I should say, than in the case of Dagū or Bayko words. The numerals of the latter, for instance, differ entirely from those of Nūbia.

² El Tunisi, *Voy, Darf.* pp. 128, 134, 138.

³ "Yadarrag" = (Ar.) "gives rank to...." The Sultan himself was my informant on the point.

* The Bay^ho cannot pronounce the Arabic "gh," so they call this group the "Harbānm."

⁵ These are subbdnin.

TIRTUSHKI, Or	TIRTEJKE	MASEKE
LU DUKE		TILANGE
DISAKE		SHERMITKEI
NYOGOLGOIE ¹		MAHANGE
KALAKALIKA ¹		

Outside Ddrfūr there are said to be many BAYŶO, with DAGU, between Tekāli and the White Nile in Dār Kebi'r, and a considerable colony of Nyogolgote are said to have lived for many generations at Kafiakingi in the Bahr el Ghazal².

The BAYŶO call themselves BĖOGĖ. TO the FŪR they are known as BEGONGA, to the TAMA as BEGUKUNG, to the DAGU as BEOGE, and to the BIRŶED as Beke.

XI There are also in Darfur several tribes of distinctively western origin, FELLATA, TAKARĪR, "BORKU," "BORNU," MĪMA, "ABU SINŪN," and MARARIT. Of these the MiMA are the oldest colony.

MIMA.

The town of MĪma is mentioned by Ibn BaŶŭṭa in the middle of the fourteenth century as lying not far to the west of Timbuktu: of the latter town the traveller remarks "most of its inhabitants are people of Mima, or of the tribes called el Mulaththamŭn"³ (*i.e.* the Veiled Ones, the TUWAREK BERBER).

Apparently they, or a branch of them, subsequently moved eastwards. El Tŭnisi says of them in 1803:

Les Mymeh constituent une population qui se compose de plusieurs tribus divtsees en fractions. lis sont d'un noir fonce comme de l'encre. lis habitent au sud direct du Ouadāy, sur la mēme ligne que les Dādjo et les Koŭkah⁴.

He also alludes to a branch of them as under a tributary Sultan in Darfur⁵. Nachtigal mentions them as a large tribe in Wadai, but most of them had scattered in the south of that country and lost their racial identity. The rest of them preserved their language, which was akin to that of the ZAGHAWA and the KURA'AN, and had a *melik* of their own⁶. Their social reputation was, like that of the ZAGHAWA, unsavoury, and they had largely intermarried with that tribe.

¹ These are Gharbanin and can be referred to as "genadi," *i.e.* sections subject to the "gindi."

² Their headman is spoken of as "Mafedum Nasir."

³ See Cooley, pp. 45, 84, 86. Older writers than Ibn Batuta used the form "Amima."

⁴ Voy. au Ouaddy, p. 249.

⁵ Voy. au Darfour, pp. 128, 138, 297. These were at feud with the Beni 'Omran Arabs.

⁶ Voy. au Ouadai, pp. 65, 74, 75; and cp. Carbou, 11, 199; the latter calls them "Mimi ou Moutoutou."

At present there is a colony of Mima round Fafa and Wada'a in Darfur, another in Abu Daza district on the western border of Kordofin, and a third at Magriir north of Bara in central Kordofan. As a rule they are a very dark coarse-featured folk and, like all the "BORKU" group, have more hair on their faces than is usual among the northern negroid tribes of the Sudan. The main subdivisions of the Mima in Darfur and Kordofan are :

NUNKU (the "royal family")	BORA
ARME	ABKE
DARE	MAHADI ¹
FIRRA	KUSTA
AWLAD ZAYT	MUDRUNG
KIRRATINDILO	BABA
GURU	TILME
BAKA	GILME

All are Arabic-speaking.

XII MARARIT. The MARARIT² and ABU SINUN are small colonies of "BORKU" origin near the western frontier of Dárfūr, but nothing is known of the date when they settled there. The former people are settled among the ERENGA and the MASALIT. The BORKU proper, i.e. Wad&ians, and BORNUN have many settlements in eastern and central Dárfūr but most of these date from no more than a few years back and owe their existence to the French occupation of Waddi. Others of course, like the TAKARIR³ settled in Kordofán and eastern Dárfūr, have been for several generations in their present positions.

XIII FELLATA. The FELLATA are very largely represented in Dárfūr, and though some of them have only entered the country within recent generations the majority have been there for a considerable time. Their main period of immigration is said to have been during the reign of Sultan Aḥmad Bukr, that is towards the end of the seventeenth century⁴. They have a *dar* of their own at the south end of Gebel Marra and have intermarried freely with the BAḲḲARA Arabs. Some are sedentary and these are the more recent arrivals, intending pilgrims for the most part, but the majority are cattle-owning nomads, as in West Africa, living under a regular

¹ These Mahddi or Mahida call themselves Arabs, but, if so, are a very debased form of the same. They are not found as a tribe anywhere, but only as sections of other communities. Some are among the Masalit and others among the Hab-tania of Darfur and other BaḲḲara.

² Sing. "Mararti."

³ Sing. Takrūri. For this term see el Tunisi, *Voy. au Ouaddy*, p. 6.

⁴ So Nachtigal, quoted by Ensor (p. 145).

tribal organization, speaking Arabic, and divided into two main groups, the 'IBBA and the 'IKKA¹.

There remain the western frontier tribes, the slave tribes, and the FOR themselves.

To take these in turn:

XIV IpMR. Dar Kimr lies north of the MASALIT country and east of Dar Tama. To the north and east of it is open country sparsely populated by nomadic ZAGHAWA of the KUBBE and KUBGA sections. It is a small tract, poor in natural resources, sandy in parts and stony in others, and its people live by cultivating *dukhn* and breeding sheep and cattle. The water supply is moderate. Iron is plentiful, especially at Bábiri.

The population claims to be Arab, GA'ALIIN from Metemma by origin, but, beyond the fact that it is Arabic-speaking (with the exception only of the ABU J6KHA section, who speak Tama) and has no dialect of its own, there is no reason to think the claim has much to recommend it.

The name KIMR, like the name ERMBELI, which is used in place of it in Wadii, means "dove²," and there are variant traditions that the KIMR were the original inhabitants of Dars Tdma and Masalit³ or, as the FUR say, that they were once TEMURKA (FUR) who could change themselves into doves.

The FÜR call the KIMR "ORANG-A," the TAMA and the DAGU call them "GIMRUK" and "GUMERKKE" respectively. Not being a warlike people they have suffered much at the hands of the more rapacious ZAGHAWA, MASALIT and FUR⁴.

Politically they formed a part of the Ddrfür Sultanate, save in so far as they could maintain their independence, and from time immemorial they have had a petty Sultan of their own.

Their main subdivisions are:

i. MIGGI (the ruling section)	2. ABU J6KHA
(a) dhurriat	Tahir
(b) „ Husayn	(a) Effere
(c) „ Nakhit	(b) Showa
(d) „ Bated	(c) Ligám
(e) „ Mosa	
{f) „ Harot	

¹ El Tūnisi (*Voy. au Darfour*, pp. 129, 134, etc.) speaks of those south of Marra as "Foull&n," by which name they are known to the Arabs and Hausa in West Africa. The Kanuri call them Felteta. To ethnologists they are commonly known as Fulbe or Ful or "Poul": see Barth, Vol. iv, Ch. LVII, p. 143. In the Sudan the term Feltda is loosely used to cover the Hausa also.

² The Arabic is . ³ Cp. Nachtigal, *ap. Carbou*, n, 215.

* Cp. Carbou, n, 204, 205; Nachtigal, *Voy. au Ouadal*, p. 73.

3. KURBU	5. BAGI
(a) Gidayrnuk	6. GERMCK
(b) Ownga	7. MO'UK
(c) Şábir	8. GENNIBAICK
(d) Rimayla	9. TILINGBAIOK
4. LUK	10. MILLA
(a) Awlád Haggar	11. BULGERO
(b) „ Sikfn	12. AKERMUK
(c) „ Meddi	13. LERIK
(d) „ Kera'a	

XV **TAMA**. Dar Táma, lying to the west of Dár Kımr, on the Wadái border, is more fertile and more thickly populated than either Maşáht or Kımr. It has always been a bone of contention between the Sultans of Wadái and Dárfūr and has been temporarily subjected by both at different times. At other times it has preserved a measure of independence, and it has always had a Sultan of its own.

Its people are spoken of by Matteucci¹ as "de taille elevee (pres de i^m, 80), fete brachycéphale (350), angle facial très ouvert (81 °)," and Nachtigal saw in them a close resemblance to the DAGU (of Sula, presumably), a mixture of whom with earlier KİMR inhabitants they may represent².

Nachtigal says their dialect is similar to that of the SUNGUR of Wadái and of the DAGU and the BIRKED³, but it is more than doubtful whether, in the case of the last two peoples mentioned, he was right. Their dialect is quite distinct in vocabulary from any Dárfūr tongue, if one except only that of the ERENGA of Dár Maşálit.

XVI **MAŞALIT**. The ^{MASALIT} country is 7000 to 7500 square miles in extent and is bounded to the west by Wadái, to the south by Dár Sula, to the north by Dárs Táma and Kımr, and to the east by the Fūr. The central districts are undulating and sandy with numerous small rocky outcrops; the south is mountainous. The northern districts, those of the ERENGA and Gebel Mūn, are more stony and unfertile: they will be dealt with separately in the following section. The great wddis Báré and Kajja, on the east and west respectively, provide an excellent water supply at a shallow depth, and deeper wells, giving a more precarious supply, are also dug inland from these two arteries.

¹ See Carbou, II, 207.

² See Carbou, II, 205.

³ *Voy. au Ouadaï* pp. 66, 69, 74. Perhaps the Sungur are to be identified with the Asung'Qr branch of Erenga (q.v. later). The Tama dialect and that of the Erenga are practically identical.

⁴ They call themselves Masalat as a rule, but are usually known to others as Maşillt. The Tama call them Masarak.

The population is fairly numerous in the central districts and is socially on about the same plane as that of eastern Ddrfūr. In the south it is more numerous and less civilized. Cattle and sheep form the chief wealth of the Masalit, and *dukhn* is their staple food product. Iron is found in plenty throughout the country. On the whole, however, Ddr Masalit is distinctly a poor country, and, but for the trade-route from Abesha to el Fasher which bisects it, would be a mere backwater.

Like Dar Tama it has always been a bone of contention as between Wadai and Darfur, but the former power never held any rights in it and merely made occasional attacks on it as being the nearest part of Darfur.

Previous to the Egyptian conquest of Darfur Dar Masdlit was a part of the western district and subject to the viceroy (*maḳdūm*) of the west. The ERENGA and MŪN districts in the north were counted a part of the FUR district of Madi, the MASALIT living east of Wadi Bare were under Kerne, and all the rest was a part of Fia and subject to the *Shartai* of that district. At this period, whereas the ḲIMR (also under Mādi) and two sections of ERENGA had petty Sultans, the MAṢAIJT had only *firrash* (*sing, fersh*)—who are dignitaries of distinctly lower rank and less importance than *Sharaṭi*.

It was only in the Dervish days that a single Masaldṭi *amir* united under his rule the ERENGA, MUN and MASALIT, and not until the close of the Dervish days that he assumed the title of Sultan and claimed complete independence. At present the *firrash* of the various ERENGA and MUN groups, and the *Shartai* who is over the former, are all placed in subjection to a *maḳdūm* of the MAṢALIT Sultan, and this viceroy is simply a *mamluk*, an old Dinka slave who has attained to a position of the highest trust. The various MAṢAIJT sections are allotted as appanages to members of the royal family or state functionaries and administered on feudal lines. The Sultan is of course supreme over all. To assist the *firrash* (in the case of MASALIT, ERENGA and MUN alike) there is a body of *damalig*¹.

In FUR days, they say in Dar Masdlit, each *fersh* had also a *sambei* or chief executive officer and representative, attached to him, as was also the custom in the case of the Sultan of the DAGU; but since the chief *fersh* of the MAṢAL*Ṭ has become a "Sultan," this has been dropped.

¹ See p. 74.

The following are the chief sub-tribes of MASALIT:

FOKUNYUNG	ASUMUNG	DĀGU (<i>i.e.</i> colonists from
MISTERINN	ABDURRAG	Dar Sula, no doubt)
ASUMUNG	AJMUNG	AMUNUNG
SERBUNG	KERIUNG	MUNDERA
MARARIT ¹	KUSUBE	MANGIRI
NIERNUNG	FORUNG	
MINGIRI		

All speak the same language, which is distinct from any Dirfūr dialect and said to belong to the same group as that of the MABAS of the west². They claim a vague descent from Arabs of the BENI KHUZAM and MESsiRiA (BAKḲARA both), but are obviously more than half negroes, with the slightest Arab leaven³.

They are a warlike people of fairly good physique and intelligence, but they are regarded askance by the Dārfūr and Kordofān tribes owing to the power of metamorphosis, chiefly into hyaenas, which they are believed to possess⁴.

Nachtigal reported them very "priest-ridden" and fanatical and widely suspected of cannibalism. Nor was the charge entirely unfounded, for the MAṢALIT have themselves admitted to me, though only with regard to the UM BUS section, who have the distinction of becoming ghouls after death and emerging as "shadows of the dead" from the tombs to prey upon the unwary, that they believe that by eating raw the entrails of their slain foes, they gain courage and eliminate soft-heartedness.

Slatin was also told that they were accustomed to use the skins of their slain enemies as waterskins and their headman, the *fersh* Haggam, admitted that the custom "*had once*"⁵ existed⁵.

At the present day most of these horrible customs have fallen into disuse, but the people speak of them as having flourished "*once*, in the days of Haggām"!

In addition to these MAṢALIT of the border-state there is a considerable independent colony of MAṢALff in southern Ddrfūr on the northern borders of the HABBANIA (BAKḲARA) country, who have been there for something over a century and a half.

¹ Seep. 83.

² Nachtigal, *Voy. au Ouadai*, pp. 66, 76. Cp. Barth, m, App. 7, p. 542. A few words of the Maṣdlft vocabulary, as a guide, are given in Appendix 4 to this chapter.

³ There are a few small encampments of Mahamid, Tergam, Ta'elba, Dar6k, and Mahdda in Dai Masalit (for all of whom see Part III), but these seem to keep quite distinct from the native Maṣalt.

* Cp. pp. 84 and 103, and see Robertson Smith, p. 203, *re* totemism in Arabia.

* Slatin, *Fire and Sword...*, Ch. i 11.

In el Tūnisi's day they were under four "kings" (*i.e.* *meks*) and their country formed a part of Dar Abo Uma¹.

At the present day they are ruled by a petty Sultan with a *naḥds*, but the administration appears to be, in fact, in the hands of the *wakil*, or *dingar*—a term denoting properly a small drum (*nugdra*) of wood, but generally applied to the *melik* or *fersh* who holds the same. The Sultan conducts business and issues orders through the *dingar*, who is, in fact, a sort of vizier.

The royal section, that of the *nahas*, among this southern Darfur colony is the SERBUNG, which is subdivided into SUGURBO, KUNDERUNG, KAIDUNG, BIALUNG and other subsections; but the remaining subsections are reckoned as belonging to the *dingar*: the chief of these are:

MUNGARE	UMBERTCHUNG	GUNKUNG	AWNUNG
UMBUS	FOKANYUNG	MERKERINN	

The dialect spoken is the same as that of the western MASALIT, but the tradition current as to the origin of the tribe is different. The colony in southern Darfur state that their ancestors came from the Yemen *via* northern Dárfūr. The fact is that neither division of the tribe has the remotest idea where it came from and each hazards a guess to which little attention need be paid.

In addition to the two main settlements described there are some MASALIT in Wadái, and others in Dárfūr in the districts south-west of el Fásher, namely Doḥó, Ṭawila, Gebel Ḥarayz, etc., living among and intermarried with the FUR and TUNGUR. Their parents were mostly prisoners of war deposited here and there as colonists by the FUR Sultans.

XVII ERENGA and MUN. These two peoples have already been spoken of as living in the northern part of what is now Dar Masalit. The language of both is alike and to all intents and purposes is the same language as that spoken in Da'r Táma.

The MUN, or Mul, are a very small community and have not more than sixty odd villages. The ERENGA are considerably more numerous. They call themselves BIRRUNG, but every other tribe calls them ERENGA². The MÜN are called MUN or AHL EL GEBEL by Arabic-speaking people, and JEBAR6K (*i.e.* JEBAL6K) by the ERENGA, and MUN or JEBALTA by the MASALIT.

¹ El Ttinisi, *Voy. au Darfour*, pp. 136, 137. See p. 98 and note on p. 95.

² I do not know the origin of the word, but "Eringa" is the Masalit word for "Arabs." It may be, and probably is, pure coincidence that "erunga" is the family name of the snake people at Tira el Akhdar in southern Dar Nuba (see Seligman, Art. "Nuba"), and that the Erenga word for "rain" (or "sky") is "arr," while at Dilling (northern Dar Nuba) "rain" is "ara," and at Midob it is "arri."

The main subdivisions of the ERENGA' are the following:

SHAI/ ASUNG'OR	MARARIT ¹ DULA	OWRA GIRGA	DAROMI NYUDUNGUR

The OWRA and MARARIT have "Sultans" of their own: the rest only *firrash*.

XVIII HADAHI D. Scattered here and there in Darfur, but particularly in the neighbourhood of the TAMA and MAṣAIIṬ border are small colonies of Ḥaddḥīd (or "Ḥadāḍin"), that is, "Blacksmiths." These have been in the country for many generations and have come to be looked on, in some cases,—rightly or wrongly—as FOR; but most of them certainly originate from Wadii or west of it and, when asked, say so. As is usual in north-central Africa from east to west they are held in general contempt and the rest of the population do not intermarry with them. This feeling of aversion towards the workers in iron is strongest among the ZAGHAWA, who so far from intermarrying with them would not eat or associate with them. They are a hereditary caste and are called *Miro* {sing, *mir*) by the FUR. From casual remarks of contempt that I have heard used in speaking of them I should say that it was not so much to their dealing with *iron* that they owe their inherited unpopularity as to their employment of *fire* for the purpose².

XIX "SLAVE" TRIBES. The "slave" tribes of Darfur may be divided into two groups; firstly, colonies of negroes from outside Darfur imported by successive Sultans *en bloc* and settled on the land during the last century or two, but particularly by the Sultan

¹ See p. 83. There are also Mararit among the Masalit proper.

² Nachtigal (*Voy. au Ouadaï*, pp. 80-81) records the contempt with which the blacksmith is held in Bornu, Wadii and Darfur "and in general among all the Tibu tribes" and that in Wadai no one would think of marrying one of their women or eat from the same plate as a blacksmith. The "Sultan of the Hadadin" is there a kind of carnival king. Thus, too, in Darfur 'Ali Dinar contemptuously appointed as "Sultan of the Ḥadadin" a rival to the Sultanate whom he overthrew as a preliminary to his own succession.

Compare Carbou, 1, p. 49 *et seq.* and 209: "*Hadddd chez les Arabes, dogod chez les Kanembou, azd chez les Toubou, noigui chez les Boulala, Kabartou chez les Ouadaïens, les forgerons sont toujours profondément me*prists....*" In Kanem the majority of the workers-in-iron are of Tibbu-Kura'dn origin.

So, too, in the east: cp. Bent, p. 212. "The Blacksmith in Abyssinia is looked upon with mingled dread and superstition...he is supposed to have the power of turning himself into a hyaena and committing ravages on his enemies."

Compare the following from "The Pre-Bantu Occupants of East Africa" (Beech), in *Man*, March, 1915: The ancient population of the Kikuyu country in East Africa are reputed to have been cannibal dwarfs called Maithōachiana. These latter, according to the District Commissioner of Fort Hall, "appear to be a variety of earth-gnomes with many of the usual attributes....Like earth-gnomes in most folklore, they are skilled in the art of iron-working....It is a Kikuyu insult to say *You are the son of a MaithSachiana."

Tfrib towards the end of the eighteenth century; secondly, negroes whose home, so far as is known, has always been in Darfur. Apart from these two groups, of course, innumerable DINKA, FERTIT, NOBA, NIAM-NIAM and negroes of various other Baḥr el Ghazāl tribes have been imported singly or in small batches into Ddrfūr as slaves, their families broken up, and their wives and daughters used to breed children for their captors from the earliest period to the present; but of these it is unnecessary to say more at this juncture.

To the first of the two groups specified belong such people as the TURŪĠ, who are by origin NŪBA from Gebel Tekālī in Kordofān, imported by the Sultan Tirab, the 'ABIDIA round Kebkebia and Kuttum, who were slaves of Kordofān tribes imported by the same monarch, and the DADINGA¹, who are said to have been in Bornu, their true home, until about two hundred years ago and to have sojourned awhile in Dar Tama prior to their removal to Darfur.

The second group is in the extreme south and falls partly within Darfur and the Baḥr el Ghazāl Province and partly in French Equatorial Africa. Among these, in Darfur, to the east are the MANDALA (or BANDALA) and the SHATT, living in the RIZAYĠAT country and the northern Baḥr el Ghazāl, and to the west a certain number of KARA, BINGA, BANDA, DAYGA (DIGGA), FOROKE, FUNKUR, etc. This latter congeries, however, has its main habitat in the western Baḥr el Ghazāl and in the French sphere to the west of it. It is commonly known by the vague generic term of FERTIT, but I believe that the negroes themselves who compose it distinguish between a western division, all speaking dialects of the same tongue and consisting of KĀRA, SARA, GOLA, MIŠDI, KOIO, VŌR, DŪDŪ, BINGA, RUNGA and FERI and known in general as "YER," and a loose eastern group of "FERTIT" consisting of DIGGA, BEA, KERAYSH, SHAYRE, BONGO, BELUNDA, etc. To the Arabs, of course, all alike are "slaves" who have been raided by themselves from time immemorial, and the name of "FERTIT" in common parlance embraces all or any of them. They appear to belong to the Bantu family.

Now in Darfur tradition relates sometimes that the original habitat of these FERTIT was in Gebel Marra and that the FŪR race is no more than a conglomerate body composed of them; or sometimes—a more probable theory—that the aboriginal FŪR were a distinct race though it has amalgamated with the FERTIT tribes in

¹ Their brand, or rather that of their chief, the Melik Mahmūd el Dadingawi, the most generally respected man in Darfur in 'Alī Dinar's time and one of his chief councillors and commanders, is as (a). Others use such variants as (b). Compare the Fūr brand (p. 95).

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the districts lying west and south of Gebel Marra, and even in the Gebel itself, and as far north as Gebel Si¹.

XX FOR. The FÜR, from whom, whatever their origin, Dárfūr takes its name², form at the present day the most numerous part of the sedentary population in its western half, and they are well represented in all but the open rolling sandy country, some 130 miles across, which marches with Kordofdn.

There is no doubt that the cradle and the stronghold of their race is the vast range of Gebel Marra, the main watershed of Darfur. They are still its sole inhabitants from its southern extremity to Gebel Si in the north. Now the FÜR of Gebel Marra and Si and the FÜR of the west, in fact the FÜR in general with the exception of the KUNGARA branch, are socially, physically and intellectually inferior to the average of the tribes who are their neighbours to the east and north. But it is the KUNGARA whose virility has preserved to the race the predominance which was gained some three centuries ago by their ancestors, and this superiority of the KUNGARA is evidently due to an Arab strain which they have acquired. They are, generally speaking, a people of better physique and higher intelligence, and in their habits more cleanly, than the common FÜR, and they are much better Muhammadans. Most of them now live east of the mountains, though many of the debased FÜR in the south and west lay claim to be wholly or half KUNGARA. For the maintenance of their power from the beginning of the seventeenth century the KUNGARA FÜR have relied very largely on the brute force of a slave army, but their main asset has been the Arab cross in their blood which has given them the qualities of leadership. An extra measure of prestige has been theirs on account of the traditional connection of their royal house, the KAYRA, on the distaff side, with the BENI 'ABBAS and the BENI HILAL.

The facts as usually given, though with many discrepancies, are, briefly, that all the FÜR were living in Gebel Marra (including Turra,

¹ There is a section of "Fūr" in Gebel Si called Kiranga, i.e. "Kira folk," who admit their Kára (Fertft) origin. A Fur custom which savours of the negroes of the Bafor el Ghaza¹ is that of spitting three times on the head by way of expressing a blessing. This was done to me by Feki Bahr el Din, the oldest Fur in Gebel Marra, aged 120, in return for a much desired concession. It was said to exemplify the scattering of cool water on the hot fires of vitality in order to preserve the latter for as long as possible. For the Fertit tradition, too, cp. ABC, xxIII

² The Fūr call themselves Fuṛakang (*sing.* Fuṛdongo). The Daḡu of Darfurr call them Onfge* (*sing.* WadachS), the Daḡu of Sula call them Yarge, the Birred call them Kadirgi. To the people of Tama they are known as Forok, to the Masdlft as Furt6, to the Zaghdwa as Korra, and to the Midob people as Kurka. The Fertft tribes also have different names for them: to the Digga they are Ora (i.e. "slaves"), to the Banda they are Poro, to the Sara they are Dum, to the Ka>a they are Ddla and to the Gula they are Ldli.

Si, etc) and the hills south-west and west of it in a state of savagery until some BENI HILAL Arabs under Aḥmad el Ma'aḳūr, a descendant of Abu Zayd el Hildli who was himself descended from the BENI 'ABBAS¹, came to these parts. It was a descendant of this Aḥmad named Sulaymán and surnamed Solong—the word Solonga means Arab in the FCR tongue—who finally established an overlordship over the FUR and welded them into a single political unit and became ancestor of the royal line². He and his son Mūsā ruled from Turra,

¹ This is, of course, impossible. The Beni 'Abbs have no connection with the Beni Hilāl (see Part II, Chap. i).

² As being "Beni 'Abbas" they claim a kind of kinship with the Ga'aliln, and "Idris Ga'al" or "Edrisdjal" appears as paternal grandfather of Sulayman Solong (see Nachtigal, *ap. Helmolt, World's History*, p. 585). The same Ga'ali connection is implied in the tradition that Sulaymān was "son of a Temūḳi [Far] and an Arab woman of the tribe of Bedayrfa of Kordofān" (Escayrac de Lauture, *Bull. Soc. Geogr.* Aug.-Sept. 1855, p. 79), the Bedayria being generally reckoned Ga'alifn of a sort. A similar claim is also preferred in the case of most of the African kingdoms west of Daḳḳūr. For instance, in Wadāl, a Ga'ali from Shendi—a *soi-disant* Abbsi that is—by name 'Abd el Kerim ibn "Yame" (the "Gama'i" of the Ga'alifn pedigrees, ancestor of the Gawdma'a) is the traditional ancestor (see Nachtigal, *Voy. au Ouadai*, pp. 70 and 93; and Part I I I, Chap. 1 on the Ga'alifn-Dandgla group).

The details of Sulayman Solong's ancestry are extremely vague and various. I have generally heard him spoken of as an Arab of the Beni Hilāl who married a Fūr princess. He sometimes appears as a son of Aḥmad el Ma'afcūr, and sometimes as descended from him in the second or third or more distant generation. His mother is variously reported as an Arab or a woman of the Mašālf, but there is no sort of agreement about him beyond the fact that he was "an Arab" and connected with the Fūr by marriage. Both the Fūr (Kungdra) and the Tungur, while admitting they are entirely different from one another in race, claim to be descended from Aḥmad el Ma'akur of the Beni Hilāl; but the fact is likely to be that a combination of Fūr and Arab (the Kayra section), reminding one of that of the Bega and Arab in the eastern Sudan, intermarried with the Tungur as a preliminary to succeeding them in northern and eastern Darfur at the end of the sixteenth century. Dr Helmolt's tree, *q.v. The World's History*, p. 585, based on Nachtigal's and Slatin's accounts, shews "F6ra," a daughter of the Kayra chieftain, married (a) to the father of Shdu Dorshid, the last of the Tungur Sultans of Sf (for whom see p. 67), and (b) to Aḥmad el Ma'akur the "ancestor of the Tungur in Darfur." To her first husband she bore Shau and to her second Dali, the ancestor of Sulayman Solong. To pursue the matter in detail is a waste of time, and all that one need note is the existence of an ancient Fur stock, connected on the one hand with the Islamic Arabs and, on the other, with the Tungur.

That the succession was matrilinear is also obvious. As each dynasty succeeds the last, tradition seldom fails to marry the founder of the new dynasty to the daughter of the last representative of the old. This system maintained in Egypt under the early New Kingdom, and almost certainly before, and in the Ptolemaic era (see Murray, "Royal Marriages and Matrilinear Descent" in *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, XLV, 1915), among the Bega and in the Christian kingdom of Dongola. We shall see, too, how the Arabs, to whom the practice had been familiar in Arabia, readily adopted it for their own purposes when they conquered Dongola, and how it was in vogue among the Berber princes round Asben in the fourteenth century. Fuller details and references will be found in a note to Part II, Chap. 2, XXXIII.

So, too, Barth (II, 273) says: "The Kamiri even at the present day call people in general, but principally their kings, always after the name of their mother, and the name of the mother's tribe is almost continually added in the chronicle as a

between Marra proper and Si¹, The aboriginal population, both here and in Gebel Si, is fabled to have been "To Ra" but no more is known of them and they are not differentiated by tradition in any way from the original FUR².

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the FOR were sufficiently powerful to leave the mountains. The MUSABA'AT, a branch of the KUNGARA, had already found their way into Kordofdn³, and the royal capital of the other FUR was now set up near Jina in the fertile country at the eastern foot of the Turra range. From here the FOR not only subdued all eastern Darfur but by the second half of the eighteenth century Tiráb had overrun Kordofdn, crushed the circumstance of the greatest importance.* Again, in Bakirmi, Barth says (in, 453): "The mother of the Sultan, or the 'Kufi-banga,' is greatly respected, but without possessing such paramount authority as we have seen to have been the case with the 'magira' in Bornu, and as we shall find exercised by the M6ma in Waddy."

A relic of the same idea no doubt survives in the official position of dignity until lately enjoyed by the grandmothers of the Sultan of Ddrfūr and in particular the maternal grandmother. ElTūnisi says (*Voy. au Darfour*, p. 184) on this subject: "Si le sultan regnant a encore son mère et sa grand-mère, elles ont chacune un rang; bien entendu, ce rang n'est pas une dignité* toujours présente dans l'tat; il meurt avec celles qui en sont revēnues."

Thus the Tungur, in claiming Aḥmad el Ma'alçūr as their ancestor, marry him to the daughter of the last Ddgu Sultan, the Dagū having been predominant until the coming of the Tungur; and Sulaymdn Solong is allotted an Arab mother (Slatin, Ch. 11). Similarly, the Musaba'āt, calling Aḥmad el Ma'aḳūr a Hildli, marry him to the daughter of the last Tungur Sultan (see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 56), and the Ddgu of Darfur agree with them in this tradition.

¹ Turra is part of the same range as Marra. It is the burial-place of the Darfur Sultans and there stand the tombs of Sulayman, Musa, Aḥmad Bukr, Muhammad Dowra, Abu el Iḥdsim, Tirab, 'Abd el Rahman el Rashid, Muhammad Fadl and Flusayn. They were rebuilt by 'Alī Dindr about 1910 in red brick with grass roofs in place of the old stone and mud edifices. The graves of Sulayman and Musa his son are in a single tomb standing alone to the north of the rest. 'Abd el Rahman, Muhammad Fadl and yusayn have a single large tomb. The others have each a separate tomb. The five tombs containing Musa's successors are side by side in a single walled enclosure. Near by the tomb of Sulayman and Musa is a large stone mosque built by the Sultan Aḥmad Bukr (1682-1722) which is still in good repair but for the roof. There is a similar mosque called "Gama'i Kurro" near Buldang, between Kebkebfa and Kulkul to the north-west of Marra. This is said to have been built by Abu el Kasim (1739-52) and is a large well-made construction of red bricks, morticed with earth and slips of stone and having arched doorways and windows.

² The people of Turra say the To Ra were called after the giant lizard or "monitor" (Ar. "wiril," or "warana"), called "to" in Fūr dialect. Its scientific name is *Varanus Niloticus*. The same name "to" or "tow" occurs also as the nickname of the present "Shartai" of the Birked.

³ For the various accounts of their secession see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, pp. 60-62. The name of Tonsam, the traditional Musaba'dt ancestor and (generally) uncle of Sulaymdn Solong, survives in Tunsum, or Tulzum as it is now called, a site in the hills between Turra and Tina. The Musaba'at in Kordofan have twisted "Tonsam" into "Muhammad Tumsah." Practically all accounts, though differing in details, date the Musaba'dt secession from the time of Sulaymdn Solong. The name "Musaba'dt" is derived from "ṣobaha," "to go east." The Arabic ḥ is commonly dropped by the Fūr and the ṣ weakened to \$.

secessionist MUSABA'AT, and advanced as far east as the Nile, to Omdurman and Shendi¹. After such achievements it was the natural course to found a capital in a more central position and 'Abd el Rahman el Rashid (1785-1799) chose el Fasher, which is two days' journey east of the Marra range in a sandy open country suitable for cultivation and endowed with a good supply of water. Thus the more civilized members of the race, KUNGARA for the most part, left the rough and rocky fastnesses of the hills and the broken country beyond to their ruder and more savage brethren of the other branches of the Ft)R.

El Tūnisi² correctly divides the race into KUNGARA, KARAKIRIT and TEMŪRKA. Roughly speaking, the first named are in the east, though they are to be found intermarried with other FŪr in the west. The KARAKIRIT are properly the people of Gebel Si, and the TEMŪRKA are in the south-west beyond Gebel Marra. But, as a matter of fact, no exact lines can be drawn between the three groups, and elements of the first in particular are scattered far afield. Even though there may be an original substratum which is of distinctively "FŪR" origin, there are the traditional grounds quoted for supposing that the various FERTIT tribes have become grafted upon this stem to such an extent that the FŪr of the present have quite as large an element of FERTIT in their composition as of true FŪr.

It is at once obvious as one travels in Dārḥūr and enquires as to the inter-relationships and groupings of the FŪr that their subdivisions, apart, perhaps, from the main groups of KUNGARA, KARAKIRIT and TEMŪRKA, are local or totemistic in origin rather than linear³. Their names are taken, not from a common ancestor, but either from some hill or valley, or some bird or beast or grass⁴. After a few general remarks on the KUNGARA and TEMŪRKA it will, therefore, be best to arrange such information as there is about the composition of the FŪr district by district rather than to try to trace ramifications of any single family throughout Ddrḥūr.

The KUNGARA include, beside the royal KAYRA section, the great MUSABA'AT group which broke away to the east in the seventeenth century and conquered Kordofān and remained in power there until ousted by the KUNGARA from Darfur in 1784-1785⁵. The KUNGARA

¹ Both Shendi and Metemma are said to be FŪr names.

² *Voy. au Darfour*, p. 134.

³ When enquiring for a traditional ancestor among Arabs one never draws blank. The FŪr, however, are nonplussed and hazard such guesses as "that fellow Adam, was it not?" or "Sulaymān Solong."

⁴ Examples are given later. See also note on p. 34.

⁵ See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, Chaps. 1 and 11.

remained in power in northern and central Kordofan until the Turkish conquest of 1821, and it has been mentioned how during the preceding period of the decadence of the FUNG kingdom in the Gezîra they penetrated as far east as the Nile. It is thus that we have at present a sprinkling of KUNGARA and MUSABA'AT in Kordofân, and it is partly on the same account, though by no means wholly, that the GAWAMA'A show marked signs of FÜR influences¹.

The KAYRA are subdivided into BASINGA and TELINGA, but neither term has any tribal or local connotation. The BASINGA are the immediate relatives on the father's and the mother's side of the last reigning Sultan and the TELINGA are remoter branches of the same stock.

The former use the camel brand as (*a*), calling it "the Kayra" and the Sultan himself used to add a war-drum and sticks, making it appear as (*b*)².



The most thickly populated part of the FÜR country proper is that lying south-west of Gebel Marra, and here, in so far as any single tribal name can be applied at all, the people are TEMÛRKA though the "upper classes" claim a KUNGARA connection. These parts, in the days when the FÜR ruled from Marra, were under a viceroy known as the Dîma or Abo Dîma. His sphere was known as Ddr Abo Dima³ and the people subject to him as DIMANGA. A

¹ See Part III, Chap. i.

² Notice the resemblance to the Birlsed and Dadinga brands. The former omits the crows-feet: the latter includes one of them. The use of a war-drum and sticks as a brand both at G. Haraza and among the Tungur the Birked and the Fur has already been noted (see *sub* Birked). The crowsfoot ("Rigl el Ghorâb") is also the commonest brand among the Bukkera and Derham sections at el Haraza and Kiga (see MacMichael, *Camel Brands*..., p. 34), and is further evidence of the connection between these hillmen of northern Kordofan and the Darfur tribes.

³ Q.v. on Nachtigal's and Mason's maps of Darfur (second half nineteenth century). Dar Abo Dima includes in its geographical scope much of what is, in fact, the country of the Ta'aisha and the Beni Helba Arabs (Bakkadra) and the Maşaißt and Felkita, all of whom have obtained their rights at the expense of the FÜR.

The Abo Dima in the south-west corresponded to the Abo Uma in the south-east, the Abu Dali in the centre, the Tekenyawi in the north, etc. The name Abo Dima, or rather Dima alone, means the right arm [of the Sultan]. El Tūnisi, who speaks of "Abadyma" (*loc. cit.* p. 132, etc.), agrees as to this, saying the term denotes the right arm or right wing and that the Abo Dima used to march with his troops on the Sultan's right. It was customary to name all the chief dignitaries of the state after various parts of the Sultan's body. El Tūnisi gives several examples, e.g. "Abo Dima" the right arm, the "Tekenyawi" the left arm, the "Urundulu" the head [N.B., this is doubtful: see later, p. 105], the "Abo Uma" the dorsal vertebrae (*ibid.* pp. 172, 173); but all accounts do not agree in detail. For instance, that given to me by reliable people in Darfur is that the "Abo Dima" was the right arm, the "Abo Uma" the left arm, the "Tekenyawi" the loins ("sulub"), the "Abo Dali" the trunk, the "Abo Gebayin" (in charge of collecting the corn taxes) the stomach, etc.

Perhaps the most interesting of all is the "Abo Fure*", or "Kamne," of whom el Tunisi (*loc. cit.*) says: "Son nom [Kftmneh] signifie: le col du sultan. Le sultan

singular *Dimangowi* is formed from this word **and** the head sheikh (*Shartai*) of the district is still known as the *Dimangowi* or *Dumungowi*.

* "DIMANGA" therefore includes all the TEMCRKA and *soi-disant* KUNGARA under the Dumungowi, This group includes several subdivisions, local rather than lineal, namely:

MURGINGA, or MURKEI, the	HAGARANGA
Dumungowi's own section	SURONGA
BURNA, or BURNABATINGA	MAYRINGA ¹
NUYGONGA	TEBELLA ²
MEDERINGA	

Now el Tunisi, who speaks of the Dar Abo Dima ("Dar Abadyma") as the TEMURKA country and of the Abo Dima himself as the dignitary "qui a le Temourkeh comme apanage attache a son rang⁸," describes the latter as living in a less mountainous and inaccessible country and as being more civilized than the rest of the FUR, who were "une population a peau tres-noire, ayant les yeux rouges sur la sclerotique, et les dents naturellement rougeâtres... brutaux et coleres, surtout dans l'etat d'ivresse d'une grossierete et d'une brutalité extraordinaires," but he is either making a comparison with the FÜR of Marra, to whom the words quoted admirably apply, or (more probably) he refers to the KUNGARA element which, as personified by the headman, may have been the only one in the Abo Dima's sphere with which he happened to have been brought into contact. The name TEMURKA⁴ at present is used to designate the less civilized element in the far south-west, who are feared on account of their power to transmogrify themselves into animals and to come to life again after death, and is almost a term of reproach. Of their customs more will be said later. Dar Abo Dima extends, roughly

est-il rue" à la guerre, le Kāmneh, s'il lui survit et s'il revient, est mis à mort; on l'teangle en secret. Son successeur est élu par le sultan nouveau. Si le sultan meurt dans son lit, on laisse survivre le Kamneh. Les pays du Darfour ou on ne parle pas arabe appellent encore le Kāmneh, aba-fory, le père du Da'four**—[This is not quite accurate: "Abo" is a courtesy title]—"...Il a...presque la meme liberte de conduite et d'action que le Sultan..." (p. 172).

When 'Ali Dinar was killed in 1916 the "Fure" of the day, one Sayfo, a Fur, survived (having deserted a week or two before) and so incurred great odium among the FÜR. I heard him spoken of not only as the "neck" but "*the half* of the Sultan" i.e. I suppose, his "second self." El Tūnisi's account was more or less borne out except that I understood that however the Sultan died the "Fure" must die also and that for a new Sultan there must necessarily be a new "FareY' but of the same family.

¹ Called after a local grass named "mayr!."

² The word means "pigeons" in FÜR. It is used both of the district and its inhabitants.

* *Voy. au Darfour*, pp. 136, 141, 146, 148.

⁴ In Furian dialect "Tumurdongo."

speaking, as far north as the wddi 'Azum, which rises in Gebel Marra and flows west to Gebel Murni on the MASALIT border and thence south-westwards until it becomes the Bahr el Saldmat.

North of the Azum lies Dar Kerne¹, subject to a Fur functionary called the Niamatón, To the north and north-west again of Dar Kern6 are the districts of Fia² and Mádi³. According to the Niamatón himself all his subjects with few exceptions are RUNGA and other kinds of FERTIT settled in their present positions by past Sultans of Darfur as serfs. He even speaks of his chief Shartdis as FERTIT. Needless to say, he claims Arab blood for himself, though calling himself a FUR and being a slave to all the local superstitions and customs. Of tribal divisions he has practically no conception and distinguishes group from group on purely local lines. The TEMURKA of Dar Abo Dima he regards as half FUR and half FERTIT, the Shartais chiefly the former and the common villagers the latter. The particular type of FERTIT commonest in Dar Abo Dima, according to the Niamaton, are the FOR6K£, the people, that is, whom the DAGU say they found west of Da'ra on their first arrival and ejected. The TEBELLA, he says, are properly BINGA, and as it is certainly true that the TEBELLA are popularly regarded as differing in some way from the rest of the Dumungowi's subjects, this explanation may have some truth in it. In fact, if the Niamat6n is in any way to be trusted all Gebel Marra and western Darfur was at one time the home of FERTIT tribes, and they were only partially dispossessed by the DAGU, TUNGUR and Arabs⁴. How they came to be called FUR and why they speak one single language, which is not that of any of the FERTIT tribes I have met, both in Marra and the east and the west, the north and the south, he fails to explain, and one hardly sees any explanation but that the FUR were a distinct race at some early period however much they may have subsequently amalgamated with the FERTIT⁵.

Fia district, under the old Sultans, included what is now the northern part of Dar Masali't, and Dar Erenga which, though generally

¹ Kerne" in Fur means [the] trousers [of the Sultan].

² Fia means a hare.

³ Madi means one who walks in front [of the Sultan's horse].

⁴ Speaking of the Fur outside Dar Abo Dima and Kerne the Niamat6n affirmed the people of Nurgnia (western slopes of Marra) were Banda, those under Shartdi 'Ali (eastern slopes of Marra) were Binga, those of the Umungowi (east of Marra and in it) were Makraka (a tribe closely affiliated to the Azande) from Bahr el Gebel, and even the Karakirft of Gebel Sf were "Fertit" also.

⁵ Lepsius (*Discoveries...*, p. 260) says the Kungdra language is quite different from Nubian (*i.e.* Bardbra) and seems to have strong affinities with some South African languages. The Fur, whether Kungdra or not, all speak the same language at present. A table comparing it with the Fertit dialects is added in Appendix 2 to this chapter.

included in Maşdlīṭ, is really a separate district between the latter and Dir Kimr. Numerous ERENGA and MASALIT now live among the FUR outside their own *dars*.

The FUR of Fia divide themselves into MOGUNGA (called after Gebel Mugu), ANDUNGA ("anda" in Fuṛ means a scout), MADRINGA, ABTUNGA (called after Gebel Abtu), ELGANGA (called after the tonsils: it is said the Fia people were once expert at cutting them out of children's throats), MAILUNGA (called after Gebel Mailo) and ISAKHUNG (called after an ancestor 'Isakha, the Darfurr form of Ishda¹). The *Shartai* of Fia, like the Niamaton, has no idea of tribal subdivisions as distinct from local groups of mixed origin.

On the eastern side of Gebel Marra lives the Umungowi. This name is formed from Abo Uma (the Sultan's "left hand"), as "*Dutnungowi*" is from Abo Dima², and his people may be referred to as UMUNGA. His country seems once to have theoretically included, as the old maps shew, the territories of the RIZAYKAT and other BAḲḲARA, the BAYḲO, BIRKED and DAḒGU, but he is now restricted to a very limited area in the hills.

As would be expected the Umungowi claims that he and the majority of his people are KUNGARA, and they do, no doubt, contain a KUNGARA element, especially in the case of the ruling clan, the MAYRINGA, whom we have already met in the Dumungowi's country to the west.

He divides his people into nine "*wurrari*" (a word used among all the FOR to denote their various groups), namely:

MAYRINGA	TUROG
KUNGARA	MIRI
Z6MI	SCNI ⁴
SOMBI ³	WANNA, including (a) Nuygonga ⁵
DULLO	(ft) Tom

All the above are subject to the MAYRINGA. AS regards their antecedents he is vague, but the DULLO, the SŪNI and the WANNA (or WANNANGA) he classes as "Gebbála" or Hillmen, and for the WANNA he admits a slave origin⁶.

¹ There is also a Gebel 'Isdkha in Fia, but it is denied that the Isakhung are named after it.

² His territories were bounded to the north by Dar Dali, or Abo Dali (the Sultan's "trunk"), which was subject to the Abo Sheikh and extended to the eastern frontier.

* The word means a spear.

⁴ The word denotes a small dark species of dove common in Darfur and Kordofan.

⁵ Cp. the Dumungowi's list.

⁶ A certain Gayta ibn Salab, he says, was their ancestor. Gayta was "a slave of Pharaoh of Egypt."

The names of all three groups are merely those of local hills. The MiRi, he says, are properly DAGU who have coalesced with the FtiR. Of the TURCG mention has already been made when speaking of the "Slave Tribes" of Ddrfiir. The Z6MI are said to differ from the rest by race, but the Umungowi could not say in what way¹. He classes them and all the rest, however, except the WANNA, as FCTR. For himself and all the MAYRINGA he claims an ancestor Mayri, but he admits *mayri* to be only a kind of grass.

The Niamat6n, we have seen, classes the UmungowI's subjects as MAKRAKA from the Baħr el Gebel.

In the hills of Si, the northernmost part of the range of which Gebel Marra is the southern and main portion, the population, though FOR and speaking precisely the same language as the rest of the FOR, is differentiated by the name of KARAKIRIT (or KoRAKifcr, or KOROKOA)². They are subdivided into KARANGA, who admit being by origin KARA from the south {Le. FERTIT}, DUGUNGA, URTUNGA³, ŞAYRFINGA⁴ and KAYRA. In civilization, or the lack of it, they are on a par with the FUR of Marra, and they appear to be racially identical with them.

The story that Şáu Dorshid, "the last of the TUNGUR Sultans," ruled from Si has already been discussed.

The FOR living in the plains east of the mountains of Marra, and even in the outlying hills, nearly all claim to be KUNGARA and in some cases KAYRA. In Dóbo and Kullu districts, for instance, round Murtafal and west of Tina there is a strong ruling KAYRA⁵ element, and, mixed with it, some TEMORKA⁶, some "GEBBALA," some MAŞAIJT, and, curiously enough, some very debased KABABISH called LEBABIS⁷.

Of the *soi-disant* KUNGARA in eastern Dirfūr who live at some distance from the Marra range perhaps the most important are the

¹ The name "Z6mi" is said to apply to one who keeps very silent and unobtrusive.

² There seems to be no singular form, though one man suggested "Korodongo," and another "Kerkerwdi." The latter added that the name Kardkirit was onomatopoeic and formed from the noise "koro, koro, koro" made by the hillmen scratching about in the stones on the hillside when preparing the ground for cultivation.

³ The name means "melon ('batteh') folk."

⁴ Derived from "şerrayf," the diminutive of "şerraf," meaning a permanent sub-surface flow of water such as one finds in the beds of the larger "wadis" in western Darfur.

⁵ Among their subdivisions are Gurji and Tomari.

⁶ Subdivision Murtdl.

⁷ The Labdbfs (*sing.* Labdsi) claim to be descended from a Kabbdshi called *6m. ' (3m seems to be a perversion of 'On, for among the Kababish Awlad 'On in Kordofan is a section called Labdbls. The Awlid 'On are probably of Shdikia origin (see Part I I I, Chap. i (g)).

KUNYANGA. These belong properly to the great northern district of the Tekenydwi, now inhabited by ZAGHAWA, TUNGUR, Arabs, etc., but they have also colonies farther south, especially round Beringil and Ddra. Their claim to be KUNGARA is probably a good one since the head of their group held the hereditary rank of " *Melik el Naḥḍs*" ("King of the War Drums").

XXI Something may now be said of the habits and customs of the FÜR.

In the first place, they are all now nominally Muhammadans, but so they were in el Tūnisi's day, a century ago¹. Previous to their conversion "by Sulaymdn Solong" they are popularly supposed to have worshipped "stones or trees," and there is, so far as I have seen, always either a stone or a tree intimately associated faith the malignant local genii whom it is still considered advisable to placate. Certain spots are "sacred" to these genii, and are known as " *maḥaldt 'awdid*" ("places of customs, or rites") in Arabic, or " *ddingallo*" in FÜR. For instance, when I was touring in western DARfūr (Kerné district) in 1916, accompanied by the Niamatón, it twice happened that our road passed by one of these spots and nothing would induce the Niamatón, in spite of his "Arab ancestry" and his contempt for his FÜR subjects, to remain with me. He insisted in each case in making a *detour* of some miles to avoid the "holy" spot. The other FÜR who were with me were unaffected because the observance of the custom applied only to the headman of the district and to no one else. Had the Niamatón been able to sacrifice a sheep on the spot all would have been well and he might have passed it in safety, and he would normally have sent word on ahead to the nearest village to meet him there with the animal for slaughter; but the exigencies of travel had rendered this impossible and it therefore only remained for him to avoid the place. He firmly believed that the alternative was sudden death for himself within a few months.

The explanation he and his friends gave as follows. At one site, called Sergitti², is a stone under which lives a devil (*shaitdn* or *gin*). The headman of Kerné district must never pass by this stone without offering a sacrifice to the devil, but the prohibition applies to no one else whether he be the Sultan of DARfūr or a village sheikh. The site marks no boundary and it makes no difference

¹ *Voy. au Darfour*, p. 145,

² In Gebel Kongyo, a mile west of Gulli, at the foot of a steep incline, in the bend of a small *khôr*, where the track crosses it and where the villagers draw their water (at the depth of a few feet) throughout the year. The "stone" referred to was an ordinary boulder undistinguished in any way from any other boulder near it. Cp. p. 122 for another similar case.

from which side it is approached. The local devil has the form of a short fat white snake about two feet long with a large black woolly head the size of a man's fist and enormous eyes. An old woman living at Gulli, near by, used to be the familiar of this monster. Her position was hereditary, but she died leaving no descendants and her functions are therefore in abeyance.

The Niamatón on reaching the stone would slaughter a sheep¹ in such a way that its blood would gush over the stone and would drag the carcase across the path which he was to take. The old woman would remain behind after he had passed to make up cakes of blood and flour and cut the meat into strips and arrange these morsels on or by the stone for the snake. She would at the same time hold converse with the snake and intercede with it for the Niamatón's immunity from all harm, and the snake would appear to her and talk to her and grant her request. She would address it as "ya waladi" ("my child") and pet it and place it in the shade.

In the summer offerings are made to this same snake to ensure good rains for the crops. The local sheikh and elders perform this ceremony in lack of the old woman familiar, but, of course, the snake would not appear to them or hold any communication with them.

In another case, in Kerné district, it was an old *hardz* tree by the edge of a khor running through a gap in some low hills, and not a stone, under which the local snake lay hid. I also heard of other similar sites in western Darfur and at Dóbo on the eastern side of Marra, but I did not visit them.

Sacrificial offerings of a rather different nature are common among the FUR, and especially at Gebel Si, the KARAKIRIT district. These are made by persons about to start on a journey or any perilous venture and are designed to placate the local demons. The intermediaries in all such cases are the old women of the village.

The belief in the "sacred" snake is not confined to Darfur. Professor Seligman and I found traces of it in northern Kordofan some years ago at Kaga, where the local "NUBA" believed a great snake to live in the hill called Abu 'Ali and had once been accustomed to send their women to placate it², and the Abyssinian Gregorius in the seventeenth century told Job Ludolfus, the Treasurer to the Elector Palatine, that it was an old belief in Abyssinia that the ancient "Ethiopians worship'd for their god a huge serpent, in that language call'd Arwe-midre³." The same cult exists in southern Kordofan

¹ As a rule, the sheep must be "akhdar" in colour, but I am not sure if this is universal.

* For details re this and re the cult at Kaga see Seligman, Art. "Nuba" in *Hastings's Encyclopaedia*.³ Ludolfus, Bk. n, Ch. I, and Bk. ni, Ch. vi.

among the Nūba, e.g. at Gebels Tekeim and Tira el Akhdar, at the present day¹.

A less unattractive type of sprite in Ddrfūr is the *damzōga* [*pi. damdzig*]. These are mischievous, and, in particular, delight to curdle fresh milk and break household utensils, but they may also be conciliated and will then act as guardians of the home and prevent any pilfering or suchlike. El Tūnisi gives a long and substantially reliable account of these *damzōgas*. He heard of them rather in the rôle of guardian genii, to whom flocks and household gear were entrusted for protection. He also relates of them how he was terrified at Gebel Marra, on calling at a man's house, by hearing a loud cry of "*akibe*", meaning "he is not here," and was told:

"C'est le génie gardien de la hutte. Ici, presque chacun de nous a le sien; et nous les appelons en fdrien *damzdg*²." He was told later in Fisher that *damzōgs* could be bought. "J'entendis souvent raconter," said his informant, "que les *Damzōg* s'achetaient et se vendaient; que, pour s'en procurer, il faut aller trouver quelque propriétaire de *Damzōg*, et lui en acheter un au prix demandé. Une fois le marché conclu, on revient avec un can³ de lait et on le donne au vendeur, qui le prend et le porte dans le lieu de sa demeure où sont ses *Damzōg*. En entrant, il les salue, et va suspendre le cara à un crochet fixé au mur. Ensuite il dit à ses *Damzdg*: 'Un de mes amis, un tel, très-riche, craint les voleurs, et me demande que je lui fournisse un gardien. Quelqu'un de vous voudrait-il ailer chez lui? Il y a abondance de lait; c'est une maison de bénédiction; et la preuve c'est qu'il vous apporte ce cara de lait.' ...

The *damzōgas* were at first unwilling, but at the final appeal:

"Oh! que celui de vous qui veut bien aller chez lui descende dans ie câra!"² One of them apparently relented. "L'homme s'éloigne un peu, et aussitôt qu'il entend le bruit de la chute du *Damzōg* dans le lait, il accourt et pose vite sur le vase ou cara un couvercle tissu de folioles de dattier. Il le d&roche ainsi couvert, et le remet à l'acheteur, qui Temporte chez lui. Celui-ci le suspend à un mur de sa hutte, et en confie le soin à une esclave, ou à une femme, qui, chaque matin, vient le prendre, en vide le lait, le lave parfaitement, le remplit de nouveau lait fraîchement traité, et le suspend à la même place. Des lors on est en sécurité contre tout vol et toute perte."⁴

El Tūnisi's comment on this story is "Pour moi, je traitais tout cela de folie," but it is none the less interesting and it seems to provide additional evidence of the "sacred" attributes of milk to which further reference will be made in the note at the end of this chapter.

¹ For details *re* this and *re* the cult at Kdga see Seligman, Art. "Nūba" in *Hastings's Encyclopaedia*. Cp. Roscoe, *Baganda*, pp. 320 and 321.

² El Tunisi, *loc. cit.* pp. 149, 150.

³ *Le.* a gourd.

⁴ El Tunisi, *loc. cit.* pp. 150, 151. El Tunisi relates a further story about a *damzōg* in the same strain.

El Tūnisi also relates how, according to popular belief, the FUR of the TEMURKA division and the MASALIT had the power to trans-mogrify themselves into animals, the former into lions and the latter into hyaenas, cats and dogs. The TEMURKA, too, were said to come to life again three days after death and leave their tombs and go to other countries and there marry and live a second life. The Sultan had a band of these magicians under his orders and used them as envoys: they were under a "king" who was called "Kartab" The chief of the TEMURKA himself warned el Tūnisi against attacking any lions in their country "car tous ceux que vous verrez dans ces contrées sont de nos compagnons et amis métamorphosés¹."

Popular belief, however, throughout Dīrfūr still attributes to all the FUR a power of metamorphosis, and the word *nabadi* there is a common expression of abuse implying that the person to whom it is addressed is in his second existence, that he had died, that is, and instead of dwelling in Paradise, has come back to lead a second existence upon earth².

Of the political system in vogue in Dārfūr under the Sultanate, and the various ranks and privileges enjoyed at the court, el Tūnisi gives a full and generally trustworthy account, which need not be retailed here. He saw little, however, of the out-districts and does not describe their internal economy. Their organization at present

¹ These "/zow"-Fur (Ar. "usudda," or Fur "murunga," *sing.* "muru" = a lion) are known at present as "ahl el *awfid" ("the folk of the customs"), a respectful euphemism, and in the Temurka country, south-western Ddr Abo Dfma, that is, they collect each year varying sums from the villagers, paid in consideration of the members of the guild, if it may be called so, engaging not to ravage their herds in the form of lions. The Fur themselves do not admit that any of their number ever change into animals other than lions, and even the power to become lions is confined to particular families among the Temurka.

The only people in Ddrfūr (excluding Masalfj:) who are believed at the present day to change into hyaenas are the Awlad Mdna, who are debased Gawana'a living among the Fur.

² In this connection the remarks of Dr Felkin are worthy of notice (*Notes on the For Tribe*, 1884-1885), but it must be remembered that he is speaking of the district round Dara only and that many of the inhabitants thereabouts are Dēgu and Birred as well as Fur. He says: "'Kilma' is what seems to correspond to our idea of 'soul.* It is called 'the power of the liver/ for believing that the liver is the seat of the soul it is considered that an increase of a man's soul may be obtained by partaking of an animal's liver.* When an animal is killed, he says, the Fur eat the liver raw but avoid touching it with the hands as it is sacred. "Women are not allowed to eat liver, and are believed not to possess a 'Kilma.'...When a man dies his 'Kilma' is supposed to go to Accra and there he is told whether he has been good enough to go to Molu. Molu is the ancient native name for God." Felkin adds that Molu lives in Jouel (the sky), that *'Uddu" similarly corresponds to Hell, and that women have no life after this one. The ghosts of departed spirits, he says, are called "malal."

As regards the beliefs concerning the liver there is evidence in support to be found in el Tūnisi's book, where there is a description of the ritual eating of liver at the inauguration of a Sultan.

—and there is no evidence of recent change in this respect—is simple. At the head of the affairs of each district is a *Shartdi* (*pi. Shardfi*)¹, corresponding roughly to the 'omda of the rest of the Sudan. An important *Shartdi* has under him several lesser *Shardfi*, each of whom controls a particular group of villages², and all alike are purely secular officials of the same tribe or sub-tribe as the people to whom their district belongs.

Each *Shartai* has also under him a varying number of *damdlig* (*sing, ditnlig*) or tribal elders³.

A *Kursi* is a kind of president of the council of *damalig*.

In dividing tribal dues (in Gebel Si) the *Shartdi* takes two shares (one for himself and one for the Sultan), while the *Kursi* takes one share, which again is subdivided in similar proportions, the *Kursi* getting two-thirds of it and the rest of the *dimligs* one-third. The functions of the *Kursi* are executive, viz. to carry out the behests of the *Shartai*, collect taxes, etc. His position is customarily hereditary, passing to the brother or son, but in cases of personal unsuitability some other *dimlig* is chosen. Below the above in rank are the village sheikhs, commonly called *mutuk* (*sing, meliky*).

There is also, however, an interesting and somewhat shadowy figure still to be accounted for—the *Urundulu*. In the FUR country proper every *Shartdi* has his *Urundulu*, and the Sultan at el Fasher always used to have one also. As to what exactly were his functions there is some difference of opinion. In Dār Abu Dima and Kern£ his functions appeared to approximate to those of a *Ḳādi* and to have been primarily religious. If there is a criminal or civil case to be decided and the facts are not in dispute, the judgment is simply given by the *Shartdi*. But if proofs are needed or witnesses are called the matter goes before the *Urundulu* who reports his finding to the *Shartdi* to enable the latter to give judgment or sentence. If a fine is imposed it is shared between the two.

¹ The word is regarded as of Arabic derivation though whether this is really so seems doubtful. The proper Fur term for a *Shartdi* is "Kiso," or "Kisong" (*pi.* "Kfsongong").

* A head-*Shartdi* is called "Kisongong Kirri" (Chief of the *Shartdis*).

² El Tūnisi, p. 176: "Les simples gouverneurs secondaires de districts ou de communes sont appétés 'chartay' (au pluriel 'cheraty'). Les inspecteurs des tribus portent le nom de 'damdlidj' (singulier de 'doumloudj') qu'ils prononcent 'doumledj.'" As el Tūnisi's editor notes, the term "dimlig" is of Arabic derivation and means "a sort of bracelet worn above the elbow." The proper FUR term for "darniḡ" is "kilmo," and a single "dimlig" is usually called by them "dilmong" when they talk in Fur. Cp. note to p. 74 above.

* "Melik" is, of course, a purely Arabic term meaning "king." The proper FUR term for a "melik" is "sagal" (*pi.* "sagla").

At Gebel Si, on the other hand, I could find no hint of any religious functions pertaining to the *Urundulu* and he was spoken of as simply a vizier to the *Sharfdi*.

As regards the Sultan's *Urundulu*, or the "*Urundulu* of el Fdsher," the term is said by el Tūnisi to denote "the head of the Sultan," and the *Urundulu* was

un haut et puissant dignitaire, qui possède, comme prerogatives, plusieurs grands domaines....On porte devant lui un tapis, comme devant le Sultan. Quand celui-ci va à la chasse ou en voyage, la fonction de l'orondolon est de marcher avec ses soldats, en tête des troupes; c'est lui qui ouvre la marche.

But the interpretation of the name as "head of the Sultan" is contradicted by what the people of Abu Dima, Si and Kerné alike state, namely, that the term means "the threshold of the door." It is, they all explained, through the *Urundulu* that anyone desirous of approaching the Sultan or *Sharfdi* must prefer his request¹.

When Dārūr was reoccupied in 1916 there was still a nominal *Urundulu* at el Fisher, but his privileges and powers were nil, and the Sultan seemed to have taken no notice of him whatever and merely to have allowed him to exist as a sort of traditional survival. Similarly, but to a much slighter extent, in the out-districts peopled by FUR there has evidently been some change, and with the wider spread of Islamic manners the *fekis* have increased and it is now usual for them to be consulted as much or more as the *Urundulus*, and the latter have lost much of their distinctive character. Local *Kādis* have also arisen, appointed by the Sultans, and among the non-FUR tribes perform the same functions as the *Urundulus* among the FUR, but with the aid of a greater smattering of Muhammadan law than the latter possess.

In Dār Abu Dima if a man die a natural death he is buried free of charge; but if he is killed in a quarrel or murdered a sum equivalent to about a pound or so has to be paid as a burial fee by his relatives to the *Urundulu*, who shares it with the *Sharfdi*. This is called "buying a grave/" but no purchase of land is implied, since the money would have to be paid even if the deceased owned the land on which he was buried². The fee, which is entirely distinct

¹ The Fūr word for "a door" is "wurr6" or "urre\". The word for a "fiki" is "Or." The same word ("Or") also means "flour" (made by grinding grain on a "murhaka").

² Some feeling was caused in 1916 when during the disturbances that accompanied the reoccupation some Arabs were killed by the Fūr and the latter were not only averse to paying "dia" (blood-money) but crowned their impudence by demanding a "burial fee" from the Arabs before they would consent to let the Arabs bury their dead.

from blood-money or fines, is, nevertheless, alleged to have been originally devised as a deterrent to quarrelsomeness; but this explanation is unconvincing and the fee is charged irrespectively of there having been a quarrel at all (*e.g.* if a man is murdered in his sleep) and whichever party may have been to blame. If an *Urun-dulu* were killed, his relatives, it was held by the *Sharfdi*s of whom I enquired, would pay the fee to his successor. Blood-money is paid in the usual manner by the relatives of a murderer as compensation to the relatives of the murdered man, but in addition a fine of six head of cattle has to be produced by the people of the district (*hdkôra*) in which the murderer resides and given to the *Shartdi* of the district of the murdered man. This is, no doubt, correctly explained as a measure to deter evildoers by making it to the interest of their neighbours to prevent them from offending.

A well-known feature of savage etiquette, that of the avoidance by a man of his mother-in-law and by a woman of her father-in-law maintains in Dârfûr, as in Kordofân among the Arab nomads and the sedentary population, and in the Gezira, if not universally in the northern Sudan. El Tānisi says of this subject¹:

Lorsqu'un individu est fiancé a une fille, s'il fréquentait précédemment le père et la mère de sa future, et si celle-ci fréquentait aussi le père et la mère du prétendant, les relations des deux familles sont interrompues du jour même de la demande en mariage; ils se deviennent tous absolument étrangers. Alors, si le fiancé aperçoit de loin le père ou la mère de sa future, il prend un autre chemin que celui où il les voit: le père et la mère en font de même à son égard. La fille évite également la rencontre du père et de la mère de son futur époux.... Il est de règle, ainsi que nous Pavons dit, que lorsqu'un individu est amoureux d'une jeune fille, et que la mère de celle-ci a consenti à l'accepter pour gendre, il ait soin d'éviter la rencontre de sa future belle-mère, qui, à son tour, doit aussi éviter de se trouver face à face avec son futur gendre. Si donc elle le voit venir de son côté, et qu'étant trop près de lui elle ne puisse pas ou ne veuille pas s'éloigner assez vite, elle s'accroupit à terre, ramène un pan de ses vêtements sur sa tête, se voile la figure, et reste ainsi cachée jusqu'à ce que l'amant de sa fille soit passé.

The above is still correct. In particular, it is taboo for a man to eat with his mother-in-law, or a woman with her father-in-law. If the parties were forced by circumstances to speak with one another they would do so briefly and rapidly with bent heads.

There seems to be also some reluctance on the part of a man to speaking or eating with his father-in-law, but it is very slight and not universal. He would even have qualms about speaking to the brothers

¹ *Voy. au Darfour*, pp. 219, 236.

and sisters of his wife's mother, though none to fraternizing with those of his wife.

The wife would have a distinct reluctance to conversing with her mother-in-law or with the brothers and sisters of her husband's father. This superstition is common both to the Arab and the non-Arab population, though its observance is often slack. The only explanation I have heard vouchsafed is that of "the respect due to the parents of one's spouse." A father and a paternal uncle is almost the same thing among the non-Arab tribes and the latter is spoken of as a "lesser father".¹

It is often in connection with this curious belief that one sees by the roadside, generally by a rough stony track leading to a well, a little cairn, or several cairns, made chiefly of stones, but with pieces of cow-dung and sticks added. These are called " *Urn Bull*" in northern Darfur and denote a mishap of some sort. The usual mishap is a meeting between son-in-law and mother-in-law, one going to and the other coming from the wells. The former, in this case, would at once crouch down on his hams, with hands on the ground before him, till his mother-in-law had passed, and then make a little heap of stones on the site. Similarly, a cairn is begun if one trips in walking or breaks wind by accident², and subsequent passers-by occasionally add a stone to the heap "for luck." The idea seems to be that an evil spirit must haunt the spot and cause the mishap, and the stones are either intended to "keep him under" or, as the addition of cow-dung and sticks suggest, to placate him by a small emblematical (not to say invidiously perfunctory) offering.

Circumcision of males was universal in Darfur in el Tūnisi's time: the circumcision of females, either partial or entire, was not uncommon, but the FUR proper did not practise it³.

¹ Among the BishāVfn "A man may not speak to, or come in contact with, his mother-in-law, though his first child should, if possible, be born in her house. After two or three children have been born he gives her a present and may then speak to her. A man may speak to his father-in-law, but will never eat with him, i.e. out of the same dish at the same time" (Prof. Seligman, "Note on Bisharin," *Man*, June, 1915). An interesting article on this widespread superstition, common to Africa, America, Australia and the Oceanic Isles, though not to Asia or Europe, was published by Andrew Lang in the *Morning Post* of March 8, 1912. For the custom among the 'Abdbda see Belzoni (*Narrative...*, pp. 304-313), and for the same among the Rubdṭab and Kabdbfsh see Crowfoot, *Sudan Notes and R.*, Apr. 1918, p. 128, and *Harvard Afr. Stud.* 11, 126, respectively. Cp. Roscoe, *Baganda*, p. 129.

² This last was the explanation I heard given at Gebel Katul (N. Kordofan) in 1910.

³ Voy. *au Darfour*, pp. 216, 217. Cp. Browne, pp. 347 *et seq.*: he adds, concerning excision, "In Dar-Fūr many women, particularly among the Arabs never undergo excision.... Thirteen or fourteen young females underwent ^jā&». [excision] in an house where I was."

A custom connected with circumcision which came to my notice on one occasion may be quoted here. The incident happened at a village of 1EIMR near Kebkebfa, but it was said to be common to all Darfur, Arabs and others. When a boy has been circumcised his parents trick him out in the gayest apparel possible, even with women's trinkets and a man's sword in the particular case under notice, and for a period of fourteen days after the circumcision the boy demands from any wealthy visitor to the village, and from his relatives, a customary gratuity as by right. He is also for a period of forty days from the circumcision sent to visit neighbouring villages and it is incumbent upon the person visited to sacrifice a fowl in his honour. The fowl may be cock or hen, and no animal or bird but a fowl is acceptable.'

XXII All the villages of the FUR that I have seen are as dirty and badly built as those of the other inhabitants of Ddrfūr. The present generation when living at any distance from the *gebels* usually build a conical *tukl* of straw or grass with a *rakuba* attached; but when there is a supply of rocks handy they often place a layer or two of them at the base of the sides of the *tukl* as a protection against white ants and prowling beasts of prey, and superimpose the straw, or else make all the wall of stone and only the roof of straw. In the past the population must have been quite ten times what it is now: whole mountains that are now utterly deserted may be seen, as one travels, to be "*terrassed*" for cultivation; their sides, that is, are banded horizontally up to a considerable height with narrow ridges made by so arranging the stones that the side of the hill, instead of being a continuous slope is a series of short steps. On these banked-up steps, which would hold the rain-water, the corn was planted, and the utilization of every available foot of ground for this purpose testifies to the previous density of the population.

Similarly, remains of old stone villages litter the whole countryside in the vicinity of Gebel Marra and its countless foot-hills. The houses were round or square and the walls fairly well built of rough unshaped slabs and rocks, but in some cases there was a solid foundation of stones built up above the ground-level, upon which, it is said with probability, some sort of grass hut was erected.

In plan the villages were mere rabbit-warrens with the houses built close together on high ground suitable for defence. The poorer man would apparently have no more than a single hut, but the better-to-do would have an enclosure containing a number of rooms or else a group of several huts built contiguously to one another. The chiefs enclosure—as one assumes it to be—generally occupies a central position on the highest ground and is larger, better built, and more

intricate in design. Figs. 1, 2, 3 will serve to give a rough impression of the curious designs of some of these enclosures so far as I could reconstruct their ruins. The first represents a chief's house some seventy feet up on a ledge of Gebel Kowra. (This *gebel* forms a connecting-link between Gebel Sí, to which it belongs, and Gebel Marra. The road from el Fásher to Kebkebia passes through it.) The other two figures are of large houses at the old village of Deriblayn on the western edge of Gebel Sí, to the north of Kowra.

The date of none of these villages is known for certain, but so far as can be ascertained they were inhabited until Zubeir Pasha devastated Dárfür late in the last century. The most curious feature of the buildings is certainly the little closet-like recesses built into the walls. In some cases (as in the figures portrayed) these closets were single, generally about two and a half or three feet high, with a concave roof, and an entry barely big enough to admit a small human being. In other cases they were double, the smaller closet leading by a tiny doorway into a rather larger closet of similar design.

Whether these rocky holes were built for warmth in the cold weather or as female apartments, or for some other purpose, one cannot say.

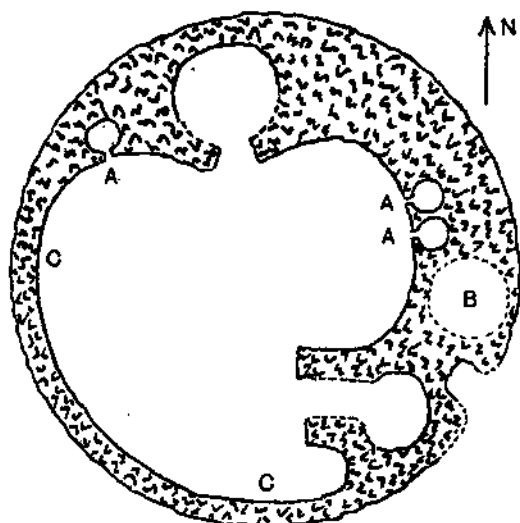


Fig. 1 (from Gebel Kowra). A = small closets. B = circular upper chamber standing on platform built to same height as walls. Other similar but smaller houses stand back to back with that pictured. Wall, CC, about 2 feet thick.

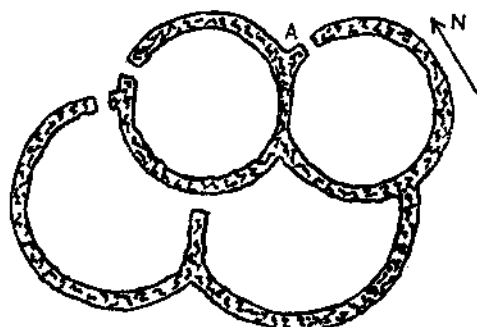


Fig. 2 (from Gebel Sí). Diameter of rooms about 3 yards. Walls about 3 feet high. A, door with stone slab as lintel.

The majority of the enclosures contained only single-storey buildings of simple circular design, but in the more important ones one often finds an upper-storey room built over the closets or on the top of the wall, which is broadened sufficiently to support it.

I have not personally visited any of the present-day villages in the most inaccessible and undisturbed portions of the range, namely, the heart of Gebel Si and the peaks above Kalokiting, at the south

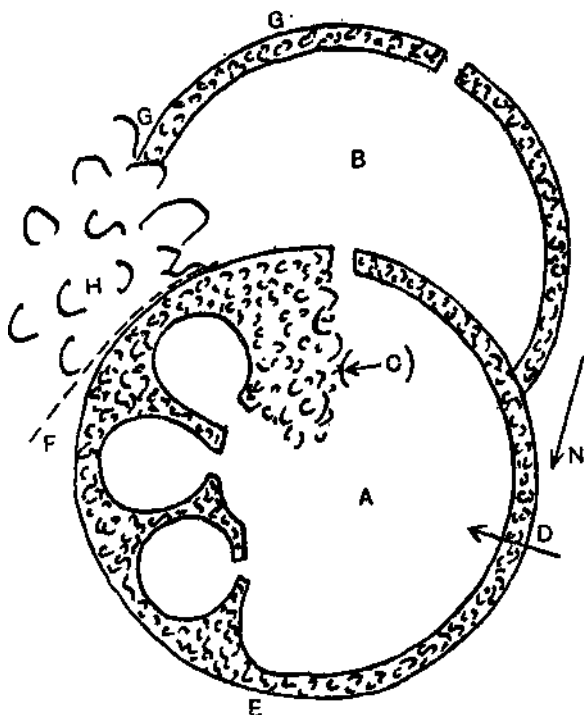


Fig. 3 (from Gebel Si). Diameter of circles about 10 yards. Rooms about $2\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ yards. B and eastern half of A stand on crest of small rocky hill. Western half of A is on down gradient. Walls about 2½—3 feet high except on western half of A where they were probably about 5 feet. B contained no rooms. C is a raised platform of same height as walls. D, possible position of entrance. D—E, wall completely ruined. F, possibly a path. GG, sheer drop down hillside. H, boulders.

end of Gebel Marra, near the great mountain lake of Deriba; but the following extract from a report made and kindly lent to me in 1918 by Captain H. F. C. Hobbs of the West Yorkshire Regiment, who, with Mr J. A. Gillan of the Sudan Civil Service, has the distinction of being the first white man to visit the latter portion of the range, suggests that some at least of the FfR still take some care in the building of their huts and the management of their crops and,

because more segregated, have deteriorated less than their brethren in the more accessible regions. The account given of the lakes of Deriba¹ is also of interest.

It was not until we had risen to some 1700 feet above the plain that we encountered any signs of present day occupation: here the nature of the country changes, numerous rock plants, bracken and short mountain grass making their appearance with villages, areas of wheat cultivation and tomato and onion patches; the latter being irrigated by the natives by means of the many small running streams with which the Jebel abounds. The two lakes at Deriba...lie, at an altitude of 1700 feet above the plain and 4704 feet above sea level, in the arena of what may best be described as a vast amphitheatre, from three to four miles in diameter, formed by a continuous circular (or slightly oval) range of steeply-sloping heights, varying from about 800 to 2000 feet above the surface of the lakes².

The salt lake (termed by the natives the "female"), which is the larger of the two, occupies the north-east corner of the amphitheatre. It measures approximately 1050 yards in length, 1350 in breadth, and about $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles in circumference. The water is very salt, dirty, and greenish in colour and has an unpleasant acrid smell. There is a heavy deposit of salt ail round the perimeter of the lake clearly defining its high-water mark. Except at the northern end, the banks shelve very gradually into soft, oozing, strongly smelling mud....It would appear that the lake is of no great depth, except possibly at its extreme northern end....

The second lake (the "male") lies about f mile to the south-west of the salt lake and contains more or less fresh water. It is approximately 1550 yards long, 900 broad, with a circumference of about 2 miles. It forms the centre of a large crater, undoubtedly volcanic in origin, the sides of which rise almost perpendicularly out of the water to heights varying from about 400 to 700 feet....The water, like that of the salt lake, is greenish in colour, but clean and clear, and smells and tastes slightly of sulphur....The banks shelve very abruptly and the lake appears to be of great depth....This lake is regarded with much superstition and fear by the inhabitants of Jebel Marra, to whom its mystic properties are well known....The Furs of the Jebel say it is haunted, regard it as an oracle, and ask it questions, the answers to which they deduct from the various colours which the waters of the lake assume in the early morning or late afternoon when there is considerable reflection, or when the surface of the water is ruffled by the wind....There is no outlet of any kind from either of these lakes, unless it be a subterranean one. They are fed by numerous khors from the surrounding mountains....

The Fur build quite good "tukls," or circular huts, with walls of loose stone and roofs well thatched with grass. The villages are in every case surrounded by loose stone walls of considerable strength and thickness, about six feet high and usually topped with a breastwork of faggots. These

¹ The "See Daribe" of NachtigaTs map of Wadai and Darfur (Gotha, Justus Perthes, 1875).

² All these heights have since been found to be very considerably underestimated. The peaks are quite 10,000 feet above sea-level.

villages are very much better and more strongly built than any others I have yet seen in Northern or Southern Darfur, and are in striking contrast to the miserable ill-built hovels of the Beni Helba Baggara Arabs who inhabit the plain to the south-west of the mountain....The Jebel Fur...are distinctly in advance of the other tribes of Darfur as builders and cultivators....

The burial-places of the old inhabitants are frequently met with. They are oval circumferences of random stone slabs stuck up on end and, in adr Abo Dima, were spoken of as the work of "Abu Um Gonan," a term which must be the same as the "Abu Gonaan" (or Kona'&n) who are fabled to have once lived in the northern "NŪBA" hills of Kordofdn, and whose name again may be connected with Kana'dn, i.e. Canaan, son of Ham, the traditional progenitor of pagan tribes¹.

The system adopted in the FOR villages for storing grain is distinctive from that in Kordofn or the east to the best of my knowledge. It is as follows: A number of poles with short forks are put in the ground so as to form a rough square. The fork is at the lower end and remains a foot or so above ground. In the forks other poles rest horizontally, and brushwood and matting are laid from pole to pole to form a bed. The heads of corn, when cut, are heaped on this bed and are contained by long, broad sheets of matting (*sherkania*, *pi. sherdḳna*) which are stretched all round the uprights and bound to them, thus forming an enclosure. The matting is made of *nal* grass worked in a criss-cross pattern. The object of having the corn-store thus raised above the ground is to avoid the ravages of the white ants.

For the storage of grain inside the house the Fūr use the *Suayba*, a large cylindrical vessel formed of cow-dung and mud, some four feet high and two and a half in diameter. For water or *merissa* they employ the common circular *Burma* of burnt clay, usually with two or three tiny ornamental false handles placed at the angle formed by the belly and the neck of the vessel. The *burnt as* are made locally and in the same manner as in northern Kordofdn, namely, by placing a lump of clay on a mat and driving the fist downwards into the middle of it and then working outwards.

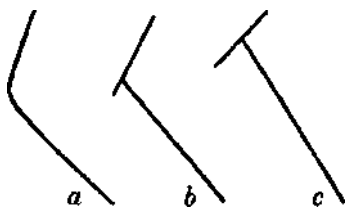
The only art in which the FUR shew any particular proficiency is that of basket-work. The neatly made baskets of coarse strong plaited grass, dyed in various colours and resembling an ordinary waste-paper basket in shape, with their large, flat, slightly convex lids worked in every conceivable fantastic coloured design of line

¹ See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, pp. 88, 241. The jungle-fowl is also known in Kordofán as "giddd Abu Kona'dn."

and cube, which are often seen for sale in the Omdurman bazaars, are essentially a Darfur manufacture.

For measuring grain, or carrying it in smaller quantities, the FUR make an uncoloured *rayka* of basket-work. This is in shape a wide circular bowl about a foot high and one and a half in diameter at the top. The latitudinal bands are formed of strips of bark of *lodt* (*Acacia nubica*), etc., an inch broad and immediately contiguous. Horizontally intersecting these, in and out, are strips of cane, immediately contiguous. The intersection is the simplest possible. The rim is formed of a larger strip of cane, and the base of two concentric rings of stout cane. The interior is plastered with cow-dung to prevent leakage.

The FUR usually carry a quiver full of barbed throwing-spears and a knife, but their most distinctive weapon is the *sqfaróg* (*pi. safdrig*), or throwing-stick, shaped as (a) or (b), or, even less commonly, as (c), and cut from the roots of the *inderdb* or *kitr* bush. Practically every FUR carries one of these, and they are very expert in their use. They chiefly employ them for killing hares and guinea-fowl, but, when occasion arises, for injuring the legs of the horses ridden by their foes.



The Nilotic negro does not use the throwing-stick, but the negroes who invaded Nūbia and Upper Egypt under the eighteenth dynasty did, and so also did the BEGA¹.

XXIII In person the FUR of Marra, Si and the west are small and skinny with thin legs, small bones and egg-shaped heads. All have a peculiarly rancid smell². The young men wear bracelets of brass and hang a few beads and cowries in their hair—more especially the TEBELLA—but on reaching years of discretion they give up these vanities.

Their character is marked by stupidity and low cunning in combination. They are suspicious and deceitful and they instinctively lie about even the most trivial subject rather than speak a word of the truth. They are very ignorant and credulous of the wildest rumours, hot-tempered, idle and drunken; but they are easily amused and have a distinct sense of the ludicrous. Their one ambition in life is to acquire more cattle.

¹ "In numerous xvni dynasty paintings Negroes are represented with bows and arrows and throwing sticks (boomerangs)." Seligman, Address to the Anthropol. Section... Manchester, B. A. Rep, 1915, pp. 10, 12.

² This was noticed also by Dr Felkin (see Bibliography).

As one goes farther away from the mountains, and particularly in the east, where the population is more crossed with Arab and other strains, an obvious improvement is noticeable in physique and mental and ethical standards alike. Among the KUNGARA it is not uncommon to see an extremely well-built man of massive proportions, dark in complexion—even to coal-black—but with the coarse negro features reduced to some kind of regularity.

XXIV Until recent years the Sultan of Dárfūr used to appear with the lower half of his face veiled, and it was counted the height of offensiveness for any of his subjects, even his chief men, to look at him straight in the face. One addressed him only with bowed head and eyes abased, half kneeling and half sitting on the ground. The Sultan of MAŠAIJT still appears in public with face verted to the eyes¹. Here we probably have a tradition of royalty derived from the Berber element in the western states²; but, of course, the veiling custom is most familiar to the world in the case of the picturesque "veiled" ("*mulaththamin*") TUWAREK of the northern deserts—known in Dárfūr, where there is a large colony of them close to el Fášher, as "KEN'I'N"—who are largely Berber.

Similarly, the seven-days' sequestration of a newly chosen king, mentioned by Barth³ as practised by the (Berber) MUNIYOMA, closely corresponds to the similar custom related by el Tuñisi⁴ of the Sultans of Dárfūr.

XXV Now the above disjointed items of information about the various people with whom the more distinctively Arab stock commingled in Dárfūr obviously form too slender a foundation to support any conclusions of scientific finality, but they do give certain indications of a general nature as to the directions from which came the ethnic influences that have been at work in the country.

Apart from the Arab strain it seems that the two main ethnic elements in Dárfūr are the Negro (Bantu ?) and the Hamitic. The former is the most ancient and survives more strongly in the south and in the range of Gebel Marra. The latter is partly due to the continuous pressure exerted by the Arabs in north Africa upon the Berber races, compelling them to move southwards and encroach upon the lands of the darker races, a process which began at least as early as the seventh century A.D. and affected every state from the Atlantic to the Nile in a greater or less degree.

¹ March, 1918, was the date I met him.

² See, e.g. Browne, p. 211, and cp. frontispiece to Denham, Clapperton and Oudney's *Travels*. For the ancient custom of covering the mouth see Barth, n. 270. It also appears in Abyssinia (see Bent, p. 39).

* II, 271.

Voy. au Darf. p. 160.

The earlier waves of the southward-flowing tide were composed almost entirely of Berbers, but as the Arabs fused with the Berbers in the north and converted them to Islam its composition was proportionately modified, and by the tenth century there were Arabs as well as Berbers definitely established in the more westernly kingdoms¹ and beginning to work their way eastwards. A Berber or Arab origin is claimed for the ruling house in each of the states that border on the southern fringe of the Sahara² to the west of Lake Chad.

But from the fusion of Libyo-Berber and negro farther north had already arisen the TIBBU stock³ which had become all powerful in the Tibesti hills long before the Arabs began to force the Berbers southwards. They had also established themselves in northern Wadai and Dárfūr, and the later Berber-Arab congeries, though their social influence may have been not inconsiderable, never supplanted them there⁴.

Thus one might describe the general ethnological aspect of Dárfūr as distinctively TIBBU in the north and negro in the south. In addition, however, to the TIBBU and the negro element and to the numerous Arab tribes which will be dealt with in a later chapter, there are scattered over the country various debased tribes which, though blended with negro from the south or TIBBU from the north, are at the same time connected on the one side with the ancient peoples of the Nile valley or, on the other, with the old kingdoms lying west of Lake Chad.

¹ Cp. Johnston in *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XLIII, 1913, p. 398, and for some general account of the Berber movement see Part I I, Chap. 1, Appendix.

² Thus Leo Africanus, speaking of Bornu, says (p. 832): "They have a most puissant prince being descended from the Libyan people called Bardoa"; and again (p. 133), "Some writers are of opinion that the king of Timboto, the king of Melle, and the king of Agadez fetch their originall from the people of Zanaga [*i.e.* Ṣanh&ga] to wit, from them which inhabite the desert." Makrfzi and Sultan Bello similarly trace the Bornu dynasty to a Berber origin. (See Dr Brown's note to Leo, *he. cit.* and cp. Orr, *The Making of Modern Nigeria*, p. 60, and App. to Part I I, Chap. 1.)

³ See above, Part I, Chap. 2.

⁴ It is noticeable in this connection that whereas the western states had been converted to Islam centuries before Leo wrote his travels in the first half of the sixteenth century—and Ghda as early as 1076 (see Cooley, pp. 42-86, Brown in Leo, p. 838), Bornu was still pagan in Leo's day (see Leo, *loc. cit.*). According to Aṭmad Bdba's History (*q.v.* Barth, iv, 407) Tilūtān the great Lamtūna (Berber) chief who died in 837 A.D. had been the first of his people to adopt Islam and convert the negroes, and Zd-Kasi, King of Songhay, was converted in 1009 by missionaries from Egypt.

NOTE ON CERTAIN EGYPTIAN OR HAMITIC
SURVIVALS IN DARFUR

XXVI Sir H. Johnston¹ speaks of "a wave of late Egyptian culture" being borne "across the Sudan along the southern fringe of the Sahara Desert to the Upper Niger." This he dates "immediately prior to the Christian era." At Agades arose the Songhay people who "adopted accidentally or by influence an imitation of ancient Egyptian architecture in clay and wood instead of stone...." After subduing the MANDINGO of Melle they made their headquarters for a time "the city of Jenne at the confluence of the Niger and the Bani. From Jenne was radiated over all the Western Sudan an apparent Egyptian influence in architectural forms, in boatbuilding, and other arts."

Professor Seligman, however, objects to the stress laid on Egypt: he would prefer to speak of the "Hamitic influence (of which the Egyptian civilization was only a special development) which was leavening dark Africa, perhaps for thousands of years before Egypt herself emerged into the light of history²."

In this connection three facts may be cited. El Tūnisi relates as follows³:

Autre exemple de bizarrerie....Autrefois, on ne permettait pas au Sultan du Ouadāy de boire du lait frais. "Car," disaient les Ouadayens, "si le sultan boit du lait, qu'est-ce que boiront les sujets?" Or il advint qu'un Sultan se procura une vache laitière. On le sut dans le public; on s'ameuta, et on alia dire au sultan: "tu vas te defaire de ta vache, nous promettre de ne plus boire de lait, ou bien nous te tuons." Il fallut obeir. Aujourd'hui cette coutume est abolie, et les sultans boivent du lait comme tout le monde.

Superstitions concerning milk are prevalent among the tribes of the eastern Sudan and East Africa and the Nilotic negroes, being characteristic of a Hamitic stock or culture⁴. Whether the one quoted necessarily reached Wadaï from the Nile across Dārfūr or whether it may have come in from the north with other Libyo-Berber influences

¹ *hoc. cit.* p. 387.

² *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, XLIII, 1913, p. 420. See also "Address to the Anthrop. Section of the Brit. Assoc. for the Advancement of Science," 1915. Barth thought he found various linguistic analogies between Tibbu and ancient Egyptian, and the "T&rikh el Khamis" (q.v. *supra*, p. 72) appears to derive the Tibbu from Egypt (see Carbou, 11, 116), but M. René Basset notes (Carbou, 1, 117) the matter is extremely doubtful and "Si le toubou est apparent^ a l'egyptien, il Test par consequent au berbere qui appartient au groupe chamitique, appele" aussi proto-senitique."

³ *Voy. au Ouaddy*, p. 393.

⁴ Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 654, and in *Man*, March 1915 (re the Bisharin). Cp. Browne, p. 466, for one striking instance.

is a question to be decided by experts, but we have lately seen that certain milk-superstitions did exist in Darfur.

The second fact to which I would draw attention is as follows: Browne states that in Darfur at the beginning of the rainy season the king accompanied by the lesser chieftains (*meleks*) goes out into the fields while the people are sowing and makes several holes with his own hand¹. The same custom is said to apply in Bornu, etc. It has its counterpart (as Browne notes) in ancient Egypt.

" *The great mace-head of Hierakonpolis, dating back some six or seven thousand years...shews his majesty inaugurating irrigation works with a hoe of the pattern still in use.*"²

" *The central figure is the king standing with a hoe in both hands. Before him is a man holding a basket for the earth, and beyond that there has been another man holding a bunch of ears of corn.*"³

The same practice used to obtain among the FUNG. Bruce relates that the name " Bddi," which he considered generic to the FUNG kings, meant "the peasant," and was given because of the custom whereby the king always ploughed and sowed with his own hand a plot of land once in his reign⁴.

Thirdly, when 'Amr ibn el 'Aṣi conquered Egypt he found and abolished the annual rite of sacrificing a virgin to ensure the rise of the Nile⁶.

That the same custom lingered in Bornu down to modern times appears from the story which negro pilgrims told Burckhardt in 1816-1817 at Cairo: they related that "at the time of the inundation, which is regular there as in Egypt, it [s.c. the river Tsad which 'flows through Bornou at a short distance from the capital of Birney'] flows with great impetuosity. A female slave richly dressed is on this solemn occasion thrown into the stream by order of the king⁶."

¹ Browne, pp. 283-284. El Tunisi confirms the truth of Browne's account as regards Darfur. " Le sultan possède, en propriete speciale, des terres labourables. ...A lepoque des semailles...il sort en grande pompe, escorte* de plus de centjeunes femmes....Le prince, une fois arrive" en pleine campagne, descend de cheval, prend differentes graines, et, à mesure qu'un esclave pioche la terre, il les jette et les seme. C'est la premiere semence qui tombe sur le sol, dans la contrée ou est alors le sultan...." (*Voy. au Darfour*, p. 169.)

² Seligman, *Journ. Anth. Inst.* XLIII, 1913, p. 667.

* Flinders Petrie, *Hierakonpolis*, 1, 9-10, quoted by Seligman, *loc. cit.* Cp. Reisner, *The Egyptian Conception of Immortality* (Ingersoll Lecture, 1911), § vn.

⁴ Bruce, iv, 469 (Bk. vn, Ch. ix). According to M.S. " D 7 " there were six Fung kings called Badi.

⁶ Butler, *Arab Conquest...*, p. 437.

• Burckhardt, *Nubia*, App. 11, p. 489; and cp. Hornemann's *Travels*, p. 103.

APPENDIX i

A tabular comparison of the BERTI and ZAGHAWA dialects

ENGLISH	BERTI	ZAGHÁWA
mouth	ă	á
boy	merr	burr
water	mí	bí
cow	fírr	hirri
hand	may	bá
arm	ăbi	t[d]ebbir
horse	burto	hirrté
camel	derri	dí
donkey	dí	áddé
dog	murr	birri
meat	ní	enni
star	már	bar
rainy season	gí	gé
hut	bé	bě'a [be']
name	tírr	ter [tirri]
road	gündur	garrdi
white	tiddi	terri
brother	barra	kerrbári
one	sang	lakoi
two	su	swé (shwé)
three	sóti	wé
four	sitti	ishté
five	pl	hūé
six	dūti	deshté
seven	tayti	dishté (dishti)
eight	kūzi	wotté (otté)
nine	kiddāsi	disti (dishti)
ten	mussang	timmi (timmi)
a hundred	ommār	—

*A tabular comparison of the dialects of the people of
Midob, the Birked and the Bardbra¹*

ENGLISH	MIDOB	BIRKED	BARABRA
one	pirrki	meirti	wērum (K), wērum (D), wēra (FM)
two	uddi	ullu	áwum (K), ówun (D), úwo (FM)
three	tási, or dási	tizzit	tóskum (K), tóskin (D), túsko (FM)
four	égi	keimzi	kémsum (K), kémsin (D), kémsu (FM)
five	téchi, or déchi	tishi	dijum (K), díjin (D), díja (FM)
six	korrchi	korshi	górjum (K), górin (D), górho (FM)
seven	ollotti	koldi	kólladum (K), kólladin (D), kólloda (FM)
eight	iddi	ittu	íduum (K), íduwin (D), íduwo (FM)
nine	ukuddi	ijmoldi	ískodum (K), ískodin (D), óskoda (FM)
ten	timmigi	timmun	dímnum (K), díminun (D), dínn (FM)
a hundred	immil	mia (Ar.) meirta	fmil (KDFM)
iron	tessi	sirti	šárti (KD)
hair	tédi	tillé	dílti (KD), šingirti (FM)
mountain	ór	kūr	kúllu (D)
a stone	ulli	kuldi	kúlu (KD)
woman	iddi	ein	ēn (KD), idēn (FM)
boy	'utchi	otonti	tēndi, tōd (KD)
green	tessé	?	déssi
red	kayli	kaylé	gel
black	uddi	ūdia	ūrum
white	addé	aylé	áro (KD)
mother	iya	ennon	ēn
father	abba	embábon	ambáb (KD), ábo (FM)
mouth	ál	enagul	agil (KD), ak (FM)
he	ón	ter	ter (KD), tar (FM)
they	ung'a	tir	tir (KD), ter (FM)
meat	osongyé	kózi	kúsu (KD)
name	urri	eineré	ēri (KD)
what is your name?	ná urri négoda	eineré nenta	?
horse	porrnyi	kisi	murti (MF), kaj (KD)
winter	itchi	kizidi	kis (KD)
milk	itchirri	eshi	íji (KD), ingšši (FM)
star	ongyedi	weindi	wišši (KD), wtnji (FM)
water	urtchi, or ushi	eigi	éssi (KD), áman (FM)
watercourse ("khor")	?	mántiti	? (N.B. Burckhardt gives "amanga" as = "river" in Nūba, and "essig" in Kanzi.)
head	orr	urr	ur (KDFM)
donkey	utchi	kusuldi	kaj (FM). (N.B. The Dágu use "katché" and "kachiné," the Bayko "katchiné.")
dog	pewrl	meil	wel, or uel (KD)
man	ett, or irr	kortogé	ógid, or ógij, or id (N.B. The word for "man" in the Dilling hills resembles "kortogé.")
corn	urti, or urdi, or u'di	uzzé	íu (KD), iw (FM). (N.B. Táma "iwit.")
cow	tur	tei	tí. (N.B. Táma "tei")
rain	arri	áli	áru (KD), áwu (M), ólli (F). (N.B. Táma "árr.")

¹ Taken from Leo Reinisch's *Die Nuba-Sprache* (Vienna, 1879). K = Kanzi, M = Mahass, D = Dongolowi, F = "Fadidsha" (i.e. Sukkót).

² Dágu "murté," Táma "firrat," Für "murta," Berti "burto," Zagháwa "hirrté," Tekali "murda," Gólo "mroto," Fertit (ap. Reinisch) "múrta," Digga (Fertit) "murta," Banda (Fertit) "berta," Kára (Fertit) "mutta," Kamámil (S. Sennár) "murta," Galla "farda."

APPENDIX 3

A tabular comparison of the dialect of the Far with those of certain of the "Fertti" Tribes

ENGLISH	FÜR	DIGGA (locality: Baḥr el Ghazál, south of the Kára)	BANDA (locality: Baḥr el Ghazál, S.E. of the Digga)	SÁRA (locality: west of Baḥr el Ghazál in French sphere)	KÁRA (locality: beyond S.W. border of Dárfūr; chiefly in French sphere)	GÜLA (locality: south of Sula on Baḥr Mámūn; west of the Kára)	MUNDU (locality: west of Regáf, on Baḥr el Gebel)	ABU KEIA (locality: west of Regáf, on Baḥr el Gebel)
one	dík	sá	bári	kerri	kaala	kalla	bíri	alló
two	ow	uwé	bish	go	vandrr	dro	besbu	irri
three	ís	bietta	vutta	mudda, or mutta	witta	mitta	batta	nná
four	ung'al	biáma	vanna	so	so	so'o	bala	su
five	ós	bishé	minto	mí	mí	mí	burufi	uji
six	usundík, or "sitta" (Arabic)	batissa	minto pabari	mikka, or mikha	nikka	minjé	maidla	jikezia
seven	sábi	batūwé	minto bish	silli, or shilli	songililei witta	?	larizzi	jileili
eight	(from Arabic) tamáni	batibietta	minto pavutta	murta	songililei vandrr	?	bádzenna	jilanna
nine	(from Arabic) tisa	batibiemma	minto pavanna	doso	tisa (from Arabic)	?	menawá	jilissu
ten	woié	babé	murrfo	dokámi	do-og	do-og	njokwá	mudri
eleven	waynadík	butisindesá	murrfo pabari	?	do-og kósakaal	do-og unzíkala	njokwá dapírbíri	mudridilálo
twelve	waynaow	butisindiúwé	murrfo pabish	?	do-og kósavandrr	do-og unzídoro	njokwá dapírbeshu	mudridiléiri
twenty	"ishrín" (Arabic)	bórwé	zózu	?	do-og vandrr	?	tikkibíri	nyeritá
a hundred	firri, or pirri	aburibishé	"mia" (Arabic)	?	"mia" (Arabic)	?	tikkibúrúzi	nyerinji
cow	ū, plur. kú	byé'	madó	mang	wísha	báli	íti	itti
horse	murta	murta	berta	sinda	mutta	súnda	"gawád" (Arabic)	"gawád" (Arabic)
hyaena	tóro, pl. tórunga	zāgi	bongo	nyingo	jóng	mula	lapagu	labaggu
milk	borra	wía	gongo	bá	sūsū	sí	lay'	lay'

meat	nino	pushé	sumba	gá	didda	andi	sok	áwa
stars	ooringa, sing. oori	nunbutum	mberpé	ndi	kókoin	kimlaka	kóparra	ibibia
father	abba	oba	abba	bóbi	va	?	wóba	tatta
mother	iya	ninna	imi	kom	ma	?	wanna	babba
head	tabu	umbáko	kuma	dai	ta	tara	munu	dri
mouth	úttu	munna	amma	lár	ninya	kénbi	sé	umúti
iron	dowra	zali	kó	kás	kásha	kada	njoparra	eddi
red	fukka	hibulven	órún	nduli	kulu	nyatila	bibiiri	kákolái
black	dikko	pushiné	bubúna	ntár	munderáfa	nyandrahá	mpeddé	vendela
white	fatta	gudé	mbinpi	gol	ung-u	jellungába	geji	dienwa
boy	kwé	dégudé	awaia	denni	umlaia	jellunmomo	madda	dinekwa
girl	kweinyu	ni	woba	ma	gigi	máki	derra	ma
I	ká	mo	buba	ina	i	dá	demunu	ni
you	in	vundé	bubasiá	ntai	karndu	ntai	nto	adriggu
corn	káng	vei'	jürü	ina	tüdu	hálu	óá	leshi
fire	uttu	veí	óó	di	waana	keddi	agga	ózé
rain	kuee	imeí	üvro	yell	song-o	zi	fejji	dri
hand	donga,	berre	nyeni					
	duai tóringa	müyi	negám	dei	ina	ycl	nolkinn	náni
come!	gyala, or giella	mundu	gó	ow	abé	abi	goggo	nini
go!	aggóba	mukarachiro	sumbo	ahowáli	ábó	aboko	mbosella	minakc
Do not go!	deulé	úru	lolo	hát	kadr	kadro	rrá	ittu
sun	denál	diwi	yippi	nai	liá	leibi	fé	parra
moon	duodé, or düo,	kumba	koshé	gow	ngába	ngába	komoko	ago
man	plur. kwarkéia		yashé	genné	laia	momo	warisa	oko
woman	yankwé,	adde			kaaga	kagga	ro	fé
	plur. yanga	ngwa	yoiyo	kágo, or khágo			?	?
tree	kuru,			Dum	Dála	Láli	wó	appé
Für	plur. kurrunga	Ūra	Poro	tobio	kévi	tébi	boro	oké
	Furakang,	(lit. "slaves")	banara	bisi	wisi	bissi		
lion	sing. Fürdongo	anyo						
	náso, or müru							
dog	(plur. mürunga)	ango	yavoro					

APPENDIX 4

A short Vocabulary of the Masalit language

one	tio	sister	mumbe
two	barra	brother	mlr'mbe
three	tang	child (fem.)	kimambe
four	ās	„ (male)	kimtaba
five	t6ro	ancestor	na
six	itti	"wadi"	mandaldi
seven	murri	"khor"	idda
eight	aid	"gebel"	k6ma
nine	adde	a stone	ditterd
ten	uttu	horse	berre"
twenty	iddo'mbard	camel	dirri
thirty	iddo keng	donkey	léri
forty	iddo as	dog	ingi
fifty	iddo toro	cow	66
a hundred	mia (Ar.)	bull	murgi
Arabs	Eringe*	meat	nyugu
Fūr	Furtá	milk	g*
Dágu	Bereje*	"merissa"	nyunguru
corn	asse"	salt	an go
hair	kiji	l	ama
head	kujjo	thou	mam
mouth	kanna	he	igi
eye	kogo	man	kumba
the two eyes	kosimbara*	woman	mutcho
hand	koro	God	Múla (Ar. ?)
leg	joinyo	star	kit
arm	kuru	moon	aia
father	baba	sun	unge*
mother	da		

APPENDIX 5

The Tungur-Fur of Dar Furnung

I A day's journey west-north-west of Kuttum lies the district of Ddr Furnung. To the east it is bounded by Berr^ district, inhabited by KAITINGA (a blend of TUNGUR and ZAGHAWA) and FOR, and to the west by Serayf (AWLAD MAÑA). TO the south-west of Furnung is the range of Gebel Si, the home of the still savage EjutAKIRIT FOR.

Dár Furnung itself consists of a group of desolate high sun-blackened peaks, with low hills between them intersected by narrow watercourses that flow from springs, and surrounded by cultivable lands where the TUNGUR and FCR have their villages and semi-nomadic ZAGHAWA come to graze their flocks. It takes its name from the holy stone of Furnung, at which the headman of the ddr has to make sacrifice if he would avoid death or disaster¹.

¹ Cp. pp. 100, 101 above for another of these holy stones, in Kerne district west of Gebel Marra. At Furnung it is only the "rjdkim" (the "ShartaV¹ of the "Dár") who sacrifices. The villagers and lesser sheikhs do not, but if one of them aspires to be "ShartaV* he goes privately to the holy rock and throws a stone onto it. If the stone holds, the omen is good; but if it rolls off, the omen is bad for his project.

II Ferra is a site among the Furnung hills, near the centre of their southern fringe, and is locally famous as being the ancient capital of the TUNGUR and the headquarters of their last independent Sultan Shlu Dorshfd (or D6r el Sid as he is sometimes called).

As one winds one's way, from the open country lying to the south, towards Ferra in the dry summer months, over foothills of sandstone and blackened rocks that remind one of the country round Korosko and Ibrim, nothing could seem more wild and arid than the prospect on every side of high broken plutonic peaks mottled with dry thorny *kitr*, but suddenly, as one enters the circle of the larger hills, the ground dives steeply down and at the foot one sees a deep narrow gorge like a miniature Valley of the Nile. In places it is twenty or thirty yards wide, in places it is no more than a sharp cutting in the rock, and here and there is a tiny glade carpeted with green grass and watered from a bubbling spring.

The sides of the gorge are half hidden by the luxurious foliage of a variety of trees, and below runs a perennial stream of sweet spring water, 'Ayn Ferra, which gives its name to the locality. Here and there are little cascades and below them deep, silent pools fringed by high reeds and alive with small minnow-like fish.

The cliffs rise in steep tiers on either side and now and then one sees a family of baboons cautiously eying one as one picks one's way on foot along the shelves of sandstone or forces a path through the reeds by the water's edge.

The stream flows winding from south to north towards the heart of the hills, and, about a mile from its source, on the left, rises sheerly the rocky hill of Ferra.

III Here, overlooking the gorge from a height of some 200 feet was the capital of Sháu Dorshfd, who, it is said, when threatened by the rising power of the Fur under Sulayman Solong fled northwards to the BEDAYAT country and was never seen again in Darfûr¹.

Shau's fortress and palace are perched

Like an eagle's nest
Hangs on the crest
Of purple Apennine

on the very top of the highest eminence of the hill and command a fine view.

Standing here one sees towering above one in the distance on all sides rugged inhospitable peaks; far below one to the east winds the narrow stream clothed in evergreen verdure, and to the north and west some fifty feet below the fort is a stony plateau, the site of the ancient settlement.

¹ In view of the traces of Christianity that will be described as existing hereabouts, there may be some connection with this flight of Sháu to the Bedayát and the story (see p. 52 above) that the southern Bedayat were once Christians.

"Shau" is said to have had another fort and palace at Gebel Mutarrafc, on the north-eastern fringe of the Furnung hills, some 20 miles from Ferra, but I did not visit the site.

Beyond the gorge, to the east, where a few square miles of hillside shelve less steeply, the ground is all ribbed with ancient cultivation "terrasses" Now all is overgrown with stunted *kitr* bush and the lines of the stones have been broken by the rains, but at one time all must have been cleared and every foot of ground levelled into successive ledges, each a foot or so above the other.

The main entrance to the fort is from the west, that is, from the side of the settlement, and the great gateway, three and a half yards broad, is flanked by stone walls not less than 12 feet high. Entering here the outer line of the defences one mounts along the broad sloping pathway between the outer and the inner walls to the fort which crowns the peak.

The foundations of the fort, like the outer and inner defensive lines beyond it, are well built of rough unhewn boulders, but the upper stories of the structure, and the inner rooms and dividing walls, are of magnificent red brick, hard as iron, metallic in ring and slightly glazed. The labour involved in bringing the hundreds of thousands of bricks required from the kilns, which lie a mile or more away to the south, must have been enormous, for the intervening ground is inconceivably rough, cut and scarred by ravines and littered deep in jagged rocks. The actual plan of the fort is like nothing but a rabbit warren: galleries run in and out and chamber leads to chamber in bewildering manner. All is partly ruined, but the outlines can easily be traced. Near the centre is a deep square pit, with lower sides and bottom of rock, and upper sides of brick. Higher up, in fact at the topmost point of all, one enters a small brick room, perhaps a guardroom, and from it descends spirally down steps through a series of doorways, each at right angles to and below the last one, to what appears to be a dungeon in the rocky foundations of the fort. The steps are made of huge burnt bricks 2½ spans long by 1½ broad¹. The doorways have lintels of wood, long since decayed and crumbling, and small windows open at intervals to the outer air. The entrance to the dungeon itself, if such it be, is just large enough to admit a man, and beyond is the horrible cavity itself, too low for a man to stand in and with a floor space of not more than three square yards. Some 50 yards to the north of the fort and about 20 feet below it stands the Sultan's (?) house, a medium-sized oblong building of red brick. The only remarkable feature of it was the ingenious manner in which the inside surface of the walls had been plastered with red earth of the exact kind used for making the bricks and then subjected to intense heat by the lighting of enormous fires inside the room, so that the plaster itself had become hard brick.

Below the fort and the Sultan's house, about 200 yards to the south-west, stands the mosque, a square building of thick walls, with *mihṛdb* to the east and four interior pillars. To the casual eye there was nothing to distinguish the architecture from that of the red brick and stone mosques

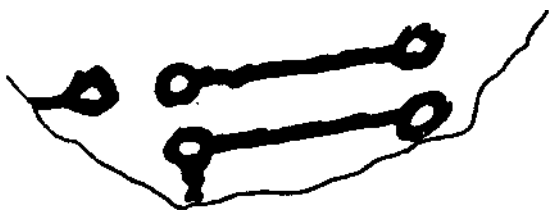
¹ These large bricks are also found here and there in the ruins of the larger houses and the fort and mosque—they have also been noticed near F6ga in western Kordofdn on Gebel ZankQr, a site lying on the ancient highroad from Nūbia to Ddrfūr—but the vast majority of the bricks used in all the buildings were of the usual size and shape.

of Gdma'i Kurro, on the Wādi Bare* between Kebkebia and Kulkul, and of Turra in Gebel Marra. But the making of the *miḥrdb* had evidently given some trouble, for, though the face of the arch had been negotiated successfully, the concave back had been formed by building up a straight surface of large bricks and then hewing them into concavity as one would hollow out a trough. The houses of the common folk were of stone in their lower courses, and presumably roofs of straw were superimposed. Some of them were unusually large; the diameter of one close to the mosque—the Imām's probably—was eleven yards.

IV No implements or ornaments were found, but I had not the time or the means to dig for them. Broken shards were not infrequent. The pottery was of three kinds. The common *burntas* were obviously of the same shape and made in the same way, *i.e.* kneaded outwards on a mat, as the ordinary *burma* of DārfQr and Kordofdn, with wide mouth, short neck and round belly. The inside and outside surfaces are brick-red and the intervening material burnt black. In texture they are very hard and thicker than the usual—a very necessary precaution when one considers the rough treatment they were likely to receive in being carried some 200 feet up a sheer slope, littered with rocks, from the stream below.

There were also larger receptacles, presumably for storing liquid in the houses, and these were of coarser and even harder fibre almost indistinguishable from brick, with quite large pebbles embedded in them, generally an inch or more thick.

The third kind of pottery was of the shape of the present-day *dulang*, with long graceful neck (slightly bulbous in the middle) and red, glazed surface. On the only large fragment I picked up were very roughly incised markings, on the belly of the jar, which in form were similar to the brand still used by the FELLA (or FELLANGA) section of the TUNGUR-FUR. The markings are thus:



The brand is thus¹: 

v At the present day there are no villages in the Furnung hills: all are

¹ This Tungur brand bears obvious resemblances to the "caractères à lunettes" pictured by Doutte' (*q.v.* p. 158). These latter, as used by the Muhammadans of North Africa, are said to be derived from Jewish magic, and may represent eyes, to symbolize Providence and counteract the evil eye. The brand may have been brought by the Tungur to Darfur from NQbia, but, in the lack of any evidence of the use of "caractères à lunettes" in NUBia, it is more probable that they borrowed them at a subsequent date from the Tibbu tribes living to the north of DaVfQr, whose brands are not dissimilar.

outside, where the grazing and cultivable soil are better, but within reach of the water supply¹.

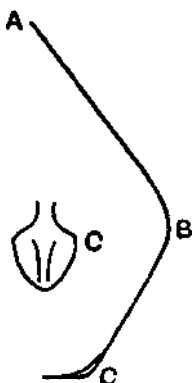
The villagers themselves are a blend of TUNGUR and FUR, black but with less distinctively negroid features than the FOR of Marra and Si. They talk among themselves in the FCR dialect but all seem to know Arabic as well. Such of them as I questioned called themselves TUNGUR, no doubt because of the aristocratic associations of the name, and preserved a tradition that they came originally from Dongola, but they admitted that many of their fellow-villagers were FCR and that the two races had intermarried freely and on no particular system for generations. They regarded the TUNGUR as being the real owners of the *ddr*. Of the criterion whereby they decided whether a child of mixed origin was TUNGUR or FCR I could extract no coherent account. There was some talk of the "mother's mother" ("*ḥabōba*"), but when pressed for details they always fell back on the normal Muhammadan Arab custom obtaining in such matters. Their *Shartdi*, Ḥasan Kanj6k, they called a Tungurāwi, but when I met him some days later and questioned him in the presence of the FUR *Shartdi* of Si and the Tungurawi *Shartai* of Kuttum, he evidently felt himself in a quandary, and the other two fidgetted uneasily: if he called himself a Tungurāwi he risked a smile at his pretentiousness and a sneer at his pusillanimity, so he hesitated and tried "TUNGUR-FCR" and, when pressed, decided for "FUR." AS a matter of fact, "TUNGUR-FUR" is the term which would best describe the people of Furnung. They fall into three groups, FELLA (FELLANGA), SAMBELLA (SAMBELLANGA) and DUMUA. All of these the TUNGUR proper and the FUR proper alike regard as FUR, they themselves seem to regard the FELLA as TUNGUR rather than FCR, and the SAMBELLA as FCR rather than TUNGUR.

The name of the SAMBELLA would appear almost certainly to be connected in some way with that of the SAMBELANG^A section of DAGU, who consider it to be a corruption of "SHENABLA" {*sing.* "Shambali"), and with that of the Sambangato section of Berti².

¹ The Tungur round Furnung and Kuttum, like the Berti and most of the rest of the population who cultivate on soft sand in eastern Ddrfūr, use for hoeing the ground the "gilmoia" (or "nagāra" as the Tungur call it, and one notes the word is formed from the same root as "Tungur"). This implement is of rough local wood and shaped as shewn. The bend at B is a natural one. It is rather larger than a right angle. The length from A to B is about 27 inches, from B to C about 18. The head is of hammered iron and shaped with slightly concave surface as shewn. For hoeing the implement is held with the two hands at A and used from above downwards and inwards between the legs. For making holes into which to drop the seed it is also held in both hands, but the cultivator, as he walks along, at each step makes with it a short jab into the ground on his left side.

For hoeing in a garden on one's knees a much shorter instrument of the same shape but with a very much shorter shaft (B to C being only an inch or two) is used.

² See paras, vni and vi of this chapter. Compare too the D&gu brands with those of the Fella and of the semi-Tungur ABC ^{anr} wooden shart. ^f iron



The mark (called "*sambella*") with which they brand their cattle and donkeys is distinctively Farian in character¹. The Fella brand, on the other hand (see above) is probably of TUNGUR origin².

VI The customs of the FUR and the TUNGUR appear also to have dovetailed in some respects in Furnung. For instance, the holiness of the rock of Furnung is probably a FfIR conception, adopted by the ruling TUNGUR.

Similarly, at 'Ayn Sirra, a few miles from 'Ayn Ferra and also in the Furnung hills, we seem to have two ceremonies which have gradually become joined into a single observance.

'Ayn Sirra is a delightful little oasis with a rich water-spring and palm-grove³, lying just inside the circle of the hills and approached by a narrow pass. At the entrance to this pass stands a large boulder called "*haggar el'arus*" ("the Bride's Stone") or "*haggar el'dda*" ("the Custom Stone"), and on the top of it are heaped some hundreds of loose stones interspersed with bits of dry cow-dung. The explanation of this, given by *soi-disant* TUNGUR, was as follows:

There are certain spirits who reside here and protect the entrance to the grove, and any stranger desiring to enter without mishap would need to be, so to speak, introduced to them by the proper people (for whom see later).

At the time when the rains first begin FUR and TUNGUR alike join in making offerings in the stereotyped manner at this stone to ensure a good rainfall.

This "rain-making" * rite may be of Darfar origin, but there are other features which certainly are not, and the heap of stones on the top of the rock at once calls to mind the exactly similar phenomenon to be seen at Gebel Qayli east of the Blue Nile⁴.

Apart from the rain-making properties of the stone it is used on four different occasions, viz. on marriage, on circumcision of a child, on a birth and when a *ḥdkim* (ruler) visits 'Ayn Sirra. From its name the stone would seem to be chiefly associated with the occasion of marriage.

The rites performed on that occasion were said to be as follows: after the *fdṭṭa* has been read and the couple thereby wed—for, needless to

¹ See note on the Kaitinga brand in para, iv of this chapter.

² Another so-called Tungur brand used in Dar Furnung is as shewn. A J | j
man who belonged on his father's side to the Fella, e.g., and had a Sambella I I
mother would use both his own Fella brand and the "Sambella," i.e. most of his
animals would be marked with the Fella brand, but the minority would carry the
"sambella." In case of their straying there would thus be a chance of their being
recognized and claimed by two parties instead of only one. The Fella explained
more animals would carry the paternal than the maternal brand because "the
meat only is from the mother, the bone is from the father"—which is apparently a
popular quotation, since I also heard it at Midob.

³ The Tungur who own the site say their ancestors brought the palm from Dongola. Their only cultivation, dates excepted, is cotton and ba "dmia." Nethera red pepper nor onions are grown, though the soil is ideal for both and one expects to see them here as at Kuttum, Mellit and other oases where the population is similar. Utter inertia is the only explanation, and the people admitted "they just felt too tired" ("igizu")!

* A rather different explanation from that which follows is also suggested in the case of IḤayli (see note on p. 45).

say, FCR and TUNGUR alike call themselves good Muhammadans—they are escorted to the stone by the sheikh of the village or, in his absence, by one of his family, or, failing both, by the *Imdm* of the village mosque, and there they each smear some *dih̄n* (or blood, if an animal has been sacrificed) in the form of a cross with their forefingers on the side of the boulder, and each deposits a stone or a piece of green grass from the grove on the top of it. If the couple are too poor to have afforded a sheep or any *dih̄n* they make instead the offering of a piece of cow-dung. This done, the couple are led on to the water-spring in the palm-grove and there the presiding priest—if one may call him such—takes a piece of mud from the pool and dabs it on the foreheads of the couple, on the tips of their shoulders (in front), on their middles¹, on the points of their knees and in the small of their backs. He then binds a twist of green grass from the fringe of the pool round each of four ankles and wrists and round both necks, and the deremony is over.



Mutatis mutandis precisely the same is done, it is said, on the occasion of a circumcision or a birth, but in the latter case it is the mother and not the child who is the object of the rite. In the case of a *h̄dkim* visiting 'Ayn Sirra he is similarly expected—or rather used to be, for these customs are falling into disuse—to sacrifice a sheep and smear its blood in the form of a cross on the stone, or else to mark it with *dih̄n*, and to make his offering of a stone or a piece of green grass, and to go to the spring and be marked as described above, but—the only difference—a twist of grass was placed round his right wrist only.

The FCR proper (so the "TUNGUR" say) have no part or lot in these rites, and the reason would not seem far to seek. The TUNGUR, one supposes, brought with them from Christian Nobia the recollection of certain church rites, in particular the Sign of the Cross, and though the FUR were never converted to Christianity their holy stone was utilized by the new-comers. On the other hand, the TUNGUR in time became Muhammadans, witness the mosque at Ferra, but both they and the FCR still preserve superstitiously some relics of their ancient faiths.

¹ My informant described this by placing his finger just above his navel, but called it his "heart."

PART II
THE PROGRESS OF THE ARAB TRIBES
THROUGH EGYPT

CHAPTER 1

The Progress through Egypt in the Middle Ages of certain Arab Tribes now represented in the Sudan

I At the time of the rise of the prophet Muḥammad in the first half of the seventh century A.D. the tribes of Arabia were considered to fall into two great main groups, the one descended from Ẓaḥṭān ("Joctan") the son of 'Abir and the other from his brother Fālig, the biblical "Peleg, in whose days the earth was divided."

The first of these groups formed the "'Arab el 'Ariba," the older and more exclusive Ẓaḥṭānite or Yemenite stock: they were counted the true Arabs, and their original home was the southern portion of the peninsula. They consisted of two branches, one descended from Ḥimyar and one from Kahldn¹.

The second and more northerly group, the "'Arab el Must'ariba," traced their descent through 'Adnan to Isma'il, that is Ishmael the son of Abraham, and in consequence are generally known as the Isma'ilitic or 'Adnanite stock².

II The most important division of the Ḥimyaritic branch of Ẓaḥṭān was that descended from KUDA'A : it included such important tribes as the BELI, the BENI KELB and the GUHAYNA³.

The KAHLAN branch also contained several famous tribes. The best known of these were ṬAI, including GUDHAM and LAKHM, MUDHḤIG, HAMDAN, BAGILA and EL AZD. The last-named again contained the two great Ghassdnite tribes of EL Aus and EL KHAZRAG, who were later to be known as "el Anṣḍr," the "Helpers" [of the Prophet].

III The chief Isma'ilitic tribes were those of ẒAYS 'AYLAN, RAB'A, KENANA, WAFL (a section of RABf A), SULAYM, ḤAWAZIN, GHATAFAN, TAMIM, and the Prophet's own tribe of ẒURAYSH. ẒURAYSH, itself

¹ The term "Ḥimyarite" is, however, used frequently as though it were co-extensive with "kahtanite."

² Robertson Smith casts the gravest doubts upon the whole system of Arab genealogies (see *Kinship and Marriage*, Chap. i). It is not at all improbable that he is right, but, even so, though many of the assertions of the genealogists may be incredible as literal statements of fact, yet they have considerable value if understood in a figurative sense—if, in other words, they are taken as parables. It is in this liberal sense that the statements made categorically in these chapters must often be taken.

³ Robertson Smith points out that as a matter of fact the Ḥimyaritic origin of Kud'a, though generally accepted by later Arab historians, is extremely doubtful, and that the older authorities refer to them as Isma'ilitic.

a section of KENANA, contained among others the BENI MAKHZUM, the BENI 'ABBAS, and the BENI OMMAYYA.

The ancient capital of the Ẓahṭḭnite Arabs was at Ṣana'a in the Yemen, but a century or so after the Christian era¹ large numbers of them migrated northwards in consequence, tradition has it, of the bursting of the great dam of Marib, and settled there.

Thus the BENI LAKHM came to found the Monádira dynasty at Ḥira, near the ancient site of Babylon, and ruled the Arabs of Irdḱ as vassals of Persia².

The GHASSÁN took up their abode near Damascus and from about 37 to 636 A.D. maintained a control, under the aegis of the Byzantine emperors, over a considerable portion of Syria³.

The ẒUDA'A group, particularly the GUHAYNA and BELÍ, settled in the northern half of the Ḥeg&z having all but extirpated the ancient tribes of THAMMUD⁴ and AD, who had previously lived there and who are likely to have been cognate to the Hamitic tribes inhabiting the opposite African coast⁵.

IV Previously to Islam the difference between the Kahtanite and Ismá'ilitic tribes had been to some extent accentuated by a difference of language, for the more southernly group spoke Ḥimyaritic; but the tribal movements that took place in Arabia after the Christian era resulted in a spread of Arabic, and with the acceptance of Muhammadanism that language became completely paramount.

We shall see later that the distinction between Ẓahṭḭnite and Ismá'ilitic survives under a rather different guise in the Sudan at the present date.

V Let us now pass to the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs in the seventh century.

The profuseness of details we possess concerning the conquest is only equalled by their inconsistency. The chief reason for this is to be found in the fact that the earliest writers of all were Copts, who were chiefly concerned with matters of church history; and the records of the earliest Arab historians, between whom and the Copts there is, in any case, a sad gulf, are either lost or only partially extant in the extracts preserved by later writers⁶.

¹ Caussin de Perceval (1, 85-87) puts the bursting of the dam about 120 A.D., but shews that there is considerable divergence of opinion as to the exact date.

² Abu el Fida\ pp. 122 *et seq.* and Van Dyck, p. 24.

³ Abu el Fida, pp. 128 *et seq.* and Van Dyck, pp. 28-31.

⁴ Diodorus's Thamudeni.

⁵ Cp. Burton, *Land of Midian*, n, 220 *et seq.*; Sale, *Prel. Disc.*

⁶ See Butler, *Arab Conquest...*, pp. vi-xxi. The difficulties are also increased by the inaccessibility of several important MSS. and the general scarcity of adequate translations.

The *FutUh el Bulddn* of el Baladhuri, written about 868 A.D., is the earliest complete extant record of the conquest from the pen of an Arab, and the author makes it clear that even in the ninth century there was the greatest difference of opinion concerning the subject. As regards the question of the tribal composition of the forces which either achieved the conquest or immigrated in the years immediately following it the record is particularly scanty.

A certain amount of disjointed information is however to be gleaned from various sources¹, and of these the most fruitful is the treatise written at the beginning of the fifteenth century by el Makrī'zi on the subject of the Arab tribes settled in Egypt².

By this time many of the tribes who had taken part in the conquest of 'Amr^ibn el 'Aṣi had become merged in others who had arrived at subsequent periods, or had been borne westwards or southwards on the tide of conquest.

VI GUDHAM. One notable exception appears to have been the great Ḳaḥṭdnite tribe of GUDHĀM, of whom a large portion had in 1400 A.D. been occupying the Eastern Delta ["el Ḥauf"] for some 750 years³. They and the BENI LAKHM were the chief rivals of the Ḳaysite tribes in that locality⁴.

They were originally a branch of the BENI ṬAI from the Yemen, but they had so completely broken away from the parent stem that they may be considered as entirely separate. In the era preceding Islam they were settled with some BENI LAKHM and branches of ḲUDA'A in the northern Ḥegáz from the Red Sea inland to the territory of the BENI KELB⁵.

The tribe was originally divided into two great branches, the BENI ḤISHM and the BENI ḤARAM⁶, each with numerous subdivisions. Few of the former, but practically all the latter, seem to have been settled in Egypt⁷.

Those in the Ḥauf in the fifteenth century fell under two main

¹ See the chapter which follows.

² This treatise, which was found at the time of Napoleon's expedition and taken away from Egypt, has been summarized by Quatremère in his *Mmoires Geographiques...*, and supplemented from other MSS. He calls his *precis Mmoire sur les tribus Arabes etablies en Egypte*. Wiistenfeld has also made considerable use of it in his *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen der Arabischen Stamme und Familien*: he refers to it as *Abhandlung uber die in Aegypten eingewanderten arabischen Stamme*.

³ Maḥrfzi's *Me^noire...*, ap. Quatremère (n, 195).

⁴ E.g. in 813 A.D.; see following chapter.

⁵ Caussin de Perceval, i, 232.

⁶ Wiistenfeld, 5 (for which see Tree 1 at the end of this Part, p. 191). In Quatremère's *Mmoires*, "Haram" appears as "Garam" (-.)

⁷ I.e. nearly all the sub-tribes of Beni Haram mentioned by Wiistenfeld are included in Makrī'zi's list of tribes in Egypt.

denominations, the ZUBAYB¹ and the BENI KUMAYL², and held many towns in fief⁸.

It appears from el Makrizi's treatise that the subsections known collectively as the ZUBAYB were the BENI QURRA⁴, the BENI ZAYD, the BENI BU'GA⁵, and the BENI SUWAYD⁶. Among the BENI KUMAYL Makrizi includes, firstly, the "BENI SA'AD," the descendants, that is, of the five Sa'ads mentioned in Wüstenfeld's tree⁷; secondly, the BENI RASHID⁸; thirdly, the HALABA⁹; fourthly, the BENI 'UQBA¹⁰; fifthly, the AIDH¹¹; sixthly, the BENI ZAYD MENAT.

Of the BENI 'UQBA some were in Syria, round about Damascus¹² and others round Afla¹³. The rest were in the Ḥauf.

It seems that some of these latter at some time or another joined the BENI HILAL¹⁴, and others, we shall see, eventually found their way to northern Kordofan and became the nucleus of the KABABISH tribe.

Another section of GUDHAM, closely related to the HALABA and the BENI 'UQBA and represented in Egypt, were the BENI RUDAYNI¹⁵.

Now the term BENI KUMAYL, it seems, properly applied only to all

¹ Wüstenfeld, "Dhobeib"; Quatremère, "Dabib." Wüstenfeld follows a definite system of orthography, which Quatremère does not. In quoting the former I alter the spelling to suit the orthography I have followed throughout.

² Quatremère, "Kemil."

³ See Makrizi, *ap.* Quatremère (ii, 193, 194).

⁴ We shall meet with Beni Qurra again as a branch of Beni Hilal settled at Barka among the Ketama Berbers prior to the Beni Hilal invasion of N. Africa. It is useless to speculate as to whether there is any connection between the two or not. Probably there was. (See later, *sub* Beni Hilal, and compare the case of the Beni 'Ukba.)

⁵ Quatremère, "Badjah."

⁶

Quatremère, "Soud."

⁷ Makrizi obviously means that the term Beni Sa'ad had five different connotations according to the particular Sa'ad referred to. It is clear from the tree that some of the five included others. There are some slight discrepancies between Wüstenfeld and Makrizi here: *e.g.* the latter (*ap.* Quatremère) speaks of Sa'ad ibn Afad instead of Sa'ad ibn Malik ibn Afad, and Sa'ad ibn Malik ibn Malik instead of Sa'ad ibn Malik ibn Zayd Mendt.

⁸ There were three descendants of Suwayd called Rashid, and "Beni Rashid" was probably used in the same way as was "Beni Sa'ad."

• These Makrizi divides into Halab ibn Suwayd and Halaba* ibn Bug'a. If Wüstenfeld is correct the former should be Halab ibn Malik ibn Suwayd.

¹⁰ Quatremère, "Akabab."

¹¹ They lived between Cairo and Afla (Makrizi, *ap.* Quatremère, ii, 194). Aidh ('Aids) does not occur in Wüstenfeld as a section of Gudham.

¹² So, too, Ibn Khaldūn, 9-11. They reached as far south as Medina. There are still a few families of them round Muwayla.

¹³ Afla, or 'Akabat Afla, was the mediaeval name. It is the Elath of ancient times, the 'Akaba of the present. (See Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, p. lxxviii, and Burton, *Land of Midian*, I, 231.)

¹⁴ Malpizi (*ap.* Quatremère, n, 201) speaks of the Beni 'Ukba among the Beni Hilal sections and as living at 'Asfun and Esna. By Leo's time the Beni 'Ukba had become a main section of Beni Hilal (*q.v.* later).

¹⁵ Quatremère, "Benou Radiny."

or some of the BENI ḲURRA section¹, and neither the BENI SA'AD nor the other five subsections were really descended from Kumayl at all.

It is therefore probable that the BENI KUMAYL had obtained the headship over a large number of closely related sections of GUDHAM, and that these were generally known as BENI KUMAYL for that reason. It is clear also that among the BENI KUMAYL were numbers of alien tribesmen, for Maḳrīzi speaks of the ZAYD MENAT subsection as including KENANA, BENI 'URWA² and BENI KELB, and certainly none of these were GUDHAM.

In addition to the zUBAYB and BENI KUMAYL there were other branches of GUDHAM near Alexandria³.

In the time of Saladin (Ṣalḥ al Din), when, that is, the Kurdish dynasty* of 'Ayyūbites had supplanted the Fatimites in Egypt in 1171 A.D., the tribe of GUDHAM, who had been very powerful under the previous dynasty, suffered something of a reverse, and their place was to some extent taken by the BENI ṬAI proper⁴, and in particular by the THA'ALIBA branch of that tribe.

VII ṬAI. These BENI ṬAI had entered Egypt at a later date than the BENI GUDHAM. When Maḳrīzi wrote they had been largely represented in Egypt only for a period of rather more than three centuries. The AWLAD SINBIS branch had increased in numbers in southern Palestine to an alarming extent and caused considerable trouble to the local government. So in 1050 A.D. the vizier Muḥammad el Yazūri turned them out⁵ and they moved to the Baḥfra province in the north of Egypt and settled there among the Gudhām-ite BENI ḲURRA. These AWLAD SINBIS consisted of AWLAD LABID (including AWLAD ḤAZM⁶ and AWLAD MAHZĀB), AWLAD 'AMR, AWLAD 'ADI (including AWLAD ABAN), and AWLAD FATAḤ⁷.

The power of the ṬAI increased under the Fāṭimites, and when the 'Ayyūbites conquered Egypt a fresh posse of the tribe came in with them. These were the GARM and the THA'ALIBA sections, who had previously been settled in Syria⁸.

Throughout the 'Ayyūbite period (1171-1249) these BENI ṬAI maintained their power but the feud with the GUDHAM did not die

¹ The only Kumayl mentioned by Wiistenfeld was son of Kurra.

² Quatremère, "zArwah." Makxfzi, *op. Quatremère* (11, 197).

⁴ It will be remembered that the Gudham were themselves originally a branch of Tai.

⁵ Quatremère, 11, 191.

⁶ Wiistenfeld, "IJizrnir."

⁷ Quatremère, 11, 191; Wiistenfeld, 1, 422 and 11, 6.

⁸ Quatremère, *loc. cit.*; Wiistenfeld, 1, 183. The name Garm was a surname applied to a certain Tha'aliba ibn 'Amr on account of a woman whom he brought up, but there was another separate branch of Tai also called Tha'aliba, viz. that referred to in Part rv (D 1, vII), in speaking of the Messfria.

out, for we read of a sanguinary encounter between the THA'ALIBA and the GUDHAM in Sharkīa Province about 1237 A.D., and this battle was only the culminating point of a long series of attacks and counter-attacks which had been taking place for years. The GUDHAM, it appears, were partizans of the Governor of Syria and in league with the MEZATA and ZENATA Berbers of Bahira Province, while the THA'ALIBA supported the Sultan of Egypt. After the fight in 1237 a treaty of peace was arranged¹.

An attempt by Saladin in the first year of his reign to reduce the number of TAI horsemen caused such resentment that it was abandoned. The cavalry of GUDHAM, however, were reduced from 7000 to 300².

When Mu'izz 'Izz el Din³, the first of the Bahrite Mamlūks, supplanted the 'Ayyūbites, many of the Arabs at once rose in resentment against the rule of a barbarian "slave," and in 1251 formed a league of rebellion⁴.

The BENI TAI took a prominent part in this revolt, and they were joined by some AWLAD 'UDHRA, who were also Ḳaḥṭānites⁵, and many KENANA, including such branches of that great tribe as the AWLAD MUDLAG and the descendants of 'Adi ibn Ka'ab⁶. The rebels were, however, signally defeated, and compelled to scatter into Gharbīa Province⁷.

The THA'ALIBA branch appear to have been powerful in Morocco in 1360⁸. Several tribes in the Sudan are descended, according to tradition, from them; and some of the BAḲḲARA may claim a certain degree of probability for the pretension.

Two other large Ḳaḥṭānite tribes represented at the conquest of Egypt are the BELI and the GUHAYNA. Both were main branches of ḲUDĀ'A⁹, that is descended from Ḥimyar, whereas the TAI were descended from Kahlān the brother of Ḥimyar.

¹ Maḥrizi, *Selak...* p. 443.

² Maḥrizi, *loc. cit.* p. 106. Blochet reads "Djoudamls," but I assume this to be a misreading of the Arabic text, viz. or , , instead of .

³ Muir's "Emir Eibek," "Ai-beg," etc.

⁴ Quatremere, 11, 192

* Quatremere, "Adhrah"; Wustenfeld, "Odsra." Wiustenfeld gives four "'Odsras," all IḤar>ṭānite tribes.

* From Maḥrizi (*q.v. ap.* Quatremere) one might suppose the Awlad 'Adi and the Kenāna and the Mudlag were separate tribes. Reference to Wustenfeld (*q.v.* N and P) shews they were all of the same great Isma'ilitic family, though no doubt, as often happens, a certain portion of it had the right *par excellence* to the use of the name Kenana.

⁷ Maḥrizi, *Khetdp*, I, 210.

⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, 1, 147.

* The IḤuḍḥ'a succeeded the ancient Gurhumite dynasty in the Ḥegdz and were the guardians of the Ka'aba until they were replaced about 406 A.D. by the Kusai section of kuraysh (Van Dyck, pp. 34, 35).

VIII BELL The BELI in the Days of Ignorance had been settled in Syria¹, but at the time of the conquest 'Omar ibn el Khaftáb transferred a large number of them to Egypt, and one of the quarters of Fostat was set aside for them². That they were one of the most numerous of the tribes that immigrated at this period is shewn by the fact that they were included with the GHÁFIK³ and one other tribe⁴ as "the three tribes of Egypt." 'Amr himself is said to have used this phrase, and of the BELI he added "They have mostly been Companions of the Prophet and their principal quality is that they are excellent cavaliers⁵."

Disputes soon arose in Egypt between them and their kinsfolk the GUHAYNA, but an agreement was finally reached whereby the BELI settled in the country lying between Egypt and the port of 'Aidhdb⁶ on the Red Sea, that is in the northern part of the BEGA country which was later inhabited by the 'ABÁBDA⁷. In Makrizi's day there were numerous branches of them in Egypt⁸ and with them were commingled certain smaller communities drawn from the Isma'litic tribes of BENI OMMAYYA, THAKIF (a branch of KAYS 'AYLAN), and HUDHAYL. Other BELI were further south in the Akhmim district with the GUHAYNA⁹.

At present they are a large tribe on the Arabian coast round Wegh, neighbours of the GUHAYNA, and there are others settled in Egypt round Girga¹⁰.

¹ They had previously been in southern Arabia. See Burton, *Land of Midian*, I, 296, and II, 141, etc.

² Ibn Du'janak, *ap.* Butler, p. 279; el Kindi, *ap.* Evetts (*Abu Sdlih...*), p. 109. Other quarters were occupied by Beni Bahr, Beni Salamat, Yashkur (a section of Lakhm), Beni Ijudhayl ibn Mudraka, Beni Naid, Beni el Azrak, etc.

³ See p. 156, note.

⁴ Bouriant gives "Maharrah" () as its name. There was no such tribe. It is probable that "Muḍr" () is meant.

⁵ Makrfzi, *ap.* Khefat, II, 469. Burton gives an account of them in *Land of Midian*, II, 141 *et seq.*

⁶ 'Aidhdb lay practically due east from Aswán, near the ancient Berenice: see Makrfzi, *Khetdf*, I, pp. 41 and 43, and Wüstenfeld, *sub* Balf ben 'Amr.

⁷ See Makrlzi, *ap.* Quatremère (II, 202), and Wüstenfeld, I, 106. The boundaries of the Beli were on the north the bridge of Shuhdi and on the south the neighbourhood of Kamula (*q.v.* in Makrlzi, *Khetdt*, I, 209).

⁸ *E.g.* B. Hani, B. Harm, B. Sowdd, B. Ndb, etc. (Makrfzi, *ap.* Quatremère, II, 202; Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit.*)

⁹ Both are included by Makrizi among the most powerful tribes of Upper Egypt (see Part I I, Chap. 2).

¹⁰ The ruling section in both cases is the Ma'dfela. It is possible the name survives in the Ma'dkla of Kordofan and Darfur (*q.v.* in Part III). The Sheikh of this branch at Girga gave me the name of ten sections of Beli known to him and living round Wegh and Girga: they were

Ma'dfcla	Mowihlb	Sahāma	Wahashsha	Hilbnd
Rumūth	Homrdn	Beraykdt	Ferei'dt	Rubidda

Burton (*loc. cit.* II, 141) specifies twenty-three principal sections.

IX GUHAYNA. The GUHAYNA, prior to their immigration into Africa, had been settled in the IJegḍz from south of Yanbu* to north of el Ḥaurá, and their chief neighbours were BELI, GUDHAM, and KENANA¹. Many never left these parts, and at the present day the headquarters of the GUHAYNA are still at Yanbu*, and the BELI are still their neighbours to the north².

They were among the first of the Beduins to accept Islam³. Some 600 of those who crossed to Africa took part in 647 A.D. in the first Libyan expedition⁴; and in 869 numbers of them joined the BENI RABf A in their invasion of the BEGA country⁵.

About 1400 A.D. Maḳrīzī speaks of them as the most numerous tribe in Upper Egypt. They had been in Ashmūnayn district, but were ejected thence by the ḲURAYSH in the Fāṭimite era and had settled round el Siūt and Manfalūt⁶.

It is, however, more important for our purpose to note that by the end of the fourteenth century they had penetrated far into Nūbia. Ibn Khaldūn (1332-1406) tells us:

In Upper Egypt from Aswān and beyond it as far as the land of the Nūba and that of Abyssinia are numerous tribes and scattered sections, all of them belonging to GUHAYNA, one of the branches of ḲUDĀ'A. They filled those parts and conquered the lands of the NEBA and swarmed over those of Abyssinia and shared their countries with them⁷.

Elsewhere⁸ the same author, speaking of events that occurred only a decade or two before his own birth and therefore within common recollection, says:

And with the conversion of the Nūbians the payment of tribute ceased⁹. Then the tribes of the GUHAYNA Arabs spread over their country and settled in it and ruled it and filled it with rapine and disorder. At first the kings of the NCBA attempted to repulse them but they failed: then they won them over by giving them their daughters in marriage¹⁰. Thus was their kingdom disintegrated, and it passed to certain of the sons of GUHAYNA on account of their mothers [s.c. being NCBA of the blood-royal],

¹ See Wiistenfeld, 1, 186-7, *sub* "Goheina ben Zeid."

² The boundary between the two is nearly 50 miles north of IJaura (Burton, *loc. cit.* 11, 133).

³ Caussin de Perceval, *in*, 217.

⁴ El Nuwayry, *ap.* Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. Berb.* 1, pp. 313 ff. Some 700 Ghatafdn and Fezdra, etc., accompanied them.

⁵ Maḳrīzī, *Khefḍ*, 11, 569.

⁶ *Ibid.*, n, 710. Sir C. Wilson mentions them among the semi-nomadic tribes north of Aswān (*loc. cit.* p. 4).

⁷ Ed. de Slane, pp. 9-10; ed. ar. vol. 6, p. 5.

⁸ Ed. ar. vol. 5, p. 429. This passage, not having been translated by de Slane, has generally escaped notice.

⁹ See Part II, Chap. 2. The Arabic is $\text{س} \wedge \wedge \wedge \text{W} \wedge \text{j} * ! \wedge \text{w} \ddot{\text{o}} \text{d} \text{a} \text{j} \ddot{\text{u}} \text{l}$.

according to the custom of the infidels as to the succession of the sister or the sister's son¹. So their kingdom fell to pieces and the A'rd² of GUHAYNA took possession of it³. But their rule shewed none of the marks of statesmanship because of the inherent weakness of a system which is opposed to discipline and the subordination of one to another. Consequently they are still divided up into parties and there is no vestige of authority in their land, but they remain nomads following the rainfall like the A'rd⁴ of Arabia. There is no vestige of authority in their land since the result of the comingling and blending that has taken place has merely been to exchange the old ways for the ways of the Bedouin Arab⁴.

The most important mention of the GUHAYNA in the Sudanese *nisbas* is to the effect that they reached a total of "fifty-two tribes in the land of Sôba on the Blue Nile under the rule of the FUNG, but most [of^f them] are in the west, [namely in] Tūnis and Bornū^h⁵." Of the movement of the GUHAYNA south-westwards into Kordofān and Dārfūr more will be said in the chapters that follow.

X LAKHM. The tribes of LAKHM were kinsfolk of the BENI GUDHAM, and, like them, strictly speaking, a branch of T A I.

We have seen how they came originally from Yemen and settled on the confines of Persia. They founded a dynasty there in 268 A.D.⁶ and its records are chiefly of warfare against the tribes to the west of them in Syria, GHASSAN, BENI BUKR, BENI TAMĪM⁷ and others.

In old days they and GUDHAM had both been worshippers of the planet Jupiter⁸, but by the end of the fifth century, if not earlier, Christianity had made considerable strides to the east of Syria and many of the Arab tribes, including LAKHM, had been converted to it⁹.

The rule of the LAKHM at Ḥīra ended with the rise of Islam.

¹ The Arabic of this passage is as follows:

فافترق ملكهم و صار لبعض أبناء جبهينة من أمهاتهم على عادة الاعاجم في
تمليك الاخت وابن الاخت.

See notes on pp. 92, 93 and 178, *re* matrilinear descent. Cp. Quatremère, II, 38: "Chez les Nubiens, dit Abou-Selah, lorsqu'un roi vient a mourir et qu'il laisse un fils et un neveu du ~~œ~~ de la soeur, celui-ci monte sur le trone, de preference à l'heritier naturel."

² أعراب, the word used exclusively for nomad Arabs.

³ The reference is evidently to the southern "kingdoms." The Beni Kanz, etc., were ^{R+Δ} farther north.

⁴ أما أحواله صبغة البداوة العربية من صبغتهم بالخلطة والاتسار.

⁵ See "BA" cxxm in Part iv.

⁶ See Van Dyck, pp. 24-28. Butler (p. 214 *note*) quotes Ibn Duḡmsilj as denying their right to be called Arabs. This denial is unreasonable.

⁷ These wars took place between 473 and 576 A.D.

⁸ Caussin de Perceval, I, 349.

⁹ The Lakhmite king el Na'aman Abu kabus (588-611 A.D.) was a great builder of churches (Van Dyck, *loc. cit.*).

At the conquest of Egypt the YASHKUR section of the tribe established themselves upon the hill called after them, the site of Ibn Ṭūlūn's mosque¹. Many other sections of the tribe also entered Egypt in the seventh and eighth centuries and settled round Alexandria². In 798 A.D. some 15,000 Andalusian refugees, who had been banished from Spain by the Ommayyad prince el Ḥakam and had landed at Alexandria, entered into a league with the BENI LAKHM; but the two parties soon quarrelled and in 815 the Andalusians succeeded in taking the town³.

During the same half-century the BENI LAKHM were involved in the civil war that followed the death of Harun el Rashid and evinced great turbulence at intervals⁴.

In Makrizi's time they were very numerous in Upper Egypt and some thirty of their sections are mentioned by name. There were also some of them still settled round Alexandria⁵.

Among other Ḳaḥṭānite tribes portions of which are known to have entered Egypt at the time of the conquest or soon after it we may note the BENI HAMDAN, the large Ḥimyaritic family of DHU AṢBAḤ to which belonged Mālik ibn Anas the founder of the Mdliki sect⁶, and a section of AZD, all of whom settled at Gīza⁷.

Let us now take the best known of the Ismd'ilitic or 'Adnanite tribes who took part in the invasion of Egypt. The most famous are the KENANA and the ḲURAYSH.

XI KENANA and ḲURAYSH. The eponymous ancestor of the KENANA may have lived about 100 A.D.⁸ The home of his descendants for successive centuries had been in the Hegaz and Tihama round Mekka⁹. The great sub-tribe of ḲURAYSH became separate from the parent stock some time before the rise of the Prophet and their most famous family, that of ḲuṣAi, obtained the guardianship of the Ka'aba about 440 A.D.¹⁰

¹ Makrizi, *Khetat*, I, 361. There was also a section of Rabi'a called Yashkur (Caussin de Perceval, 11, 270).

² One of their number was Governor of Egypt in 750 A.D. (Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 49)-

³ Makrizi, *loc. cit.* i, 493, 494. Alexandria was retaken in 827 and the Andalusians were expelled to Crete: see Lane-Poole, *loc. cit.* p. 36, quoting Dozy, 11, 68-76, and Quatremère.

⁴ Lane-Poole, *loc. cit.* p. 38; Makrfzi, *loc. cit.* 1, 269.

⁵ Mafcrizi, *ap.* Quatremère (n, 197).

⁶ Wüstenfeld, 3.

⁷ Vide Mafcrfzi, *Khepdf*, 11, 606 and 607, and Abu Ṣdlib (p- 173)- The latter speaks of Gfza as built exclusively for the Hamddn: a note by Evetts gives a reference to el SiḠti's Ḥusn el Muhddjra, 1, 81 (Arabic). Cp. Butler, p. 431.

⁸ Caussin de Perceval, *loc. cit.* Table VIII.

• *Ibid.* 1, 193, and Wiistenfeld, 1, 268.

¹⁰ Caussin de Perceval, 1, 235.

At the beginning of the seventh century both they and the bulk of KENANA still worshipped the idol Uzza¹, and the two tribes were accustomed to act in unison in time of war².

When the Prophet proclaimed his mission he met with the most serious opposition from his own tribesmen of KURAYSH, and it was they and other KENANA who signally defeated him in 625 at Ohod and attempted in the following year to besiege him at Medina³.

In 630 Muḥammad took Mekka and the idol of Uzza was broken to pieces by Khalid ibn Walid⁴. The KURAYSH then submitted.

The date and extent of the KENANA immigration into Egypt are both uncertain, but in the time of the Patriarch Shenūdi's biographer, at the end of the seventh century, the BENI MUDLAG section were strong enough to besiege Alexandria, sack monasteries, and refuse to pay taxes until an army was sent against them⁵.

In 818 A.D., and again thirteen years later, we find the KENANA, and in particular the BENI MUDLAG section, which appears to have been more or less independent of the main tribe, and to have been very prone to rebellion, taking part in the Coptic revolts⁶.

In 1249, when Louis IX of France besieged Damietta, the garrison consisted of KENANA. They fled, however, on the first approach of the enemy, and in consequence the Sultan hung as many of them as he could catch⁷.

By the end of the fourteenth century the KENANA proper in Egypt were divided into three main divisions, the DAMRA⁸, the LAYTH and the FIRAS: their headquarters were round Sākia Kolta.

The KURAYSH included the AWLAD 'ADI IBN KA'AB, the BENI MAKHZŪM, the BENI OMMAYYA, the BENI 'ABBAS and many others, and may be assumed to have been well represented at the conquest of Egypt since both 'Amr ibn el 'Aṣi and el Zubayr ibn el 'Awwām, who reinforced him, and several others of the more famous chieftains were tribesmen of KURAYSH⁹. Many more immigrated with succes-

¹ Caussin de Perceval, 1, 269. Other Kendna worshipped the Moon and Aidebar an *ibid.* 1, 349, and cp. Van Dyck, p. 38).

² E.g. in 580 A.D. broke out the famous "Holy Wars" between the kuraysh and other branches of Kendna on the one hand and the Beni ljawdzin on the other: these lasted for about ten years (Caussin de Perceval, *loc. cit.* 1, 296 ff.).

³ *Ibid.* in, 90.

⁴ Caussin de Perceval, in, 241 ff.

⁵ MS. Arab 140, pp. 33 ff., *ap.* Quatremère, n, 198. ShenGui died in 451. His biography was written in 685 or 690 (Butler, *Arab Conquest...*, pp. 87 and 88).

⁶ E.g. see Makrizi, *Khetat*, n, 494, 495, 496.

⁷ Mafcrfzi, *Seltik*, p. 512; Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 232.

⁸ WUstenfeld (N), "Dhamra"; Quatremère, "Damrah."

⁹ Ibn 'Abd el rjakam, as quoted by Abu el Mahasin, gives a list of the "Aahdb" who accompanied 'Amr. Nearly all of these were BLurayshites, and of them, again, the majority, including 'Amr and Zubayr, belonged to the Beni Ka'ab section (see Butler, p. 229 note).

sive Ommayyad and 'Abbsid governors¹, and we shall see that at least one party of them crossed the Red Sea into the Sudan in the eighth century². Early in the tenth century the branch descended from Ga'afir ibn Abu Talib was expelled from Mekka by the BENI HUSAYN and from the country north of it by the BENI HARB, and took refuge in Egypt. In Ibn Khaldūn's time they were settled between Aswin and Kūs with the BENI KANZ, and were known as the Shurafa el Ga'afira: they were chiefly employed in trade³. The GA'AFIRA of the present day are their descendants.

In 1400 the KURAYSH were mostly settled round Ashmūnayn whence they had ousted the GUHAYNA; others lived side by side with the GUHAYNA in el Siūt and Manfalūt districts, or scattered throughout Upper Egypt⁴.

Among their chief subdivisions Maḳrīzi mentions the BENI GA'AFIR, the BENI TALḤA, the BENI ZUBAYR, the BENI SHAYBA, the BENI MAKHZŪM, the BENI OMMAYYA, the BENI ZAHRA, and the BENI SAHM (the family of 'Amr ibn el 'Aṣi)⁵.

XII KAYS 'AYLAN. About 727 A.D. a portion of the great tribe of KAYS 'AYLAN was brought from the Upper Negd of Arabia by the treasurer 'Obaydulla ibn el Ḥabḥāb and settled in the eastern Ḥauf⁶. In that year a Kaysite, el Walid ibn Rifa'a el Fahmi, was Governor of Egypt⁷.

According to Maḳrīzi only a few individuals of the FAHM and 'ADWAN sections of the tribe had previously been in Egypt, but this statement seems inaccurate, for we know that between 709 and 727, not counting el Walid, there had been no less than three Kaysite Governors of Egypt, two of the FAHM and one of the 'ABS section, and these would not have come unattended by numbers of their own tribesmen. El Kindi, too, mentions⁸ that at the time of the conquest a part of el Fostat was laid out by the tribe of "Kinana ibn 'Amr ibn el Kibr ibn Fahm⁹," *Le.* by a section of KAYS. We shall also see that other sections of Kays were well represented before 727 A.D.

¹ For the number of these see following chapter, para. vni.

² See following chapter, para. xi.

³ Ibn Khaldun, ed. de Slane, I, O - I I; ed. ar. vol. 6, pp. 5, 6, Bk. n; cp. Maḳrīzi, *Khefat* il, 710.

⁴ Maḳrīzi, *Khetat*, 11, 710.

⁵ Quatremère, 11, 17.

• See Maḳrīzi, *Khetat*, 1, 229. Lane-Poole (*Hist.* p. 28) gives the date as "about 732." Caussin de Perceval puts the date of the tribe's eponymous ancestor IḤays at about 68 A.D. There were only four generations between him and 'Adnan (Caussin de Perceval, Vol. 1, Table VIII).

⁷ Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 48.

⁸ *El Khefat*..., ap. Abu salih, p. 110.

⁹ See Wustenfeld, D, where "el Qein" is read for "el kibr."

Ibn el Ijahdb at first collected one hundred families of *ḲAYS*: these were given lands near Balbays on the south-east side of the Delta and bought camels and horses and engaged in the transport trade between the sea-coast and the interior so successfully that the news of their prosperity led five hundred more families of *ḲAYS* to immigrate and join them. This process continued, and within a year of the original immigration there were fifteen hundred families of the tribe, chiefly members of the great *BENI SULAYM* branch, settled round Balbays. By 750 A.D. the number had been doubled.

They soon turned their hand to brigandage and in 779 had to be severely repressed by the governor Ibn Mamdūd¹.

In the first half of the next century they revolted every few years². "Maḳrīzi speaks of a rebellion in the Ḥauf in 802 caused by the oppressive land tax, and the identity of the rebels is indicated by the fact that "twenty-four heads of *Ḳaysite* chiefs" were sent to el Fostat by the government representative.

In 807 a similar rising took place and was suppressed by the treacherous seizure of the chief sheikhs in the Ḥauf, who, it is specified, were originally Yemenites and *BENI ḲAYS*.

Twenty-two years later the same causes led again to the same result, and all the Ḥauf and most of the rest of the Delta rose in arms: it was only after a year of fighting, in which the rebels had distinctly the advantage, that some sort of order was restored. Even so, in 831, the whole of Lower Egypt, and not merely the *BENI ḲAYS* and their neighbours, was in revolt.

The result of these insurrections was certainly not to weaken the power of the *BENI ḲAYS*, for they remained sufficiently powerful to be recognized as the protagonists of the Ismī'īlītic tribes against the rival Yemenites or *Ḳaḥṭdnites* in Egypt³, and when Hārūn el Rashīd died in 808 and both of his sons claimed the Khalifate, one of them astutely nominated the chief of the *BENI ḲAYS* to be Governor of Egypt and owed his success there entirely to this manoeuvre. The opponents of the *BENI ḲAYS* on this occasion were chiefly *LAKHM* and *GUDHAM*⁴.

In Maḳrīzi's day the term *ḲAYS* was used practically to denote not only the descendants of *Ḳays 'Aydn* but also those of his grandfather Muḍr and of the latter's father NizAr⁵.

¹ Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 33.

² Maḳrīzi, *Khetat*, 1, 230-232.

³ Maḳrīzi, *ap.* Quatremere, 11, 497.

* Maljrfzi, *Khētdt*, 11, 508, 509. Cp. Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 35.

⁶ The badge of "Kays" was a red flag; that of "Yemen" a white one (see Quatremère, *loc. cit.*).

They must, too, have largely intermarried with the Berbers in Egypt, for we have the great LUATA branch of the latter about 1400 A.D. actually calling themselves descendants of Kays 'Aylđn¹.

Now some of the main branches of KAYS had at an early date become sufficiently independent to be no longer spoken of under that denomination in common parlance.

About 563 A.D., for instance, the bloody "War of el Dahis" broke out between the BENI FEZARA and the BENI 'ABS, both independent sections of the GHATAFAN branch².

XIII FEZARA. These FEZARA in the Prophet's day were to all intents an independent tribe and lived near Mekka. They and the BENI 'ABS submitted to Islam in 629, but revolted for a time against Abu Bukr in 632³. *

From el Nuwayry⁴ we learn that some GHATAFAN and FEZARA took part with GUHAYNA and others in the expedition which 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad made to the west of Egypt in 647.

This would not be compatible with the statement of Maḳrızı that there were no KAYS in Egypt till 727 A.D. were it not assumed that the FEZARA had become so independent that their Kaysite origin had been forgotten⁵.

Subsequently, other FEZARA accompanied the BENI HILAL when the latter entered Egypt in the eleventh century, and the remarks of Idrisi in 1154 and of Ibn Sa'id a century later lead one to think that this or an earlier group of FEZARA coalesced with the Berbers to such a degree as hardly to be distinguishable from them⁶.

Other FEZARA remained in Egypt. Maḳrızı speaks of them as settled in Upper Egypt, Ḳaliūb Province and Cairo⁷. Even more of

¹ Quatremère, n, 207.

² It lasted till 608 A.D.: see Caussin de Perceval, 11, 429 and 499; Abu el Fida, pp. 140 *et seq.*; Van Dyck, p. 38; and Wustenfeld, H. The war arose out of a horse-race in which foul play took place.

³ Caussin de Perceval, 11, 218, 345, 362.

⁴ *Ap.* Ibn Khaldun, I, 313-447. See also MSS. A 11, LIV, and D 6, xlii in Part iv, from which it seems some of them may have accompanied 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad's expedition of 641-642.

⁵ Caussin de Perceval (Table X B) puts the date of the eponymous ancestor of the Fezdra at about 300 A.D. There are three generations between him and Ghatafan the grandson of kays.

⁶ Ibn Sa'fd (*q.v. ap.* Ibn Khaldun, pp. 9-11) says: "Among the descendants of Ghatafan there are at Barka the Hayb, the Rudlja, and the Fezara." Idrisi (p. 290, *ap. Carrette, Recherches...*, pp. 126ft.) speaks of the territories of Old Ptolemais as inhabited by Zenata and Fezara, and alludes to them as Berber tribes arabicized. The Zenata were of course Berbers. Some Fezara remained in North Africa and preserved their tribal integrity: M. Carrette (*loc. cit.* p. 445) mentions them in 1853 as among the tribes in the province of Constantine.

⁷ Quatremère, n, 207. There are still Fezara in Egypt (Klippel, p. 9; and *cp.* Sir C. Wilson, p. 4).

them must have found their way to the Sudan, for, though the name is now seldom heard, it was used previous to the Mahdia almost generically to denote the camel-owning tribes of Kordofan and Dárfūr¹, and a perusal of the *nisbas* that follow will make it clear that a great number of the Sudanese Arabs who do not aspire to call themselves BENI 'ABBAS claim descent from the FEZARA, GHATAFAN, BENI DHUBIAN and other tribes of ḲAYS 'AYLAN.

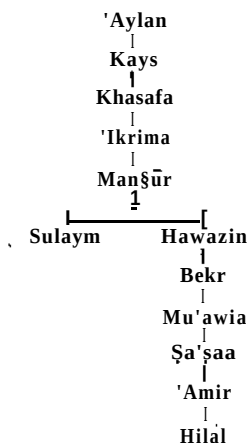
XIV BENI HILAL and BENI SULAYM. Another great sub-tribe of ḲAYS was the BENI HILAL. These were, genealogically considered, a section of the ḤAWAZIN who, like the BENI SULAYM, were a branch of that main division of ḲAYS called the 'IKRIMA².

That portion of the 'IKRIMA which was generally known by the name will be met with later in speaking of the AWLAD KANZ at Aswan³. The BENI HILAL at some fairly early period⁴ had become separated from the main tribe in the same way as had the FEZARA, and their home at the beginning of the seventh century was with their relatives the BENI SULAYM near Ṭayf in the plains which lie east of the mountains that separate Tihama from Negd⁵. When the Islamic movement began a number of them moved permanently to Syria.

Now in the tenth century the Fatimites having become supreme

¹ Cp., too, el Tūnisi.

²



(See Wüstenfeld, F. and Caussin de Perceval, Table X A.)

³ Seep. 187.

⁴ Caussin de Perceval estimates that Hilal ibn 'Amir himself lived about 414 A.D. (Table X A).

⁵ Ibn Khaldun, 1, 25; Caussin de Perceval, n, 410. Cp. Quatremere, 11, 212-215. The Sherdrdt of Arabia are said to be descended from them: see Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, 1, 125. Doughty speaks of the B. Hildl as the "fabled ancient heroic Aarab of Nejd": almost any antiquarian remains of unknown origin were locally attributed to them: see *Ar. Des. loc. cit.* and 1, 387, and *Wanderings...*, 1, 36, 38, 138; II, 211, 259.

along the North African coast-line pushed their conquests eastwards over Egypt and Syria, and by 991 A.D. they had brought under their rule all the country lying between the eastern border of Morocco and the Syrian desert and the Orontes¹.

Almost immediately after the conquest of Syria the Khalifa el 'Aziz Abu Mansur (975-996 A.D.) moved the BENI SULAYM and BENI HILAL to Upper Egypt and settled them there². The chief divisions of the latter were the ATHBEG, the RIAH, the ZOGHBA, the MA'AKL the GISHM and the KURRA³.

About fifty years later, in 1045, when the power of the Fitimites was beginning to decline, Mu'izz the chief of the ŞANHAGA Berbers at Kairuin became disaffected, and the Khalifa el Mustansir Abu Tamim (1036-1094) eventually sent word, in 1049, to the BENI HILAL saying "I make you a gift of Maghrab and the kingdom of Mu'izz son of Balkin the Şantagi, the runaway slave⁴."

Thus was ushered in the period of permanent Arab domination in that part of North Africa which lies west of Egypt⁶. The tribes of BENI HILAL, accompanied by other BENI KAYS, chiefly BENI SULAYM and FEZARA⁶, under their leadership⁷, swarmed "like locusts" to the north-west in 1051, joined forces with their kinsfolk the BENI KURRA who with the aid of the KETAMA Berbers had already established themselves about forty-six years before at Barka, and overran the provinces of Tunis and Tripoli⁸. Mu'izz enlisted the aid of the ZENATA Berbers, but his resistance was weak, disaffection was rife, such of his troops as accepted battle were defeated, and the country passed under the denomination of the BENI HILAL. This great expedition and the desultory warfare with the ZENATA that followed it gave rise to the famous cycle of legends in honour of the hero "Abu Zayd el Hilali" which was rife, at least until lately, all over

¹ Van Dyck, p. 150.

² Some of the Beni Sulaym appear also to have entered Egypt some seventy years earlier (109 A.H.) and to have been settled round Balbays, where subsequently they were joined by others of their tribe. These all, at a later date, moved with the main tribe to the Berber country in the west. (Quatremère, *it*, 212-215.)

* Ibn Khaldun, 1, 28 (ed. de Slane), and ed. ar. Vol. 6, p. 15, Bk. it.

⁴ Ibn Khaldun, ed. ar. Vol. 6, p. 14.

⁵ Previous to this of course the Arabs had made numerous expeditions westwards from Egypt and no doubt some permanent settlements had been made, but there had been no general arabicization.

⁹ The hulk of the Fezira were still in Arabia at this time (see Ibn Khaldun, ed. de Slane, 1, 118 *note*).

¹ Several of the sub-tribes mentioned by Ibn Khaldun were, as he particularly points out, and as Wustenfeld's table shews, not Bent Hilal proper, though they were of kindred origin in nearly every case, §4. Ghatafin (including Fezara) and other branches of Rays 'Ayián. (See Ibn Khaldun, ed. ar. Vol. 6, pp. 5, 16, 17.)

"* Cp. Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 128.

Egypt¹, and which in various more or less garbled forms is still frequently met with in the Sudan.

The BENI HILAL thus transplanted to Tunis and Tripoli very soon took to intermarriage with the Libyo-Berber tribes who had previously occupied the country, and the process of alternate fighting and miscegenation continued persistently under the various dynasties that rose and fell in northern Africa during the ages that followed. The alleged Yemenite origin of the powerful ŞANHAGA and KETĀMA branches of Berber is probably authentic², and if so largely explains the readiness with which Arab and Berber fused their stocks into the race known now as Moors³.

Within a hundred years of their arrival in Libya the ŞANHAGA and most of the BENI HILAL were leagued together in revolt against the Almohades (El Muwahhidin). Numbers of them also pushed westwards to Spain⁴.

From now until the time of Ibn Khaldūn (1332-1405) and Leo (d. 1552) one loses sight of the BENI HILAL in the west; but in the south one hears of some of them among the troops sent by Kalāūn in 1287 to invade Dongola⁵. Ibn Khaldun mentions them in Upper Egypt in his day⁶, and Makrizi speaks of them about 1400 A.D. as very numerous in the district of Aswin, in the eastern desert as far as 'Aidhib, and in fact all over the Sa'id⁷.

It also appears that some of the GA'AFIRIA settled between Esna and Aswin may be BENI HILAL by origin⁸.

There is evidence that some of the BENI HILAL also settled in the Sudan⁹: it would be a remarkable thing if they did not.

As regards the BENI SULAYM, though most of them left Egypt for the west at the time of the great migration of 1051, by no means all of them did so. At the close of the thirteenth century they were very powerful in Bahira Province, and very many of them were also settled in the Fayum and Upper Egypt¹⁰.

¹ See Lane*Poole, *Maimers and Customs...*, Ch. 21; Huart, p. 405, etc.

² See above, p. 8.

³ Moghrabi, *pi. Mogharba* (or Moghrabm). Doughty writes in 1888: "Moorish Arabs are well accepted by the Arabians who repute them * an old Hegax folk and nephews of the Beni Hilal" (*Wanderings...*, i, 36 ff.).

⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, 1, as and 118. The Zoghba section threw in their lot with the Almohades. (*Ibid*, 11, 90.)

⁵ Quatremere, u, tot ff.

⁶ Ibn Khaldūn. cd. de Slane, 1, 9-11.

⁷ Quatremere, 11, aoi.

⁸ Lane, *Manners and Customs...*, p. 40s* mention 's'anrch" as a sub-tribe of Beni Hilal. See also remarks under Gawama a in Part III.

⁹ See pp. 68, 69 and 79.

¹⁰ At the same period the Howara in Libya were subject to the Beni Sulaym, and the two tribes pastured their herds together. (See ibn Khaldun, 1, 197, and cp. Makrtsi, *ap. Quatremere*, 11, 107, 111-215.)

Leo Africanus (c. 1495-1552) gives us details concerning the BENI HILAL in the north. "The Arabians which inhabit Africa¹," he says, "are diuided into three parts, one part whereof are called CACHIN², the second HILELL, and the third MACHILL³." Of the "Hilell," or BENI HILAL, he tells us that they were a rich powerful tribe with 6000 horsemen dwelling "upon the frontiers of the kingdom of Tremizen and Oran⁴."

The AWLAD UKḂA section lived on the borders of Melidna in Algeria⁵ and were in receipt of allowances from the ruler of Tunis: "they are a rude and wild people, and in very deade estranged from all humanitie: they have (as it is reported) about 1500 horsemen."

XV RABf'A and BENI KANZ. One of the largest divisions of the Ismd'ilitic stock in Arabia was that of RABf'A, who included the great BUKR and TAGHLIB sections, known together as WAIL, the 'ABD EL ḂAYS and many others⁶.

The early home of the RABf'A was in the Hegaz, the Negd highlands and Tihama, but towards the end of the fifth century A.D. violent internal dissensions broke out and in the sixth most of the tribe migrated, the TAGHLIB from Negd north-westwards to Mesopotamia and the 'ABD EL ḂAYS from Tihama eastwards with the BUKR to BaḂrayn⁷. Early in the seventh century a great part of the RABf'A accepted Christianity⁸.

In 854 A.D. occurred an extensive migration of RABf'A to Egypt⁹. They dispersed into the various cantons, but chiefly, it would appear, to the Aswan district and northern Nubia. Thence, in 869, in company with many Kahtdnite GUHAYNA and others the RABf'A poured

¹ Meaning the country west of Egypt and the Nile.

³ "Cachin," or "Schachin" (Leo, p. 150), are called "Esquequin" by Marmol (p. 76). They were of Isma'ilitic origin according to both authors.

⁸ Leo, trans. Pory, pp. 142 and 150. Both Leo and Marmol Caravajal (c. 1520) derive their information as to the past history of the tribe of Beni Hilal from Ibn el Rakik^Δ (see Leo, ed. Brown, p. 211 note). By "Machill" are probably intended the Ma'akl (or Ma'akla) mentioned (see p. 146) by Ibn Khaldun as a branch of Beni Hildl and represented at the present among the Beli sub-tribes (see p. 137, note). Marmol (p. 76) calls them Mahequil. Both he and Leo attribute to them a Himyaritic origin.

* Leo, p. 144.

⁵ "The kingdom of Hucban are next neighbours unto the region of Melian" (*ibid.* loc. cit.).

⁶ Including the 'Anaza, the great tribe which lived at first in Tehima and now between the Euphrates and the Syrian mountains (Caussin de Perceval, 1, 191). There was also a section of kays called Rabf'a.

⁷ C. de Perceval, loc. cit. The settlements of Bukr were known as Dia> Bukr, the modern "Diarbekir." Cp. Wustenfeld, 1, 378, sub "Rabi'a ben Nizar," quoting Yakut and el Bekri. *Ibid.* 1, 348; 11, 392-3.

⁹ Quatremere, 11, 84-85, quoting Mafcrfi's treatise on the Arab tribes settled in Egypt. Cp. Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 29.

into the BEGA country to the east¹. The lures to them were the emerald and gold mines: the spur was the oppression of the tax-gatherer on the Nile. In these early days the chief of the Rabi'a was Ishdk ibn Beshr, but before long a split occurred and the BENI YUNIS section who had taken up their abode at 'Aidhdb embroiled themselves with the BENI BESH² section and were forced to retire to the Hegaz. Then the BENI BESH² quarrelled among themselves, Ishdk was killed and his cousin Abu 'Abdulla Muḥammad "Abu Zayd" succeeded him. "Abu Zayd" had lived at Balbays, but, on being chosen to lead the tribe, he took up his headquarters at Aswan.

Meanwhile considerable cordiality had arisen between the RABI'A and the BEGA in the east and also between the other RABI'A and the Nūbians' on the Nile.

The BEGA chieftains gave their daughters to the RABI'A in marriage and helped them to eject from the islands of the Red Sea the other Arabs who had settled there earlier. As a result the BEGA, who had been distinctly inferior in strength to the Nūbians, became in alliance with the RABf A more than a match for both the riverain tribes and such Kahtanite Arabs as had succeeded in establishing themselves in the eastern deserts. By 943-4, Mas'ūdi relates³, Bashir ibn Marwan ibn Ishik (or "Abu Marwan Bishr") of the BENI RABI'A had under his sheikhship 3000 tribesmen of Rab'a and MUḌR and the Yemen and 30,000 BEGA warriors. These latter were all ḤADAREB, dwellers on the coast and converts to Islam.

The RABI' A who had remained round Aswan⁴ and never moved eastwards similarly imposed their influence on the natives and founded a modified Arab aristocracy ruling by consent over a less virile, though still unsubjected, population of autochthons. About 1020, or rather earlier, their chief, Abu Mukarram, son and successor of Abu 'Abdulla Muḥammad "Abu Zayd," was invested by the Fḍtimate Khalifa Ḥākīm with the hereditary title of Kanz el Dowla as a reward for having defeated and taken prisoner (in 1006) the rebel Abu Raḳwa⁵. By the end of the next century, and probably sooner, the

¹ See Makrizi, *Khetat*, II, 569 and 575. The Rabi'a had been employed in Nubia on a punitive expedition (see p. 166).

² Possibly the name Bishirin is connected with the name of this section.

³ See Mas'udi, in, 33. Bouriant (II, 570) hopelessly mistranslates the last part of Makrfzi's quotation from Mas'Qdi. The Arabic is as follows:

ابو مروان بشر بن اسحق و هو من ربيعة يركب في ثلاثة الف من ربيعة

etc

⁴ See Mas'udi (*ap.* Makrfzi, *Khetat*, II, 572); Abu salih, p. 276; Quatremere, II, 84, etc.

⁵ Quatremère, II, 85. Cp. Beckett, p. 196.

holder of this title was also called "Amir of Aswan," chief, that is, of the Arabs in that vicinity¹.

After the granting of the title Kanz el Dowla these western RABf A and such alien elements as they had assimilated came to be known as BENI KANZ².

About 1171-1175 they were in rebellion against Saladin⁸.

In 1287 we find them taking part in the Nūbian expedition of Kaldūn⁴. By this time they were virtually supreme from Kūš to south of Aswan on both sides of the river, and, having allied themselves by marriage with the kings of Nūbia, were in the position of being recognized on either side of the frontier of Egypt as forming an almost independent state⁵. Succeeding centuries failed to oust them from their position and they are represented at the present day by the KENUZ who live from Aswan to Korosko⁶.

In the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they were a perpetual thorn in the side of Egypt, being generally allied with the IKRIMA, the branch of KAYS 'AYLAN to which the BENI HILAL also belonged⁷, and employing themselves largely in raiding from 'Aidhab on the one side to the oases on the other.

In 1366 they openly defied the government and actually pillaged the military post of Aswan. For this exploit they paid dearly, and in 1378 the heads of eleven of their chiefs were sent to Cairo by the Amir of Aswān. Their repression was, however, carried out with too heavy a hand and in consequence they were reduced to desperation and revolted *en masse* in 1385 and captured Aswān itself. They then resumed their career of brigandage and terrorization, and for

¹ See following chapter. The term "Governor of Aswan" which is sometimes used is misleading. Kanz el Dowla's position is made clear by Ibn Khaldūn's description of him as "amir of the Arabs in the neighbourhood of Aswan":

كان أمير العرب بنواحي اسوان يلقب كنز الدولة

(Ibn Khaldūn, ed. ar. Vol. 5, p. 288, Bk. 11). His position was analogous to that of the 'Abdullāh "Māngil" in Fung days.

² Ibn Khaldūn (ed. ar. Vol. 6, p. 5) says: "The people living next to Aswin are known as the Awlad Kanz: their ancestor was Kanz el Dowla." Unless there is any pre-Fa>imite mention of Awlad Kanz, which, so far as I know there is not, though Mas'ūdi and Ibn Selfm both wrote in the tenth century, it seems certain that the tribe did in fact only take the name of Awlad Kanz after the granting of the tide of Kanz el Dowla (*Treasure of the State*). Masudi (q.v. in *Khetaf*, 11, 572 ff.) could hardly have omitted to mention the name otherwise.

See following chapter.

See following chapter.

⁶ Ibn Khaldūn, ed. de Slane, pp. 9-11; Lane-Poole, *Hist.* pp. 29 and 308.

* See Beckett. The singular of Kenūz is Kanzi. Alternative derivations that have been suggested for the term Kanz are Kenes (the hieroglyphic name of an island of the first cataract) and Ta Kenz ("land of the bow"), the old Egyptian name for the country (Beckett, p. 196).

Wüstenfeld, F; Caussin de Perceval, Table X A.

the rest of the fourteenth century continued in intermittent possession of Aswan, flouting the authority of the Sultan of Egypt.

Though they lost Aswān in 1412 A.D. to the HOWARA Berbers¹, who destroyed it and laid waste its confines, they remained the most powerful tribe on the Sudan-Egyptian border until the Turks under Selim I conquered the country in 1517².

APPENDIX

On the penetration of the Sudan by Berber Tribes.

We have seen that innumerable Arabs pushed westwards and coalesced with the Berber tribes, of whom the best known were the ṢANHAGA, the KETAMA, the LUATA, the MAṢMŪDA, the HOWARA, the LAMTA, the ZENATA, the MuGHILA, the NAFZA and the GHOMARA³. But it will also have been noted that, though the main body of the Berber race remained in occupation of the country lying between Egypt and the Atlantic, founding a series of powerful dynasties⁴, and sending offshoots southwards towards the Niger⁵, many of them continued to settle as their ancestors had done in Egyptian territory, or to raid it, as seemed most convenient⁶. It will be noted in particular that the so-called Fatimite conquest of Egypt in 969 A.D. was effected almost entirely by Berber, KETAMA for the most part, and undoubtedly marked the beginning of a period of increased Berber immigration⁷,

¹ Malcrfzi, *Khetat*, 11, 575, and Burckhardt, *Nubia*, p. 517. In 1394 the Howara had been in league with the Awlad Kanz in one of the Jatter's periodical attacks on Aswān and had joined them in pillaging it.

² For their distribution in the Sudan at the present day see Appendix to ABC in Part iv.

³ See Ibn Khaldun, ed. ar. Vol. 6, pp. 93 ff., Bk. 111; or Mas'Qdi, Vol. in, Ch. XLVI.

⁴ The "Almohades" (El Muwahhīdn) were chiefly Maṣmūda and Lamtūna, the "Almoravides" (El Merabitin) Sanhaga.

⁵ By el Bekri's day (1067 A.D.) Audaghost on the southern border of the Great Desert, on the boundary of Ghana, was peopled chiefly by Zenata (Cooley, pp. 1-29), and the "Almoravides" converted Ghana to Islam in 1076 (Cooley, pp. 42-86). Barth agrees with Sultan Bello and Makrizi as to the close connection between the Berber and Bornu (Barth, 11, 269-272), and we have had occasion in dealing with the tribes of Darfur to note some Berber survivals in that country.

⁶ After they had ruined and burnt fifty flourishing Christian monasteries near Giza, Abu Ṣalih (c. 1208) speaks of them with feeling (ed. Everts, p. 192) as a people "who do not know the truth or obey the law or distinguish between right and wrong.**

⁷ Malcrfzi, *Khetat*, 1, 269.

Having once settled in Egypt the Berber intermarried with the Arabs and native Egyptians to such an extent that their Berber origin was almost forgotten. The case of the LUATA who named themselves KAYS has been already cited, and that of the HOWARA will follow.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries we hear of large numbers of nomad MEZATA, HOWARA and ZENARA (a section of LUATA) between Alexandria and Old Cairo¹, and many sections of LUATA, the tribe which had been in occupation of Barka at the time of Amr's conquest², are similarly mentioned by Makrizi³ (1365-1441) in Giza, Bahnasa⁴, ManQf and Upper Egypt generally, and with them MEZATA, HOWARA and others. The two sections last mentioned had also settled to the north in Bahira and Gharbfa provinces and between Alexandria and 'Akaba⁵. About 1382 a colony of HOWARA was transplanted to Girga province by Barkṭīk, the first of the Circassian dynasty, and by assiduous cultivation they reclaimed it from the desert⁶. These partly arabicized HOWARA, generally in company with the ZENARA, were largely represented in the middle ages in Algeria, Tripoli and the Fezzān⁷, warring, intermarrying, making treaties and quarrelling with the Arabs, but more than any other tribe of Berber origin the HOWARA succeeded in establishing themselves firmly in the Nile valley. Their settlement in Girga by Barkṭīk marked the beginning of this process, and about the end of the century, as we have seen, they first, in company with the AWLAD KANZ, attacked and pillaged Aswān, and then some years later seized it from the AWLAD KANZ and put it to the sword.

These HOWARA made Upper Egypt their final habitation. Pococke, visiting the Nile in 1737, speaks of Akhmim as under a Berber *amir*⁸; and Norden, who travelled up the Nile in 1737-8, says⁹:

A little above the town of Siut begin the habitations of the Arabs, known under the name of Havarra. They possess likewise lands on the other side of the Nile. They call them natives of the kingdom of Maroc. They are the best kind of Arabs. They are governed by a shech; and they are all gentlemen, pretty much like the Poldanders.

Burckhardt, early in the next century, found the HOWARA settled in villages from el Siut to Farshiat on the west bank and to near Kena on the east¹⁰. He regarded them as Arabs, and they had posed as such since the fourteenth century at the latest¹¹. He relates in full¹² how in the eighteenth century they had controlled Upper Egypt and the northern Sudan as far south as Maḥass and had compelled the Mamluks to cede these parts to them by

³ Ibn Khaldūn, ed. de Slane, 1, 9-11; ed. ar. Vol. 6, p. 5. Quatremère wrongly reads "Mezana" throughout for "Mezata."

² Buder, p. 430. They submitted to 'Amr in 642 A.D. In el Mas'Qdi's day they occupied the oasis of Kharga (see Makrizi, *Khetat*, 11, 697).

³ Quatremère, 11, 201 and 207-208.

⁴ In Bahnasa the bulk of the population were Luata.

⁵ Quatremère, *loc. cit.*

Ibid. 11, 209.

⁷ Their strain is also believed to survive very strongly in the Shawia Arabs of West Africa. See Carette, pp. 126 ff.

⁸ Quatremère, 11, 200.

⁹ *Travels in Egypt and Nubia*, 11, 24.

¹⁰ *Nubia*, App. 1.

¹¹ Ibn Khaldūn (ed. de Slane), 1, 273.

¹² For further details see Part I I I, Chap. 8.

treaty. In spite of subsequent reverses at the hands of the Mamldks their power was not broken finally till 1813, when Ibráhim Pasha inflicted upon them a crushing defeat¹.

These HOWARA are represented in the Sudan by two quite distinct groups, namely, the nomad HAWAWIR of Dongola and the HOWARA, or GELLABA HOWARA, who have colonies in Kordofan and Darfur².

Of the other Berber tribes there are fewer representatives in the Sudan, but we shall see that on the Blue Nile there is a tribe of "MOGHARBA" who are of distinct Berber-Arab ancestry³, and that in northern Darfur and farther west the ancient Berber strain is strongly marked. If Ibn Khaldan⁴ is to be believed, as Barth thinks he is, it was the branch of HOWARA who returned westwards that gave their name in the perverted form of HOGAR to the all-powerful TUWAREK tribe generally known as AZKAR, the owners of all the country round Ghat.

¹ Burckhardt, App. in, 531-533; cp. Hamilton, p. 257.

² For these see Chapter 8 in Part I I I .

³ Note, too, the "Zena'ra" who occur among the Bedayria and the Hawazma (*q.v.* Part I I I), and the occurrence of such names as Gebel el Zenati and Khor Nakhnukha (a Berber name) in central Kordofan, north of BaVa, in the Khayran.

⁴ Ed. de Slane, Vol. 1, 275, *op.* Barth, Vol. 1, Ch. x, p. 228.

NOTE TO GENEALOGICAL TREES i, 2, 3

To illustrate Part II, Chapter 1, three genealogical trees are given¹. They also serve to some extent to illustrate Part IV. The first shews the Kahtdnite tribes, the second the Isma'ilitic tribes (and their connection with the descendants of Kahtan), and the third the 'Abbasid and Omayyad families and that of the Prophet.

The following points require to be noted with regard to these trees:

1. They are (with the exception of the inset to Tree 1) entirely compiled from Wiustenfeld's *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen*..?. Other authorities of course give many of the details differently.

2. Tree 1 is compiled from Tables I-XXIII in Wiustenfeld. Trees 2 and 3 are compiled from Tables A-Z in Wustenfeld.

(Throughout Wüstenfeld's work figures refer to Kaḥṭānite tribes and letters to Isma'flitic tribes.)

3. I have altered Wustenfeld's German orthography to that used throughout this book.

4. A vast number of names given by Wustenfeld, which are either quite unimportant in themselves or which are irrelevant to my subject, have been omitted. My object has been to provide reasonably compact skeleton trees for ready reference, as Wiutenfeld's work, though frequently quoted in this book, is not easily accessible.

At the same time many apparently unimportant names are inserted (still on Wustenfeld's authority) since they bear suggestive resemblances to proper names found among the Arab tribes of the Sudan—whether there is actually any connection or not.

5. The dates given are generally only approximate and, unless the contrary is stated, refer to the year in which the man named was born. These dates (excepting the later historical ones) are adopted from Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*..., Vol. 1.

6. The names of the eponymous ancestors of the most famous tribes are shewn in capitals. Names of tribes are shewn in italics.

¹ See end of Part, after p. 190.

CHAPTER 2

*The General Progress of the Arabs through Egypt
and their Invasions of Dongola*

I We have now taken certain of the more notable of the Arab tribes and followed the early fortunes of each in turn, beginning, where possible, from the time of their immigration to Africa and breaking off, as a rule, with the temporary disappearance of some of their branches into Libya or the Sudan, and the merging of others into the permanent population of Egypt.

Before turning to the more recent history of the Arab tribes now represented in the Sudan and endeavouring to trace precisely the links that connect each with the more famous immigrants of the earlier age let us briefly record the general progress of the latter in Africa considered as a racial whole. This historical summary will also afford an opportunity for the passing mention of such contemporary events in Nūbia as have not been completely lost in obscurity.

II 'Amr ibn el 'Aṣi¹ invaded Egypt in December 639 A.D. with no more than 3500 to 4000 men, chiefly cavalry; but he was reinforced almost at once by 4000 others, and in June, 640, Zubayr ibn el 'Awwam also arrived with an army of some 12,000 men². Alexandria fell in November, 641, and the conquest was complete³.

Such losses as were suffered during these few years were continually being made good by fresh contingents of Beduins⁴. All these troops were probably drawn more or less indiscriminately from the various tribes of Arabia, for they are generally spoken of by the historians by such general terms as "the Muslims" and are grouped

¹ 'Amr was a kurayshite on his father's side: his mother was an 'Anazia (see Butler, p. 202). For the exact date of the invasion, see Butler, p. xxvii *et seq.* For the general course of events, see Lane-Poole, *Hist.* pp. 1-3.

² See Butler, pp. 225 and 226. Lane-Poole thinks Zubayr's contingent only brought up the total to 12,000. Butler speaks of Zubayr as bringing 4000 men and being followed very shortly by two other contingents of 4000 each. Ibn el Iṣṭakam says 4000, el Balddhuri 10,000 or 12,000, and Yakut and el Siuti 12,000: Makrizi quotes from el Kindi a statement of Yezid that 'Amr's force was 15,500, i.e. an original 3500 plus 12,000 reinforcements: Abu Salih (p. 74), on the authority of *The Book of el Ganahy*, says 'Amr came to Fostat with 3005 [3500?] men, and was afterwards joined by Zubayr with 12,000.

³ Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 13 J Butler, p. xxviii.

⁴ Butler, pp. 213 and 427.

merely according to their various leaders and not tribe by tribe. There is no doubt, however, that the leaders would naturally be followed by more of their own respective tribes than others, for instance, 'Amr and Zubayr by KURAYSH, and we also know that when 'Amr laid out a town he apportioned separate streets and quarters to separate tribes¹. A very remarkable lack of information exists as to the names of the tribes that conquered Egypt, though there is an enormous mass of literature dealing with this era, and the explanation lies partly in the heterogeneous nature of the force².

Two tribes which were certainly represented to a large degree were those of LAKHM and GUDHAM.

Considerable toleration was at first displayed towards the Copts, to whom 'Amr guaranteed, in return for their paying the taxation imposed, "their religion, their goods, their churches and crosses, their lands and waters"; and no doubt it was partly in consequence of this policy, and not merely on account of the weakness of the Roman garrisons, that Egypt was so rapidly subdued³.

Before the end of 641 the whole country from the Red Sea to Barka and from the Mediterranean to Aswān had become a province of the Muslim Khalifate⁴.

III In this same year⁵ or the next 20,000 men were sent under the command of 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad ibn Abu Sarḥ⁶ to invade Christian Nūbia. This constitutes the first Muhammadan invasion into the Sudan⁷. Details of it are lacking, but the result was apparently not

¹ See Yakut, *ap.* Butler, p. 339, and the remarks concerning the foundation of Fostat on p. 137 above.

² Butler states (p. 198): "Most of 'Amr's following belonged to the tribe of 'Akk, although Al Kindi says that one-third were of the tribe of Gh&fifc." This does not help us much. In the first place, though this is not certain, there were, it seems, two quite separate 'Akks. One was a son of 'Adndn (and as such would be an ancestor of half the whole Ismailitic stock; the other was son of 'Odthān , and hence the confusion), i.e. a Kahtanite. In the second place, Ghifilj: was grandson of 'Akk the son of 'Adnan, i.e. the Beni Ghafik: were a section of Beni 'Akk. (See Wustenfēld, 1, 55; 11, Table A, and Kay, p. 3.) 'Amr himself apparently thought little of them, as he summed up their achievements in the words "The Ghafik [Bouriant reads * 'Afeq'] are smitten and smite not" (Makrizi, *Khetat*, 11, 469). The sort of confusion mentioned is very rife and prevents our making full use of even the scanty mentions of definite tribes which are extant. To make things worse we know that the Arabs very commonly took advantage of coincidences of nomenclature among their ancestors to claim identity with tribes with whom they had no real connection at all (so el Hamdani, *q.v.* in Kay, p. 214).

³ Lane-Poole, *Hist.* pp. 5, 6, quoting el Tabari (1, 2588).

⁴ Lane-Poole, p. 14.

⁵ Lane-Poole, p. 15; Makrizi, *Khetat*, 11, 581.

⁶ A Ifturayshite; see Wüstenfeld, O.

⁷ The Arabs are said, however, to have come into contact with the Nūbians and Bega already at Balmasa (Oxyrhinchus)—(see Budge, II, 184, and Burckhardt, p. 528)—but the story is of doubtful worth.

altogether unsuccessful, for the Nūbians paid the tribute (*bakt*) of slaves imposed upon them for some years¹.

IV Meanwhile in Egypt 'Amr was busying himself with problems of administration, his general policy being to accept the pre-existing Roman system as a whole and slightly modify it to suit the change of circumstances². Among the cardinal tenets of Muhammadan policy in these early days was the prohibiting of the acquisition of land by the Arabs. This is an important point, and must have largely affected the emigration question. "The idea was that they should remain soldiers, and not engage in agriculture as settlers³."

Later, however, this restriction became practically inoperative. The Khalīfa 'Omar, who being no financier regarded Egypt exactly as Muḥammad 'Ali Pasha at a subsequent epoch regarded the Sudan, soon became dissatisfied with the revenue which was sent him from Egypt and, thinking to augment it, first divided the province into two halves, giving 'Amr control of the Delta and 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad of the long riverain stretch running thence to the first cataract⁴, and later appointed 'Abdulla ruler of the whole and recalled 'Amr.

V In 651-2 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad, as governor of the whole country, made his second expedition against Nūbia, in consequence of the frequent raids made into Egypt. The account of this which is extant we owe to the description of Nubia written between 975 and 996 A.D.⁵ by 'Abdulla ibn Aḥmad ibn Selim (or Sulaym) el Aswāni and partly preserved in extracts by el Makrizi⁶.

'Abdulla pushed as far south as Dongola, the capital of the kingdom⁷, and bombarded the town with catapults and destroyed the church. The Nūbians then sued for peace, and the terms granted them are sufficiently interesting to be given in full⁸:

In the name of God, etc.... This is a treaty granted by the *amir* 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad ibn Abu Sarḥ to the chief of the Nubians and to all the people of his dominions, a treaty binding on great and small among them, from the frontier of Aswān to the frontier of 'Aiwa. 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad ordains security and peace between them and the Muslims, their neighbours in the Sa'fd, as well as all other Muslims and their tributaries. Ye people of Nubia, ye shall dwell in safety under the safeguard of God and his apostle,

¹ Lane-Poole (*Hist.* p. 23). Butler, following Ibn el Athir, thinks that the expedition was a failure.

² Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 18.

³

Butler, p. 461.

⁴ Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 20.

⁵ 975~996 are the dates of Al 'Aziz billahi the Fatimite Khalifa for whom el Aswani wrote his work (see Quatremere, 11, 3).

⁶ See Makrizi (*Khetat*), 1, vi; II, 549, 580 *et seq.* Cp. Lane-Poole, *Hist.* pp. 21-23.

⁷ The king's name is translated as Ifalidūrūth by Bouriant and as "Koleydozo" by Burckhardt.

⁸ As translated by Lane-Poole (*Hist.* p. 21 *et seq.*).

Muḥammad the prophet, whom God bless and save. We will not attack you, nor wage war on you, nor make incursions against you, so long as ye abide by the terms settled between us and you. When ye enter our country, it shall be but as travellers, not as settlers, and when we enter your country it shall be but as travellers not settlers. Ye shall protect those Muslims or their allies who come into your land and travel there, until they quit it. Ye shall *give* us the slaves of Muslims who seek refuge among you, and send them back to the country of Islam; and likewise the Muslim fugitive who is at war with the Muslims, him ye shall expel from your country to the realm of Islam; ye shall not espouse his cause nor prevent his capture. Ye shall put no obstacle in the way of a Muslim, but render him aid till he quit your territory. Ye shall take care of the mosque which the Muslims have built in the outskirts of your city, and hinder none from praying there; ye shall clean it, and light it, and honour it. Every year ye shall pay 360¹ head of slaves to the leader of the Muslims [*i.e.* the Khalifa], of the middle class of slaves of your country, without bodily defects, males and females, but no old men nor old women nor young children. Ye shall deliver them to the Governor of Aswan. No Muslim shall be bound to repulse an enemy from you or to attack him, or hinder him, from 'Aiwa to Aswan. If ye harbour a Muslim slave, or kill a Muslim or an ally, or attempt to destroy the mosque which the Muslims have built in the outskirt of your city, or withhold any of the 360 head of slaves, then this promised peace and security will be withdrawn from you, and we shall revert to hostility, until God decide between us, and He is the best of umpires. For our performance of these conditions we pledge our word, in the name of God, and our compact and faith, and belief in the name of His apostle, Muhammad, God bless and save him. And for your performance of the same ye pledge yourselves by all that ye hold most sacred in your religion, by the Messiah and by the apostles and by all whom ye revere in your creed and religion. And God is witness of these things between us and you. Written by 'Amr ibn Shurahbil in Ramaddn in the year 31." [May-June, 652 A.D.]

VI This treaty continued in force for over 600 years. The tribute was paid over yearly to the officer in charge of the frontier post of el Kasr, five miles south of Aswan. At the same time a present of forty slaves was handed over by the Nūbians and a large gift of wheat, barley, lentils, cloth and horses by the Arabs. The gift of one party was in theory no doubt the equivalent of that of the other, but unless the only detailed list of amounts that survives is entirely inaccurate—which is of course possible—the Arabs would probably in practice have had more difficulty in getting their tribute of 360 slaves had not their gift to the Nūbians exceeded in value that of the Nūbians to them by something very like the amount of the tribute².

¹ Mas'ūdi (111,39), "365."

² Cp. Butler, p. 432, and note in this connection the terms in which Makrizi alludes to the "bakt" *apropos* of its renewal in the year 1276 (see later). The origin of the custom of exchange was as follows: When the Nubians paid their tribute

As regards the clause in the treaty prohibiting Arab settlement in Nūbia, no doubt it was merely intended as a concessionary make-weight against the corresponding prohibition of Nūbian settlement in Egypt, and it evidently fell into desuetude at an early date. Although the treaty as a whole seems to have remained in force for so long, the payment of the requisite tribute must have been regarded as the only really important clause, and even this was judiciously rendered more palatable to the Nūbians by the subsequent exchange of gifts so advantageous to themselves.

VII¹ In 656 the Khalīfa 'Othmān was murdered and the civil war which followed did not leave Egypt unaffected. There had already been a rising against the oppressive rule of 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad, and of two successive governors sent out by the Imām 'Ali one had to be removed and the other was poisoned. At Kharibta in the Ḥauf were 10,000 men determined to avenge 'Othmān, and when 'Amr ibn el 'Aṣi reappeared in 658 with a considerable body of troops as the nominee of Mu'awia, the rival of 'Ali, he had no difficulty in establishing himself for a second period as Governor of Egypt. Two expeditions were sent between 658 and 664 against the Berbers of Libya, but otherwise no outstanding event occurred.

VIII 'Amr died in 664, and between that date and the rise of the Ṭūlūnid dynasty in 868 ninety-eight Arab governors² ruled Egypt, and the Arab population increased steadily.

The chief occasions of the immigration were the arrivals of new governors: each one came escorted by an army of anything up to 20,000 men, many of whom never returned to Syria or Arabia³. A proportion of these hordes were Persian, Turkish and other tribes, but the majority were Arabs and would normally be members of the governor's own tribe. It is interesting, therefore, to analyse the tribal names of the eighty-three different governors who followed 'Amr. We find that in the Omayyad period, i.e. up to 750 A.D., seven out

to 'Amr after the expedition of 641-2 they offered him a personal gift of 40 slaves: he refused to accept them and handed them back to the envoy, who sold them and bought provisions and wine for the Nūbians. This became a regular institution; but after the expedition of 651-2 the governor of Egypt kept the 40 slaves. According to the authority cited by Maḥrizi, viz. a certain Abu Khalffa ijdmid ibn Hisham el Bofrtari (Burckhardt calls him "Aly Kheleyfa Homa'yed Ibn Hesham el Baheyry," p. 512), who again gave as his authority the work of one Abu Zacharia (see Makrizi, *Khetat*, 11, 582), the actual amounts delivered to the Nubians were 1000 ardebs of wheat, 1000 of barley, and 1000 jars of wine for the king, and for every 1000 an extra 300 for the envoys: also 2 fine horses, 100 pieces of different kinds of cloth, 40 pieces of finer cloth, and a robe, for the king.

¹ Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 24.

² Several of these had two or three terms of office. There were only 83 different governors. See the list given by Lane-Poole (*Hist.* pp. 45-57).

³ Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 29.

of a total of twenty-two were from RURAYSH¹, the same number from KAYS 'AYLAN², one from GUHAYNA, two from AZD³, three from HIMYAR⁴, one from LAKHM, and one whose tribe is unrecorded⁶.

Of the sixty-one different governors of Egypt who served an 'Abbsid Khaltfa between 750 and 856 the tribe to which at least thirty-three belonged is known. Of these thirty-three as many as fifteen were themselves members of the BENI 'ABBAS, three were BENI TAMIM⁶, five from AZD⁷, two from TAI, one from LAKHM, two from MUDHHIG, two from BAGILA⁸, two from HİMYAR⁹, and one apparently an Armenian.

IX It would of course be those of the tribesmen who settled in the large towns or took to cultivation of the river banks who chiefly intermarried with the older Coptic population and remained in Egypt: the more nomadic tribes would naturally be more exclusive, and incidentally less eligible, in the matter of intermarriage, and such of them as penetrated in later years into the Sudan were probably still as purely Arab as when they entered Africa.

Half a century after the death of 'Amr (722) occurred the first of a long series of Coptic revolts. Few of these people had been converted to Islam and by now there were some 5,000,000 of them living in Egypt¹⁰.

As a set off to their power, the tribe of KAYS AYLAN was induced to immigrate to Egypt and settle round Balbays, and we have seen that by about 750 A.D. there were some 3000 of them in that locality and that, so far from strengthening the hand of the ruler of Egypt, they formed a hot-bed of revolt.

X Of the state of the countries south of Aswān at this period we have little news. Such as there is comes to us from Christian sources and consists of the following. About 737 A.D.^U the governor of Egypt

¹ Mostly Beni Ommayya, related to the reigning Khalifa.

² Fahm, \Abs, Fezara and Bahila sections: all these in the first half of the eighth century.

³ Including one of the Khazrag.

⁴ One Aṣḥabi, one Kelbi, and one Hadrami. The Beni Kelb are a section of the Kuḍd'a branch.

⁵ Elljurr ibn Yusef (724-727).

⁶¹

A section of Mudr.

⁷ Two belonged to the Khuza'a division and two to the Muhallab.

⁸ The Beni Tamim, Azd, Tai, Lakhm, Mudhḥig and Bagila were all related to one another, being descendants of Kahlan (see Wustenfeld, p. 4).

⁹ "El Ruayni" and "El Kelbi."

¹⁰ Lane-Poole, *Hist.* pp. 27, 28.

¹¹ See Abu Salih, pp. 267-268: cp. also Lane-Poole, p. 27. Abu salih places the incident "in the Khalifate of Marwan el Ga'adi, the last of the Ommayyad Khalifas" (i.e. between 744 and 750), but he is unreliable. The whole story is probably largely exaggerated. Abu salih's account "is borrowed from the biography of the patriarch KhEfl in the compilation of Severus of El Ashmūnayn; see *Anc. Fonds Arabe*, 139, p. 162 f." (Evetts).

extorted money so blatantly from the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria, Anba Kha'ill, that the latter went up-country to ask for assistance. The king of Abyssinia¹, Cyriacus, was so indignant at the humiliation thus inflicted on his spiritual chief that he marched on Egypt with

100,000 horsemen and 100,000 camels....When the Nubians [*i.e.* Abyssinians] entered Egypt, they plundered and slew, and took many prisoners, and laid waste many inhabited places in Upper Egypt as they marched towards Miṣr. Now when the ruler of Egypt heard what was the cause of their coming, and was told as follows: "when the patriarch of Egypt went up to ask assistance of the Christians in Upper Egypt, news of this reached the king of Nubia and the king of Abyssinia and [another] king subject to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Egypt, and [the first named] was indignant at the news "; then [the Governor of Egypt] released the patriarch from his obligations and ceased to extort money from him, and begged him to write to the king of Nubia and bid him return [to his own country]. So the patriarch wrote to the king as he was requested and the king returned, and no longer acted as he had done, but departed to his own country.

XI In 750 A.D. the 'Abbāsid dynasty supplanted that of the Om-mayyads, and Marwān, the last ruler of the defeated party, met his death a fugitive in Egypt. The first 'Abbāsid Khalifa was 'Abdulla

¹ Abu salih calls Cyriacus "King of Nubia," but he is vague on this point. Later (p. 272), speaking apparently of contemporary affairs (c. 1208 A.D.), he says: "The number of kings in Nūbia is thirteen and all these rule the land under the supremacy of Cyriacus, the Great King; and all of them are priests and celebrate the liturgy within the sanctuary, as long as they reign without killing a man with their own hands; but if a king kills a man, he may no longer celebrate the liturgy ...etc." But if we continue we find in the account of Abyssinia (p. 286): "All the kings of Abyssinia are priests, and celebrate the liturgy within the sanctuary, as long as they reign without slaying any man with their own hand; but after slaying a man they can no longer celebrate the liturgy; and the conditions by which they are bound after they have killed a man have already been spoken of in this book." It seems that, as Evetts says, "this proves the confusion in the mind of our author of Nubia with Abyssinia." Abu Ṣdliḥ, also under the heading of "Abyssinia" (which, as we have seen earlier, he includes in the term "India": see p.49, above) says: "The King of El Mukurra, who is an Abyssinian and is an orthodox king, is the great king among the kings of his country, because he has an extensive kingdom, including distant regions in the north of the country, and has many troops; and he is the fourth of the kings of the earth, and no king on earth is strong enough to resist him; and at a certain place in his country he possesses the Ark of Noah" (p. 286, and cp. p. 296). Here, too, he seems to have involved himself in the same confusion, for the description given would apply to Abyssinia but never to Nūbia or the district of Mukurra. Thus there can be little doubt, I think, that it was the Abyssinians who were chiefly responsible for the attack on Egypt about 737. A minor point supporting the theory is Abu Ṣalih's remark *apropos* of the 100,000 horsemen. "Now Nūbian horses are small, like the largest of the Egyptian asses, but have a great power of enduring fatigue" (p. 268). No one who has been in the Sudan for long can fail to recognize in this description the "habashi" (*i.e.* Abyssinian) pony, and it is not indigenous to any other part of Africa but Abyssinia. At the same time it is clear from the sentences which follow in the text that the Nūbians assisted the Abyssinians, and the mention of camelmen at once suggests the Bega tribes.

Abu el 'Abbds el Saffdh, "The Shedder of Blood." His policy was one of ruthless repression and the extermination by wholesale massacre of all possible rivals among the Ommayyads and the partizans of the Imdm 'Ali.

Such of the BENI OMMAYYA as escaped from the slaughter fled to the more distant parts of the Islamic world. Some found a home in Spain¹, some in Egypt, and some within the borders of India.

Other parties are said to have fled direct to the Sudan, and it is from one of these that the Sudanese traditions derive the Arab element among the FUNG dynasty who at the beginning of the sixteenth century founded the kingdom of Sennár in the Gezîfa². Stripped of obvious inaccuracies and inconsistencies the tradition relates that one Sulayman ibn 'Abd el Malik ibn Marwan fled before el Saffah to Abyssinia and thence to the Sudan, where he married the daughter of a local king. The congeries of tribes known at present as the GA'ALIYYUN ("GA'ALIIN") are said in contradistinction to be of 'Abbasid origin. Again el Mas'udi³ speaks of 'Abdulla, the son of Marwan the last of the Ommayyads, as taking temporary refuge in the Sudan and leaving it by way of Baḍa' {i.e. "Airi," or el Riḥ⁴} after losing his brother 'Obaydulla and many followers. Ibn Selim, as quoted by el Maḥṣrîzi⁵, also refers to this event and there is no reason to doubt that it constitutes a historical fact⁶.

XII ⁷In Egypt and the neighbouring countries, meanwhile, a period of widespread revolt naturally followed the change of dynasties and the numerous religious controversies that had arisen.

The Khawdrig sect of puritans caused serious trouble and bloodshed in Egypt in 754, and in Barka, in 759, in common with recalcitrant Ommayyads and Berbers, and in Abyssinia in 765. The Copts rose periodically during the same period, and the BENI ḲAYS round Balbays took the chance, offered by the general confusion of affairs to brigandize freely along the trade routes.

¹ E.g. 'Abd el Rahman ibn Mu'awia in 756 A.D. founded there an Ommayyad dynasty.

² See BA ccxIII, A 2 xxx, A 11 viII and LIII, D 2 1, etc. in Part IV.

³ "Kitab el Tanbih," in *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, Part VIII, p. 330. The sons of Marwdn entered the Sudan via Aswan with their families, dependents and Arab adherents and some Beni Ommayya from Khorasan.

⁴ So identified by Crowfoot: *Red Sea Ports...*, pp. 542 ff. Bdda*—Airi lies near Aldk, just north of the eighteenth parallel. The variant Bâsa* ("Basé*") in Makrizi (*Khetat*, n, 553) is clearly a misprint for Bada'.

⁵ *Khetdt*, 11, 553. Cp. Quatremère, 11, 16.

⁶ Tombs have actually been found on the old site of Bada by Crowfoot which are dated about the end of the tenth century and prove that members of the Beni Ommayya settled there. See Crowfoot, *Some Lacunae...*, p. 3.

⁷ Lane-Poole, *Hist.* pp. 31-34.

In 782 an Ommayyad usurper in the 'Sa'id proclaimed himself Khalifa of Islam and met with repeated successes before he was caught and executed. His head was sent to the true 'Khalifa at Baghdád.

XIII Two years later began the most serious period of ẖaysite rebellions. The beginning of the ninth century witnessed the most serious of these and was also a period of very acrimonious theological disputation. Apart from the main schism between the supporters of the different claimants to the Khalifate, Sunni and Shi'a, divergent schools of theology and law had arisen. At Baghdád the Hanifite doctrines were prevalent, but those of the Imám Ma'lik ibn Anas held the field in Egypt and westwards during the latter part of the eighth and in the ninth centuries, and were especially patronized by the rival Ommayyad dynasty established in Spain. But at the beginning of the ninth century the Imám el Sháfa'i came to Fosṭát and his teaching thenceforth began gradually to acquire the predominance which is assured to it in Egypt at the present day—a predominance which, it may be noted, has never extended to the Sudan nor seriously rivalled the hold which the doctrines of Ma'lik obtain in that country and along the north coast of Africa outside Egypt¹.

XIV As regards the more secular disturbances, a culminating point was reached about 831 A.D.², when practically all the Copts throughout Lower Egypt followed the lead of the BENI ẖAYS and BENI LAKHM and other rebellious Arabs and broke into an insurrection which lasted for nearly a year and compelled the Khalifa to visit Egypt in person. He made a speedy end of the revolt and so crushed the Copts that thenceforth they ceased to be of any great moment. Lane-Poole says³:

From this date [832 A.D.] begins the numerical preponderance of the Muslims over the Christians in Egypt, and the settlement of the Arabs in the villages and on the land instead of, as heretofore, only in the great cities. Egypt now became, for the first time, an essentially Muhammadan country.

XV The BEGA meanwhile⁴ had been giving trouble by their continual depredations, and the Khalifa had sent 'Abdulla ibn el Gahm against them. A treaty was finally concluded in 831 A.D., the year of the final Coptic revolt, at Aswdn, between 'Abdulla and the BEGA chief Kanūn ibn 'Abd el 'Azîz⁵. The chief provision of the treaty was that the portion of the BEGA country that lay between Aswan on

¹ See Lane-Poole, *loc. cit.* p. 31, and Sir R. K. Wilson, *Digest...*, p. 19.

² Makrfzi, *Khetdt.* 1, 232; Lane-Poole, *loc. cit.* p. 37. ³ *Loc. cit.* p. 38.

⁴ Maljrfzi, *loc. cit.* ii, 565-566, and cp. Budge, 11, 187-188.

⁵ From his name evidently he was a convert to Islam.

the west and Dahlak and Bdḡa' on the east should pay to the Khalifa a yearly tribute of a hundred camels or 300 dinars. The continuance of Kanūn's rule under the Khalifa's overlordship was dependent on this payment. Other clauses of the treaty provided in the interests of Muhammadan subjects for due respect being paid to their religion, the protection of their persons and property, freedom of trade and travel in the BEGA country, assistance in the recovery of escaped slaves or strayed animals, and an engagement to give no assistance to any enemy of Islam. The BEGA were only allowed to visit Upper Egypt unarmed and on condition of their not entering any town or village¹. They also engaged not to damage the mosques erected at Siḡa² and Ḥagar or elsewhere throughout the BEGA country, and agreed that Kantin himself, who was to receive a free pardon for past offences, should reside in Egyptian territory as a hostage for the performance of all these provisions and the representative of his people.

In return for a strict compliance with these terms the BEGA were placed under the protection of God, the Khalifa, and all Muhammadan subjects.

XVI No sooner had the affairs of the BEGA been thus settled than it became necessary to take measures against the people of Nūbia, who had refused to pay their tribute. According to Ibn Selim³ the Arabs in return adopted the policy of inciting against them the neighbouring tribes—the BEGA no doubt—and of cutting off their food supplies. Zakaria ibn Bahnas, who was king of Nūbia at the time, before deciding on his course of action, sent his son George⁴ to appeal at Baghdad. George was very well treated and succeeded in obtain-

¹ *I.e.* the Bega were prohibited from Egyptian territory altogether unless they were merely passing through it or trading with the nomad Arabs. The region between el Iḡaṣr (the northern limit of Nūbia on the river, five miles from Aswān, see Mafcrizi, *loc. cit.* u, 549) and el kubban (on the east bank, three days south of Aswan, opposite Dakka, see Burckhardt, p. 508) was barred altogether. In this connection see later, p. 182.

² Burckhardt (p. 508), "Dhyher."

³ Quoted by el Makrizi, *Khetat*, 11, 584-585. According to Abu salih (*q.v.* pp. 268-270) the arrears of fourteen years were demanded. The fourteen years would date from about 833 A.D., for while Abu salih speaks of Ibrahim, the brother of the Khalifa Ma'nūn, as demanding these arrears, Ibn Selim dates the trouble in the reign of el Mu'tasim: the latter succeeded Mamun in 833. From Ibn Selim's account one would certainly not suppose the tribute had been overdue for more than perhaps a year. Abu salih gives his account "according to the history of the church and the biography of Anba Joseph, the 52nd patriarch." He takes it from the biography of Yūsūb (*i.e.* Joseph) in the compilation of Severus of el Ashmūnāy (Paris MS., *Anc. Fonds Arabe*, 139, pp. 250 f.). Joseph occupied the see from 831 to 850 (?). (See Renaudot, *Hist. Pair.* pp. 277-294.)

* Mafcrizi, ed. Bouriant, "Firqi"; Budge (11, 188), "Feṛakī"; Burckhardt, "Feyrakey." Abu salih gives "George."

ing a large order upon the treasury of Egypt payable as soon as the tribute was handed over. Arrangements were also made for the tribute in future to be paid every three years, but the amount of the gifts usually presented by the Muhammadans to the Nūbians on the occasion was cut down, and various demands made by Zakarfā were refused.

With this George had to be content—as well he might be—and the tribute was duly paid.

His father, it is said, founded a church in honour of his safe return¹.

XVII Still more serious trouble broke out in 854 during the rule of 'Anbasa, the last and best of the Arab governors of Egypt, for the BEGA refused to pay tribute and raided the riverain towns of Edfū and Esna. A large army of Arabs was eventually mobilized on the Nile and marched inland from Kūṣ, while a smaller force was sent with supplies by way of the Red Sea. In the result the BEGA were completely routed and their chief, 'Ali Baba, surrendered to the Arab general. He was well treated and in 855-856 actually induced to visit the Khalīfa at Baghdad. Peace was then concluded and the matter of the tribute arranged. One of the chief clauses of the treaty laid stress on the facilities that were to be given to the Arabs to work the mines in the BEGA countries. This done, 'Ali Baba returned in safety to his own country².

XVIII A new class now begins to appear in Egypt³.

⁴ From the time when the Arabs came in contact with the Turks on the Oxus and brought them under their rule, Turkish slaves had been highly prized in Muslim households. Their physical strength and beauty, their courage, and their fidelity had won the trust of the great emirs, and especially of the caliphs who believed they could rely more safely upon the devotion of these purchased foreigners than upon their own jealous Arabs or the Persians among whom they dwelt and who had hitherto had a large share in the administration of the Empire. The young Turkish slave who

¹ Abu salih, *loc. cit.*

² See Makrizi, *Khetat*, II, 568, and Lane-Poole, pp, 41, 42. Lane-Poole, who quotes Ibn Miskawayh on this subject, somewhat confuses the Bega with the riverain Nubians. *E.g.* he speaks of 'Ali Baba as king of the Sudan and of his men as "blacks." It is, however, quite clear from the description of incidents that the trouble was with the Hamitic camel-owning nomads of the Eastern desert. According to el Makrizi (*loc. cit.*) the war ended in 856.

³ The Mamluk period proper does not commence yet. In a sense it may be said to begin with Saladin in 1175: "Saladin the creator of the Egyptian Sultanate was also responsible for the introduction of the Mamluks" (Lane-Poole, *Quart. Rev.* April 1915); but "the real founder of the Mamluk Empire*" was Baybars, who came to the throne in 1260.

⁴ Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 59. The quotation included by Lane-Poole is from E. T. Rogers, *Coins of the Tāluni dynasty* (Numism. Orient, iv), p. 2.

served his master well usually acquired his freedom and received valuable court appointments. "The caliphs, who were often unable to appease the turbulent spirits of the native emirs, except by granting them special privileges and territorial rights, were gradually led into the opposite error of alienating the most powerful of their subjects, and in giving all their confidence to those foreign slaves, who thus acquired the entire control of the interior of the palace. These illiterate and barbarous white slaves (or *mamlāks*), now incorporated into the society of the educated rulers of a great empire, soon became conversant with the law of the *Qurān*. They adopted the language and religion of their masters. They studied science and politics; and when any of them became capable of undertaking the more difficult tasks or of occupying the more eminent posts in the court, they were emancipated, and appointed to the various government offices according to the talents they displayed.

Thus manumitted Turks were appointed not only to the chief offices in the palace, but to the governorships of some of the most important provinces in the Empire."

In the Sudan the Mamlūks are generally known as the *Ghuzz*¹.

Egypt had naturally been affected by this revolution, and from about 836 the successive governors held it in fee for Turks at Baghdad.

XIX Till 856 they were Arabs, but in that year 'Anbasa was recalled, and in September, 868, after a series of Turkish governors had ruled for a space, a Mamlūk succeeded in founding a dynasty which was to direct the affairs of Egypt for fifty-seven years². This man, Abu el 'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, was a remarkably capable administrator, but ruthless in his methods, and with the new order of things the Arabs, who had fallen into entire disfavour, became extremely discontented and began to emigrate south and west to the Sudan and the Berber countries, to escape the heavy hand of the alien.

XX Within three months of his accession Ibn Ṭūlūn was involved in a Nūbian expedition³. Its leader was Abu 'Abd el Raḥman ibn 'Abdulla ibn 'Abd el Ḥamīd el 'Amri, and his force consisted chiefly of RABIA and GUHAYNA. AS soon as affairs in Nūbia had been dealt with el 'Amri turned eastwards towards the mines⁴, where since the

¹ Cp. Burckhardt, *Nubia*, p. 138; el Tūnisi, *Voy. ou Ouaddy*, p. 319; and el Mas'ūdi, Ch. xvii, who speaks of "the Nomadic Turks, who are the Ghuzz." Sprenger deals exhaustively with this word in his edition of el Mas'ūdi (1 Vol.). They are properly the Seljuk Turks. The word Ghuzz is etymologically the same as "Scythian," and it occurs again in "Getes," "Massagetes," "Kirghiz," "Tunghiz" (Sprenger, *loc. cit.* pp. 238-240). The word is also used for the 'Ayyūbite Kurds; see Bouriant (Mafcrizi), pp. 75 and 107.

² Lane-Poole, *Hist.* pp. 42, 61. ³ Makrizi, *Khetat*, II, 569, 575.

⁴ It is said that 60,000 camels were employed transporting his provisions from Aswdn.

treaties of 831 and 855-856 ever-increasing numbers of Arabs had been settling among the BEGA. Most of the RAB'IA and GUHAYNA, instead of returning to Egypt, now took up their permanent abode in the eastern deserts and on the Red Sea coast and married BEGA women. The chief result to Egypt was a cessation of the raids on her southern border, and to the BEGA the acquisition of all tribal control by an Arab aristocracy¹.

XXI We need not follow the victorious career of Ibn Ṭūlūn in Syria nor the amazing dissipations of his successor in Egypt except to note that golden palaces and lakes of quicksilver must have spelt oppression to the taxpayer and proved an added incentive to emigration. It is enough to say that after Egypt had weltered in blood for a further nine years an army sent by el Muktafi in 905 A.D. recovered the province for the Khalīfate for some thirty years and removed the survivors of the house of Ibn Ṭūlūn to Baghdād².

XXII In 914 the Fāṭimite sectarians from the west, chiefly KETAMA Berbers by race, began a series of attacks on Egypt. They were beaten back to Barbary in 920. Then followed fifteen years of utter anarchy, until in 935 Muḥammad ibn Ṭughg was appointed by the Khalīfa to restore order in Egypt. This he did, and for eleven years there is no record of any disturbance³.

XXIII It was during Ibn Ṭughg's reign that el Mas'ūdi visited Egypt. Incidentally he gives us some valuable information as to the Arabs and the Sudan⁴. Nūbia—he uses the word in a broad sense—was divided into two main districts, that of Muḥurra to the north and that of 'Aloa to the south. Dongola ("Donḡola," ǎJUo) was the capital of the former and S6ba⁵ of the latter. The most northerly portion of Muḥurra was known as Marfs.

The hereditary king of Dongola was Rubra ibn Surūr, and the southern district, 'Aloa, was also under his suzerainty. He was responsible for the payment of the ancient tribute which was still in force, namely 365 slaves, together with a present of forty for the Governor and twenty for his representative at Aswan and five for the Grand Ḳadi at Aswan and one for each of the twelve notaries assisting him.

¹ Compare the following, written of Southern Arabia:—"The supreme head of a tribal confederation is the Sultan. He is never a tribesman himself, but comes of an alien aristocracy imported by the senior confederate chiefs..." (W. Bury, *Land of Uz*, p. 293).

² Lane-Poole, *Hist.* pp. 74-77.

³ Lane-Poole, *Hist.* pp. 81, 82.

⁴ Mas'udi, 111, 31-34, 39-43.

⁵ The emendation of "Soba" for "Sariah" or "Souiah" see Quatremère) is an obvious one.

To the east, as far as the Red Sea, were the marauding BEGA and the Arab tribes who had settled among them. The latter were chiefly RABI'A, MUDR and various Kahtanites from the Yemen, and numbered about 3000. They had intermarried with the BEGA and all alike owed ultimate allegiance to the great sheikh Abu Marwan Bishr (Bashir ibn Marwan) of the RABI'A.

The BEGA themselves were still pagans, excepting, that is, the HADAREB, a warrior clan among them, who, it is stated, could put into the field 30,000 men mounted on camels.

The Nūbian chieftains, by now, it is interesting to note, claimed a Himyarite descent¹, just as did the rulers of Kanem and Bornu at a later date. To some extent this may have been a result of inter-marriage with the Arab tribes who had settled round As^hdn, for el Mas'ūdi especially notes that the population of that town—still a great trading emporium—was largely mixed with Nūbian, and that numerous Arab families, Kahtanite and Isma'ilitic, had bought lands from the Nūbians and established themselves there²; but the claim may equally have rested on an intimate association of long standing with Abyssinia and its half-Yemenite population.

Beyond 'Aloa, it was reported³, was "a great tribe of blacks called Kunna [Kenna (?), Kinna (?)]. They are naked like the Zing and their land produces gold. In the kingdom of these people the Nile divides."

XXIV In 951 a successful raid was made by the Nūbians on the oasis of Kharga which at this period was under the domination of the LUATA Berber⁴.

About five years later⁵ they attacked Aswān but a punitive

¹ ملوكهم تزعم انها من حمير, So an old Copt in 873 told Ibn Tūlūn (see Mas'ūdi, *ir.* 372-382). Cp. Quatremère, 11, 16 (quoting Ibn Selfm, *ap.* Mafcrfzi): "On dit que Selha, père des Nubiens, et Makorry, père des peuples du Makorrah, étoient natifs du Yemen. Suivant d'autres Noubah et Makorry étoient Hemiarites d'origine." See note to MS. "BA," para, cxxxin, in Part IV, for further remarks on this.

² Mas'udi, *in.* 41, 50. The tribes of kahtan, Mudr, Nizar, Rabi'a and Kuraysh are mentioned. Burckhardt (*App. in.* p. 529) remarks of this passage (which is quoted by Mafcrfzi in *Khetdt*, II, 572): "The notice of these Arab tribes is interesting because it shews how this part of Africa came to be peopled by them, and explains why we find on the Niles, in Kordofan, Darfur and Borgho, pure Arabian blood."

³ Mas'udi, *n.* 383 (Ch. 31). Here again the old Copt's story to Ibn Tulun is being quoted. The Arabic is as follows:

وراء علوة امة عظيمة من السودان تدعي بكنه وهم عراة كالزنج وارضهم
تنبت الذهب وفي مملكة هذه الامة يخرق النيل

These "Kunna" are no doubt Ibn Seli'm's "Kersa" or "Kernina," for whom see p. 171. De Meynard and de Courteille wrongly translate "qu'on nomme Bekneh."

* Mas'udi, III, 51; Makrizi, *Khetat*, 11, 697, 698.

⁵ Makrizi, *be. cit.* p. 574; Abu salih, p. 267.

expedition was despatched under Muḥammad ibn 'Abdulla el Khāzin who captured Ibrim, executed a number of Nūbians, and led back others to Egypt as slaves.

XXV A gap now follows in our knowledge of affairs in Nūbia. But to the north of it important events were taking place.

The Fdjimites, supporters of the theory that the divine right of succession to the Khalifate was inherent in the descendants of the Imam 'Ali, the husband of the Prophet's daughter Fatima, had consolidated their power in Barbary, and with the decline of the Ikhshids came the obvious chance of realizing the persistent ambitions which had already led them half a century before to invade Egypt¹. The chance was not wasted. In 969 the heretical Fdṭimite Khalīfa, Abu Tamim¹ Ma'add el Mu'izz, with an army of Shi'ites entered Fostat in triumph², and in the same year Cairo was founded.

The new dynasty was phlegmatically accepted by the people of Egypt, and the Sherifs of the Holy Places and the ruler of northern Syria recognized it⁸.

An attempt was also made to convert George, the king of Nūbia, but it was unsuccessful⁴.

XXVI Between 975 and 996 A.D.⁵ was written Ibn Selīm's account of "Nūbia, Muḥurra, 'Aloa, the Bega and the Nile." Such information as he gives us concerning events that happened before his time has been already quoted. We may now summarize what he tells us of the state of affairs in the last decades of the tenth century⁶.

In the extreme north of Nūbia Muhammadan settlers from Egypt had acquired lands and were practically independent. A number of the Nūbians to the south of them, but north of the second cataract, had also been converted.

The chief towns in this northern section were Begrash or Negrash, i.e. Faras⁷, Ibrim and el Derr (?)⁸. It was under the control of a powerful official known as the "Lord of the Mountain," the repre-

¹ The Shi'a doctrine had been introduced into Africa in 893 by 'Abdulla el Shi'i, and had been at once adopted by the great Berber tribe of Ketama. From them it spread rapidly among the other Berber-Arab tribes who formed the population of north Africa west of Egypt (Lane-Poole, *Hist. Ch. iv*).

² Lane-Poole, *loc. cit.* pp. 90, 98. His force consisted largely of Ketdma and other Berber tribes. It also contained Greeks, Slavs, etc. (Makrizi, *loc. cit.* 1, 269).

³ Lane-Poole, *loc. cit.* p. 104.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 105.

⁵ Quatremere, 11, 3.

⁶ His geography is not very clear and I omit detailed discussion of the many points that arise.

⁷ *Arch. Rep. Nubia*, 1910, Griffiths, p. 19. The site is also that of the ancient Pakhḥras.

⁸ This seems a fairly certain emendation for the "Adwa" of some texts.

sentative of the king of Nūbia¹, and it was a part of his business to see **that no** one passed the barrier of the second cataract, *i.e.* that near Halfa, without due authorization. His authority seems to have extended nearly as far south as Sai. Beyond the southern limit of his dominions money was unknown and all trade was conducted by bartering slaves, cattle, camels, iron and corn for the products of the north. The "*marisi*" language was spoken as far south as "Yastu"², a village lying about thirty-six miles south of the third cataract and, says Ibn Selim, marking the boundary between the provinces of Marīs, or Nūbia proper, and Muḳurra (*Muḳurra proper?*)³. Beyond this point lay two districts known respectively as Baḳūn and Safad Baḳl [Safdiḳal (?), Sandiḳal (?), Safdabḳal (?)]⁴. The latter extended as far south as Dongola, and Dongola was the capital of the whole country from the Egyptian frontier to the borders of 'Aloa.

Ibn Selīm comments on the fertility and prosperity of the country on either side of Dongola.

Of the ordinary inhabitants he says practically nothing, but he mentions an immigrant sub-tribe of BEGA called the ZENAFEG who retained their own language and kept aloof from the Nūbians: they led a pastoral life somewhere between the present sites of Abu Ḥammad and Berber. We shall see that farther north and east other ZENAFEG were subject to the ḤADAREB.

The territory of Dongola extended no further south than el Abwab (Kabushīā), which was the northernmost district of the kingdom of 'Aloa⁶ and was ruled by a vassal *mek* known by the title of

¹ That is, apparently, the king of Muḳurra, of which district Dongola was the capital. Yakut mentions (see Abu Salih, p. 261, *note*) that the king of Nubia called himself "King of Mukurra and Nūba" (*sic*).

² So Bouriant (). Burckhardt notes (p. 523): "I find this word written Yonso, Benso, Noso. Perhaps Mosho, the frontier town of Dongola, is meant." The "36 miles" are in the Arabic "3 barfd." Burckhardt says a "barfd" is 12 miles.

³ Muḳurra is generally spoken of in a wider sense (*e.g.* by Ibn Selim himself three pages later) as stretching much farther north, and on p. 549 Ibn Selim speaks of Negrḁsh (Faras) as capital of Maris and on p. 554 as capital of Muḳurra. Maris and Nūbia proper are identified as distinct from Muḳurra (pp. 551, 554). Presumably Marīs was merely a name sometimes applied to that northern portion of Muḳurra which was inhabited by a distinct type of Egyptianized Ethiopian. The title of Ibn Selim's work (*q.v.* above) supports this. The word Marīs is Coptic and means "the South," *i.e.* the most northerly part of Nūbia, looked at from the standpoint of Egypt. (See Abu Salih, p. 260, and Makrīfzi, *Khetat*, 11, 372). Am6lineau, on what grounds I do not know, says Muḳurra extended from Korosko to the ancient Napata (Abu Sallih, p. 261, *note*): see note 5, below.

⁴ See Burckhardt, pp. 496, 523.

⁵ If so the southern boundary of Muḳurra was presumably just north of Kabushia, *i.e.* within a few miles of the ancient Meroe. It is not absolutely certain from Makrīzi's text whether this fact is stated on his own authority or that of Ibn Selim. Burckhardt assumes the latter.

"*rahrah*¹". On the banks of the Atbara, we are told, lived a tribe called the DIGION² connected on the one hand with the people of 'Aloa and on the other with the BEGA. Beyond them and bordering on Abyssinia were the BAZA³, among whom "all the women bear the same name, and likewise the men."

The hereditary kingship of 'Aloa was held in Ibn Selim's day by one Simeon whose capital was at S6ba near the junction of the Niles.

⁴ On voit dans cette ville des constructions fort belles, de vastes couvents⁵, des églises où l'or abonde et des jardins; Tun de ses faubourgs⁶ est peuple de Musulmans. Le roi de 'Alouah est plus riche que le roi de Maqorrah; il a plus de guerriers et plus de chevaux; son pays est plus fertile et plus vaste⁷; les palmiers et les vignes cependant y sont rares; la récolte la plus abondante est celle du *dourrah* blanc qui ressemble au riz; on en fait du pain et de la bière.... Ces peuples sont de la religion chrétienne jacobite; comme chez les Nubiens, leurs évêques leur sont envoyés par le patriarche d'Alexandrie. Ils se servent des livres grecs qu'ils traduisent dans leur langue. Ils sont moins intelligents que les Nubiens. Leur roi est maître absolu...⁸

In the Gezira, some distance south of 'Aloa, lived a certain people called the Kersa⁹. Of them it is related:

a l'époque des semailles, chaque individu vient avec ce qu'il possède de semences et forme un enclos en rapport avec la quantité de graines qu'il a apportées; puis il sème aux quatre angles de l'enclos une petite quantité de ce grain et dépose le reste, avec un peu de bière, au milieu de l'enclos

¹ Burckhardt, "rahwah" (p. 497). Possibly the term is connected with the "Rehrehsa" of the stele of Heru-sa-atef. This king (sixth century B.C.) reigned at Meroe and records an expedition he made against a people of that name and two attacks by them on Meroe. (See Budge, 11, 80, 81.)

² May these be the Dēgu, not yet gone to Darfur? It is unlikely; and Burckhardt reads "Deyhyoun" (i.e. *دیحیون* for *دیحیون*) and Quatremère "Rihnoun" (n, 17).

³ Burckhardt, "Nara." Two of his MSS. spelt it so, and one "Zondra."

⁴ Trans. Bouriant, *Khéfdt*, 11, 557. For earlier mentions of 'Aloa see pp. 46-48.

⁵ Burckhardt (p. 500) translates "handsome edifices and extensive dwellings."

⁶ The Arabic is *رباط*, the plural of *رباط*; Burckhardt (*loc. cit.*) translates "inns where Moslems live." He explains that the word means "public buildings destined originally for the accommodation of students; many of them still exist in the Hedjaz and at Cairo where they have declined into mere lodging-houses." I think "hostels" would be the best translation. See note to "D 7," 1, in Part IV.

⁷ Mas'udi (111, 32) had heard that 'Aloa was subject to the king of Dongola: he was probably misinformed.

⁸ This passage cannot fail to recall the opening paragraph of MS. "D 7" (q.v. in Part IV).

* Bouriant gives "les Kernina" (*الكرنينا*), Burckhardt (p. 501), "A nation of the name of Koroma or. Kersa": the latter notes: "This I find written Korsā, Kortyna, and Koroma (*كرتينا كرسا*). The people are presumably the same as Mas'udi's "Kunna" (see p. 168). We shall later in this chapter find the Kersa grouped with the 'Anag and others in the thirteenth century.

et s'en va. Le lendemain matin tout l'enclos estensemenc[^] et la btere a 6t6 bue; au temps de la moisson, on coupe quelques tiges que Ton depose dans un endroit avec de la bière, et Ton se retire; quand on revient on trouve la moisson faite et mise en gerbes. On fait de m&ne quand il s'agit de battre le grain ou de le vanner. Mais si quelqu'un, voulant sarcler son champ, arrache par hasard le moindre épi, il trouve le lendemain tout le champ arrache....Les gens du pays attribuentcela aux genies; ils croient que certaines personnes peuvent obliger, au moyen de certaines pierres, les genies a les servir...les nuages mene leur obeirent.

Concerning the religion of the tribes of 'Aloa we are told that

La plupart reconnaissent le Créateur; ils lui font des sacrifices sous la forme du soleil, de la lune ou des astres. Certains d'entre eux ne connaissent pas le Createur et adorent le soleil et le feu. D'autres adorent tout ce que leur plait: arbre ou animal¹.

A description of the nomad BEGA and their country follows². This is too well known to nepd much quotation. The main points to be noticed are that a matrilinear system still survived among them³, that they were by now divided into a number of independent tribes and no longer acknowledged the rule of a single supreme sheikh as in the time of 'Abdulla ibn Gahm. Among their customs was that of removing the right testicle from their male children: female excision was also practised. For the rest, most of what is said of the BEGA and their ways might well have been written at the present day of their descendants.

The ḤADAREB division of the tribe, who lived on the Red Sea coast and the Egyptian frontier, were the first BEGA to be converted to Islam. The rest of the BEGA were still practically all pagan, worshipping demons and living under the influence of their holy men. To these latter the BEGA applied for guidance in their ventures and the holy man would in a frenzy of inspiration foretell success or failure.

XXVII But to return to affairs in the north. The Fāṭimides remained in power in Egypt for some 200 years and the earlier period of their rule was one of sumptuous magnificence, art, and material prosperity. The western provinces, however, soon began to break away from their dependence: "Abu Raḳwa," with a force of KETĀMA and BENI KURRA, a section of GUDHAM, seized Barka in 1005 in the reign of the fanatic ḤEkim⁴. After routing the Khalifa's troops he proceeded to occupy Upper Egypt. Here he was unsuccessful and suffered a

¹ Trans. Bouriant (p. 558). Cp. Quatremère, 11, 35.

² *Ibid.* pp. 561-571.

³ For the ancient prevalence of the matrilinear system see note to para, xxxm of this chapter.

* Lane-Poole, p. 128. Cp. p. 149, above.

severe defeat. In consequence he fled to Nūbia, where the king then was Raphael¹, but was captured at the monastery of St Sinuthius in 1006, taken to Cairo, and impaled².

Fresh risings, chiefly engineered by the KETAMA, supervened, and in 1021 Ḥakim was murdered³.

Ḥdkim's mad rule had been a reign of terror: that of his successor el Z̧dhir was equally so.

XXVIII From 1036 to 1094 el Mustanşir, the grandson of Ḥakim, ruled Egypt, but Syria was no longer subservient, and the ŞANHAGA and KETAMA Berbers to the west offered no more than a nominal allegiance: they frequently gave less⁴.

About 1044 the Şanhdgi governor of North Africa, Mu'izz, renounced Shi'ism, and two years later proclaimed his independence⁵. We have already seen how the BENI HILAL and BENI SULAYM, with other parties of Arabs, were dispatched from the Sa'id to bring him to reason, how they laid waste his country, and how they then amalgamated with the Berbers and remained in practically independent possession⁶.

In spite of the loss of its provinces and the exactions of its rulers Egypt appears to have been fairly tranquil and prosperous. A Persian traveller has left a record⁷ of his visit between 1046 and 1049 and has described the luxury of the capital. The composition of el Mustanşir's forces at this time is worth noting: there were "20,000 mounted KETAMA Berbers, 10,000 BATILIS, 20,000 blacks, 10,000 'Orientals' [Turks and Persians], 30,000 purchased slaves, 15,000 Bedawis of the Ḥegdz, 30,000 black and white slave attendants and chamberlains (ustdd), 10,000 palace servants (serdyi), and 30,000 negro swordsmen." With such a heterogeneous army it is not surprising that in 1062 a serious internal crisis arose between the Turks and the Berbers on the one hand and the blacks on the other⁸. Neither side was animated by any loyalty to the Egyptian Khalifate and while 50,000 of the blacks were driven into Upper Egypt, whence they continued for some years to harry the more northerly provinces⁹, the Berbers

¹ According to Abu Şdlib (p. 265) Raphael introduced into Nūbia a new style of architecture. "The King's house [at Dongola] is lofty, with several domes built of red brick, and resembles the buildings in Al 'Irak; and this novelty was introduced by Raphael who was King of Nūbia in the year 392 of the Arabs."

² See Abu Şalifr, pp. 262, 265; also Abu el Fidd, *Annales*, 11, 616, there quoted.

³ Lane-Poole, p. 134.

⁴ Lane-Poole, *Hist.*, pp. 136, 137.

⁵ Lane-Poole, p. 138.

⁶ See p. 146.

⁷ See Lane-Poole, pp. 139-142.

⁸ Lane-Poole, *Hist.*, pp. 145-149.

⁹ It is obviously most unlikely that Nubia paid any tribute during this period. About now we hear of Christodulus the 66th patriarch (1047-1100, see Evetts, *ap.* Abu Salih, p. 121) at Alexandria requesting and obtaining monetary assistance

proceeded to overrun the Delta, and the Turks looted everything of value that could be found¹. A seven years' famine followed and unheard of atrocities were perpetrated. However, in 1074, with the aid of Arab and Armenian troops from Syria the Khalifa managed to restore order, subdued the rebellious Berbers in the Delta and reconquered the country as far as Aswán, so that a period of twenty years of prosperity followed.

XXIX The latter half of the eleventh century saw the subjugation of Syria by the Selgūk Turkmáns and the first Crusade. The Fátimite power now began to decline and it was supplanted in 1171 by the Sultanate of the 'Ayyūbite Kurds under "Saladin" [Ṣalāḥ el Din²].

XXX The histories of the Fátimite period are so concerned with foreign wars, court intrigues, murders, rebellions, and extravagances of successive governors that there is little to be gleaned as to the nomad Arabs. In the large towns the population must have gradually become more and more mixed with Turkish and negro elements, and a certain number of the Arabs joined this heterogeneous medley and adopted a sedentary life. These, of course, would tend to lose very quickly all racial purity and even tribal distinctions: they were merged into the Egyptians and do not concern us here.

The nomads, on the other hand, remained practically unaffected. It is a striking, but not in the least surprising, fact that the tendency of each successive dynasty that ruled Egypt was increasingly to regard the Arabs, that is the nomads, not so much as forming an integral part of the state as an element of danger and unrest hovering on the borders of the country, to be made use of when convenient but never entitled to more consideration than they had the power to extort. The place they occupied, for instance, in Saladin's regard is not inaptly illustrated by the following quotation from Maḳrīzī³:

The Sultan [Saladin] proceeded to Alexandria for the following reason: there was a surplus population at Alexandria and at the same time money

from the king of Nūbia "on account of the exactions from which he suffered at the hands of the Government and of the Lūdta" (Abu Ṣāliḥ, p. 270).

In the patriarchate of Cyril (1078-1092 (*sic*), see Evetts, *ap.* Abu Ṣāliḥ, p. 137), we are told, died Solomon, a king of Nūbia who abdicated in order to lead a life of asceticism and was brought to Cairo and received there with honour and finally buried at the monastery of el Khandak in the suburbs of Cairo (Abu Ṣāliḥ, pp. 270, 271).

¹ The most serious loss of this reign of terror was the destruction or dispersal of the Khalifa's priceless library of 100,000 books (see Lane-Poole, p. 149).

² Saladin was the first man to be styled Sultan in Egypt. However, both he and his sons and collaterals who succeeded him styled themselves only "Malik" on their coinage, though calling themselves "Sultan" in their building inscriptions and being commonly known as such. (Lane-Poole, *Quart. Rev.* April, 1915)

³ *Kitab el Seluk* (ed. Blochet), pp. 105, 106 (translated from French).

was so very scarce there that he did not know what to do. He was told that there were ample resources in Barka and that there were only Arabs living there, who could not offer any serious resistance. So he went to Alexandria and there held a council...and it was decided to send an expedition to the country of the Arabs and to hasten the gathering of the corn crop before it was harvested....Letters were also sent to the Arabs demanding the payment of their tithes and bidding them cease intercepting the roads by which the slave merchants passed.

Again we read¹ that in 1181 for no particular reason "orders were sent to seize the crops of the nomads ('Araban)' in the eastern provinces and to send them to Bahīra. Intercepting caravans and raiding other tribes seem to have been the main occupations of the nomads, as it still is in Arabia. Numbers of them were also employed as auxiliary troops in the various expeditions sent to Syria, Barbary, and the Sudan, but these were distinctly untrustworthy.

There is no doubt that each year various sections, presumably those who had suffered most from oppression or famine, migrated further afield. Large numbers evidently took up their abode in Upper Egypt, others returned to Syria², and others probably pushed further south into Nubian territory.

At the same time there was a considerable body of immigration from Syria: we have seen, for instance, how the AWLAD SINBIS section of T. A. I entered Egypt in 1050, and how other branches of the same tribe supplanted the BENI GUDHAM at the beginning of the 'Ayyūbite period³.

XXXI Saladin ruled till 1193 and this period was "the most glorious in the history of Muslim domination in Egypt⁴." Sixteen years of his reign were taken up with campaigns in the East. He also found time, within two years of his accession, to conquer the Mediterranean littoral as far west as Gabes and to send a couple of expeditions into the Sudan⁵. These latter were rendered necessary by a movement which had begun in Nubia in favour of the Fatimites and had

¹ *Ibid.* p. 140.

² *E.g.* see Makrfzi, *Kitab el Selak* (Blochet), p. 269.

³ In 1154 numbers of nomads accompanied 'JalīV ibn Ruzzfk, the Governor of el Ashmūnayn when he moved north and seized Cairo (Lane-Poole, p. 173). The usurper Shawdr (1160-1169), who had been Governor of Upper Egypt, was an Arab (Lane-Poole, pp. 176, 186), and his rival pirghdra, in Cairo, was one of the Beni Lakhm (Lane-Poole, p. 176). The nomad armed with a spear and hovering on the outskirts of the battle is easily recognizable in the European accounts of the Crusades, as distinct from the heavy troops in mail, who would be almost entirely negro and Turkish mamluks. On the other hand, in 1249 we find the Kendna installed as garrison of Damietta (Lane-Poole, p. 232).

⁴ Lane-Poole, p. 190.

⁵ See Makrfzi, *Kitdb el Seluk*, p. no; Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 197; Abu Salih, pp. 266 *et seq.*; and Ibn Khaldun (ed. ar. Vol. 5, p. 287, Bk. n) for what follows.

culminated in an attack upon Aswân. The first army was sent under command of Shagâ'a el Din el Ba'albeki. The rebels fled at its approach, were pursued by Shagâ'a el Din and Kanz el Dowla, the chief of the half-Nûbianized BÉNI KANZ and amir of the Arabs of Aswân¹, and were heavily defeated.

The second expédition² took place during the same year (1172-3), and was led by Saladin's elder brother Tûrân Shah³. Ibrim⁴ was taken, the Christian church pillaged, many captives taken—according to Abu Sâlih 700,000—the bishop tortured, and 700 pigs slaughtered⁵.

Tûrân Shah went no further than Ibrim. On his return journey⁶ he gave Aswân in fief to a certain Ibrahim the Kurd who turned it into a robber fortress whence he plundered the Nûbians. When Tûrân Shah reached KĪlûş he was overtaken by a letter and présents from the king of Nûbia. He treated the envoy well and gave him a robe of honour and two arrows saying "Tell the King I hâve no other reply than that." He also sent to enquire into the resources of Nûbia an ambassador who went as far as Dongola and then returned and reported the country as

"a poor one, where scarcely anything is grown except a little *dura* and some small date-palms on the fruit of which the inhabitants live. The king came out of his palace naked and mounted a horse without saddle or caparisons : he had wrapped round him a robe of silk, and he had not a hair on his head. I advanced towards him," said the ambassador, "and when I would hâve saluted him he burst out laughing. He appeared to understand no word of what I said, and he ordered one of his men to mark on my hand the figure of a cross. He gave me about fifty *rotls* of corn. There were no buildings at Dongola excepting the palace of the king. The rest were all huts of straw."

¹ Some account of this chief was given in the last chapter. The name Kanz el Dowla was evidently a hereditary title: see p. 187. Ibn Baṭūṭa (Vol. iv, p. 396) speaks of "Ibn Kanz el Din," i.e. Kanz el Dowla, as becoming a Muhammadan in the reign of el Nâsir, though the Nûbians were still Christians. He probably failed to realize that Kanz el Dowla was not a pure Nûbian himself.

² See note 5 on previous page.

³ I.e. El Melik el Mu'azzam Shams el Dowla Tûrân Shah, surnamed Fakhr el Din.

* Of Ibrim at this time Abu Ḡalīb says (p. 266): "In the land of Nûbia is the city of Ibrfm, the résidence of the Lord of the Mountain, ail the inhabitants of which are of the province of Maris ; it is enclosed within a wall. Here there is a large and beautiful church, finely planned, and named after Our Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary. Above it there is a high dôme, upon which rises a high cross." Ibrfm, it will be remembered, was the ancient Primis. For the "Lord of the Mountain" see p. 169.

* Abu Sâlih (p. 267) also mentions the capture of a large quantity of cotton at Ibrfm: it was taken to IĒûş and sold there. According to Ibn Khaldûn, Tûrân Shah got practically nothing except slaves from the expédition, there being even a shortage of corn.

⁶ Maṣcrfzi, *Kitab el Selûk*, pp. 111, 112.

XXXII In 1174 Kanz el Dowla revolted with a following of Arabs and blacks and invaded Egypt in the Fatimite interest. Saladin sent his brother Melik el 'Adil against him, a battle was fought near Tūd, and the Nūbians were completely defeated. Kanz el Dowla himself was captured and put to death¹.

With the death of Saladin in 1193 the main centre of power and of interest moves from Egypt to Syria² and the continued record of wars with the Crusaders seldom touches our main thesis³.

XXXIII We gather some valuable information concerning Nūbia in the early years of the thirteenth century from Abu Ṣḍliḥ the Armenian⁴, though his value is greatly decreased by his obvious confusion between Abyssinia and Nūbia and by his credulity.

The best-known place-names in Nūbia were still, as in el Mas'ūdi's day, Maris, Muḡurra, Dongola, and 'Aloa.

Maris was the name of the most northerly province, which stretched southwards from the Egyptian border by Aswān to Korosko, that is to about 60 miles north of Wadi Ḥaifa. Its capital was Bujarās "which is a well-populated city: there is the dwelling place of Jausdr, who wore the turban and the two horns and the golden bracelet." This description is extremely interesting. The two horns at once suggest the *takia*⁵, or two-horned cap, of the FUNG king and his *Mangils*; and the golden bracelet has surely survived in the name of the great Sowār el Dhahab ("Bracelet of Gold") family who still reside in Dongola and claim to be BEDAYRiA of the D A H - MASHIA section. Muḡurra was the district stretching from Korosko southwards. It probably contained seven episcopal sees, namely Korti, Ibrim, Bucaras (Bujaras), Dongola, Sai, Termus and Suenkur⁶, and certainly numerous monasteries and churches.

'Aloa lay near the junction of the Niles. The name generally refers to the district of which S6ba was the capital, but is also used, by Abu Ṣḍliḥ, for instance, for S6ba itself.

The description given by Abu Ṣḍliḥ of this district with its garrisons and 400 churches of the Jacobite Christians will be quoted

¹ Makrizi, *Kit. el Seluk*, pp. 118, 119; *Khetat*, 11, 574; Burckhardt, *Nubia*, p. 518; and Ibn Khaldūn (ed. ar. Vol. 5, p. 289, Bk. n). I have followed Makrfzi's version. Ibn Khaldūn attributes the revolt to Kanz el Dowla's annoyance at certain lands near Aswan being allotted by Saladin to one of his amirs. He also differs as to the name of the leader of the punitive expedition.

² Lane-Poole, p. 212.

³ Makrfzi (*Kit. el Seluk*, p. 464) mentions a revolt of Arabs in the Sa'id in 1240-1.

⁴ See Abu Ṣḍliḥ pp. 260 *et seq.* and notes by Evetts and Butler. Abu Ṣḍliḥ's work was composed about 1208 A.D.: see p. x (Evetts).

⁵ See Part I I I, *sub* " 'Abdullab." See also Part I, Chap. 1, xvn, for what may be a IJimmyrite parallel.

So Vansleb.

later¹ when we come to record the destruction of S6ba by the FUNG 300 years after Abu Šdliḥ's time.

Dongola was the royal residence. "It is a large city on the banks of the blessed Nile, and it contains many churches and wide streets²."

Trade was all by exchange, and the chief medium seems to have been slaves who were handed over to the Arabs and Mamlūks in return for cloths and suchlike.

A matrilinear system still held good, for

It is said to be the custom among the Nubians when a king dies and leaves a son and also a nephew, the son of his sister, that the latter reigns after his uncle instead of the son; but if there is no sister's son, then the king's own son succeeds.

"Nephews" figure very largely in the records of this Pand the following century and we have already seen how the Arabs accepted and used for their own purposes this system of succession among the Nūbians³.

¹ See D 7, 1, note.

² Yaḳūṭ calls it "Dumfcula" (ʕJJLo).

³ See the case of the Guhayna in the last chapter. The matrilinear system was quite understandable to the Arabs. Robertson Smith speaks of the "early and universal prevalence of mother-kinship" in Arabia as being "only gradually superseded by paternal kinship," and thinks "the old Arab groups of female kinship were originally totem tribes" (*Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 27-33 and 212). The practice is extremely ancient. See Breasted, *Hist.* p. 84, re the Old Kingdom in Egypt: "the natural line of inheritance was through the eldest daughter...the closest ties of blood were through the mother..."; and *ibid.* p. 141, re the Middle Kingdom. Compare, too, the case of Thutmose (Thothmes) I of the eighteenth dynasty and of Osorkon I of the twenty-second (Libyan) dynasty in Egypt (Breasted, *Hist.* pp. 208, 364). The same system applied among the Bega (Makrfzi, *Khetat*, 11, 561; Burckhardt, p. 503). It is also recorded about 1353 by Ibn Batuta as existing among the Berber princes of the country round Asben (Air); see Barth, 1, 338, 340, 341, and Cooley (p. 40) for the same in Ghdna, Walata and Mali. The Berber tribes when they reached these parts pursued the same obvious course as did the Arabs when they entered Nubia. Barth says, "with respect to the custom that the hereditary power does not descend from the father to the son, but to the sister's son,—a custom well known to be very prevalent not only in many parts of Negroland, but also in India, at least in Malabar,—it may be supposed to have belonged originally to the Berber race...but they might also have adopted it from those tribes (now their subjects—the Imghad) who conquered the country from the black natives...." Cp. also Barth, 11, p. 273 (quoted on p. 92, note). We see an instance of the same custom among the Kabdbfsh seven generations ago. Kerddim, who was the first of the Nurab family to rule the whole tribe, was the sister's son and successor of Kurbdn of the Ribayfcdt section, which had previously held the sheikship (see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 185).

The custom is still in vogue at Gebel Midob (N.E. Ddrfur)—see Part I, Chap. 4, IV—and in the hills of Abu ʔjadid and Um Durrag and el Ḥardza in northern Kordofan. For instance, Abu Shenko the late "mek" of Abu Hadid told me in 1910 that his father was a Zaghdwi from Kagmar and his mother the daughter of a local "mek," that the mother of Tibayn, the "mek" of Um Durrag, was the daughter of a previous mek but his father only one of the Asada*b (non-royal) section at the same hill, and that the well-known 'Abd el Hadi who, though a D6la*bi (D6alib) on his father's side, ruled the "Nuba" of el Hardza, did so by virtue of the fact that his mother was a Nubdwla of the royal stock.

XXXIV The geographer Yāḩūt lived about the same time as Abu Ṣāliḩ and supplements the latter's information in some details: he tells us, *e.g.* that Suākin was peopled by blacks of BEGA race, who were Christians¹. Ibn Sa'īd (1214-1287) calls them "partly Christian and partly Muhammadan²."

XXXV In 1250 the rule of the 'Ayyūbites ended and that of the Baḩrite Mamlūks began. The political isolation of the Arabs was if anything increased by the change. Military power was the only standard of influence and the Arab levies had proved themselves in war after war to be quite inefficient as compared with the standing army of trained Turks and negroes which formed a military oligarchy of foreigners among a subject population³.

The Arabs were not disposed to accept this state of affairs without a struggle. About 1253 those in Upper Egypt broke into revolt and mustered some 12,000 horse as well as a large force of infantry. The movement spread to the Delta, but the Mamlūks, in spite of inferior numbers, speedily repressed it, and henceforwards the Arabs were a negligible factor of opposition in Egypt, and it is only in the extreme south and in Nūbia that their fortunes can be followed⁴.

XXXVI In 1260 Baybars, the great organizer of the Mamlūk system, succeeded to the Sultanate⁵. In his time and that of his successors the Mamlūk chiefs were "granted more and larger fiefs in the spoliated land of Egypt, and also drew great revenues from the exorbitant transit dues on the European trade with India, which necessarily passed through Alexandria⁶"; and it was probably these revenues alone which stood between the Egyptian taxpayer and utter ruin.

, Beybars, too, by a masterstroke of policy, revived at Cairo the old 'Abbasid Khalifate overthrown at Baghdad by Hulagu two years before, and so made Egypt the premier state of Islam⁷.

XXXVII In 1275-6 the Governor of Kūṣ invaded Nūbia as far south as Dongola because the king, Da'ūd, had failed to pay his tribute

¹ Vol. 111, p. 182.

² Quoted by Ibn Khaldūn (ed. ar. Vol. 6, p. 199, Bk. in; ed. de Slane, Bk. n, P. 105).

³ Cp. Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 253.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 259, 260.

⁵ His diploma from the Khalifa appointed him "Sovran of Egypt, Syria, the Hegdz, the Yemen, and the banks of the Euphrates and all lands plains or mountains which you may henceforth subdue." With his accession the title of Sultan appears on the coinage (Lane-Poole, *Quart. Rev.* April 1915).

⁶ Lane-Poole, *he. cit.* p. 536.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 540. The Khalif at Cairo was restricted to spiritual functions, and though technically he remained the head of Islam he was really no more than a puppet until the 'Othmanli Sultans assumed the office in 1538 A.D. (*ibid.* p. 530, and *Hist.* p. 265, note).

and repeatedly raided Egyptian territory in the neighbourhood of Aswdn and 'Aidhdb¹. Ddūd wisely evaded an engagement and retreated southwards, so that the troops sent against him had to be content with capturing numbers of Nūbians who had remained in their villages and taking them to Egypt, where they were put to death.

XXXVIII In 1276 Baybars dispatched a much larger army, composed of regulars, provincials, and Beduins, under the command of Shams el Din el Farāḡdni and 'Izz el Din Aibek el Afram. They were also accompanied by Shekenda², the son of Dāūd's sister, who had been to complain to Baybars against his uncle.

The armies met somewhere between Aswdn and Derr (?)³ and a battle was fought in which the Nūbians⁴ were defeated and put to flight.

El Afram then marched rapidly on Derr(?) and put it to the sword, while el Farāḡdni pushed on beyond the second cataract by land and river looting and slaughtering.

Ḳumr el Dowla, who was apparently the "Lord of the Mountain" at the time, tendered his submission and swore allegiance to Shekenda.

El Afram then proceeded southwards taking large numbers of prisoners, including Ddūd's wife, sister and brother: the king himself, however, evaded capture⁵. Shekenda was crowned king on

¹ See Maljrfzi, *Khetat*, il, 586, and Burckhardt, p. 514. Bouriant writes "694" (A.H.) by error for "674," but correctly converts the date to June, 1275-June, 1276. Lane-Poole (*Hist.* p. 271) gives the date of this affair as 1272-3. If Ddūd pillaged the country round 'Aidhdb, he must have been in alliance with the Bega tribes who interposed between the Nile and the Red Sea coast.

² Bouriant calls him "Skandah"; the MS. *Hist. Saldun* gives "Meschkedet" (Quatremere, II, 111, etc.); Burckhardt gives "Shekendy" and notes "I find this name written in my MSS. Shekende, Sekebde, Tenekde, Sekende (شكنده سكبده): see *Nubia*, pp. 514, 528. Ibn Khaldūn (ed. ar. Vol. 5, p. 400, Bk. 11) gives "Martashkfn" (مرتشكين) four times, and "Min Tashkil" (من تشكيل) once—probably by misprint. Ibn Khaldun's account also makes "Martashkin" the uncle instead of nephew of Ddūd: it is less detailed than that of Maḡrfzi, and the main discrepancies will be mentioned.

³ Burckhardt, "Kallet Addo" 1 (الدر الدو, i.e. قلعة الدو). Seep. 169, note.

* Maḡrfzi's statement that these "Nūbians" were mounted on camels and clothed in long black tunics (Burckhardt, "black *dekadek*") suggests that they were largely Nūbianized Arabs (Beni Kanz?) or semi-arabized Bega allies of the same. It will be remembered that the Beni Kanz, who had amalgamated with the Nūbians, were originally a branch of Rabfa, the tribe which had amalgamated with the Bega; and the mention of 'Aidhib is significant. Black was the 'Abbasid colour, worn originally as a sign of mourning for el Hasan. A black robe is worn at the present day by the men throughout Upper Egypt and by the Bardbra, 'Abdbda, etc., in Lower Nūbia. Its use declines further south.

⁵ Ibn Khaldūn (*loc. cit.*) says Dāūd fled to el Abwdb (*Le. Kabūshfa*), but was seized by the Mek of that district and sent a prisoner to Baybars, who threw him into a dungeon and left him to die there.

consideration of his solemnly engaging to pay the ancient *bakṭ*¹ and also to deliver yearly three giraffes, three elephants, five she-leopards, a hundred russet² camels and four hundred head of cattle. He also promised to hand over to the Sultan all monies and cattle that belonged to Daud and to the Nubians killed or captured by the expedition.

By the same treaty Nūbia was divided into two parts, and under this division the cataract district lying immediately south of Aswan³ became a fief of the Sultan, to whose person was payable the customary proportion of the dates, cotton and other produce⁴. Such of the people as remained Christian were also to pay a yearly poll tax of one dinār for each adult male. The two *amirs* then destroyed the churches of the Nūbians⁵ and carried off the contents. They also insisted on twenty Nūbian chiefs being handed over—as hostages, one supposes—and the release of such Muhammadans of Aswān and 'Aidhāb as the Nūbians had imprisoned.

¹ The "*bakṭ*" is spoken of as "400 slaves and a giraffe, of which 360 slaves were for the Khalifa and 40 for the lieutenant of the Khalifa [*i.e.* the Sultan] in exchange for 1000 ardebs of wheat for the king and 300 ardebs for the royal delegates." Compare the terms quoted on p. 158.

² Burckhardt (p. 514), "camels of good race."

³ It is spoken of as "nearly one quarter of Nūbia," "Nūbia" being apparently used in the sense of Maris or Nūbia proper.

⁴ So I interpret the clause. Lane-Poole speaks of (1) the "*bakṭ*" of slaves, (2) the "tribute" of elephants, giraffes, etc., and (3) of an engagement "to pay half the revenue of the kingdom" in addition. Similarly, Burckhardt (p. 515), in his translation, rightly distinguishes between the "*bafo*" and the "annual personal tribute" of animals, and continues "and that the soil of Noubā should thenceforward be divided into two parts; one half for the Sultan, and the other to be appropriated to the fertilizing and guarding of the country; excepting the territory of the cataracts, which was to belong entirely to the Sultan, on account of its vicinity to Assouan: this alone was about one-fourth of Noubā. Farther, that the dates and the cotton of this part, as well as the ancient customary duties, should be carried off, and that as long as they should remain Christians, they should pay the Djezye, or annual Om Dinar in cash, for every grown-up person."

Bouriant alters the effect considerably by translating "Il fut etabli que le territoire de la Nubie serait partage" en deux parts, Tune destined au Sultan et l'autre reservee pour Tentretien et la garde du pays; le district des cataractes, voisin immediat d'Assouan et formant a peu pres le quart de la Nubie, serait tout entier la propriete du Sultan qui recevrait les dattes, le coton et les autres redevances que payait le district depuis le temps le plus ancien. Les habitants restant chretiens furent soumis a la capitation; chaque homme adulte devait payer par annee un dinar d'argent comptant." It seems to me inconceivable that the king of Nūbia should have been expected to pay (1) "*bakṭ*" and (2) tribute and (3) half his revenues and also (4) to give up a quarter of the country, and I venture to suggest the interpretation offered. Ibn Khaldūn (Vol. v, p. 400, ed. ar. Bk. 11) speaks of "an allotted tribute and certain definite gifts payable yearly, and the strongholds (حصون) near Aswān to pass to the Sultan (تكون خالصة للسلطان)." He says nothing of half the revenue of Nubia being taken by Egypt.

⁵ There is no indication in Maṣrūfī's narrative that the Sultan's troops went more than three or four days' march south of Halfa. Lane-Poole (*Hist.* p. 271) says "the forts of Daw [Derr?], Sūs and Dongola were taken."

XXXIX One point in this treaty is of particular interest: the district lying immediately south of Aswan was recognized as a perquisite of the Sultan of Egypt. This was no new idea. King Zoser of the third dynasty conveyed it to the God Khnum¹, and about seventeen hundred years later Rameses III confirmed the gift for all time and made the inhabitants and the land itself and its produce free from taxation by the crown: its wealth was to be entirely for the service of the god².

The extent of this reserved area was from Aswan to Takompso, which latter was at least as far south as Muḥarraka, the classical Hierasycominos; and in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods it was known as the Dodekaschoinos ("the field of twelve Schoinoi"), and considered a dependency of Egypt³. There is no trace there of typically Meroitic or Ethiopian settlements⁴.

Its people were largely Egyptianized and it is evident that it was traditionally regarded as an annex of Egypt rather than an integral portion of the dominions of the king of Dongola. It is noticeable, too, that it formed, roughly speaking, "the boundary of the population that wrote in Meroitic" and corresponded approximately to the Dār Kanūz of the present⁵.

When 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad invaded the Sudan in 651-2 and formulated terms of peace nothing was said about this region to differentiate it from the rest of Nūbia, but as the Arabs were new-comers and still unaware of the traditional history of the countries they were subduing, this is only natural.

In the course of years they evidently learnt more, and we see the fruits of their knowledge in the attitude adopted in 831 after the BEGA war: the only territory in Egypt or Nūbia which was absolutely prohibited to the BEGA was that lying between el Ḳaṣr (near Aswdn) and el Kubban (near Muḥarraka), i.e. the old Dodekaschoinos.

Now, in 1276 A.D., we have Baybars practically usurping that which had once been the right of the great god Khnum. It is not of course suggested that he was aware of the full import of his action from a historical point of view; but merely that he knew a particular region to be traditionally regarded as a special reserve attached by certain ties to Egypt and seized the opportunity to monopolize it for his own benefit.

¹ Breasted, *A. R.* 1, 24.

² *Ibid.* iv, 146-150.

³ *Ibid. loc. cit.*, and Milne, p. 23, and Abu Salih, p. 260.

⁴ Other than the X-group (Nobadae?). *Arch. Surv. Nubia Bull.* 7, 1911.

⁵ See Griffith, *Nubian Texts...*, p. 58. See also Cailliaud, I, 394, where Kubban (which is close to Muḥarraka) is mentioned in 1821 as the southern boundary of the Maṛjass.

XL Baybars died in 1277, and two years later el Melik el Manṣūr Sayf el Din Iḡālāʾūn, a Turk of the Burg Oghlu tribe of Kipchak¹, who had been one of the most competent of the generals of Baybars, usurped the throne. Shekenda meanwhile was murdered², and a certain Berek elected in his place. The Mamluk governor³ put the latter to death and Shamamūn succeeded⁴.

XLI In 1286 A.D. ambassadors arrived in Egypt from Ador, the "mek" of the district round Kabūshfa⁵, to complain against the king of Dongola for detaining and ill-using an envoy sent from Egypt to Ador. Ambassadors came also from Dongola. Ḳaldūn in return sent one *amir* to visit the courts of Ador and the *meks* of the 'ANAG and of Bāsa Kassala Kadaru and other districts⁶, and another to interview Shamamūn. The southern princelets apparently made out the 'better case, for in the following year⁷ Ḳālāʾūn dispatched an army against Dongola and sent orders to the Governor of Ḳūṣ to reinforce it from the Arabs of his province. These were mainly BENI ABU BUKR, BENI 'OMAR, BENI SHERIF, BENI SHAYBAN, BENI KANZ⁸, BENI RAIS and BENI HILAL. The first three were probably ḲURAYSH claiming descent from the first and second Khalīfas of Islam and from the Prophet respectively, the BENI SHAYBAN were a branch of RABf A⁹, and the BENI RAIS were a branch of BELI.

¹ Lane-Poole, *loc. cit.* p. 278.

² See Quatremere, n, in, quoting *Hist. Kalaun*. "Meschkedet"="Shekenda" (see p. 180).

³ Of Aswdn and the cataract district presumably.

⁴ Ibn Khaldūn (ed. ar. *loc. cit.* p. 401), "Baytmamūn," but later (p. 429) "Semamūn."

⁵ He is called "King of the Gates," i.e. of el Abwdb: the district of Kabūshia was so called until quite lately: cp. MS. D 3, and see Crowfoot, *Some Lacunae...*, p. 6.

⁶ The passage in the *History of Kalaun*, as translated by Quatremere, runs as follows: "Le Sultan envoya l'emir Alem-ed-din-Sandjar-al-Moaddamy, en qualite* d'ambassadeur, aupres du roi de Nubie, Ador, roi des Portes, et des princes de Barah (Bazah), Al-Takeh, Kedrou, Denfou, Ary, Befal, Anejd et Kersah" (Quatremere, 11, 101). Crowfoot wrongly gives "Densou" and "Besal." The name Bdsa for a district east of Kabūshia still survives, and "Kedrou" is probably Kaderu, a site eleven miles north of Khartoum: the village of the same name near Senndr may however be intended. "Tdka" was the name of the district round Gebel Kassala until lately (see D 7, *passim*). Crowfoot (*loc. cit.*), presumably identifying "Kersah" with the name of the tribe mentioned by Ibn Selim as living in the Gezira (see para, xxvi above), says that Kersah "lay between the White and Blue Niles." Denfou, Befal and Ary are not identified. The centre of the 'Anag country may have been at el Haraza (see p. 185). One is surprised to see no mention of S6ba or 'Aloa; but possibly the name Barah (Bazah), i.e. (?), may be a corruption of S6ba.

⁷ So el Nuwayry and Makrizi, *ap.* Quatremere (11, 102), and Ibn Khaldun (*loc. cit.*).

⁸ Ibn Khaldun, "Awlad Kanz el Dowla."

⁹ Wustenfeld, A and B.

The BENI HILAL and BENI KANZ have been sufficiently described already.

The army was divided into two portions, one of which followed the west bank of the river and the other the east. Shamamūn made no attempt to withstand its advance, but wrote to Gurays, the "Lord of the Mountain¹," and "Governor of the isles of Mikháil and the province of Daw" [Derr(?)], ordering him to follow the policy of retreating gradually until he joined forces with him.

The Muhammadans overtook the Nūbians at Dongola and defeated them with great slaughter. Shamamūn fled and Gurays was captured.

Shamamūn's nephew² was then appointed by the victors to the throne of Dongola, and Gurays was reinstated as his vassal and ordered to pay tribute.

This done, the Arabs retired, but Shamamūn at once reappeared and reconquered his kingdom and ejected his nephew and Gurays.

XLII In 1289 a larger force, accompanied by the two deposed rulers, was sent from Egypt. During their advance Shamamūn's nephew died at Aswan and was replaced by a nephew of the old king Daud³.

The Arab advance was in the main the same as on the occasion of the previous expedition, but Gurays and the AWL AD KANZ went ahead of the main army to try and effect by peaceful means what the troops would otherwise achieve by force of arms. Resistance was only met with when the territories of Gurays had been left behind, but when Dongola was reached it was found that Shamamūn had fled to an island fifteen days to the south, and within three days' journey of Kabushia.

The Arabs lost no time in pursuit, and Shamamūn, deserted by his adherents, retired to the capital of Ador.

The country at once submitted peaceably, the necessary formalities were arranged at Dongola, and by 1290 the Muhammadans were back in Cairo with their booty. It is almost unnecessary to say that Shamamūn immediately reappeared in Dongola, and without any

¹ From Abu Salih (p. 266, quoted above) we gather that the Lord of the Mountain lived at Ibrfm and that the people there belonged to the province of Maris. Speaking, however, of Muljurra (p. 262) Abu Salih mentions "A city called the city of Bausakd. This is a large and handsome city, full of people and of all commodities, and possessing many churches. Here dwelt the Lord of the Mountain, whose eyes were put out by George, son of Zacharias Israel. Here is the monastery of Saint Sinuthius...near the town there is a gold mine."

² Presumably his sister's son; see p. 178.

³ Ibn Khaldun instead of "nephew of Daud" gives "Ddud the son of Martashkins brother" (*loc. cit.*).

trouble re-established himself in his old position. He also put to death Ddūd's nephew¹ and Gurays, and wrote to Ḳalāūn offering to pay the tribute that had been assessed and to give no trouble. Ḳalāūn, having other and more important matters to deal with, was in no position to refuse, and the same year he died.

Shamamūn was consequently left undisturbed for a time. One gathers, however², that he soon began to give trouble again, and that a certain lesser *mek* called Any also revolted. Whether a separate expedition was sent against each or whether the same one dealt with both is not clear owing to the fragmentary state of the only manuscript. The latter is far more probable. In any case Any escaped, two days before the arrival of the troops, to the stronghold of the 'Anag, which was very likely Gebel el Haraza³, and Shamamun was replaced by a king called Boudemma, who had previously been in prison in Egypt.

The latter of these two events seems to have occurred in the reign of Ḳalāūn's immediate successor, that is, between 1290 and 1293⁴, and the veteran 'Izz el Din el Afram, the leader of the expedition of 1276, was the *amir* sent to carry out the investiture.

'Izz el Din also pushed southwards a distance of 33 marches⁵ beyond Dongola, evidently with the intention of meeting the *mek* of Kabushia district [Quatremere's "roi des Portes"], who was probably Any's overlord. But the *mek* failed to put in an appearance and wrote later to 'Izz el Din pleading as his excuse that he had been away pursuing Any. He also mentioned that the 'ANAG country had been lately invaded by some alien tribe, but that he proposed trying every means to eject the intruders, and that if he succeeded all the country of the blacks would be subject to the Sultan.

On his return from Kabūshīa 'Izz el Dīn received the oath of allegiance from Boudemma and the priests at Dongola and returned to Egypt. He left behind him a guard of infantry for the new king and a large supply of corn⁶.

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, "Ddūd" (*loc. cit.*).

² See *Hist. Kalaun*, *ap.* Quatremere.

³ See MacMichael, *Tribes of N. and C. Kordofan*, pp. 87 ff. The difficulties of water transport which prevented the troops pursuing him shew that he fled inland from the river. The prevalence of local traditions to the effect that el Haraza was a stronghold of the 'Anag support the theory that it was there Any took refuge.

⁴ See *Hist. Kalaun*, *loc. cit.* 'Izz el Dm, on his return, reported results to "El Melik el Ashraf." The latter, whose full name was El Melik el Ashraf Salah el Din Khalil, was Kalaun's son and successor (Lane-Poole, p. 284).

⁵ Assuming he travelled fairly hard this would bring him to Kabdshfa, which was normally, as we have lately seen, 18 days' journey (*i.e.* 36 marches) from Dongola.

⁶ The *History of Kalaun* carries us no further.

XLIII In 1299¹ the Mamlūks suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Mongol hordes at Ḥimṣ, and one of the after-effects of this and of the oppressive taxation necessitated by a depleted war-chest was the serious Beduin revolt which broke out in Upper Egypt in 1302. The trouble was quelled with promptitude and thoroughness. From Giza and Aṭfi'h southwards thousands were put to the sword and their possessions confiscated, A nomad wherever found was at once executed². It is said that 8000 oxen, 6000 sheep and goats, 4000 horses, and 32,000 camels formed the spoil.

XLIV Meanwhile, the settlement of Nūbia seems to have been distinctly successful, for in 1304-1305 we have the king Amái³ bringing presents to Cairo and seeking aid from the Sultan el Ndšir Muḥammad ibn Ḳalāūn, and obtaining it. Takt6ba the Governor of Ḳūṣ was sent to help Am&i with an army of regulars and Arab auxiliaries⁴.

In 1311 the tribute was paid by Kerenbes⁵, the last Christian king of Dongola, but he was evidently less docile than his predecessors, for both in 1315 and 1316 troops had to be sent to Dongola. The second of these two expeditions was accompanied by 'Abdulla ibn Sanbu, nephew of D&ūd, and resulted in the capture of Kerenbes and his brother Abraam and their removal to Cairo⁶.

'Abdulla ibn Sanbu—a Muhammadan—was then made king.

XLV A new favourite now appears for the Nūbian throne, Kanz el Dowla the chief of the BENI KANZ settled round Aswan. He attacked 'Abdulla, put him to death, and made himself king. Whether he had allied himself by marriage with the royal house, in the usual manner, or whether he had no other right than might, we do not know.

¹ Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 300.

² If he claimed not to be a nomad he was told to pronounce the shibboleth "dakik" the k of which the Egyptian would pronounce as an 'ain and the Beduin as a hard g.

³ Ibn Khaldūn (ed. ar. Vol. 5, p. 429, Bk. 11) calls him "Ay" (أى) and says he does not know if he was "Semamūn's" successor or whether any other ruler interposed between the reigns of the two. He dates his death in 1316, but is probably in error.

⁴ El Makrfzi, *Kit. el Seluk*, ap. Quatremere (11, 114); cp. Lane-Poole, p. 299.

⁵ Maferfzi, *loc. cit.* Ibn Khaldūn calls him (*loc. cit.*) "Kerbays" and makes him brother as well as successor of Am& ("Ay"). Maferfzi's account is adopted in the following paragraphs.

* Ibn Khaldūn (*loc. cit.*) gives " 'Abdulla Nashli." He says he was one of the Nūbian royal family who had lately settled in Egypt and been converted to Islam. Ibn Khaldūn's account of what follows is that "Kerbays" fled to the Mek of el Abwdb and that the Sultan requested the Mek to hand him over and that the Mek complied. Kerenbes must have been sent to Egypt by way of the Red Sea, e.g. via 'Aidhdb, for after 'Abdulla's murder, according to Ibn Khaldūn, the rebels sent to el Abwdb for Kerenbes and only then learnt that he was in Egypt. When the Sultan heard of the episode he sent Kerenbes to them and he became their king.

The Sultan sent Abraam to Nūbia with the promise of the succession if he could oust Kanz el Dowla. The latter submitted quietly, but Abraam only lived a short time and Kanz el Dowla was then reappointed by the Nūbians.

In 1323¹ the Sultan again sent an army against Kanz el Dowla, this time with Kerenbes attached to it as prospective king. Kanz el Dowla fled and Kerenbes entered on his second reign. As invariably happened, however, the retreat of the Arab or Mamlūk troops was the signal for the reappearance of the pretender, and Kanz el Dowla was soon installed again.

XLVI But the kingdom of Nūbia had now to all intents and purposes ceased to exist and such "kings" as reigned in name were puppets of the Arab tribes. The tribute had been abolished when the paramount king was no longer a Christian and great hordes of Arabs, mainly GUHAYNA, were pouring into the Sudan and rapidly overrunning it as far as Abyssinia and Darfur.

It is from this period, the early years of the fourteenth century, that the immigration of most of the camel-owning nomads of the Sudan dates. Generally speaking, it seems, the GUHAYNA and their allies, most of whom we may be sure were FEZARA, loosed their hordes southwards and westwards, leaving the BENI KANZ and 'IKRIMA in northern Nūbia and Upper Egypt. From the Arabic historians we hear no more of these southern migrants of the GUHAYNA congeries, for they passed beyond their ken, but the native manuscripts of the Sudan, as will be seen, take up their tale.

XLVII Of affairs in Nūbia, too, we hear no more till 1366. In that year the country round Aswin, from 'Aidhdb on the east to the oases on the west, was ravaged by the BENI KANZ and the 'IKRIMA², the former of whom in particular were now extremely powerful, and envoys were sent to the Sultan at Cairo to report that the King of Nūbia had been murdered by his nephew and some BENI GA'AD, a section of the IKRIMA. The loyalists had elected the late king's brother to succeed him and were holding the fortified post of Daw [Derr(?)]. The rebels had taken Dongola but had then quarrelled among themselves with the result that the pretender had succeeded in treacherously murdering most of the BENI GA'AD. He had then collected a force of other Arabs and started to attack Daw [Derr(?)]. The Sultan granted the embassy's request for aid, and dispatched an expedition to Nūbia, partly, it seems, to reinstate the legitimate king and partly to repress the BENI KANZ and 'IKRIMA.

The result was on the whole satisfactory, but the fact that the

¹ Makrizi (*loc. cit.*) is still the authority.

² Makrizi, *loc. cit.*

murdered king's brother was installed at Daw [Derr(?)] and not at Dongola suggests that success was only partial. The BENI KANZ so far from offering any resistance, gave every facility to the troops; and such of the 'IKRIMA as resisted were killed.

XLVIII What happened eventually to the new king is not known. In 1397-8 there is record¹ of a king called Naṣr el Din who was ousted by one of his relatives and fled to Cairo for help—which the Governor of Aswán was told to give. From his name this king must have been a Muhammadan, and for all we know he may have been one of the BENI KANZ. At this period the BENI KANZ and other Arabs and the HOWARA and other Berber tribes were amalgamating rapidly with the riverain Nūbians, northwards from Dongola, and Islam was supplanting Christianity in a corresponding ratio. -

The power of the Mamlūk government so far up the river was almost negligible², and the state of affairs under their rule in Egypt was such as to offer every inducement to the nomad tribes to depart to districts where they were not subjected to any alien power. If an expedition was sent to Nūbia it was easy for the tribes to give way for the time being and to resume their old status as soon as the troops had gone.

Thus the settlement of Nūbia by the Arabs proceeded to all intents undisturbed, and by the fifteenth century the racial characteristics of the population in the neighbourhood of the first two cataracts, and perhaps as far south as Dongola, had become substantially what they are to-day.

XLIX In the east, we learn from the traveller Ibn Baṭṭā (1302-1377), the Sultan of Suákin, which belonged to the BEGA, was a Sherif, whose father had been *amir* of Mekka but who was connected on his mother's side with the BEGA. Between 'Aidhdb and SuAkin he records an encampment of some Arab AWLAD KAHIL

"mingled with the BEGA and understanding their language³." Others of these AWLAD KAHIL and some GUHAYNA, together with BEGA, composed the Sultan's military force. Probably the AWLAD KAHIL here mentioned represent the same people who appear as KAWAHLA (*sing.* "Káhli") or Awlād Káhil at the present day and who contain a section of the 'ABABDA⁴.

¹ Quatremère, n, 124.

² About 1403 Aswdn ceased for a time to be under Egypt (Mafcrfzi, *Khetat* (*ap.* Quatremère, *loc. cit.*), and cp. Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 308). In that year the Sa'fd was prey to a dire famine and it is said that 17,000 deaths occurred at Iḩṩ, 11,000 at el Siut, and 15,000 at Hou. (Makrizi, *Khepd*, n, 548.)

³ Ibn Batuta (11, 161): مستغلبين بالبجة عارفين بلسانهم.

⁴ See Part III, Chap. 5.

L We have seen in the preceding chapter what was the approximate distribution of the chief Arab tribes in Egypt when el Makrizi wrote his treatise, a century later than Ibn Baʿūta. He tells us that the greater part of Upper Egypt belonged¹ to six tribes, the BENI HILAL, the BELI, the GUHAYNA, the KURAYSH, the LUATA (Howdra ?)² and the BENI KELAB.

Besides these tribes many of the ANSAR had settled there and numbers of the MUZAYNA, BENI DARAG, BENI KELB, THA'ALIBA and GUZAM (Gudham)³.

LI From 1382 to 1517 the Circassian Mamlūks held Egypt. They ruled entirely by the aid of alien mercenaries, Circassians, Turks, Greeks and Mongols, and the country passed through an era of cruelty* debauchery, corruption and injustice which even in its own stormy annals were unprecedented. During this period revolts of nomads and cultivators alike were frequent, but uniformly shortlived⁴.

LII In 1504, in the far south, the FUNG and Arabs combined to form a native Sudanese kingdom in the Gezira of Senndr.

In 1517 Selim I, Sultan of Turkey, defeated the Mamlūks, and Egypt, from being an independent Sultanate, became a province of the 'Othmanli empire.

But Selim's control did not end at the first cataract. The country south of it was already peopled by a race who were more nearly akin to their northern than to their southern neighbours, and he extended his rule over them to the neighbourhood of the third cataract and placed them under a number of *Kdshifs*⁵. These *Kdshifs* were officials of Turkish or Bosnian descent and had under their orders a number of mercenaries, mostly Bosnians, to act as garrisons: in fact, the system of Selim was almost exactly the same as that of Psammetichus I. The term *Ghuzz* as used in the Sudan applies indifferently to these Bosnian mercenaries and to the Mamlūks, and there is no doubt that they settled in Nūbia in sufficient number to modify distinctly the racial type in certain of the northern riverain districts⁶.

¹ The past tense is used.

² Bouriant gives "Laouatah," Burckhardt (p. 529) "Howata." Either may be correct.

³ Makrizi, *Khetat*, n, 547, also translated by Burckhardt, p. 529. The latter speaks of the Muzayna as "a strong tribe of Beni rʿarb."

⁴ See Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 327. Most of these Circassians apparently did not know how to speak Arabic, which was merely the language of the common people (Lane-Poole, *Quart. Rev.* April 1915, p. 542).

⁵ See Budge, n, 201, 207, and Norden, 1, 58-62.

• Cp. J. A. St John, 1, 433. "The inhabitants of Derr are supposed to be the descendants of a number of Bosnian soldiers, established in Nubia by Sultan Selym." They preserved their fair complexion though often intermarrying with blacks. See the account of the Shifkʿa in Part I I I.

LIII It was a few years before Seh'm's conquest of Egypt that Leo Africanus travelled through the negro kingdoms of West Africa, and immediately after it that he went on a journey up the Nile valley¹. The bulk of his work deals with the half-arabicized Berbers living between the Mediterranean and the Niger. These "*Affricani bianchi*," as he calls them, he divides into the five tribes of ŞANHAGA, ZENATA, HOWARA, MASMCDA and GUMERI (GHOMARA²). They were nomads, and the majority of them spoke the Berber tongue³, but most of the HOWARA and GUMERI spoke Arabic, though corruptly.

Branches of them had by Leo's time been pushed farther south "to inhabite those deserts which border vpon the land of the negros"⁴, though the main portion of the race remained in the north where they had blended their stock with that of the Arabs.

Of Nūbia Leo tells us very little. He says that on the south it was bordered by the "Desert of Goran," i.e. the steppes of northern Kordofdn, and, as has been mentioned, that the Nūbians were much harried both by the TIBBU tribes ("ZINGANI") who inhabited this region and by the desert dwellers to the east of the Nile⁵.

Of Aswān he merely tells us⁶ that the inhabitants were "mingled with the people of Nubia and Ethiopia." Beyond it were villages of blacks subject to the nomad "BUGIHA" (BEGA).

LIV Marmol Caravajal, who wrote about 1520 and plagiarized freely from Leo, states that "Dangala" the capital of Nūbia contained ten thousand houses of mud and was a rich trading centre⁷.

¹ He is an accurate and not over-credulous writer but unfortunately one is often not sure whether he speaks of what he actually saw or whether he speaks at second hand, and he follows no system in transliterating Arabic words into Italian. He was first translated from the Italian into English by John Pory in 1600. Where Leo is at fault in the matter of transliteration Pory makes things worse by carelessness and random alterations. Leo uses Ibn el Rakik, el Mas'udi, and el Bekri freely and undisguisedly. He died in Tunis, after a long sojourn in Italy, in 1552. (See ed. Brown, note to Bk. vii and p. 211.)

² In this Leo follows Ibn el Raklji (*q.v. ap. Carette*, pp. 49, 433, etc.). Pory writes "Zanhagi," "Zeneta," "Haoari." For "Howdra" Leo wrote "Aoara."

³ Leo, Bk. 1, p. 151.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 157.

⁵ See Part I, Chap. 2, XLI, and Leo, Vol. in, Bk. v, p. 836.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 903.

⁷ Vol. III, pp. 71 ff. Marmors remarks concerning the wars of the Prince of Dongola with the nomads of the Bayuda and of the Eastern Desert have already been quoted (see Part I, Chap. 2, XLI).

GENEALOGICAL TREES

PART III

THE ARAB TRIBES OF THE SUDAN
AT THE PRESENT DAY

INTRODUCTION

IN the chapter that follows an account is given only of those Arabic-speaking tribes which are the best known in the Sudan at the present day and in which the Arab element either preponderates or is at least sufficiently strong to warrant the popular definition of them as Arabs.

Thus there is no account of the BISHARIIN, HADENDOA, HALANKA and BENI 'AMIR of the Eastern Deserts—the BEGA of the Middle Ages—who are predominantly Hamitic and do not have Arabic in general use; nor of the Nūbian MAḤASS and SUKKÓT of Ḥaifa Province; nor of the "NŪBA" of el Ḥardza and KAgā; nor of the FUNG and HAMAG of the southern Gezira, whose affinities are rather with the SHILLUK and BURŪN than with the Arabs. Some description has already been given in Part I of their general ethnical characteristics and history, and from the text and notes contained in Part IV further items of information may be gleaned.

On the other hand, it is impossible to avoid devoting some space to the DANĀGLA, and to the various branches of the MAḤASS who have taken up their abode south of the cataract regions, since it is beyond question that they have as much Arab blood in their veins as, for instance, the sedentary "Arabs" of Central Kordofān; and for the same general reason a short notice concerning the 'ABABDA has been inserted, and the HAWAWIR, though largely of Berber origin, have a section to themselves.

Some few of the names that are applied in the "*nisbas*" as though to distinct and separate tribes, and other names that are more or less familiar in the same sense to the natives of the Sudan, will not be found heading paragraphs in this chapter, but a reference to the index will generally shew that such are in fact included among the subdivisions of a larger tribe or dealt with incidentally elsewhere. Under this category in particular fall the family groups—the name tribe would be a misnomer—of the MEDANIIN, ḤASŪNAB, FARĀḌIIN, DELAYKAB and others, who only derive a separate entity from the fact that their forebears were well-known holy men of the eighteenth century, or perhaps merely members of the entourage of such.

In two respects at least the Arabs of the Sudan form a single entity. They are all Muhammadans, though their Muhammadanism has been tainted by the customs and superstitions of the various

autochthonous inhabitants among whom they **have settled; and they speak Arabic.** In fact **the** colloquial Arabic of the Sudan contains many words and phrases that would be incomprehensible in Egypt or Syria but which have well-established classical authority: this is naturally most true of the nomad Arabs and applies less to **the** riverain populations. The words of Escayrac de Lauture remain substantially correct:

Leur langue alteree un peu par le temps, accrue de quelques mots empruntes aux vocabulaires des negres, est cependant encore la langue du Hedjaz plus harmonieuse, plus concise, plus énergique, plus grammaticale, et plus arabe que les jargons partes en figypte et dans le Gharb.

It would, however, be difficult to give a detailed history of the Arab race in the Sudan in the form of a single narrative. To deal with it tribe by tribe is an easier method, and this I will now attempt briefly to do.

In the second Part mention was made of the largest or most important of those well-known Arabian tribes which sent branches to the Sudan, and the plan was adopted of following the fortunes of each in turn, as a single whole where feasible, or otherwise as a number of subdivisions which had become practically independent of one another, down to the point of their entry into the Sudan.

In this chapter, whenever occasion arises, it will be more convenient to reverse this process, and taking in turn the best-known Sudanese Arab tribes of the present day, to attempt to connect each of them with its respective parent stock.

CHAPTER 1

The Ga'aliin and Dandgla Group

I Of the main groups into which the Arabs of the Sudan are popularly divided, and in particular by the native genealogists, the largest and most widely distributed, and at the same time the most loosely knit, is the GA'ALIIN.

The distinguishing feature of the congeries included under this name—it cannot be called a tribe—is the claim of its members to be descended from el 'Abbās, the uncle of the Prophet; so that in fact the Word Ga'ali used in its wider sense has become practically synonymous with 'Abbāsi, and is borrowed by all the numerous families from Abyssinia to Lake Chad who regard, or make some show of regarding, el 'Abbas as their forefather. Not only is this pretension of the GA'ALIIN unsupported by evidence, but the actual derivation of their name as accepted by its holders would sufficiently indicate both its hollowness and the popular appreciation of the same.

It is said¹ that a certain Ibrāhīm, a descendant of el 'Abbās, in a time of famine relieved the distress by his munificent charity, was surnamed "Ga'al" by the recipients, because he said "ga'alnākum" ("we have made you"), and thus obtained a considerable following. The members of the GA'ALIIN group perfunctorily claim to be lineally descended from this Ibrahim, but obviously, in so far as the tradition is anything but a pure invention, it only indicates the collection under the leadership of a single man, who claimed to belong to the BENI 'ABBAS, of a more or less heterogeneous medley of tribesmen.

II The term GA'ALIIN in its vague genealogical sense is still made applicable to most of the northern riverain tribes, such as the GAW-ABRA and BEDAYRIA, and also to the SHAMA, the BATAHIN, the GAWAMA'A and BEDAYRfA of Kordofdn, and many others. And the percolation of these "Ga'ali" stocks into the south and west has given an excuse to the HAMAG of Sennār to say that their ancestors were GA'ALIIN who took to wife blacks from the BURŪN hills, and has resulted in allegations of close kinship between the GA'ALIIN and the rulers of Tekālī, Darfurr, Waddi and Bornu.

Thus, in the case of Waddi, according to local tradition, the

¹ See BA, cxxxn, e.g.

Muhammadan Empire was founded by "'Abd el Kerim ibn Yam6" in 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.¹) and

Yame était de la tribu des Djaliya's [GA'ALIIN, that is], au Chendi, au nord de Khartoum, dans la valine du Nil. Son ancêtre était Saleh ibn Abdullah ibn Abbas, aussi Yame et sa famille se disaient-ils Abassides, comme le font encore les indigènes de Chendi, d'Abou Harras, d'Ourfa, de Neselmiya [Mesallamfa(?)] et les habitants de la ville de Sennar. Avant de venir au Ouada'i, Yame s'était arrêté assez longtemps au Darfour².

This 'Abd el Kerim was a contemporary of Sulaymān Solong the first Muhammadan ruler of Ddrfur, whose descendants have always claimed to be descended from the BENI 'ABBAS through a certain "Idris Ga'al³." The "Yame" or "Yame" who appears as father of 'Abd el Kerim is undoubtedly "Gāma'i"—the skigular of GAWAMA'A: Barth indeed says⁴:

W6da, the son of Ydme, belonging to the tribe of the Gémir, who at that time were settled in Shendy, and...had emigrated with his countrymen into the regions which afterwards, in honour of him it is said, were comprised under the name of Wdddy...;

and here "Gémir" can hardly mean other than GAWAM A' A.

When, in 1916, I visited Turra in Gebel Marra, the seat of the ancient FÜR kingdom and the burial-place of its Sultans since the time of Sulaymdn Solong, I found established there a small colony of GAWAMA'A "*fukqra*" who claimed descent from an ancestor Idris, who had been "brought by Sulayman Solong from the river seven generations ago for the sake of religion." They had ever since been guardians of the royal tombs and "Imāms" of the local mosque.

Ill Now as regards the GAWABRA-BEDAYRIA group, it is fair, I think, to say that the only denomination under which they can all be classed with any accuracy is that of DANAGLA, inhabitants, that is, of Dongola⁵; and it is doubtful whether they were ever called GA'ALIIN until el Samarkandi asserted that they were descended from el 'Abbes and linked them on that score with the GA'ALIIN proper who lived further upstream. This is not to deny for a moment that there is an essential similarity of race between the two groups: it is quite obvious that such exists, and an average Dongolāwi might pass for an average Ga'ali, or *vice versa*, at any time or place. Nor was el Samar-

¹ Helmolt (*Hist.* p. 584) gives his date as 1635-1655.

² Nachtigal, *Voy. au Ouadai*, p. 93.

³ See, e.g. Helmolt, *Hist.* p. 585; and p. 92, above.

⁴ Vol. in, p. 528. He notes, however, "The derivation of this royal family from the 'Abbasfyin is altogether imaginary."

⁵ All inhabitants of Dongola do not, however, care to be called Dandgla. The Rikabia, for instance, regarding themselves as Shurafa, resent the application of the name to themselves as suggesting they are merely Nūbians.

ḵandi likely to choose for identification two peoples whose traditions or physical characteristics must create a strong presumption against the accuracy of his diagnosis. El Samarḵandi was by no means a fool; and it is particularly noticeable that though he classes all alike as GA'ALiN he pictures at the same time the approximate degree of racial closeness or distance existing between the several groups by a genealogical parable of surprising acumen.

While the real *raison d'être* of the traditional identification lies in the fact that the Arab elements, which permeate in widely varying degrees both the DANAGLA and the GA'ALIIN groups, and especially the families of the sheikhs as distinct from the rank and file, are substantially the same at root, it is also true that the non-Arab substratum on the iḵver from Dongola to Khartoum is to some extent homogeneous and, though not directly admitted to the argument, lends to it a strength and colour that would otherwise be largely lacking¹.

IV In the first chapter some mention was made of the BARABRA and DANAGLA and of the migratory activities which these Nūbian stocks directed southwards in the years which followed the downfall of the Christian kingdom of Dongola about the beginning of the fourteenth century². It was stated that many of them settled in southern Kordofan and that to this fact may be attributed the linguistic affinities between the population of the northern hills of Dār Nūba and the people of Dongola. These affinities³ do not extend beyond the northernly group of hills, but can hardly be sufficiently explained by the mercantile proclivities of more recent generations of BARABRA-DANAGLA⁴.

Such of the peoples, sprung from the blend of the two elements, Nūbian and Arab, as migrated farther afield to the south and west, for instance the GAWAMA'A and the BEDAYRIA of Kordofan, have by now become inevitably differentiated from the northern riverain stock, since they have incorporated or become themselves merged in quite distinct negroid races. In this manner the DUBAB have become to all intents and purposes NUBA like those of Gebel Daier, the GAWAMA'A are half KUNGARA of Ddrfūr and the GHODIAT a

¹ The autochthonous element among the Dandgla is admitted in D i, CXLIX.

² See also introduction to Part IV as to the influx of Arab elements into Nūbia about this time.

³ Q.v. Lepsius, *Nub. Gramm.*, p. lxxvii, and Pallme, p. 116.

⁴ See Seligman, *Journ. R. Anthr. Inst.* Vol. XLIII, 1913. As regards this modern settlement of Dandgla in southern Kordofan the evidence is ample: see in particular Pallme, pp. 117, 160, 171. Seligman also bases his argument to some extent upon certain specific mentions of "Dandgla**" which I made in *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan*, and he might have made more of this line if he had noticed that various tribes such as D6dlib, Bedayria and Gawdbra, whom I specified as being settled in large numbers in Kordofan, are all properly Dandgla.

mixture of FUNG, HAMAG, NUBA and Arab. All, however, regard themselves as, in a certain sense, GA'ALIIN.

But the name of GA'ALIIN as used at present in common parlance is more often limited to the large group which contains the SA'ADAB, NIFI'AB, KITIAB and other sections—the group alluded to in this chapter as the GA'ALIIN proper—and though its exact scope varies the wider use of the term is uncommon and practically confined to genealogical discussion.

V Let us then deal in order, firstly with the tribes which, though claiming a Ga'ali origin, have for many generations been plainly distinguishable from the GA'ALIIN proper as well as from the other tribes held popularly and vaguely to belong to the same group as themselves, and secondly with the GA'ALIIN proper.

From the manuscripts it would appear that the following are the better known tribes and subtribes traditionally reckoned GA'ALIN in the widest sense of the term¹:

1. {	BEDAYRÍA	2. {	GHODIÁT	
	SHUWAYHÁT		BATÁHÍN	
	TERAYFÍA			
	{		{	
	RUBÁTÁB		KITIÁB	
	'AWADÍA		MUKÁBIRÁB	
	MÁGIDÍA, or MÁIDÍA		ZAYDÁB	
	KURTÁN		SHA'ADÍNÁB	
	HÁKIMÁB		MESALLAMÁB	
	GAWÁBRA		GEBELÁB	
	GIMA'A		KÁLIÁB	
	GAWÁMA'A		'OMARÁB	
	MANÁSRA		KABŪSHÁB	
3. {	ḌUBÁB	3. {	KANDÍLÁB	
	MERÁBḌA ²		HASABULLÁB	
	FADLÍA		GODALÁB	
	MANṢŪRÁB		KARÁKISA	
	ṢANDÍDÁB		NÁFA'ÁB	
	GAMŪ'ÍA		NIFI'ÁB	
	SHÁIKÍA		'ÁLÍÁB	
	FÁḌLÁB		SA'ADÁB	
	MÍRAFÁB		MUḤAMMADÁB	
	SERAYHÁB			
- The
Ga'ALIIN
proper

¹ Many of the less known or more doubtful sections are omitted. Their names and some details concerning them can be found in the texts or genealogical trees of the MSS. of the "A" group; and, in many cases, in the account of the Ga'alifn which follows. The brackets linking various tribes in the list here given denote a measure of connection according to the "nisbas."

² See *sub* Ghodiat.

(a) THE BEDAYRIA, SHUWAYHAT AND TERAYFIA

VI The BEDAYRIA A are at present more or less evenly divided between riverain Nūbia and Kordofdn, while a few live further west in Darfūr; but the true home of the race lies between the GAWABRA and the SHAFĪdA territories in Dongola province.

In the eighteenth century, and for an unknown period previous to it, the chief "*mek*" lived at Old Dongola, and subject "*meks*" at el Khandaq, Tanqdsi Island, Abkūr and Dufdr¹, and at the present day it is still probably true to say that of the semi-Arab semi-Nubian DANAGLA more are BEDAYRIA than not².

Their chief branch is the DAHMASHIA³.

At some early period, probably the beginning of the fourteenth century, a number of BEDAYRIA and SHUWAYHAT⁴ found their way to Kordofdn, carried thither, it seems, by a general wave of "Ga'ali" movement to the south-west consequent upon the Arab subjugation of Dongola⁵, and settled round the present site of el Obeid and took to cattle-breeding and cultivation.

Of the history of the BEDAYRIA either in Dongola or Kordofdn we know but little. In the former province during the period of SHAMA ascendancy the BEDAYRIA were subject to their more warlike congeners⁶, and the oppression they suffered induced many to

¹ Cp. Nicholls, pp. 7, 8.

² Sir C. Wilson spoke of them in 1887 as a Nūba [*i.e.* Nūbian] people with an admixture of Arab blood still speaking a "rofdna" among themselves.

³ For its subdivisions see Tree to "AB." One of them, it may be noted, is the 'Afdab, a name which we shall again meet with among the Shaikia. It would seem that some of the descendants of 'Aid are with one tribe and some with the other, while others again are attached to the Kabdbfsh. To what tribe 'Afd himself belonged is uncertain, but perhaps he is the 'Afd father of Ghulamulla (*q.v.* genealogical tree to D 1), in which case his alleged Sherffi descent would explain his popularity as an ancestor. There is a tribe called 'Aid near Balbays in the Sharkia Province of Egypt who are said to be kahtanites descended from Guzim (Gudham), and it is not impossible that some connection may be traceable between these and the 'Afdab of the Sudan. Compare the cases of the Rashdfda (Rowdshda), Ziūd, Muzayna, kerrarish (Ifdrdrsha), and Gubdrdt. For the 'Aid see Na'um Bey, *Hist. Sinai*, pp. 108-9.

⁴ Or perhaps the Shuwayhat were only a branch of Bedayria. I have assumed the contrary because the MSS. make Shuwayh the brother and not the son of Bedayr.

⁵ A well and hill named Bir Serrdr, lying a day's journey north of Bara, are named after Serrar the son of Kerdam who is said to have brought his family to Kordofdn and settled there. Serrdr is ancestor not only of the Bedayria but of almost the whole "Ga'ali" group. His date was about the end of the thirteenth century (see *Introd. to Part IV*).

⁶ Burckhardt, *Nubia*, p. 68. "Between the city of Dongola and Merawe is the Wady of the Arabs called Bedayr, whose chiefs have, till lately, been tributary to the Sheygya."

emigrate to the south-west and join their kin in Kordofdn or push further west into Darfur¹.

About the middle of the eighteenth century a certain Balūl, one of the chieftains of the BEDAYRIA in Kordofan, moved northwards from Abu Ilardz, conquered Kaga Surrug on the Darfur border, and made his headquarters Gebel Bishdra Taib or "Kab Balul." He was, however, ousted thence by the invading MUSABA'AT from Darfur and was compelled to take refuge with the remnants of his folk at Kdga Soderi and Katul. Here the BEDAYRIA gradually became merged in the older population.

VII The BEDAYRIA in Kordofan now divide themselves into two main groups and a number of subdivisions, as follows:

A. DAHMASHÍA	{	1. AWLÁD HILAYB 2. ZENÁRA ² 3. 'AYÁDGA 4. AWLÁD MUḤAMMAD 5. SHUWAYḤÁT 6. RÍÁSH ³ 7. KADŪMA 8. AWLÁD 'ALÍ 9. AWLÁD SHIHÁDA 10. AWLÁD HILÁL 11. ḤUSAYNÁT ⁴
B. AWLÁD NA'AMÍA	{	1. AWLÁD ḤAMDULLA 2. AWLÁD MATÍ'YA ⁵ 3. AWLÁD MELKÍ 4. 'AYNÁNÍA 5. AWLÁD MŪSA

VIII In addition to the BEDAYRIA who preserve their name as such in Dongola, Kordofdn and elsewhere, there are others for whom a Bedayri ancestry is commonly alleged. The most numerous of these are the ASIRRA who form a large section of the ḤAWAZMA, and who are also represented in Dárfūr and Wadái⁶.

IX The BEDAYRIA of Dongola are of course entirely sedentary.

¹ For instance, at el rjashdba in the Zaghdwa country (N. Darfur) there is a small colony of the Rfrish branch, settled in villages.

² Originally Berbers. The Zendra were a section of Ludta. See p. 152, above. Other Zendra are among the Hawazma (q.v. later).

³ It will be seen from the trees that Abu el Rlsh ("Father of the Feather"), their ancestor, is traditionally a brother of Bedayr and Shuwayb.

⁴ Bedayria by marriage only, i.e. their ancestress was a Bedayria.

⁵ The name is mentioned ("Mateye") by Burckhardt as being that of one of the tribes of Kordofan.

⁶ See Carbou, 11,91; and Nachtigal, *Voy. au Ouadai*, p. 71. The site of el Fasher itself is said to have anciently belonged to the Asirra.

Those in Kordofan have intermarried so freely with their neighbours, the partly cognate GAWAMA'A and the HAWAZMA, and above all with the NOBA, that they have little racial individuality remaining to them. They resemble the Nūba far more than the Dongoláwi, and it is from the former that the *jeunesse dorée* of the BEDAYRIA have adopted the fashion of wearing their hair in several thick sausage-like rolls laid longwise back from the forehead and falling at the back nearly to the shoulders¹.

They have many villages near to the south and west of el Obeid and these again have sent out numerous scattered colonies into northern and western Kordofan. In the rains the cattle-owning BEDAYRIA, those to the south and east that is, lead a nomadic existence in company with the HAWAZMA BAKKARA.

X The TERAYFIA are close connections and neighbours of the Nūbian BEDAYRIA. Korti and Ambukól were their ancient centres and a number remain thereabouts at the present day. Many TERAYFIA however have migrated elsewhere, and the majority of these are settled in Kordofán. They probably accompanied the earliest BEDAYRIA emigrants, but instead of remaining with them they took up their abode with the GAWAMA'A group and at the present day form one of its larger subdivisions and have become assimilated to the semi-negroid type². The TERAYFIA who were driven from Dongola at a later date, victims of SHAIKIA aggressiveness in the eighteenth century, mostly went to Dárfur and took to trading at Kobbé and el Fdsher, etc. They are still represented among the "*Gelldba*" DANAGLA at el Fasher. Others settled at Kerri near the Shabluka cataract⁴.

(b) THE GHODIAT

XI The GHODIAT⁵ live south of el Obeid on the very fringe of the Nūba country, and the connection between them and the rest of the so-called GA'ALIIN group, though apparent from all the Ga'ali "*nisbas*", is somewhat theoretical.

In tradition they are very closely connected with the ancient tribes of the KUNAN and the Kusa, who are now extinct in the Sudan. The former are said to have lived at Rera in Kassala Province and to have been extirpated by the SHUKRIA.

¹ The Hawazma have adopted the same custom but not to quite the same extent.

² For the subdivisions of the Gawdma'a-Terayfia see *sub* Gawdma'a.

³ "*Gellaba*" are small traders, generally pedlars.

⁴ Nicholls, p. 19.

⁵ *Sing.* "Ghadawi." The MSS. almost universally spell "KodiaV and "Kadawi," but the confusion between ك and ح is so common that no reliance can be placed on the correctness of that spelling.

The only record of the *ḲuṣAṣ* is, I think, in a passage of Burckhardt. Speaking of the *HOWARA* of Upper Egypt in Mamlūk days he says¹:

On the south, the tribe of *Kaszas* (قصاص) [*i.e.* *Kusas*] who people the country on the west banks from Thebes to near Esne, and to whom belong the inhabitants of Gourne, Orment, and Reheygat (all celebrated for their bold plundering enterprises) were their determined enemies; although both these and the *Howara* report that they have the same origin from Barbary.

Both tribes have left their names in some of the small hills east of the Blue Nile near Abu Delayḳ. With the *GHODIAT*, *ḲUNAN* and *KusAs* the "*nisbas*" commonly include the *BATAHIN*² whose ancient home was among these same hills.

XII On the other hand the *GHODIAT* are universally allowed to be largely *FUNG*³ by race.

They are also obviously as much negroid as Arab. The inference then to be drawn would seem to be that certain members of the group which also formed the substratum of the "*GA'ALIIN*" tribes of the present settled at some early period in the vicinity of Abu Delayḳ; and that certain of them took an active part in the Arab-Fung movement at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and in connection with that movement penetrated westwards into *Kordofán* and settled there among the *NŪBA* and intermarried with them. Or, as an alternative, it is possible that the *GHODIAT* may have formed a part of the racial wave that flowed into *Kordofán* from *Dongola* two centuries before the foundation of *Senndr* and have subsequently acquired the *FUNG* connection in *Kordofán* itself.

XIII Their traditions relate that they took up their abode at first near *Gebel Kurbág* and *Melbis* and after a time drove the *Nūba* from their stronghold on *Gebel Kordofán* and usurped their position.

The *BEDAYRIA-GAWAMA'A* group are said to have submitted to their overlordship⁴. The story as *Pallme* heard it in 1838 is as follows:

The aborigines are negroes from *Nubia*, who, even at the present time, inhabit many parts of *Kordofan*. The word *Kordofan* itself is of *Nubian* derivation. Three tribes subsequently immigrated: the *Hadejat*, *el Giomme*, and *Bederie*⁵. The period of this immigration, however, cannot be definitely determined. These three nomadic tribes distributed themselves over the country round about *Mount Kordofan*, occupied themselves with cattle-breeding, and each tribe had its sheikh, or magistrate; but from these

¹ *Nubia*, p. 532.

² Cp. the genealogical trees of the "*A*" group.

³ *D i*, ccix says *Hamag* instead of *Fung*.

⁴ So tradition. Cp. *Pallme*, pp. 11-12, *Prout* and *Petherick*.

⁵ The names appear so in the original German also. The tribes meant are the *Ghodiit*, the *Gawāma'a* and the *Bedayria*.

three tribes, collectively, a head was chosen, who acted as impartial judge in all questions of difficulty, and, in fact, as the last authority.

About the middle of the seventeenth century¹ the FUNG, having consolidated their power in the Gezīra, proceeded to make raids over the White Nile in the direction of Gebels Tekali and Daier. In the following century they became paramount in those regions and annexed them to Senndr, but according to their usual policy they left in power the chiefs of the conquered districts, and thus the chief of the Ghodidt confederacy between el Obeid and Daier was given the title of "Mangil" and was expected to pay a yearly tribute of cattle and iron hoes².

No doubt a number of FUNG settled during the two centuries mentioned in the newly acquired province, and while it is possible that it is due merely to this that the GHODIAT are commonly considered as half FUNG, it is far more probable that the connection was more ancient and dates from one or other of those periods of unrest and expansion, the beginning of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The FUNG control in south-central Kordofān was a very fluctuating quantity. It reached its zenith between 1748 and 1758 with the defeat of the MUSABA'AT of Dirfūr, and ended in 1788. The period in which the GHODIAT were most powerful was between 1755 and 1768³, a fact which confirms the tradition that they were the special *protigh* and allies of the FUNG and dependent upon them for the maintenance of their position⁴. In 1768 central Kordofan, Kordofān proper that is⁵, passed to the MUSABA'AT, but there was apparently no particular animosity between these and the GHODIAT, and the latter were left in possession of their lands south of the capital⁶, and

¹ See D 7, xxix.

² Called "rlashhdsh Um Henana." That these hoe-heads came to be used not merely as a useful medium of exchange but solely as coins I have argued in *Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan* (p. 67). See also Rüppell, p. 139. This traveller, speaking of the years 1824-5 says: "In Obeid bedient man sich bei kleinen Auslagen einer eigenthümlichen Miinze; es sind kleine, drei Zoll grosse Stücke Eisen in Gestalt von ¹/_P; die vorige und jetzige Regierung setzte solche in Circulation. Man nennt diese Eisenstücke Haschasch." They were also used in Ddrfūr: see el TONISI, *Voy. au Darfour*, p. 320. For "Mangil" see p. 246.

³ See D 1, ccix.

⁴ It is said el Obeid was built during the Ghodiāt period of ascendancy, but this is not certain.

* To the present day the hillmen of Kaga and el rlariza and the nomads in the north (Kabdbfsh, etc.), and also the yamar of "Western Kordofan," speak of "going to Kordofan/" meaning to the cultivable sandy districts now comprised in el Obeid, Bdra, Um Dam and Um Rudba districts. The extension of the name to the north and west (and for some years to the Nūba hills in the south) was a purely arbitrary administrative act.

• For the above see also MacMichael, *Tribes...*, pp. 9-13, 62, 67, 68.

live there in their villages to the present time among a medley of equally debased BEDAYRfA, MUSABA'AT, BIRKED¹, TOMAM, TUMBAB and DUBAB.

XIV Among the subdivisions of the GHODIAT are the following:

NAFAR EL MARAD	BURUH
„ 'OMAR	DAYRAT
„ SAFEI'	KU'CK
„ SA'ID	MEKABDA (properly BEDAYRIA)
„ ABU KHADRA	ISERARIR
SALAMAT (an offshoot of the BAḲḲARA SALAMAT)	

The MEKABDA, it is worth noting, appear in the "*nisbas*" as a Ga'ali tribe closely cognate to the MANAṢRA, Those who are among the GHODIAT are regarded locally as BEDAYRIA affiliated for several generations to the GHODIAT.

(c) THE BATAHIN²

XV The BATAHIN of the present day are a nomadic tribe with headquarters at Abu Delayḳ, halfway between Khartoum and the Atbara, and to a less degree at 'Alwān. The more southerly members of the tribe, but for a few scattered individuals settled near Wad Medani and el Manakil, are certain of the 'ABADLA section in Rufa'a district, and the most northerly the BUTUGAB, who have lately split away from the main tribe and live in Khartoum North district.

Eastwards they do not extend beyond the boundaries of the Blue Nile Province, except in the season of the rains when they roam the common grazing ground of the Butana, and westwards their rights end fifteen miles or more from the river.

XVI Until about half a century ago the majority of the tribe, less powerful then than now and living round 'Alwān, were dependent for water upon the "*ḥafirs*" until these dried up in the early spring, and then upon the river. But for a long time there had been also a few of them at Abu Delayḳ, and it seems that these were popularly regarded as having ancient rights in that vicinity, if not as aboriginals³.

However the SHUKRIA under the great Abu Sin family had made themselves supreme in FUNG days between the Blue Nile and the Atbara and maintained their supremacy throughout the Turkish period. The BAṬAḤfN were a negligible factor under these conditions; and, in addition, the Delaykab⁴, descendants of a certain Kahli "*feki*"

¹ Q.v. Part I, Chap. 4. ² Sing. Bat -bini.

³ Cp. D 3, No. 74. It is said they owned one well there. Burckhardt (p. 345) mentions Batabin among the Arabs of Shendi district in 1814, and no doubt he refers to the families whose headquarters were at Abu Delayḳ.

⁵ Q.v. in Chap. 5 (a) of this Part.

surnamed Abu Delayk, had obtained a hold on the particular site now known by his name and a large part of the Wddi Hawad. Some years before the Mahdia Sheikh 'Abd el Biḳi 'Abd el Iḳddir, the grandfather of the present "omda" of the BATAHIN, succeeded in opening wells at 'Alwan, Tomama, Um Sidayra and ICadum and thereby the unity and prosperity of the tribe were considerably advanced¹.

At Abu Delayk there must have been wells from very early times, for water is procurable in the "wddi" so near the surface that a "sakia" can be used, but it was only as a result of the upheavals and vicissitudes of the Mahdia that the BATAHIN found themselves sufficiently strong to assert their ancient claims in the face of the SHUKRIA and DELAYKAR and to make Abu Delayk their tribal headquarters, open numerous wells there, and cultivate most of the surrounding "wadis"².

XVII In the Dervish days many of the BATAHIN were sent north by the Khalifa to Dongola and Berber and perished there. Those remaining near Abu Delayk fell into his displeasure, and it is still remembered how he put sixty-seven of them to death with the utmost brutality in one day at Omdurman³.

They now own fairly large herds of camels, cattle, sheep and goats, and cultivate a rain crop in the numerous shallow "wadis" of their "dar" They are typical nomads in physical appearance⁴, lithe, sallow-red in complexion, furtive-eyed, and in character impatient of control, quarrelsome like the SHAIKAI, humorous, and more daring than the usual. They are also incorrigible and unblushing thieves; yet their thefts are not of the mean house-breaking order, but a survival from the happy inter-tribal looting days⁵. They profess

¹ Mrs Petherick (*Centr. Africa*, n, 84) speaks of "some five hundred brood of camels with their young" seen by her in March, 1862, watering on the east bank of the White Nile near Gebel Aulia* and belonging to the "Batacheen."

² The "Omda" has lately founded a village of mud houses close to the wells, an entirely new departure for the Batahin. The most permanent type of house in use among those who were not entirely nomadic had previously been a *tukl* of straw of which the wall was plastered with "zibl" (dung) and lime. The mixture adheres to the corn-stalks and the wooden uprights alike, and windows are cut through it. This type of building is not found west of the Nile. Inside their huts the Batalifn have one or two large "suaybas," cylindrical jars for storing grain, about three and a half feet in height. Their jars ("bata") are made from a compound of "seidl" gum ("kadab") and leather and rags. The black colour is obtained by mashing and burning corn and forming it into a paste which is used in manufacturing the "baḳa'." The black conglomerate is about an eighth of an inch thick and overlies a groundwork of rag.

³ Slatin, Ch. XIII.

⁴ I except, of course, those in whom slave-blood is obvious.

⁵ Within the memory of the present generation a Baḳljini youth could not hope to gain a bride until he had proved his prowess by stealing a camel. This reminds

to be GA'ALIIN by origin, a claim which is commonly denied them with a laugh and a sneer by the SHUKRIA, MESALLAMIA and other tribes who live nearest to them and consequently have cause to throw the broadest aspersions upon their ancestry. As a matter of fact it would seem from the "*nisbas*" that they are one of the oldest offshoots of that early group of Arab immigrants to whose descendants the name GA'ALIIN is applied. They are certainly less noticeably contaminated with negro blood than any other GA'ALIIN, and in all probability represent more closely the original stock.

Their own traditions relate in effect that their name is derived from that of the BATAH (Lowlander-KURAYSH) who inhabited the neighbourhood of Mekka in the Prophet's day¹, but a variant put forward by the cynical is that their ancestor was found abandoned ("mabtuh") in some "*wadi*" ("bat-ha").

XVIII The subdivisions of the BATAHIN are as follows:

A. 'ASHAMA ²	1. ŞAḤBAB	(a) NINAB
		(b) BELALAB
		(c) Others
	2. HIDAYBAB	(a) SHERAḤAB
		(b) 'ATAWIA
		(c) GUDŪMAB
		(d) SOWADĪB
	3. 'ARKASHAB ³	(a) BELALAB
		(b) U M 'ISA
	4. 'ALAMAB	(a) BURUḶ
		(b) SHULUKHAB ⁴
	5. DIFAYLAB	(a) ḶODELAB
		(b) RASHIDAB
		(c) NŪRAB ⁵
		(d) BA'ABISH (<i>sing.</i> BA'ABUSHAWI)
	6. 'ASAFAB ⁶	(a) FARAGAB
		(b) Others

one of Burton's Beduin of the IJegāz among whom the name "*hardmi*" ("thief") was still honourable, and of the saying once quoted of the Crow Indians "Trust to their honour and you are safe, to their honesty and they will steal the hair off your head" (Burton, *Pilgrimage* 11, 101, 112).

¹ See note to A n, xn. The father of the "*'omda*" of the Batḍifn assured me that their ancestors formed a part of the army of Khdlid ibn Walfd, the Prophet's lieutenant, which invaded the eastern Sudan and converted the 'Anag!

² They connect the word with **تعشیر** "to covet [*s.c.* the goods of others]," i.e. "to loot."

³ The root **عركش**, they say, means "to sprout thick and fast," i.e. "to thrive."

⁴ From **شلىخ**, i.e. incisions in the cheek.

⁵ I.e. "descendants of el NŪr." There is no connection apparently between these and the NŪrāb sections of Kabdbfsh or Shukria.

• These have attached themselves to the Shukrfa, and are commonly reckoned a part of that tribe.

- B. BUTUGAB¹ 1. HUWAB
 2. HARAYRAB
 3. SHABALA
 4. ZAKIAB
 5. DERAYSAB
 6. ATAMRA²
 7. SHUAYNAB (living among the 'ASHAMA)
- C. 'ABADLA⁸ (1. 'AWADAB
 2. *Others*

(d) THE RUBATAB, 'AWADfA, MANASIR, FADLIfN, MIRAFAB, AND DUBAB, ETC.

XIX The country appropriated to the three riverain tribes of RUBATAB, MANASIR and MIRAFAB lies roughly between the fourth cataract and the junction of the Atbara with the Nile, that is between the SHAMA and the GA'ALIIN proper, on either side of the great loop in the river.

The MANASIR⁴, having their headquarters at Berti on the boundary between Berber and Dongola Provinces, are neighbours of the SHAIKIA, and Burckhardt spoke of them as practically a subtribe of the latter, though "not strictly belonging to" them⁵.

Some two hundred years ago or less a large colony of MANASIR and FADLIIN left the Nile and migrated westwards to Ddrfūr. There they settled round Ṣdni Kārro, Tūlū and Gebel el Ḥella and called themselves MANAṢRA and BENI FADL respectively⁶. Subsequently, when the ḤAMAR moved eastwards from Um Shanga and opened up western Kordofan by hollowing the baobabs for water-storage, certain of these MANAṢRA and BENI FADL joined them. More came in the Turkish days; but the largest movement of all took place about 1904 when, tired of the oppression to which they were subjected by the Sultan of Dārfūr, more than half of both tribes left Dārfūr and settled in Dār Ḥamar, the MANAṢRA chiefly round el Odāya and the BENI

¹ بتج ("butuga") is said to mean كثر, e. "to be plentiful."

² From the root تمر ("dates").

³ Derived from "'Abdulla," a curious plural. Many of the 'Abadla are sedentary.

⁴ The name is simply a plural formed from "Manṣūr." Those on the river, in Berber district, comprise the following small sections:—Sulaymanfa, Salamat, Berti, Sherreri and Shirri. Inland are a few Kagūb, Khubard and others. They number some 600 men in all.

⁵ *Nubia*, p. 69. Sir C. Wilson in 1887 estimates them at about 2500 men, and reports that they claim kinship with the 'Abdbda.

⁶ They say they were in a rough proportion of two of the latter to one of the former.

FADL in Zernakh and Kebsh and Urn Bel districts¹. Since then these have been joined yearly by others of their kin until at the present day there are few of them left in Ddrfür.

XX The subdivisions of the BENI FADL of Kordofan are:

HADARMA ²	GERAYWAT	'UKBAB ³
HOMRAN	MUHAMMADIA	DEBAGHNA
ZUAIDA	'AMIRIA	MUKURNA

Those of the MANAŞRA are as follows:

ḤISAMIA	((a) TIBAYḲAT
	1 (b) ABU 'AMIR
HAMMADIA	j (a) ABU SINABO
	1 (b) ABU ḤIMAYYIR
GIMAYLIA	(a) SHABUL ⁴
	1 (b) UM SOWAR
MERASHH	j (a) UM 'AZOZA
	l (b) GEBARIN

XXI The RUBATAB are upstream of the MANAS*R as far as the fifth cataract and their country corresponds roughly to the Inspectorate of Abu Ḥammad⁵. The 'AWAḌIA section, which appears in the "*nisbas*" under the heading of RUBATAB is, from all but the genealogical point of view, quite distinct⁶. They are largely nomadic⁷, and graze over Berber Province with various subtribes of the GA'ALIIN proper. The closeness of the connection between the RUBATAB and the

¹ Numbers of both are also scattered elsewhere, e.g. near to 'the S.E. of el Nahūd.

² These deny any connection with the IJaddrma or Haddrba or Haddreb of the Red Sea coast, but the connection may none the less exist.

³ These claim to be the same as the Ya'afubab of Sennar, whom we shall meet as a branch of Shaikia. The root of both words is of course the same, but whether the Ya'akubab are more properly Beni Fadl or Shaikia I cannot say. There are said to be now no other Beni Fadl on the river.

⁴ This name also occurs as that of a section of Habbdnia and of a brand used by the IJamar Gharaysia.

⁵ An interesting account of the "Customs of the Rubatab" will be found in No. 2 of *Sudan Notes and Records* (1918) from the pen of Mrs J. W. Crowfoot. These include remarks on their "General Traits," their "Cult of Holy men" and their "Customs and Ceremonies" (Marriage Preliminaries, Weddings, Duties of a man and his Parents-in-law, Naming of the child and shaving of the head, etc., Tribal Marks, Circumcision and Funerals). The account given was supplied by a Rubatabi sheikh, but, as is pointed out, it would apply almost equally to most of the tribes on Nile banks in Khartoum, Berber or Dongola Provinces, and consequently to many other districts whither these have emigrated.

⁶ Lepsius (*Discoveries...*, p. 238) speaks of them ("Auadieh") as "far more considerable than the Ababde." For their subsections see sheet 3 of genealogical tree illustrating MS. "ABC."

⁷ Their camel-brand is a well-known one: it consists of a "*Kildda*" and an "*'amud*" on the right side of the neck, the latter being above and at right angles to the former.

GA'ALIIN proper is symbolized in the "*nisbas*" by the statement that the mother of Ghinim, ancestor of the latter, was a daughter of Rubât¹.

XXII Now, curiously enough, though the "*nisbas*" do not link the RUBATAB and the MANASIR as closely together as one might expect, the latter and the DUBAB appear as descended from brothers in spite of the fact that all of the DUBAB live in the immediate vicinity of Gebel Daier in southern Kordofan and belong to the same NUBA type, slightly arabicized, which is found among all the northern hills of Dār Nūba.

For the fact that the SAḲARANG² or kings of Tekāli and the royal families of Darfurr and Wadāi³ are credited with a Ga'ali ancestry rank sycophancy is partly responsible, but it can hardly have caused the inclusion as GA'ALIIN of the DUBAB or the equally negroid TOMAM and TUMBAB who are neighbours of the latter. The appearance of these in the "*nisbas*" is in fact additional evidence of that early movement from the river of Nūbian Arabs, of the type generally included under the vague genealogical term "Ga'aliin," into the parts of Kordofān immediately north of the NUBA hills, and the fusion of these with the NUBA and others which has produced the present day tribes of Kordofan—BEDAYRIA, GAWAMA'A, etc., and accounts for the linguistic similarities between the BARABRA and the NUBA.

XXIII The MIRAFAB were the original owners of Berber. Burckhardt says of them⁴: "A free born Meyrefab never marries a slave, whether Abyssinian or black, but always an Arab girl of his own or some neighbouring tribe."../'They are careful in maintaining the purity of their race.'" He describes them as a tall strong people of dark red-brown complexion, with oval face, straight nose, and distinctively Arab rather than Negroid in appearance. Of their characters he formed the lowest opinion:

Cheating, thieving, and the blackest ingratitude, are found in almost every man's character....In the pursuit of gain they know no bounds, forgetting every divine and human law....I have never met with so bad a people, excepting perhaps those of Suakin.

None the less they were "of a very merry facetious temper, con-

¹ See, e.g., BA, CLVI. Note, too, that "A 8" is counted a "Ga'ali" pedigree and its subject a Ga'ali, though the occurrence of Rubat among his ancestors shews he belongs strictly to the Rubdtdb. A similar line of argument applied to "A 5" denotes that the Mekdbqā are commonly counted Ga'aliin.

² This termination *-ang* is common in Dongoldwi place-names.

³ See pp. 92 and 196, and cp. genealogical trees of the "A" group.

⁴ Nubia, pp. 210, 211, 216, 217, 221, 224, 230. "The people Myrifab" and the "Rabotab" (Rubatab), 'Aliab, and "Macabrab" (Mukabirab) are all mentioned, before Burckhardt's time, on Bruce's map.

tinually joking, laughing, and singing." They were "partly shepherds, and partly cultivators."

They had a "*Mek*" of their own, nominated by the FUNG of Sennar, and were said to be able to put 1000 freemen and 500 slaves into the field.

Sir C. Wilson reported that they were "sometimes classed as Ja'alín, but the Ja'alín repudiate them...it seems a question whether they are not of Bija origin¹."

(e) THE HAKIMAB

XXIV The HAKIMAB, who are commonly grouped in the "*nisbas*" with the GAWABRA, are a small tribe who are nevertheless regarded as much more distinctively GA'ALIIN, in the limited sense of the term, than the GAWABRA².^c

Their hereditary "*meks*" ruled Arko Island and for long were the paramount princes of the surrounding country³.

The germ from which the HAKIMAB are sprung was probably an immigrant Arab family who obtained the overlordship of the older inhabitants in like manner as did the RABI'A in the east and the AWLAD KANZ round Aswan⁴.

(f) THE GAWABRA⁶

XXV The GAWABRA are the most northerly riverain tribe in the Sudan to whom the name Arab can be applied with any real legitimacy.

Their headquarters are at Badín Island, near the frontier between Dongola Province and Maḥass district, and they extend from the cataracts of Ḥannak to Tayti, including in their territories the islands of Arko and Maḥassir⁶.

Burckhardt relates that⁷ "after the promulgation of the Mohammedan creed"—presumably the allusion is to the thirteenth or fourteenth century—the GAWABRA and the GHARBIA, a branch of the ZENATA Berbers, took possession of the country between the first and second cataracts and in time obtained some measure of ascendancy over the KANUZ and other tribes who had preceded them.

In the reign of Selim I, very soon, that is, after the foundation in the south of the FUNG kingdom, the GHARBIA, having fallen out with the GAWABRA and suffered heavily, sent an embassy to the Sultan and obtained from him a force of Bosnian auxiliaries. These ejected

¹ Q.v. p. 19. A small section still lives with the group of Bisharín who inhabit Berber Province.

² E.g. the MS. A 1 is counted a "Ga'ali" pedigree and its subject a Ga'ali: the occurrence of Ḥdkim as his ancestor shews that he belongs to the Ḥdkimáb.

³ Nicholls, p. 7.

⁵ Sing. "Gabri," i.e. "descendant of Gabir."

⁶ Nicholls, p. 6.

⁴ See pp. 149 and 150.

⁷ Nubia, pp. 133, 134.

the GAWABRA from northern Nubia into what is now Dongola Province, "and to this day the most wealthy inhabitants of Dongola derive their origin from the tribe of Djowabere¹." "Some families of the Djowabere," however, Burckhardt adds, "remained peacefully behind, and their descendants who are found chiefly at Derr and Wady Haifa, are still known by the name of their ancestors."

At the present day GAWABRA may be found in all the larger towns of the Sudan engaged in trade. There is also a colony of them in Bára district (central Kordofan) who for many generations have cultivated with "*sakia*" and "*shaduf*" the rich basin of Khor el Bashiri.

fe) THE SHAIKIA

XXVI The traditional relationship of the SHAIKIA to the GA'ALIIN is symbolized by the statement that Shálfki was the brother of the Ghanim from whom the GA'ALIIN proper are all descended²; but unless appearances are vastly deceptive there has, in the case of the SHAIKIA, been engrafted upon the older stock common to themselves and the GA'ALIIN a quite distinct foreign element. The Shálfki stands apart from every other tribe in the Sudan in being more adventurous, more quarrelsome, and, in particular, more ready to take service as a mercenary fighter under any employer³. The typical Shálfki is sallow complexioned, gaunt and alert, a hard drinker, fond of the dice, and a born liar. In appearance he is often hard to distinguish from a Turk "*muwallad*" (i.e. born in the Sudan, or half-bred)⁴.

Werne, who was an acute observer, and describes the Shaikia well, advances a bold hypothesis. The following are his words⁵:

One can at first glance tell a Schaigie, and still one cannot easily tell how they are so completely distinct from the other Arabs. Their faces are good, and generally marked and thin; the higher among them...are distinguished by extremely fine features; foreheads rather lofty; eyes lively and sharp cut; nose arched, and pointed at the end (in this they are principally distinguished from the smaller-featured Barabra); lips common; beard thin; colour of skin brown, or brown-black; slight of form, but well built, and therefore, with great ease, they perform all kinds of bodily exercises....All are very fond of liquors. Although, from their face and features, they seem to more nearly approach the Arabs than the Nubians,

¹ Burckhardt, *loc. cit.*

² See, e.g., trees to MSS. BA and A n.

³ Gordon (quoted by Sir C. Wilson, p. 15) said he would "back them to try a man's patience more sorely than any other people in the wide world, yea, and in the universe."

⁴ His resemblance to the Dongolawi is also marked, but this may be due to no more than the Shdfkfa occupation of Dongola Province to which reference will be made later. The Shaikia have never spoken a Nubian dialect ("rotana") as the Danagla have. Cp. Schweinfurth, II, 194, on this point.

⁵ Werne, pp. 203, 204.

still they unanimously, and with something like scorn, assert that they are no Arabs, and have no descent from such a race¹. But whence they come, or to what race they are allied, as they themselves equally deny a Nubian descent, their small kings, who have their pedigrees at their fingers, could not, or would not, tell us, much as we tried to get out of them their genealogy. They firmly maintain that they have been, from most distant times, the children of the soil, and have ever been the warriors of their race. One must not put any confidence, as other travellers have done, in what they have learnt from their priests, who are said to assert the contrary; though we have not heard it from them, for most of these...are of Arab families....Such pious fathers also fancy, although they may be of a totally different origin, that they are able, by means of Arabian descent, to claim a kind of relationship with the Prophet. Here starts up the interesting historical question, are these Schaigies, who perhaps really do owe their present name to some Arabian saint, a part of the emigrated warrior caste of Egypt, or the descendants of those discontented warriors who were hospitably received by the kings of Ethiopia? Their country, their proximity to old Merøe, which they perhaps protected against the barbarous south, and their own warlike spirit, agree with this tradition; as does also the fact, that amongst them has never existed any common superior chief, but all have ever lived free under their moluks; the present ruling families are perhaps the old Egyptian leader-race, who, holding the Ethiopian kings as their only lords, became, on the overthrow of that kingdom, independent princes, as the Macedonian generals did on the death of Alexander the Great. Their hair too is thinned, or kept cut short to the head, as cleanliness, so necessary in Egypt, may have demanded; and such a custom is contrary to Arab habits, and those of Nubia and Barabra also, although they have, in common with those races, incisions on the cheeks as marks of caste; among the Schaigies these are horizontal².

¹ The same is not true of the present day.

² The facial markings ("*shulukh*") of the Shaikia at once connect them with and dissociate them from the Ga'alim. The term "*mushellakh Ga'ali*" ("marked with the '*shulukh*' of the Ga'altin") denotes the use of three parallel vertical slashes on both cheeks. "*Mushellakh Shaiki*" denotes the use of three parallel horizontal slashes on both cheeks. These two face-brands—(and perhaps the H used by the Sultan of Darfurr to mark his slaves)—are the only ones which are universally known throughout the Sudan, though both the Ga'ali and the Shaffci brands are not entirely confined to members of those tribes.

The origin of this custom of slashing the face is obscure. Burton (*Pilgrimage...*, II, 233, 234), describing the people of Mecca, says: "In most families male children, when forty days old, are taken to the Ka'abah, prayed over, and carried home, where the barber draws with a razor three parallel gashes down the fleshy portion of each cheek, from the exterior angles of the eyes almost to the corners of the mouth. These *Mashali*, as they are called, may be of modern date: the citizens declare that the custom was unknown to their ancestors. I am tempted to assign to it a high antiquity, and cannot but attribute a pagan origin to a custom still prevailing, despite all the interdictions of the Olema."

In a note on the above Burton adds: "The act is called 'tashrit,' or gashing.... The citizens told me that the custom arose from the necessity of preserving children from the kidnapping Persians, and that it is preserved as a mark of the Holy City. But its wide diffusion denotes an earlier origin. Mohammed expressly forbade his followers to mark the skin with scars. These 'beauty marks' are common to the

The custom mentioned by Cailliaud¹ might also be cited in support of Werne's theory. Speaking of an expedition to the negro country in the south of the Gezira, he says:

Les Chaykyés avaient fait un mannequin figurant un homme, et censé repr[^]senter un des leurs: c'est une coutume établie parmi eux, cTenter un pareil mannequin au lieu oil est fixe le terme de leurs grandes expéditions. The giant statues hewn by the Pharaohs to mark the limits of their intrusions are obviously the prototypes of these manikins.

But the gap is too broad to be bridged with such facility: to allow an Egyptian origin for the *SHAIKIA* is an attractive suggestion, with points of some speciousness, but I should prefer to hazard a theory that the *SHAMA* are partly descended from the Bosnian, Albanian and Turkish mercenaries who since the conquest of Selīm I (1517 A.D.) have done garrison duty and formed settlements in Nūbia just as Cariat mercenaries did in the days of Psammetichus I, and to say that the obvious resemblance of type between them and the Turkish irregulars who lorded it over the Sudan till 1882 was in part a cause and in part an effect of the intermarriage that took place between the two².

XXVII The *SHAMA* country consists of the rich portion of the Nile valley which lies between Gebel Dayka in southern Dongola and the upstream end of the fourth cataract³. Within these limits in old days ruled four of their subordinate "*meks*," at Merowi⁴, Hannak, Kagebi and 'Amri respectively. Until the latter part of the seventeenth century they were, like the rest of the Arabs, subject to the 'Abdullabi "*Mangil*" of Kerri, but about 1690 they were enations in the regions to the West of the Red Sea. The Barabarah of Upper Egypt adorn their faces with scars exactly like the Meccans...." Cp. Wellsted, I, 389.

The fact that the Ga'alifn and the people of Mekka use the same brand is of course intimately connected with the claim of the former to be Beni 'Abbs, and might at first sight seem to point to the greater antiquity of the custom in Arabia than in the Sudan; but one cannot assume that the ancient custom of the Mekkans had not an African origin in the first instance. For a Nigerian instance see *Harvard Afr. Studies*, 1, 87. Robertson Smith thinks these tribal markings may originally have been totem marks (*Kinship*..., pp. 214 ff.)

Professor Seligman (*Journ. R. A. I.* XLIII, 1913, pp. 646-8) thinks it "almost certain that the custom" [s.c. in the Sudan] "is derived from immigrant Arabs, and is not an ancient widely spread Hamitic custom." Obviously, however, the custom may be non-Hamitic and yet not derived originally from Mekka. For certain modern forms of cheek marking see Crowfoot, *Customs of the Rubdtdb*, p. 131, and Jaussen, p. 376.

¹ III. 38.

² Cp. Sir C. Wilson (p. 14). "The military relationship was followed by a more intimate one, for the Turks took Shagfeh wives, and the sons all entered the Bashi Bazuk force...": and again "The riverain population" [s.c. of Shdftfa] "...has sadly deteriorated through close intercourse with the Turk and Albanian Bashi Bazuks in the Egyptian service." ³ Cp. Lepsius (*Discoveries*..., p. 259).

⁴ Merowi was their capital in Burckhardt's day (v. *Nubia*, p. 68).

couraged by the dissensions which had arisen between the 'ABDULLAB and the FUNG, and the mutiny of the troops¹, to make a bid for independence. Their leader in the revolt was 'Othmiri wad Ḥammad², and the decisive action was fought opposite Dulga Island.

Henceforth the SHAIKIA were under no other rule than that of their own "*mek*"; but their access to power merely increased their turbulence and afforded wider scope for their predatory habits.

Poncet, in 1699, found that it was no longer safe for caravans to follow the river beyond Korti owing to the brigandage of the SHAFIDA, and that the desert route across the Bayūda had perforce to be followed³.

During the eighteenth century the SHAIKIA extended their system of terrorization over Dongola province and the districts of Maḥass and Sukkot⁴, thereby causing many of the older inhabitants to migrate to the west⁵.

They seem to have met with little opposition and to have simply preyed without discrimination upon the less warlike tribes whose lands were sufficiently rich to excite their cupidity.

They also expanded into Kordofán, for in 1784-1785 we find "un nombre assez considérable de soldats de différents pays, tels que Dongoliens, Châydjiens, Kabâbych, Arabes Rézaygât," in the army with which Sultan Hâshim attempted to invade Dárfūr⁶.

Burckhardt describes them in 1813 as "a perfectly independent people" having "great wealth in corn and cattle."

They are renowned for their hospitality; and the person of their guest, or companion, is sacred....They all speak Arabic exclusively, and many of them write or read it. Their learned men are held in great respect by them; they have schools, wherein all the sciences are taught which form the course of Mohammedan study, mathematics and astronomy excepted⁷.

At the same time Burckhardt describes their career of conquest and rapacity. In Dongola, he says⁸,

The Arabs Sheygya, since they have been in possession of a share of the revenue, take from the ground irrigated by each wheel⁹, four Mhourys¹⁰ of Dhourra, two or three sheep, and a linen gown worth two dollars. The native kings take the same.

¹ Q.v. in MSS. D 3, 153, and D 7, XLII.

² For whom and various details see D 3, 236 and note thereto.

³ Poncet, p. 15, and cp. D 3, 236 note. ⁴ Burckhardt, *Nubia*, p. 43.

⁵ Browne, p. 241: "For many years their" [the merchants of Kobbe in Darfur] "native countries Dongola, Mahass and all the borders of the Nile as far as Sennaar ... have been the scene of devastation and bloodshed, having no settled government, but being continually torn by internal divisions, and harassed by the inroads of the Shaikie* and other tribes of Arabs, who inhabit the region between the river and the Red Sea."

⁷ *Nubia*, p. 70.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 66.

⁹ El TQnisi, *Voy. au Darfour*, p. 67.
Le. "*sakia*."

¹⁰ A "mhoury" equals about 8 bushels (Burckhardt, *loc. cit.*).

Nor were their relatives **the** GA'ALIIN of Shendi in any way exempt from their ravages:

Before the arrival of the Mamelouks in Ddngola¹ Mek Nimr had been for many years in continual warfare with the Arabs Sheygga, who had killed several of his relatives in battle, and, by making inroads into his dominions with large parties of horsemen, had repeatedly laid waste the whole western bank of the river².

Even the 'ABDULLAB to the south suffered from their raids:

Depuis le demembrement du royaume de Sennar, dont ils etaient jadis tributaires, ils s'adonnerent avec ardeur au metier des armes, et ne tard&rent point *k* devenir redoutables aux provinces qui les avoisinaient. Dongolah, Barbar, Alfaye [el Halfaya], eurent souvent *k* gemir des entreprises de cette peuplade audacieuse...³.

And by 1821 the population of el Halfaya had fallen in consequence from, 8000 or 9000 to 3000 or 4000⁴.

The first check they received was caused by the flight of a large body of Mamlûks, who had survived the massacres of Muḥammad 'Ali, from Egypt to Nubia in 1811. These were a people of more virile type than the tribes over whom the SHAIKIA had so long tyrannized, and they began to apply to the riverain SHAIKIA the methods which the latter were wont to use with impunity against others. Beginning at Arko Island they spread themselves over the country and plundered the property of the SHAIKIA and seized the revenues⁵, and finally established themselves in Dongola with their capital at Merdgha and their southern border at Khandak.

The SHAIKIA were not inclined to accept their discomfiture with tameness, and for some years each side alternately sent expeditions against the other with varying success. A state of hostility still existed between the two parties at the time of the Turkish conquest of the Sudan⁶. The most powerful "*meks*" of the SHAIKIA⁷ at the time of Ismd'il Pasha's invasion were Sha'us of the 'ADLANAB section, whose capital was Merowi, and Sibayr of the HANNAKAB, whose capital was Hannak⁸. There were also two minor "*meks*" Medani at Kagebi and Ḥammad chief of the 'AMRAB; but on the approach of the Turks the whole tribe united under Sha'ūs and Sibayr.

¹ In 1811. ² Burckhardt, p. 278. ³ Cailliaud, 11, 68. ⁴ *Ibid.* 11, 194.

⁵ Burckhardt, *Nubia*, p. 72. Cp. Cailliaud, 1, 403.

⁶ Waddington and Hanbury, p. 230.

⁷ Nicholls, p. 30.

⁸ Cailliaud mentions that in 1821 the Shaikia chiefs lived in "grandes maisons fortifiées et crénelées, de forme pyramidale, en général bien construites en pierres de gres jointoyées avec un ciment terreux, et susceptibles de soutenir avec avantage les attaques des Arabes." The point is worth noting in connection with the theory of Shaikia origins outlined above. (See Cailliaud, 11, 38 and 40.)

The SHAIKIA now atoned for many past misdeeds by the heroic defence they made of their country.

They had lived the companions of their horses, with the lance in their hand: they were to resign the former to strangers, and exchange the latter for harrows and pruning knives; and were to drive an ox round a *sakie*, instead of chasing an enemy across the desert. They had many Nubians settled in the country, whom they obliged to all the labours of cultivating the ground, and whom they treated as greatly their inferiors. They were now called upon to perform these labours, which they had been brought up to consider as servile, and were to expect no better treatment than that which they had been accustomed to exercise; they were to fall at once to slavery, not from liberty merely, but from tyranny; and again, besides their prejudices against white men generally, they had particular religious ones against the Osmanlies, to whom, in common with the Christians, they applied the term Dog¹.

However they were completely defeated at Korti and again at Gebel Dayka and they, their women, and their children were¹ subjected to unheard-of brutalities at the hands of the Turks².

Mek Sibayr submitted, and some months later Sha'ūs followed suit. But warlike and restless as ever the SHAFIDA were not content to live as mere "*Fellahin*" and a number of them, under the command of Sha'ūs, enlisted as irregulars in the Turkish army and accompanied it on its campaign against the FUNG in the Gezira³. When Ismail Pasha returned in 1822 the 'ADLANAB were granted the lands of the 'ABDULLAB who had revolted round Halfaya; and others—'ADLANAB, SOWARAB and KADENKAB—settled on either side of the Shablūka.

Throughout the Turkish *rigime* the SHAIKIA continued to be faithful allies of the Turks, and in every expedition that was made against recalcitrant tribes they, with the MOGHARBA, formed the bulk of the irregular troops employed. They were similarly used for tax collecting, and their ruthless methods earned them an unenviable notoriety⁴.

Even in the Dervish days they remained faithful to the Turks⁵, but the identity of interests and similarity of methods existing between the two and the hatred which the SHAMA had earned for themselves made any other course difficult for them. After the fall of Khartoum the general amnesty to natives granted by the Mahdi was especially framed to exclude the SHAMA; and Slatin tells the

¹ Waddington and Hanbury, p. 99.

² Cailliaud, 11, 32 *et seq.*, and Waddington and Hanbury, *he. cit.*

³ Cailliaud, 11, 182.

⁴ Cp. Cuny, p. 184.

⁵ It was they, for instance, who relieved Sennar in 1882 when it was attacked by Abu R6f.

tale¹ of a question asked in Omdurman—"What are the cheapest articles and the greatest drug in the market?"—The answer was "The yellow-skinned Egyptian, the SHAIKIA and the dog."

XXVIII At the present, true to type, many of them are to be found enlisted in camel-corps, mounted infantry, or police, maintaining their reputation as good fighters but truculent neighbours. Many others are to be found in the towns engaged in trade. As a tribe they are too disintegrated to have any considerable power, but they own broad lands in Dongola, Berber and Khartoum Provinces, they are still numerous throughout the Sudan, and are influential, whether for good or evil, by virtue of their superior individuality.

XXIX The subdivisions of the SHAIKIA are as follows²:

A. KADENKÁB	1. HANNAKÁB (a) MAHMÚDÁB (b) NÁŠIRÁB (c) KÓTÁB (d) SHERAYSHÁB (e) HĀSANÁB (f) SHELLÁLÍL ³	} Chiefly in Dongola and Berber Provinces
	2. ŠALÁHÁB. Chiefly in Dongola and Berber Provinces	
	3. ASSÓMÁB. Chiefly in Khartoum Province	
	4. 'ADLÁNÁB ⁴ (a) MĒRAWÍ (b) KAGEBÍ (c) AWLÁD 'ALÍ (d) MANOWWARÁB	} Chiefly in Khartoum Province
	5. HÁMDÁB 6. TULBUNÁB 7. GŪRUMÁB 8. ZUMÁMÁB 9. KURUSÁB 10. MARZŪKÁB 11. ŠHRENKÁB 12. GHERÁRÁB 13. 'ÍŠAYÁB 14. FARAGÁB ⁵ 15. FARAGULLÁB, or KARÁKIRA ⁵	} Chiefly in Dongola Province
	16. RIGHAYMÁB. Chiefly in Dongola and Khartoum Provinces	
	17. KÓDÁB. Chiefly in Khartoum Province	

¹ Slatin, Ch. x.

² The following list is chiefly compiled from Nicholls, pp. 46-51.

³ Ix. "Men of the Cataract" ("Shellal" meaning "Cataract"). A section of practically the same name occurs among the Gawama'a who appear to contain several families of Shdfkfa origin.

⁴ Burckhardt mentions the 'Adlndb as being the most powerful Shdfkfa tribe in 1813 (*Nubia*, p. 69). They are said to be Kenūz by origin (see Appendix to ABC) and also to be connected on the mother's side with the Fung (see D 5 (c)).

⁵ Said to be children of Kadenka by a slave woman.

- B. UM SÁLIM { 1. YA'AKŪBÁB¹
2. BADIÁB
3. KALÁSHÍM } Chiefly in Dongola Province
4. GADÁB }
- C. NÁFA'ÁB { 1. GHÁSÍNÁB } Chiefly in Dongola Province
2. DAYFULLÁB }
- D. SHELLŪFÁB { 1. MUHAMMADÁB } Chiefly in Dongola Province
2. 'ALÍÁB
3. BADIÁB }
- E. HAWÁSHÁB { 1. MAGANÁB } Chiefly in Dongola Province
2. 'AḤRAHÁB }
- F. 'ONÍA² { 1. ḤASANÁB } Chiefly in Berber Province
2. DAWÁNÁB }
- G. SOWÁRÁB³ { 1. KAFUNKA } Chiefly in Berber Province and the
2. ZULAYTÁB Bayūda
3. ZARÁGNA
4. MISHINDIL. In Dongola and Berber Provinces and
the Bayūda
5. ḤAMDULLÁB. In Dongola, Berber and Khartoum
Provinces
6. TAMALAYK. In Dongola and Berber Provinces
7. 'AIDÁB⁴ } In Dongola and Khartoum Provinces
8. 'ANAYNÁB }
- H. MARÍSÁB 1. 'ALÍTÁB. In Berber and Dongola Provinces
- J. ḲURAYSHÁB { 1. ABÁDÍD⁵ } In Dongola and Berber Provinces
2. ŠÁLHÁB
3. ABU NÁB }
- K. 'ÁMIRÁB. In Dongola Province
- L. BAY'UDÁB { 1. 'AGÍBÁB } In Dongola Province
2. ḲOTÁTÍA
3. AMÁNÁB }
- M. MARSÁB { 1. ḤASANÁB } In Dongola Province
2. RAḤMÁB }

¹ A famous family of holy men. See D 3, 254, etc. The Beni Fadl and Manasra of Kordofan claim the Ya'akubab to be Beni Fadl by origin (see note on p. 108).

² Some of these are nomadic and graze their sheep in the Bayūda desert with the ḥasdnfa. It is no doubt a branch of them that are known as Awlad 'On and now form a section of the Kababish further west. Other 'Onia are nomadic on the east bank. For the legendary feud in the fifteenth century between the 'Onia and the Hasanab see D 5 (c).

³ These also are partly nomadic, and a number of them have gone to form a section of the Hawdwir in Dongola province.

⁴ Some 'Aidab are probably incorporated in the 'Awaida section of Kababish: the two names are but different forms of the same word, meaning "descendants of 'Aid." The 'Aidib also appear as a section of the Bedayria of Dongola (see note on p. 199).

⁵ A plural formed from Abu Dūd.

Of these sub-tribes the SOWARAB and the KADENKAB are by far the most numerous and powerful. The former were for long at feud with the 'Onia¹.

(H) THE GAWAMA'A, THE GIMA'A, THE GAMU'IA, THE
GIMI'AB AND THE GEMA'AB

XXX No less than five of the subsidiary groups who claim to be GA'ALIIN have names formed from the root . (g-m-¹) meaning to gather or collect, namely the GAWAMA'A (*sing.* Gama'i)², the GIMA'A, the GAMC'IA, the GIMI'AB and the GEMA'AB: the fact is expressive of the heterogeneity of their component parts and corroborative of the interpretation put upon the story of Ibrahim Ga'al.

The GAMU'IA, the GIMI'AB and the GEMA'AB. The connection between these three tribes is represented in the tradition that they are descended from three brothers, and from the "*nisbas*" one would suppose that their eponymous ancestors lived about fifteen to seventeen generations ago. They may therefore have broken away from the parent stem of the GA'AL'AN about two or three generations later³. The country they then occupied was practically that which they hold at present, viz. the west bank of the White Nile for some 30 or 40 miles south of Omdurman and as far north as Góz Nefisa⁴ near the Shablūka Cataract, and certain lands south of K̄erri on the east bank of the Nile.

Of these three tribes the GAMU'IA have always been much the most powerful, and it is not uncommon to hear their name used to include also the GIMI'AB and the GEMA'AB.

The GEMA'AB are a small and unimportant group living north of Omdurman. They are divided into

(DOWAB
DUSHAYNAB
HAKAMAB

The first of these have a religious reputation as having produced numerous "*fekis*" and built several small mosques. The DUSHAYNAB are nomads.

The GIMI'AB are also semi-nomadic. Their divisions are named respectively:

SHAHINAB (including NA'AMAB, etc.)
GODAB
SHIBBRAB

¹ See Nicholls.

² In addition, one half of the Gawdma'a are called Gimd'ia (see later).

³ See, *e.g.* trees to A 2, A 6, A 10 and AB.

⁴ Here they border on the Shaikia to the north.

To the NA'AMAB belonged Zubayr Pasha Raḥma, the famous slave-dealer and conqueror of the Bahr el Ghazal and Darfur.

In the FUNG period the whole GAMC'IA-GEMA'AB-GIMi'AB group, as well as the ZENARKHA, who are of quite different stock, were subject to the "*nahds*" of the "*Mek*" of the GAMU'IA, and he again was nominally responsible for the tribute to the 'Abdu'dbi "*Mangil*" of el Halfiya.

The SURARAB section, however, were partially detached from the rest of the GAMU'IA and enjoyed a sufficient measure of favouritism from the FUNG king to free them from all practical control by the GAMU'IA "*Mek*". The headquarters of the latter were near J. el Iḥinayk, south of Omdurman¹.

The subdivisions of the GAMti'f A proper are as follows:

NAILAB ²	
ḤIRAYZAB	
NASIRAB	
FITHAB ³	(a) TAKARIR
	(b) AWLAD IDRIS i. GAMRAB
	(2. BATIAB
	(c) ḤANATIRA
	(d) 'AGAYLAB
	(e) SAYAYIK
	(f) UM 'ARAYKIB
MUKḌAB	NIFIAB ⁷
AWLAD ḤAMID ⁴	SA'ADAB ⁷
N6FALAB	MATAB*R
SHAIḌAB	GHOMARAB ⁸
ṢANpfoAB ⁵	ḤAMAYDANIA
MANSURAB ⁵	i KARAGIG
KHASHUMAB	IZERḌAB
RASHADAB	'ARAFWAB
MUKWAB	DANIAB
HAGAB	MUḤAMMAD AB
ISAWIA	BEGA ⁹

¹ Browne in 1793 mentions them ("*Gimmoy6*") hereabouts (p. 459).

² The family of the present "*Mek*". See genealogical tree in ABC.

³ The Fidhdb have almost ceased to be reckoned Gamu'fa though they are so strictly speaking. Their chief sheikh still calls himself a "*Mek*".

* The people of Aslang Island.

⁵ It may be noted that these appear in the "*nisbas*" as Ga'aliin and merely cognate to the Gamu'ia: they have now definitely attached themselves to the latter tribe.

⁶ Some of these have joined the Kabdbfsh and become a recognized section of that tribe.

⁷ There are sections of Ga'aliin bearing the same name.

⁸ Possibly connected with the Berber sub-tribe, the Ghomdra.

⁹ These are admittedly not true Gamtfia but emigrants from the eastern desert. They are a very small community living south of Omdurman.

In appearance the GAMC'IA are darker and more negroid than the average Sudanese Arab. They themselves attribute the fact to the enormous number of slaves they owned prior to the Dervish days and the miscegenation that resulted. That the GAMMA owned many slaves is an established fact, and no doubt, as they allege, much of the thieving for which as a tribe they are so notorious is due to the slave families whom they include, but all and sundry are uniformly dark and semi-negroid and it is probable that the fact is due as much to ancient inter-marriage between free aboriginals of NOBA stock and Arab immigrants as to the particular cause assigned.

XXXI THE GAWAMA'A. The history of the GAWAMA'A, in so far as they are Arabs, is similar to that of the BEDAYRIA, but they are even less homogeneous than the latter, and the fact that taken as a whole they are darker in colour and more debased¹ in manners suggests that the original Arab nucleus of the tribe was small, and that in consequence it became more merged in the negro. There is no tribe of GAWAMA'A in Dongola, but since the *Mek* of the MAHASS in Burckhardt's² time was "of the family of Djama" , i.e. "Gama'i," and the plural of "Gáma'i" is "Gawdma'a," and the chief section of GAWAMA'A is specifically known as AWLAD GAMA'I, it is possible that the GAWAMA'A are related to the MAHASS³.

The negro element in the GAWAMA'A would appear to be largely Darfurian. We have seen earlier in this chapter that there is evidence that one of the GAWAMA'A early in the seventeenth century was responsible for the foundation of the royal house of Waddāi, and that a colony of GAWAMA'A has been settled at Turra in Gebel Marra from much the same date. As to the numbers of them in Dárfūr from the seventeenth century until the nineteenth there is no information, but at the time of the Turkish conquest (1874) they were one of the chief tribes between el F&sher and the Kordofán border, and at the present day, though few remain in those parts, the GAWAMA'A are represented by the DAR6K, a *soi-disant* Arab tribe of Ga'ali extraction, who used to live round Kebkebia in the west and have lately moved to Showdi at the eastern foot of Gebel Marra, and by the AWLAD MANA.

Cuny goes so far as to say⁴ that the "Djoama se disent descendants

¹ Writing as I am of Arabs and not primarily of the older Sudanese stocks I use the phrase "more debased" as the equivalent of "less Arab."

² *Nubia*, p. 64.

³ Ibn Khaldun mentions a small branch of Beni Hildl, named Awla*d Gama'i who were for a time "*amirs*" of Kabis ("Gabes") in North Africa, but there is nothing beyond the name to connect them with the Gawama'a of the Sudan. (See Ibn Khaldūn, ed. ar. Vol. 6, p. 166, Bk. m.)

* P. 177.

des montagnes du Koudjara¹, et issus de Mesaabaat²," and though this was an overstatement, a comparison of two quotations, from Prout and el Tuṇisi respectively, illustrate the Dirfūr connection of the GAWAMA'A.

I. Prout³.

Among the Gowameh (one of the old races) is found a still more singular practice. With them no girl has the right to marry until she shall have **presented to her brother a child as his bondman. The father of this child she chooses when and where she will....**

As a matter of fact Prout is not entirely accurate: the child used to go to the girl's maternal uncle and the phrase ("she has assisted her mother's brother") is still occasionally used as a pleasant euphemism.

2. El Tunisi⁴.

Plusieurs filles deviennent ainsi enceintes; en cela il n'y a ni honte ni deshonneur, meme s'il y a en inceste. Les enfants, garçons ou filles, *nes* de ces relations sont mis sur le compte d'un oncle maternel. La fille qui en provient est marie plus tard par cet oncle, qui profite alors du douaire que paye l'époux.

The connection of the GAWAMA'A with Darfurr is also evidenced by the fact that in Kordofan and Darfur alike many of them are believed to have the power of transmogrifying themselves into beasts of prey, a trait most commonly ascribed by native opinion to the FÜR tribes. It was mentioned in an earlier chapter that in Darfurr these GAWAMA'A—who turn themselves into hyaenas—are known as AWLAD MANA. The Ddrfūr strain, too, must have been considerably reinforced in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when the MUSABA'AT and KUNGARA in turn dominated northern and central Kordofan⁵.

During the earlier years of their residence in Kordofan the GAWAMA'A were under the GHODIAT, but as they increased in numbers and collected more and more scattered units into their

¹ *I.e.* the Kungdra branch of the Fūr.

² *I.e.* the Musaba'dt section of Kungdra.

³ Prout, p. 34.

⁴ *Voy. au Ddrfour*, p. 213. He is speaking of the Fūr apparently, but he does not as a rule differentiate very carefully between the Fūr and the inhabitants of DdrfOr. It is therefore possible that he refers to Gawdma'a settled in DdrfOr. It is more likely, however, that the Gawdma'a and the Far both used the custom and that for both it had a common origin. Cuny speaks of the custom, in rather different terms, as existing "chez la plupart des peuplades du Kordofan." The use of the particular phrase "anat Khdlaha" (wrongly printed on p. 159, "ariatkal-hum" for "anat Khdlhum") he attaches, like Prout, to the Gawdma'a ("Djoama"), but it was also used to a less extent among the Ddr Hdmd. (Cuny, pp. 158, 159, 173, 174.)

⁵ Cp. Holroyd, p. 176. "The inhabitants of Kordofan belong to several tribes. The most numerous, called Gúnjdrah" [*i.e.* Kungdra], "consists of adherents of Sultdn Fadl; the second is called Meserbdt" [*i.e.* Musaba'at].

confederacy they became entirely independent, left the country to the south and west to the GHODIAT and BEDAYRIA and extended their own cultivation and grazing areas northwards so far as the then nomadic tribes of DAR IJAMID and the like would allow them. Westwards they pushed into Ddrfūr in not inconsiderable numbers, and the GA'AFIRIA section, probably at a later date, formed the settlement of el Sa'ata in the intermediate country now generally known as Ddr Ḥamar.

The GAWAMA'A suffered very severely in the Mahdia. Slatin computes¹ that scarcely a sixth remained of their original numbers in Kordofan. But they have wonderfully recuperated and the development of the extensive gum forests round el Ṭaidra has made them prosperous. They and the ḤAMAR are now the two largest sedentary tribes in Kordofan.

There are small colonies of GAWAMA'A, refugees by origin, living in the tJezira and here and there along the White Nile, even as far south as Fdma.

XXXII The following are the subdivisions of the tribe in Kordofan.

I. ḤOMRAN

A. AWLAD GAMA'I

1. ASHḲAR	12. MA'INAB
2. 'AWAG	13. AWLAD NILAYT
3. BAKHIT	14. NAKARMIN
4. MULKAB	15. TURḲAB
5. KERAMSHA	16. MASHAIKHA ²
6. MASIKH	17. FERARIN
7. DUSHASH	18. SHIBRAWIN
8. AWL AD SHERAYḲI	19. BELCḤ
9. „ ABU SULAYMAN	20. KARKO
10. „ ZIDAN	21. HAGU
11. KHAṬRAB	22. TUK

B. EL ṬERAYFIA³

1. ḤARRANIA	2. ZARAZIR, or AWLAD ZARZCR ⁴
(a) AWLAD SHAIḲ	3. AWLAD 'IMAYR
(b) KETATIL	4. „ 'ABD EL AHAD
(c) SELIMIA	5. UM GURṬA
(d) TIMU	6. NA'AMANIN
(e) AWLAD ZAYD	7. AWLAD 'ABID
(f) FERAGIA	8. „ 'ALI
(g) AWLAD ABU MUKHAYRA	9. SHELLALIN

¹ Chap. xvi.

² These MasMikha are probably an offshoot of the tribe of that name, for whom see D 3, xiii, etc. (index).

³ See p. 201 above.

⁴ Awlad Akoi (Ddr Hamid) by origin.

10. 'UDÜBA	20. 'ALAYKA
(a) UM BÄRAK HERAYHİR	21. MARAZİK, or AWLÄD MARZÜK
(b) " HAMMADOWİN	22. 'OTHMÄNİN
11. HİÄDBA	23. RAHÄHİL
(a) AWLÄD 'ALWÄN	24. AWLÄD KÄSIM
(b) SHADWÄNİÄ	25. " MIKAYL
(c) UM TILAYG	26. " 'ARÜK
(d) " HAYDÖBI	27. " 'AFÜNA
12. AWLÄD MÄGA	28. " SHERAFİÄ
13. " SIHAYL	29. " SHERAK
14. HILAYGA	30. " TÖTÜ
15. 'ARADA	31. " GAMİ'
16. KIDIL	32. NIMRÄIA
17. UM DÖDA	33. AWLÄD NÜR
18. UM WADİD	34. UM ÄDAM
19. AWLÄD SIRAYR	35. AWLÄD ABU GIN

C. EL SERAYHÄT

1. DEKASHMA	21. AWLÄD UM KÖT
2. AWLÄD MÜSA	22. MERÄKİB
3. " ABU GINDİÄ	23. KADOBSI
4. " ABU SUNNÜD	24. BA'ÄSHİM ¹
5. " ABU GHULMÄN	25. NÄS EL ÄHMAR
6. KURA'ÄN	26. GEDÄDİN
7. AWLÄD GIMAY'A	27. GABRİNİN
8. " GAMÄ'A	28. RAMADÄNİ
9. BALÜLİN	29. AWLÄD HABİLA
10. HABAYSİÄ	30. UM ISMÄ'İL
11. AWLÄD FARAG	31. AWLÄD 'AGÜB
12. " BAKKÄRI	32. " RUFÄ'A
13. " EL HÜR	33. UM KILMÄN
14. " EL SHAYKH	34. AWLÄD ABU SIN
15. KĒLÄLİM	35. " SURÜR
16. AWLÄD LİGÄM	36. " 'ÄLWÄN ²
17. HAMDÄNİÄ	37. " ABU HOWA
18. AWLÄD 'ÄWÄLİ	38. 'ARİD
19. SHIBLÄWİN	39. UM TİDİM
20. BUSÄT	

D. AWLÄD MURG³

1. UM KĒLAYB	4. UM FÄRIS
2. UM BARAKÄT	5. NUGÄRA
3. UM DHİÄB	

¹ Ba'dshim is the plural of Ba'asham, a jackal.² The same name occurs among the Terayfia.³ The Awlidd Murg (and the Gamrfa) were once subject to the Serayfcdt or the Awlidd Gama'i. They live north of Bara on the confines of Dar Hamid. It is noteworthy that of the five subsections four are named after animals, etc.: "Kelayb" is a puppy, "Dhiab" are "wolves," "Faris" is a mare; "Nugara" is a small war-drum. This naming of subtribes after animals, etc., is no doubt of totemistic origin

E. EL GAMRÍA

1. AWLÁD MALIK	7. 'ABD EL GIRÁR
2. BIDAY	8. ABU ḤALÍMA
3. AWLÁD ABU TIMÁM	9. AWLÁD SŪḤ
4. EBAY'A	10. „ MŪMIN
5. AWLÁD ḤASAN	11. KĒRÁFĪT
6. 'ADLÁN	

F. EL GHANAYMÍA¹

1. AWLÁD ŠALĪḤ	4. MERÁMRA ²
2. „ 'ĪSA	5. MÁGIDÍA ³
3. UM SHIKIL	6. AWLÁD ḤAMAYD

G. EL FAḌAYLÍA

1. BA'ĪGÁB	8. TIBRÁWĪ ⁴
2. AWLÁD TŪRĪ	9. BERÁKĪT (BERÁGHĪTH? ⁵)
3. FAṬAHÁWĪ ⁴	10. MAGAYLISÁB
4. 'ABÍDÍA	11. ḤALÍMÁB
5. MAḤMŪDĪ ⁴	12. ĪZAYRIKÁB
6. TUNUWĪ ⁴	13. 'AGÁKĪ ⁴ , or 'AGÁGĪK
7. BEDLÁWĪ ⁴	

II. EL GIMÁ'ÍA

A. EL GA'AFIRÍA

1. AWLÁD 'ADĪ	13. RIDAYSÁB
2. „ UM RAḤMÁN	14. ZURKÁB
3. NÁLÍA	15. AWLÁD RAḤŪDA
4. BOTRÁNÍA	16. „ MERRĪ'Ī
5. ḤAWÁMDA	17. „ HÁSHIM
6. AWLÁD KĀDIM	18. DANAKSI
7. AWLÁD ZUAYD	19. HAYSINNA
8. GERÁRÁB	20. KŌTÁKĪT
9. MASÍKHÁB	21. MUFTÁḤ
10. SHIKAYT	22. BISHR
11. SHIBAYLÍA	23. AWLÁD HÁSHĪ
12. NUḤÁRÍA	24. ḤANTŪSHĪ ⁴

B. EL GEMÁMLA

1. AWLÁD MAṬLŪT	(d) AWLÁD MUḤAMMAD
(a) AWLÁD RAḤAYMA	(e) „ TĪMSÁḤ
(b) „ MŪSA	(f) ŠUBAYḤ
(c) „ ĀDAM	(g) AWLÁD 'ABD EL ḤAMĪD

and is common in the Sudan: cp. "Ba'ashim" among the Serayhat on p. 226. Among the "Nūba" of northern Kordofan we find subtribes named respectively after cattle, rats, sheep, wood and horses: see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 97. Cp., too, the case of certain Far subtribes (p. 94).

¹ These have been in turn subject to the Faḍaylfa and the Ṭerayfla. The name denotes "lambs."

² Cp. Dar Hamid subtribes.

See later, p. 231.

⁴ These are singular, not plural forms,

⁵ Shrimps, or fleas (?).

2. AWLAD EL FEKI EL ATRASH

- (a) AWLAD 'ABDULLA
- (b) " EL MULEK
- (c) GAKIMIA
- (d) HELAYWIN
- (e) AWLAD SHAKHI
- (f) ADHCNA

3. 'ABI

4. SHA'ALIBI

5. AWLAD ABU SHARK

- 6. " BISHARA
- 7. " EL HOSH
- 8. " HABUD
- 9. " GAFUN
- 10. " RIKAB
- 11. " 'AFAN

12. DUSHAYNAB

C. AWLAD BIKA

1. TUAYMAT

- (a) FATAIJA
- (b) ABU ASHAY'
- (c) 'ATITULLA
- (d) AWLAD MANNA

2. GHUBAYSHAB

3. 'ANAKAR

4. AWLAD SHAYN

5. 'ATOR

6. UM KUDI

7. AWLAD MASAKH

8. UM SHENAB

XXXIII The word "GAWAMA'A" being merely a plural formed from Gama'i it seems probable that the first mentioned of all the above sections represents the true nucleus of the tribe. Its sheikh is commonly considered the theoretical head of the tribe, the holder of the "*naḥds*"

The recurrence of uncommon tribal names is a useful guide if used with discretion, and from this source we obtain several clues as to the tribes from which the subsections of the GAWAMA'A were drawn.

Among the HOMRAN we note MASHAIKHA and BELUH : the latter are possibly connected with the BELŪ of the east, the former are akin to the MESALLAMIA. Among the ṬERAYFIA, who as a whole are closely connected with the BEDAYRIA, are AWLAD SHAIK (*i.e.* SHAIKIA(?)), SHELLALIIN (in the form "SHELLALIL-" a section of SHAIKIA) and MARAZIK (a variant of "MARZUKAB," also a section of SHAIKIA).

Among the SERAYHAT are KURA'AN, SHIBLAWIIN (who are presumably connected with the "SHIBLA" of the "*nisbas*") and BA'A-SHIM; and the SERAYHAT, taken as a whole, are properly a separate unit in the GA'ALIIN congeries and closely connected with the MIRAFAB and MANASIR on the river. They are said to have entered Kordofan only six generations ago.

Among the GHANAYMIA we find MERAMRA, *i.e.* DAR IJAMID, and MAGIDIA.

Among the GA'AFIRIA are GERARAB, perhaps BENI GERAR; and among the GEMAMLA are DUSHAYNAB, of whom others are with the GEMA'AB.

The TUAYMAT, it is said, are KAWAHLA.

The GA'AFmfA as a whole are no doubt connected with the GA'AFIRIA of Upper Egypt and Dongola, who appear in the "*nisbas*" as GA'AFIRA and are as a rule said to be descendants of BENI TAI. Maḡrizi¹ and Ibn Khaldūn² mention BENI GA'AFIR (with the AWLAD KANZ north of Aswan) who were KURAYSH by origin. These are the "large tribe of Djaafere" referred to in the same locality by Burckhardt, who says of them:

The large tribe of Djaafere occupied the shores of the Nile from Esne to Assouan; a few families of Sherifs settled in the Batn el Hadjar and a branch of the Koreish possessed themselves of Mahass. For several centuries Nubia was occupied by these Arabs, who were at continual war with each other, in the course of which the kings of Dongola had acquired so much influence over them as to be able at last to compel them to pay tribute³.

The GA'AFIR*A may also contain elements of BENI HILAIA

XXXIV The camel brand most generally used by such of the GAWAMA'A in Kordofán as own camels is the "*ruaykib*" ("little rider"). It is placed on the right cheek and assumes in the case of the various sections one or other of the forms a, ft, c, d, e. $\parallel = \equiv \perp \dashv \parallel$ The SERAYHAT are an exception and use the $\parallel$ $\equiv$ $\perp$ $\dashv$ $\parallel$ "shabul" i.e. A, on the right cheek, a fact a b c d e which bears further witness to their connection with the MANAṣFR on the river⁵.

XXXV THE GIMA'A. The early history of the GIMA'A, their separation from the main Ga'ali stock in Nūbia and their movement south-westwards to Kordofán, is much the same as that of the GAWAMA'A. But they lack the Dárfūr element that characterizes the GAWAMA'A, and, having settled further east than the latter, mixed less with the autochthonous population of the northern Nūba mountains, and during their subsequent career acquired more of the customs and manners typical of the BAḲḲARA, such as their dances and their method of dressing the hair. Nor did they become completely sedentary in their mode of life.

Their number was assessed by Prout in 1876 at about 25,000*.

In 1885 their sheikh 'Asákir Abu Kaldm was ordered by the Khalffa to bring them all to Omdurman. When they hesitated he sent Yūnis wad Dekaym to crush them. Yūnis confiscated most of

¹ Q.v. *ap.* Quatremère, iI, 204. "Their territory commences north of Manfalut and stretches east and west as far as Samalout."

² Ed. deSlane, pp. 9-11.

³ Burckhardt, *Nubia*, pp. 133-134.

⁴ See p. 147.

See p. 209.

• *Report...*, p. 7. Prout classes the Gima'a ("Menateh el Gimah") as Bakkara.

their herds and broke up the tribe. Some were sent to Omdurman and others settled in Senndr Province¹.

At the reoccupation such GIMA'A as survived returned to the west bank of the White Nile and now, in spite of all, they are probably as numerous as they were before the Mahdfa.

Some of the 'ABBAYSAB branch own camels and have attached themselves to the KAWAHLA. The rest are cattle and sheep owners.

They are subdivided as follows²:

- A. MANÁTA { 1. BÓL³ MUHAMMAD
2. „ NAŞR
3. WALAD HAMMAD
4. „ HASAN
- B. 'ASHAYSH 1. 'ABBAYSÁB { (a) AMÜMÍN
(b) UM FEZÁRI
(c) BRAYSHÁB
(d) SAYLÁB
(e) KAMBŪIÁB
(f) GŪDA
(g) UM GÍA (Gír?)
(h) KENÁNA
2. GAHAKA { (a) MESHAMÍR
(b) 'AIÁL 'UŖLA
(c) „ KŪKŪ
(d) DERANÁB
(e) KANÁBÍT
(f) 'AIÁL SÁRIN
(g) „ ÁDAM
(h) SIÁGH
(j) UM DANŪD
(k) 'AIÁL MUHAMMAD
3. MESADÁB
4. DÁR AWÁB
5. ROWÁSHDA
6. HULUF
7. TÍNA

The most powerful and numerous of these sections are the BOL MUHAMMAD and the B6L NAŞR, and it is said the former is nearly twice the size of the latter.

The 'ASHAYSH are not very numerous but are more homogeneous.

¹ Slatin, Chaps, xi and xvi.

² The spelling of these names may not in all cases be entirely accurate: they were obtained at second hand.

³ The word "bol" properly means "urine."* It is evidently used as the equivalent of "seed."

(J) THE MAGIDIA AND KURTAN

XXXVI The MAGIDIA or MAIDIA are an almost extinct tribe, and the KURTAN, so far as I know, entirely so. The former are said to have occupied the hills near Kagmdr in Kordofan about the close of the seventeenth century², and to have been driven thence eastwards by the immigrating ZAGHAWA.

There appear also to be remnants of them among the NtfBA of Gebel Abu Tubr, between Kagmar and the river⁸, and Cailliaud mentions them in 1821 on the west bank of the White Nile above Khartoum⁴.

From MS. D 3 it seems there was also one small colony of them at least on the Blue Nile⁵.

For the rest, the MAGIDA A only seem to survive as a branch of the GAWAMA'A-GHANAYMIA.

(k) THE GA'ALIIN PROPER

XXXVII We now come to the GA'ALIIN proper, the people, that is, who are called GA'ALifN and nothing else at the present.

Their riverain "dar" is between the mouth of the Atbara and the Shablūka cataract.

An examination of the "nisbas" shews that they are distinctly junior members of the great Ga'ali fraternity, in the sense that all the eponymous ancestors of their subsections lived within the last twelve generations or less, or within, say, 400 years of the present day⁶. Now a period of 400 years brings us back approximately to the time of el Samarḳandi, the great provider of genealogies, i.e. to the date of the great Arab-FuNG movement which resulted in the formation of the kingdom of Sennar.

It seems that at the beginning of the sixteenth century certain chieftains calling themselves pure Arabs, however freely their forebears had intermarried with the Nūbians, were settled on the Nile with their families north of the Shablūka, and had established for themselves a position of authority and overlordship, as the RABAA and GUHAYNA had done some centuries before in the north-east, and that these chieftains were named 'Armdn and Abu Khamsin⁷, sons of

¹ See note to D 3, 60.

² See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 109.

³ *Ibid.* p. 101.

⁴ Cailliaud, m, 94.

⁵ See MS. D 3, 108, 200 and 204.

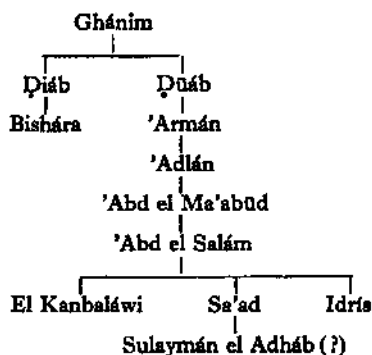
⁶ A 1, A 2, A 6 and A 10 make Serrdr, the "general ancestor," live eighteen or nineteen generations ago. Between him and Arman intervene five generations (see trees to BA and A 11); i.e. 'Arman's sons and grandsons, who are the eponymous ancestors of most of the Ga'alifn tribes proper lived twelve generations ago, or less. See in particular A 10, the pedigree of the Grand Mufti, which confirms the above.

⁷ Or perhaps it was their sons or grandsons who were contemporaries of el Samarḳandi. It is useless to be over-dogmatic, but a comparison of the "A" MSS. suggests that the generations subsequent to 'Arman were added by a later hand.

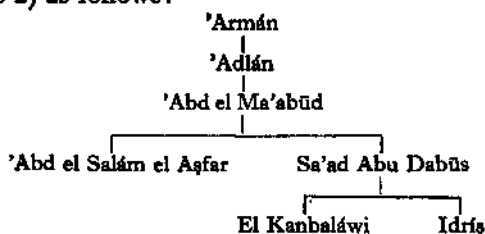
Duab ibn Ghanim¹. El Samarkandi included them in his genealogical treatise as descended from the BENI 'ABBAS, and not only their own children—and apparently these were numerous—but probably all their dependants in subsequent ages claimed a like origin.

XXXVIII About the close of the sixteenth century² the GA'ALIIN proper were under Sa'ad ibn Dabūs, the eponymous ancestor of the SA'ADAB section, who appears in the "*nisbas*"³ as grandson or great-grandson of 'Adlān the son of 'Arman; and it is from this period that the real history of the GA'ALIIN begins.

Cailliaud⁴ gives a "chronology of the princes of Shendi" beginning with "Sadāb Dabbous" and ending with Nimr, the *Mek* who murdered Isma'il Pasha in 1822, but if any reliance is to be placed on the "*nisbas*"—allowing plentiful inaccuracies of detail—this chronology is hopelessly incorrect in its earlier stages. For instance, A 11 gives the relationships as follows:



and ABC (tree 2) as follows:



¹ This Dūdāb in the MSS. has a brother Dīdāb. The name Dīdāb ibn Ghanim occurs in the Abu Zayd cycle of romances as that of one of the Beni Hilal notables (see Burton, *Land of Midian*, 11, 233, and Ibn Khaldūn, ed. ar. Vol. 6, pp. 14 and 16); but there is no evidence that this is more than a mere coincidence.

² I arrive at this date by accepting as roughly correct the 235 years (*i.e.* about 228 solar years) said by Cailliaud (III, 106) to have elapsed in 1821 since the accession of Sa'ad el Dabūs. It will be seen that this computation agrees fairly closely with that made already on other grounds⁴ for the date of 'Arman.

³ See trees to A11 and ABC 2.

Loc. cit.

But Cailliaud's list is as follows¹:

Sadâb Dabbous	...	...	...	20	ans	
Soleymân el-Addâr	...	...	...	7	"	
Edrys, fils de Soleymân	...	...	...	35	"	
Abd el-Salâm	...	...	...	10	"	{ Fut tué par les Foungis à Sennâr
El-Fahl Mak, fils d'Abd el-Salâm	...	...	...	15	"	
Edrys II, fils d'Abd el-Salâm, frère de Mak	...	...	...	6	"	{ Tué par les Arabes Dja'leyns
Dyâb, son frère	...	...	...	12	"	
Kanbalâouy, fils d'Abd el-Salâm	...	...	...	3	"	{ Tué par les Arabes Kaouâhlehs sur l'Atbarah
Bechâraff, fils d'Abd el-Salâm	...	...	...	7	"	
Soleymân, fils de Sâlem	...	...	...	15	"	
Saâd, frère de Soleymân	...	...	...	2	"	
Edrys III, fils de Fahl	...	...	...	20	"	{ Tué par les Arabes Kaouâhlehs sur l'Atbarah
Saâd II Mak, fils d'Edrys	...	...	...	40	"	
Meçâad, fils de Saâd Mak ²	...	...	...	13	"	
Mohammed el-Mak	...	...	...	13	"	{ Tué par les Foungis de Sennâr
Nimir ou Nemr, fils de Mohammed	...	...	...	17	"	
						{ Dépossédé par Is- mâyl pacha, en mai 1821
Années de règne	...	...	...	235		

It is at least clear that from the end of the sixteenth till the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century the SA'ADAB were, nominally at least, the ruling section, and that among them the chieftainship was latterly held by the AWLAD NIMR. One of these latter, Muḥammad wad Nimr, it seems, relying on aid from Sennir, rebelled against the legitimate line of sheikhs as represented by Musa'ad ibn Sa'ad and was betrayed; but his son Nimr succeeded better and in 1801 seized the sheikhship, established himself at Shendi and relegated Musa'ad to an inferior position as sheikh of Metemma².

Both the AWLAD NIMR and the other SA'ADAB they dispossessed probably based their claims on their connection with the 'ABDULLAB; for, on the one hand, Nimr's mother was an 'Abdullabia—and his

¹ The spelling is preserved as given: see Cailliaud, 111, 106. He obtained his information from a certain *feki*, 'Omar el Kassir, verbally (see Cailliaud, n, 318).

² See note to D 7, CXLIV, for details. Cailliaud in 1821 speaks of Metemma as " Chef-lieu de la province d'el Mecaa'd."

family on this account was described by Burckhardt¹ as "of the same tribe as" the 'ABDULLAB—and, on the other, we know from Bruce that in his day—before the revolt of Muḥammad wad Nimr, that is—Shendi was ruled by a woman, the sister of Wad 'Agib (the 'Abdullabi "*mangil*") and mother of Idris wad el Fahl, who in 1772 was the heir-apparent to the sheikhship².

In all probability the SA'ADAB in their earlier stages were under the 'ABDULLAB suzerainty; and that the rule of the SA'ADAB may have been nominal rather than effective is suggested by Burckhardt's remark³ concerning some villages between Damer and Shendi in 1814:

They are inhabited by the Arabs Mekaberab, who were formerly tributary to the chiefs of Shendy, but who have long since asserted tfeir freedom, and now live partly upon the produce of their fields, and partly by robbery; they are at war with all their neighbours, and having acquired a reputation for superior valour, are much dreaded by them⁴.

Later, it appears⁵, the NIFI'AB, the NAFA'AB and the KARAKISA entertained designs of seizing the headship from the AWLAD NIMR, but an agreement was finally reached whereby the latter and the NAFA'AB took the east bank and the remainder obtained the west bank of the river and called themselves the SA'ADAB proper.

In Burckhardt's day the GA'ALIIN were still a nomadic rather than a sedentary tribe⁶. They had cultivation on the river but their subtribes roamed up the Atbara and over the Buṭāna⁷.

"The true Djaalein Bedouins," says the traveller, "who come from the eastern desert are much fairer-skinned than the inhabitants of the banks of the Nile....I was much struck with the physiognomy of many of these Djaaleins, who had exactly the countenance and expression of features of the Bedouins of eastern Arabia⁸."

XXXIX At present the GA'ALIIN are very widely distributed as small traders and colonists and employees, though the nucleus of the tribe remain cultivators and herdsmen between the Shablūka and the Atbara*.

They suffered enormous losses in the Dervish days: thousands

¹ *Nubia*, p. 268.

² Note the matrilinear system still in force.

³ P. 272.

⁴ He hazards that perhaps they are the Megaberi of Strabo.

⁵ See A 11, LXV.

⁶ Burckhardt, p. 279.

⁷ Burckhardt, p. 265.

⁸ Burckhardt, p. 296.

⁹ Sheikh Ibrahim Muḥammad Ferah of the wealthy Niff'db section calls himself "Sheikh of all the Ga'alifn" and is accepted in theory by a certain number of the tribe, but his claim is only based on events dating from the Dervish days and is practically negligible. Such of the Ga'alifn as are not settled outside their own "*dar*" under the sheikhs of the local tribes, or as independent traders, etc., are under their respective sectional '*omdas*'.

fell, in particular at Toski and T6kar\ and whole villages of them perished of hunger in the terrible famine of 1889². What was left of their power as a tribal unit was ended in 1897, when, on the approach of the British forces, they projected a rising against the Dervishes. The "amir" Maḥmūd learnt of their intention, attacked and sacked their headquarters at Metemma and slew over 2000 of them⁸.

In so far as the Ga'aliin remain cultivators and herdsmen in their own "dar" and have not taken to trade in the towns, they preserve much the same degree of tribal organization as do their neighbours the BATAHIN, SHUKRIA, etc. The sections (NAFA'AB, 'ALIAB, etc.) which graze their herds and sow their crops in the dry watercourses of the ancient Island of Meroe are each independent of the other with no single b^ad-sheikh. The families who cultivate the Nile banks live the ordinary life of the sedentary villager and send such flocks as they possess eastwards in charge of their semi-nomadic kinsfolk.

In addition, however, to these GA'ALIIN and the town-dwelling community there are numerous isolated colonies of GA'ALIIN settled at intervals along the Blue and White Niles as far south as Kēddref and Kdwa, and others, though fewer, in the inland provinces. These are all sedentary, and unimportant.

XL To sum up, one may say that the word GA'ALIIN is used in two senses: in the first and widest sense it denotes all the loosely connected group of tribes on the river and inland^ Dandgla and others, who claim an 'Abb&sid descent: in the second it is limited to the riverain people whose ancestor was Duab ibn Ghdnim and whose chief habitat has been between the mouth of the Atbara and the Shablūka cataract since the beginning of the sixteenth century, if not for longer.

In so far as the GA'ALIIN congeries can be regarded as a single whole its homogeneity consists in the common Berberine or Nūbian strain that exists in a very varying proportion in all its component parts.

There is also a strong infusion of Arab blood—more particularly in the GA'ALIIN proper—but the error into which the native genealogists have wilfully slipped consists in ignoring the Nūbian element and finding the common race factor of the GA'ALIIN in the tribe of KURAYSH. The facts being as they are, it is impossible to specify any particular tribe of Arabia as being that to which the Arab element in the composition of the GA'ALIIN group can be attributed in any exclusive sense.

¹ Slatin, Ch. xvi.

² Slatin, Ch. xiii.

³ *Anglo-Egypt, Sudan*, 1, 45; Budge, 11, 271.

We have seen that numbers of ICURAYSH entered the Sudan at various times, but KURAYSH were only one tribe among scores of others, and the comprehensive claim of the GA'ALIIN to belong to one special branch of KURAYSH, the BENI 'ABBAS, would be difficult indeed to substantiate. Being themselves in some doubt as to the facts of the matter they had the less hesitation in making a bold throw for distinction.

CHAPTER 2

The Guhayna Group

I The second great Arab group in the Sudan is known as the GUHAYNA.

As in the case of the GA'ALIIN, the word has a wider and a narrower sense. In the latter it applies to certain nomads the bulk of whom inhabit Senndr Province in the southern Gezira. In the former sense the term "GUHAYNA" is used of all the vast group, RUFA'A¹, KABA-BfsH, DAR HAMID and other camel-owning nomads of Kordofan, as well as of the great BAKKARA fraternity of Kordofan, Darfurr and the western states, all of whom are said to be descended from "Abdulla el Guhani."

The parallelism between the use of the terms Ga'ali and Guhani is, however, not complete, for, whereas any native is only too glad to imply a connection with the Prophet by calling himself a Ga'ali, there is not an equal enthusiasm for 'Abdulla el Guhani.

Thus a Bedayri, for instance, if asked his tribe would sometimes say "Ga'ali," but a Rufa'i, a Kabbdshi, or one of the BAKKARA would never think of saying "Guhani." He would only say he belonged to the GUHAYNA if he were asked "granted you are a Rufd'i (Kabbashi, Bakkari) from what main stock is your tribe sprung?"

A hypocritical tendency too has arisen among some of the tribes, e.g. the RUFA'A, to assert a descent from one of the sons of the Imim 'Ali², and to speak of the GUHAYNA connection as confined to the mother's side. Again, whereas it is useless to try and determine with what particular Arab tribe the GA'ALIIN are most closely connected, in the case of members of the GUHAYNA group there is often sufficient evidence to create a strong presumption, if not a certainty.

The reason for this lies in the fact that the GUHAYNA represent the nomad Arab immigrants who kept their tribal system unimpaired from generation to generation, whereas the GA'ALLIN absorbed an older and more sedentary, and therefore more heterogeneous, population.

But a curious fact comes to light. The historical 'Abdulla el

¹ The Rufa'a are sometimes called "Guhayna el Shark" ("Eastern Guhayna") to differentiate them from the nomads west of the Nile.

² The Fadnia are another example.

Guhani was not of the tribe of GUHAYNA at all¹, and hence one is tempted at first to say that the tribes claiming descent from him are unlikely to be GUHAYNA. The conclusion would be false however, for the claim to be GUHAYNA preceded the claim to be the children of 'Abdulla el Guhani and was based on rather surer foundations. The dragging in of 'Abdulla el Guhani was merely the ill-advised expedient of a later generation.

II Before dealing with the tribes that compose the GUHAYNA group it is as well to recall several facts: that the true GUHAYNA of Arabia have occupied the neighbourhood of Yanbu* for at least 1300 years; that there has been immigration of varying volume from this part of the Ḥegdz at every period known to history; that many GUHAYNA took part in the invasion of Egypt; that a large force of them in the ninth century invaded the Eastern Desert in company with the RABI'A; that by the middle of the thirteenth century they were said to have "conquered the countries inhabited by the Nūbians" and to be settled between Aswdn, Nūbia and Abyssinia; and that another large body of them at the beginning of the fifteenth century was still in Upper Egypt²,

There is therefore no reason to doubt that by the FUNG period there was a very large number of GUHAYNA—"fifty-two tribes" say the "*nisbas*"—on the Blue Nile near S6ba, and even more in the west, and that the great majority of the tribes which claim to be or are alleged to be descended from 'Abdulla el Guhani are ultimately connected with the GUHAYNA.

The following are the chief of these at the present day⁴:

RUFA'A (including KAWASMA, 'ABDULLAB, etc.)

LAḤAWIIN

'AWAMRA, KHAWALDA, etc.

SHUKRIA

DAR ḤAMID

ZAYADIA

BENI GERÁR

BAZA'A

SHENABLA

MA'ALIA

} The "FEZÁRA"

¹ See note to BA, LVIII, for full details.

² See Part I, Chaps. 2 and 3. The term no doubt included a proportion of neighbouring tribesmen who were joined to the Guhayna by the fortunes of war and community of aims.

⁴ Many other "Guhayna** tribes of less importance are omitted. They can be found by reference to the trees of, e.g., BA. One or two tribes, e.g. the Moghdrba, are included because they appear as Guhayna in the "*nisbas*" and seem to be related to the rest of that group in spite of the fact that they do not call themselves Guhayna.

DWAYH

MESALLAMIA

The BAKKARA tribes

MAHAMID, MAHR*A, etc.

KABABISH (certain sections only)

MOGHARBA

HAMAR

The KABABISH, the HAMAR, the BAKKARA, the MAHAMID group and the "FEZARA" group of the above are all in Kordofan or west of it; the remainder are nearly all in the Gezira or east of it.

(a) THE RUFA'A GROUP, THE GUHAYNA PROPER, THE LAHAWIIN, THE 'ABDULLAB AND THE INSERRIAB

III THE RUFA'A. The RUFA'A, descendants of Rifa'i, that is, generally appear in the "*nisbas*" among the GUHAYNA group and are said to have sojourned among the BEGA and in Abyssinia before moving down to the valley of the Nile¹. This tradition is corroborative of the statement quoted by Quatremere² that in 680 A.H. (1281 A.D.) a battle was fought between the GUHAYNA and the RUFA'A in the desert of 'Aidhdb. The two tribes mentioned have been close neighbours for many generations, not only in Africa but also in Arabia: Burckhardt, writing in 1814, says³:

While I was at Shendy an Arabian came from Souakin, who was of the tribe of Refaay , which is related to the great tribe of Djeheyne , near Yembo; he told me that he had heard that there were descendants of his own tribe of Refaay settled to the south of Sennaar, and that he intended to visit them...as they had always manifested kindness to their relatives in the Hedjaz, especially to such as had undertaken the journey for the purpose of saluting them.

The RUFA'A of the Sudan themselves now claim to be distinct from the GUHAYNA in origin, though admitting that much intermarriage has been taking place for centuries, and perfunctorily claim descent from a line of Sayyids. This however may partly be due to the fact that the 'ARAKIIN, many of whom are "holy men," claim to be ASHRAF, and the RUFA'A are placed in the dilemma of having either to repudiate the claim of the 'ARAKIIN to be ASHRAF or deny the fact that the 'ARAKIIN are a branch of the RUFA'A. They have chosen the obvious course of saying that the RUFA'A are all ASHRAF⁴. The fact of the matter is that *soi-disant* ASHRAF have intermarried with them; but, generally speaking, they are a composite tribe containing more

¹ See A 2, xxxv, A n, LVIII, D 6, xxxv.

² Vol. II, p. 172, quoting MS. Arab 672, p. 421.

³ Nubia, p. 323.

⁴ See later *sub* 'Araktin.

of the GUHAYNA element than any other¹. When I asked one of their chief men, 'Agab Abu Gin, whether the RUFA'A were GUHAYNA or ASHRAF his reply was "It is said we are Ashraf, but God knows: if we are not Ashraf we are certainly GUHAYNA."

Maḳrīzi calls the RUFA'A a branch of the BENI HILAL², and it will be noticed that one section of them in the Sudan is called the HILALIA. It is possible therefore that the legend of Abu Zayd el Hilālī crossing the Blue Nile near the site of the village of Rufa'a is connected with the southern movement of the RUFA'A from the Eastern Desert to the Blue Nile.

IV In the FUNG days the RUFA'A were almost entirely nomadic and their headquarters were Senndr, Arbāgi, and el Ṭalḥa. The village of Rufi'a, after which a district is now named, was not founded until the northern half of the tribe had begun to relinquish the purely pastoral life.

At present the habitat of the RUFA'A is along the Blue Nile from its embouchure to south of Singa. They fall into two main groups. Of these the northern group are settled in villages in the Blue Nile Province: here in a single village one sometimes finds a medley of RUFA'A, MAḤASS, GA'ALIIN, DANAGLA and others: in other villages the whole population is composed of a single section of RUFA'A. They and the MAḤASS are generally regarded as the ancestral tribal owners of the riverain land in the northern districts of the Blue Nile Province, and the claim of the RUFA'A at least is probably well founded, for it must be remembered that though the 'ABDULLAB, whose eponymous ancestor four centuries ago helped 'Omara Dunkas to found the kingdom of Senndr, have since that time been an entirely independent tribe, they were properly RUFA'A of the KAWASMA section, and their sphere extended from north of the junction of the Niles southwards to Arbāgi.

V The southern branch of the RUFA'A is more nomadic than sedentary and is often referred to by other tribes simply as the "GUHAYNA" or "Guhayna el 'Ol" ("feckless Guhayna")³. These are divided into RUFA'A EL SHARḲ (Eastern RUFA'A), or NAs ABU GIN, and RUFA'A EL Huoi (Rufa'a of the Gezi'ra, *Le.* Western RUFA'A), or NAs ABU ROF. These alternative names, "Abu Gin's folk" and "Abu Róf's folk," are given them because for many generations they have been ruled

¹ Sir C. Wilson speaks of them (*loc. cit.*) as a branch of Guhayna.

² Quatrenière, 11, 201. The Beni Sulaym, who accompanied the Beni Hilal in their great migration, also contained a section called Ruft'a (Quatrenière, 11, 214).

³ The proverb says "Guhayna el 'Ol, el 'ashira fok zol," *t.e.* "feckless Guhayna, ten of them all at one man." They are supposed to be particularly excitable, irresponsible and hasty.

by the Abu Gin and the Abu R6f families respectively¹. The former are a family of ḤAMMADA, the latter of BENI ḤASAN, but the sections subject to them have always been drawn from a medley of all the RUFA'A of the south, not even all the ḤAMMADA being subject to Abu Gin nor all the BENI ḤASAN to Abu Rof. In fact the titles "RUFA'A EL SHARḤ" and "RUFA'A EL HUOI" refer to an administrative and not a genealogical division of the southern branch of the tribe.

Generally speaking the RUFA'A EL SHARḤ spend the rainy season in the Buṭāna and round Ḳala'a Arang, while the RUFA'A EL HUOI remain in the west, moving northwards to Gebel Moya and Manakil.

Early in the Dervish revolt these southern RUFA'A or "GUHAYNA" twice attacked Senndr in the Mahdist interest and suffered great losses at the hands of 'Abd el Ḳādir Pasha².

In 1887 the Khalifa ordered the "Abu Rof" of the day to bring his whole tribe to Omdurman. On his refusal a strong force was sent against him and the flower of the "GUHAYNA" were slain and their herds confiscated³.

VI As in the south it is impossible to draw any but a purely administrative and geographical line between the eastern and western groups of "GUHAYNA," so, too, one would find it very difficult to specify any real difference in race between the sedentary RUFA'A of the north and the semi-nomadic "GUHAYNA" of the south. The same sections are common to both, though their proportional distribution of course varies. It will be simplest to give a list of the chief RUFA'A subtribes in order and to specify incidentally where each has its main habitat. It may be noted that the names of many of the smaller sections are chiefly familiar as being applied to villages on the Blue Nile which were originally built by RUFA'A but which are now in part occupied by later immigrants.

The list is as follows :

A. ḲAWASMA

- 1. 'ABDULLAB⁴
- 2. MAḤAMID
- 3. UM AR6SA
- 4. 'ITAYBAB
- 5. 'AZAZAB
- etc.

¹ It is said there have been over twenty successive Abu Rofs and Abu Gins, but this is doubtful. The earliest mention of either occurs in Bruce, who about 1772 speaks of "Wed Abroff and all the Jeheina Arabs." Tremaux, *il*, 29, quoting Lejean (1862) says: "Les Abou-Rof ont rebattu...les nègres Denka compris dans le quadrilatère de Tangle forme" par le Saubat et le Nil Blanc."

² Slatin, *Chaps. IV and xi.*

³ *Ibid.*, Ch. xii.

⁴ These are dealt with later, separately.

Most of the KAWASMA proper are now west of Senndr and on the Dinder¹.

B. 'ARAKIIN

I. FERAGIIN

The 'ARAKIIN now claim to be of Sherffi descent² through a series of holy men, biographies of whom will be found in the MS. "D 3," They cultivate in the south of the Blue Nile Province, in Senndr and in el Ma'ataḡ district, and a halo of sanctity still surrounds them. Their headquarters are at Abu Ḥardz.

The small subtribe of FERAGIIN live with the GAMC'IA south of Omdurman. In FUNG days they were under the "naḥds" of Sheikh Ḥammad el Nil el 'Araki, and they consider themselves 'ARAKIIN on both sides.

C. ISAYLAT

[1. WIDI'AB

2. SINHAYRAB³

3. IJASANAB

4. MA'AIJA

5. GABRAB

There is a group of villages on the east bank of the Blue Nile called 'Isayldt. By many the ISAYLAT are held to be a section of the ḤAMMADA.

D. NOLAB

E. ZENAFLA. A colony of these is said to have lived at Kalk61 near el Kamlin before the coming of the MAIJASS. But I have also heard them spoken of as "GHUZZ," i.e. MamlQk or Bosnian stock and not RUFA'A at all.

F. ḤAGAGAB

G. BESHAKIRA. There is a village on either side of the river in el Kdmlin district called after them.

H. SHIBAYLAT

J. ḤALAWIIN

These are chiefly in Rufd'a district and Senndr, and are a large and turbulent section, much *feki*-ridden. In a list of Arab tribes in Egypt, east of the Nile, Sir G. Wilkinson includes "Allowéen," who are probably a branch of the same people, between Egypt and Petraea and north of Sinai. (See *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, 11, 380.)

K. FERAḤAB

L. MA'ADID. In Rufa'a district and Senndr.

M. FARAPIIN⁴

N. FARAGAB. A few live in Kdwa district on the White Nile.

¹ Several others of the Rufa'a sections given below are often also included as Kawasma: in fact, half the tribe is popularly so considered: the reason is that they were for long under the 'Abdulldb chieftainship.

² Cp. MS. C 9, but for the real facts see D 1, CI.

³ Corrupted into "Sirhayndb."

⁴ Probably connected with the IbrEh(m ibn 'Abudi el FaraoH whose biography is numbered 135 in D 3.

- O. TOWAL, or TOWALIIN. Chiefly in el Ma'atafc and Kawa districts. They are said to be a branch of the IJAMMADA.

P. SHABARĶA

As regards this section it is interesting to note that SHABARĶA also occur in the northern hills of Kordofan¹, where they are called SHABERĶO and are said to have immigrated from the Blue Nile in ancient days and to have spread even further westwards into Ddrfdr. They are also said, at el Ĥardza, to be connected with the TOWAL section of KABABISH. As the TOWAL also appear in the list of RUFA'A tribes, and their name and that of the SHABARĶA were given me one after the other, it is a fair presumption that some of the RUFA'A passed into Kordofan and mixed, some with the NUBA of el Ĥarāza and some with the nomads north-west of them, while others reached Ddrfdr.

That there were also cases of movement in the opposite direction is evidenced by the existence of two villages on the Nile called "el Nuba," one near el Kāmlfn and one north of Khartoum, both of which are said to have been formed by colonies from el Ĥarāza. In the case of the former village it is said seven NUBA from Kordofan were allotted land there by the FUNG and their daughters were married by Arabs.

Q. HILALIA

- R. 'AKALIIN. This subtribe was all but wiped out by the famine of 1889², but it has recovered and large numbers now live round Sennḍr and in Mesallamia district, with scattered villages in the Gezira and on the White Nile.

S. BENI ḤASAN³

- { 1. WAD BALULA
- { 2. 'ATAMLA. Abu Rofs own family.
- { 3. WADABU SIRWAL
- etc.

Their habitat is south of el Mandril and between Singa and Rḡsayres.

- T. BENI ḤUSAYN³. They live with the BENI ḤASAN and west of them to the White Nile.

U. HAMMADA³

- { 1. RAHAHLA
- { 2. GHUZZ
- { 3. RIBAY'AT

These are the "Nas Abu Gin" proper. In FUNG days their chief had the rank of "Mangil" and the right of wearing the two-horned "*takia*." In 1889 they and the 'AKALIIN suffered equally⁴. Their habitat is on the Rahad and the Dinder. The capital of the Abu Gin was at Deberki.

- V. 'ULATIIN³. Semi-nomadic. They have villages in the east and the west of the Gezira.

W. ZAMALTA³

- 1. KAMATIR³

¹ See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 97.

² These sections are closely connected. ⁴ Almost all are in Sennar Province, in Slatin, *loc. cit.*

² Slatin, Ch. xiii.

The KAMATIR, or AWLAD KAMTUR, have now all but died out as a result of constant warfare with the FUNG in the eighteenth century. Their chief, who was usually known by the tribal name of Kamttlr, had the right of wearing the "*takia*¹". His domains stretched from Kark6j to Rosayres.

X. RAZKIA. These, like the 'ARAKIIN, claim descent from ASHRAF. They are the only section of RUFA'A (if RUFA'A they be) who live north of the junction of the Niles.

vii THE GUHAYNA PROPER. Now although the term "GUHAYNA" is applied vaguely by other tribes to all the RUFA'A, and more especially those of the south, the RUFA'A EL SHARḲ and RUFA'A EL HUOI, there is living near these a group of small tribes to whom the term is more especially applicable and to whom the RUFA'A themselves apply the term GUHAYNA: these are the MA'ASHIRA, the GEKANA, the RUKABIN², the GA'AFIRA and the ROWASHDA. They are largely nomadic in habit. A few of them are settled in villages, but most graze with the RUFA'A EL SHARḲ round Ḳala'a Arang, el 'Idayd and Sūki. They are not numerous and they are now subject to the SHUKRIA of Kassala Province.

VIII THE LAHAWIIN³. These are related to the RUFA'A group and are practically all nomads. One portion of them have for many generations lived on the east bank of the White Nile between el Kāwa and Gebelayn and inland⁴. These are often spoken of as "Nas Wad el Labayḥ." The other portion is more given to camel-breeding, and has its grazing-grounds farther east in the neighbourhood of el Fdsher on the Atbara. These latter were for several generations attached to the KABABISH and lived in northern Kordofan and were known as the GUHAYNA section; but they quarrelled with the "*naḡir*" of the KABABISH in 1910 and moved eastwards over the Nile. They are now under the SHUKRIA. Their well-known camel brand is a "*tuba*a*" on the left side of the nose with a "*ḡildda*" on the left side of the neck⁵.

¹ Jackson, p. 91 note. For Muḡammad Kamtūr see MS. "D7," *passim*.

² Cp. Rikabia.

³ The name Lahdwi is said to be derived from the "lahdwia" or great bag in which the nomads carry grain, gum, etc. The root is the same as that of "lifṭa" (bark-fibre) and occurs also in the name of the Luhaywat Arabs who live in Sinai among the tribes of Tih. These Luhaywat are said to be a subdivision of the Mesa'id branch of the Beni 'Atia and ancient companions of the Beni 'Ukba. (See Na'ṭim Bey, *Hist. Sinai...*, p. 117.) There is also, to the north-east, a section of 'Anaza called Lahawin (Burckhardt, *Notes...*, 1, 4 and 30).

⁴ Cailliaud (III, 94) notes them on the west bank of the White Nile above Khartoum in 1821. He calls them "Ellahouyehs."

⁵ "Lahawwy" is mentioned by Doughty (*Arabia Des.* 1, 125) and Zwemer (p. 279) as the name of an Arab tribe in Arabia at the present time. The brand of these is £ Y.

IX THE 'ABDULLAB. The 'ABDULLAB are now a small and scattered family living round Khartoum North, and here and there on the Blue Nile below Rufa'a, with a little riverain cultivation and a few cattle, sheep and goats. But, poor as they are, they take a legitimate pride in being the descendants of that famous 'Abdulla Gema'a of Kerri, an Arab of the KAWASMA branch of the RUFA'A¹, who helped 'Omdra Dūnkās, the first FUNG king, to extirpate the Nūba and 'ANAG from the Gezfra and found the kingdom of Sennār, and who was himself the founder of a line of hereditary viceroys with their headquarters near the junction of the Niles. For several generations the successors of the great 'Abdulla, whose sphere extended from the Shablūka cataract to Arbagi, resided at Kerri, but—it is not known exactly when²—tjje moved their capital to Halfayat el Muluk.

The official title that they bore was "*Mangil*" or "*Mangilak*" a non-Arabic term applied to several of the FUNG viceroys in different parts³, but *par excellence* to the reigning 'Abdullābi.

A list of the successive 'Abdullāh sheikhs was compiled by Cailliaud in 1821, but the relationships are not made clear and there are errors of detail: certain names too have been included which probably belonged to well-known relatives of the "*Mangils*" rather than to the actual holders of office.

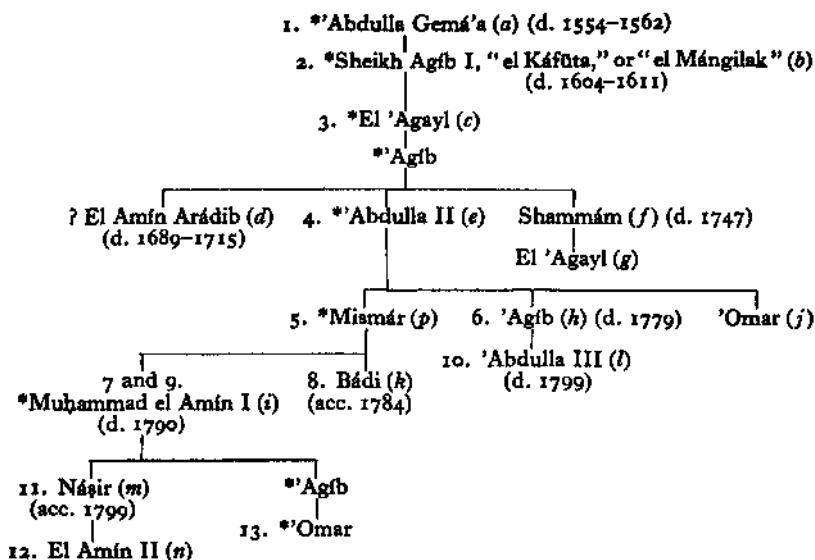
A second list made some seventeen years ago by Na'ūm Bey Shukayr, and quoted by Budge, is even less accurate. A comparison of these with the MSS. "D 3" and "D 7" and a pedigree⁴ lent me by a direct descendant of the "*Mangils*" suggests the following genealogical table as being reasonably correct. It is not complete and it may contain inaccuracies, but it is at least more correct, as far as it goes, than the older lists quoted. A common source of confusion has been ignorance of the fact that every "*Mangil*" after the time of 'Agīb I, the son of 'Abdulla, was known, sometimes by his own name, but more commonly by that of "Wad Agib."

¹ In the 'Abdulldbi pedigree three generations interpose between 'Abdulla and Rdfa'i (ancestor of the Rufa'a).

² It was perhaps between 1779 and 1790 as Muḥammad el Amin, who is specifically alluded to in D 7 as "Sheikh of Kerri," was their headman during that period.

³ See Appendix to this section. The 'Abdullab appear also to have practised the Fung custom of slaying their king, for which see p. 50, and (Part IV) MS. D5(a).

⁴ It only gives a single line of names from son to father. These names are marked with an asterisk in the following tree. The figures mark the order of succession: the letters refer to the footnotes that follow.



(a) See D 7, v and xv. Cailliaud wrongly calls him 'Agib.

(b) „ D 7, v and xx. He is Cailliaud's "Mangalek el Kebyr."

(c) „ D 7, XX. The Hammad el Sanrih and his son 'Othmdn mentioned in Cailliaud's list and in D 3 seem to have obtained the power after this man.

(d) „ D 7, XLIII.

(e) „ D 7, LVIII. Cailliaud (III, 96) wrongly calls him son of 'Agayl.

(f) „ D 7, LVIII.

(g) See D 7, LVIII.

(h) „ D 7, LXXVI.

(i) „ D 7, LXXVII and note, and cxn.

(j) „ Cailliaud, *loc. cit.*

(k) „ D 7, LXXXIX and xc.

(l) „ D 7, CXXXVIII and CXXXVIII.

(m) „ D 7, CXL and CLXXXVI.

(n) „ Cailliaud, *loc. cit.*

(p) „ D 3, LVIII. He only ruled two months.

Now 'Abdulla Gemd'a and his successors were more than chiefs of the 'ABDULLAB: they were set in authority over all the tribes of Arabs in the valley of the Nile, excepting those in the neighbourhood of Senndr itself where the "Mek" maintained some 12,000 Nūba "to keep the Arab in subjection"¹: with the aid of these the "Mek" used to "levy the tax upon the Arabs as they went down, out of the limits of the rains, into the sandy countries below Atbara to protect their cattle from the fly²."

Bruce describes Wad 'Agib's position about 1770 as follows³:

This prince was nevertheless but the Shekh of all the Arabs, to whom they paid a tribute to enable him to maintain his dignity and a sufficient

¹ Bruce, Bk. vii, Ch. 7.

² *Ibid.* Ch. 8. Bruce computed that this system used to cost the Arabs yearly half their substance.

³ *Ibid.* Ch. 9.

strength to keep up order and enforce his decrees in public matters. As for (Economical ones, each tribe was under the government of its own Shekh, old men, fathers of families in each clan.

The residence of this Arab prince...was at Gerri, a town in the very limit of the tropical rains, immediately upon the ferry which leads across the Nile to the desert of Bahiouda, and the road to Dongola and Egypt, joining the great desert of Selima. This was a very well chosen situation, it being a toll-gate as it were to catch all the Arabs that had flocks, who, living within the rains in the country which was all of fat earth, were every year, about the month of May, obliged by the fly to pass, as it were in review, to take up their abode in the sandy desert without the tropical rains....The Arab chief with a large army of light unincumbered horse stood in the way of their return to their pastures till they had paid the uttermost farthing of tribute, including arrears if there were any. Such was the state and government of the whole of this vast country from the frontiers of Egypt to those of Abyssinia at the beginning of the 16th century.

Clearly the Arabs had no enviable lot. Bruce may again be quoted¹:

The Arabs who fed their flocks near the frontiers of the two countries, were often plundered by the kings of Abyssinia making descents into the Atbara; but this was never reckoned a violation of peace between the two sovereigns. On the contrary as the motive of the Arabs for coming south into the frontiers of Abyssinia was to keep themselves independent and out of the reach of Senaar, when the king of Abyssinia fell upon them there he was understood to do that monarch service, by driving them down farther within his reach.

The attitude of the rulers of Abyssinia and Sennedr towards the Arabs was in fact exactly that of the Mamlūks in Egypt in the Middle Ages and of the Sultans of Dārfūr in recent times.

By the time of the Turkish conquest of the Sudan the 'ABDULLAB had been independent of the kingdom of Senn&r for some fifty years, but the northern districts of their country for the whole of that period had been a prey to the marauding SHAMA². In name, however, they still ruled the country as far south as the junction of the Dinder and the Blue Nile³.

X THE INKERRIAB. Connected by race with the 'ABDULLAB are the INKERRIAB of Berber Province.

A MS. in the possession of one of them (but not included in the following collection⁴) gives 'Abdulla Gemi'a, whom, by the way the

¹ Vol. IV, Bk. iv, p. 4.

²

Caillaud, il, 195.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 198 and 220. "Lodaguib" there is of course Wad 'Agib.

⁴ An Arabic copy was kindly sent me by Mr F. C. C. Balfour of the Sudan Civil Service. The author of the MS. says "I copied it from another who copied it from its owner Sheikh 'Omar ibn Muhammad, who brought a copy from Medina.. from the noble Sayyids." Probably it is nearly all a fake.

author prefers to call a "Sayyid," descended on his father's side from the Imām 'Alī¹, nine sons, namely Dayūma, Shenda², Idris Inḡayr, Subba, 'Abūda, Adrakōg, Shāwar, 'Antār and 'Agib the Māngilak. Of these, it is said, 'Agib was the youngest and the only son of his mother, a daughter of Sherif Ḥammad Abu Dendna³. The mother of the others, it is thought, was "a girl given to him ['Abdulla] by the king of the FUNG at the time of the advance of the Arabs to conquer the Sudan."

From Idris Inkayr were descended the Inkerriab⁴, from 'Abuda the KANGAB, from Shawar the PUKALAB, and from Dayuma the KAIJSAB, the 'ARAIAB, the HAMAYDAB, the SHAWARAB, the HAMMADAB, the ZURRUK, the MATAYRIKAB, and the SHENDIAB⁵. From 'Agib, says the manuscript, were descended the MISAMIR, the 'AGIBAB, the SHEMAMIM, the 'OTHAMNA, the ASIDAB, the 'ARAYBAB and the HAMMADAB, names obviously formed from those of famous historical 'ABDULLAB.

APPENDIX ON THE USE OF THE TERM "MANGIL"

XI The term is said to be of HAMAG origin: its derivation is uncertain. The rank of *Mangil* carried with it the right to wear the "*takia*," which was worn also by the *Meks* of Sennār (see D 7 ccxi note). This "*takia*" may be described as a close-fitting hat with two stuffed flaps or wings resembling horns. Werne describes it (p. 159), and says the *Mek* of Fazoghli, the Sheikh of the BENI 'AMIR, the Sheikh of the 'ABDULLAB, and the *Mek* of the GA'ALIIN were entitled to wear it. To these may be added the Sheikh of the ḤAMMADA and the Sheikh of the KAMATIR of Khashmel el Baljr district (q.v. above *sub* RUFA'A). The GHODIAT of Kordofān say their chief in olden days also bore the title and are corroborated by others. I have myself seen *Mek* Zaybak of Rashād, a NŪBA hill south of Tekali much subject in the eighteenth century to FUNG influences, wearing a "*takia*." Jackson (p. 95) thus describes the investiture of an 'Abdullābi "*Mangil*": "The newly appointed Sheikh first received a 'Tagia,' which consisted of two horns filled with cotton; this he put upon his head before taking his seat on the throne called 'Kukur'; he was then addressed with the title of *Mek*, and saluted: may your reign be prosperous!" The Sultan then kissed his hand, and, after wishing him success, ordered the state

¹ The author allows that on the mother's side 'Abdulla was a Rufa'i, and pretends to think that genealogists have been led astray by this into thinking he was a Rufd'i by race.

² Hence, according to the author, the name of the town of Shendi. On the other hand, the Fūr say "Shendi," or "Sendi," is a Fūr word meaning the womb and that it was so named in Kungara days because all mankind went to or came from it.

³ Vide Index *sub* "Abu Dendna."

⁴ The name "Inkerriab" is more likely to be derived from Kerri.

⁵ All these are small families scattered over the Sudan. The first five sections mentioned as descended from Dayūma were by a Rufā'fa mother, the next by a Fungāwfa, the next by an 'Awadfa (i.e. G a'alia).

drum to be beaten in order to announce that the king had been crowned. ...The newly-crowned king then returned to his people with the 'tagia' and 'kukur,' for which reason the Abdelab were called 'the people of the "tegia" and "kiikur."'"

A "*Mangil*" was invested not only with a "*takia*" turban but with a (*emma*), a sword, a robe and, perhaps, a "*heikali*" or gold chain (see Jackson, pp. 92 and 95); and it is impossible not to connect these insignia with those of "JausAr who wore the turban and the two horns and the golden bracelet" in the thirteenth century at Bujards, the capital of the district which lay between Aswān and Korosko (see p. 177).

Dehérain (p. 59, quoting Junker, *Reisen*, I, 101 and 108) says: "Le roi [s.c. of Sennār] remet à celui qu'il agréé le signe du commandement, le Taquie el Qarne, bonnet de velours ou de soie bariolée orné de deux appendices en forme de cornes." The FUNG king was allowed by the Turks after the conquest to retain the right to wear the "*takia*."

At the conquest of Darfur, hats of the same description were found in the Sultan's camp. They were worn on gala days by his chief bugler and the "*Khashkhangia*" (blunderbuss-men) of the royal guard.

The title of "*Mangil*" always carried with it a considerable tract of land.

(b) THE BENI 'OMRAN

XII The BENI 'OMRAN are a tribe of indeterminate origin. They claim to be ASHRĀF but the "*nisbas*" class them as GUHAYNA. A few of them are scattered in the central Kordofan villages among the BEDAYRIA and others live in eastern Darfur, more especially near the Kordofān frontier. These latter divide themselves into:

	AWLAD EL MANṢŪR
	SHAFALIḲ
	SHELLAIJN
	AWLAD MALIK
<	BENI 'AṬIF, or 'AWAṬIFA ¹ (near Wada'a)
	TERGAMJA
	'AIAL MUḤAMMAD
	„ MUHAGIR
	„ IBRAHIM
	„ ḤASAN

and state they came from Dirāw in Upper Egypt, some seven generations ago, as traders and "*fukara*." In type they resemble the BEDAYRIA. They may be connected with the 'OMRAN noticed by Burckhardt² near Aḳaba.

(c) THE AWAMRA, THE KHAWALDA, THE 'AMARNA
AND THE FADNIA

XIII The first three of these tribes are unimportant semi-sedentary folk, each with some score of villages and herds of sheep and goats in the Gezira.

¹ Cp. " 'Ajayfat." ² Notes..., 11, 9.

Many of the KHAWALDA are in the south with the rest of the members of the LAHAWIN-KAWASMA group, and others are further north in the neighbourhood of Wad Medani.

The 'AWAMRA are in the northern Gezira and have a few settlements on the banks of the Blue and White Niles above Khartoum.

The 'AMARNA, the least numerous of the three, have villages near Gebel Moya.

The FADNIA are partly nomadic and partly sedentary. The nomadic branch graze in the valley of the Haw&d and all over the northern part of the Island of Meroe¹. Their neighbours are the GA'ALIIN proper, the KAWAHLA and the 'ALIAB². They include HALATWA, AHAYMERAB, NAFAT A, HELAYWAB and other sections.

The sedentary division of the FADNIA cultivate on the river banks in Berber Province and claim to be ASHRAF³.

(d) THE SHUKRIA AND THE DUBASIIN

XIV THE SHUKRfA. From the generality of "*nisbas*" it would seem that the SHUKRIA belong properly to the GUHAYNA group, although they have pretensions to be *ḲURAYSH*⁴.

It is impossible to say at what period their ancestors first came to the territories now occupied by the tribe in the Blue Nile and Kassala Provinces. For some centuries the SHUKRIA were of no particular importance, though we hear vague rumours of fights with the ancient inhabitants of Gebel Ḳayli for the possession of wells there⁵, and acts of defiance to the FUNG and HAMAG of the Gezira⁶.

The foundations of the eminence to which they attained in the

¹ Close to the ruins of Bdsa is the tomb of the "*feki*" Bafadni, a well-known sanctuary. (See Crowfoot in *Arch. Surv. Nubia*, xix, p. 13, and cp. D 6.)

² The 'Aliab include sections called Yezid, Idirga and Kimaylab.

³ See A 2, A 11, and especially D 6. BA classes the Fadnia as Guhayna.

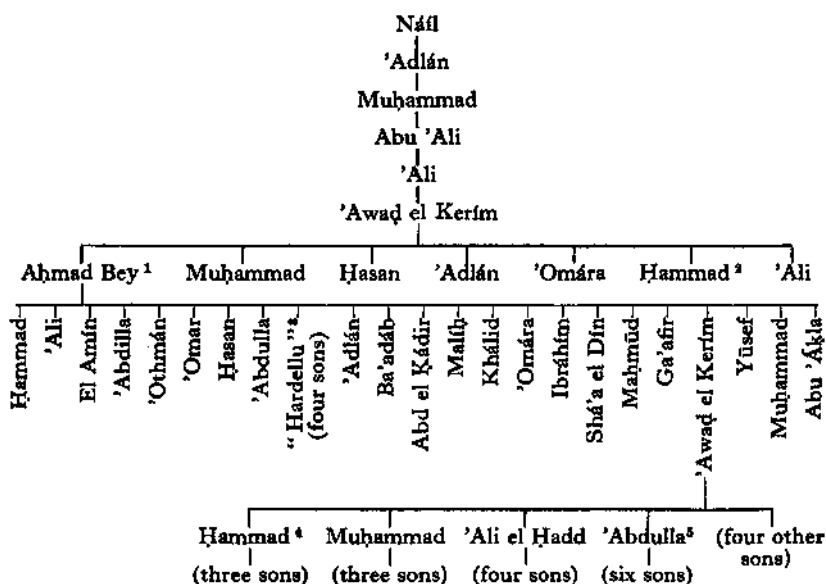
⁴ See C 5 (a) and (b). See also D 7, xi and ABC, xxviii, and notes thereto, from which it will appear that there may be a connection between the Shukrfa and the Arabian tribe of Yashkur, a branch of Kays 'Aylan.

⁵ In these traditions the Kayli folk are spoken of as '*Anag*'.

⁶ The following anecdote was told me by a Mesallami: "In the days when the Shukria were under the Hamag, the latter in their haughtiness bade the former not to foul the 'Butana' by leaving their she-camels' afterbirths ('silla') in it but to take them away and throw them into the river. The Shukria had perforce to obey, but one youth dared to disobey and the Hamag king Torunga put him to death. A year later, on the anniversary, Hammad, the brother of the murdered man, appeared before Torunga in armour and demanded his revenge. Torunga in wrath replied, 'Perform the marriage ceremony here and now to celebrate my marriage with this fellow's wife'—he reckoned Hammad, that is, as good as dead and his wife taken as loot. The ceremony was then performed (in the lady's absence of course), and Torunga made ready to slay Hammad; but Hammad slew Torunga with one blow, and Hammad's six companions slew the whole Hamag army."

nineteenth century were laid by the famous Abu Sin family. Its ancestor was NAIL, son of the Shi'a el Din wad el Tuaym, whose tomb, with that of his wife Bayaki bint el Mek¹, is still to be seen at the south-east foot of Gebel Kayli, on the edge of the Butana; and from Nail and his brother el Nur are descended most of the SHUKRIA sections of the present day.

Nail lived nine generations ago, that is, probably, early in the seventeenth century, and the table of his male descendants, or such of them as are known, is as follows:



¹ His sons, as shewn above, are in no exact order.

² See D 7 CXCIH.

³ The name denotes a hard rider. "Hardellu" used to guide the tribe when changing their pasture, riding fabulous distances to find out where was the best grazing and where the rain-water lay most plentifully.

⁴ Head of the Shukria of Kassala.

⁵ Head of the Shukria in the Blue Nile Province.

The earliest of these about whom we have any information is Abu 'Ali, who about 1779 was killed in a revolt of the SHUKRIA against the FUNG².

¹ According to some accounts the "Mek" was a Mek of Sennar, i.e. it was a Fung princess whom Sha'a el Din wedded and brought to Gebel Kayli, According to another and much more likely account she was a daughter of the (pagan ?) Mek of Kayli. She is said to have lived on the top of the hill and her people at the foot of it. The graves mentioned consist of an inner and an outer ring of stones, the former being about the size of the corpse and the outer being made merely to prevent the floods washing away the inner.

² See D7, LXXV.

His son 'Awad el Kerim Abu Sin succeeded him and must have been the chief of the tribe at the time when they, in alliance with the 'ABDULLAB, sacked Arbagi in 1784¹. He was killed in the war of 1802 against the BATAHIN².

But the greatest of all the SHUKRIA sheikhs was the "grand old Arab patriarch" Ahmad Bey ibn 'Awad el Kerim of whom Sir Samuel Baker has left so vivid a portrait³. During the early years of his sheikhship the tribe was at mortal feud both with the BATAHIN and with the GA'ALIIN and AHAMDA east and south of Shendi⁴, and, like the rest of the nomads, at daggers drawn with the FUNG government⁵.

But when the Turks conquered the Sudan they found it necessary to obtain the support of the influential sheikhs, and Ahmad Bey became one of their most trusted allies. In return, wide privileges were granted, and during the latter part of the Turkish *regime* the SHUKRIA were lords of the Butana and held a general overlordship over all the nomads of the Blue Nile, the Gezira and the Atbara, and tithes were paid to the Abu Sin family⁶ on the crops of nearly every *zvddi* in the ancient Island of Meroe.

The SHUKRIA attempted to keep aloof from the Mahdi⁷ in the early Dervish days and their power diminished in consequence. Then came the famine of 1889 and almost annihilated the tribe⁸. Now, though they are again a large and wealthy camel-owning tribe they can no longer claim any position of pre-eminence.

Part of them are now in Kassala province⁹, and the majority are between the Blue Nile and the Atbara. The head of the Abu Sin family, 'Abdulla ibn 'Awad el Kerim, still resides at Rufa'a and enjoys the esteem and respect of all, as did his grandfather Ahmad Bey, but his ancient authority is a thing of the past. His brother Hammad rules the SHUKRIA of Kassala.

The main subdivisions of the SHUKRIA are as follows:

NAILAB. Descendants of Ndil wad Sha'a el Din. They include the Abu Sin family.

NURAB. Descended from el Nur, brother of Shd'a el Din. Most of them are in Kassala Province, but there is a branch near Abu Delayfc.

¹ See D 7, xc.

² See D 7, CLI.

³ See note to D 7, ccxc, and Baker, pp. 75 and 111.

⁴ Burckhardt, p. 346, and Cailliaud, HI, 108.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 316 and 400.

⁶ Cp. Baker, p. 75. The head of the family held the title "*Sheikh el Mashdlkh*." Mansfield Parkyns (11,405) adds, however, that the same title was held by the chiefs of the Abu Gin and the Abu Rof families.

⁷ Cp. Sir C. Wilson, *loc. cit.*

⁸ Slatin, Ch. xiii.

⁹ In Turkish days Kediiref used to be known as "*Suk Abu Sin*."

GALAHIB. Descended from Gilhayb, said to be great-grandfather of Shd'a el Din¹.

KADERAB. In Kimlin district and independent of Descended from the Abu Sin family. } 'Awaḍ el Kerim

'ADLANAB } the brother of
HASANAB. Round Gebel Kayli². Nail.

'AISHAB

SHADARNA

MIHAYDAT

RITAMAT

Not descended from Shd'a el Din.

OFASA

NIZAWIIN

NOWAIMA

THE DUBASIIN. Racially connected with the SHUKRIA, though the details of the relationship are not clear, are the small tribe of DUBASI/N, who live in the northern Gezfra.

They are divided as follows:

S A I F A B } In Kamlin district.

GIFAYNAB. In Ka'mlin, Mesallamia and Khartoum districts.

GHADAYFAB } In Mesallamia district.
ILAYLAB }

GEBELAB. In Rufe'da district.

RAYDAB. In Khartoum district.

The DUBASIIN are said to have split away from the SHUKRIA some seven or eight generations ago. For the most part they remained nomadic until the present generation—nor are they yet entirely sedentary—but their wanderings in search of grazing never extended much more than seventy miles or so south of Khartoum⁸.

In Turkish days they were at feud with the ḤALAWIIN branch of the RUFA'A.

(e) THE pUBANfA OR DUBAINA

XV The name of this tribe does not occur in the genealogies of the Sudan, a fact which in itself is good evidence that their present claim to be Arabs is of the slightest, and they would appear to form, from the racial point of view, a part of the SHANGALLA congeries peopling the fertile belt which bounds Abyssinia on the west.

¹ Between Sha'a el Dm and the eponymous ancestor Shaklr or Shukur the names vary in different verbal accounts: e.g. one (that of Aljmad Kayli) gives them from son to father thus: "Sha'a el Din, el Tuaym, Um Besha, Gilhayb, Wahshi, Shaklr"; another (from the Abu Sin family) gives them thus: "Shd'a el Dfn, el Tuaym, JJabashdm, Tagir, Sa'ud, Wahshi, Zayddn, Shukur."

² The curious adoption of the surname "Kayli" by the successive hereditary sheikhs of this section is noted in A 7 (q.v.).

³ They are said to have had "gerf" (foreshore) cultivation at Khartoum before the site was taken by the Turks for building the present town.

⁴ They are called either indiscriminately.

Bruce¹ places them in the Mazaga district near the junction of the Setft and the Atbara, and speaks of "the Dobenah, the most powerful of **all** the Shangalla, who have a species of supremacy, or command, over **all** the rest of the nations": he sees in them the descendants of Ptolemaeus's "elephantophagi." Again he calls² "Dobenah" a "general name" for the tribes who shared with the Basa of the Atbara ("Tacazze") "the peninsula formed by that river and the Mareb" (the *Ḳash*³). He recalls⁴ the attack made upon them by Yāsūs I of Abyssinia (1680-1704) and concludes⁵: "Thus ended the campaign of the Dobenah.... And yet, notwithstanding the smallpox, which, in some places, exterminated whole tribes, the Dobenah have not lost an inch of territory, but seem rather to be gaining upon Sire." On the other hand, relating the expedition of Yāsūs II in 1736 into the territories of the FUNG Bruce says⁶: "The King, in five days marching from Gidara, came to a station of the Daveina, which is a tribe of shepherds, by much the strongest of aliy in Atbara." These "Daveina," whom Bruce seems to have forgotten to connect with the "Dobenah," although he himself in different places⁷ tells us of each that it inhabited Mazaga district, are certainly the Pubdiḥna or Iḍubdnia of the present day, and must surely represent a more arabicized branch of the Shangalla "Dubena"⁸ settled rather farther west than their kinsfolk⁹.

Werne in 1840 speaks of the ḌUBAINA as a very large tribe in the neighbourhood of Kedaref and Kallabdt, "second to neither the Beni-Amer nor Haddenda"¹⁰.

Baker met them and their sheikh 'Adlan wad Sa'fd in 1861 with the SHUKRIA on the Atbara round Tomat. They were then still a considerable tribe owning many cattle and sheep, and at enmity with the GA'ALIIN refugees of Mek Nimr's family, who were settled on the Abyssinian border¹¹. In his map Baker shews them as occupying all

¹ Vol. iv, Bk. iv, p. 30; and Vol. m, p. 4; and map ("Dubeno").

² Vol. in, Ch. iv, p. 472.

³ In Vol. vi, p. 244, however, Bruce speaks of "The Baasa, or Dobena Shangalla."

⁴ Vol. ill, Ch. iv, p. 472. ⁵ *Ibid.* p. 479.

⁶ Vol. iv, Bk. iv, p. 119.

⁷ *Ibid.* as quoted, and Bk. vi, Ch. 1, p. 44.

⁸ Bruce's editor (Vol. in, Introd. p. 4) says: "To the north of Abyssinia they [the Shangalla] are mixed with Arabs, the Beja, and the Belowe" [*i.e.* the Belū]; in which quarter they are called Dubena.*

⁹ Mansfield Parkyns (map to Vol. 1, and cp. Vol. 11, p. 404) places the "Daveina Arabs" between the Rahad and the Atbara, immediately south of the fifteenth parallel.

¹⁰ Werne, p. 187.

¹¹ Baker, pp. 136, 279, 447. Cp. M. Parkyns (11, 404), who speaks of "Abu Jin, great chief of the Daveinas." As Abu Jin was head-sheikh of the IJammada we must suppose the Dubaina were under the overlordship of that tribe.

the country between the Rahad and the Atbara to the south of the SHUKRIA.

The present habitat of the DUBANI A is much what it was in the time of Bruce and Baker. There are some of them between Keddref and Qallabdt; but most of the tribe was extirpated by the Dervishes. The survivors are sedentary and poor. A few are at Keddref with the SHUKRIA, and a few survive in the villages that border on the Blue Nile.

THE FEZARA GROUP

XVI The term FEZARA is now no longer heard in the Sudan, **but** to the travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and perhaps even until the "*Mahdia*," it was the usual denomination of the largest group of camel-owning nomads of Kordofan and Darfur¹. These are now much more distinctly divided and each tribe is known by its own flame.

Before embarking on details of these tribes we may remark it as curious that the FEZARA who emigrated from Arabia to Egypt were an Isma'ilitic tribe, a branch of KAYS 'AYLAN, whereas the GUHAYNA, from whom the FEZARA group of the Sudan claim descent, were Kahtanites and therefore very distantly related indeed to the FEZARA of Arabia. The apparent anomaly is, however, explained to some extent by the fact that the FEZARA and the GUHAYNA have always been neighbours in the Hegdz, and probably for that reason took part in the same tribal migrations² and intermarried with one another. Again, some confusion might naturally arise between the two groups of FEZARA and GUHAYNA owing to the fact that while a section of GUHAYNA happened to be named KAYS and to have one subsection called GHATAFAN and another in which the names Dhubidn and 'Abs occur at a comparatively early date, the FEZARA were the largest section of the BENI DHUBIAN, who again, with the BENI 'ABS, formed the two main branches of the great GHAFAN subtribe of KAYS 'AYLAN³. But although this similarity of nomenclature may have been due to no more than coincidence, it is more probable that it betokens the close intimacy of the two tribes and their interrelation by marriage.

Let us take the various FEZARA tribes of the Sudan in turn:

¹ El Tunisia map, *e.g.*, speaks of camel-owning nomads called Fezira comprising the Maljdmdf, the Megdnin, the Beni Gerar, the Beni 'Omrñ and the Messrfa Zurruk. Bruce's map places "Beni Faisara," "Cubbabeesh," and Beni Gerdr in the Baytda.

² See Part I I, Chaps. I and 2.

³ See Wiistenfeld, I and H. and Tree i in Part I I, above.

(I) DAR HAMID

XVII Until the latter part of the Turkish period this tribe was almost entirely nomadic and to a certain degree it is so still. For several generations past a portion of it has been with the KABABISH of Dongola and a yet larger section with the western KAWAHLA, who until the "*Mahdia*" were incorporated as a subtribe with the KABABISH of Kordofan. Both of these outlying DAR HAMID groups remain entirely nomadic¹.

The remainder of the tribe has built many villages of straw "*tukls*" in the well-wooded, fertile and undulating district which marches to the north with the high, rough country of the KABABISH, and many of them reside there all the year round cultivating "*dukhn*" or grazing according to the season; but in the "*Kharif*" a large proportion of the tribe take their coarse woollen tents and move some distance northwards and westwards like the true nomads until the rainwater has dried up and they have to return to the villages in and around the "*Khayran*". The nomadic character of the tribe made it easy in the last century for various DANAGLA and others to acquire possession of many of the basins of the "*Khayrdn*" which are cultivable by "*shaduf*" and "*sakia*". The DAR HAMID having no interest in or knowledge of artificial irrigation only used the wells in the "*Khayran*" for watering their flocks, and were content to let others grow vegetables. In addition the DANAGLA were special *proteges* of the Turks and always sure of support if any attempt was made to oust them.

It is hard to say at what period the DAR HAMID took up their abode in central Kordofan. It may have been in the first half of the sixteenth century, or it may have been earlier, at the time of the great southern movement of the GUHAYNA tribes through Dongola.

Their ancestor Ḥdmid "el Khuayn" lived, according to their "*nisbas*," from eleven to thirteen generations ago. He and his brother Ḥammad, it is said, came from Egypt and pushed through to Dirfūr, and their descendants took up their abode partly in Ddrfūr and partly in Kordofan.

XVIII The main divisions of the tribe are the FERAḤNA, the HABABIN, the MERAMRA, the NAWAHIA, the 'ARIFIA, the AWLAD AKOI, the MEGANIN and the GILAYDAT; and the parentage attributed to some of these by tradition throws some light on the early connections of the tribe. The mother of the first two is said to have been from Gebel

¹ The commonest camel-brands of the Dai Hamid Kawdhla are the same as those of certain of the Meganin branch of Dar Hamid.

Midob in northern Darfur¹; the mother of the NAWAHIA² a Persian from Baghddd whom Ḥāmid found astray: the child she was carrying when Ḥāmid found her came to be ancestor of the Baghadda³, who have several villages among the Dar Himid. The AWLAD AKOI⁴ are said to be descended from Hdmid's brother Hammad, the 'ARIFIA to have come for the most part from Borku, and the GILAYDAT to contain a large element of "slave" or negro.

It is likely that though the eight tribes of DAR HAMID may have been closely connected in antiquity, and are certainly so by inter-marriage at present, their being grouped together under a common designation was primarily due to their occupying a single tract of country under the leadership of a single chieftain: as Pere Jaussen says⁵:

Bien qu'admettant la descendance naturelle d'un seul homme qui represente la souche de toute la tribu, les Arabes n'excluent point l'accroissement de la tribu par adhesion, ni meme une origine par simple agglomeration d'entites independantes se reunissant autour d'un cheikh, qui donne son nom a tout ce groupe.

The FERAHNA, HABABIN, MERAMRA, MEGANIN and NAWAHIA are probably of the same original stock, and the remainder, though cognate to them, may be later accretions. The story of the child who became ancestor of the BAGHADDA is no doubt a symbolical method of stating that the forefathers of the DAR HAMID on their way to Kordofan and Darfur attached to themselves some of those BAGHADDA whom we know to have been settled among the KANUZ between Aswdn and Haifa⁶.

XIX Of the history of DAR HAMID until the eighteenth century we know nothing. It was perhaps during the first half of it that the MERAMRA under one Kirialo were the ruling section of the tribe then camping partly in Kordofan and partly in Darfur. Kirialo fell under the displeasure of the Sultan of Ddrfur on account of his refusal to collect the whole tribe round the capital and was imprisoned, and his "nahas" passed to 'Abd el Hamayd the sheikh of the AWLAD AKOI. The latter set off with a force of ZAGHAWA and KURA'AN, ostensibly to enforce the Sultan's orders, but having once reached

¹ An alternative story as regards the Ferdhna is that their name is connected with Fara'on (Pharaoh) and that they are mainly descended from Egyptian traders.

² The word "Nawāljia" is said to be formed from that of "Muḥammad Najī," son of Ḥāmid (by Um Kassawayn).

³ Sing. "Baghddi."

⁴ Cuny's (p. 175) "Arabes Goi."

⁵

Pp. 114, 115.

⁶ See Burckhardt, p. 26. "Among these [the Kenuz] were also Bedouins of the neighbourhood of Baghdad, whose descendants are still known by the name of Bagdadli."

Kordofan he conciliated the ZAGHAWA and settled them at Kagmdr, enslaved the KURA'AN, and placed himself under the protection of the FUNG. A general concentration of the DAR ḤAMID in Kordofan followed, and during the period of FUNG ascendancy in that province the tribe seems to have paid them tribute.

The " *naḥds* " remained with the AWLAD AḶOI for three generations after 'Abd el Ḥamayd, and then passed into the possession of the HABABIN, who had become the richest and most powerful section of the tribe, and whose sheikh Um Beda wad SimAwi was their leading warrior.

From Um Beda the " *naḥds* " descended to his sons Tumsāḥ and 'Abd el Salam¹ and his grandson Simawi "Giraygi'r".²

It is on account of the chieftainship having been in the hands of the HABABIN throughout the Turkish period that travellers not uncommonly spoke of "the HABABIN" when they intended to denote the whole of DAR ḤAMID³.

XX At the present day each of the sections has its own sheikh and there is no single head of the tribe with a " *naḥas* " The most nomadic of these sections, because the richest in herds, is the MEGANIN⁴, the bulk of whom are on the western confines of DAR ḤAMID and roam almost as far north-west in the rains as do the KABABISH and KAWAHLA. It is only lately that they have begun to clear parts of their country for cultivation and to form villages and to tap their forests for gum. Grazing their cattle and sheep and raiding those of their neighbours had long been their only occupations.

They have now become entirely separate from the rest of the tribe⁵, and are still more or less unregenerate.

A section of the MEGANIN lives apart round el Ḥashdba in eastern Kordofán and is completely cut off from the rest of the tribe. They were first noticed by Baron J. W. von Miiller between 1847 and 1849⁶.

¹ Q.v. Cuny, p. 154.

² Slating "Grieger."

³ E.g. M. Parkyns and Cuny (pp. 154, 161, 173).

⁴ Sing. "Magnūni" (i.e. "Madman"). A curious example of the cheerful and wholesale acceptance by a tribe of a depreciatory nickname (see Andrew Lang, *The Secret of the Totem*, Ch. vi).

⁵ They are mentioned by el Tunisi as a large tribe rich in herds and paying tribute to Ddrfür (*Voyage au Darfour*, p. 87). He includes them and the Malīdmīd, the Beni 'Omrdn, the Beni Gerar and some of the Messfrā Zurrūk under the term "Fezdra" ("Ferdra by misprint; see *loc. cit.* p. 129). Nachtigal (*Ouadai*, p. 71) alludes to them in Wadal as "de la famille des Mahamid's." Cuny (p. 78) speaks of them as a separate tribe and says they, the Ma'alia, the Kabdbfsh, the Beni Gerdr, and the Zayidfā, meet at Um el Bahr in northern Kordofan. However, when in 1906 their sheikh bought a " *naḥas* " for the Megdnfn, even his own tribe regarded his action as presumptuous and would not allow it to be beaten.

⁶ See *journ. R. G. S.* Vol. xx, 1851.

The following are the main sections of the MEGÁNfN¹:

A. 'AYÁDIA	{	1. AWLÁD GIMÍ'A
		2. „ GIMA'A
		3. „ GÁMA'I
B. HAMAYDIA	{	1. TAGŪLA
		2. RAYWÁT
		etc.
C. NÁS TIBO		
D. AWLÁD MÁPI		
E. AWLÁD RŪMÍA		
F. HAYÁDIRA		
G. GHADIÁNÁT		
H. AWLÁD SÁ'ID		
I. AWLÁD FAḌÁLA	{	1. ABU RISHAYD
		2. MARKŪK
J. MESÁ'fD ²		

No particular camel brand is distinctive of the whole tribe. Each section uses its own, and the subsections add each its own variation³.

XXI The FERÁḤNA are the subtribe of DÁR HAMÍD richest in sheep and in land, but they are nearly all sedentary and are regarded as "*nouveaux riches*". They have taken advantage of the fact that many of the best "*Khayrḍn*" fall within their boundaries to cultivate them by artificial means. Or, maybe, there is some truth in the story of their Egyptian connection and for that reason the cultivable basins originally fell to them.

Their subdivisions are as follows:

EL SHERAMA	EL BERAYKAT
EL ṬURSHA ⁴	EL FILIAT
EL AḲARIB	EL NA'AMIA
EL GHUBSHAN	EL 'AWAMRA
AWLAD ḤIZMA	EL SHOWAL
EL KERIMIA	

XXII The HABABIN⁵ and the MERAMRA are, after the MEGANfN, the

¹ Some of the smaller subdivisions of these are omitted, but they can be found in my *Tribes...*, p. 129.

² The Mesd'id say they are not Megánfn at all by origin. The name is merely a plural of Mas'ūd and not uncommon as a tribal appellation. The best known Mesa'fd are those settled on the Arabian coast near Muwayla and Gian and thereabouts: these are a branch of the tjuwayṭāt (see Burton, *Land of Midian*, 1, 87 ff.).

³ See MacMichael, *Camel Brands...*, p. 27.

The name Ṭurshán occurs in Klippel's list of Egyptian Bedouins: he speaks of the Ṭurshán as "d'origine berbère." Sir C. Wilson (p. 4) mentions "Tarshan" among the semi-nomadic Arabs north of Aswán. "Ṭurshán" occurs also among the Awlād Aḳoi.

⁵ Pallme and Werne confuse the Hababln with the Habbania (Bakkara) between whom, though the singular of both names is "Habbāni," there is no traditional connection at all.

most nomadic sections of DAR ḤAMID. Both have numerous villages, west and east of the FERAHNA respectively, but neither own any of the "*Khayran*"

The subdivisions of the HABABIN are as follows:

{ NAs EL SHEIKH ¹	AWLAD ḤAMID
AWLAD ANIS	" SELMAN
" 'AWĀNA	ELFAS
" SAKĪRAN	NAs ḤAMIR
" ZAGHAWA	FELLATA
" NAKCR	AWLAD MILAYT
UM SA'ADEN	NUGH CRA
ABU 'AMAR	KAKKO
AWLAD WASIK	AWLAD MUHAMMAD
EL KIRAN	[" DAIR »
AWLAD BILAL	

Those of the MERAMRA are as follows:

A. SAMNIA	{ 1. NAs HADHLŪL
	2. " MA'AF A ²
	3. " NUṢAR ²
	4. SELLAM
	5. AWLAD ḤATIM
	6. NAs BIIḤAYL
	7. GEZAY'I
	8. ABU TINAYTIM
	9. DOWASHNA
B. MESABIH	1. TURKU
C. DAR EL BA'AG	1. GHUBSHAN
	2. NAs ABU 'ALI
	3. KURUMUSIA ³

XXIII The NAWAḤIA have between thirty and forty villages north of Bara and others farther east near Um Dam: they also own one or two of the "*Khayran*" Their subdivisions are as follows:

A. AWLAD MUḤAMMAD	{ 1. AWLAD 'AGAYL
	2. RUSHDANA
	3. AWLAD SA'AD
	4. ḤANAFID
	5. AWLAD KERAYM

¹ The distinctive brand of this the ruling section is a "Ga'aba Khashm el Kelb" ("dog's mouth on the buttock"), i.e. > to the left of the tail (MacMichael, *ibid.*).

² Both names occur again in almost identical form among the Nawdrjia.

³ Nachtigal gives the Kurumusfa as a separate division of the Fezdra, together with the Zayddia and various Ddr Hsimid tribes (see Helmolt, p. 585). Other Kurumusia are with the Zayādfa at the present day.

- B. BILALIA 1. EL BERABISH¹
 C. GAMCfA
 D. MUFETTIH
 E. IJAMDANA
 F. AWLAD GIMA'AN I. ABU 'ALWAN
 2. AWLAD FERAYHA
 G. AWLAD 'ABD EL DAIM
 H. UM BURÜR
 I. NUŞARIA
 J. AWLAD MA'AFA

XXIV The 'ARIFIA were for long in Daḡfūr or west of it and have absorbed much of the blood of those parts. They are now settled in the southern part of Dār Ḥāmid with the GILAYDAT to the west of them.

Tl[^]pir subdivisions are²:

- A. 'AMIR { 1. AWLAD RAMAḌAN
 2. NAs UM BIRSH
 3. EL KHANSÜR
 B. SAN AD { 1. ABU SU'ŪD
 2. NAs EL Ḍow
 3. NAs KIDDU
 4. 'ABD EL SALIM
 5. EL ḤAG
 6. ABU ḤAMMAD
 C. 'ATWA { 1. NAs BELAL
 2. „ BALOL
 3. „ BILAYL
 4. ABU KUSAYRA
 5. ABU EL R6YYAN

XXV The AWLADAḲOI live to the north-east of the other DAR ḤAMID tribes, in Um Gurfa and eastwards. A portion of them are, in addition, permanently nomadic.

Their subdivisions are:

AWLAD ḤAMAYD	AWLAD GAMŪ'A
FAḌLU	'UTUḲ
MUGLAN	AWLAD ḤAMMŪD
ḤUGAG	TURSHAN ³
AWLAD GAMA'I	AWLAD RAYS

¹ Barth mentions a small Arab tribe of this name living subject to the Hogār north of Timbuktu, and identifies them provisionally with the Perorsi of the ancient geographers (Barth, Vol. v, App. i, pp. 464, 465, and map opp. p. 1).

² The fourteen subsections given only date from four to six generations ago. The three main sections are older.

³ Cp. *sub* Ferdhna.

XXVI The GILAYDAT though classed as DAR ḤAMID are regarded askance by the rest of the tribe. It appears that they represent a blend of some of the earliest Arab immigrants to Kordofan with the autochthonous negroids. Riippell, Pallme, Parkyns and others class them with the GHODIAT and GAWAMA'A.

Their present habitat is round Gebel Um " Shidera " (i.e. Shagera) on the south-west limits of Ddr Ḥdmid. Many GILAYDAT were in DARfūr, between el Fisher and the ḤAMAR country, in Turkish days¹, but since the devastation of the "*Mahdia*" there have been no more than a few of their villages left there, and nearly all that survived settled in Kordofan.

Their subdivisions are as follows:

RUDANA	AWLAD WALID
NAṢIRAT	AWLAD DEFIN
AKASHIA	UMBADIRIA ²
AWLAD ERBŪD	ḤARBIA ³

(g) THE ZAYADIA

XXVII The ZAYADIA also appear from the "*nisbas*" to be related closely to the FEZARA group.

They are frequently mentioned by travellers⁴ in the nineteenth century as one of the principal tribes of the northern steppes, generally in connection with forays on caravans or fights with the KABABfSH, BENI GERAR and ḤAMAR, on the Wādi el Melik and even as far east as the Debba-El Ḥardza route⁵.

In 1883 the ZAYADIA of Ddrfur were assessed for tribute at £E. 2500 and those of Kordofan at £E. 55 only⁶; but the tribe was all but wiped out in the "*Mahdia*," and now that it has recovered some small measure of prosperity the proportion in which it is distributed as between Dārḥūr and Kordofān has been reversed on account of the persecution to which it was subjected by the Sultan 'Ali Dīnār. A number of the AWLAD GABIR and AWLAD MUFADDAL sections still remain round el Mellīt and el Sayḍh, north of el Fdsher, but between 1904 and 1913 nearly all the AWLAD GERBŪ'A fled for refuge to Kordofān⁷. They are now settled at Um Gózayn on the south-western confines of Dar Hamid, and such of them as have any wealth in herds remaining spend the "*kharif*" in the north-

¹ Burckhardt also mentions them in Ddrfur in 1814 (*Nubia*, p. 481).

² See note to BA, LXVII.

³ These were mostly nomadic until the last decade.

⁴ Eg. Burckhardt, p. 481.

⁵ See Cuny, p. 94.

• See Stewart.

⁷ The emigrants of 1913 were accompanied by a few Gilayddt from DdrfQr.

west of Kordofan with their nomad cousins of the DAR ḤAMID and the SHENABLA.

The subdivisions of the ZAYADIA are as follows:

A. AWLĀD GERBŪ'A¹

{	1. NĀS ḤASAN
	2. „ ADRAḠ
	3. „ SHŌK
	4. „ SHERRI
	5. „ ABU ḤAMMĀM
	6. 'AIĀL SULAYM
	7. 'ISĀWĪA ²
	8. NĀS EL TŌM
	9. NAFĀ'IA
	10. NĀS KIRTŪB
	11. UM DERĀWA
	12. AWLĀD FĀRIS
	13. 'IMAYRĪA
	14. MISĀMĪR
	15. GETĀRNA
	16. KURUMUSĪA ³

B. AWLĀD MUFADḌAL

{	1. AWLĀD 'AWANULLA
	2. „ IMĀMA
	3. „ BAYBŪSH
	4. „ ZAYN
	5. „ WĀFI
	6. „ SHAḤĀWĪN
	7. „ 'AWĀDA
	8. „ 'AWĀDĪA
	9. „ UM GAM'ŪN

C. AWLĀD GĀBIR

{	1. 'AIĀL SABT EL NŪR
	2. „ RIḠAY'A
	3. „ ABU MIS-HIM
	4. AWLĀD TĀTŪN
	5. „ ABU MA'ĀLI
	6. „ ḤAMMŪD
	7. „ GUBĀRĀT
	8. „ ZAYD
	9. „ BERBŪSH, or BERĀBĪSH
	10. NĀS UM GEMA'A

The ZAYADU have no distinctive tribal brand common to all⁴.

¹ Gerbu'a = jerboa. The name "Gerdbi'a" (BA, XCVII) appears to be a plural formed from Gerbū'a: cp. note in Part III, Chap. 5, para. v.

² Others are with the Kabdbish and with the Gamū'ia (q.v.).

³ Cp. *sub* Merdmra (above).

⁴ See MacMichael, *Camel Brands*, p. 35, for some of their brands.

(h) THE BENI GERAR

XXVIII At one time, from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, the BENI GERAR and the ḤAMAR were the chief antagonists of the KABABÍSH in the grazing grounds of northern Kordofan and northern Ddrfūr from the Wddi el Melik to Kagmdr, and used to raid the caravan roads running from Debba to el Ḥariza and over the Bayūda desert and down the banks of the White Nile¹.

The name "Fezdra" seems to have been more often applied to them than to any of the other nomads and it is not unlikely that they have some real connection with the FEZARA who were in Upper Egypt in the fifteenth century².

As the BENI GERAR were gradually ousted by the other, nomads, by the KABABfH in particular, from Kagmar and the northern steppes of Kordofan they tended to move farther south and to take to cultivation, near the White Nile round el Buṣāṭa and farther inland near Kadmūl in central Kordofan, while they sent their herds to graze round el Tiūs and to the east of Khorsi.

At present they have numerous villages in the White Nile Province, and a few round Kadmūl. The nomadic portion of the tribe remains in Kordofan and accompanies the KAWAHLA in the rainy season. No BENI GERAR are left now in Dárfūr.

The main divisions of the tribe are as follows:

A. MAḤABÍB

B. AWLÁD RABÍ'A

- { 1. NÁS EL AḤAYMER
- { 2. „ EL SHA'IBA
- { 3. „ KHALÁFA

C. GUBÁRÁT³

- { 1. NÁS ABU'A
- { 2. „ GUAYD
- { 3. SÍNŪT
- { 4. UM SIMAYRA
- { 5. NÁS SÁLIM
- { 6. AWLÁD GIŪT

D. AWLÁD ḤAYLA

- { 1. NÁS MŪSA
- { 2. BILAYLÁT

E. ABU ḤAGŪL

F. AWLÁD BARAKÁT

0) THE BAZA'A

XXIX The BAZA'A are reputed to be very closely related to the BENI GERAR, but the connection between the two tribes appears purely adventitious.

¹ See Bruce, Vol. vi, Ch. x; Browne (p. 325); Cuny (p. 43) and Mansfield Parkyns (R. G. S. XX, 254).

² See Part II, Chap. 1.

³ The same name occurs frequently, e.g. among the Baykdra and the Zayddfa.

The former are more sedentary, poorer and less numerous than the latter. They have several villages in the gum forests south of Gebel Um "Shidera," at Kadmul, and in the well-less district south of Um Dam, where for several months in the year water-melons form the sole supply of water, and near Abu Zabad in western Kordofdn. A portion of the last-named colony are almost entirely nomadic and are known as the GA'ADIA¹. There are also a few villages of BAZA'A in eastern Ddrfūr round Gebel Tisóma: a century ago the number was greater².

The subdivisions of the tribe in Kordofdn are as follows:

A. MAHMŪDĪA³

- 1. HAMDILLA
- 2. AWLĀD NĀSIR
- 3. „ EL AHAYMER
- 4. SA'IDA
- 5. AWLĀD 'ABD EL MAHMŪD

B. SHAFĀ'IA

C. 'AYĀDĪA, or ABU 'AYĀD

D. GA'ADĪA

- 1. AWLĀD HASAN
- 2. „ HUSAYN

E. NOWĀKĪA, or NOWĀKĀT⁴

- 1. FĀRISĪA
- 2. SUBAYHĀT
- 3. AWLĀD 'ABD EL RAḤMAN
- 4. „ EL BASHĪR

F. HUṢANA

G. AWLĀD DĀN

H. KERAYMĀT

J. RAZAKA

K. UM TĪMĀN

L. FUAYDA

(k) THE SHENĀBLA

XXX The name SHENABLA ("Esshenabele") was noticed by Burckhardt in 1810 as the name of an Arab tribe living in the hills near Damascus to the south-east and paying some deference to the Druses⁵. Burton says⁶ they were notorious thieves and had always been so. There are also SHENABLA Beduin at the present day in Egypt to the east of the river⁷.

It is therefore probable that the SHENABLA of the Sudan are an offshoot of the above.

They are primarily a nomad camel-owning tribe, who graze over

¹ These may perhaps have some connection with the Beni Ga'ad section of Ikrima who were round Aswdn in the fourteenth century. (See Part I I, Chap. 2.)

² S.S.W. of Lake Chad, near what is now the eastern border of northern Nigeria, Barth met "the Bdza, a powerful and independent pagan tribe with a language, or probably dialect, of their own, and peculiar customs"; but beyond the similarity of the names there would seem nothing to connect these with the Baza'a. (See Barth, Vol. 11, Ch. xxxm, p. 409.)

³ The eponymous ancestor's son married a woman of the Awlād IJawal section of Kababfsh.

⁴ Their camel brand is a "nun" (the Arabic letter *n*) or "naki" on the right side. Hence their name.

⁵ Burton, *Unexplored Syria*, I, 148. Cp. Burckhardt, *Notes...*, 1, 18.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Klippel, p. 8 ("El Chenâblah").

the same country as the KAWAHLA and DAR ḤAMID in Kordofn, but they have in addition numerous settlements near the White Nile.

According to the "*nisbas*" they are closely related to the DAR HAMID group. It is said that they severed their connection with these in the eighteenth century and some took up their abode near Shatt and Zerayka, west of the White Nile¹, and others joined the KABABISH congeries in the north.

A few SHENABLA also joined the ḤAMAR and are known as the GIKHAYSAT. These are a rich camel-owning section of nomads and are to be found from el Oḍaya to F6ga and Um Bel, and in the rains farther north.

The main branch, that which joined the KABABISH, remained with that tribe until the "*Mahdia*" and then broke away, together with the KAWAHLA, and have since been independent.

The subtribes of the SHENABLA are as follows:

A. UM BRAYSH

- { 1. 'ĀMIRA
- { 2. GA'ABA

B. UM 'ABDULLA

- { 1. GÓARA
- { 2. NÁS GUMA'A
- { 3. NÁS UM GÁD EL KERÍM

C. AWLÁD NÁŠIR

- { 1. NÁS MUḲÁBIL
- { 2. NÁS NUKMUSHA

D. AWLÁD DĀNĪ

E. NÁS ḤADĀD

- { 1. NÁS SALLAS
- { 2. NÁS FENAYḤA

F. 'AWĀMRA²

- { 1. AWLÁD FĀḌIL ZOWRĀB
- { 2. NÁS WAD 'ABDULLA
- { 3. NÁS WAD EL NŪR
- { 4. SHUWAYḤĀT³

G. AWLÁD ḤAWÁL⁴

- { 1. NÁS MERRA'I
- { 2. NÁS MA'AK

H. ḤAMDĪA⁵

J. ŠUBAYḤĀT

- { 1. AWLÁD AMĪRA
- { 2. KHAMÍSĀB
- { 3. NĀFA'ĀB
- { 4. KUWIĀB
- { 5. NÁS UM LĀOTA

K. ABU 'IMAYR

- { 1. NAGĀGĪR
- { 2. TAIBĀT
- { 3. NÁS WAD ZAYN

L. AWLÁD HASHŪN

- { 1. NÁS NA'ĪM
- { 2. ABU RUḌḌĪ
- { 3. MENĀN
- { 4. NÁS GHARAYRA

The brand used by almost every section of ŠHENĀBLA on their camels is the "*kurbdg*". It varies in form but is always placed on

¹ In *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofn* (p. 206) I spoke of some of these as joining the Mesallamfa. There are some Shendbla in the Mesallamfa district in the Gezfra, but these took their name, it seems, from Shanbūl walad Medani (q.v. in D 7, 79, 80 and 167). These Shendbla (the word is the plural of Shanbql, and has a singular "Shanbali," or "Shambali") are alleged locally to have some connection with the rladereb of the Red Sea coast, but evidence of this is otherwise lacking.

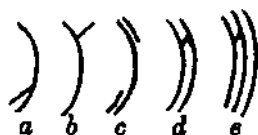
² Cp. *sub* Rufa'a.

⁴ Cp. *sub* Kabdbfsh.

⁵ Once a section of Abu 'Imayr.

Cp. *sub* Bedayrfa.

the left leg 'round the upper joint. The following are its commonest forms¹:



(i) THE MA'ALIA AND THE MA'AKLA

XXXI THE MA'ALIA. The MA'ALIA are related to the Dar Ḥmdid group, but have long been entirely independent of it, and at best were rather allies attracted by cousinship than brethren who seceded from a family league.

Thenribe is divided between Ddrfūr and Kordofdn. At the close of the Turkish epoch the MA'ALIA of Ddrfūr, camel-owners in the north and cattle-owners in the south, were assessed for tribute at £E. 1450 as compared with £E. 149 charged against the branch in Kordofdn¹. The tendency had long been for the latter to decamp westwards to evade the oppression of the Turks. But after the disappearance of the Turkish *rigime* and the subsequent crushing of the Dervish revolt a like motive led to a steady infiltration of MA'ALIA from Dárfūr into Kordofán.

By 1916 there were no MA'ALIA at all in northern Dárfūr and only a few round their old headquarters at Shakka in the south-east or living as refugees among their powerful neighbours the RIZAYKAT. But with the fall of 'Alī Dīfār in May, 1916, began yet another return movement from Kordofán to Ddrfūr and though the MA'ALIA are still far more numerous in the former they are anxious to recolonize their ancient domains in Dárfūr and will probably, before long, be fairly evenly distributed between the two provinces. In Kordofán their chief colony is round Gebel Gleit (Ḳlayt), south of the MEGANIN and west of the other DAR ḤAMID; but there are many others settled in el Nahūd, el Oḍaya, Um Ruaba³, Dilling and el Obeid districts. All these are partly sedentary but primarily nomadic. In the rains they send their herds north-westwards: in the summer most stay in their villages, but the richer folk go southwards in the wake of the BAKKARA for the sake of the grazing.

¹ A similar brand,  is used by the Beshr section of 'Anaza of Arabia (Doughty, *Arabia Des.* i, 125 and 331; Zwemer, p. 279).

² Stewart.

³ It would be these of whom Burckhardt heard as living between el Obeid and the Shilluk country (*Nubia*, p. 482).

The divisions of the tribe in Kordofán are as follows:

A. UM HAMMÁD¹

1. MUKRAYM (UM KERAYM)

- (a) AĀRIBA
- (b) NÁS FARAG
- (c) UM 'EGAYLI
- (d) ĤARBĀ
- (e) DĀR EL KHĀDIM
- (f) AWLĀD UM GIMA'A
- (g) „ KHAYĀRA
- (h) „ 'AĀĀLLA
- (j) „ UM ĤAMDA
- (k) SURŪRĀ
- (l) RISHAYDĀT

B. UM EL ĤATĀSHA

1. KHAWĀBĪR²

- (a) UM FELĀĤ
- (b) GUAYL
- (c) AWLĀD RISHDĀT
- (d) ĤIDAYBA
- (e) KHAWĀBĪR EL ĤUMR
- (f) GENĀBLA

2. 'ĀLAYĤA

- (a) ĀBU KUSAYER
- etc.

XXXII THE MA'ĀĤLA. The MA'ĀĤLA, a smaller and far more sedentary tribe, are counted by the MA'ĀLIA as subject to them; but the two tribes are racially distinct, and in Kordofán the MA'ĀĤLA are now independent. Even in Darfur, where their numbers are almost negligible, they are attempting to become so.

The MA'ĀĤLA in Kordofán are subdivided as follows:

- SAMA'IN
- 'ABADJA
- AMAMIR
- SHEALA
- UM SELMAN
- BĪLAL
- Nās LAZIM
- AWLĀD ĤASABULLA
- DĀR WALID³
- SHERAK³
- RĪBAYDAT³
- NA'ASNA³
- KELABA³
- KENAKIL⁴
- [AWLĀD ĤARAYZ⁴

- DOWRA
- TARŪM
- NĀS SELLAM
- AWLĀD QĀHIR
- SHĪLAYMAT
- BĪSHĀRIA
- 'ĀIAL SHANBŪL
- BĪSHARA
- KAGABIL
- AWLĀD GIMA'A
- „ ĀBU ĤAMMAD
- UM ZAYADA
- 'ĀBD EL ĤĀBĪB
- 'ĀLOWNA
- [GHARAYR

Each of the above sections is theoretically classed as either SAMA'IN or BĪSHARĀ and there is an "omda" of the SAMA'IN group and an "omda" of the BĪSHARU. But the "omda" of each group has many subjects from among the other and no exact dividing line can be drawn.

¹ The Ma'ālia would include among these the Ma'āfda, who are not really Ma'ālia at all.

² There are none of these in Kordofán. At the end of the "Turkla" they were one of the most powerful tribes in Darfur (see Slatin, *passim*).

³ Closely connected.

⁴ In Ddrfur.

The names 'ABADIA and BISHARJA are noteworthy as suggesting eastern connections, and there is actually a tradition among the Bi&HARf A that Khadra their ancestress was married by el Hag Bishdri, "a feki from the East," and that they are not Arabs at all but BEGA and have many relatives in the eastern deserts.

There is, however, no reason to assume that the other branch of the MA'AKLA, the SAMA'IN, is in any way connected with the BEGA or that the original BiSHARiA were anything but foreigners from the racial point of view.

The tribe as a whole claims to be related to the FEZARA group and appears so in the "*nisbas*" The only other people I have met with bearing the same name are the MA'AKLA section of the BELI. These are the ruling clan of that tribe both in Egypt and on the Arabian coast near Wegh, and it is possible that they may be connected with the great branch of BENI HILAL called the MA'AKL¹ (pervertel in Leo Africanus into "Machill" and by Marmol into "Mahequil"²), who were by origin Yemenites and had joined the BENI HILAL congeries in their great invasion of Barbary.

Whether there is any connection between the MA'AKLA of Kordofan and these other MA'AKLA it is not possible at present to say.

(m) THE DWAYH, OR DWAYHIA

XXXIII The DwAYHfA are a small and unimportant tribe scattered from the Nile westwards.

At the time of the Turkish conquest a colony of them, "*fekis*" by calling, lived at Shibba in Dar el Shdi&ia and were held in great repute locally; but when the SHAIKIA, who had relied upon the charms and assurances of these holy men to defeat the invaders, found that they had been deceived, they massacred the whole body and destroyed their village³.

A few of the DwAYHfA are still to be found scattered among the Blue Nile villages, at el Mag'udia for instance; but the main body of the tribe—and it is a very small one—is nomadic in habit and accompanies the KAWAHLA in Kordofan throughout the year.

The chief division of the DWAYH of Kordofan is the Awlâd Saldti. Their camel brand is a "*hildl*," or crescent moon, a sign also used by the DAR HAMID branch of KABABISH, on the right side of the neck.

¹ See Ibn Khaldun, ed. ar. Vol. 6, pp. 15, 17 ().

² Leo, pp. 142, 150; Marmol, p. 76.

³ Nicholls, p. 39.

(n) THE MESALLAMfA

XXXIV This tribe claims to be unconnected with the GA'ALifN'or GUHAYNA group and to be descended from Abu Bukr el Şadiķ, the first Khalifa of Islam. Hence they, like the MASHAfKHA, call themselves "Bukria."

From the "*nisbas*," however, it would seem that they are of kindred origin to the DAR ĤAMID and other "GUHAYNA."

. They live in the Gezira, where they have given their name to a district, and on either side of the White Nile, and on the east side of the lower reaches of the Blue Nile.

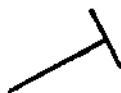
The MESALLAMIA in the Gezira and on the White Nile are sedentary.

Among their subdivisions hereabouts are the 'ANAFĻA and WASHKAB, both on the west bank of the White Nile, and, on the east bank, SIBAYKAB, WANAYSAB, MEGHAYRAB, ĤABAĶIRA, etc

Those east of the Blue Nile now have a few villages, notably Um Dubbdn¹, and cultivate in the Ĥasib and other "*wddiṣ*" but they are chiefly nomadic in their habits, and until about the middle of the nineteenth century were entirely so. Their range, however, is not great and does not extend beyond the western fringe of the Buṭāna. They graze their herds and dig "*ḥafirs*" and cultivate some miles inland from the river, but have never acquired proprietary rights to the river banks of the Blue Nile as have the RUFA'A and the immigrant MAĤASS.

Their main wealth is in sheep and goats but they have a fair number of cattle and camels also. The latter they brand with a

"ḥashasha" (hoe) on the neck, thus:



This nomadic portion of the MESALLAMIA is subdivided as follows:

IBRAHIMAB
ĤAMATIRIA
HUSAYNAB
SAHALAB
BAMBCNAB
IHAQADIL

[KHALAFULAB
SHUWAYMAB
GHUSAYNAB
| ŞABRAB
IRIZĶAT

¹ Um DubMn is built chiefly of mud. It was founded seventy years ago by the head of the Ibrdhfmdb section, father of Sheikh el 'Ebayd Muḥammad Badr. The latter was a well-known Dervish leader and Kddi of the Khalifa: he died in 1915. Um Dubbdn possesses two imposing "*Zṭubbas*" containing the remains of members of the family.

CHAPTER 3

The Guhayna Group (continued)

(i) THE BAḲḲARA

I The word "BAḲḲARA" means no more than "cattlemen," and it is primarily applied to the large group of closely cognate nomadic or semi-nomadic Arab tribes inhabiting the rich belt of country which may be roughly described as lying south of the thirteenth parallel of latitude and stretching from the White Nile to Lake Chad¹.

Generally speaking the typical BAḲḲARA at their best are a dark lithe people with clearly cut handsome features, hawk-eyed, with sparse beards tilted forward and moustaches carefully combed to bristle². The young "bloods" roll their hair in tresses back from the forehead, but with middle age the habit is discarded³. They carry a very long-shafted and full-bladed spear. The women and young girls ride on bulls and wear great lumps of amber⁴ round their necks and bosses of silver across the forehead. Their hair is brought straight forward in braids on the crown of the head and rolled back into a fringe across the forehead. Large earrings and nose-rings are also worn. They evince little shyness and do not affect the exaggerated modesty and secretiveness which has spread from Egypt along the banks of the Nile. On the contrary, the girls, though never exceeding the bounds of decency, and wearing a "*raḥad*," or a long flap of cloth before and behind, habitually display breasts and thighs to all the world⁵.

Among the men it is very frequent to note a cast of face that with

¹ The term BaḲḲdra is sometimes applied, quite legitimately, to various other cattle-owning tribes such as the Kendna, the IḲasanfa, the Bedayrfa of Kordofan, the Ma'dlia, etc.; but these, belonging to quite different groups, are only occasionally spoken of as Baladra, and that with special reference to their cattle. The term Bakkara in the Sudan, when used in a general sense, is always taken to mean the tribes dealt with in this chapter—the Bakkara *par excellence*.

² A small comb for the beard and moustache is worn hanging round the neck.

³ Browne (p. 466, App. 11) speaking of the Messrfa says they "comb their hair back, twist it, and fasten it in the form of a scorpion's tail behind": a good description.

* A fashion common also to the Kanembu. "Les femmes Kanembou aiment beaucoup Tambre comme parure et, suivant leurs ressources, les morceaux d'ambre dont se composent leurs colliers sont plus ou moins gros" (Carbou, 1, 39, 40). Compare Denham, Clapperton and Oudney's description of the Shawfa Arabs of Bornu coming to market on their bulls (*Narrative*, p. 167).

⁵ For a good account of the Bakkra mode of life see Pallme's sixth chapter.

its high protruding forehead, wide mouth and weak chin at once suggests the FELLATA, and it is an established fact that large numbers of that race have become incorporated with the BAKKARA tribes since they first settled in Central Africa. This is of course more especially true of the SALAMAT and HAYMAD, the most westernly BAKKARA, who live among a population that is largely FELLATA¹ and who appear to include sections of that people²; but it also applies to the more easternly BAKKARA as we shall see in dealing with the HAWAZMA.

II As a whole the BAKKARA are, with the possible exception of the SHAMA, the most warlike Arabs in the Sudan: they are also the most inveterate slave traders and raiders, and living as they do on the northern confines of the negro country they have indulged their predatory propensities *ad libitum* for so long as they have not been repressed by the firm hand of the Government.

The same qualities that have made them bold fighters and hunters have at all times since their settlement in Africa brought them into collision with the rulers of the more sedentary people who inhabit the zone immediately north of them, with the Sultans and *Meks*, that is, of Bornu, Wadai, Ddrfur and Kordofan.

In the dry season of the year the BAKKARA move with all their cattle to the rivers of the south and there hunt the elephant and raid the negroes, but when the rains render the southern BAKKARA country a swamp of cotton-soil infested by the fly they move northwards to the clean pastures of the higher ground and cultivate or graze their herds. It is then that they have been apt to become involved in quarrels with the sedentary people of the Sultanates.

They have not, however, been invariably successful, except in so far as a perennial evasion of the full tribute demanded may be counted success, and in consequence they have at different periods migrated eastwards or westwards along the line of least resistance and various sections have been transplanted from place to place and from tribe to tribe until it is impossible to say how they were originally grouped. In the account which follows I have taken as the units the tribes as they appear at present and specified the various sections subject to each, but it will be at once obvious from a comparison of the lists of these sections and from a study of the past history of the BAKKARA that no real racial dividing line can be drawn between any one tribe of them and any other.

In Kordofan, where, if one omit the brief orgy of the "*Mahdiq*" there has been a settled Government for nearly a century, the

¹ Carbou, *il*, 51.

² See Chevalier, *Afrique centrale française*, p. 321, quoted by Carbou, *il*, 60.

BAKḲARA tribes have crystallised into more or less permanent shape, but in Ddrfūr, where the old conditions prevailed until the deposition of 'Alī Dfndr in 1916, the old process continued in a marked degree and many families of other tribes were continually seeking the protection of the powerful RIZAYḲAT, while others, such as the BENI ḤELBA, decamped into Wadii. The occupation of Ddrfūr was the signal for most of these BENI ḤELBA and other refugees to start returning to their previous pasturing grounds.

The BAKḲARA are seen at their best in Kordofn, where the type has remained virile and independent. They are probably at their worst in DARfūr, the RIZAYḲAT excepted, for there they have been consistently oppressed and robbed and have become half sedentary, dirty, lazy and mentally inert.

III The present distribution of the BAKḲARA is as follows: on the extreme east, on the banks of the White Nile, are the BENI SELIM. In Kofdofdn, from east to west, are the AWLAD ḤAMAYD and a branch of the Ddrfur HABBANIA, both living south of Um Ruaba and round Tekali. Then the ḤAWAZMA, between El Obeid Dilling and Talddi¹; then the MESSRfA, south of Abu Zabad; and, lastly, the ḤUMR between El Oḍaya and the Baḥr el 'Arab.

In southern Ddrfūr are the RIZAYḲAT, comprising the MAḤAMfD MAHRIA and NAWAIBA, the HABBANIA, the TA'AfSHA, the BENI HELBA and a few BENI KHUZAM; and farther north some MESSRfA, TA'ELBA, or THA'ALIBA, HOTIA, SA'ADA, TERGAM, BENI HUSAYN and BASHER.

In Wadai, Bornu and Bakirmi are BENI HELBA, BENI KHUZAM, NAWAIBA, BENI RASHID (ROWASHDA) and ZIUD, and the SALAMAT.

IV The writers of the "*nisbas*" were riverain folk and evidently knew little of the distant BAKḲARA: they either omit them or perfunctorily allot to them some more than usually shadowy ancestor; but the general impression one receives from the traditional genealogies is probably a correct one, namely, that the BAKḲARA and the camel-owning FEZARA group to the north are both branches of the same great "GUHAYNA"² group, and that, furthermore, the non-FEZARA portion of this group are not all BAKḲARA but divided in the case of each tribe into cattle-owners in the south and camel-owners in the north. Thus it arises that, for instance, the MAḤAMfD and the MAHRIA are independent nomad tribes of camel-owners in northern Darfur and Waddi, while other MAHAMID and MAHRIA compose two-thirds of the RIZAYḲAT in southern Ddrfūr. It is easy to see how this

¹ There is also a small colony of them in the Fama district of the Upper Nile Province (A. E. Sudan, I, 196).

² It will be seen that the term "Guhayna" is loosely used to include a number of connected Arabian tribes, particularly Ḥarb.

may have happened. When the Arabs entered the central states¹ they came no doubt with their camels and sheep: cattle they presumably had none, or but few. As they would have been a nuisance to the sedentary population cultivating the central belt and would have had themselves no security for their herds, they naturally gravitated, some to the more barren spaces of the north, and some to the forests and bogs of the south. The camel of course cannot exist in the south because of the tsetse fly and the poisonous "*gullum*" creeper, and such Arabs as went there imitated the indigenous population and took to cattle-rearing². This is merely suggested as one way in which the tribes may have been divided, but there is no reason to suppose that other causes which are readily imaginable did not also operate to the same end. The southern group intermarried with the older negro inhabitants and became darker in complexion: the northern group mixed in the west to some extent with the TIBBU tribes but remain very much lighter.

V An interesting point may now be discussed. Did the BAḲḲARA reach their present habitat by way of the Nile or did they come due south or south-east to the Chad region and Bornu and Wadái from North Africa, and thence spread eastwards to the Nile?

The fact that 'Abdulla el Guhani is generally regarded by themselves as their ancestor, and the fact that they consider the FEZARA group as their cousins³, are obviously arguments in favour of the former view: so also is the evidence of the Sudanese "*nisbas*," which make no suggestion of a south-easterly migration. On the other hand, the "'Abdulla el Guhani" tradition might simply have been appropriated from immigrants from the Nile, and some of the BAḲḲARA do state that their ancestors came direct from Tunis or Fezzdn with their camels to the countries west of Darfurr⁴, and in giving their genealogy⁶ or history others say of some particular forebear: "It was he who brought the tribe from Borḳu" [*i.e.* Wadái: *s.c.* to Kordof&n], and these forebears are, as a rule, said to have lived from five to nine generations ago and to be the sons of the eponymous ancestors of the various sections.

But though there is no room for doubting that considerable

¹ They seem to have established themselves by "peaceful penetration" rather than by force of arms.

² The Hawazma, *e.g.*, told me their ancestors originally "bought a bull and a cow from a Felldti pilgrim."

³ See genealogical trees at the end of this chapter.

⁴ *E.g.* see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, pp. 146, 151.

⁵ I have never seen a manuscript Bal&6ra pedigree, but have written down several from oral information and seen several others so compiled. No two ever agree in every respect, but the degree of coincidence is remarkable.

numbers of Arabs did push southwards from Tunis Algiers and Morocco to Central Africa in the centuries following the Hildian invasion of North Africa¹, and though one may admit that the prevalence of the Abu Zayd el Hiteli tradition among the BAKKARA is a little suggestive, we have the definite statement of Ibn Khaldūn that in the first half of the fourteenth century the GUHAYNA swarmed over Nūbia and rapidly pushed farther afield "following the rainfall²," and modern expert opinion has heavily preponderated in favour of the view that the BAKKARA came from the east. For instance, Barth says³ of the SHOA (Shawia)—the name given locally to the semi-sedentary BAKKARA Arabs of Bornu Bakirmi and Chad, and particularly to the SALAMAT :

Of the migration of these Arabs from the east there cannot be the least doubt. They have advanced gradually through the eastern part of Negroland.... Their dialect is quite different from the Māghrebf, while in many respects it still preserves the purity and eloquence of the language of Hijāz.... These Shīwa are divided into many distinct families or clans, and altogether may form in B6rnu a population of from 200,000 to 250,000 souls.

He adds that they appear to have immigrated gradually from the east from very early times, "although at present we have no direct historical proofs of the presence of these Arabs in Bornu before the time of Edris Alawōma" (1571-1603); and he mentions the systems of blood-money ("dhia"—which by the way maintains among all the nomad Arabs of the Sudan) and infibulation of females as connecting the SAL AM AT-SHOA with the east⁴. Similarly M. Carbou, who divides the SHOA into two groups, one from the north and the other, the "Guhayna" group, from the east, also remarks⁵ that the use of the word "Nūba" for "all indigenous non-Arab Muhammadans" lends weight to the current tradition of an early sojourn in what is now the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan⁶. In the same way the habit in use among the western Arabs of denoting the KANEMBU as "Hamag"⁷ points as clearly to a connection with the "Tribes of

¹ Q.v. in Part I I. The Arabs of Bornu, Bakirmi and Chad district—chiefly semi-sedentary Bakkara—are called Shoa, or Shawja (Barth, "Shuwa" and "Shiwa") by the indigenous tribes.

² See p. 139, above.

³ Vol. II, Ch. XXXII, pp. 355-356.

⁵ Vol. II, pp. 4, 8, 9, 20, 28, 48.

⁴ Vol. in, Ch. LII, p. 465.

⁶ Carbou, II, 47.

⁷ *Ibid*, I, 36. Carbou is apparently unaware of the existence of a tribe called Hamag in the eastern Sudan and therefore fails to explain the term. So, too, Nachtigal (*Voy. au Ouadai*, p. 74) says "Les Hammedj's sont les derniers autochtones du Kanem. Ils sont de la famille des Boulala's"—also, it seems, in ignorance of the Hamag of Senndr. There is no evidence of a Hamag movement from east to west or *vice versa* at any time and the term Hamag was probably no more than an Arab importation, used to denote any uncivilized people. An exactly similar use of the word occurs in MS. C 3 11.

Guhayna" who in the sixteenth century had "reached a total of fifty-two tribes in the land of Sôba on the Blue Nile under the rule of the Fung," though most of them were "in the west¹."

The main "GUHAYNA" group having come from the east as camel-owners and shepherds in the fourteenth and following centuries appear to have straightway pushed as far westwards as Bornu, but how long elapsed before branches of them moved farther south and became BAKKARA we do not know.

In Kordofan these latter groups had been anticipated by the Ga'ali group from Dongola, who had settled round el Rahad and el Birka and intermarried with the NCBA, and it may be that the 'GUHAYNA' Arabs first became cattle-breeders in the countries west of Kordofan. But at a later date, five to eight generations ago, there was a return movement eastwards caused by adverse political conditions in the west, and various BAKKARA groups migrated to join their kin in southern Kordofan. *

The BAKKARA of the west, however, have been joined by arabicized Berbers from North Africa, and it may have been the presence of these latter that has given rise to the doubtful tradition that the BAIÇKARA came not from the Nile but from Tunis. At all events it was presumably the difficulty of embodying into their traditions both the Abu Zayd el Hildli (Tunis) connection and also the real fact of their original migration from the Nile that gave birth to the apocryphal "Great Trek" of Abu Zayd from the east over the Blue and White Niles and Kordofan².

VI Let us now take the BAKKARA tribes separately, from east to west.

(a) BENI SELIM

Of the BENI SELIM of the White Nile the "*nisbas*" can tell us nothing of any interest. Their country at present extends nearly as far south as Kdka³, and thus lies north of that of the SHILLUK and the DINKA and south of that of the AḤAMDA, but it is probably only within the last two centuries that they have been able to dominate the river banks at the expense of the two former tribes.

In the rains the fly drives them northwards, or eastwards over the river⁴.

They mix largely with the DINKA, and not being cultivators themselves rely upon them and the SHILLUK for their grain supply⁵.

Though BAKKARA, they have taken, no doubt since their movement to the river, to breeding more sheep than cattle.

¹ See p. 139.

³ *Anglo-Eg. Sudan*, I, 130.

²

See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, Chap. n.

Ibid. 1, 64.

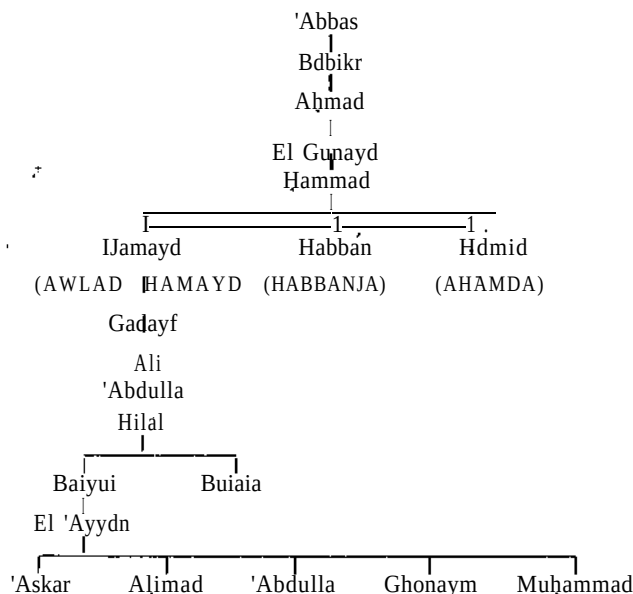
⁴

⁵ *Ibid.* I, 196.

Their two main divisions are the UM ṬARIF and the AWLAD MAIḤBOB¹.

(b) AWLAD HAMAYD

VII The AWLAD ḤAMAYD round Tekali claim to be descended through el Gunayd, the usual BAḲḲARA ancestor, from Bdbikr walad el 'Abbas, a Ga'ali immigrant to Kordofan. The pedigree they produce in support of this claim is as follows²:



El 'Ayydn, they say, was the first "*nazir*" of the tribe and he seems to have lived about the time of the Turkish conquest, *i.e.* 1821. His eighth successor, Deddn, was "*ndzir*" at the time of the Dervish revolt (1881).

The generations as given previous to el Gunayd are presumably based on pure invention and the desire for relationship with ḲURAYSH, and those immediately following him are little better.

But "Baiyui" and "Buiāia" are not names that any Arab would invent: they have a strong NŪBA ring and are probably authentic³. The name of el Gunayd and the close connection of the AWLAD ḤAMAYD with the HABBANI A are reminiscences of the usual BAḲḲARA

¹ *Anglo-Eg. Sudan* I, 130. Of their history I know nothing. Petherick records an expedition sent in 1858 from Kordofan against them by the Turks on account of their non-payment of tribute. Several thousands of cattle were taken (*Upper Egypt*..., pp. 299, 320).

² Supplied to me by Capt. M. J. Wheatley, in 1913 Inspector of Tekali district.

³ The name Buiāia occurs again as that of el 'Ayydn's great-grandson.

trees, which almost always group these two tribes and the TA'AISHA together.

Nachtigal gives some account of the AWLAD ḤAMAYD¹ of Waddi and Bornu. They were alleged to be closely connected with the BULALA.

Quand cette tribu, venant de l'Est, émigra au Soudan, une fraction demeura au Kordofan, une au Ouada'i, une se fixa au Bahr-el-Ghazal², une enfin au Baguirmi et au Fitri. C'est cette dernière fraction qui fut le noyau du grand eat qui reinit un jour les territoires des Kouka's, du Fitri et du Kanem. Cette fraction des Oulad Hamed, devenue tout à fait sédentaire, s'était alliée aux Kouka's et en avait adopté le langage (Tar lisi), ce qui n'empêchait la langue arabe d'être restée extrêmement répandue.

It seems, then, that the substratum of the AWLAD ḤAMAYD of Kordofān is in part BAḲḲARA, akin to that of the TA'AISHA and HABBANfA, and in part NUBA of the Tekali type. Their Arab 'ancestors may have settled round Tekali at the time of the great GUHAYNA movement, and they have been reinforced by others of their kin who have returned from the western countries whither they had gone at the time that the Kordofan settlement first occurred. As in the case of the ruling family at Tekali³, these AWLAD ḤAMAYD may have absorbed a slight element of the Dongolawi—sufficient at least to make them aspire to a Ga'ali pedigree—and they certainly intermarried with, or included into their particular group, various families of other BAḲḲARA.

The Turkish period provides no more than traditions of grazing disputes and desultory fighting between the AWLAD ḤAMAYD the HABBANIA and the ḤALAFa section of the ḤAWAZMA. The eventual result was unfavourable to the first-named tribe and by the date of the outbreak of the Dervish revolt they had lost many of their fighting men and a large proportion of their herds. They attempted to resist the Mahdi at first but were easily crushed, and what was left of the tribe joined the Dervishes.

It was not until the reoccupation of the Sudan that the scattered remnants of the tribe returned to their ancient haunts and were able to re-form.

(c) HABBANfA

VIII The ḤABBANIA who live between el Rahad and Sherkayla are a branch of the Dirfūr tribe of the same name and immigrated from Kalaka, which is still the headquarters of the main tribe, some four or five generations ago.

¹ "Oulad Hamed—ou Oulad Homeid, dans certaines régions—" (*Voy. au Ouada'i*, p. 13).

² Not the Babr el Ghazl of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan of course.

³ See MS. "A7."

Both in Kordofan and Ddrfur they have numerous villages and are less nomadic than the average tribe of BAİÇİCARA. In the tribal "nisbas" they are always connected closely with the TA'AISHA¹. The Kordofan section, previously to the *Mahdia*, were generally at loggerheads either with the GAWAMA'A, the GIMA'A, the ḤAWAZMA and the AWLAD ḤAMAYD, or with the people of Teḳali.

In 1876 their numbers were assessed at about 8000²: in 1881, when the tribute was reassessed, £E. 215 were demanded from the Kordofan branch as against £E. 2640 from those in Ddrfur³, but immigration in recent years, particularly by the RIAFA section, has tended to equalise the numbers of the two branches.

The main tribe in Ddrfur border on the RIZAYKAT to the east, the TA'AISHA to the west, the MASALAṬ to the north and the DINKA to the south. Their country resembles Dar Humr and Ddr Rizaykat in general, but, extending farther south, suffers more from fly and is more marshy. They cultivate less corn than the BAḲḲARA living east of them and rely largely on wild rice and "*dhifra*" (*Panicum Isachne*). Elephant hunting is much in vogue among them.

As a tribe they are divided into ṬARA and SḠṬ⁴, but the subtribes of the latter seem to be known collectively as EL ZI AD AT. There is no particular line of cleavage between the Ddrfur and Kordofan portions of the tribe and most, if not all, of the following sections are common to both.

A. TARA

I. SHEBBA (a) AWLAD ḤAMAYD (b) NOALA (c) ḤAWAILA (d) MIRAYRAT (e) HILAYLAT (f) SELMANIA. (g) AWLAD SA'UD 2. SHAYBON (a) AWLAD DELOTA (b) UM 'AḲAB (c) AWLAD MA'ABA	5 (a) AWLAD 'AFD (b) " ZAID (c) " ABU 'AMIR (d) " GARGAR (e) EL DERABIN (f) AWLAD BELLO (g) EL KAMARSA (h) AWLAD RIHAYMA (j) AWLAD IDRfs, or U M IDRIS (k) EL KIGAMA (l) ELMAHADA⁶ (m) EL HADAYLI

¹ Cp. Carbou, 11, 51, 54, where the Habbdnfa and Ta'fsha are similarly referred to as being both subtribes of "Hfmat" (i.e. Haymdd).

² Prout.

³ Stewart.

⁴ The *tar a* is properly a cymbal, the *sdt* a whip. Both occur as names of camel brands. The former is shaped and placed on the neck of a camel, the latter is a long perpendicular line branded on the quarters, from the backbone downwards, like a hanging whip. (See MacMichael, *Camel Brands...*, figs. 113, 114, 117.) The terms presumably date back to the time when the Habbaiia were camel-owners. Compare the case of the Ta'afsha.

⁵ These twelve small sections, all occurring in Kordofan, all belong either to the Shebba or the Shaybun branches.

⁶ See note on p. 83.

B. S6T

- I. RIAFA
 I (a) AWLAD ABU 'AYAD
 (b) EL FERAYGAT
 (c) AWLAD ABU NIGAD
 (d) „ SA'ADAN
 I (e) NAs KELBI
 1 (f) EL MESA'ID
2. SHABUL¹
 (a) KENAT, or ICENAYAT ² (a) AWLAD UM SUNTA
 (b) AWLAD BORKOWI (b) „ SA'ADAN
 (c) „ ABU 'ALI
 (d) EL BEDAR*N

(d) HAWAZMA

IX The HAWAZMA are perhaps more mixed with purely extraneous elements than any other BAKĀARA tribe, as the "nisba"-writers knew³, and this is due to the fact that during the greater part of the year they live among the villages of BEDAYRIA and other semi-Arab peoples in the country lying immediately north of the NŪBA hills. Of the three main divisions of the tribe one, the ḤALAFa, is little more than a league⁴ of families of TAKAR*R⁵ from the west, GELLABA HOWARA and ZENARA from the north⁶, GAWAMA'A and NŪBA, who in the days of the FUNG desired to pasture their cattle under the protection and the name of the ḤAWAZMA. The large and once powerful ASIRRA section are in Kordofan reckoned to be BEDAYRIA.

There would seem to be some connection between the true original ḤAWAZMA and the BENI ḤARB of the Ḥegd̄z, who are neighbours of the GUHAYNA and the supposition may in that case apply equally to most of the BAKĀARA. AS evidence of this connection the following passage from Burton's *Pilgrimage*¹ may be cited:

The Benu Harb is now the ruling clan in the Holy Land. It is divided by genealogists into two great bodies, first, the Banu Salim, and, secondly,

¹ A section of the same name occurs among the Mand̄sfr̄, and the best known brand of the Ḥamar Gharaysfa and of the Towal Kabdb̄sh is also called the "shabOL."

² These two small sections, both in Kordofan, belong either to the Riafa or the Shabul.

³ Cp. in particular D I cxxxiv.

⁴ Hence their name. They sealed the alliance with an oath (halafu"). For precisely the same custom in Arabia see Robertson Smith, p. 45.

⁶ Many villages of Fellata and Takdr̄r are scattered in the Bedayria-rjEawdzma country south of el Obeid.

• Both tribes are originally connected with the North African Berbers. The Zenara were a branch of the Luata. For the Howdra see Part II, Ch. 1, App.

n, 120; and cp. n, 28, and 1, 231, where the "Howazim" are also mentioned as a turbulent section of IJarb near Medina. Doughty (*Wanderings...*, II, 135) also mentions "Hazim, an ancient fendy of Harb...snibbed as Heteym."

the Masruh, or "roaming tribes/* The **Banu** Salim, again, have eight subdivisions, viz.:

1. Ahamidah (Ahmadi)....It is said to contain about 3500 men. Its principal sub-clan is the Hadari.
2. Hawazim (Hazimi), the rival tribe, 3000 in number: it is again divided into Muzayni and Zahirī.
-
6. Mahamid (Mahmadi), 8000.
7. Rahalah (Rihayli), 1000.
8. Timam (Tamimi).

The mere occurrence of the name "HAWAZIM," or ḤAWAZMA (*sing.* Ḥdzmi), might be a mere coincidence, but when we find in conjunction with it AḤAMDA¹ and MAḤAM*^D2, both names of BAḤḤARA or semi-BAḤḤARA tribes, and "RAHALAH," which is evidently the same as*RowAḤLA (*sing.* Rāḥli), one of the subtribes of the KABABISH (among whom, as we shall see, the 'AṬAWJA also are ancestrally connected with the BAḤḤARA), and realize that AḤAMDA, MAḤAM^{AD}, ḤAWAZMA and ROWAḤLA are all important groups in Kordofān, and that KABABfsh and BAḤḤARA alike claim descent from 'Abdulla el Guhani, not to mention the obvious similarity, if not the identity, between the names of Burton's "Banu Salim" and the BENI SELIM BAḤḤARA of the White Nile, there seems small room for doubt that the BAḤḤARA tribes of the Sudan contain numerous elements that are also common to the BENI ḤARB of the Ḥegdz³. The latter are an Isma'ilitic tribe, originally a section of HAWAZIN, who, again, are a branch of ḲAYS 'AYLAN⁴. In proof that some of them did come to Egypt one may quote Sir J. G. Wilkinson. 'In his list of Arab tribes east of the Nile the names of "Billee" (BELI), "Gedyneee" (GUHAYNA) and "Harb" occur in close proximity⁵.

The fact that the Prophet once said "Of a truth among the Arabs the worst names are the BENI KELB and the BENI ḤARB"⁶ may explain

¹ The singular of Aḥāmda in the Sudan is IJammadi and not Aḥmadi.

² The singular of Maḥāmīd in the Sudan is Maḥmūdī and not Maḥmadi.

³ Makrlzi (*ap.* Quatremere, n, 191) mentions Awlad Hazm as a section of the Sinbis branch of Tai in Egypt, and it is conceivable that the original Ḥawdzma, or Hawdzim, were a branch of Tai, the tribe with which the Messfria are also said to be connected. See Wüstenfeld, Tab. 6, where "Ḥizmir" refers to the same person as does Quatremere's better reading of "Hazm" (*i.e.* for), and where "el Maschr" (, "el Mashr" (Mishir?)), the son of Tha'aliba and great-great-grandson of Nebhdn, seems to correspond to "Messir" the traditional ancestor of the Messfria, who appears also in the *nisbas* as son of Tha'aliba and great-great-grandson of "Nebhdn, a section of Tai" (D 1, vn). Possibly, then, while certain Beni Tai detached themselves from the main tribe to wander southwards into the Sudan, others joined the Guhayna or the Ḥjarb; or possibly the opposite occurred and the IJawdzma broke away from their parent stem to join the Tai: almost any similar permutation is indeed within the bounds of possibility.

⁴ Wüstenfeld, D and F.

⁵

Modern Egypt..., 11, 380.

⁶ See Burton, *Pilgrimage...*, 1, 247.

why it is that the BAḲḲARA in general, and the ḤAWAZMA in particular, preserve no record or tradition of connection with the BENI IḲARB.

X The present divisions of the ḤAWAZMA, all of whom are in Kordofan, are as follows. It will be noticed that there are none of those coincidences of nomenclature between them and the BAḲḲARA living farther west which would show that overlapping and interpenetration had occurred among the two parties. Such elements in the ḤAWAZMA as are not original have been absorbed by them in eastern and southern Kordofan.

A. 'ABD EL 'ALI

{ 1 DAR GAWAD 2. AWLAD GHABOSH 3. DAR BAYTI L4. DAR NA'AYLI	{ (a) DAR BAKHOTI 1(A) DAR SHALANGO (a) DAR BAṬ'ĪJA (b) AWLAD BA'ASHdM ¹ W DAR DEBL (d) EL MA'ANAT (e) AWLAD GAMA'A (a) AWLAD ABU ADAM (b) EL ḲURA'AN

B. ḤALAFĀ

{ 1. DAR 'ALI 2. DAR FAID 3. EL ASIRRA 4. AWLAD GHONAYM 5. EL TOGIA	{ (b) UM WAD ĠAZA (b) AWLAD ḠMER (c) EL ZURRUḲ (d) AWLAD MESHERI (f) " SERRAR (f) " MA'ADA (a) DAR IGA (b) AWLAD TADU [(c) DAR TANGAL

C. ROWOWGA

{ 1. DARGAMA'I 2. AWLAD NŪBA ³ 3. DELAMIA	{ (a) EL ṬOWAL ² (b) EL ḲUṢAR ² (b) AWLAD RAḤMA (c) DAR BILAL [(c) EL FUḲARA (a) AWLAD TAYNA (b) SULAYMANIA (c) UM MAGINDA (d) DAR 'AGOL (e) EL MEMININ

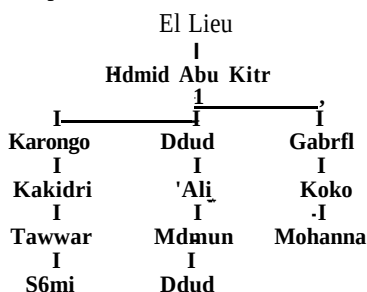
¹ Ba'ashom = a jackal. ² "Towal" = long; "Kusar" = short.

³ Nuba is said to have been son of Sanin son of Kashama.

The 'ABD EL 'ALI section, like the RIZAYKAT, MESSIRIA and HUMR, generally claim to be descended from 'Atia and say they are the true original HAWAZMA. This may well be so: a distinction is commonly drawn, as the trees show, between the descendants of Gunayd through 'Atia on the one hand and through Ḥaym&d¹ on the other, the TA'AfsHA, the HABBANfA and the BENI ḤELBA falling into the latter group and the HUMR, RIZAYKAT, MESSfRfA and ḤAWAZMA into the former; but the \ABDEL 'A L I of course contain many alien elements, e.g. "EL KURA'AN," like every other subtribe of BAḲḲARA.

Of the ḤALAFa we have already spoken.

The ROWOWGA are alleged by the other ḤAWAZMA for the most part not to belong to the tribe at all, by descent that is, but to be in part B|NI SELIM and in part KEN ANA, and to have come at some distant period from the east and joined the 'ABD EL 'A L I. They probably contain more NŪBA blood than most of the other sections. Not*only is one of their main divisions called AWLAD NŪBA but their names are suggestive: for instance, the head sheikh of the ROWOWGA, Daud el Mamun, gave the following pedigree in 1913 to a Government Inspector²:



"Karongo," "Kakidri" and "Koko" are obvious Nuba names, and "el Lieu" is certainly not Arabic.

We obtain a distinct indication of the approximate date at which the ḤAWAZMA first broke away from the parent stem by examining the pedigrees of the present generation. The names of the eponymous ancestors of the main sections are quoted as those of sons, grandsons or great-grandsons of the original "Hazim," and are generally remembered by all, though the exact relationship of each to other is not; but it is each man's own business to know how he is connected

¹ M. Carbou (II, 51-74) speaks of the IJaymdd ("Hemat") as the most important division of Bakldra descended from Gunayd. He gives their subtribes as following: "Oulad Hemed [IJamayd?], Ouiad 'Amer, Noumourra, Djerarha, Selmaniyy, Ta'acha, Nedjmiye et Habbaniyyey," and adds "Aux Hemat se rattachent encore: les Dja'SdnS, les Salamat, qui constituent une des tribus arabes les plus nombreuses de TAfrique Centrale et les Khouzam."

² Capt. A. L. Hadow.

with this family of traditional ancestors. To take the case of four prominent HAWAZMA¹: one in his pedigree gives eight generations as interposing between himself and "Delam" the eponymous ancestor of the DELAMIA, one gives six and one varies between seven and eight. So among the AWLAD NCBA seven generations are said to have lived between the present sheikh and "Nūba." One may guess that until seven or eight generations, or 200 to 300 years ago, the HAWAZMA did not exist as a separate tribe, but that the ancestors of the non-alien element among them were counted (*e.g.*) MESSIRIA until they became numerous and powerful enough to break away and call themselves HAWAZMA.

(e) MESSIRIA, HUMR, TA'ELBA, HOTIA, SA'ADA AND TEPGAM

XI The MESSIRIA and HUMR were at one time a single tribe and known respectively as the MESSIRIA ZURRUK ("dark") and the MESSIRIA HUMR ("red"²).

One finds them as a rule so referred to in the works of travellers who met them in the nineteenth century in Darfurr and west of it⁸.

In Kordofan, however, the two divisions have become so distinct that the HUMR no longer rate themselves MESSIRIA at all, and each tribe has its own "ddr" and its own sheikhs.

XII HUMR. The HUMR are divided into the AGAIRA and the FELAITA, and these two independent divisions are again subdivided as follows⁴:

The AGAIRA

A. 'AIAL KHAYR

1. AWLAD KAMIL (a) DAR MUTA

(b) " UM SHAYBA

(c) " SALIM

(d) AWLAD KIMAYL EL { (1) UM SALLOG
HAMRA { (2) UM GA'AR

(e) EL FAKARJN

(f) AWLAD TUBA

¹ Taken from Capt. A. L. Hadow's notes.

² This subdivision of Arabs into rlmur and Zurrak is not confined to the Messiria (see Barth, Vol. in, App. 7). It may have coincided originally with the division into northern and southern, camel-owners and cattle-owners, but there is no real evidence that that is so.

³ See, *e.g.*, Nachtigal, *Voy. au Ouadal*, p. 70; Barth, Vol. in, App. 7, p. 545; and El Tunisi (*Darfur*), p. 129.

⁴ These lists will be seen to differ in certain details from those given in Chap. xi of my *Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan*. For most of the corrections I am indebted to Mr C. A. Willis, who for some years was Inspector of Western Kordofan, and whose lists I have compared with those compiled by the late Capt. W. Lloyd, Mr J. W. Sagar and myself.

2. EL KALABNA
- (a) DAR NALA
 - (b) **GHASHIM**
 - (c) DIRDIMMA
 - (d) DAR NUTHA
 - (e) DAR MUGHAYBIL
3. EL MUZAGHNA
- ((a) ABU TIMAN
 - (b) 'ARIA
 - (c) DAR BAKHIT
- ((1) DAR KHANTCR
 (2) EL TIRAKNA
4. EL FAYARJN¹
- (a) AWLAD 'UḲLA
 - (b) „ UM HANI
 - (c) „ 'AWANA
- ((1) AWLAD ḤAMID
 (2) „ KHUDA'A
 (3) „ UM RAHMA
 (4) „ UM BILALA
 (5) „ MUSA
- (d) AWLAD ḤAMDCN
- ((1) AWLAD NA'IM
 (2) „ EL ḤAMRA
 (3) „ NILAMTA
 (4) „ ABU SADAK
 (\$) „ BARAKA
- (e) AWLAD KIMAYL EL ZARKA

B. AWLAD 'OMRAN

1. EL MANAMA
- (a) AWLAD UM GUD
 - (b) DAR ZABALI
 - (c) „ ḤABf BULLA
 - (d) „ BANAT
 - (e) „ RAHMA
 - (f) FADLIA BARDAN
 - (g) FADLIA SABIR
2. AWLAD 'ADIL
- (a) AWLAD NIGAYA
 - (b) „ ABU GHADAYA
 - (c) „ ABU ḤAMAYD
 - (d) „ ABU ḤAMMAD
 - (e) „ ABU ISMATL
 - (f) EL NAWAS-HA

¹ These also appear as a tribe distinct from the ḥjumar or Messiria and have merely attached themselves to the Humr. See, e.g. genealogical tree in *The Anglo-Eg. Sudan...*, 1, 334. The remainder of them are in Borku.

The FELAITA

A. METANIIN

1. AWLAD ZIADA¹
2. EL SHAMIA
3. AWLAD SHABIB
4. " 'ARAFa
5. " 'ARIF
6. EL ZIUD²

B. AWLAD SUROR

1. AWLAD UM KHAMIS
2. " GAMA'A
3. " UM 'ALYAN
4. " UM BOKATA
5. " GAFIR³
6. EL GERAFIN³

C. EL GUBARAT⁴

1. EL SHIBA'
 - (a) AWLAD ABU HILAL'
 - (b) ABU GAKAK
 - (c) " ABU ID
 - (d) " MAḤSIM
 - (e) " 'ABD
2. EL GULADA

(a) AWLAD GARFA
 b) » BUDRAN
 MUḤAMMAD

D. EL SALAMAT⁵

1. AWLAD 'ALI (c) »
2. " SA'IDI
3. " ABU IDRIS
4. EL GEBABIRA
5. AWLAD FAḌL
6. " ABU QADAYM

From an examination of some of the FELAITA pedigrees on the lines followed above in the case of the ḤAWAZMA it appears that they and the AGAIRA became more or less independent of the MESsīRfA as long as ten generations ago.

The ḤUMR country lies on the extreme west of southern Kordofan, from the neighbourhood of el O4aya to the Baḥr el 'Arab, or " Baḥr el Ḥumr." North of Muglad it consists of a great sandy plain, but to the south it is black cotton-soil covered with thick bush and crossed by sandy belts. In the rains the ḤUMR are between Muglad and the confines of the ḤAMAR to the north, but in the dry season they and

¹ Cp. El *Ziadit* among the Habbania.

² For these as a separate tribe farther west see later.

³ Most of these are in Borfu, it is said.

⁴ El Gubarat are also a main division of the Ta'aisha. Cp. also the Beni Gerar sections. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century there had long been a tribe called Gubarat in Sinai round el 'Arish. They then moved to Gaza (see Na'um Bey, *Hist. Sinai*, p. 108).

⁵ For these as a separate tribe farther west see later.

their cattle move southwards to the Baḥr el 'Arab, where they come into contact with the DINKA.

XIII MESSIRfA and TA'ELBA. The MESSIRIA are a large and powerful tribe in Kordofan, but now only sparsely represented in Darfur. In the former province they were by the middle of the eighteenth century the paramount tribe of BAKKARA as far east as Sherkeyla, but the rise of the HAWAZMA in league with the BEDAYRIA and others led to the MESSIRIA being pushed back into the strictly limited stretch of country they now occupy round el Sinuf, el Mafuṛa and the W&di el Ghalla. In Dárfūr and Waddi too they were, previously to the *Mahdia*, very numerous¹, but the havoc of that era and the exactions of successive Sultans of Dárfūr drove many into south-eastern Wadái (D&r Runga). As soon as the French were established in the north many of these moved into their sphere of influence to escape the clutches of the native dynasts, and now form a considerable proportion of the "Arabes réfugiés au Fitri"². These, it may be noted, are largely breeders of camels. They bear a bad reputation as raiders.

The MESSIRIA A remaining in Darfur live a semi-sedentary life in villages round Ḥammddi and Gebel Kirru to the east of Gebel Marra. They belong chiefly to the ZURRUḲ branch and are breeders of cattle and sheep. Among them are a few ḤUMR and a small colony of 'ARAKIIN from the Gezira.

The "nisbas" in general agree that the MESSIRIA are closely akin to the Arabian THA'ALIBA, but it is doubtful whether the apparent corroboration as to this point by the Arabian genealogists {see note on p. 281} is in fact corroboration at all or whether the tradition of the "nisbas" is not merely derived from the Arabian genealogists. It is curious to find in Dárfūr, living with the MESSIRIA, a small tribe of THA'ALIBA, or TA'ELBA as they are generally called, and to find Carbou saying of them³ "Les Ta'âlība descendant de Ta'leb, fils de Missir"—a variation no doubt of the "Meskhir son of Tha'aliba" noticed above. Most of these TA'ELBA live near the south-east corner of Gebel Marra as BAKKARA, but a few live as villagers in northern

¹ See el Tūnisi, *Ouaddy...*, p. 251, and *Darfour...*, pp. 129, 134, 297. Barth (*he. cit.*) calls them "the third tribe amongst the Waday Arabs in respect to numbers." Domboli was their headquarters.

² This process began in 1903 and the largest and most recent movement of the Messirfa, from S.E. Waddi to Fitri district, took place in 1907. See Carbou, n, 48, 49. Nachtigal (see Carbou, II, 75, 76) regarded them as of practically the same stock as the Saldmdt.

³ *hoc. cit.* The same name occurs ("Ta'dlba") among the North African Arabs. They were in the desert of Numidia near Tafcdemt in the sixteenth century, and Marmol, who calls them a branch of "Mahequil," i.e. Ma'dfcla, assessed them at 44,000 armed men in Algeris. There are still some in the same locality (see Carrette, PP- 433-445)-

Darfur with the Zaghawa round Hashaba. They are usually considered a branch of MESSERIA.

Their subdivisions are as follows:

A. AWLAD KAMUNA	1. NASAYRAB
	2. AWLAD MUHAMMAD
	3. AWLADRAGAB
B. AWLAD ZIADA	1. AWLAD NUR
	2. FAKARNA
C. AWLAD SHUWAYḤ	
D. AWLAD 'EBAYD	1. BAYBISH
	2. AWLAD BURAS
E. BENI 'ATIF ¹	
F. MAHADI ²	
G. RAWAINA	
H. NA'MAT	

The MESSIRIA A of Kordofan are subdivided as follows:

A. AWLAD UM SALIM	1. AWLAD SULAYMAN
	2. " ḤAMMŪDA
	3. „ ABU ZAYDAN
	4. „ MUSBAH
	5. „ EBDŌ
B. EL GHAZAYA	1. AWLAD UM RAYDAN
	2. „ KHAYR
	3. „ BILAL
	4. „ AGMAN
	5. „ 'AWADA
	6. „ MISMAR
	7. EL KU'CK
	8. AWLAD UM KERABIG ³
C. ELDIRAWI	1. AWLAD KUDUM
	(a) AWLAD FADLA
	(b) „ DELOT
	(c) „ GHALI
	2. AWLAD SERIR
	((a) ABU KHORAYS
	(b) AWLAD BOKHAT
D. EL ENENAT	1. AWLAD HEGLIGA
	2. „ KIDAYBA
	3. „ HILAL
	4. EL KURON
	5. EL SHUKRIA
	6. AWLAD NUSAR
	7. „ UM FARIS

¹ Cp. 'Awdtifa and 'Atayfat.
• The sing. " *kurbag* " = a whip.

² See note on p. 83.

E. AWLAD ABU NA'AMAN ¹, AWLAD MAHADI

- { 2. UMHAYUB
3. AWLAD Dow

F. EL ZURRUḲ

- / i. AWLAD GHANIM
{ 2. ABU 'ALWAN
3. EL DIRAYMAT
4. BENI SA'ID
5. AWLAD HINAYHI
6. AWLAD ḲA'ID
7. EL KURBAG
8. EL GENAḤAT

G. AWLAD HAYBAN

- (i. AWLAD 'fSA
{ 2. " GABRIL
3. " EL SHAIB
4. " FAIR
5. " ŌDA

XIV Living beside the MESSIRIA in Darfurr, in addition to the TA'ELBA, are small colonies of HOTIA A and SA'ADA, both closely cognate to the rest of the BAḲḲARA family.

HOṬIA. The HOṬIA consider themselves an offshoot of the MESSIRIA.

Their main division is into the BAB and the SHIBAYLAB, and these are again subdivided into the following nine groups:

{	AWLAD SULAYMAN	{	AWLAD GHANIM
	" DERAYS		" BARAKA
	" NAWAR		" NAṢIR
	" NYAMAK		BEDAYRAB
	" DAFI'A		

SA'ADA. The SA'ADA, who live north of Showdi¹, are divided into:

{	AWLAD	DAIOK	{	AWLAD 'AFISA
	" AHMAD			EL NUWAYAT
	" HILAL			EL BEDRIA
	" RAGAB			EL SIMAYRIA

TERGAM. The TERGAM used to live in north-western Ddrfur and were moved by 'Ali Dīnār to the east of Gebel Marra. There they live with the BENI HUSAYN, HOTIA and TA'ELBA Arabs and the sedentary FUR as their neighbours, and breed cattle. They call themselves "'Aṭawa" (descendants of 'Atjā) and so belong to the same tribal group as the RIZAYKAT. There are few of them in Darfur, still fewer in Dār Maṣḍlīṭ and Wadii², and none elsewhere.

¹ Many of them and of the Tergam were until about ten years ago round Kebkebia and Kulkul, but they were removed by 'Ali Dinar.

² Carbou, il, 84.

Their chief subdivisions are as follows:

A. DERAISA

1. AWLAD SA'ID
- (2. " SAYFELDIN
3. BASHIRIA
4. HASABON
5. AWLAD ABU FATIMA
6. HAMMADIA
17. 'ATAWIA

B. ZUAIDA

1. AWLAD ABU HILAL
- (2. " YOGA
3. " SIRBAL
4. " EL KOWAL
5. KANGO
6. KHUSHMIA¹
7. HANASHA

(I) RIZAYKAT

XV The RIZAYKAT are all in Darfur and are the richest and most powerful tribe in that country. They live in the extreme south-east, with the HUMR east of them, the DINKA to the south, the HABBANIA to the west, and the MA'ALIA and sedentary BIRKED BAYKO and DAGU to the north. Owing to the natural advantages of their country, which in dry weather is bounded on the north by a broad waterless belt and in the rains is marshy, and to their naturally warlike disposition and abundance of horses, they were able to resist all aggression by the Sultan 'Ali Dinar. But whereas a hundred and fifty years ago they roamed in the rainy season over a large part of central Darfur they were in his time unable to pass far north of the eleventh degree of latitude lest he should attack them and seize their cattle in settlement of ancient claims.

They cultivate south and west of Shakka at Abu Gabra, Um Matarik, el Tuhama, etc., and in the dry season go south with their cattle to the Baḥr el 'Arab, where raids and counter-raids between them and the DINKA have been of yearly occurrence.

Breeding from slave-women, DINKA, MANDALA (or BANDALA) and SHATT for the most part, has markedly affected the racial purity of the RIZAYKAT.

The first Sultan of Dárfūr known to have seriously attempted to deal with the RIZAYKAT was Tirāb, in the second half of the eighteenth century. The RIZAYKAT foiled him by retiring into the boggy country to the south and harrying his troops on all sides². Since then each successive Sultan was non-plussed in the same way whenever he tried to exact more than a nominal tribute³, and in consequence large numbers of other Arabs who were less successful or more fearful took refuge with the RIZAYKAT. Most of these were HABBANIA, BENI IJELBA, MA'ALIA and BENI KHUZAM.

¹ These hold the "*naḥas*"

² See el Tunisi, *Voy. au Darfour*, pp. 129, 130.

³ For the Sultan Muhammad Fadl's dealings with them see Carbou, n. 77 and 78. In October, 1913, the Rizaykat completely defeated the Sultan 'Ali Dinar.

XVI The main divisions of the RIZAYKAT are as follows:

- A. MAHRIA¹ {
1. UMDAHIA {
 - (a) UM SELLAMA
 - (b) AWLAD MUḤEMMIL
 - (c) " HASAN
 - (d) " ZUAYD
 - (e) RADIANIA
 - (f) 'ISHAYSHAT
 2. UM AHMAD {
 - 1 (a) NAs 'ARUK (1) AWLAD KADUM
(2) NAs GIMA'I
 - (b) NAs EL TOM and AWLAD MU'WAN
 - (c) AWLAD ḲA'ID
 - (d) " HENAN
 - (e) BARAKA
- B. NAWAIBA {
1. AWLAD SULAYMAN {
 - (a) DAR ḤASAN
 - (b) " KUBGA
 - (c) AWLAD UM AZRAḲ
 - (d) DAR FAḌAYLA
 2. DAR BALLCL
 3. RAḤASA {
 - (a) DAR UM FEZARA
 4. AWLAD SU'UD
- C. MAḤAMID {
1. AWLAD SHAIḲ {
 - ((a) EL 'AṬAYI
 - (b) AWLAD TAKO
 2. UM SAYF EL DIN {
 - (a) AWLAD YASIN
 - (b) " GIFAYLI
 - (c) EL ḤANATSH
 - (d) EL HARAMIS
 - (e) AWLAD UM LAYK
 - (f) EL SHIGAYRAT
 - (g) ASIRRA
 3. AWLAD ZAYT {
 - (a) AWLAD BIRRI
 - (b) " DIḲAYL
 - (c) " KERMUSH
 - (d) " JAKAR

The name of each of the three main divisions is well known as belonging to a large camel-owning tribe in northern Dārftir and Wadai; but though the MAHAMID, MAHRIA and NAWA/BA of the

¹ I know no evidence of connection between these and the well-known ṛjim-yaritic tribe of southern Arabia (for whom see D 1, VIII; Zwemer, p. 85, etc.), but such connection is quite possible none the less.

north **are essentially the same race as** those composing the RIZAYKAT it will be more convenient to deal with them separately at the close of this chapter¹. It may be said here, however, in passing, that it is preferable to speak of these three tribes as having united in the south of Ddrfūr to form the RIZAYK;AT than to regard the three tribes as offshoots of the southern Baḳḳdra tribe.

(g) TA'AISHA

XVII The TA'AISHA, we have seen, are closely connected with the HABBAN:(A by race and, like them, claim descent from Ḥaymād. With the exceptions to be specified they are confined to Dárfūr².

Their name, too, is perhaps best known on account of the Khalifa 'Abduḷḥahi having been of their number. Many thousands³ of them were imported by him to Omdurman during his reign and used as a bodyguard and a means of enforcing his will upon the riverain tribes. Dongola Province was for a period entirely under their domination⁴.

After the Khalifa's overthrow many of the TA'AISHA returned to Ddrfūr, but colonies of them settled in Senndr and Kassala provinces, and a few elsewhere. Others enlisted in the Camel Corps and Mounted Infantry.

The TA'AISHA country in Ddrfur lies between that of the H A B - BANIA on the east, Ddr Sula on the west, the BENI HELBA country to the north and the negro FERTIT to the south. It is very sparsely populated at the present time.

The main divisions of the TA'AISHA are:

A. KILADA⁵

1. AWLAD 'AMIR	9. EL DAḲAILA
2. „ TABIT	((a) EL BEDRIA
3. „ Zaid	(b) EL' IDAI
4. „ SELLAMA	((c) EL BA'ASHŌMI
5. EL SHOWWASHA	10. EL BARAKAWI
6. EL NEGMIA	11. EL SHELUḤI
7. EL DĪABIA	12. EL ḤADRAMIA •
8. AWLAD EL BIḤAYLI	13. AWLAD ABU MILKA, or ABMILKA
14. EL HADHALI'N	

¹ There is a fairly large colony of Maḥdmld Awldd Yasfn who fall between the two major groups of southern Rizaykat and northern camel-nomads. These AwlEd Yasfn live a day south-west of el Fāther round Abu Zerafca under a sheikh of their own and are Bakkara.

² Cp. Carbou, II, 54.

³ Slatin says " upwards of 24,000 warriors with their wives and families."

⁴ *Ibid.* Ch. XIII.

⁵ "Kilada" and "errik" are both names of camel-brands, like "tara" and "sot" in the case of the Habbania (*q.v. supra*).

B. 'ERRIK¹1. EL GUBARAT²

(a) UM ŞURRA

(b) AWLAD GID

(c) „ İİASABU

(d) „ SERIJAN

(e) „ HAMDAN

(f) „ KAID

2. UM RAYDA

(a) EL BELLAL

(b) EL BELLCLI

(c) EL 'IMAYRAT

(d) EL MANSURI

3. AWLAD SINNA

4. „ HĀMAYDAN

5. UM LA'ASA

6. AWLAD 'ABBAS

7. EL GERARAS⁸

8. EL FATIMIA

9. EL MATIYA⁴

10. EL GHAZALIN

11. AWLAD SA'AD

12. „ ABU TOM

(h) BENI HELBA

XVIII The BENI HĒLBA were until recent years a large and rich tribe with their "dār" proper situated in the 'Id el Ghanam district, south-west of Gebel Marra, and with a smaller branch, the 'ALOWNI and other AWLAD GABIR, living east of Marra and south of Gebel Harayz. An independent tribe of BENI HELBA also lived in Wadai⁵.

In the early years of the nineteenth century the Sultan Muḥammad Faḍl (1799-1839) decimated the numbers and seized most of the herds of the Ddrfūr tribe⁶. They recovered their wealth and prosperity only to be again decimated during the *Mahdia*. After the overthrow of the Khalifa they again recuperated, but the fiscal exactions of 'Ali Dīnār and his continual demands for levies and horses and cattle, beginning in 1900 and culminating in 1909, drove the bulk of the BENI HĒLBA into Ddr Rizaykāt, Dār Sula and Dār Ḥumr.

On the defeat of 'Ali Dīnār by the Government in May, 1916, the BENI HĒLBA saw their opportunity for revenge, collected their scattered forces and set to work to raid the cattle of 'Ali Dindr and of the sedentary FUR and others living on the confines of the country, hoping no doubt to lay the foundations of a fresh tribal fortune in place of those lost in preceding generations. The BENI HĒLBA refugees in Dar Sula at the same time seized the opportunity to stream back into Dār fūr and assist in the good work.

The BENI HĒLBA are divided into AWLAD GABIR and AWLAD

¹ See note 5, p. 292.

² Cp. among the IJumr Felaita and the Beni Gerar.

³ See note on p. 283, above.

⁴ Cp. p. 202.

⁵ Barth, Vol. in, App. 7, p. 545, classes them as one of the chief tribes of Waddi. Cp. Nachtigal, *Voy. au Ouadai*, pp. 70, 72, who classes them among the camel-owning nomads. El Tunisi mentions them in Ddrfūr (*Voyage...*, p. 129).

⁶ Carbou, 11, 89, 90.

GUBARA, and the chief subdivisions of these two branches are as follows:

A. AWLÁD GÁBIR

1. EL 'ALOWNI¹
2. EL ZANÁṬĪṬ
3. EL ḤAZÁZIRI
4. EL HADHÁLIL
5. EL MISÁ'IA

B. AWLÁD GUBÁRA

1. AWLÁD GEMA'ÁN	{	(a) DÁR NIMR			
		(b) AWLÁD WÁDI			
2. AWLÁD 'ALĪ	{	(c) „ ḤABÍB			
		(d) „ ŠUFRA			
		(e) „ MŪSA			
		(f) EL 'ASHARÍ'A			
		(g) EL 'ÁMIRÍA			
		(a) AWLÁD DHIFRA	{	(1) AWLÁD NI'AMA	
				(2) „ MANŪNA	
(3) „ AḤMAD					
(4) „ BILÁLA					
(5) „ EL SHEIKH					
(6) DÁR KIBAYDI					
(b) 'USHBŪR (EL SHABŪL?)	{	(1) SAḤÁRNA			
		(2) AWLÁD MUNÍF			
		(3) „ 'ÁBID			
		(4) „ EL SHEIKH			
3. AWLÁD GHAYÁD	{	(a) AWLÁD DOW			
		(b) „ FARÁG			
		(c) „ MARAGULLA			
		(d) „ EL RUAYS			
		(e) EL SELÍMÍA			
4. BENI MANDŪL	{	(a) AWLÁD SÁLIM			
		(b) KURBÍA			
		(c) AWLÁD ḤIGGA			
		(d) AWLÁD ZÁID			
5. BENI LÁBID	{	(a) AWLÁD SA'ÍD			
		(b) AWLÁD DĪKAYN			
		(c) EL ARÁRMA			
		(d) AWLÁD UM SERÁG			
		(e) AWLÁD MUSAYID			
6. AWLÁD GHÁNIM	{	(a) ḤUMR			
		(b) ZURRUḤ			

¹ Cp. the 'Alowna among the Kabdbish and others among the Kendna. The same name occurs in Sinai (Tor) as that of a branch of Muzayna (see Na'um Bey, *Hist. Sinai...*, p. 112).

The Beni Helba of Darfūr are a particularly low type of Arab, poor in spirit and physique, incurably lazy and with none of the finer qualities that distinguish the nomad Arabs of Kordofan.

(/) BENI KHUZAM

XIX The BENI KHUZAM are for the most part in Waddāi and Ddr Sula. A few of them are in Ddrfūr and these are at the present moment, and since 1914, refugees living among the RIZAYKAT.

The tribe belongs to the HAYMAD group of BAKKARA and through it claims descent from the BENI MAKHZUM of Arabia¹.

In Waddi a portion in the south are BAḲḲARA and a portion in the north owners of camels². Since 1904 many of them have entered the raifks of the "Arabes rifugies au Fitri." Others, again, are in Baḳirmi⁸ with the SALAMAT, and in Bornu⁴.

M. Carbou subdivides those west of Ddrfūr as follows⁵:

A. BAḲARIYE/I. OULAD 'ALI

2. OULAD AFAN	
3. AM ZIHEFE	
4. OULAD ABOU FAHIL	
< 5. OULAD ZAÏT	} Mostly in Baḳirmi
6. KANABKE ("OU EL MEHAMID")	
7. OULAD MAKRAM	
8. OULAD HEBE	
etc.	

B. ALALING ("OU ALALIK"⁶).

He also mentions as subdivisions of the BENI KHUZAM the "OULAD ABOU ASSAF, OMEËRAT et QEBESAT." These latter and some of the Kanabka are in Bornu.

The KHUZAM in Dárfūr speak of themselves as closely connected with the BENI ḤUSAYN and divided into BAḲARIA and 'ALALIḲ. The former consist, they say, of ḤAMMŪDA and GEMA'A, the latter of 'IMAYRAT (*i.e.* the "OMEËRAT" mentioned), ASHEDDAD and SAYF.

¹ Carbou, 11, 71-74. Barth (Vol. III, App. 7, p. 545) makes them the fourth largest tribe of Arabs in Waddi. For the Beni Makhzum see Wüstenfeld, R.

² It would be these of whom Nachtigal (*Ouaddāi*, p. 71) says: "Physiquement ils ressemblent aux Djaadina's, mais sont allies avec les Zoghaoua's (Amm Kim-melte)." The 'Djaadina' he describes as of a colour "legerement grisatre et rougeatre: ils sont à peu près pur sang arabes" (*loc. cit.*).

³ Cp. map in El Tunisi's *Ouaday...* and Carbou, 11. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.* Those in Bornu are said to have only settled there about 1830.

⁵ *Ibid.* I preserve M. Carbou's spelling.

• Some of these also are in Bakirmi. *Ibid.*

(k) BENI HUSAYN

XX The BENI HUSAYN are divided between Waddi and Darfar. They are only a small tribe, and those in Ddrfur camp in the rainy season west-south-west of el Fasher between Gebel Kussa and Marra, and in the summer farther south. Until moved by 'Ali Dinar some ten years ago they were mostly north of Kulkul.

The sections in Dirfūr are:

AWLAD BELLOL	AWLAD 'ALAYAN
" MŪSA	" SALIM
" BAḤR	EL NOARNA
" RASHID	AWLAD ZIADA
" 'UḲĀL	" GURARA
ḤAYJAN	" MAZIN
AWLAD SELLAMA	EL ENDAIYIN
" BAKHIT	EL 'ALAMAT

(l) BASHIR

XXI This small tribe of semi-nomadic BAḲḲĀRA living immediately south of el Fdsher belongs to the ḤAYMAD group. Its subdivisions are:

AWLAD SULTAN	AWLAD ZAYD
" EL ASAD	" SHALOLI
" HAMMADIA	

There is a section of KABABISH in northern Kordofan who are also called BASHIR and are probably by origin a branch of the Darfur tribe.

(m) SALAMAT, BENI RASHID AND ZIOD

XXII Of the SALAMAT, BENI RASHID (or ROWASHDA) and ZIOD little will be said since they do not inhabit Kordofan or Dārūr except in negligible numbers, and are then incorporated in other tribes¹.

SALAMAT. The SALAMAT² are one of the largest tribes in Africa and inhabit Bornu, the Chad district, Baḳirmi and southern Waddi. They were also at one time fairly numerous in Ddrfūr, but were dispersed and driven westwards. The western branch of the tribe is darker than the eastern and is included in the general term "Shoa." All alike are BAḲḲARA, though they also own a certain number of sheep.

Their two main divisions are the 'IsiA and the AWLAD MUSA³, but

¹ Cp. the subdivisions of the IJumr Felaita.

² See Carbou, II, pp. 56-71; Barth, III (Ch. 42), 136, 137, and III (Ch. 51), 454 and 465, etc.

³ The former are chiefly in Bornu and Bakirmi, the latter in Waddi and the Chad district as well.

each is subdivided into very numerous subsections, which again contain many alien elements, such as FELLATA and BULALA¹.

BENI RASHID and ZIUD. The BENI RASHID and ZIUD are very closely connected and the latter should really be reckoned a branch of the former². In practically every Bakkira "*nisba*" the ancestor of the ZIUD appears as a descendant of Rishid.

At the present day the two tribes live together in Bornu and Waddi³. A few are camel-owning nomads in the north: these (ZIUD) were referred to by Nachtigal as "de race arabe legerement melee de sang noir"⁴. But the great majority are BAQQARA.

Now one of the three main divisions of the BENI RASHID in Waddi is the ZEBADA, a term used to include within its scope the ZIUD⁵, and el Tūnīsi, who met these ZEBADA in western Wadāi at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was assured by their "*akid*"⁶ that they were of Yemenite origin and "derived their name from Zebfd, a towif of el Yemen, and that they were descended from the Ḥimyarites⁷."

This and the closeness of the bond existing between the ZIUD and the BENI RASHID (or ROWASHDA, as they are often called) at once connect the whole group with the ZEBAYDĪA-RASHAIDA community of the eastern Sudan⁸. The word "RASHAIDA" is simply a variant plural of Rāshid and, like "ROWASHDA," is the exact equivalent of "BENI RASHID"⁹. But whereas the BENI RASHID and ZIUD have been for centuries in the western Sudan and are mostly BAQQARA, the RASHAIDA and ZEBAYDĪA in the east are recent immigrants and entirely concerned with camels.

The same group occurs again in Sinai, where in 1915, among the seven sections of SOWARKA inhabiting the north-east extremity of

¹ Cp. Carbou, II, 51 ff., and I, 18.

² *Ibid.* 11, 86-89.

³ A fraction of the Awlād Rashid are also incorporated among the Mahamid Urn Gellul in Darfur (see later).

⁴ *Voy. au Ouadai*, p. 16. Carbou (*loc. cit.*) speaks of the Awlad Rashid of Bornu as a "fraction des Djo'ama" (*i.e.* Gawdma'a), but the statement sounds rather curious.

⁵ Carbou, *loc. cit.* The other two main divisions in Waddi are given as "IJamida" [Aljdmda?] and "Azid." In Bornu they are divided into "Hemediya" and "Sawarima." Nachtigal (*Voy. au Ouadai*, p. 72) treats the Zebada as a distinct tribe and says: "Ils rassemblent beaucoup aux Oulad Rachid, sont a peine cuivres, bien batis mais fort peu civilises el tres pillards."

⁶ The title "Afcfd el Zebada" survived in Wadii until the French occupation as that of one of the important functionaries of the Sultanate.

⁷ El TQnisi, *Voy. au Ouaday*, p. 250. He gives the Arabic spelling as . . . Zebld is "a large trading port nearly opposite to Masuah" [Massowa] (Bruce, Vol. in, Bk. Hi, p. 184).

⁸ See Chap. 13 in this Part.

⁹ Cp. the case of the "Beni Mansur," called "Manasir," on the river and "Manisra" in Darfar and Kordofan (see Chap. 1 (*d*) above).

the peninsula, I found two who were named respectively ZIŪD and ROWASHDA.

There are also a few ZIUD incorporated among the IIUMR FELAITA¹ in Kordofan.

In dealing with the HAWAZMA attention was drawn to the connection that existed between that tribe and the BENI HARB of Arabia. The same connection appears to exist in the case of some at least of the BENI RASHID, for the ZEBAYDIA (corresponding to the ZEBADA of the west) are properly a section of the BENI 'OF branch of the BENI HARB².

(2) THE NAWAIBA, MAHRIA, MAHAMID, 'ERAYKAT AND 'ATAYFAT

XXIII There remain to be considered the five camel-owning tribes of northern Darfur and Waddi who are of the same stock as the BAKKARA. Three of these, the NAWAIBA, the MAHRIA and the MAHAMID, have been already mentioned as composing in the south of Darfur the great tribe of the RIZAYKAT: the fourth is the 'ERAYKAT, and the fifth the 'ATAYFAT.

All alike claim the GUHAYNA connection and either entered Ddrfūr and Wadāi in the fourteenth century or rather later³.

XXIV The MAHAMID are spoken of by el Tūnisi, who passed through their country⁴, as a powerful tribe containing many subdivisions and owning great herds of camels, horses and other wealth in northern Waddi⁵. He says, too, that they have "presque la nuance claire des Égyptiens⁶." In his work on Ddrfūr he also mentions them among the FEZARA ["Fararah"] group in the north⁷.

Nachtigal includes the MAHRIA, the NAWAIBA, the 'ERAYKAT and the 'ATAYFAT in the term MAHAMID. He says of them⁸:

Les Mahamid's peuvent fournir au moins quatre mille cavaliers. Ils sont rougeâtres et ont bon caractère; on les dit pieux, bienfaisants et

¹ See list of subsections on p. 286, above.

² Burton, *Pilgrimage...*, II, 120. He calls them "Zubayd...near Mecca, a numerous clan of fighting thieves."

³ M. Carbou speaks (11, 77) on the authority of Slatin (Bk. 1, Ch. 2) of the genesis of the Nawaiba, Mahrfa and Mahamid as being due to the policy of the Sultan Muhammad Fadl who, having subdued the Rizaykat, transplanted many of them to northern Darfur where they "eventually developed into" the three tribes mentioned. This is misleading. Muhammad Fadl may have transplanted Rizaykat to the north, but they were only rejoining their kinsfolk there and were absorbed into them afresh.

⁴ *Voyage au Ouaday*, p. 512.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 250, 251. Cp. Barth, Vol. III, App. 7, p. 545.

⁶ *Voyage au Ouaday*, p. 400. Contrast Carbou, 11, 80, "un type noir aux traits réguliers."

⁷ *Voyage au Darfour*, p. 129.

⁸

Voyage au Ouadal, p. 72.

hospitaliers; ils parlent Tarabe le plus pur, ils habitent au Nord-Ouest du Dar Mimi¹....Les fractions de cette tribu sont nombreuses, j'ai pu reconnaître les suivantes: les Oulad Djellou², les Oulad Cheik³, les Oulad Yassin³, les Oulad Zed³, les Nedja's, les Seif ed din³ (ou Seifan), les Naouaiba's, les Erekat's, les Mahariye's (Mehriya?), les Oulad Djenab, les Hamdiya's, les Et teiyifat's⁴.

These Nachtigal classes among the camel-owning nomads. His estimate of their character was not accurate. They are and always have been inveterate raiders; "intelligents, astucieux, menteurs⁵"; lax in their religion and resentful of all control. Among them is a smattering of KURA'AN⁶.

The number of camel-owning MAHAMID in northern Dārḥūr since the "*Mahdia*" has been inconsiderable in comparison with those living farther west, but about 1908 a number of MAijAivrfD (AWLAD SHAIK) from Waddi, commonly known as "U M GALLUL," migrated into Darfur and settled with the SHOTIA and AWLAD SHAIK sections north of el Fasher—where they say they had been some three or four generations previously, before they went to Waddi. In 1914 some of these migrated still farther east and went to Kordofan. In 1916, on the death of 'Ali Di'ndr, they returned to Dārḥūr.

The subdivisions of the northern MAHAMID in Dārḥūr correspond fairly closely to those of the BAḤḤARA branch who form a third of the RIZAYḤAT: they are as follows:

A. AWLAD SHAIK

1. UM SAYF EL DIN

2. UM GALLUL (a) AWLAD GILAL

(1) AWLAD 'ID

(b) AWLAD MABLŪL

(c) „ BILAYLI

(d) „ EL RIFAYIK

(e) „ TAKO

(f) „ RASHID⁷

B. AWLAD YASIN. Already mentioned as being cattle-owners and living in an intermediate position between the southern BAḤḤARA and the camel-owners.

C. SHOTIA

D. AWLAD ZAYT. Partly camel- and partly cattle-owning. They live round Tina, between el Fasher and Gebel Marra.

¹ I.e. in Wurdda district: see Carbou, n. 79.

² Presumably the "Um Gallul" mentioned later.

³ Cp. subsections of Mafṛtafd among the Rizaykat as given above, and Carbou 11, 83.

⁴ i.e. the 'Atayfat, for whom see later.

⁵ Carbou, 11, 80, quoting Lieut. Lucien.

⁶ Carbou, n. 83.

⁷ Awlad Rdshid from Waddi who have attached themselves to the Um Gallul.

XXV The NAWAIBA of the north are the same in type as the MAIJAMID but fewer, and live among them. In addition to these and the NAWAIBA among the RIZAYKAT in the south, there is an independent BAKKARA tribe of NAWAIBA in south-eastern Waddi¹.

XXVI The MAHRIA fall under the same classification as the MAHAMID and NAWAIBA, and are usually mentioned in company with them². Those in Ddrfür live with the MAHAMID between Kuttum and Gebel Marra at the present day and are not numerous. Their sections are:

ḤAMDANIA	AWLAD ḲAID
UM AHMAD	„ BAZḲI
AWLAD HENANI	„ SA'ID
„ 'ALI	„ DIRAI
V „ BISHARA	

XXVII Akin to them and generally claimed to be MAHRfa are the camel-owning 'Aṭayfaṭ³ who live round Melliṭ and in Anka district to the north. There they are subdivided into AWLĀD BARAKA, AWLAD 'AGAYL and AWL AD GOWNA. They say they have also two sections, HAGAIA and AWLAD NUSR in Wadai, and one, the 'AKAKIZ, in southern Darfur with the RIZAYḲAT.

XXVIII The 'ERAYKAT also belong to the same group⁴. They were chiefly in north-western Darfur until the time of the Sultan Muhammad Faḍl, but that ruler attacked them and decimated their numbers and delivered their grazing-grounds over to the MAHAMID and others. The survivors fled northwards. At present most of the 'ERAYḲAT are camel-owners round el Fāsher and in the north-west. Some are further afield in the Ennedi district with the BEDAYAT and in Dar Tama⁵. El Tunisi⁶ also mentions them as a rich BAKḲARA tribe in south-western Waddi, but his story to the effect that their name was derived from el 'Irāḳ, i.e. Mesopotamia, and that they were connected with the BENI LAKHM and GUDHAM ("Djouzāmides") was probably pure invention. The 'ERAYḲAT of Dārfür are divided into ZEBELAT on the one hand and a group consisting of DIMAYSAT, NASRIA, AWLAD KERRU and MINAWIA on the other.

¹ Nachtigal mentions them as camel-owners in Waddi: see *Voy. au Ouadai*, pp. 40, 50, 72, 109; and cp. map to el Tunisi's *Ouaddy* and Carbou, *loc. cit.*

² E.g. see Nachtigal, *Ouadât*, pp. 65, 70, 72, 93; Tunisi's map, etc. See also Carbou, 11, 78-79.

³ Their name is no doubt formed from a diminutive of "'utfā" (see note to MS. D 3, 132). It also occurs as that of a section of 'Anaza in northern Arabia, (Burckhardt, *Notes...*, 1, 4).

⁴ Cp. Nachtigal, *Ouadal*, p. 72.

⁵

Carbou, 11, pp. 74, 75

⁶ *Ouaday*, p. 250 and map.

APPENDIX

The genealogical trees of the Baqqára

THE genealogical trees of the BAQQARA which follow are taken from various sources.

TREE I. Was compiled about 1906 from oral information by Mr J. W. Sagar, Inspector in the Noba Mountains Province, on the authority of the HAWAZMA. The spelling of the names has been adapted.

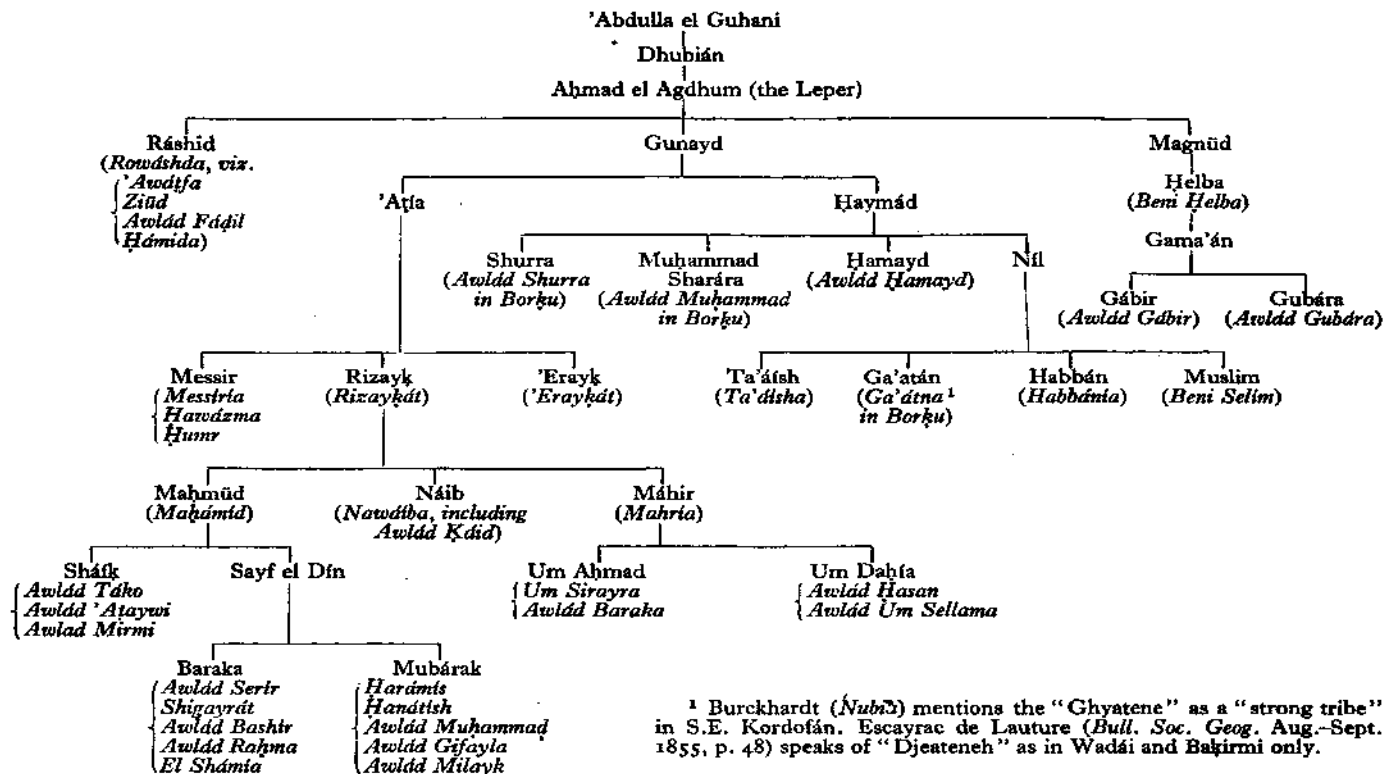
TREE II. Was compiled subsequently from oral information by Capt. A. L. Hadow, Inspector in the Nāba Mountains Province, on the authority of the HAWAZMA and HUMR FELAITA. The spelling of the names has in this case also been adapted.

TREE III. Quoted from *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (1, 334), on the authority of "Kubr Abdel Rahman, Sheikh of the Guberat section of the Taaisha." Spelling of names left unaltered.

TREE IV. Quoted from Dr Helmolt in *The History of the World*, p. 585, chiefly on the authority of Nachtigal. Spelling of names left unaltered.

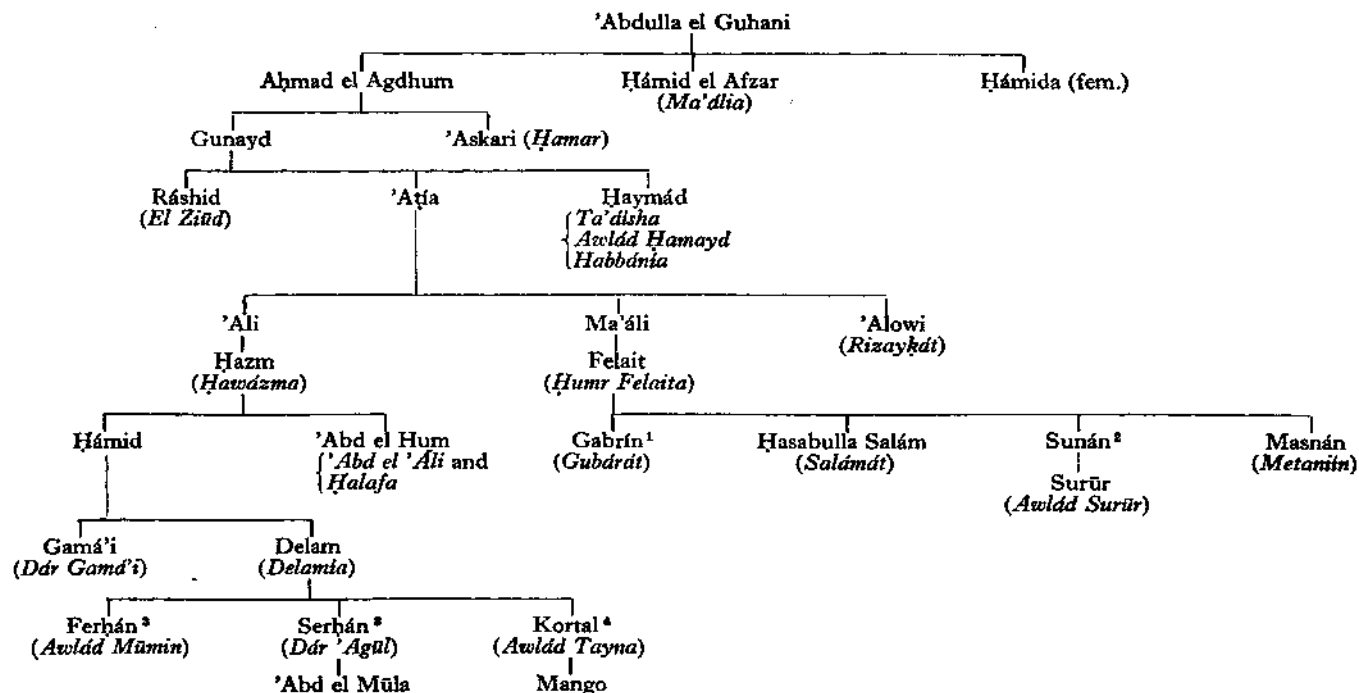
TREE V. Compiled by myself from oral information given by the "ndzir" of the HUMR FELAITA. For further details see my *Tribes...*, 145-148.

TREE I.

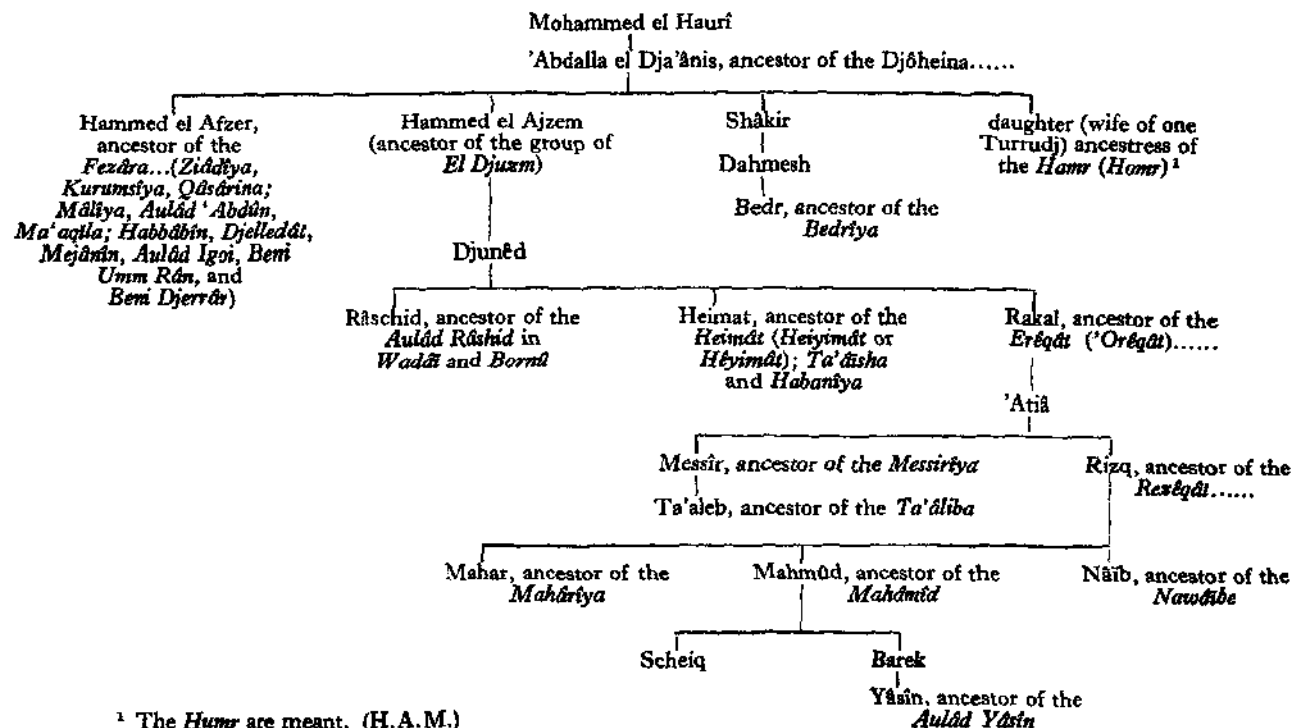


¹ Burckhardt (*Nubia*) mentions the "Ghyatene" as a "strong tribe" in S.E. Kordofán. Escayrac de Lauture (*Bull. Soc. Geog.* Aug.-Sept. 1855, p. 48) speaks of "Djeateneh" as in Wadái and Baḡirmi only.

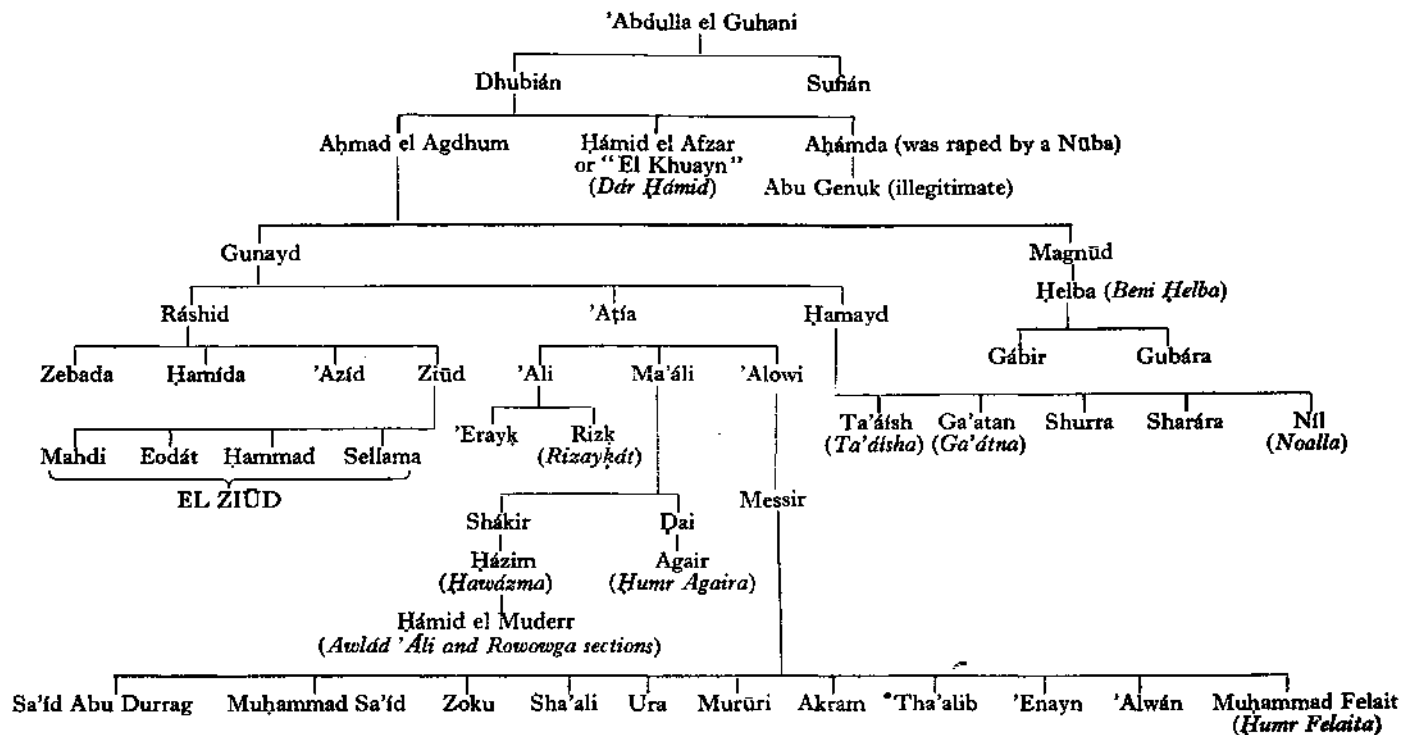
TREE II

¹ Immigrated from Arabia to Borjú (Wadái). Is the tenth generation from the present.² Is the eleventh generation from the present.³ Twins.⁴ Is the ninth generation from the present.

TREE IV.



TREE V.



CHAPTER 4

The Guhayna Group (continued)

(a) THE KABABfSH¹

I The KABABISH perhaps present a more interesting study in racial composition than any other tribe in the Sudan.

At the present they are outwardly a homogeneous whole under the control of a supreme sheikh ("*nazir*") to whose authority the sheikhs of the subtribes and the individuals alike bow. They are also the largest and most wealthy tribe of camel-owning nomads in the country. The term "tribe" is therefore quite applicable to them; but none the less they are really a congeries of heterogeneous Arab elements², modified to some extent by Hamitic (BEGA and BERBER) and negro (slave) admixture, but more essentially Arab than the majority of the nomadic tribes and, *a fortiori*, than any of the sedentary population.

II The growth of the tribe to its present state is the result of a series of accretions which have been taking place for several centuries, and the particular cause responsible for this process has been the geographical advantages offered by the country inhabited by the KABABISH. This comprises the whole of the high land of which the line Um Badr-Katul-Kagmar-Um Inderaba is, approximately speaking, the southern boundary.

On the north the KABABISH are only limited by the deserts of the Sahara. Westwards they wander beyond the Wādi el Melik to the Dārfūr border, and on the east, in the dry season, they water their flocks in the Wādi Muḳaddam. There is also a large section of the tribe in Dongola Province, chiefly nomadic but having some cultivation in the Nile valley.

In northern Kordofan they have certain patches of cultivation in the vicinity of their chief watering places, but the cultivators are only dependants left behind for the purpose while the tribe as a whole is grazing further afield, or, occasionally, poor men who have only a few sheep and goats.

¹ See also MacMichael, *Tribes...*, Chap. xv, and in Vol. XL, 1910, of *Journ. Anthropol. Instit.*

² Their heterogeneity is indicated by the diversity of their camel-brands. There is no single brand peculiar to the tribe nor any trace of such. Each main division, however, has a brand common to all its members. These are specified in my brochure on *Camel Brands used in Kordofan*, and certain of them are mentioned in the course of this chapter.

The **natural** features of the country they inhabit are eminently suitable for the breeding of camels and sheep, and in its southern portion for cattle rearing. To one familiar with these level or gently undulating stony tracts, intersected by numerous more fertile shallow valleys and dotted with rocky outcrops, a description of the highlands of Nejd in Arabia, taken apart from its context, reads as though it must refer to the KABABISH country.

When the obstacle of the Christian kingdom of Dongola had been swept away at the beginning of the fourteenth century by the Arabs, and the tribes of GUHAYNA and their allies poured into the Sudan, many of these, finding the eastern desert sufficiently occupied by other Arab and BEGA tribes, betook themselves to the hardly less congenial tracts lying west of the river. It has already been explained¹ that these parts were not previously unoccupied. The Arabs found there bands of negro-Hamitic TIBBU and, in the hills, colonies of "NUBA," and it may have taken them several centuries to establish a complete ascendancy over the plains. The fringe of hills from el Ḥarāza to Kāga they never attempted to conquer, and it was not until five or six generations ago that they had entirely extirpated the NCBA from the far less formidable and now uninhabited hills lying farther north and well within the present "dar" EL KABABI'SH.

III The name of KABABI'SH (*sing.* Kabba'shi) is popularly derived in the usual manner from a purely fictitious ancestor called Kabsh², but is more properly to be connected with the word "kabsh" a ram³. At what period the name was adopted there is no evidence⁴. The names of certain of the subtribes and what little can be learnt of their past history confirm the conclusion, to which one would arrive in any case on historical grounds, that they came originally from the northern portion of the Ḥegāz.

Let us take examples:

IV The section which lives round Um Inderdba and Um Sidr and is essentially a sheep-breeding community is the AWL AD 'UḲBA. Tradition tells us that they were "the original KABABISH"⁵ and held

¹ See Part I, Ch. 2.

² He generally appears as "son of Afzar"—who again is descended from "Abdulla el Guhani," the intent being to connect the KaMbfsH suitably with the Fezdra and Guhayna groups.

³ Cp. the formation of Ma'dza from "ma'az" (he-goats), and of "Anaza" from "anz" (she-goats), and perhaps of "Shoa" from "shd" (sheep). Cp. Carbou, II, 20, and Burton, *Land of Midian*, 1, 336.

⁴ The Kabābish use the word "takabbasha" to describe the collecting together of the various component parts into a single tribal whole.

⁵ The first of the present sections to join them are said to have been the Rowdhla (*sing.* Rahli) and the Awlidd 'On. These, according to very vague tradition, were followed by the SenSgdb, Awlidd Hawal and Nurab.

the sheikhship some ten generations ago, until the RIBAYĀT supplanted them. It is also said that of the AWLAD 'UḲBA who crossed into Egypt from Arabia a part passed through Tripoli and eventually drifted into the ranks of the FELLATA in West Africa, that others are incorporated in the great AWLAD 'ALĪ tribe of the Libyan desert¹, and that a third portion settled in the Syrian desert.

This is quite enough to identify the AWLAD 'UḲBA of Kordofan with the BENI 'UḲBA who still live among the ḤUWAYṬAṬ on the Arabian coast round Maḡna, Muwayla and Ḍiba², and in company with the MUZAYNA in Sinai³.

In an earlier chapter we have already met these AWLAD 'UḲBA as a branch of the BENI GUDHAM.

Dr Wallin, who made their acquaintance near 'Aḡaba in 1848, quotes* various Arabic authorities as to their ancient history.

Ibn Fadlulla el 'Omari⁵ (1301-1348) says they are responsible for conveying pilgrim caravans part of the way between 'Aḡaba and el Medina. Ibn Khaldūn⁶ corroborates this, and adds: "In Afrikia, in the west, there are some of them, as well as in the neighbourhood of Ṭerābulūs" (Tripoli). He also speaks of the BENI WAṢĪL of Egypt⁷ as "a branch of the BENI 'UḲBA son of Moghraba⁸ son of Gudham of the KAḤṬANIA⁹."

The BENI 'UḲBA told Wallin¹⁰ that in old days their territories used to be more extensive, and that they had been divided at the commencement of Islam into MUSALIMA and BENI 'AMR, and they described how they had been gradually ousted from their more northerly territories by the ḤUWAYṬAṬ.

Burton tells us¹¹ at length how after years of struggle against odds the BENI 'UḲBA were compelled to conclude peace with the ḤUWAYṬAṬ on terms so disadvantageous as to be dishonourable¹², and to

¹ For the Awlād 'Alī see, e.g., Junker, p. 33 ff.; Klippel, pp. 10, etc.

² Cp. Burton, *Land of Midian*, 1, 161 ff., Wallin, p. 299, etc.

³ Wallin, p. 298. I found the Beni 'Ukba still in the localities mentioned when I visited the Arabian coast with the Red Sea Patrol in 1915.

⁴ *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* Vol. xx, 1851. Burton was familiar with Wallin's work and also cites the Arabic authorities and gives a long account of the traditional history of the tribe (*Land of Midian*, 1, 161 ff.).

⁵ Referred to by Wallin as "the author of *Al-Mesaiiku-1-Absār*." See Huart, p. 326. He is also known as Abu el 'Abba's Shihdb el Dīn Alīmād (Wallin, p. 343).

⁶ Wallin speaks of him as "the author of *Al-'Ibar*." The reference to Ibn Khaldūn is Vol. 1 (ed. de Slane), pp. 9-11.

⁷ *Q.v.ap.* Klippel, pp. 5-6.

⁸ "Moghraba" should perhaps be "Maḡirfa": see Wüstenfeld, Tab. 5.

⁹ Other passages quoted are merely genealogical in tenour.

¹⁰ *Q.v.* p. 300.

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*

¹² Burton says "these hard conditions were actually renewed some twenty-five years ago" (i.e. about 1850).

give up their privilege of escorting the pilgrims. He also relates the tale of their wars with the MA'AZA in the early sixteenth century, and with the BELI who lived south of them.

Most of the BENI 'UḲBA who went to Egypt joined the BENI HILAL and appear among the subtribes of that great congeries as enumerated by Ibn Khaldūn and el Makrizi.

Leo Africanus (c. 1495-1552) refers to them as "Hucban": "The kingdom of Hucban are next neighbours unto the region of Melian, who receive certain pay from the King of Tunis. They are a rude and wilde people, and in very deade estranged from al humanitie: they have (as it is reported) about 1500 horsemen¹." At what period, or by what route, they came to northern Kordofān there is no direct evidence.

V Another large branch of the KABABfsh, a rich camel-owning folk, are the 'AjAwf A (*sing.* 'Aṭawi). The form "'AfAwf A" is the equivalent of "BENI 'AṬIA," and I have little hesitation in connecting these people through the 'AṬIAT (or 'AṬAWANI) Beduin of the Thebaid² with the BENI 'AriA of Arabia, whose name so frequently occurs in conjunction with that of the GUHAYNA, FEZARA and BENI HILAL.

The fact that the 'AṬAWIA in Kordofan all use the brand Y and that the BENI 'AṬIA of Arabia use A merely strengthens the conviction³.

At the time of the Hilalian invasion, in which, it will be remembered, the FEZARA also took part, the BENI 'AriA were reckoned a section of the ATHBEG, the largest branch of the BENI HILAL, and settled in the Algerian province of Constantine⁴. Ibn Khaldūn says they there became enfeebled and disappeared; and if a large number of them detached themselves from the BENI HILAL to migrate to the Sudan this would account for the fact.

However in the middle of the nineteenth century there were some 3000 of them in Constantine and some 500 in the Sahara. They are regarded there as Berbers⁵.

¹ Leo, 1, 144. Marmol (c. 1520 A.D., Bk. 1, Vol. 1, p. 80) borrows this account without acknowledgment from Leo and adds that they had 10,000 infantry as well.

² Klippel, pp. 5 and 8. He speaks of them as "d'origine berbère" and groups them with the Beni Wdšil.

³ There are still many Beni 'Atia in Arabia. Palgrave in 1862 computed their numbers at about 6000. He places them in the northern Hegdz between el Jowf and Muwayla and says they and the Ḥarb infest the pilgrim road to Medina (Vol. n, pp. 86 and 208, and map in Vol. 1). Doughty (*Wanderings...*, pp. 164, 175, 278) mentions them as subject to Hayil and living with the Guhayna near Tayma. Wallin (*q.v.* p. 310) met them with the Ma'dza in el Hisma* east of Muwayla and at Tebūk. For their brand see Doughty, *Travels*, 1, 125.

⁴ See Ibn Khaldun, ed. de Slane, pp. 28 ff.

⁵ Carette, p. 445. The Fezdra are mentioned in company with them.

The 'AṬAwfA of Kordofan are generally considered to be KA-WAHLA by origin, but this may mean no more than that when the bulk of the KAWAHLA joined the KABABISH¹ the 'AṬAWIA came with them.

There are also cattle-owning 'AṬAWJA farther south among the RIZAYḲAT BAḲṢARA, and we have already seen that " 'Atfa" is one of the most generally accepted and best known of the traditional BAḲṢARA ancestors.

VI The NURAB, the richest and also the ruling section of the KABA-BfsH, claim to be properly RIKABU from el 'Afdt in Dongola². The SERAGAB are said to be KENANA³. The BERARA are GA'ALI'AN⁴. The AWLAD SULAYMAN say they are an offshoot of the great tribe of the same name which was once settled between the Great Syrtes and Fezzān and which terrorized Borḳu Bornu and Kānem in the nineteenth century⁵.

The AWLAD '(3N, a sheep-owning section round Gabra, were probably identical, some generations ago, with the 'ONIA branch of the SHAMA.

The 'AwAfDA⁶ say their eponymous ancestor 'Aid was a famous "feki" from Aden. As they do not appear under their present name in the manuscripts one might be apt to suppose that they were newcomers to Africa, who since their arrival had absorbed the families of BEGA KANUZ and SHAMA⁷ which are to be found among them. But it is much more likely that the true 'AWAIDA, who have absorbed these foreign families, are of common stock with the 'AfDAB of Dongola, whom we have met previously both among the SHAṭiA and the BEDAYR<A.

For a time the 'AwAi DA were with the RUFA'A in the East between the Rahad the Dinder and the Atbara rivers, and a certain number of them remain there still⁸. But the greater number crossed the river and joined the KABABISH. This probably occurred about the beginning of the nineteenth century⁹.

¹ Q.v. *sub* Kawahla (Chap. 5 to follow).

² See D 1 CXIII. *Cp. sub* Kendna (Chap. 6).

⁴ They probably joined the Kabdbfsh comparatively recently. They alone of all the sections brand their camels on the left side.

⁵ See note to Tunisi's *Voy. au Ouaday*, p. 660; also for a full account of them see Carbou, 1, 85-103, and 31-35, and Barth, Vol. in, Chap. XL, pp. 61 ff. Those now settled in the Chad region are of the Tripolitan Arab type.

⁶ *Sing.* 'Afdi.

⁷ *Viz.* the 'Adldndb section.

⁸ The only sections I have met have been some Kanzdb and Muṣi&b at 'Id el 'Awdfda in el Kdmlfn district.

⁹ Their division into Zurruḳ and Bayyid (*i.e.* dark and light) has reference to the colour of their camels and not to themselves. Dark camels are the rule among the "south and middle tribes, Harb, Metayr, and Ateybān" in Arabia (Doughty, *Wanderings...*, II, 125).

VII The subdivisions of the KABABISH are as follows:¹A. NORAB²:

1. RIBAYKAT

(a) AyAyid

(ft) DERAYWAB

(lc) FERUḤAB

(d) AḤAYMERAB

(e) BATAB

(l) UMSIRAYIJ

2. DAR KEBIR

3. DAR UM BAKHIT

4. AWL AD EL Kfe

5. NEKADA

6. DAR SA'ID

7. KIBBAYSHAB

(a) NAS WAD YESEF

(ft) MESATID

(c) NAS WAD SHET*ḤAN

(d) NAS WAD DUKUSHAYN

8. AWLAD 'AWAḌ EL SID

9. AWLAD NUAI

10. HOWARAB³

(a) AWLAD DABO

(b) " 'ALI

(c) RAḤUDA

B. AWLAD ḤAWAL⁴

1. DAR ḤAMID

2. DAR MAḤMUD

C. AWLAD ON⁵

1. LABABIS

2. BERASHA

3. KURONAB

4. DAR EL ḤAG

5. TAMASIḤ⁶

6. LIKAYRITAB

D. AWLAD TERAYF⁷

1. MERAYKAT

2. 'ISHAB

3. 'ALOWNA⁸

4. GERAMDA

E. GHILAYAN⁷F. TOWAL⁹G. 'AwAfDA¹⁰

1. EL 'AwAIDA EL ZURRUḤ*

(a) NAS WALAD RAḤMA

(ft) " " MAḤBUL

(c) " " EL HILALI

(d) " " RABIḤ

(e) " " EL BESHIR

(l) " " EL NI'AMA

2. EL 'AWAIDA EL BAYYID

(a) BISHARAB

j (ft) 'ADLANAB

(c) SUNUNAB

¹ The list given by Parkyns includes also Afrmda ("Lahamdy"), Guhayna, Kawdhla, Batdhfn, Shendbla, Kerridt and Ghazdya, all of which have now broken away. In each case it was only a section of these tribes which was living under the aegis of the Kababish at the time.

² Their distinctive camel-brand is the "be'og" ("rip in the belly"), a long horizontal line on the right side of the stomach. Nearly all add one or two short "dhira'as" on the foreleg. For details *re* these and other Kabdbfsh camel-brands see my *Camel Brands*..., pp. 16 *et seq.*

³ These include an element of D6dlfb (Rikdbia or Dandgla).

⁴ Their distinctive brand is a "Ku'" (a mark on the upper joint of the foreleg). "Ku"=a joint.

⁵ Probably of Shdflda origin. See p. 220, and p. 99 for the Labdbfs among the Far. There are "Awldd '6na" Beduin in Egypt (see Klippel, p. 6).

⁶ I.e. "Crocodiles."

⁷ Both sections use an "amud" as brand on the right side of the earners neck.

⁸ Cp. list of subsections of Beni Helba and of Kendna.

⁹ Connected on the one hand with the Rufd'a (q.v.) and on the other with the Shabdrfca (q.v. *sub* Rufd'a). Their brand is the "shaḇuḷ" or "shaiba" (q.v. *ort* pp. 210 and 280).

¹⁰ Their brand is a very long "shdbip" on the right shoulder.

H.. 'AjAwfA¹

1. FARISAB
2. BAḲARAB
3. DAR 'ALĪ
- (a) DAR SULAYMAN
4. MANḠFALAB
5. KUFAR
6. SHIGAYAB

J. AWLAD 'UḲBA

1. DARIAB
2. DAR 'ALĪ
3. SHILAYWAB
4. ḤAMDAB
5. DAR 'OMAR
6. DAR ABU NISAY'A
7. KARAS6B
8. SHENASHIM
9. DAR MUḤAMMAD
10. SA'ADULLAB, or SA'ADIA²

K.. BERARA³

1. UM GHAYBISH
2. NAs ATAYRINNA
3. 'AṢAYFIR⁴
4. NAs WAD MAJAR
5. DAR 'ALĪ
6. ZERAGNI

L. SERAGAB⁵

1. DAR SA'AD
2. GANADBA
3. DERIMfA
4. MAHALAB
5. NAs WAD EL FEZARI
6. GHEGAYRfA
7. SHUKHŪNAB

M. ROWAḤLA⁶

1. DAR ABU GINNA
2. DAR GĀMfA
3. NISHABA
4. MESARAB
5. GEGADIL
6. 'AWAIDAB

N.. ḤAMMADAB

1. RAHODAB
2. TERAYḲAT
3. BISHARA

O. AWLAD SULAYMAN

1. GHANAWAB
2. DAR MUSA'AD
3. ABBATĪN
4. AWLAD ḤAMDULLA

P. BASHIR⁷Q. 'fsAwfA⁸

VIII The above sections of KABABfsH are all in Kordofan. The following, of whom the UM MATŪ are the largest and the ruling clan, are in Dongola Province. A certain number of them are sedentary, but the majority are nomadic and occupy the Kab valley west of the river. They contain many elements of MAḤASS and other DANĀGLA.

A. UM MATŪ⁹

- {(a) GHODAYRAB
{(b) BELELAB

- {(c) 'AZOZAB
{(d) DAR AIJMAD
{(e) UM KELBA

¹ For. their brand see above,

² Probably Mafrass, see ABC vii.

³ Ga'alīn: see above. Their brand is a long "amud" on the left side of the neck.

⁴ I.e. "Sparrows."

⁵ Kendna: see above. Their brand is a "hadd" on the right side of the throat, resembling that of the Awlḍḍ 'Ukba.

⁶ Sing. "Rahli." Their brand is a "shura" across the throat.

⁷ There is a small independent tribe of Bashir, semi-nomadic, in Darfur. These latter are cattle-owners and live immediately south of el Fāther (see p. 296).

⁸ Properly Gamū'fa (q.v.). Few in number and attached to the eastern sections of Kabābīsh.

⁹ Cognate to the Serdgdb. Their brand is an "'asaba" ("sinew") on the right foreleg. The Gungonab also use the "'asaba"

B. MERAYSAB¹
 C. GUNGONAB
 D. 'AwAfoA
 E. BAY'ODAB
 F. AḤAYMERAB

G. BILAYLAT
 H. DAR BASHCT
 J. DELADIM
 K. DAR ḤAMID²

IX It has been mentioned that the NŪRAB are at present the ruling section. They have held that position for eight generations, that is to say since Kurbdn of the RIBAYḤAT surrendered the chieftainship to his sister's son Keridim of the NŪRAB³, whose descendants have since inherited it in succession to one another though not always from father to son⁴.

X The KABABiSH are first mentioned by Bruce in 1768-1773, but so few travellers had visited the Sudan before him, and the records of such as did so are so scanty that one certainly cannot assure that the tribe was not called KABABiSH for scores of years previously.

Speaking of Wad 'Agib's collecting tribute, as the representative of the King of Senndr, from the nomads of the Bayūda desert, Bruce says⁵: "though lately the Beni Gerar, Beni Faisara [*i.e.* FEZARA] and Cubbabeesh have expelled the ancient Arabs⁶ of Bahiouda [*i.e.* the BAYŪDA], who pretend now only to be the subjects of Kordofan." Again, he says⁷ that the road across the Bayūda is impassable because of the "Beni Faisara, Beni Gerar and Cubbabeesh...which come from the westward near Kordofan from fear of the black horse⁸ there," and have taken all the wells. The KABABiSH are "very numerous and extend far north into the great desert Selima and to the frontiers of Egypt⁹."

Browne¹⁰ says of them that they infested the vicinity of Bir el Mdlḥa (*i.e.* Bir Naṭrūn) in his day and lived by plundering the caravans from Egypt.

El Tūnisi¹¹ says they assisted Ḥāshim, the Sultan of the MUSA-BA'AT of Kordofān, in his wars against Tirāb, Sultan of Dārfūr, towards the close of the eighteenth century.

Burckhardt¹² in 1813, referring to Dongola, says: "The Bedouin tribe of Kobabish reside in the country and are continually making incursions into Darfour, from whence they carry off slaves."

¹ Use a "ḥadd" as brand.

² Use a "ḥildl" ("crescent moon") on the neck.

³ Note this evidence of the ancient custom of Dongola whereby the sister's son inherits.

⁴ See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 194, and genealogical tree opposite.

⁵ Vol. vi, Chap. x.

⁶ Probably such as the Kerridt are meant.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*

⁸ Probably the cavalry of the Fur, then paramount in northern Kordofan.

⁹ Bruce, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ Pp. 188 and 247.

¹¹ *Voy. au Darfour*, p. 67.

¹² *Nubia*, p. 67.

Cailliaud (1821) mentions them as exporting salt from northern Kordofan and, when the Turks conquered the Sudan, pretending to submit but paying none of the tribute demanded of them.

In the Turkish days they were largely engaged in the transport trade, but were fleeced and swindled unmercifully by the Turks who had always the advantage of being able to seize the KABABISH herds when the hot weather drove them to the river and the well-known watering-places¹.

In 1883 the Mahdi seized el T'ôm, the head sheikh, and beheaded him. Many of the KABABISH sections then joined the Dervishes, but the NORAB and some others retired into the deserts and defied them under Şâlih Bey Facjlulla.

Şdliḥ Bey was killed near Gebel el 'Ain in 1887, and until the reoccupation the KABABISH practically ceased to exist as a corporate entity. Then, however, they collected in their deserts and took advantage of the unsettled state of affairs to raid the ḤAMAR and ZAYADIA, their quondam foes, who had all been Dervishes, and so enormously increased their wealth in stock.

The present chief of the tribe, which is now richer than at any previous period, is 'Alī the son of the el T'ôm beheaded in 1883.

XI To sum up: the KABABISH, for so long as anything is known about them at all, have been a widely distributed but coherent camel-owning congeries roaming the steppes between Dongola and Ddrfūr. The chief difference between the tribe of the present day and that of the nineteenth and previous centuries is that it is less vexed by the competition of other tribes in its spacious grazing grounds.

The BENI GERAR have been forced southwards and have become semi-sedentary. The DAR ḤAMID too have built villages in their own country to the south and only send a small proportion of their population to the grazing grounds of the KABABISH. The ZAYADU nomads are decimated in number: a few graze with the DAR ḤAMID in Kordofân; the rest are either sedentary or live in Dârfūr. The HAWAWIR are on fairly amicable terms with the KABABISH and graze almost where they will with them. Such raiding as is done is at the expense of the wild BEDAYAT, KURA'AN and Midobis of northern Darfur, and takes

¹ See Pallme and Parkyns. The latter says the Kabdbish of Kordofan were "taxed 2000 camels, which impost is now changed into the carriage of 4000 loads of gum from Al Obeid to Dongola," and also 100 horses, and 2000 dollars of 15pt. (collected not in cash but in smooth-paced riding camels assessed by the Turks at about a quarter of their real value), and a certain number of sheep and the price of fifty slaves. Salim Fadlulla, the head of the tribe, had met Muhammad 'Alī Pasha in Khartoum in 1838-9 and obtained certain concessions, but they were of little real value. In 1858, according to Petherick (*Upper Egypt*, p. 328), the tribe's annual tribute to Egypt was 5000 camels.

place far to the north of the Wddi el Melik, in the cold winter months. So far from appearing to tend towards a more sedentary existence, the KABABISH, as their herds have increased under the Pax Britannica, have, if anything, become more universally nomadic¹.

(b) THE MOGHARBA OR MOGHRABIN

XII From the word "Moghrabi," the singular of MoghArba or Mograbin, through the Latin Maurus, has arisen the anglicized "Moor," and from "Moghrab el Aḳsd," "the extreme west," the name "Morocco." It must not, however, be assumed that all the MOGHARBA in Egypt or the Sudan came from Morocco: it is unlikely that any of them, a certain number of individuals of the merchant class excepted, did so.

»

The term was loosely applied during the time of the later Mam-lūks and of Muḥammad 'Ali Pasha to all the Beduin tribesmen who lived west of Egypt. Take, for instance, the following from Burckhardt²:

The temple of Ebsambal⁸ serves as a place of refuge to the inhabitants of Ballyane, and the neighbouring Arabs, against a Moggrebyn tribe of Bedouins, who regularly, every year, make incursions into these parts⁴. They belong to the tribes which are settled between the Great Oasis and Siout. When they set out, they repair first to Argo, where they commence their predatory course, plundering all the villages on the western bank of the river; they next visit Mahass, Sukkot, Batn el Hadjar, Wadi Haifa, the villages opposite Derr, and lastly Dakke; near the latter place, they ascend the mountain, and return through the desert towards Siout. The party usually consists of about one hundred and fifty horsemen, and as many camel-riders: no one dares oppose them in Nubia; on the contrary the governors pay them a visit, when they arrive opposite to Derr, and make them some presents. The incursions of this tribe are one of the principal reasons why the greater part of the western bank of the Nile is deserted.

XIII It was from such MOGHARBA that the armies of Ismd'il Pasha and of the Defterdār were largely recruited preparatory to the conquest of the Sudan⁵. That the Berber element was perhaps as strong as the Arab in these MOGHARBA will be clear from preceding chapters, but there is no reason on that account to consider the term "Arab"

¹ For a discussion of this point by a comparison of present conditions with those described by Parkyn in 1850, see my *Tribes...*, pp. 189 ff.

² *Nubia*, p. 92.

I.e. Abu Simbel.

⁴ Burckhardt notes elsewhere (p. lxxvii) "The Arabs who inhabit Thebes and the adjacent country, are originally Moggrebins." See also Volney, *Travels...*, I, 76, 77.

⁵ See Cailliaud, n. 50, 51. He defines them thus: "Les Arabes Moggrebins sont ceux qui habitent la cōte de Barbarie la plus rapprochde de l'Egypte."

as less applicable to them than to the generality of the nomad tribes of the northern Sudan.

During the Turkish period a steady stream of these MOGHARBA was poured into the Sudan and nearly all of these remained there as irregular cavalry and police, being employed in slave-hunting forays, tax-collecting, etc.¹ A certain number also settled in the towns and villages as traders or cultivators.

XIV At the same time it is clear that even more MOGHARBA were, previous to the Turkish conquest, already established on the Blue Nile and elsewhere, and these may, to some small extent, have acted as the decoy which led a few of the later arrivals to take up their abode in the same district.

Cailliaud, who accompanied Ismâ'il Pasha's expedition, found these Sudanese MOGHARBA established at Sôba, Wad el Shdib, el Kamh'n and Abu 'Ushera, all of which are within a hundred miles of Khartoum²; and there is still a large nomadic camel-owning tribe of MOGHARBA between Sôba Abu Delayk and the Buḍna which has been established there for many generations³. This tribe bears no resemblance in features or mode of life to the colonies formed of descendants of MOGHRABIN or MOGHARBA who entered the Sudan in the nineteenth century and subsequently. The latter⁴ are recognizable by their sallow-pinkish complexions and general resemblance to the Moorish tribesmen of the North African littoral as they are to be seen in the coast towns at present, whereas the nomad MOGHARBA of the Sudan are hardly to be distinguished from the average nomads and are, if anything, rather darker in complexion than they.

XV These MOGHARBA claim descent from, that is to say may have some vague connection with, a certain Aḥmad Zarrūk, a Sherifi of the Stadhali sect in Tunis, and the *nisba-writers* bear out their contention⁵. The only detailed genealogical tree I have seen, that of

¹ See Pallme, pp. 207-212, and Werne, pp. 138-139, where good descriptions of them are given.

² He calls them (II, 207-211) "Arabes Maq'arbehs," and it is significant that it apparently did not occur to him that the name was identical with that of the "Mohgrebins" whom he describes elsewhere as accompanying the army as irregulars. The (gh) and the (k, or q) are so often confused together in the Sudan as to be almost interchangeable in proper names, but the same is not the case in Egypt. Hence the correct preservation of the ḡ in "Mohgrebins" and its alteration to a Jf in the case of the "Maq'arbehs" who had been some time in the Sudan.

³ A few of them are also settled in the Gezfra near Mandril and elsewhere.

⁴ At el Fdsher in particular there is a large and recent mercantile community of Moghrabin commonly called "Fezzan."

⁵ See, e.g., D I CLXXIV, CLXXV.

the "omda" Fag el Nuṛ of the DESISAB section, traces his descent through a series of Sayyids, including Ahmad Zarruk, to the Imam 'Ali in thirty-two generations, but there is no reason to assume that the tree is much better than a detailed fake¹.

The common tradition in the tribe is that they immigrated from the neighbourhood of Fez "some five hundred years ago," or "in the days of Sôba." They claim much of the rainland behind the village of Sôba to belong to them, and even allowing that it is with an eye to substantiating their claim to cultivation-rights that they desire to imply to a Government official that they are the earliest owners, and have been there since the days of the Christian kingdom of 'Aloa, there is nothing inherently improbable in their claim, and one has at least fairly good evidence, the biography of 'Abdulla Wad Ḥasôba el Moghrabi², that some of them have lived there since the sixteenth century. The darkness of their complexion proves a long sojourn in the south, and it is even possible that some of their ancestors were once the inhabitants of those hostels which Ibn Selîm describes as inhabited by Muhammadans at Sôba towards the close of the tenth century A.D.³

XVI The main sections of the nomad MOGHARBA are as follows:

KIBAYDLAB	} Chiefly to the east of Khartoum.	KERADIS	} Chiefly in the Gezira
DERAYSAB		SA'ABAB	
ḤASOBAB ⁴		GIDAYAB	
'AḲṚABAB		FAṢALAB	
'AWAḐULLAB		MIḲAYBALAB	
'AWLAB	} Between Abu Delayk and 'Alwân	FERAḐAB	} Near Abu Delayk;
BAYYAḐA		NURAB	
TURABIIN		IRWAYḐAB	
ḤASABULLAB			
KOḲALAB			

The camel-brand of these MOGHARBA is the "*timaysiḥ*," a horizontal line under the right eye. The word is the diminutive of "*tim-sḥ*," a crocodile, and to the MOGHARBA the brand as described suggests a crocodile lying asleep on the river bank⁵.

¹ Curiously enough Fag el Nuṛ himself has the sallow complexion and strikingly Jewish cast of countenance of a modern Moor. This may well be due to careful preservation of the blood of the ruling family from all contamination with purely Sudanese admixture.

² See D3 36 and 141.

³ See p. 171.

⁴ *Le. descendants of the Wad Hasoba mentioned above.*

⁵ Compare the cases of the Hawawir (Chap. 8) and Kabdbish who both include a section called "Tamasih" ("Crocodiles").

(c) THE IJAMAR¹

XVII The *nisbas* say little of the ḤAMAR, and that little is contradictory. One account² says they are a branch of BENI TAMIM; another³ that they are a mixture of BENI OMMAYYA, BENI 'ABBAS, 'ANAG, ASHRAF and FŪR; two others⁴ say they belong to the GUHAYNA group.

The tradition among the GHARAYsf A section of the tribe is that they are Ḥimyarites from el Yemen who migrated into the Sudan in the time of Ḥaggdg ibn Yūsef, *i.e.* in the second half of the seventh century. They crossed the Red Sea, it is said, and settled first round Tāka (*i.e.* Kassala); then they moved to the Blue Nile; and then, after awhile, to Dārḥur⁵, where they took up a more permanent abode.

The story of their sojourn round Tāka lends a certain support to the tradition—otherwise unsupported—of their connection with the ḤAI^{AR}AN Arabs of that district⁶; and the coincidence between the name of their commonest camel-brand, the "*shabiil*," and that of the Shabul section of the MANASIR—a tribe alleged by Sir C. Wilson to be related to the 'ABABDA—is a small piece of evidence in favour of their alleged movement from the direction of the Red Sea⁷.

XVIII Our knowledge of their history in Darḥur remains practically a blank until the beginning of the last century when they attained to a considerable power under the leadership of a certain el Ḥ&g Muna'am of the 'ASAKIRA division⁸. It is not improbable that as a tribal entity they had hardly existed previously and that by origin they were simply a conglomeration of various Arabs who decided to colonize the almost well-less tracts where good crops can be grown, but where the chief water-supply is derived from melons and water stored in the hollow trunks of baobabs⁹ during the rainy season. It is variously alleged among the ḤAMAR either that Mekki, the son, or Ibrihim el Melih, the great-grandson, of el Ḥ&g Muna'am, was the first man to inaugurate the practice of hollowing the baobab and

¹ Much of the information here presented is taken from Chap. xn of *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan*. But details have also been added from a short account of the Ḥamar compiled from their oral traditions by 'Abd el Wahhdb Aḥmad 'Awadulla, headmaster of el Nahūd school in 1913.

² See D I XXVIII.

³ See D I CXLVIII.

⁴ See BA LXXVIII and ABC LI. The Ijamar are also found classed with the Bafckára.

⁵ Darḥur at that time comprised what is at present western Kordofan, *i.e.* the country west of el Nahūd. The Ijamar were for long in the neighbourhood of Um Shaḥka on both sides of the present boundary.

⁶ See BA LXXVIII.

⁷ So, too, the Beni Faḍl, who are closely related to the Mandšfr, contain a section called Fḷaddrma (*i.e.* I-Jaḍdreb).

⁸ Riippell in 1824-5 met him ("Hadgi Minhim") in Kordofan (*Reisen...*, p. 148).

⁹ The "*tubeldi*": *Adansonia digitata*.

using it as a reservoir, thus rendering habitable vast tracts hitherto useless¹. But as a matter of fact one occasionally finds (more often in the west than in the east) an old tree in which the opening is differently placed to that usually made by the ḤAMAR, and the work is then attributed to the 'ANAG. On this, if on no other ground, one would suppose that the use of the baobab for water-storage is fairly ancient, but died out, and was revived by the ḤAMAR as the necessity arose for them to expand. As they progressed eastwards they certainly tapped virgin areas.

XIX As soon as the ḤAMAR became at all powerful they parted into two main divisions, the 'ASAKIRA (i.e. "Soldiers") and the DEKAKIM, and very shortly afterwards—probably about the time of the Turkish conquest of Kordofan—the bulk of both moved eastwards as a result of quarrels with the other Arab tribes of eastern Darfur² and the insufficiency of their own territories there.

Those of them who stayed behind round Um Shanḳa and the districts now known as Dam Gamad³ and Zernakh⁴, etc., remained independent under Ddrfūr⁶.

The rest pushed eastwards, and the family of el Ḥāḡ Muna'am settled more or less permanently round Farshdḥa⁶, and that of the Sheikh of the DEKAKIM in Shek el Dud⁷, farther to the west. But their people remained nomad between el Odaya and Foga, and eastwards as far as Abu Ḥarāz and Gebel Abu Sinūn, and in the rains sought more distant grazing grounds along the Waḏi el Melik with the KABABISH, BENI GERAR, ZAYADIA and DAR HAMID, and even raided as far east as the Bayūda desert⁸.

The result was that every year in the rains and winter the ḤAMAR found themselves engaged in a series of petty inter-tribal raids and forays, which in their traditions are glorified under the name of wars⁹.

¹ For many generations there have been wells at Um Shanḳa, but the country east of it was a desert until about the middle of the nineteenth century when the baobabs were exploited. There were no wells at el Nahūd until the Dervish epoch. The "tubeldi" in western Kordofan is usually called a "homraia"—presumably because the bark has a pink-red sheen over it and the fibre has a dull brick colour. That the tribe especially concerned with these trees should be called "Ḥamar" (i.e. "red") is probably no more than a coincidence.

² Cp. Pallme, p. 142.

³ Meaning "blood has clotted." Fights for "tubeldi," etc., were very frequent there. The name of a fly. Cp. Cuny, p. 190.

⁶ Cp. Petherick, *Upper Egypt*..., p. 314, and Cuny, pp. 189-190.

⁷ Literally "Lion's Valley."

Cuny, p. 65.

⁹ In the "war" with Ddr Hamid, it is said, each side was accompanied by a poet who encouraged his own people by the recital of verses. The Hamar say maliciously that the men of Dar Hdmid were so utterly destroyed that their women went round in a band to neighbouring tribes offering themselves in marriage at a reduced dowry, and only so kept the tribe in existence.

The most serious and numerous of these were with the KABABfeH, with whom the IJAMAR were at perpetual feud¹.

The power of the ḤAMAR increased so rapidly that by 1876 Ensor considered them "the richest of all the nomads in this part of Africa, far exceeding in number the nomad portion of the Kabbabbeesh, and almost equalling the whole of that tribe including the settlers on the banks of the Nile²." They lost nearly all their wealth in the Dervish days, and at the reoccupation the KABABISH looted from them much of what was left.

XX They are now almost entirely sedentary, but fairly rich in camels and sheep. They occupy large tracts of gum forest and cultivation north of el Oḡaya Abu Zabad and Abu IJardz, and west of Abu Sinūn and Mazrūb.

Nohe of the ḤAMAR remain in Ddrfūr, if one except a small colony of SAHANIN (AWLAD SAHNUN) who live with the ZAGHAWA in the north round Hashaba and are said to be HAMAR in origin.

The 'ASAKIRA, the DEKAXiM, and the GHARAYSIA, of whom the last-named split away from the DEKAXiM between 1873 and 1877 are now each under a separate *nazir*.

XXI The subdivisions of the ḤAMAR are as follows:

I. EL 'ASAKIRA

A. EL GHISHIMAT

1. AYLAD GAMI'A

- { (a) AYLAD MA'AYZ
- (b) SHENABIR
- (c) GHARARA
- [(d) MARAZIK³

{ a. SIDAYRAT

3. AYLAD MA'ALI

{ 4. „ GHASI

5- » 'ALI

B. BENI BADR

{ 1. MERAMRA⁴

{ (a) MILAHA

{ 2. SA'ADAT

((a) AYLAD GHANUM

[(b) MAHALHIL

(c) NAS ZAYD

[(d) „ EL SUL

[(e) „ MATLUB

¹ Cp. Petherick, *Upper Egypt...* p. 316, and Cuny, pp. 64-67.

² Ensor, p. 86. The "*dhia*" (blood-money) for murder at this period is said to have been 100 camels, of which the sheikh took thirty.

³ Plural of Marzuk, *'«= Awlidd MarzQlf. The same name occurs among the subdivisions of the Mafrass and of the Gawama'a. ⁴ Dar Plamid in origin.

C. EL KHAMSA'T

1. MĀYĀMĪN
 - (a) AWLAD ŠUBAE
 - (b) BUDRANĀ
2. MENADIR
3. GIKHAYSAT¹
 - (a) UM HAYSIN
 - (b) AWLAD DHIAB
 - (c) ABU DAN
 - (d) MERAHIL
 - (e) Nas MUAMAR
4. MENANA
5. KHAYRAYSAT

D. EL TARADAT

1. DAMA'I

- (a) ŠUBAYHĀT
 - (1) Nas SODERI
- (b) GELADA
- (c) TAYĀISA
 - (1) AWLAD 'ALĪ
 - (2) GAWABRA
 - (3) NOWARA
 - (4) 'ABBASIA
- (d) FAWADIL
- (e) GHANAYMIA²
 - i(i) Nas ABU GEBEL
 - 1(2) „ 'ALĪ
 - 1(3) „ BELAL
 - 1(4) „ GAMU"A
- (/) NOAYKAT
- (g) AWLAD KHAḌRA
- (h) 'ABADIA
 - (1) Nas ABU GUMA'A
 - (2) GERAYNI

II. EL DEKAḌIM

A. WALLIA

1. Nas HAZIL
2. „ EL ḤURR
3. „ ABU ḤAMAYDAN
4. „ HAMIR
5. „ HARUŠH
6. „ RAHA
7. „ ABU 'AWIN
8. ABU GEMANIN

¹ Originally Shendbla 'Awamra. ² Originally Gawama'a. ³ Cp. Gamu'fa.⁴ Said to be related to the Kawāhla, but not to be confused with the Wālla (q.v. D 3, 2 note). There are also Beni Wall west of Darfur (see Carbou, 11, 14).

- B. NAs ABU ZAYD
 , I . NAs SARI
 (a) NAs GABR
 [(b) AWLAD ŞUBAYI]̣
 2. NAs 'ABD EL SALAM
 { 3. „ FARAGULLA
 4. „ ABU TENU
- C. EL SHA'IBAT
- D. AWLAD SHADWAN
- E. „ 'AMIR
- F. „ BUR'AS
- G. „ SmAfA
 1. NAs EL ŞOD
 { 2. „ FERAYWA
 3. „ RIBAYH
 4. „ ABU NA'AMIR
 5. „ MUSELLAM
 6. „ KHALA
- H. EL GEMA'ANIA
- J. EL GHARAGA

III. EL GHARAYSIA

- A. EL ḤADA^DA
 1. AWLAD ḤAMMAD
 { 2. AWLAD UM BUTNAYN
 3. DUBŪBA
 4. AWLAD SHERIF
 5. AWLAD NIMR
 6. BERA'IM
- B. AWLAD SHIGHAN
 1. NAs ISMA'IL
 { 2. UM KISAYBA
 13. NAs NUSR
 4. „ ABU MERAKIḤ
 { 5. „ MUHAMMAD
 6. İJOMRAN
- C. AWLAD GUAYD
 1. NAs ABU ḤIGAYWA
 { 2. NAs ṬURFA
 3. AWLAD 'ADI
 4. HABABISH
 \ 5. NAs MURMI
 { 6. SA'ADIA
 7. AWLAD GABIR
 8. NAs SAHARIF
- D. EL SUBAHA¹

¹ These are not Hamar by race, though subject to them. They are said to be Korobat (see Chap. 8).

CHAPTER 5

The Kawahla Group

(a) THE KAWAHLA¹

I The KAWAHLA are invariably connected in tradition with Zubayr ibn el 'Awwam of the tribe of Kusai, one of the first and most famous converts to Islam, slain at the "Battle of the Camel" in 656 A.D.²

There is no doubt that the nucleus of the tribe entered the Sudan by way of the Red Sea, but the period of their immigration is not known. They are first mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭa as inhabiting the country round Suḡkin in 1353 and speaking the BEGA tongue³.

It is common for such of the BISHARIN and 'ABABDA as claim an Arab descent to speak of their tribes as descended from "Kahl," and the KAWAHLA reciprocate by including the BISHAR**N* and 'ABABDA, and sometimes even the BENI 'AMIR or U*M* 'AR'AR ("AMARAR"), under the term KAWAHLA⁴.

There can be little doubt that there is a strong Arab element common to all three tribes.

II At the present day the KAWAHLA are widely distributed, but they fall into two main groups. The most important and united of these are the very rich nomad camel-owning tribe of Kordofdn. Until the Dervish revolt these formed a branch of the KABAB*fs*H and had probably moved westwards and joined that tribe shortly before the Turkish conquest. It is improbable that they did so very much earlier, since, had they done so, they must in the course of years have become more firmly welded into the tribal whole, to the detriment of their own individuality, than was ever the case⁶.

¹ *Sing.* Kdhli.

² The name Kahil was not uncommon in Arabia. Wustenfeld mentions five persons of this name. From one of them, Kahil ibn Asad, were descended the Kahilfa (*q.v.* Abu el Fida, pp. 196-7), but there is nothing further to connect these with the Kawahla now in the Sudan. The word "Kahala" (كاهلا) in the Sudan means "to clear out [a well]," *Le.* to remove the muddy deposit at the bottom.

³ See p. 188.

⁴ Wilkinson (p. 386) and Tremaux (i, 169) respectively mention "Gowateeh" and "Kawoali" among the chief divisions of the 'Abdbda. In a list of these divisions by Mr Jennings Bramly I find the name as "Gawalia."

⁵ The 'Atawia section of Kababish are said to be Kawahla by origin, but probably joined the Kababish long before the rest of the Kawdhla. In consequence they have become an integral part of the former tribe and did not leave it in the "*Mahdla*."

The other main group of KAWAHLA, though more numerous, forms a much less coherent whole, and while certain sections of it lead a nomadic life south of Sennar and on the banks of the Atbara theDinder and theRahad, many others have become entirely sedentary and have built villages on the White Nile, in the Gezfra, and as far east as the Abyssinian border.

III Travellers to the Sudan in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries speak of the KAWAHLA ("Cohala," "Kaou&hlehs," etc.) as one of the chief tribes east of the Blue Nile¹.

Burckhardt² and Cailliaud both mention that about 1814-1819 they and the SHUKRIA were at mortal feud with the GA'ALIIN tribes to the east of Shendi and on the Atbara.

IV The subdivisions of the Kordofan division are as follows:

A. DARḤAMID	[1. HASHUNA
	2. AWLAD GERAYS
	3. " SHINAYTIR
	(4. " ZAYD
B. EL BERAḤNA	
C. EL HALAYIFA	1. NAs WAD EL MAJAYRIK
	{2. NAs WAD EL AZRAḤ
D. EL BEDARIIN	1. AWLAD RAḤAL
	{2. AWLAD 'ARABI
E. EL 'ABABDA	1. NAS WAD EL MISAYK
	2. NAs BAB
	3. UM RADI
	4. NAFAR
F. UM'AMAR	
G. DAR BAḤR	1. AWLAD EL SHEIKH
	2. AWLAD EL DIBAYD
H. EL BEḤAYRAB	1. AWLAD SULAYMAN
	2. AWLAD ADAM
	(3. KURUN
J. EL GIHAYMAB ³	
K. EL GHAZAYA	j i. EL 'OMARAT
	2. AWLAD ṬERAYF
L. ELNIFAYDIA	(1. EL UTIAB
	2. EL MULKAB
	(3. EL KUARA

Of these several are not true KAWAHLA. The rich 'ABABDA section are an offshoot of the tribe of that name from the eastern deserts; but

¹ See, e.g. Bruce, iv, 416; Cailliaud, II, 236; III, 71, 108, etc.

² *Nubia*, p. 346.

³ A few nomad Gihaymdb also occur in Berber district.

it is noteworthy that they held the sheikhship of the whole tribe for two generations¹.

The DAR HAMID, who hold the sheikhship at the present day and are the wealthiest of all the sections, belong to the GUHAYNA group² and joined the KAWAHLA after the advent of the latter to Kordofan.

These western KAWAHLA spend the dry season (December to June) in the Khayrdrn near Bara, unless they have been able, by digging wells at Um Bddr, to defer their retirement south-east for another month or two. They graze their herds in the Khayrdrn and thereabouts free of payment, but as having no proprietary rights they are compelled to pay for the water they draw from the wells. Cultivation they have none³. When the rains fall the whole tribe moves north-westwards to the neighbourhood of the Wa'di el Melik and remain there for so long as grass and water permit⁴.

V The eastern KAWAHLA are not composed of sections whose parentage is entirely distinct from that of the western group.

They divide the whole tribe into thirteen sections each descended from a different son of Kdhil. However, the names of these thirteen sons vary to some extent⁵ and it is useless to attempt an accurate grouping of the subdivisions under their names. The best known of the subdivisions are the following⁶:

BERAḲNA. Chiefly in Kordofan.

KAMALAB

[KIMAYLAB. A small nomad group of these also lives in Berber district. MARGHUMAB⁷. A section of these is with the SHUKRIA near Abu

Delayk. A few others are nomadic in Ddmer district (Berber).

DELAYḲAB⁸

ASAWIDA

ḤASANIA⁹

{ GIMAYLIA

GHAZALAB

'URWAB. On the White Nile, chiefly the west bank, south of the

{ GAMMA.

ṢONAYTAB

¹ Gddulla Balilu in the Dervish days, and his son 'Abdullah after the reoccupation till 1910.

² See above, p. 256.

³ The only Kawdhla cultivation west of the White Nile is that belonging to some sedentary 'Abdbda and others in the White Nile Province.

⁴ The colony of so-called Kawdhla in the Nūba mountains near Gebel Kedfr are escaped slaves or freedmen and not true Kawdhla at all.

⁵ See C 1 for the variations.

⁶ The brackets give some indication as to which sections are most closely connected with one another.

⁷ See D 2, XXVII and D 3, 74 ("Markamab').

⁸ See sub

Batahin.

⁹ Dealt with separately: see later.

LABÁBIS

HAMAYDÁNIA

'AMRÍA

KERÁMIA

GEBÁLIA

{ BEDÁRIÍN. Chiefly in Kordofán and on the White Nile.

{ SHARÁ'ANA. Sedentary, in the Gezira.

{ 'ABÁBDA¹{ BISHÁRIÍN²

'AṬÁWIA. Now a section of the KABÁBISH.

YEZÍDAB, or YEZÍDIA, or BENI YEZÍD. A very small section. I once met a small encampment of them near 'Aydag living under the wing of the MESALLAMIA of Um Dubbán.

NIFAYDIA. Chiefly in Berber Province. Some are sedentary in the Gezira.

{ FUDÁIDA³

{ SHADÁIDA

{ CHAZÁYA

{ SU'UDIA

{ KAWÁMLA

{ WÁLIA⁴

{ GELÁLIA

{ BĀḤIA

{ KHALAFIA

{ MUTÁRFA

{ SALÁṬNA⁵

{ MUḤAMMADÁB

{ KURAYSHÁB

{ NOWÁRÁB⁵

{ RIMAYTÁB

BENI SA'ID

MUḤAMMADIA. On both sides of the White Nile: a section rich in cattle and sheep.

AḤÁMDA

VI Some separate account must be given of two of the above divisions⁶, namely, the AḤÁMDA and the ḤASANIA.

¹ See above.² Cp. the case of the 'Abdbda.³ The names Fūdīda and Saldtna occur, together with the Gerdba'a (for which cp. BA xcvi), as names of subtribes in the peninsula of Sinai: that of the first-named also among the semi-nomadic tribes of Arabs north of Aswa'n mentioned by Sir C. Wilson.⁴ See D 3, 2 note.⁵ Or "Nurab."⁶ In the trees attached to C i will be found also the names of several smaller Kawdhla sections.

(b) THE AHAMDA

The AHAMDA sometimes appear in the *nisbas* of the GA'ALIIN group, and figure there as closely akin to the GAWAMA'A and the GIMA'A¹. The KAWAHLA *nisba* shows them as KAWAHLA². The BAKKARA include them in their genealogies but evidently regard them as an inferior folk: the HUMR FELAITA, for instance, speak of "Ahamda who was raped by a NCBA" as ancestress of the AHAMDA.

The HAMMADA (RUFA'A) also claim the AIJAMDA to be descended from the same ancestor as themselves. The most usually accepted oral tradition has it that Hammad, the ancestor of the AHAMDA, was a Kdhli and that for some reason he denied his tribe and was therefore nicknamed "el Nuaykir" ("the little apostate").

The AHAMDA are a semi-nomadic tribe, some of whom are in the northern part of the Gezira, in the Blue or the White Nile Province, and to the east of the Blue Nile, while others are more sedentary and own a considerable tract of country to the west of the White Nile, south of Kosti³.

Many of the AIJAMDA are settled permanently in villages throughout the year; but the majority of the easternmost group, during the rains, push some distance eastwards to cultivate in the *wddis* between the river and the Buḍna and to graze their flocks. As the supplies of water in the *hafirs* and of grass diminish they retreat to the river. During this process quarrels usually arise between them and the HASAN*A and the BAṬAḤfN. Having finally returned to the vicinity of the Blue Nile these AHAMDA similarly quarrel with the MESALLAMIYA MAḤASS and others on analogous grounds.

They are, wherever found, but more particularly in the east, a small decadent and dirty type of Arab, owning a fair number of cattle, many sheep and goats, and a few small herds of camels. Some of the AHAMDA who are now under the White Nile Province were, in pre-Mahdist days, farther west and north and formed a section of the KABABISH⁴, but the bond between the two tribes, which was never more than purely artificial and utilitarian, no longer exists, and except for a few individuals, there are no AHAMDA now in the steppes of northern Kordofan.

Others used to be mixed with the AWLAD ḤAMAYD and other

¹ See BA and A i i.

² See C i (a) and (6).

³ In 1814 there were some "Hamda" in Shendi district whom Burckhardt (q.v. p. 345) understood to be "acknowledged as relations by the Arabs of the same name who inhabit the neighbourhood of Luxor and Karnak in Upper Egypt; Luxor has hence received the name of el Hamdye."

⁴ Cp. note on p. 312.

BAKARA between the White Nile and Gebel Dair, but these have now for the most part settled in the "dar" south of Kosti.

The following are some of the subdivisions of the AHAMDA:

ZERAYKAB	} In the Blue Nile Province, on either side of the river, but chiefly to the east.	ZERAYKAB	} In the White Nile Province.
SUBHAB		MUGHAMSA	
BERARIG		SHAWARAB	
'EDAYFAB		ŞAHAWAT	
GHADAYIN		SHAKALIA	
KISAYBAB		DAWIAB	} On the Atbara.
MA'ALA		WITAYDAB.	
ZUMAMAB		GAMA'NAB.	In Ẹayli district, east and north-east of Khartoum.

(c) THE HASANIA AND THE HUSAYNAT

VII The ḤASANIA, in spite of the enormous losses which they suffered in the Dervish days¹, are the largest of the tribes which were originally included in the term KAWAHLA, but which are now independent of the parent stock.

They are divided into two main groups. The first is in the White Nile Province and is very numerous. Those on the west bank are mainly a cattle-owning people and do not extend far inland from the river: they have large herds and form a great part of the population between Ẹṭayna and el Dueim².

Those on the east bank are semi-nomadic owners of camels cattle and sheep, and cultivate an extensive riverain area. The following are some of their subdivisions:

1. 'IMAYRIA	5. KUSHKUSHAB	9. GIMAYLIA	13. NAKIAB
2. RAḤMAB	6. MAGHAWIR	10. KASIRAB	14. ḤOWAYLIAB
3. GHULAMAB	7. NAGAGIR	11. KIRAYMBAB	15. GANUKA
4. RAFADAB	8. GAWAWIT	12. RIMAYLAB	16. GODAB

The second group of ḤASANIA, with herds of camels and sheep and some cattle, wanders farther afield, north, north-east, north-west and east of the junction of the Niles, to the Bayḡda desert and Gebel Gilif and Gaḳḑul on the one hand, and to the Buḡḑna on the other. In Berber Province they include KARAFISH, NAGAGIR, BILAYLAB, HAMMADAB, HAMIDAB, etc.

The ḤUSAYNAT are mostly on the White Nile and are divided into BAWAZI and SHITAWIA. Both sections are semi-nomadic.

¹ See Slatin, Ch. xiii.

² See Petherick, *Central Africa...*, II, 85.

CHAPTER 6

The Kenana and Deghaym

I KENANA. The KENANA of the Sudan claim to be an offshoot of the great KENANA tribe of Arabia, and there is no reason to doubt that there is good foundation for their claim. But whether their Arab ancestors ever formed a branch of the KENANA whom we have already met in Egypt, or whether they immigrated quite independently by way of the Red Sea, is not certain: the latter supposition is the more probable and more in accord with their own traditions.

In the Sudan at the present day they are for the most part B'ĀḲ-ḲARA, breeders of cattle and horses, and are divided by the river into two main divisions. One of these, the larger, owns cattle camels and sheep and lives south of Singa and Sennâr, on either side of the Blue Nile, with the RUFA'A group. In the rains these move northwards, out of the fly infested area, to the Buḏna on the one side and the Seḳadi Moya district on the other. They fall into the three groups of SERAG*A, ABU RIḤAN and KOATIL¹.

The other division of KENANA grazes in Kordofan with cattle and sheep over parts of the same country as the far more numerous ḤAWAZMA. A branch of them have also found their way south into the SHILLUK country and have settlements on the west bank of the Nile as far south as the tenth parallel of latitude.

The main sections of the KENANA are given as follows by their tribesmen in Kordofan.

A. SOWARAB

1. AWLAD YASIN. Chiefly in the Gezfra.
2. ZOAYDA
3. ISAYBA'A. Chiefly in the Gezfra.

B. SERAGIA

1. AWLAD DALI². Chiefly in the Gezira.
2. UM BELAL
3. AWLAD ROAYA
4. ZAYDAN

5. HABAYLIA } Chiefly in the Gezira.

¹ A subsection of the Bisharin ('Aliab) of the Eastern Desert is also called Koatil (plural of Katul). The Seragia clearly correspond to the Seragab section of Kababish, who claim to be of Kendna descent.

² Some of these live near Tefcali; others with the rest of the Kendna in Kordofa. The former have with them a few of the Sowarab section also.

7. ABU R6JAN	}	Chiefly in the Gezira.
8. KOATIL		
9. GILAYRAB		
10. BAYLAB		
C. AŞALA'A ¹		
1. AWLAD GUBERAN	}	Chiefly in the Gezfra, A few in Kordofan.
2. " Huzil		
3. SU'UDIA		
4. 'AMARIA		
5. AWLAD RISHAYD		
D. DA'UDIA		
1. MANASIR	}	Chiefly in the Gezira.
(a) NAS HAMDUK		
E. FAHRIA	}	
F. 'ALOWNA ²		

II The tradition is that the ancestor of the KENANA³

was el Sayyid Ahmad Zabad el Bahr, a "fekir" of Mekka, descended from Ḥamza the youngest son of the Prophet's grandfather 'Abd el Muṭṭalib. After his death one of his sons, Maṣṣūr, quarrelled with the other sons as to the succession and left Mekka for Egypt with his younger brother 'Abdullḏhi. Hence he was nicknamed "El Harḏḏn" (one who sulks and isolates himself). From Egypt Maṣṣūr passed up the Nile to the Sudan. The GAMU IfA...and the MAHASS of Dongola each provided him with a wife and he begot six sons, Yaṣṣn, 'Alī Abu el Fahra, Iḥammad Aṣṣa'a, Sowdr, Idris Serḏg and 'Alwḏn. These were the forefathers of the sections of KENANA now in the Sudan, excepting the DAUDIA who are descended from 'Abdullḏhi.

The SERAGAB section of the KABABISH are also said to be descended from Idris Serḏg....

The earliest KENANA arrivals in the Sudan are said to have settled finally at Gebel Kurun, south of Teḳali, and subsequently to have come into conflict with a party of KAWAHLA settled in the neighbourhood, and to have driven them to the south. According to the KENANA "nisba" Maṣṣḏr lived sixteen generations ago and seventeen generations after 'Abd el Muṭṭalib.

Thus it would seem that⁴

some KENANA emigrated from Arabia into Egypt about the beginning of the fourteenth century, and pushed their way up the river as far as Dongola, and there temporarily settled and intermarried, and later split into various sections, of whom a part went south with their kinsmen and a part eventually attached themselves to the KABABISH.

¹ Burckhardt mentions Aṣḏla'a ("Aszale, in Waddi and west of it (Nubia, pp. 479-480). **

² The same name occurs among the Kababish and the Beni Helba.

³ The following quotation is from my *Tribes...*, p. 168.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

III DEGHAYM. The pedigree of the DEGHAYM is not given in the *nisbas*, and in fact I have only once seen them mentioned, viz. in D2.

In 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) Ibn Bāṭuta crossed the desert between Kus and 'Aidhab in the company of a party of DEGHAYM, but he tells us nothing of them¹.

Immediately before the "*Mahdia*" the tribe was living on the White Nile, and in 1881 they joined the Mahdi together with the KENANA², but they were all but exterminated at the battle of Abu Ṭlayh ("Abu Klea") in 1885, and they have never recovered.

¹ See Burckhardt, *Nubia*, p. 533 .

² The famous "*amir*" 'Ali wad Helu was one of their number. See Slatin, Ch. iv.

CHAPTER 7

The Rikabia

I The RIKABIA are a distinctively Arab colony settled in Dongola, and having ramifications elsewhere in the Sudan, but they do not recognize the name DANAGLA as applicable to them and evince a somewhat exclusive pride in their nobility of descent. Their ancestor, they say, was a descendant of Ḥusayn the son of 'Alī ibn Abu Ṭdlib, the Sherif Ghulāmulla ibn 'Aīd, who settled in Dongola about the secoAd half of the fourteenth century and conferred the benefits of his learning on the ignorant autochthonous population. He came to Dongola by way of the Red Sea from the Yemen¹.

II We have seen that the NURAB section of KABABISH express pretensions to be an offshoot of the RIKABIA. There is also in Kordofan a large but scattered family known as the DOALIB, *z.e.* descendants of Dolib, with settlements at Gebel el Hardza and, farther south, at Khursi and Bāra². These also call themselves RiKABfA. They formed a colony in northern Kordofan at the beginning of the eighteenth century and rapidly attained a very definite ascendancy over the northern hillmen. At the same time they took to wife the women of the "NUBA" and SHABARĶA³ and so helped to produce the mixed population of the present day⁴.

Other so-called RIKABIA and related tribesmen from Dongola had probably settled at el Ḥardza, Abu Tubr, Um Durrāg and farther south long before the main DOALIB immigration⁵, but they can hardly be distinguished from the DANAGLA immigrants whom we have already alluded to as continually trickling into Kordofan under the name of BEDAYRIA, GAWABRA, etc., and may be here ignored.

The D6AIJB in Kordofan were a very intelligent and capable family, and during the Turkish *regime* were given positions of trust

¹ See Introduction to Part IV, BA CLXXIX and D 5 (*d*).

² There are some of them, too, incorporated in the Howdrdb section of Kababish (*q.v.*).

³ *Q.v.* on p. 243.

⁴ It is they of whom Cuny speaks (*Voy.* pp. 46, 50, 142, 143, 158) as "Berbers," or "Dougawawi," from Debba inhabiting the hills of northern Kordofan and speaking a "rotana" of Dongoldwi corrupted by Zaghdwa and Kungdra. So, too, Browne, late in the eighteenth century, spoke of the people of el Ḥardza as mostly "of a reddish hue" (see Browne, *App.* 6, p. 566).

⁵ See pp. 93 and 94 (with notes) of *Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan*,

as tax-collectors and minor officials. The headman of the DOALIB at el Ḥardza was also recognized as holding an overlordship over the northern hills, and members of his family to the present day hold analogous positions at el Haraza and as far west as the Kiga hills.

III Other RIKABIA have wandered to other parts of the Sudan: the people of Wad 'Ishayb, the 'ISHAYBAB, on the Blue Nile near el Kimh'n, for instance, claim descent from a Rikdbi feki who settled there about the beginning of the seventeenth century¹; but the main body remains in Dongola, and, owing to its alleged nobility of descent and the numerous holy men it has produced², is regarded with considerable respect. The mere Dongolawi who wishes to represent himself as of good birth normally chooses to call himself a Rikābi.

¹ A biography of 'Ali wad 'Ishayb is given in D 3 No. 60. There is a small nomadic group of 'Ishaybdb in Dārner district (Berber Province), but they are said to be a branch of the U M 'AR'AR.

² See D 3 Tree No. 1 and references therein.

CHAPTER 8

The Hawawir, Gelldba Howara, Wahia and Korobat

I In an earlier chapter¹ some account has already been given of the career of the HOWARA Berbers who settled in Upper Egypt and became arabicized. We saw how in Burckhardt's time they were in occupation of both sides of the Nile and were still rich and prosperous². Until the time of Muḥammad 'Ali they had been extremely powerful, owing chiefly to the excellence of their cavalry, and acknowledged no authority but that of their own chiefs. The family of the great chief Hamdm Abu Yusef had "assumed the whole Government of Upper Egypt, south of Siout, and the Mamelouks had been obliged to cede it to them by treaty." Hamdm also extended his authority into northern Nūbia "which he several times visited as far as Mahass³."

The rule of the HOWARA was, however, accused of being oppressive and extortionate⁴, especially towards the Copts, many of whom were used as slaves, and shortly before Muḥammad 'Ali's accession the Mamlūks attacked Hamim and succeeded in defeating and killing him. But they were unable to subdue the tribe as a whole, and it remained powerful until after the fall of the Mamlūks, when Ibrāhim Pasha finally crushed it. He is said to have slain 2000 of the HOWARA.

II HAWAWIR. The HAWAW*R nomads of Dongola Province belong to this stock and preserve the tradition of their Berber ancestry. They are a large and fairly rich tribe of camel-owners and in the rainy season move to the west and north-west with the KABABISH. Their main divisions are as follows⁵:

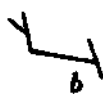
¹ Part I I, Appendix to Chap. 1.

² Burckhardt, *Nubia*, App. in, pp. 531-533.

³ *Ibid.* p. 135. Cp. Hamilton, p. 257. For other details see MS. D 4 ix.

⁴ Denon, who accompanied Napoleon's expedition, on the contrary, heard of Hamām as a champion of the oppressed and of his time as a sort of golden age for the Arabs of Upper Egypt. They spoke "du temps du cheikh prince Ammam, où on ne traitoit pas depositions arbitraires, mais de ce qui pouvoit Stre le plus utile a tous." (*Voyages...*, 1, 303.) MS. D4 describes Hamam as farming out Nūbia in very cynical fashion.

⁵ The camel brands of several of these divisions are well known, namely the **Lam Alif* (a) of the Rūbib and the '*erik* (b) of the 'Abdsdb. But the most distinctive of all their brands is the *Kilaid mahgan* (c) which is used on the right side of the neck by most of the Hawdwfr.



(HARARIN	(HAMASIN	[TAMASIH
MUALKA	SALHAB	'AMRAB
RUBAB	GOTAB	FAKAKIN
<u>HOBABAB</u>	[FEZARAB	[ABBASAB

III GELLABA HOWARA. The GELLABA HOWARA are more numerous in Ddrfür than in Kordofan. In the latter province they have villages between el Obeid and Bdra and in Um Rudba district. The people of these relate that their ancestors came from Upper Egypt, and claim relationship with the HAWAwfR. Their land they obtained from the GAWAMA'A some eight to nine generations ago. In type they are very dark and degraded and entirely unlike the sallow HAWAWIR of the north, who hold them in contempt. Their divisions in Kordofan are:

[KAWAMNA
JADAWA
1 DIKAYRAB
[AWLAD KAYSAN

From their title of "Gellába" it is likely that, as they state, they came originally as pedlars; and in Darfur the majority of them are engaged in trade at the present day or live close to the capital, el Fdsher. These latter, like their relatives in Kordofan, still remember their Upper-Egyptian origin. The chief branch of them is the WAḤIA.

IV KOROBAṬ. The KOROBAṬ are generally reckoned so cognate to the GELLABA HOWARA as to be all but identical with them. They are confined to the western Sudan, Kordofan and Darfur that is, and the greater part of them are settled in north-western Darfur near the KIMR border.

Nachtigal tells us that they at one period inhabited Dar Kimr and were driven thence by the FUR². Both he³ and Barth⁴ include them also among the "Arabs" of Waddi, and the former states they claimed to be of Yemenite stock. At the present day those in Ddrfür allege a descent from the BENI SHAYBA of Arabia. Their subdivisions they give as:

[ABU UM BUKR
[AWLAD EL FEKI
" ABU AMNA
" FINEI'
" MASKIN

¹ The word means "crocodiles." Compare the tribal brand of the Moghirba on the Blue Nile, also of Berber extraction (p. 318).

² *Sah. und Sudan*, in, 455, ap. Carbou, 11, 94.

³ *Ibid*, III, 71.

⁴ III, 545-

Other KOROBAT live at Sherkayla in eastern Kordofan, and it is said that to their number also belong the ŞUBAİA section of the HĀMAR round Um Bel in western Kordofan.

The people of Kaga in northern Kordofan, too, state that there were settlements of KOROBAT in their hills, together with the BIRRED, a century or so ago.

CHAPTER 9

The 'Abdbda¹ and kerrarish

I The 'ABABDA are a tribe of Upper Egypt, but as they have several branches in the Sudan some brief account of them will be given.

As being neighbours of the BISHARIN and having intermarried with them they have naturally come to be considered as of the same original stock, but the 'ABABDA have very much more of the Arab in their composition than have any of the BEGA races² and in fact probably represent the Arabs who were settled in the Thebaid before the final Muhammadan conquest of the Sudan. The 'ABABDA in Shendi district told Burckhardt that they and the 'ABABDA of Egypt were all descended from "Selman, an Arab of the BENI HILAL³." There is no reason compelling one to deny their connection with that tribe; and they appear also to have intermarried, as one would expect, with the AWLAD KANZ⁴.

Their northern limit is roughly the Kena-Ḳuṣayr road, and the greater part of the tribe frequents the country east of Luxor Dir&w and Aswdn, and the northern Atbai⁶.

II The 'ABABDA are divided into three main groups, the 'ASHABAB, the FUḲARA and the 'ABUDIIN or SHINATIR⁶. The 'ASHABAB is the largest and most powerful of these divisions, and both it and the 'ABUDIIN-SHINATIR group are practically confined to Egypt⁷.

Of the FUKARA the best-known branch is the MILAYKAB, many of whom are within the Sudan boundary, though there are others of them over the border and round Diraw⁸.

¹ The word "'Abdbda" is a plural formed from "'Abadi." "'Abadi" also means a Nestorian Christian (see *el Mas'tidi*, ed. Sprenger, pp. 247, 251).

² Cp. Crowfoot, *Some Lacunae*, p. 5. Such 'Ababda as speak To-Bedowi have learnt it from the Bishdrfn. Quatremère (n, 158) thought them probably "descendants of the ancient Bega."

³ *Nubia*, p. 345.

⁴ Burckhardt says (*loc. cit.* p. 145) of the Kenūz, i.e. the modern modified form of AwMd Kanz, "They frequently intermarry with the Arabs Ababde." Belzoni (*Narrative*, pp. 304-313) says the 'Ababda "never intermarry with any of their own people."

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 148 *et seq.* and map, and *A. E. Sudan*, p. 93. Belzoni (1815) speaks of them (*loc. cit.*) as extending from near Suez to "the Bishariin, on the coast of the Red Sea, below the latitude of 23°."

⁶ Some call the Shindtir a section of the 'AbGdifn and others call the 'Abudifn a section of the Shindtir. "Shindtir" in Himyaritic means earrings.

⁷ Burckhardt (p. 149) mentions individuals of the 'Ashabdb ("Ashabdt") as having settled on the Nile in Nabia and intermarried with the inhabitants.

⁸ Dirdw is the nominal headquarters of 'Abd el 'Azfm Bey el Khalifa, the best known of the 'Abdbda sheikhs, but he frequently resides at Berber. Cp. Burckhardt pp. 211 and 345.

It is this branch which from time immemorial has controlled the camel transport over the Butn el Ilagar between Korosko and Abu IJammad and has thereby become wealthy¹. A few 'ASHABAB and 'ABUDiiN live with them.

There is also a considerable colony of 'ABABDA, of a stock much mixed with the GA'ALIIN elements among which they live², based on el Hosh, a few miles west of Shendi. They number some 850 men and own perhaps 2000 camels and 33,000 sheep and goats.

Until the second decade of the nineteenth century other 'ABABDA were settled at Dongola, "where they had acquired great wealth and influence"³: these latter were compelled by the immigrant Mamlūks to retire to Egypt.

THE SERRARISH

III Connected with the 'ABABDA, though remotely, are the KERRAFISH. A portion of these were until lately in Upper Egypt⁴, but most of them graze their camels and flocks in the deserts west of Dongola and south of the latitude of Ḥaifa. Others have long been settled on the Nile, more particularly to the south of the MAḤASS country and on Arko Island.

"These Bedouin, a remote branch of the Ababde," says Burckhardt⁵ in 1813, "pasture their cattle on the uninhabited banks of the river, and on its islands, from Derr southwards, as far as Mahass and Dongola, where they are said to be more numerous than in Nubia. They are poor...but, notwithstanding their poverty, they refuse to give their daughters in marriage to the Nubians, and have thus preserved their race pure....The Kerrarish are, for the most part, in the service of the governors of Nubia, to whom they are attached as a corps of guards, and guides, and accompany them in their journeys through their dominions....They are a very honest and hospitable people."

Others, he adds, worked as guides to merchants or made a living by collecting *senna* and nitre from the deserts.

¹ Isma'il Pasha had 700 of them as irregulars with him in the expedition of 1821. Cailliaud (*q.v.* 11, p. 51) characterizes them as the worst soldiers in the army, accustomed rather to trade and guide than to fight.

² They contain IJasndnb, Magadhib, Sulaymania, Kanzdb, Harirab, Bisharab, Mukdbirab, etc.

³ *Ibid.* p. 67.

⁴ There are also "Kerasha" near T6r in the Sinai Peninsula, subdivided into Nasirat and Awlad Tihi (see Na'um Bey, *Hist. Sinai...*, pp. 112-3).

⁵ *Nubia*, pp. 30, 31.

CHAPTER 10

The Kerriat

I The KERRIAT form a small camel-owning tribe, the members of which at present rank as nomad Arabs and do not obviously differ in type from their western neighbours the KABABİSH and HAWAWJR.

The name "Kerriat" does not, however, appear in the *nisbas* and the tribe seems to be really a heterogeneous collection of Arabs grafted upon some more ancient stock.

Their grazing-grounds have always been, and are still, west and north of Omdurman, to the east of the Wddi el Muqaddam; but in practice they go farther westwards in the rainy season, and a few of them remain throughout the year as far inland as el Şdfia. None of them are sedentary or own any land upon the river.

Their name suggests that the substratum upon which the tribal edifice was reared were dwellers round Gebel Kerri, the ancient seat of the 'ABDULLAB near the Shablūka cataract, and the common statement, which has also been volunteered to me by KERRIAT themselves, to the effect that they are 'ANAG by origin, bears out this view¹. Their chief sections are the 'ADALIN, the MIHAYMIDAB and the SONAYTAB.

II They are wont to intermarry largely with the HAWAWJR, and it is noticeable that the most distinctive camel brand used by the latter is practically identical with that placed by the KERRIAT on their she-camels².

¹ At the same time such Kerriat as I have questioned on the point deny any connection between the names "Kerri" and "Kerriat."

² The Hawdwjr brand referred to is the *kilaïd mahgan*, viz. III on the right side of the neck (see MacMichael, *Camel Brands...*, p. 31). The Kerriat place the *kildid* in the same place, but only on she-camels, in the form IIP.

As I gave no account of the Kerriat brands in the work referred to above, I may add them here.

1. The 'Adalin. (a) On males: a short *sotf* above the *thifina*, a *shurdba*, and a *khurus*, all on the right. On the left a *huff a* and a *zalayt* (or *zalat*). (b) On females: the *kildid* as described, a *shurdba*, and a *s6t*, all on the right.

2. The Mihaymiddb. (a) On males: a *khurus* on the left; and on the right a *dukka* on the neck, *zfera'a* (i.e. tip of ear cut off), and a *ddmi*. All or any of these marks is used, (b) On females: the *kilaïd* as described: some add a *ddmi*.

3. The Şonaytdb. (a) On males: a *dami* and a *sot* on the right, (b) On females: the *kilaïd* as described, and a *fera'a*, a *dami* and a *sot*, all on the right.

N.B. A *khurus* is a horizontal cut half-way down the edge of the ear.

A *zalayt* or *zalat*, is a brand made round the back of the ear just above the base.

The meaning of the other technical terms used will be found in *Camel Brands...*

The fact that the one brand which is common to the whole tribe, and which may therefore be called the tribal brand proper, is placed not on males but on females may well be a relic of a matrilinear period.

CHAPTER 11

The Southern Maḥass

I The MAḤASS proper, those living in the cataract country between Dongola and Ḥaifa, are, of course, not Arabs in any sense of the word. There are, however, a number of MAḤASS settled farther south, particularly in Dongola, Berber, Khartoum and the Blue Nile Provinces, who have become so assimilated by intermarriage to the Arabs that they are as worthy of inclusion in any work dealing with the Arabs of the Sudan as are most of the other sedentary tribes.

The MAḤASS proper are BARÁBRA, but BARABRA containing much more of the negro and less of the Arab element than is found, for instance, in the BARABRA north of Ḥaifa or in Dongola¹. As has been explained², the causes of their isolation are mainly geographical, but it would seem that some few Arabs must at some period have found their way into the country of the MAḤASS and so given the latter some excuse for claiming descent from ḲURAYSH³ or the ANṢAR.

II At some early date, perhaps about the time of the foundation of the FUNG kingdom, some of these MAḤASS, with pretensions to a noble lineage⁴ and a certain amount of education, left their own country and established themselves as holy-men among the more ignorant medley of Arabs FUNG and NUBA in the south. Thus arose the MAḤASS settlements on the lower reaches of the Blue Nile and round Khartoum, at 'Aylafun, where the tomb of Idrīs wad Arbāb⁵ is still tended by his descendants, at Kutrang⁶, el Rekayba, el Kamlin⁷, Kalkol⁸, Tuti Island, el Halftya⁹, etc.

¹ Cp. Burckhardt, p. 58. He calls the Mahass "perfectly black; their lips are like those of the Negro, but not the nose or cheekbones."

² P. 13.

³ Cp. Burckhardt, pp. 64 and 133. He speaks of "a branch of Kuraysh" as "possessing itself of Mahass.*"

⁴ They claimed to be Khazrag, i.e. among the number of the "Ansar" who settled in Upper Egypt (see ABC, ix, etc.).

⁵ Q.v. D, 141.

⁶ The last syllable of "Kutrang" is said to be connected with "Anag." The old red-brick ruins here lie a mile or two north of the village, but are a mere shapeless mound.

⁷ The original Mahass settlement here is said to have been known as Ferdnfb, but the name has now disappeared (see, however, D 2, VII). The true form of "Kamlin" is "Kamnīn" (see ABC, vi and D 3, 109). 'Aylafun, Kutrang and Kamlin ("Alfon, Cotram and Camin") are mentioned by Poncet in 1698 (p. 17).

⁸ The Mahass, it is said, were preceded here by the Zenafla.

⁹ See D 3, 154. Certain Mahass, too, have joined the Awlād 'Ufcba section of Kababfsh (see p. 313, and "ABC," v and vin).

To acquire rich lands on the river **bank and intermarry** with the numerous subtribes of GUHAYNA who pastured their flocks inland and cultivated a rain-crop in the *wddis* was an easy step. The same process has been seen at work in northern Kordofan, where immigrant DANAGLA took advantage of the nomad Arabs' ignorance of artificial irrigation and contempt for manual labour, except in so far as it might be done by their slaves, to acquire a hold over all the best basins of the Khayrḍn at the expense of the DAR ḤIAMID. The MAḤASS in the same way forestalled the RUFA'A on the Blue Nile. In both cases the result has naturally been some degree of jealousy and dispute.

III Though these MAḤASS are essentially and always sedentary they divide themselves theoretically, and on the Arab model, into subtribes. Such are the following; all of whom are emigrants by origin, living south of Berber Province:

1. GHARDAKAB¹ (a) MUIJAMMADAB\ On Tuti Island, at 'Aylafun, Be-
(b) BARAKAT J shākira East, Shigla and Elti.
2. ŠUBAḤAB (a) DAKHALAB. At H. el Nūba.
3. '5NAB. At Beshākira West, and on the site of Khartoum before that town was built by Khdrshid Pasha.
4. MIKINAB. On Tūti Island.
5. KHOĞALAB². At el Kubba and on Tuti Island.
6. WAWISSI³. In Qayli district, north of Khartoum.
7. GENNA EL ḤAG. In the Gezfra.
8. AWLAD FELLATA. At Kutráng.
9. AWLAD MANF'A. At el Rekayba.

APPENDIX ON CERTAIN BURIAL CUSTOMS ON THE BLUE NILE

SOME of the burial customs in vogue on the lower Blue Nile may be of Nūbian (BARABRA) origin and due to the settlements of Mafrass in those parts. They are not used by the FUNG. Beckett (*Cairo Scient. Journ.* No. 59, Aug. 1911) in an article on "Nubia and the Berberine" says that after the burial and the filling in of the grave there is feasting for seven days and that the feast is again repeated after forty days, "and this time all who come bring with them pebbles gathered from the desert around. Over these pebbles the Koran is read by the Sheikh of the village and each person then deposits those he brings on the grave, which is completely covered with them." Pots of water are put near the heads of the graves and replenished by the relatives of the deceased, and near the pots are stuck palm branches.

On the Blue Nile, round el Kimlin, *burmas* of water are similarly

¹ Idris wad ArbaVs section.

² /e. descendants of Khogali 'Abd el Rahmdn (D 3, No. 154).

³ A large sub-tribe.

place^{ci} by the graves and kept full for a few weeks after the burial. Afterwards they are apt to get forgotten. The natives gave two explanations of the custom: one, that it would be counted in God's sight to the merit of the deceased that the birds should quench their thirst at these *btirmas*; the second, that the presence of the water would alleviate the oppressive heat of the tomb.

As regards the placing of pebbles on the grave, the custom maintains, but with important variations. Three instances may be quoted.

i. At H. Naba. (Between el Kāmlfn and Khartoum. Population MAJLASS, GA'ALIIN, 'AUIAB, HUDUR, KAWAHLA, RUFA'A and SHABARKA.) The cemetery was on the same site as that of the ancient inhabitants. In every case the graves of the present generation were covered with small rounded yellow pebbles, excepting the graves of newly buried persons. Asked the reason of this exception the villagers stated that seven months must always elapse after the burial before the placing of the stones on the grave*. If unavoidable circumstances prevented this being done on the exact day it could be done after nine months instead of after seven. If not done after nine months it was too late to do it at all. To do it, *e.g.* after eight months, would be useless and wrong. The stones must not be spread on the grave by men or boys or girls (virgins) but only by the married women of the village. Fekis took no part in the ceremony and there were no particular rites to be observed and no concomitant festivities. The custom was said to apply to all the villages in the neighbourhood.

2. At H. Kutráng. (About five miles from H. Naba on the opposite bank of the river. Population RUFA'A. Village of MAJASS a mile or so away.) Questioned as to the custom of sprinkling pebbles on their graves the people said these were placed on the grave at the expiration of either seven or nine months, neither more nor less. The ceremony was invariably performed by the old women only: at 'Aylafan it was done by the men, but nowhere else that they knew of. It took place at sunrise. The nearest relative of the deceased would be expected to provide some grease (*dihri*) for the old women and to kill a sheep as *kerama* for them. The old women carried out the duty light-heartedly and laughingly, all working together. The same evening the sheep would be eaten and a *fatha* recited. The villagers would all contribute corn from their own stores for this feast. If a man were so poor that he could not afford to hold this feast he would not have the stones put on the grave.

3. At 'Aylafan. (Between Khartoum and H. Naba. Population MAHASS claiming descent from the religious sheikh Idris Arbāb, *q.v.* in D 3.) The people here said their custom was to sprinkle pebbles on the graves after seven months, or failing that after nine, or failing that after eleven. If not done after eleven months it was too late. The ceremony was performed by the men and not by the women.

CHAPTER 12

The Hamran

I The ḤAMRAN Arabs are a very small community living near the Abyssinian border, but they have become well known on account of Sir Samuel Baker's description of them. He met these "mighty hunters with the sword" on the Setit River in 1861 and describes vividly their surpassing courage and dexterity in the chase of the elephant.

The earliest notice of them, however, is that of Bruce in the preceding century¹. He does not mention them by name but his description of them and the application to them of the name *agdgîr*, elephant-hunters, by which they are still known, establishes their identity. He speaks of them as having regular ("European") features and non-woolly hair and being "very swarthy"². They were deadly foes of the SHANGALLA tribes.

Mansfield Parkyns calls them³ "a tribe of Bish&ry origin, which still uses the Hadendawy language, like its mother race. They may almost be considered a subtribe of Bisharin, for there is no separation between them."

Baker says⁴: "The Hamran Arabs are distinguished from the other tribes by an extra length of hair, worn plaited down the centre and arranged in long curls." They carried round shields of rhinoceros hide.

II They were never a large tribe and their habitat has always been the banks of the Setit near its junction with the Atbara. At the present day they probably number only a few hundred souls: the majority were killed by the Dervishes. The survivors still bear the reputation of being as great Nimrods as their fathers were, and they boast themselves to be purer Arabs than any of the surrounding tribes.

III They claim to have immigrated from the Ḥegdz and to be of noble lineage. If the MS. "D 6" is to be trusted they are by origin an offshoot of the ḤARB. "BA," though giving no details, simply classes them⁵, with the ḤAMAR, in the GUHAYNA group, and this latter, as there has been frequent cause to remark, is much mixed with that of the ḤARB.

¹ Vol. vi, Bk. VIII, p. 228.

² Baker, *Nile Tributaries...*, p. 174, also notes their swarthiness. Parkyns calls them "deep bronze."

³ *Life in Abyssinia*, 11, 404. ⁴ Loc. cit. pp. 167-168. ⁵ See para, LXXVIII.

CHAPTER 13

(a) THE RASHAIDA AND ZEBAYDIA

I The RASHAIDA are recent immigrants from Arabia. A number of them crossed the Red Sea and took up their abode between T6kar and the Eritrean border in 1846, and of these some pushed farther west to graze on the Atbara in Berber Province. Until the Dervish revolt they were a comparatively wealthy people, but they were then plundered unmercifully, and the survivors fled for refuge to Maşşdwa. After the reoccupation they returned to the Atbara and the ẖash, and they have since been joined by considerable numbers of other RASHA*DA from the Hēgdz. Others are in Eritrea.

•They are camel-owning nomads and perhaps number at present between 1000 and 2000 men in the Red Sea and Berber Provinces¹.

The ZEBAYDIA of the Eastern Sudan are also comparatively recent immigrants from Arabia, where their main habitat is round the small port of Rábigh, a nest of pirates between Yenbu' and Jedda. There their immediate neighbours to the north are the GUHAYNA².

II It has already been mentioned in dealing with the BENI RASHID and ZIOD BAKḲARA of Waddi and Bornu that the former really include the latter and that one of their main divisions are the ZEBADA, who claim a Ḥimyaritic origin. The identity of the names " BENI RASHID," "ROWASHDA" and "RASHAIDA" was also noticed; also the fact that the ZEBAYDIA of Arabia are a section of the ḤARB, who have always been neighbours of the GUHAYNA and who accompanied the latter in large numbers to the Sudan and were equally concerned with them in forming the BAKḲARA congeries. It is clear therefore that the influx of RASHAIDA and ZEBAYDIA to the Eastern Sudan is not confined to modern times but that it had its counterpart several centuries ago when the ancestors of the BENI RASHID and ZICD crossed over to Africa, and, instead of remaining in the east, pushed through Kordofn and Ddrfur and, leaving a certain number of their men among the other BAKḲARA in those provinces, settled in Bornu and Wad&i.

The name of the ZEBAYDIA is a very ancient one and is taken from Zebid, a town in the Yemen. The town, in its turn, may derive its

¹ The section in Berber is the Zenaymdt, subdivided into Duʔ *Ald, IJal4mEt, Dui Beraghith, IJuayga't, Kezaiza, 'Awazim and 'AraynAt. Those in the Red Sea Province are Baraa'asa (subdivided into Dal 'Amri Shendnfr and Geladin), and Baratikh (subdivided into Manafir, 'Ayamirdt, etc.).

² See too Burckhardt, *Notes...* n, 36 and 37.

name from the Gebadei, who are mentioned by Pliny as a tribe living on the west shore of the Red Sea in the first century A.D.¹

III The brand of the ZEBAYDIA camels is a curious one, namely  placed upon the quarter. It is known both in the east and the west of the Sudan, and it is identical, but for the dot, with the brand still used by certain of the BENI ŞAKHR of Arabia².

The camels of the ZEBAYDIA are also of a very distinctive type, easily recognizable. They are a small, thick-set, dark brown, tunk-bellied, short-legged, hardy type and considerably valued for transport work.

(b) THE IJApAREB AND HUDUR

IV HADAREB. The name of these people is variously spelt HADAREB, HAPARBA, HAPARMA, or with a D in place of the p, and the *uisbas* unite in saying they came from the Ḥaḍramaut in the early days of Islam and settled among and coalesced with the BEGA tribes on the Red Sea coast in the vicinity of Sudkin³. Further particulars are scarce, and the above merely sums up what is known of their origin. The following is Burckhardt's account of them⁴:

The inhabitants of Souakin, like those of all the harbours in the Red Sea, are a motley race; one principal class, however, is conspicuous; the forefathers of the chief families of the Arabs of Souakin were natives of Hadramout, and principally of the town of Shahher, the harbour of that country in the Indian ocean. They came hither according to some, about a century ago; others state that they arrived soon after the promulgation of Islam; it is from them that the collective population of the town has obtained the name of Hadherebe with foreigners; but the inhabitants themselves draw a strict line of distinction between the true Hadherebe, or descendants of the natives of Hadramout, and the other settlers, whom they term Souakiny.

In a note Burckhardt adds:

The people of Hadramout are famous for emigrating; large colonies of them are found in all the towns of the Yemen and Hedjaz. The greater part of the people of Djidda, and the lower class of the inhabitants of Mekka, are from the same country.

The government of Sudkin, when Burckhardt visited it, was in the hands of the "Emir of the Hadherebe/" who was chosen from among the five patrician ("Artayga") families of the tribe. He was nominally dependent on the Pasha of Jedda and had little or nothing to do with the affairs of the tribe, being chiefly concerned with col-

¹ Pliny, Bk. vi, para. 33. Cp. Crowfoot, *Some Lacunae...*, p. 3. The root of the word is the same as that of *zibda*, the Arabic for butter.

² See Burckhardt, *Notes...* 1, 199 and Zwemer, p. 279.

³ See in particular A 2, xxxviii and D 6, L I. *Nubia*, pp. 433~5 and 449.

lecting customs dues. The tribe was administered by its own sheikh and was on bad terms with all the BEGA tribes of the interior.

Earlier in the same work Burckhardt, speaking of Shendi, says¹:

The most substantial of all the traders who at present frequent the Shendi market are the people from Souakin, or as they are more commonly called in this part of Africa, the Hadharebe, or Hadharambe, that is, people of Hadremaut, in South Arabia, from whence they draw their origin.

He notes in addition that the caravans of the HAPARBA also visited Sennar and el Obeid.

V The HAPAREB are great travellers, and more of them have wandered eastwards from Hadrâmaut to Java and India than westwards to Africa. Zwemersays:

Large colonies of Hadramis emigrated to the Dutch Archipelago more than a century ago; intermarriage between the Javanese and the Arabs is very common; and the Mohammedanism of the Dutch East Indies is entirely of the Hadramaut type².

VI HUDOR. The name BENI HUDUR appears in el Mas'udi³ as that of an ancient and powerful people of Arabia of unknown origin and locality, to whom, on account of their iniquity, God sent a prophet in the Days of Ignorance. Him they put to death, but the prophet Baruch then applied to Bokht Nasir (Nebuchadnezzar) who attacked them and destroyed them.

The term HUDÛR, as used at present, expresses little more than Arab traders from outside the Sudan. At Nuḅa village (Blue Nile) there are some who are said to be HOWARA by descent, and there are others at Elti and elsewhere on the Blue Nile. The town of Arbâgi, before its destruction by the SHUKRIA, is said to have been peopled by HupûR, and its founder, Hëgâziibn Ma'fn, the ancestor of the GELILAB of Wad Râwa, is usually called a Hadrari instead of being connected with the GUHAYNA group to which his descendants have attached themselves⁴.

To the same group, therefore, may belong the DAFîrî A, DEKINAB, FUKADAB, FARISAB, GARAB, KERINGAB and such other small indeterminate communities in the same neighbourhood as are alleged by the GELILAB to be descended from the same stock as themselves, namely from that of Hëgdzi ibn Ma'fn.

It seems more than probable, as their name suggests, that the real HUDUR are merely HAPAREB under a variant designation, though the term has come to be used colloquially in a wider and vaguer sense.

¹ *Nubia*, p. 319. ² *Arabia...*, p. 77. ³ Ch. XLVII, Vol. in, pp. 304 ff.

* See B 1 and Tree. The Sheikh who gave me the MS. of B i said the Geliteb belonged to the Dubania branch of Guhayna, a statement borne out neither by tradition nor his own pedigree.

END OF VOLUME I

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