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a History of the Shilluk of the Southern Sudan

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History by John Warner Frost

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June 1976
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Is approved:

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June 1974
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My profound gratitude goes to Mrs. Carlotta Kauner von Manhof and her family, whose friendship has been a source of inspiration to me over the past decade. Last, but certainly not least, warmest thanks to my wife, Helene, without whose patience, encouragement, and love this work would never have been undertaken.
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mid-19th century first-hand, written accounts of the Shilluk begin to appear in quantity, and the succeeding years of the century — the periods known as the Pwecigga and the Mikeigga — are examined largely through the use of documentary sources.
The Shilluk do not have a literature, and prior to the middle of the last century their name appears only a few times — and then only peripherally — in the accounts of European travellers. At the turn of the present century Christian missionaries and British administrators settled among the Shilluk and began to collect and to publish data in detail. The oral traditions that were taken are in rough agreement as to a king-list dating back to about 1000. Before that date, according to the traditions, were Nyangen, his wife Nyangaya, their son Dak, and possibly another son, Chai, who were the founders of the Shilluk nation. Every scholar but one has accepted the reality of these figures. If, in fact, Nyangen and Nyangaya really did exist then Shilluk history should begin with them — probably in the 10th century.

It is one of the principal theses of this dissertation that these figures were mythological. A careful study of the names Nyangen and Dak, and the myths surrounding them, and the names and myths of "founders" of several tribes neighboring the Shilluk, has led to hypotheses, presented herein, which span many centuries prior to the 10th and cover a vast geographical territory. The names Nyangen and Dak bear so large in Shilluk history that one cannot avoid dealing with them, but here one is faced with an obvious dilemma: If it is true that Nyangen and Dak are names used symbolically — but that they must be treated in an historical sense — then when does Shilluk history begin? If the basic assumption is correct, that Nyangen and Dak are mythological, then
to write a history of the Shilluk every attempt must be made to discover who was in Shillukland prior to the 16th Century.

In Chapter 1 the historical importance of the geographical location of Shillukland in terms of trade is established. It is shown that such trade must have considerably pre-dated the 16th Century. Therefore, the notion advanced by Shilluk monetarists and accepted by western scholars, that Nyang and perhaps a half-dozen followers survived a perilous crossing of Lake Nyan and took the entire area comprising Shillukland by force in the 16th Century makes little appeal to common sense.

According to legend Nyang's brother was called Dimo, a name which, according to my hypothesis, represents a now-forgotten name Dimo, where a West Cushitic language is spoken, in Southern Ethiopia. Chapter 2 offers evidence in support of historical contact between the Par and other West Cushitic-speaking states on the one hand, and Shillukland on the other. There is also strong indication that certain East Cushitic-speakers, particularly the Galla, have played a role in the history of Shillukland. The evidence for this is presented in Chapter 3. The suggestion of a much broader participation of the Galla in Northeast African history than hitherto thought is reinforced in Chapter 4 where a common identity between the founders of the Funj Empire, which occupies a conspicuous position in Shilluk oral tradition, and the Galla is hypothesized.

In the course of my research I came across evidence, incorporated as Chapter 5, to suggest that the Funj of West Africa, who are of mysterious origin, were once the occupants of Shillukland. This idea,
admittedly of tenuous development on my part, will not be a popular one at this time. However, I feel that the evidence is strong enough to merit future research.

Chapter 8 is a portrayal of Shilluk life and an attempt to shed light upon the development and possible origin of certain of their institutions and customs. Of especial importance here is the deciphering of Shilluk administrative terminology. The practice of describing administrative functions in terms of anatomical correspondences may date back thousands of years in Northeast Africa.

The premise upon which much of the first half of this dissertation rests — that is, that the early Shilluk folk-heroes are mythological — is examined in detail in Chapter 7.

Interpreters of Arab sources date the founding of the Funj Empire to 1560. However, it is my suspicion, and what scanty evidence I have collected to support this view is presented throughout the first half of the dissertation, that the Funj Empire was in existence perhaps a century prior to the 16th. Naturally, Arabic historians have dated its birth to the advent of Islam. Early Sudanese Arab scholars of this "Zululic" Funj Empire mentioned the Shilluk, and from their writings and from the traditions of Arab tribes one can glean bits and pieces about 16th and 17th Century Shilluk History. This information is presented in Chapter 9.

By the second half of the 17th century deceased Shilluk monarchs had permanent groves and shrines, and the stories of their exploits are believable, whereas BYING and Barth have "disappeared with the wind;" and many of the activities attributed to them are obviously fantastic.
Chapter 9 discusses the early Shilluk amarcha, especially Abuduk, Shako, and Tago, and 19th Century Shilluk History, for which material is rather sparse.

The remainder of the dissertation is a straightforward historical account of 19th Century Shilluk History based upon a wide range of sources. I conclude with the fall of the Anglican Government. The subsequent years of British occupation of Shillukland are thoroughly documented, but the full telling of that story brings one well into the 1950's and cannot be tackled until presently classified material is made available.

In trying to reconstruct pre-19th Century Shilluk History one must rely heavily upon oral tradition. At the time I was doing my research it was impossible for me to visit the Shilluk and to collect traditions personally, but I am convinced that this did not hamper my research in the least. Fathers Hofmeier, Banholzer, and Steckmann had lived in Shillukland for years and recorded an abundance of traditions, and British administrators, who encouraged Shilluk traditions years later, corroborated the accuracy of the work of the Fathers in that respect.

In the absence of other sources I have made extensive use of word-lists, dictionaries, and toponyms for the first half of the dissertation. This method has been generally neglected by students of African History, but it has numerous potential.
CHAPTER I
EARLY HISTORY

Thousands of years ago the area that is now the Sahara was verdant, and people and animals lived there. Then it became dry, and life retreated. Yet today, after the rains have come, one can still travel practically the entire width of Africa by water along the southern fringes of the desert. It is also true that one can traverse the length of the continent without touching land very often. Roughly speaking, the point of intersection is Shilluk territory. More particularly, the Shilluk begin east of Lake Nuer, extend a short distance up the Sobat River, and occupy northward along the Nile, especially the left bank, to include the town of Kaba.

As far as the primary requirements of human existence—water and food—are concerned, it can be said that nature provides well here: there are fish and hippos, crocodiles come to the water to drink, and there is good grazing for cattle, sheep, and goats. Various cereals grow wild along the banks, and salt-ends have been left by the Nile. Of course, during the good years people multiply and in the bad some of them starve. The human history of the Nile is punctuated by years of drought and flood and consequent famine, but nature is not at fault that people do not plan.

In time it was discovered that the attractions of Shillukland went beyond the primary requirements of existence. To the east there was access to gold and silver. A short distance to the west, in the Kaba Hills, there was more gold and some iron ore. There was also iron
on the plateau land of the Jabel al Naameh, and further west was copper.

The Southern Sudan, being rich in animal life, meant hides for protection and ivory for ornament, and later, both for trade. Control would eventually mean domination of the waterways, and to that end there was an inexhaustible supply of the modest papyrus, from which the man or two-men rafts were made. There was suit-wood and palm for the canoes and mahogany for the best boats.

But the first great discovery was the use of fire, which kept one warm and ward off animals and insects. Volcanoes would have provided the constant supply of fire needed for experimentation, and there are numerous volcanoes in the territory that now comprises the countries of the Sudan and Ethiopia. One of these, just to the north of Kiliahland, was known as Jabel Tufila. A variation of the first two syllables, Tufa, is found in most "Afro-Asiatic" languages as "lo split" and the fact that the concept of splitting is a very basic one and that the same word has persisted over such a geographical breadth, indicates that Tufa must be a very old word. Note the verb "to split" in the following languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Tufa (East Cushitic)</th>
<th>Tufa (North Cushitic)</th>
<th>Tufa (South Cushitic)</th>
<th>Tufa (Chadic)</th>
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Now, the noun "moment" in GAIALLA is shown.

*MEB is a manifestation of the Afro-Asiatic word AF.

The Southern Sudan is also an area of long-term occupation from the volcanoes. It has been established that Yaffa was a major trade-center, which meant property ownership, a ruling group, and the need for authority. In previous days the knowledge and use of fire had been in the hands of those who dominated the mouths of the volcanoes, and the practical advantages of height had been the primary motivation of the people who built Yaffa and controlled the trade from there. The hypothesis of "volcanic design" could be extended to include the pyramids of Egypt and Nubia. Modern maps of Egypt show Yaffa (a.f. IF = "to spit") just south of Luxor, and well north of it is Maillin, which is provocative because it suggests the name of a country in south-central Africa. A variation of this appears as Maillinameh,
The people who assigned these names saw nature as having human life and form, so that the mouth of the volcano was called after the name that they used for their own mouths; and 'Tofaru' describes a quality, i.e., 'spitting of the mouth.'

There is a group of hills in the southeastermost part of the Rabla, not far from Lake Nj, among them are Liri, Um chat, Tanga, and Lefafa, the name of the last bearing an obvious connection to the Galla word "to blow," which is afafa. What is particularly interesting about Jofa is the resemblance of its root form to the name of a mud-brick ruin, far to the north, near the Dongola. This massive, man-made structure, built along the Nile, dates back 4,000 years. It stands at a point where the river cuts through flatland, yet the structure was known to the ancients as Goffa. If the need for volcanic activity preceded the naming of the mud-brick structure, then it must be concluded that the design of Goffa grew its inspiration from the volcanoes. It has been established that Goffa was a major trade-center, which meant property ownership, a ruling group, and the need for authority. In previous days the knowledge and use of fire had been in the hands of those who dominated the mouths of the volcanoes, and the practical advantages of height had been the primary motivation of the people who built Goffa and controlled the trade from there. The hypothesis of "volcanic design" could be extended to include the pyramids of Egypt and Nubia. Modern maps of Egypt show Jofa near "to spit" just south of Aswan, and west north of it is Nubia, which is provocative because it suggests the name of a country in south-central Africa. A variation of this appears as Mahaboundu,
the name of a Heratic King (265-255 B.C.), who built one of the largest pyramids in the Sudan. In Shilluk naaf is "mountain" and naaf is "splot-tie." Actually Malakal/Naaf was an honorific, the Malakal part being the traditional allusion to the volcano, i.e., "mountains of spit," and the Naaf perhaps being a genitive preposition. The last two syllables, Naaf, provides a clue concerning very early Shilluk History, and its fascinating etymology deserves to be traced.7

To argue that the creative savings of the vast pyramid building cultures lay south of Nubia is to suggest an ancient and undocumented unity throughout Northeast Africa. In evidence is the persistent and widespread use of the word for "firm." In Egyptian it was mnt, or amen, and during the 6th Egyptian Dynasty (c. 2300) trading expeditions were conducted into the Sudan, where an area called Usutu was recorded. The building of the sibilant in the south produced che’t or something like it, and one finds mention of a tribe or settlement by that name at Sari Island in Nuba, dating to c. 1950 B.C.8 It entered the Burea language as Cheed, and there was once a small monarchy called that in Southern Ethiopia, along with several Shill districts in Kaffa. On the Shatt is a hill near Upper, and moving westward one finds a Shatt tribe, closely related to the Shilluk in speech, in the Sabu al Quabbi. There are several that place names across Sudan, a group of hills in the western Nuba, and an area known as "Shattal," north of Lake Chad (not to mention the name "Chad" itself).

Lasting contact within the area covered by those words was insured with the discovery of the use of metal. Copper, found in a free state, was the first metal to be used for tools in Africa, and remains of such
implements and weapons have been found in Egypt and are dated to 5000 B.C. By the year 3000 Egyptians were benefiting from the mining of copper in Cyprus and on the Sinai Peninsula, yet when the Egyptian King Senefru (c. 2650) raided into the area which is now the Northern Sudan, taking 7,000 prisoners and 200,000 cattle and sheep, he called it Ta Nahar, a name which has been translated to mean "Land of Southerners," but probably meant "Land of Copper."9 Excavations at Kerma, north of Dongola, have revealed 120 copper daggers dated to 1000 B.C.: "They were found in all Egypt in all ancient periods."10

The only place where copper has been known to exist in the Sudan is in the area of Hufrat on Nubia (Arabic: "Copper-mine") at the mouth of the Bahr el Arab River. In fact, copper is found in very small quantities at Hufrat, and a current geological survey team at work there is disappointed in its findings. It is possible that the supply is simply exhausted, but considering Hufrat's position along the major east-west water routes mentioned earlier, one can postulate that the greater sources of copper came from elsewhere, namely from the mountains to the southwest, and that Hufrat was used primarily as a staging area for an eastward trade. Given the difficulty in communication along the Nile south of Lake Nasser due to sand blockage, the early traders must have sidestepped the Bahr el Ouni and Bahr el Arab rivers for the Nile, and their information led cartographers to show the Nile flowing westward across Africa instead of southward into (or out of) the great lakes. The mountains near Hufrat may have been the original "Mountains of the Moon" noted by Ptolemy in the second century and mentioned by later Arab geographers.11 If Nubia really was the "Land
of copper,²⁷ then traders were carrying metal from these mountains, via the seasonal waterways to Jebel Marra and from there along the forty-day road to Asyut, or by wadi el Milk to Old Dongola, at least five thousand years ago. Early European travellers in Darfur referred to the mountains as Challa, and their maps designate a direct route passing through an administrative area known as Sur Abu Dima, to Jebel Marra.¹² The importance of copper in ancient times probably accounted for the name Mass, which survives today as gebeha - copper in at least one Cushitic language,¹³ and to the present day this metal has remained most highly valued in the Southern Sudan.¹⁴

In the distant past it was discovered by inhabitants of the Southern Sudan that a certain red substance, with the texture of clay, was effective in grinding down and polishing bones for tools. This was iron ore, hematite, which was, and is used, as hair-dressing and facial paste. Probably traded locally since neolithic times, it did not become a major exchange item until roughly 600 B.C., when the Kerotic state, characterized by the smelting of iron, began to develop.

Of course, the discovery of iron-working meant an attempt on the part of Kerotic rulers and local chiefs to establish monopolies. In most areas this was successfully achieved by isolating the areas, either in the bush or on hilltops. Soon enough the notion was abort that they were ogres and had mysterious and inhuman connections with the forces which dwelt under the ground. Because they worked with hematite, copper, and especially fire, they were associated with the color red.
However, there were territories where smithies were in the leading positions. In the Gone-Gofa Highlands of Southern Ethiopia is a tiny land called Disew. In the organization of this ancient state the highest administrative post was called Shufi, which closely is related to the Jangaro word for iron (Disa). The second in authority was the Kabwe, and in Galla Abaka means "smithie's pillars," while in Shilluk Dukap are "tongs." The Shilluk also have both "iron fishing spears," and their smithies are called Dukap (sing.). For two hundred years, until the middle of the last century, the dominant voice in Shilluk affairs belonged to the most influential clan on Jebel Liir. This clan was known as Bifchawu. When the use of smelted iron first became known to Eastern Sudanic speakers, who had migrated from the west, they called it after the axe they knew for the color black, shufi, which has survived in Dinka. Here the following Eastern Sudanic words for iron: sharif (Kanzi-Dung Duel), airt (Dinka, Barfur), arama (Gulfar). Traditionally the highest administrative position in Barfur was the sharif, who at one time probably controlled the local supply of iron. One associates construction with permanent settlement, which in turn is made possible by a guaranteed source of food. After desiccation had created the Sahara in Northern Africa, agriculture could only be practiced along the riverbanks where pools of water had collected in oases or lakes, until it was discovered that through terracing water could be contained in haddies. Ancient remains of such terracing, along with stone huts, are found at Jebel Karo, at Lofon Hill in the Southern Sudan, in Uganda, and in Disew. It
probable that this is a related series. Its development inspired by the
ordinary conditions made possible by the invention of the iron hoe,
although in each case the present population remembers little or nothing
about this very distant past.

At an undetermined time, but possibly earlier than two thousand
years ago, people speaking languages other than "Afro-Asiatic" began
to migrate eastward toward the Nile. These migrations continued up to
the turn of the present century involving a number of language groups,
but the migrations and settling of the "Fur" and the "Oxari-Nile"
branches of the "Nilo-Saharan" family have played an especially impor-
tant role in Shilluk history. It is the Fur who are associated with
the terracing at Jebel Mole, and there is strong evidence that they
spread at least as far west as Shillukland, occupying that territory,
becoming permanent inhabitants, and introducing agricultural tech-
niques, which had been previously unknown. The word fur in Shilluk
means "to plough," and there is still a village bearing the name Fur
a mile or so south of the present town of Selgar (c. 12° 15' lat.).

In the eastern Bahar el Ghazal there is a group of minor tribes
which go by the collective name Fergi. Probably the word fits at one
time meant "army," as it still does in the neighboring Druze language,
and these "fergi" represented authority along the main lines of trade
and communication. The Burut call themselves Fugong in the plural,
along meaning "corn" in the language of the Fur. It was a group of
such people who settled west of Lake Bo and came to be called Donggo
or Dongu, which means "children of corn." Fur people spread up
the Nile to Lamen Hill, the inhabitants of which still sometimes call
themselves fire.\textsuperscript{23} The terracing at Lake was their work, and they probably introduced the use of fire in food preparation, as the words *ahara* "smoke" in Lomako and *mumum* - "fire" in Sara (Fortit) would attest. There is also a very small group of people on the west shore of Lake Albert, who go by the name Grunia.

In the 19th Century A.D. the Amara invaded the Sudan and dealt death to the Herodite state, destroying two settlements, one of which was known as Fuhlifä and the other as Farchüli. The Amara invaded by the invasion must have sent the local population scrambling, and it was perhaps then that the word *sara* came into being to mean "to escape," or "to flee." Kusuma, also a Chari-ile language, has *cura* = "to go away." Naturally, to the triumphant Amara the word took on another meaning: in Salla the verb *cura* means "to set free.\textsuperscript{4}

In antiquity the Chari-ile speakers moved northward along the rivers and seasonal waterways, entered the Saha el Chalaf, and spread from there throughout much of the Sudan. The Bara and Fimba speakers live on the northwestern Ethiopian plains, but evidence of a *northern* in the area of Lake Up is found by comparing toponyms with lexical items from these two languages. In fact, Lake Ngar was probably given its name by one of these groups. Kusuma has the verb *cu* = "to drink," while Bara has no meaning "source," or "eye," and Bara reading "water" and suggesting Lake Asbai and ambush. Doba deserves scrutiny, because Doba is the only member of the Eastern Sudanic group which has it.\textsuperscript{24} What is interesting is the fact that on

\textsuperscript{23} Also, Somalí (Eastern Cushitic), for "open, not free."
Ortiz’s map of 1570 the area that seems to be the entire Senou is designated Ḳaḥa-dan, while Jodo (1992) has only two place-names for the Senou, Ḳaḥa and Ḳasba. Kowalewski (2003) has Ḳaḥa north of what may be the Blue Nile. 23 There are three words for "behead" in Arabic: Ḳaḥa, Ḳaḥi, and Ḳaḥu, while the Shilluk have only one word: Ḳaḥu. Yet, the Shilluk refer to the Ḳaḥa el Ghazali River as Ḳaḥa. Finally, there is the Rawa word for "call," which is Ḳaḥa, and which is of particular interest because of its obvious identification with the bantu root Ḳaḥa-which means "cow." 24 Assuming that there is a relationship between these two words, then it is further proof of Rawa presence in the Bah el Ghazali, an area through which Bantu-speakers migrated. The time of their movement is undetermined, but there might be a clue in the mention made by Ethereum Anuilde in the 4th Century of a people called Ḳaḥa, whom they raided. 27

Footnotes

1 Joseph von Rankegger, the Austrian geologist, alluded to Tufetan as an "extinct volcano," and perceptively noted the similarity of its name to the Afar idea for the concept of volcano. Reisen in Erytrea, Athol and Afrika . . . im Jahre 1838 bis 1841. (Stuttgart, 1841), Vol. 3, p. 391. For the spelling "Tufitan" see Fr. Ignaz Kounzler, Reise Journal der Expedition an Rhein Fluss Central Afrika, Unpub- lished diary. Bibliotheca Philologic & Philosomatica, Codex 24157. Vienna. F. 38. Tufetan is at approximately 10° 3 Lat. on the right bank of the Nile.

2 The linguistic classification of J.S. Greenberg is used through- out, unless otherwise indicated. See, "The Languages of Africa," International Journal of American Linguistics, 19, No. 1 (1953). The "Afro-relative" family is comprised of Swahili, Egyptiain, Berber, Chadic, and Cushitic.
CHAPTER 2
WEST COHITIC

Today the Shilluk form a distinct social entity, but in the historical background are diverse elements. Some of these elements — as well as outside influences — can be tentatively identified through a comparison of lexical items, including toponyms, and other cultural similarities. The present chapter will discuss the major East-West waterway and the states, especially the ones in which West Cushitic languages are spoken, that controlled some of the rivers concerned and which had important early contact with the area now called Shillukland.

The word *numi* appears as a part of the title of a significant number of Nueric rulers from the 7th century B.C. forward. For example, between 1350 B.C. and 150 A.D. there were 22 Nueric kings and queens, and 12 of these bore *numi* as part of their royal titles. In Nueric-Mabuke, an Eastern Sudanic language formerly spoken in the area of the Egyptian-Nubian border, the word *numi* means "water," in Nueric (Eastern Sudanic) *numi* is a "watercourse," and in Shilluk (Eastern Sudanic) *numi* can be used to designate a "confluence of rivers." However, the Eastern Sudanic speakers have also given another meaning for the root *numi*, which is the verb *to hate* in English, *numi* (Shilluk), *numi* (Konso-Donga). In Shilluk *numi* served for "to forbid," "to conquer," "to attack," "to deny," and English *numi* is "enemy." The Shilluk have numerous praise-words and titles for their culture-hymn,
16. That the Shilluk words are related to those is confirmed by the fact that Dinka has *sid* for zoon "from uprooted."

17. H. S. and C. G. Seligman, Page 278, "The Nilotic Sudan." (London, 1932), p. 376. The Seligmans were an old fifty years ago, and their description of the Rhodesians as the most influential clan on the mountain applied to that time. The idea that they were of previous importance is mine.


19. This appears on the "Sudan" map published by the Sudan Survey Department, 1929.

20. The substituting of parts of the body for administrative functions is a termology that continued to be used in the Sudan for centuries and calenclated with the royal titles Imal, used by some of the Dinka kings, and which means "arms and hands" in Shilluk. See Chapter 5.


22. To the Nuer, who live in the area, Nyinyo is strictly a shilluk name. See J. F. Granatstein, The Shilluk. (Vermont, 1953), p. 27.


24. Cf. "wino" (*fi* Shilluk), *fik* (Ingassan), *fi* (Nuer and Acholi), etc. It was probably borrowed from the Nueric words "mountain," the apparent source of water.


27. In this respect it is interesting to note that the Jumbuck word for "slave" is buri. 
Nyank, one of the tribes of Nyany, and the custom survives of conducting a mock raid north along the Nile to Futhe Kampa (swidden country) as a preliminary to their installation ceremony. These allusions to water and to aggressiveness and the apparent identification of Fur and Bara people with the Amurite raids suggest some kind of contact between Chari-Nile speakers and the Meroitic state. Moreover, there is an interesting reference made in the last century to the Shilluk capital as Shouk, which bears comparison with the locational Meroitic god Apa Dauak. One finds the root SH in Wardi, where sumbuk is used for "uncle," and very near Jebel North is a village called Hemnasho, a toponym which leads back through Shillukland and may have to do with the custom, prevalent throughout the Southern Sudan, of extracting the two sets of lower incisor teeth.

In Shillukland, very near the confluence of the Nile and Sobat, there is a village called Gusho and a territory with that name on the opposite side of the Nile. In Ethiopia Asawk is the designation of the important river, which originates east of the present city of Addis Ababa and flows northeast toward the Bay of Tadjoura. A thousand years ago, and perhaps earlier, the Asawk linked Tadjoura and Zella on the coast with Southern Ethiopian states in trade which carried westward to Shillukland and eventually to Lake Chad and Tibesti.

Bieber mentions five early states in Southeast Ethiopia, the strongest of which was called Munscho. In the 18th Century Munscho

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6 See pp. 9 and 14.
7 See p. 39. The fact that the Shilluk use the same word for those teeth, ulung, as they do for "razor" indicates that the custom is related to cattle-keeping.
was invaded, defeated by the Songol, and the Kaffa Monarchy was founded. Thereafter the Kaffa people were regarded as "unclean" and were saddled with numerous prohibitions. Centuries later the Gillis knew them as an ambi (cf. abewot and amanambot, p. 18) — primarily hunters, who were remarkable for their fighting ability, although they were not permitted to bear arms in Kaffa.

Traditionally there were five hunter-clans in Southwest Ethiopia, two of which were called Bataha and Banda. These two names suggest contact between Western Cushitic and Semitic Chari-Nile languages. In Dime (Western Cushitic) Bataha simply signifies "hunters," while Chara was one of the "unclean" class of Janjere (Western Cushitic), and in Kaffa (Western Cushitic) the infantry was known as Bataha. In Kunaxa (Chari-Nile) Bataha = "a fight" from the verb batah = "to fight," which may be related to the Shilluk bat/abat = "arm(s)" or "elephant's trunk."

Throughout most of the 19th Century the person with whom foreign traders to Shillukland had to deal was called Banda, the title being not appearing prominently until the closing decades. For example, the Westphalian Werner wrote the following of his voyage there in 1840-41:

"The Sultan or Banda of the Shilluke, in the preceding year, on the arrival of the first expedition, fearing a horrid invasion, collected here several thousand men. On that occasion he offered 2 or 3 days, in order to come to terms with him, and he presented them with cattle and sheep."

Another German, Robert Hartezen, who visited Shillukland in the 1870's observed: "Their Banda, King, ruled despocratically from Banda,

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8See pp. 33-35.
or Fonchoda, appointing the village chief, and monopolizing 2/3 of the ivy and deciding over life and death.10

The political entity, of which the ancient hunter clan known as Bambu was a part, was called Chako. With the growth of Kaffa it was reduced in size to a small area in the Addiro Highlands, at the headwaters of the Gila River, but it had probably earlier controlled the area as well. These Bambu, who were renowned fighters, also served as tannery and were probably cowherds, as the Galla word Bambu is “roof” would indicate. In fact, the Bambu differentiated themselves from other Chako by the use of a dome-shaped roof, the same shape as the highly-regarded Shilluk ones of today. Also, they wore leather aprons and in the earliest times neither practiced agriculture nor kept cattle. The Shilluk have the word shaka for “yemen,” and the disdane of the male Shilluk for agriculture has been noted in the present century: “Only within the last decades has his lustship, the Shilla man, begun to assume the burden of providing for his. In those earlier days the task of tilling the small patch of ground planted annually in dura fell to the woman.11 Of course, the Shilluk males do keep cattle.

In addition to the five hunter clans in Southwest Ethiopia there were seven specialist handwork clans. They were known collectively as Faja, although this word means “wax pipe” in Galla and indicates that the original designation of Faja was for those crafts which used fire. Past contact between Cushitic speakers and the Fur (Chari-Hilu) is suggested by the fact that the Fur have Faja a “reed.” This word was often associated with the spirit-world. For example, the Galla have a red Earth-god whom they know as Mek Dafa, and this is of special
importance because the Shilluk say that they came from the Land of
Sion.

First, let us look at the root *d[h]*. In Arabic *d[h]* is "blood," and, as *d[h]* is also the root of "the color of blood," or "red," in that
language, one must assume that, at least in Arabic (Afro-Arabic),
the word for "blood" came before *d[h]*. In notebook (Afro-
Arabic/Cushitic) "blood" is also *d[h]*, and at Kaffa it is *d*[h], but to
the Sucka the word *d[h]* has taken on the meaning of "red," while their
designation for "red steer" is *d*[h]. In the Swahili, the Sinka have *d*[h]
a "to bleed," but this may have been borrowed, because Sere, Achi, and
some, and Shilluk, other Eastern Sudanic languages, have a variation
of *d*[h] to mean "blood," while Shilluk has either *d*[h] or *d*[h] for "to
bleed." It seems probable, therefore, that the origin of *d*[h] is
Afro-Arabic.

Kari Ng'ole noted the presence of clans called *d*[h]ala, *d*[h]ala-
dere, and *d*[h]ala on the Sudanese coast, between Tadjour and Massawa, and
to the southeast, along the Ow River, in the former state of Eritrea.
Apart from the fact that the people of Eritre and Chok are members of
the same language division of Cushitic, there is enough similarity in
organizational terminology and in voca names between them to
indicate that they at one time shared a common administration. There
is no migration tradition in the "marcher" clan clans to have sim-
ply emerged from a nearby rock or from out of the north, and the traces
of a Cushitic culture, with terraced hilltops and houses and steles
constructed from rock, bespeak an ancient civilization. In the early
days the smithy clans held the top administrative offices, those of
Ahibi and Khartoum while the name Dime itself means "unified" to the neighboring Moken people.

It is obvious that a federation of such status as Chake, Hafi, and Dime was in excellent position to control the branches of the Sobat, as well as several routes leading southeast to Tadjoura. Certainly as important, however, was the fact that these states also faced to the south and southwest, and the presence of a village named Hafi Dime in Darfur-Sudan country, just north of the Kenya border, and of a rethabi group known as Kudush among the Jolmo (Kavirondo), between their influence in these directions. It would be surprising if the mysterious Dime kings of Bunyoro were not found to be closely related to the Habi of Dime.

The etymology in Southwestern Ethiopia of the word dime with three meanings, blood, firewood, and the color red is partially paralleled at Lafon Hill in Equatoria Province of the Southern Sudan. The word there for "death" is dure, which bears comparison with the Nilotic word dum = "blood." A possible clue as to relative occupation of Lafon is provided by the local inhabitants, who, rather uncertainly, say that originally the occupants were under the leadership of one Muhi, which suggests Central Sudanic speakers. These people call themselves Pagun and claim to have come down the Nile from Cinta, a story which Cruszlerne rejected, assuming it to be a falsified relationship with "Shiliko."

Actually, the story may be accurate, because the word dime surely precedes the designation "Shiliko." On Kush or off round "king" and in Shiliko it has the possessive meaning "lord," these words probably being related to the Eastern Sudanic root of = "black," which itself must be
Old, because two divisions of that language group have it: \[\text{Vv}\].

West Nilotic (Kuer and Dinka): \text{as} and \text{e} [omitted]. At this point it is worth mentioning the existence of a very old state on Lake Abaya in southeastern Ethiopia called Shilluk, a state which strengthens the notion that Nilotic speakers had penetrated the Ethiopian Highlands at an early date. Close contact between the areas under discussion is further evidenced by the name of the first ruler at Lufun — DMCN, and the argument is bolstered by comparing the name of one of the outcast slavish clans of Gibe, \text{Ley}-\text{Ley}, with the following Nilotic words: \text{Long} = "to beat" (Shilluk), \text{Long} = "to wait" (Shilluk), \text{Long} = "gold" (Bahr), \text{Long} = "gold" (Dinka), and the Niue mountain called \text{Miling}.

Khaban occupation in Ethiopia is remembered by a district called \text{Khab} in \\text{Samer}.

The earliest people to come to Lufun after the \text{Papu} were called \text{Khar}, but \text{Cresswell} gave \text{Khar} and \text{Khar} as other possibilities for this name and \text{Salikam} referred to \text{Khar}.\[\text{The chance that these people were \text{Far} is encouraged by the importance of the role of agriculture around Lufun, the sun doing most of the field work, while the women plant and thresh.}\]

\text{Alabhad} was mentioned earlier as a Barfurun administrative area, controlling the route to the southerly sources of upper, and on nineteenth century maps it seems to extend as far to the southeast as Sufrot on \text{Khaban} and the mouth of the \text{Sufrot} on \text{Khaban}. Its name identifies it with the \text{Far} people (cf. \text{Khar}), whose mythological ancestor was...
Döm, a close relative of Nyang. Robert Hartmann suggested this connection as late as the 1870's: "South of (Nyangphul) is the area of Abadina with the main village of Abadjura."

The series of toponyms under discussion seem to lead from Abadina northwest to Ema, in Chalo, where one finds Khoor Guh Nangk, (cf. Amači), which continues as an area known as Nyamch in Nepal. Here there is a village called Pankha, and heading northward toward Tibeti there are Kambil and Nalbeta.

Not far from Khoor Guh Nangk is a section of the Zaghawa called Nām, and I suggest that it is a base related to the administrative rank Bahar in Dima. It has been shown that Bah or Bā is from the same root for "national tongue" in Gala and Shilluk, respectively, and a District Chief in Chako was called Bahā. To the Zaghawa the word Bah means "to take," or Bah pāk = "to own/to conquer." That the word has to do with the extraction of iron from rock is reinforced by noting the Arabic Ḳabā = "ferrous rock," and one can draw his own conclusions concerning the great black Kāba Stone at Neke.

Another comparison confirming a relationship between the Jabel Murra area and Dima is in the root ČTTY. Döme, designating "wealth," is the name applied to the "outcast" clans by neighbors. However, these clans call themselves ČTTY; that is, one clan is ČTTY ČTTY, another ČTTY ČTTY, and so forth. At Jabel Murra there is a stone which is named Scargill, under which supposedly a sacred snake dwells. The ČTTY is the common Zaghawa word for "black," and ČTTY has reference to rock in Dima, Gala word for "rock-salt" being ČTTY, and is probably related to the Zaghawa word for rock, which is ČTTY in
Faldej-Nabaw and Shillolk and Kidä in Amhara, Langi, and Alae.20

Still further evidence of the significance of early clans and of the perpetuation of their clan identities is found by tracing the root form ṛm, beginning in Wadi, where ṛm means “brother,” to the ṛm around Jebel Harwa, who knew the hereditary blacksmith clans as ṛm (sing. ṛm). On the Ruba Mountains ṛm is a division of the Sumbu language group and ṛm Amba is a division of Talodi, both of which belong to the larger “Higor-Kerbemian” language group. In Shillukland ṛm is the word for “cannon” or “charcoal,” and it is quite possible that the Gibeino Highlands of Southern Ethiopia derives its name from this root. In the south there are ṛm clans among both Atcholi and Kavirondo, and the Buru ṛm, a Loblam ṛm clan, the members of which “...do not kill the lion, and call it brother...”21. The Buru word for “lion” is Ammar, which appears to be related to the Fur word marar = “lion.” The connection between lions and iron oxides suggests Norse – as does the root form ṛm. Moreover, the Burundu (chmiel-bila) have a division called ṛmpeka.22

From the above evidence it seems possible that Southern Ethiopia, and Shillukland were in contact since Neolithic days, but at this point it is difficult to say much about the nature of this contact. It is only with the establishment of the Solomon Amhara dynasty in the 12th century A.D. that documentation begins concerning Southern Ethiopia. From an early 15th century price-song it is told that Shumwa and Basta were dependencies of Janjaac, which grew to a position of supremacy over a federation including present-day Kaffa and territory eastward as far as the Awash.23 It is necessary to look rather carefully at
Janjaro, because one of the most important Shilluk historical traditions relates that Nyang and his son Duk travelled far away to the Land of Ganggura (or Zelempar) where they engaged Garo, the son of the Sun, in battle. Victorious, Duk cut a silver ring from Garo's finger and retired after taking numerous captives. Tradition varies over whether the expedition was made before Nyang and Duk "settled in Shillukland" or afterward, but it is generally agreed that the ring was silver, and today the silver spear-ring and silver bracelet are fundamental components of the Shilluk Rith's regalia. What encourages one to think Southern Ethiopia in relation to this story is that it is the only possible source of silver. One version has it that Duk won many of these rings and had them welded into a bracelet. Every clan leader in Chako, which must have fallen under Janjaro control, wore such a silver bracelet, and it is possible that this story represents a struggle for control over the important trade route leading to Tadjoura-Zeila. That the "Ganggura" concerned in the story was a tributary to, and not the heart of the monarchy, is indicated by the fact that the royal metal at Janjaro was gold.

Sustained contact between Janjaro and the Southern Sudan is suggested by the appearance throughout the latter area of the name Garo or Ganggura. For example, among the many rain-makers at Bahilin, in Eriland, have been Ganggura le Kose and Mitia prophets going to Ganggura, and one of the rulers after Diewo at Lafon was Garo. In Shillukland there is a village called Nyanggura just to the south of Wau. It has been mentioned that the Dibra clan was the most highly respected group upon Jebul Eliri and that the rulers of Eliri
played a major role in Shilluk History. **Hiawya's inferiors referred to the Chief of Gilri as the **Dato of the Dungo, and, according to tradition, it was to him that Sykeng went immediately upon his arrival in Shillukland.**

It is my guess that this Dungo was the counterpart of a Janjaro Court Official and member of the Royal Council, who was known as Dungo. **Dato (Dato) means 'Chief' at Janjaro. Another Council member was the Edumwono, a position which probably paralleled the Shoda Nako of Kaffa, who was the royal builder and general overseer for the royal estates and crops. The royal dwellings in Shillukland comprise a village called Fashoda, and the Assaw, who live on branches of the Sobat River between Shillukland and Janjaro-Kaffa and who are quite closely related to the Shilluk, trace the origin of their 'throne,' a four-legged stool, back to an ancestor called Shoda.**

Both the Shilluk and the Assaw have a special speech used only by royalty. Janjaro also knew a 'royal speech,' in addition to which, there was a 'respect speech,' more limited in vocabulary. **There are several other close cultural similarities between Shilluk and Janjaro: both have had crocodile cults, the Shilluk being alone among the Nilotic-speakers in this respect. And the royal installation ceremonies show many similarities.**

**For example, there is the required willingness of the king-elect to take the throne, a reluctance which is "overcome" by the leading dignitaries of state in mock battle. Both ceremonies require that the king step over three bricks, presumably to symbolize power over life and death, and the period of seclusion for the king at**

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*a See p. 11.*
Janjave was eight days, the significance of which number will be discussed in Chapter 5. 68 Janjave had other ceremonies, rituals, and customs which were formerly common throughout the greater part of the Sudan: upon the death of a Janjave king all work ceased for six months, and hearth fires were extinguished, only to be lit for a short time in the evening. With the installation of the new king work resumed and fires were more freely used. The shillik had a similar custom, less stress being placed upon the extinguishing of fires during the interim period, but three symbolic fires were faithfully kept burning throughout the life of each king. Waingtai recorded something along the same lines in Darfur, where the fires were kept, and Nandišade made note of fire-keeping customs in Dar Gula. 69

According to Janjave tradition their earliest rulers were Yennama, from the Gemiła clan, mentioned earlier as having a possible connection with salt trade. 68 The bulk of the population, however, seems to have been composed of the people who later formed the "unclean" hunter and herder clans. The rigid hierarchy involving the reduction of the Gemiła clan and the introduction of the "unclean" status was the work of Nima clansmen, who claim Arab's ancestry. What kind of relationship existed between Janjave and Dite-Paka-Naji, etc., prior to the spread of Arabic-speakers into Southern Dinka in beginning in the 14th century is uncertain. For a short time after this penetration Janjave ruled the federation which controlled trade between the plains to the

68 See p. 79.
69 See p. 30.
went and the ports of Zanzibar-Kelis, but in time the center of influence had shifted to Kaffa, which did not have the strength to hold the agitation together against the Galla incursions of the 18th century.

There is a great deal more to be learned about Janjaro and Kaffa. Strabo indicated that the function of "capital city" of Janjaro was fulfilled by "Simet" in Yalley, but Binner pointed out: "The Kaffaese designate 'Simet' (from the kingdom of 'Simete') as the old name of the Kaffa Highlands," and that this Kaffa kingdom... was very large since about 1300. Apart from the confusion surrounding Janjaro, Kafra, and early Shilluk History, it would appear that the Galla played an important role in the development of the last two.

footnotes

1 Wilhelm Hofmayer, "Die Schillak," Forschungen. (Halle, 1919), p. 34.
3 A.J. Arkell, A History of the Sudan to 1821. (London, 1906), p. 107, has a drawing of Apo Dama. Appa is found in the Nilo, a Forest (Chont-Nile) language, to mean "Users," and the word here will be discussed later in this chapter, but it may be noted here that the Shilluk phrase is certainly formed with the suffix "A."
a string, the cotton "chonap" or trade item received by the Nubians. The name "ma al kayma" borne by the next "chonap" or establishment would then have been a homonym, i.e., "owner of the wool-string.

Hall, known as melkh in Arabic and in the Southern Sudan as melk, is found in plentifulness near Kassala and may have been carried into eastern Ethiopia, and perhaps the Sudan, since early times. The camel, supposed of Numidian origin, is remembered as the first camel in Sukkara, and J.P. Coote notes, The Quay (Toronto, 1922), p. 240, has stressed the importance of the dromedary among the Sidis.


7 In sum and summation one is tempted to relate these Nubians to the Kaffa of Northern Ethiopia, the area which has given Ethiopia its current Imperial House. See Donald S. Corwin. Way and Gold. (Chicago, 1955), pp. 151-155. In their own eyes, as in the eyes of others, the art of Kaffa are exalted for cleanliness and cleanliness, and "... the woman's disposition is necessarily aggressive.

Kaffa is remembered for its kaffa traditions as the refuge of the gale northernmost of the Nubian territories. Below a bend, and early south with Kaffa was added in the 19th Century. Louis, p. 30.

It is also interesting to note that the symbol of physical bravely in Kaffa in the data, a hardened staff. See Louis, p. 94, and p. 26 in the present paper.

The work on in Kaffa (that Numidian) means "elevator teeth," while in Kaffa it seems to have "black." At Kaffa one of gale and the

functionary, combining the duties of royal messenger and Chief Justice.


10. Hartmann, Die Niltinder. (Leipzig, 1899), p. 120. Also, E. Wern, The Chilika People. (Berlin, 1912), p. 448. "In older literature the word 'ruba' is given as the Chilika name for King." As far as I know the earliest written reference to ruba was 1637-40 — see p. 44.


12. Although the name 'Qauma' is by far the most common form in Arabic for 'red.'


14. See the comparison in E. Hanfstaengl, "Dido." Ad L. Jensen (ed.) Altorientalische Völker. (Stuttgart, 1959), and for Chaco see Straube, "Westschmetterlinde Völker." .


17. The place is called "Lengoli" by Crezolara. The name, appended map, but is officially known as "Lena," Seligman, op cit. The 'lengoli' is a particle, and the second syllable has the same meaning in different languages: of (Nilotic) aqul, and (Austral) mean, both meaning "half of the log." The etymological designation, rukun, means "tree" in Nilo-Chaga — "half of the log" being fun dyka in that language.


19. Hartmann, Die Niltinder, p. 112.

20. Many Sudanese words exemplify the tendency to identify anatomical parts with geological phenomena. In the present case 'tooth' = nyophite, or 'little root' on Ingassan (E. Ad urz).}


My information on Janaro is from Stroube, "West-Muschische Völker... Südl-Athlipesien." I use "Janaro" but variations occur — Yanaro, Yanjvo, Singner, Singen, etc.


25. Stellmann, Pagum Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, p. 249.


27. Hofmeyr, "Die Shilluk," map of Shillukland.

28. Ibid., p. 31.

29. There is a story that Zath Togo named Tashoda after a cow, which wandered under a particular tree after noon shade, but while Shilluk oral tradition contains valuable kernels of truth, this is part of the myth.


31. These vocabularies concentrated upon parts of the body. The "respect speech" was used by the highest dignitaries, the Tsiko, the Gnya, the Ranka, and the Lya, and involved only features of the head.


CHAPTER 3

EAST CUSHITIC

The Galla are Eastern Cushitic-speaking people, whose traditional home is on the shores of Lake Abaya in Southern Ethiopia. Practically nothing is known of them prior to the 16th Century, but an attempt will be made in the next two chapters to show that they had some kind of contact with the tribes of the Southern Sudan and that they played a role in Nile Valley History.

The first historical document on the Galla is a vague piece of work by a man named Bahrey, who lived during the second half of the 16th Century at Lake Abaya. He said that the Galla had come from the west. Some two hundred years later James Bruce noted that the name of the king of the "Eastern Galla" was Ahris. In the Galla language the word Ahris means "to become king," while Max = "to conquer," and the possibility of a Galla presence in Shillukland at an early date is suggested by the Shilluk word Max = "first/before," while the nature of that presence is told in the Shilluk word Max, which means "to harass/to torment/to tyrannize/to extort/to enslave." Throughout Ethiopia and the Southern Sudan the top judicial instance has been traditionally known as the "thrutch," and among the Abu Niel people (Charai-Nile) of the Bahar el Ghazal the word for "thrutch" is ahris.

Sometimes a reiving judge and tax-collector was called the "thrutch," as he was among the Galla, whose word for "thrutch" is gomaa. The Shilluk have the word going to mean "judicial process," and the same word serves for "to ransom/to solve/to release/to rescue/to liberate/
to unhind." There are villages called Fugong and Gung in the northern part of Shillukland, while southeast of Jebel Siri is the figar of Gung,4 and to the Bura (Chari-Nile) of the southern Sudan the labour gang pa ruud was the executioner, his job being performed by severing the neck.5 A variation of gunga is found among the Chari-Nile speakers in Darfur, where Nungja is a division of the Birkan,6 and the fact that the Fura people call the Bura people Nungja suggests that the latter were somehow quite closely related to the spread of this judicial term.7 The Darfur Buga are linguistically very near to the Bura and have a special class of semi-priests called Fugong.8 There was a Nungja division in Dar Kordofan, a clan of Fara at Jebel Siri called Bugunya, and there were Bugunya and Elyanga clans of Fura in Dar Fasa, northeast of Jebel Merra.9 In Callyera seems "in order/to regulate," and it is said that the Elyanga clan of Dar Fasa was "called after the tonsila," it being said that the Fura people were "once expert at cutting then out of children's throats."10 The possibility should not be excluded that the Arab word for "grandfather," bugunya, is related to gung, and the Fula of Mauense have the word ganga as "to be acquitted/to speak the truth."

According to Beier the Kaffa state was founded in the 11th century by immigrant Cushites known as Gungga, who, he went on to say, came from the Welliga forest south of the Bura River.11 They probably really were Cushitic speakers, because the language spoken at Kaffa today is a West Cushitic one, and it is doubtful that if the Gungga had spoken, say, a Chari-Nile language they would be remembered in oral history as the founders of the state — history finding its way to
forget the defeated. The influence of the Galla at Kaffa can be seen by the presence there of districta called Gelila, Gelilau, Agafe, and Gella.

The Kaffa state succeeded the Janjera one and assumed control over the trade that came into Ethiopia from the Southern Sudanic. A number of new district-names appeared at Kaffa that had not been known at Janjera, and among them was Abdala, which is also the name of a village some 35 miles from Munowachi in Durfur, 10 and was the traditional designation of the former kings of Uganda.

The link here with the Galla is provided by the office-holder called abna Ganda (cf. Uganda), who, in addition to being an important landholder, also served as a judge and tax-collector in the Galla states. In the Sudan the Ganda is a village in Fun country (Borita), the President of the Council of Sheikhs among the Beyin of Durfur is called the Ganda (p.A. Ganda), 11 and the Adamawa Fulani have ganda = "brass."

The possible connection between the Galla and Uganda and the existence of "Luba-Lunda" states in the Congo encourages one to think in terms of the "Western Galla," whose king, according to Bruce, was called "Luba." 12 Apart from Bruce's statement there is nothing to justify the association of the word Luba with Eastern Cushitic speakers? Luba is one of the words used to designate "necro-grade system" among the Eastern Cushitic speaking Baraka of Gasa-Galla, 13 and Luba is used to mean "generation set" by the Bun Galla. 14 The spread of Eastern Cushitic into the Southern Sudan can be traced: the Jabi (Eastern Sudanic) have Kalu'ka and dabi'be clans, along with several others.
which indicate a mixture of Galla, or other Eastern Cushitic groups, and one of the major districts in Borland is Angoyane, which is found in Hargelle province. The largest town there is Jaba, which is known connected with the age-grade system at Banana. The Saligaam mentioned a small tribe southwest of the Borana called EeJada, and Cremer referred to a "tribal group" of Ja-Gilada.

The existence of a Judai Judai, a bit southwest of Lir, suggests Eastern Cushites as far north as Shillukland, and several toponyms hint of a western spread: Abu Galla in the Dar Mur of Borana and the Gali Mountains, as Bochichael called the range to the southwest of Borana on Abyss. An old Fur custom advises the planting of "malig- nant local genil" known as alaqalla, and Kajitig called of an important Koman city called Galla, in which the Korra functionary Dima lived.

The other Galla offices should be mentioned in passing, because they appear to reveal Shilluk-Galla contact. One is the administrative post known as Abbo Rumba, or, "Master of the Key." which one assumes must have been a sort of Treasurer, and it was observed by 19th Century European travellers that the Shilluk had a treasury, in which were kept skins, ivory, etc., and which could only be visited with the permission of the Rumba (or Reth). Another title used among the Galla was the Abbo Dala, or "Possessor of the Boomerang," a weapon used in the Security, and in early times, by the Shilluk: "The son-in-law of Dima (yeng) cuts everything down with the boomerang." Although the Shilluk word for "boomerang" is pito they have abalo = "spear" and dalbo = "to curve/to bend."
Finally, one of the words which the Galla use for "administrator" is adicion, while adawo is a "revo/cord." At Ingassana, in the Sennar, the word der had administrative and judicial implications, the der being a ceremonial wooden bench for the swearing-in of the chiefs of Jebel Soda and Kurkur districts. The word darfo also had a judicial nuance at Kaffa, where it meant "banishment," and banishment may have meant expulsion into the plains of Sennar, because the Shilluk have adaro for "woodless."

Having observed that the Shilluk vocabulary has lexical items that seem to relate to Galla administrative terminology let us now examine a word which was used to designate the Shilluk capital until fairly recently. In 1897 Linant de Bellefonds undertook to explore southward from Khartoum, up the White Nile. After reaching El Mis (Kwaal), then the northern border of Shillukland, he planned to send his Arab guides back down river and to use Shillukse to take him "the remaining 4 days to Danab."

Throughout the 1860's and 1890's either Danah or Danah was used in reference to the main Shilluk town, and it was not until the 1910's that the capital had come to be known as either Danah or Jashhade. We guessed that the term Danah had come from the Arabic damah, meaning "toll of an animal," because somehow the rows of huts evolved that image. However, I do not think that people name their principal towns or villages in such a random way. It is much more likely that the word was of local origin, and that it had military implications is suggested by the fact that the Shilluk called their burnt-wood canoes damah. The Galla have the verb damaha = "to raid" and the noun damaha = "booty," and Kwaal mentioned a large tree
called Wudama, near the B unwah River in Ethiopia, where the Galla came to pray that they would not be conquered by the Ethiopians. 23

It would appear that the Galla sennets expanded forcefully, evidenced by the names they used for their spears, one of which is called abdo, a name which may be related to their word for "forest," abdo, and would accurately describe the area in which the inhabitants of the former Cushite state are found. Another spear is known as bole, which brings to mind the Shilluk word for "cushy" — beddo. Finally, there is the lance called ibbi,24 known as yor at Janjare, a lance-name which one is inclined to identify with immigrant West Africans. Yor means "foreigner" in Kamba, but the ibbi is an important item at Kaffa. Gbaddi and Gbaddi are spear-names at Lari and Lave, respectively, and Petersen's map of 1862-1863 identified the area of southeastern Darfur with the designation "Residence of the King of Shali."25 MacDonald remarked that immigrant Fellaha were divided into two groups, one of which was called Yorri, many of whom settled south of Jbel Marra.26

However, there is a shred of evidence indicating that the Galla might have also penetrated to Yor. Hayaga means "peace" to the Dorra Galla, and they call a "two - pipe" yaga. Gaya clans in the area under discussion include Buja (Kumoro), Pu-juja (Scholl), Pu - juja and Haya (Borg).27 In the Dorra area of Southern Darfur is a Jebel, which the Galla and among MacDonald's Galla Mountains southwest of Kebbi one finds Shar Haya and Jebel Haya.28

At Kaffa, as compared with Janjare, there was a greater number of administrative offices. One of the new ones was the Ayo Rukko, who
was "Keeper of the Royal Highways," an interesting name because of the existence of a river (river) 66:1, 70:1, 70:2 in the mountains to the southwest. Adada was part of the Great East-West trade route, and the role of "Keeper of the Highways" in that area may have been performed by the Adada division of the Daju people (Eastern Fulani). Apparently the Gallu had some contact with these people and associated them with water, as the Gallu word adafa means "river."

It would appear that at some time in the distant past the Daju were settled in the area of Faraghi in the Blue Nile and then migrated westward from there. This view is consistent with the Daju's own traditions, which are also strong in memory of Jebel Gedir, a Sudan hill on the western fringes of Shillukland.35 Corroborating evidence for an eastern origin for the Daju is in the name of one of their divisions, Bokmaro, which may be compared with the South Sudanic root wak, and the Cushitic word wakka is "gold." The Faraghi area has been one of the few sources of gold in Northeast Africa.

Daju presence in Shillukland is witnessed by a village called Adafa in the extreme southeast of the country, between Tombe and Lake No.36 On the western side of the Sudan (not in Shillukland) there is a Jebel Daju, where they, the Daju, are known to have settled.37 There are also large numbers of Daju around Nyale southeast of Jebel Murra in Darfur, and at Dar Sala in Kordofan.

There is further evidence for the spread of the Daju. Nyang, the mythological founder of the Shilluk nation, invested certain lineages as "owners of the soil," and these lineages are called by the name njil, while immigrants go by the name wettu. Wettu would seem to refer
especially to immigrant Eastern Sudanic speakers, as the word for “earth” on Kafan (Eastern Sudanic) is akani, the Tosa (Eastern Sudanic) have adhabu, and the Daju of Darfur (Eastern Sudanic) use adhbar. In Nuba itself the word for “locust” is addab, which in the Shilluk language (Eastern Sudanic) is the qualitative form of the verb dagu = “to transmigrate.” The Daju, as do the Koyos, trace their descent as one “Ahmed el Dag,” the Shilluk know Dub as the one of Shyak. It is possible that Ahmed el Dag and Dub are the same. Addab, in addition to meaning “transmigrate” in Shilluk also means “myth 3,” and Dub is the third figure, after Dew and Syak, in the Shilluk mythological pantheon.

Arkel and Marbach stressed the antiquity of the Daju-daga, and these groups seem to have had strong associations with metals, based upon the fact that the Fun people call them Nanfango, the connection between the roots mnir and iron-working having been made on page 26. Arkel mentioned a group of Daju Daju at Nyala in Darfur. The Kannanu word for “iron” in fanua, while “pig iron” in datsho, and the Amharic word for “iron from” is dajel. The Daju are represented at Shoa by a Kibodoke, Gada district and at Kaffa by Dedochnato, Datasha, and Tychadocha districts. The Shoa people are very close linguistically to the Daju, Koyos, and Shilluk, and one finds them also associated with the word fanua. For example, there is a village called Shadagwa, northwest of Daju in Kordofan, where there were Shaj districts at Kaffa, and a petty state known as Shaj in southeastern Ethiopia. The importance of this as far as the Shilluk are concerned is that one of their traditions has Shyak migrating to the land of Tosa ruled by King Dew prior.

Candela (Candela). The fact that the Fun were Agriculturalists and that they were identified with the word datsho leads one to suspect that it was from them that the Galla took their word for wheat — datsho — especially since these seem to be no other Cushitic

* See pp. 6 and 7.
language that makes such a connection.

A possible clue to a link between salla and fur may be provided by a look at the genealogy claimed by the Tungur people, one of several identifiable groups to have occupied Isabul Harra in Darfur and who must have represented authority in a southeastern direction, because the Hausa (Niger-Kordofanian speaking inhabitants of the Nuba Mountains) word for "threat" is ftingham. Holbein showed the ancestor of the Tungur in Darfur to have been Ahmad el Mal'sur, whose 'brothers' were Firm and Ahrom, but I think it more likely that the name Firm symbolized the Fur people. What about the name Ahrom?

The Salla was an official in Kabilia in the 10th century, and he was an historian as well, who has astonished at the abundance of crops and herds at Malia (Sennar). Writing about the king there he said:

One of the curiosities of his country is, that in the great islands between the two rivers, lives a nation of the same name Firma, or Furma, possessing a wide district which is cultivated by means of the Nile and the river.77

The root rifu was well-known in Chogoria, the Englishman Duke mentioning Serrum, a trading village at base in Goffin.80 It is found at least as far west as the Darfur-Chad border, where the Enugu have a division called Serrum. Crawshay related a figure named Curum to the establishment of the Duffi dynasty in Uganda, and the Serrum played a significant role in early Southern Sudanese History.97 The temptation to include the Serrum in the present discussion arises because the section of them who joined the Rad along the Nile were called Myunguza. In the Southern Sennar there is an area commonly referred to as Burur, but which has also gone by the name Burun, and
Krapf and Isenberg, in an appended map, designate Dorong as Baruerar Gebe Fungt. 36

Kodok is roughly between Malekal and Kaka in Shillukland, and on the opposite bank of the Nile from Kodok is a sizeable village called Ron. A bit north of Kaka are two more villages, also on the opposite bank with the name Ron. From the foregoing it appears that the "Ron people" controlled all of Sonnar and at least parts of Ethiopia. The Shilluk, who occupy the part of Western Sonnar opposite the Shilluk, remember the rule of the "Ron" as iron-fisted: To the Shilluk rum means "to oppress/to face a danger," rum means "to rob," rum is a "club (weapon)," and rum pèl means "to conquer."

The Shilluk remembrance differs and seems to trace at least as far back as "the Sals," who discussed the agricultural methods of the Akomo:

When the time of sowing arrives, every one of these people issue into the fields with seed for sowing. He draws lines proportionate in size to the quantity of his seed, and sows a little in each of the four corners, placing the principal seed in the midst of the square, and by its side some (seed), and then retires. 34

The author went on to point out that by the next morning the work was mysteriously done, and that the same procedure of leaving the beer, retiring, etc., took place during harvesting and threshing. Akomo organizational ability and mental capacity left its mark in the Shilluk vocabulary: rum = "to measure/to survey/to weigh/to leap over/to think," while rum is "to suffice/to be suitable," and rum pèl is "to dip water." Other vocabulary items in Shilluk suggest appearance, temperament, and culture of these people: jonce is a "nose," čonum is "an unequal nose,"
pr. He says this means "leopards," pyr/aun also in the past tense of "to fight," and kana is "a male goat/sheep.

Burns had noted that the word means was one which was... first applied by the Arabs to the Greeks of the Lower Egypt, and afterwards to all Christians. This would suggest the spread of the word into the Sudan via the Harerites, whom the Bwana tried to enlist in their struggle against the Persians. Such an explanation, however, leaves the question of the Galla, who, until recently, were known either as Galla or as Omoro. To my knowledge, the Galla have no Christian traditions, their allegiance to a "homeland" in the Lake Abaya region is very strong, and, as Lewis has pointed out, 3% of the 3% Eastern Cushitic-speaking tribes are located around Lake Abaya. Yet, the fact that the Galla vocabulary has an extensive terminology that is reflected over such a wide range: red/buria-Chad border; Aba Gendo/Uganda; adhara/Somalia; harsa/Ethiopia, suggests that the Lake Abaya area was either an integral part of a major Ethiopian state, such as Axum, or that it was, itself, a center from which expansion took place.

FOOTNOTES


2Unless otherwise indicated Galla words and information concerning Galla administrative titles are taken from Karl Fritzsche. Lesen der Galla Sprache. (München, 1944).

3In G'ale, an extinct South Cushitic language, man = "to be victorious."

4For example, in Sidera there was the Aja, or "head of the King," who was the Lord Chief Justice. A well-respected queen of the...
27. For example, D.G. Beltrae, Il Piave: Ramo e Canale. (Venice, 1883), p. 79: "A very large hut, distinguished from the others by its shape in the Treasury... and only the Beth has the right to grant entrance."


29. The relationship between administration and a rope, cord, or string is further evidenced by the Gaia office Aba Pampe, or "Master of the String." See pp. 81-82 and 72.

30. Selman, Fugue Tribes of the Sudan, pp. 421-432. The concept of the der maj in some way be related to the eagle, because der means "eagle" at Tabi (Togusana). It is interesting to note that the word for "eagle" at Jebel Nila is mila.


34. Carl Tatscher, Besuch der Gaia Synode. (Munich, 1894).


55 Burchardt, Travels in Arabia, appendix 3.
56 Ibid., appendix 3, p. 142.
57 The accepted name for this now is Galla, but Citerri and Vanzutelli, 'Z'Dew: Scuola Speculativa Alteopea,' (Milano, 1899), used Oomo, as did Rieber in his two volume study of Kaffa. F. Faulstich, *Ethnographische Beschreibung Afrikas:* Die Hauptvölker aller der Bantu, Galla und Soomol. (Berlin, 1931), interchanged the terms.
That is what you get from God.
So in that way beg and cry the Shilluk (those who stay with Nyikong)
But the old way they would (those who leave)!

Anshayan recorded that initially the Funj had engulfed a part of the Shilluk but then were defeated by the main body of the tribe. Yet he also pointed out that when the Funj conquered Allah, they had considerable assistance from the Shilluk and Akka. Apparently there was no animosity of sentiment either for or against the Funj on the part of the Shilluk, but there was certainly a great deal of bitterness in the struggle, as expressed by the tradition that Nyikong killed or expelled most of the Funj from the territory that became Shillukland. According to a folk-songs this behavior was in opposition to the public will, which would have been satisfied with the customary southern Sudanese conduct toward a defeated group; that they remain on the land with inferior social status. It is interesting to contrast the public equality, manifested in the balanced view of the folk-songs, with the upper-caste antagonism expressed by the Shilluk court-historians, whose interest it has been to expunge the Funj from their oral tradition.

If the official Shilluk approach to Funj origins is a disclaimer, the Arab one is the opposite. According to Arab sources the first Funj king, "Abi Adam, was a Muslim, and his monarchy is trace to a refugee 'Amnayid, who entered the Sudan in the 8th Century. Certain Arabia have been present in the Sudan since very early times, but a rigid "Arab origin" approach to the Funj leaves a number of questions unanswered; principally, there are the names, which are clearly of non-Arabic origin, but which are so closely associated with Funj history — e.g., "QUSAYYIV", "Rid el Fun," "Hadda," and "Funj" itself.
Shilluk capital, Damah, is probably taken from the Galla word dammabu = "to plunder."

In the second half of the 16th century a man named Dekin came to the Funf throne and earned a reputation as a splendid administrator. His grandmother was "Kisaa," the wife of "Hassan al-Hillali," the latter being a name which is used as a catch-all in Sudanese Arab pedigrees. Dekin's father was "Duka," and, according to the pedigrees, one of Dekin's sons was called by that name also.14 Crawford observed the resemblance of the name "Duka" to the names of the Shilluk rulers Shokath, Nyadak, and Abashok,15 and, going a step further, it seems quite possible that the name "Duka" is related to the Nuer and Shilluk word duk = "youth" and/or the Arabic word duka = "number one," and the Polant daka = "i.e., regulation."16 Dekin had three brothers, "Shilluk," "Dika," and "Dukia," names which are clearly falsification on the part of the genealogist, but which, if nothing else, serve to show that the Shilluk and Duka were enough to the Funf empire that Arab genealogists had to include them in their pedigrees. Supposedly "Dukia" had one son, "Alili," who, in turn, beat "Dang," "Fujur," "Kafia," and "Uyu el Shuya." Now "Shua" sounds suspiciously like Congo, who were the founders of Kaffa, while "Fujur" is the name of a Turkic tribe. "Uyu el Shuya" is a hill in Buruun country, and "Kafia" is very probably the Kaffa state. Dekin's rule coincided with Kaffa's period of rapid expansion, which fell roughly between 1530-1570, and when the Galla ravaged much of Ethiopia Kaffa was unaccountably left untouched. The names most closely associated with Dekin on the pedigrees lay to the south, and it would appear that these names represent a set of alliances.
designed by the Punj to draw in southern trade and to prevent a stronger
force to Shoaia Ethiopia. 16

If the Galla and the Punj are in some way related then one might
expect to find traces of their presence in the area of "Shagul," which
one source placed "eight days south from the town of Semar along the
Blue Nile." There is a village on the Blue Nile, a few miles from
the Danjo confluence, which goes by the name Shagul, and a large area
to the southwest of this point is known as Shangilla or Shagul. 16

Close by the village of Shagul is Jbel Simba, a name to be compared
with the Shillik capital, Simba, and the Galla word Simba = "to
plunder." There is also a Jbel Shugul in the vicinity, and groups is
the Galla word for "threat," as well as being the name of the founding
group at Kaffa. The "threat" had administrative implications, and the
Dorta people, who live north of Shugul and not far from the Blue
Nile have the word galow = "threat." It is also interesting that their
word for "Ethiopia" is Galla. There are two streams in Dorta country,
which join not twenty miles from Shugul and then feed the Blue Nile.
At the confluence of these streams, the Tensef and the Baka, is a village
called Ef Gindii, which at one time may have symbolized the "brainas,"
because the Fula, who would seem to have ancient ties with this gen-
eral area have nukuf = "brainas," while the President of the Council of
Sheikhs among the Baga has been known as the Gindii, and the Galla have
the comparable Abo Gindii. On each of the streams is a village called
Murrum, and the Arabs know the Galla as Ef Murrum, which they undoubtedly
take from the Galla word *nomu* = "neck."

Now let us discuss the "bodli" and/or "face." Bruce's informer at Senner was an important functionary called "Abadd Sid el Rum," a designation which Bruce translated to mean "Master of the King's Household, or Servants." It was his responsibility to do away with the king, if it was so wished by the ones who decided such affairs. Bruce described his men as being a pagan and as coming from Dinka.

“He was constantly attended by Dinka priests,” who had long ago come from “Dye and Tegele,” wrote Bruce, a statement which hints that the influence of the "Sid el Rum" may have extended over a rather wide area. In fact, the word *lue* in his title is probably derived from Cherit Nil: "lum" = "food" (true), *llum* = "body" (Asuili), *lumak* = "bodies" (Teclum- Dinka), and *lume* = "back" (Imiliim). That the word came to mean "slave" is shown by the Galla word *lue* = "louse," a traditional designation for subordinates, and especially by their word *lue* = "1000." In ancient times large numbers, reckoned by square roots of 10, were needed for military use. The uses of these large numbers were derived, perhaps, from the area from which most of the troops were drawn, or, more likely, a word for "head," "body," or "blood" was used. For example, in the Faddil רבשל language, spoken near the Egyptian-Sudanese border, the word for "10" was *diem*, while "10,000" was *diem*, suggesting the possibility of large Southern Sudanese (or Drilagian) armies, up to 10,000 in number, serving as far north as the present Egyptian border. *Lue* was used in the same "head-count" sense and is found as part of a toponym, *Lue Omo*, in Southern Egypt. It seems likely that this is *nomu* "Arba, or, the area of the *Arba*/*Arba* were shown as the Oromo and
de code word, and perhaps, as with the name Mallanu, which is also
found in Egypt, dates to the period of Carthage rule in Egypt. While
discussing the name Jume Bruse remarked upon the ambiguity of the word
"slave" in the Semitic, "... which they interpret sometimes bestow, or
conqueror, and, at other times, free citizen." It confused him:
"It does not seem to me that they should pride themselves in being free
citizens, because the first title of nobility in this country is that
of slave; indeed there is no other... Slavery in Semitic is the only
true nobility." How far back the application of the word "slave"
dates I do not know, but from the earliest days of the Fatimids the
Arabs used it: "The tribes of the Arabs are seven, and whosoever is
not included in them may lawfully be enslaved." Arab ethos often
was probably not by fierce anti-slave attitudes, shared by people of
diverse cultural backgrounds, and which may have found expression among
some in the proud acceptance of the naba'ab (slave). However, this
could, at best, be only a partial explanation of the various situation
outlined above, because the Amnu was the ruler of Shillukland prior
to the development of an important Arab influence there, and at Choko
the Amnu was an "outcast" hunter clan. Moreover, at Kaffa the most
powerful state official, and President of the Milloc bulk (State Council),
was the kaf' Amnu, or, "Master of the Slaves." As a member of the
Amnu clan it was his duty to represent both Christians and "slaves"
in affairs of state. There is the possibility that among the Fung and
Shilluk, based upon the implication of the words Fung and Amnu respec-
tively, there was an equation between "slavery" and a military
aristocracy.
Finally, there is the title Bandi, borne by at least six Punj rulers, the first of whom came to throne in about 1560. The term is probably meant control of rivers. In support of this idea is the fact that the singular in Shilluk, but, which means "arms," forms a part of the name of two major Sudanese rivers — the Gilgil and the Sobat. The term may have been associated with the "arms and bands" concept, also, in the distant past. The Kuer (Eastern Sudan) have term = "arms with hands," and one recalls that it was the Fardsi when the Axumites railed. There is also a group of tribes called Fardisi in the Dar al-Diraa.

Now let us return to the Galia-Punj connection and look at the Galia word dabb, which means "speech" and from which damb "dance" and dabadi "belief in God" are derived in the same language. Dabbi may be compared with the following Cushitic words: dabito = "song" (Kaffa) and dabo = "song" (Afaric). The fact that the suffix in Kaffa (as Kasse, Kaffalo, kaficho, etc.) suggests that the Kaffa word dabbicho is related to the Galia dabby, and at Kaffa the dabbicho were the feudal lords, the great landholders known individually as Tud. The northerners, i.e., Punj connection is through a people called Dabicho, of whom Monticelli wrote:

The name of this tribe does not occur in the genealogies of the Sudan, a fact which, in itself, is good evidence that they are not Sudan. They appear in the Sudan, their principal city being Karray, the second city of the Sudan, and there would appear to them, from the social point of view, a part of the Shumpea kingdom populating the fertile belt which forms part of today's Sudan.

For a suggestion concerning the term of Dabicho see pp. 63-64.
The Shangle association had been made by Bruce much earlier:

"... the Bokofah, (are) the most powerful of all the Shangle, who have a species of supremacy, or command, over all the rest of the nations."  

And: "To the north of Abyssinia they (the Shangle) are mixed with Amha, the New, and the Beneite... in which quarter they are called Dubo."  

Werne, in 1840, spoke of the 'Dubo' as "... a very large tribe in the neighborhood of Kendaf and Kallaha..." which is interesting because in the 'Des' abdomen one finds: "The Kalla (i.e., Galla) are by origin Arabs... they are... from the Beni Chassan..." And in the 'Des' abdomen there is a Galla-Bam connection:  

"It is related that Esau had 30 sons, of whom al Run was one, but these Bamans have been joined by tribes that did not belong to them, namely Zemneh, and Abul, and Suley, and Chassan..." The 'ABC manuscript' has the Chassan as far west as Borro, where maps also show villages called Shangle and 'Abu Sallaha.' However, there is no attempt being made here to claim 'Arabia' or 'Koran' origin for the Galla but to support the idea that they had some kind of contact with the Funk, and to present corroborating evidence for two possibilities mentioned earlier; first, that the Galla are related to 'Ben Salim's Kussoo, and second, that there are indications of a Galla presence at least as far west as Lake Chad and Nokouy.
2. Bruce, Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773. (Edinburgh, 1805), Vol. 4, pp. 269-371.


4. Ibid., p. 7. Old Shilluk song. Enclosures are Shilluk's.

5. Ibid., pp. 4-6.


12. Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 364.

13. There is also a tall village and a Mytiket village in Shillukland. The Gera Arabs, who are Sudanese, live in an area in northeastern Kordofan — not far from Tangra in Southern Shillukland. One of the sources (sectional) of the Gura Guelowia, known as El Shafar, is called Bulila, which attracts new attention because other sources of the same Cuiyita are Aginda (cf. P. 31), Almas and Alamu (cf. Allen, p. 42). The Alamu connection is reinforced by the presence of a band of Arabs (cf. Kuremka people) of the Kura, which also has a Guelowia (cf. Guelowia). Actually, the Bulila area is now part of Alamu (cf. Kuremka) "to become kings" and Shilluk not "to be composed."

14. El Fuyarli has a fortified wall, which is Cumi, but not in Shillukland. Soo, a village called El Fuyarli (co. 1804) is "castle-town."

15. Some villages in the Highlands called El Fuyarli (co. 1804-45 of the Fuding Challengor) and Bulibla (co. Soba, capital of "Alamu, and the Sudan word "koba" = "friend"). See Ian Chalmers, Shugura Arabs. (Cambridge, 1900), pp. 221-222.

A slab of iron used for cooking in the Sudan is sometimes called a ***dahar,*** and the Galla word for "iron horn" is ***dahar.*** The word *dahar* also appears in a folk-tale to explain the thickness of olive color. See E. Hiiilsest. *Sudan Ethnology.* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 69.

One theory possibility is suggested because the Fur word *sela* means "to buy or sell," and the Fur had probably settled in Shillukland and Sudan many centuries ago. See pp. 12-13. **Shaggapyan means "peace" in Galla.**

Hillnest, "David Boubant, an Early Visitor to Senaur." *Sudan Notes and Records.* Vol. 78, part i. (1941). Boubant called it *leval,* but it is doubtful whether he was ever there.

**Penest. A Voyage to Ethiopia made in the Years 1808, 1809, and 1810.** (London, 1799), referred to it as *Chambale.*

**Brun. Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile in the Years 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, and 1813.** (Vol. 6, pp. 371-372).

The custom of "king-killing" is thought to be very old and has been recorded from Egypt to Southern Ethiopia. The Shilluk having been a favorite group to study in this respect. It has generally been assumed that the ruler's sexual potency and physical strength were the determining factors in the maintenance of his position. "Status" no doubt played its role, but what was probably much more important was the fact that the threat of murder served as a serious check upon the ruler and gave considerable leverage to those opposed to deceive the death.

**Som Oden is not magic.** I assume that it is horn, but horn would also fix: "homo = "district chief" (Chob). horn = "how live" (Galla). horn = "mother" (Shagg/Fur). Shilling at Sen is a town north of Galla, but Shilling is found in magic.


**Barnes, A History of the Arabs in the Sudan, Vol. 1, p. 22.**

**Barnes, Vol. 11, pp. 242-243.

**Senson has bands = "hands."**

**Barnes, A History of the Arabs in the Sudan, Vol. 1, p. 243.**


**Barnes, Vol. 1, p. 243, citing Brun. Travels... Vol. 6, p. 371, introduction, p. 4.”**
38MacMichael, "Chd., vol. II, p. 307. The enclosures are also.
In his index MacMichael has "see Kalla" next to the entry for "Galla." It is interesting to note that the Galla word for "tongue" is amada.
37ibid., vol. II, p. 89. Could there be some relationship between these Chamo and the important site in Eswatini called Impalaha? See pp. 60-64 for a discussion of the possible endings.
37One might add the village of Chamba in Kandil and Fundi of the Chal-Chalma border.
CHAPTER 5

THE FULANI

The Fulani are spread throughout West Africa, the bulk of them being cattle-keeping farmers. Contemporary thought seems to favor the idea that they are of West African origin, but evidence is advanced in the present chapter to show that these people came from the East and must have played an important role in early Pharaonic history and in the history of the area which now comprises Shilluksian.2

Many Fulani are located in an area cutting across the Nigeria-Cameroon border known as Adamawa3 — an area which includes villages called Barus, Damaka, Gala and a hill by the name of Mt. Ganyo. Damaka was the capital of Shilluksian prior to the middle of the 16th Century, the Ganyo people were the founders of Kaffa, perhaps in the 13th Century, the Galla are a tribe in Southern Ethiopia, and the village called Barus reminds one of the Barus people of the Sudan, whom the Axumites raided in the 4th Century A.D.

The remnants of this Barus people, now called Burea, are Eastern Sudanic speakers, like the Shilluks, and live in the northernmost corner of Ethiopia in almost complete isolation. They have no tradition of migration, so one might argue that they have lived there for a long time.4 However, the fact that they apparently gave the word ‘village’ to Bantu speakers suggests that they were once-time denizens of the Southern Sudan. Nor do the Galla, who live far to the

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1 See p. 14.
south of the Barca, there is a tradition of migration, but their word for "horse," *feb*, should be compared with the Barca one — *feb*/*febta* — and three, in turn, should be compared with the Falash form *fub* = "to
gallop a horse all-on." The fact that the Barca may have been cut
off from their fellow Eastern Semitic speakers by the Amorites some
1,500 years ago, and, therefore, could probably not have been in con-
tact with the Galla and Falash people since that time, would suggest
the possibility of contact between Barca and the other two groups that
is very distant in time. To my knowledge, however, is the only Eastern
Semitic language that has the root *far* for "horse." For example,
Ashil is *haym* and Pliska has *jumor*, but a number of Eastern Semitic
speaking groups use the root *mar*: Fidži-Hubu (mur), Soju-Sila
(murta), Fumall (murta), and Far, which is Cheri-Sila but not Eastern
Semitic, has murta. Soju-Hour has murta and Baga has murtoo,
and in respect to these words it is interesting to note that certain
Galla substantives, which share the same root with substantives in
other languages, have *calfan* as an ending, or as part of the ending.

Compare the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lama</th>
<th>&quot;coch&quot;</th>
<th>(Shilluk)/Itam</th>
<th>&quot;coch&quot;</th>
<th>(Galla)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Itam</td>
<td>&quot;nac&quot;</td>
<td>(Shirku)/Jum</td>
<td>&quot;nac&quot;</td>
<td>(Galla)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itam</td>
<td>&quot;catt&quot;</td>
<td>(Shirku)/Jum</td>
<td>&quot;catt&quot;</td>
<td>(Galla)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiru</td>
<td>&quot;mat&quot;</td>
<td>(Central)</td>
<td>&quot;mat&quot;</td>
<td>(Galla)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otta</td>
<td>&quot;inu&quot;</td>
<td>(Jiru)</td>
<td>&quot;inu&quot;</td>
<td>(Galla)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Jiru | "festival of
amusement" | (Jiru) | "festival of
amusement" | (Galla) |

*Also, small *gilg* and *agaw* forms = "tooch."
Another word with this ending in Galla is *mla*, a word which gives further indication of contact with the *Bara*, who have *omu* = "mother."

Now let us consider the designation *Fulani*, the singular of which is *Fula*, or "face" in the Galla language. In the broad geographical area under discussion the word "face" generally has the meaning of "self" or of possession. *Fulani* has the word *fan* to mean "possessor of," and the Galla are known collectively as *fan-fan* by their neighbors. A Galla "rainmaker," that is, one who "knows," or "possesses" water is called a *fanfani*. The *Nuer* (Eastern Sudanic) have *jef* = "face," and the *Shilluk* have *bobo* = "face," which must be compared with the Galla *Fub* = "face." Immediately to the south of Shillukland, between the *Nuer* (Nilluk) and the *Nile* is a group of toponyms that tell of a "tribal" presence: *Fal Dodum*, *Fal Nyach*, *Fal Lool*, *Fal Kar*, *Fal Duk*, *Fil Dhu*, and *Kher Fal Spera*.

There are two important words in *Fulani*, which appear in that language with the same *fula*/*ful* phenomenon that is noticeable in Galla. The first is the *Fulani* *lamun*, a "title formerly given to a leader of cavalry," which bears comparison with the title *lam* — "a popularly nominated general of the military in the Southern Sudan."

The other word is the *Fulani* *omu*, which is "the first clearing of a farm after sowing." Keeping in mind the foregoing observation concerning *fula*/*ful* endings it seems possible that this *omu* is related to the name *Anf*, which is the designation for a group of very early inhabitants of the Lake Highlands of Southwest Ethiopia. There is support for the establishment of such a relationship in the fact that
the Arùmù⁸ was "the priest of the new crop" at Janjere.⁹ Aum also
has numerical significance to the Fulani. They have three ways of
saying "number 2": go'ɔ, go'ɔɔa, and go'ɔɔo aawuwa, and there appears
to be a relationship with Chari-Nile languages here. In Sara (Chari-
Nile) go = "number 2," and in Fur (Chari-Nile) go = "number 2," while
in Shilluk (Chari-Nile/Eastern Sudanese) gye has the same = "to double."
Curiously, go and ɔ are also used as basic words of action in Fur
and Furra (Chari-Nile) go is the imperative "go!" while in Furra
(Chari-Nile) it is gyyo and in Sara it is ɔɔ. The importance of the
particle go has been noted in Ethiopia: "Wonders was founded by
Emperor Haile about 1533. Legend says that he was inspired to plant
his capital there because of a prophecy that Ethiopia would attain
its greatest power if its capital were established in a place whose
name began with the syllables go."¹⁰ The Ethiopian Chronicle called the
Beita people Gommar,¹¹ where is part of Shamballa (Beni Shangi),
known as Gommar, and an Egyptian province of 551, which is inter-
esting because of the combination of go with the Fint plen. One of
the words for "head" in Galla in Galla. Gommar is one of the Hausa states
of Nigeria, and the traditions of the Torkuks of Nigeria in that they
descend from Lumurru. "...one of the kings of Norsko, whose off-
spring were: Oduwa, the ancestor of the Torkus, the kings of
Gogobiri and of Kukawa, two tribes in the Hausa country."¹²

The Shilluk have numerous meanings for the word gyyo, which is
the qualitative form of the verb gyyo,¹³ which, itself, is probably

⁸ go is a particle.
go with a labeled "g" and the common Shilluk plural marker "-n"; Good/good = "to achieve/to construct/to improve/to do/to advance/to act." Look also N as "dog" or "work" in Shilluk, an indication that they identified constructive labor with the dog. It is interesting to note that the Sene, who live across the river from the Shilluk and have had a heavy influence upon them, have fn/lok for "dog," and the Shilluk god is called Jank. Indeed, the Shilluk have a folk-tale about a man who once visited a land where everyone was a dog. In addition to its association with labor, the dog was also identified with the olfactory sense. Preceding is made the attempt to establish connection between the Galla people and the Kurnaa people and between the Galla and the word Saba. Now, the Shilluk word for "nose" is saba, which is also another name for the Galla people, and the Fulani have Saba = "to smell." In the Mandinka dialect of Guinili, which is spoken in Mowalulique two of the words for "dog" are had and fume. To the Galla themselves Saba is one of the designations for "age-grade system," and the fact that variations of the root SABA are so widespread suggests the possibility that the age-grade system and geographical expansion were in some way related — a notion supported by the presence in Fulani of the word yoda = "to be growing up," which would seem to stand comparison with the Galla word yoda = "age-grade system."

During their early centuries in West Africa the Fulani have retained several words which were of the highest importance in the Fulbe and Shilluk in terms of administrative and judicial functions. For

*See pp. 35-36 and 42-44.*
example, the "mouth" (oke) symbolized a judicial role among the Shilluk, and the Fulani have dama = "law/regulation." Throughout the Southern Sudan and Southern Ethiopia the "mouth" was a judicial functionary, of the enforcer sort, and was sometimes a tax-collector. "Mouth" = gunja in Galla, the Dama were the founders of the Raffa state, and gunja has a wide range of judicial meanings in Shilluk: The Fulani have gunja = "to speak the truth/ to be acquitted." The Dama Gunja was the "tax-collector and major land-holder" among the Galla, the Galla was the President of the Council of Masters among the Jago, and the Fulani have ngamuk = "braves." Until the middle of the 19th Century the Shilluk ruler was known as Duma, the same name used by the hunter clan, renowned for its fighting qualities at Chaka in the Southern Ethiopian Highlands, and the Fulani have an analogous correspondence, Dama = "body/skin." The fact that slaves sometimes formed a military aristocracy and were regarded as nobility in Northeast Africa was discussed on pages 55-56, and, in this respect, the Shilluk had a Dung Ruka — or, "slaves of the king," and the Dung/Ruka was the "military leader of the age-grade system, while the Fulani have the word Dunga = "to be noble." The probability that the Galla word dama = "to plunder" provided the inspiration for the name of the Shilluk capital Duma, and for the Adamawa Fulani village called Dambu, has already been mentioned. It should also be pointed out that there is a Jebel Damb in Bani Shangul (Fung's country).

The Fulani have many names for the cattle that they keep, and these names show their contact with Ethiopians and Sudanese people. There are the Fulani cattle called Inzawu (kew-ngoyu in a "salick"), which some assume must have held a place of particular dignity, because the Fulani word "Inzawu" means "to reign/to rule." Now, among the Galla, the Abba ism are the "royal cattle," and the word "ism" means "number 1." There is an area just east of Janjera, in Ethiopia, called Wallalo, and a colony of Murba, who live among the Amhara and are known as Odan. The Fulani have cattle called Gula, a name which might be compared with the Galla Abba Gula, who was the "Master of the Boomerang," and other cattle called Wage, a name reminiscent of the Galla and the Hausa god Wab. There are also cattle known as Oomara, and that is the same name by which the Ambaras were known in the Southern Sudan. Another Fulani cattle name is Doke, which reminds one of the Shilluk folk-hero Duk and the Nuer-Beja term of Days. And there is Kure/Pibor, a name that would seem to be taken from the people who have traditionally occupied Pibor in the Sudan. Finally, there is the cattle called Fungo. Fungo is the Beraric verb "to return/to go home," while in Kunjara (also Cheri-Bille) Fungo = "go/come back," and the Beja of Pardu call themselves Fungo (Sing. Fındık). At the start of this chapter it was hinted that the presence of the Fulani in the Nile Valley area might have been many centuries ago. Indeed, the Fulani have several words which seem to date to very early Sudanese History. They have Dafa = "to originate," which means one of the völcano north of Shillikiland known as Dafa and the 4,000
year old structure called Dajlang.  Fuafu has ṣufu = "to blow/to breathe/to rub sticks together for fire," while Galla has ṣafaf = "to blow." The Fulani use fobafar = "to settle/to rest," a word which is almost identical to the Shillukese sertama, Tabbiir, which was borrowed by the Mansa.  

Closer to us in time is the era of the Fadj, and there is considerable evidence to relate the Fulani to these people. The fact that the Fulani were as far west as Senegal at least as early as the 12th century, A.D. would suggest that the word Fadj, if not the Empire, pre-dated the 16th Century in the Nile valley. The Fulani word for "east" is farafar, and one of their principal families is known as a Fadj. The cattle of this family are typically white, and it is Shilluk tradition — and remember that Shilluk and Fadj were virtually synonymous to Bruce — that in the beginning Jesse created a great white cow, it being from this ancestor that the Shilluk people ultimately trace their origin.  

An island a few miles north of Kaha, which is the northern boundary of Shillukland, has been called Dajlang in the past, and it is the privilege of the people of Kaha, representing the area known as Gei Shilong (have of the cow), to present the reed with a white bull at the installation ceremony. The Dajlang family is probably still represented among the Shilluk, because Richard Hill, in his Ethnographical Dictionary of the Sudan, outlined the life of a prominent Shilluk of

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See p. 7.

*See p. 13.

**See pp. 199-199.
the 15th Century by the name of Ali Jaffar. 19

Soba (also Saba) is the Fulani word for "friend," and Soba was the capital of 'Alawi, which "the Saba visited in the 15th Century. 8

Actually, Soba came to be called Kajura, perhaps when the Furi succeeded the rulers of 'Alawi. Soba appears again, this time as a title, in the 15th Century — significantly as the name of the Sonde of Gobir (or, Guppies, as the Northerners call it), which is one of the Kano states of Nigeria.

Another Fulani word which provides a Semitic connection is Arewa/Sorong = "stool," which indicates contact between the Fulani and the Koworo people, who were discussed on pages 43-46.20

A clue as to what relationship the Fulani bear to Sudanic and Ethiopian tribes is the Fulani word dovó = "3rd son." The do is probably a particle,21 and the Fulani word for "tongue" is d'aw (gall). Now, the Domba is a tribe who live next to the Shatt and Dar in the area formerly called Dar Alhamra. The Dalla and the Black people live side by side in Southern Ethiopia, there has been an important city in Kama called Dalla, in which the Bureau functionaly, Emma, stood, and, as far as the Fulani are concerned, one of the principal functionaries at Mauren has traditionally been the Goddess.

When the Fulani spread into West Africa at some time prior to the 15th Century they bore with them the notion of a master-slave relationship, a notion supported by the following evidence. The Fulani have either don or muda for "to be free,"22 while in the Afir-Astolic

See p. 43.
languages examined earlier, the root *dine* was seen to have a primary meaning of "blood," and secondarily "fleshy," and "red," while several Nilotic (Eastern Sudanic) languages have the root *dile* for "blood." The word Ṣādā means "foreigner" in Arabic. In the Hausa Fulani a Ṣādā is "one born of ancestors who for several generations were born slaves"—or, literally, "offspring of foreigners." The same social organization and terminology were used by the Fulani much farther west—at Kù Nakan, along the banks of the Niger in Mali: "The Fulani were an aristocracy of cattle-keepers. The blacks under them are agricultural peoples called Ṣàurè (sing. Ṣàurù). They provide grain for their masters and feed themselves with the surplus."

NOTES


2. The history, that is, prior to 1504, which is the accepted date for the founding of the Funj Empire.

3. These among "wakili/Aloa" in Fulani and bear comparisons with the Arabic date = "blood" and related Cushitic words. See p. 21. Also, in Fulani, is "to sow (seed)." Ruma is "Eve."


5. Unless otherwise indicated Fulani words are from F. W. Taylor. A Fulani-English Dictionary. (Khartoum, 1922).

6. There is considerable interchange between "fu," "bi," and "pi" in Eastern Sudanic languages.

See p. 55 for a discussion of the Fun word Ṣàurù = "face."
7 For this meaning of Lebe see J.P. Creutzau, ‘The Lebe’ (Verona, 1951), Vol. I, p. 72. The root (WUTUNA) dates to antiquity in the Nile Valley and Ethipipia. Labe is the designation for the latter ‘it’ in the Ethipipian Language, Wallack was discussed on p. 7, and ‘Alba’ was mentioned on p. 42. The Wallack are considered to be a part of the Semitic people.

8 See J. Jensen, Altägyptische Bilderschriften. (Stuttgart, 1959), for the AS people.


The relationship between Galla-Silliak-Wororo-Dawa has been made in the last two chapters, hence the identification of name and ethnicity.

The reader is also invited to compare the following words in light of material herebefore presented:

Bakita: "people of ancient antiquity whose origins are shrouded in mystery"

Bakita: "people of a country"

Sokoto: "name of a country"

Sokoto: "head site of Pokotu Empire"
The idea of string, and perhaps the art of weaving, has already been noted as being of significance in the history of administration in Ethiopia and the Southern Sudan. The Ahha Pange of the Galwa and the title Aba Kaikwak have been used as examples. The connection between string and the names of the Polok and the name of a Yoruba word. Listed below are other Yoruba names, terms, and personal names with their suggested comparisions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yoruba</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abheds</td>
<td>&quot;The name of the Kaba hafa of Ile-Ife, c. 1820-1820&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Igbia</td>
<td>&quot;A district in Iwo.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikpo</td>
<td>&quot;A town in Ifo district.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qidipog</td>
<td>&quot;Title borne by the ruler of Ona.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aderi</td>
<td>&quot;Judge/magistrate.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adigbagi</td>
<td>&quot;God the silent judge&quot; — an honorific in Oburun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agidi</td>
<td>&quot;A national God of the Yoruba. He is the God of fire, war and spiders. The dog is sacrificed to him.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kida Ikpo</td>
<td>&quot;Multicolored cloth.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER 6
EARLY LIFE

The Shilluk royal installation ceremony is a set of acts symbolizing, among other things, the resolution of different life-styles into a single social system. Africans who had migrated from the west thousands of years ago were agriculturalists, and it is said that "Nyung," the Shilluk folk-hero, had to steal cattle, because he had brought none with him from the homeland. Soon enough, however, these agriculturalists came in contact with cattle-keepers, and the nature of the resultant societies depended to a large extent upon the area in which the contact took place. Most of the Niletic Nuer and Dinka people, for example, live in areas which are inhospitable to plant domestication, and, consequently, they seem agriculturists. The impact of cattle-keeping upon the immigrants to the Nile Valley is seen through tracing a word found throughout West Africa, *nyi* = "to eat," which appears as *lo* = "to eat" in the Nilo-Saharan languages spoken by certain Talodi and Kattie-speakers in the Kuba Mountains. As some Nilo-Saharan learned the keeping of cattle they came to rely more upon milk as a food-source, and the word changed its meaning. Compare the *lo/ny* above with the following: *nilila* = *lo/ny* (Shilluk/Korwa), *fmir* (*Gading*), *lo* (*Koraw*), *lo* (Shuri), *ny* (*Bakhe*), and *ny* (*Nuer*).

On the other hand, the Jir, who are Eastern Sudanic speakers like the Nuer and Dinka, have very few herds, because their fertile plateau-land lends itself to agriculture, and the iron-stone found there has encouraged them to work in iron.
The inhabitants of Shillukland fall in between, having been cattle-keepers since early times, but only to the extent that their limited riverine pasturage would allow. The heavy influx of early agriculturalists to Shillukland has been largely responsible for the high population, sedentary conditions, and the development of governmental machinery, characteristics which have distinguished the Shilluk from most of their fellow Nilotic-speakers. The high population density was noted by almost all visitors to Shilluk territory in the nineteenth century, and that agriculturalists were responsible for sedentary conditions and a sense of territorial identity may be demonstrated by comparing the Shilluk word for "homeland," path, with the apparent derivatives "field" = pauth and "farm" = pachaphaut. After this is tempting to compare "cattle" = Ngu, especially since iron, in the form of the hoe, has played such an extremely important role in agriculture and probably in the construction of terraces and granaries, such as at Jebel Marra in Darfur. The value of the hoe to the Shilluk is understood when it is seen that their word for it, Naer, is the same word that they use for "acrobatic" = saliva, and as part of the installation ceremony the "Bro" hands over to the Path a "tiny girl" who is known as Nguwak. The Nguwak rendered this word as "girl of the authoritie," = "girl of iron," and that is what it may have come to mean, but it originally must have symbolized the acceptance

See pp. 239-242.
on the part of the head of responsibility for successful harvests as well as population growth.

Even during the heyday of browsing, however, the use of iron was quite limited, and the hoeing tool of the ordinary field-worker was made from the shoulder-blade of the giraffe or buffalo. In the Dhoor language the name of this bone, the aqaa, is /furn/ /furn/, which, like the Shillim verb /furn/ /furn/ = "to plough the har," the Latak name /furn/ /furn/ = "spade," and the Saro (Ghar-Billa) noun /furn/ /furn/ = "fur," describes the spread of agricultural techniques through an eastward and southward expansion of Fur peoples from Jebel Marra.

To both agriculturist and cattle-keeper food and the stomach were at the center of life, and one wonders whether there could be a relationship between the name of the agricultural peoples, the Fur, and the common West African (Nilot-Congo) root /furn/, which means "belly": e.g., /furn/ (Kabba), /furn/ (Jal). The root (11/11) is probably of antiquity in Northeast Africa, because it provides the basic word for "belly," /furn/, in Galla, and it came to cover a range of meanings in a variety of languages. To certain Nilotes it refers to anatomical membranes, particularly of the heart and stomach, and here one notices a refined understanding of anatomy: /furn/ = "pit of the stomach" (Shilluk), /furn/ /furn/ = "pericardium" (Shilluk), /furn/ = "pericardium" (Shilluk), /furn/ = "pericardium" (Shilluk), /furn/ = "pericardium" (Shilluk), /furn/ = "pericardium" (Shilluk), /furn/ = "pericardium" (Shilluk), a tendency to find anatomical and geological equivalents encouraged the further use of -/furn/ to describe phenomena which...
appeared nebulous: ebeb = "crust/creep/escape around the men"
(shillin) and alado = "wonder" (shillin). The -i(t)eh- root was also
used for cereals: alado = "rice" (shillin), lebi/elub = "wheat" (dirka),
bid = "harvest" (harwa), and with the development of government -le-lit-
took on administrative meanings; alado was a central Shilluk state, perhaps a center for cereal production, and the Ahmar administrators
at Dime were called maloda.9

In Chapter 2 the relationship between iron, blood, and the color
red was discussed. Agriculture may be added to this complex. At
Shillinwa in Kajo country, an iron rod is used for rain-making, and
means "blood" at Nadel, and the Abyei was the "priest of the new
crop" at Jonark.10 Earth fertility, it was thought, was directly
related to feminine fertility, hence to the menstrual cycle and to
blood. It was known that the most opportune time for human reproduc-
tion was after the eighth day following menstruation, and it can be
observed that in some societies of strong agricultural background the
number eight refers to agriculture or femininity. For example, among
the Nandi (Eastern Sudanese), who live to the northeast of Juba;
Marwa, the word bid means both "number 8" and "woman." On the
eighth day of the lunar month, when the corn is ripe, these people
formerly held a great festival, which they called bansa, and on the
eighth day of the following month the young men went to the kisse for
and jumped over it.11

The Hamilt of Dime have "number 8" = bid and "woman" = bid,
and it has been shown that in the root bid the Shilluk also make the
Identification between the earth and moon. In fact, the Shilluk word *fayig*/*fayo* = "earth" may well have come from the Ngir-Congo (Ubangi) *fengo = "moon." Another Ngir-Congo (Lobi) word for "moon" is *fayi*, which could be related to the far agricultural words discussed earlier. The far word for "moon" is *fayo*, which brings to mind Douala, the capital of the Cameroon (cf. *ndalai: fayuyu = "moon"). *fay* is still another Ngir-Congo (Lobi) word for "moon," which finds a parallel in the east: the Dinka words *fay* = "moon." As far as Shilluk History is concerned the reason for establishing the importance of these words is that their traditions speak of Nyang leaving a "Land of Dawn" prior to his arrival at "Juma," from where he supposedly migrated directly to Shillikland. In spite of the most painful wranglings of the word, no one has come up with a satisfactory Southern Sudanese topographic origin for "Doula." The Shilluk vocabulary, however, offers dawn (*fayig: *fayo*) = "moon," which, on the basis of the above evidence, appears to be a logically sound explanation and requires virtually no distortion of the root-form.

Among agricultural people where much fertility was associated with femininity there was an obvious reason for women to dominate the economics in which they lived. This might have been through the role of priestesses, as with the Nuer (Baro), whose women controlled the hereditary office of intermediary in the role-taking and harvest rites, the advantage being not only social prestige, but the re
culp of sacrifices. As more the stakes were larger and the poli
tical scope consequently broader, the presence of the words *daayi* = "wheat" in Galla, *daya = "wife" (usually possessive) in Shilluk, the
fact that the Rahu call a fuse umbala, and the title of the Nurkite queen, or queen-mother, was Umbala, suggest that agriculture was very important at Nerao and that it was associated with female fertility. Even as late as Brown's time (18th century) the town of Shendi was ruled by the sister of the "Abdallahi Menglli," and perhaps it is more than accidental that the Fur word Shendi means "vagina."

There are indications that the Shilluk may have been matrilineal at one time, that is, that descent was traced through the mother's side of the family. For example, a Shilluk wanting to learn a trade usually follows the one of his maternal uncle. Also, the pok word used by the Shilluk man in hunting, fishing, dancing, or fighting will be that of the clan of his maternal uncle. The name of the important Shilluk clan "Nach Nyaubul" suggests matrilineal background, nga being a feminine (or distinctive) prefix. Finally, Shilluk sons have often had two or more names, one of which is the name of the mother.

The queen-mother was an important, often dominant figure at Nerao, and centuries later when the Portuguese arrived in Ethiopia they found themselves dealing with a queen-mother there. A number of Shilluk kings have built temples to their mothers, and Nyaubul, the mother of Nyaubul, is the spiritual parent of the entire country. Tradition has it that she resided as a crocodile at the junction of the Sobat and the Nile and that she was sometimes reported as in the past in judicial cases, the accused being left by the river and if not taken by a crocodile he was assumed to be innocent.
On the day of his investiture the Shilluk Reth presented his wife to the public. He could take as many wives as he wished, but the wife ruled over the others, and in the past she usually took care of state in his absence. It has been said that the Reth fears his wives, because they may arrange for his death.

Westermann wrote: When the Reth is near death his chief wife struggles with a cloth. And Hofmann: "War's mother, so as many king's mothers, was a Dinka (who had killed his father with a blow from a brass-ring)." There is no reason to doubt the truth of these statements, especially in light of the many other traditions of kings, murder in Northeast Africa, but the usual explanation of the murder, that the Reth's health and potency were flagging, is to miss a quite important point: that Shilluk women, through this right, have exercised considerable influence in governmental affairs. Some of the royal wives, after bearing two or three children, became haroth—priestesses of the various temples throughout Shillukland, tending the virgins, receiving sacrifices, and often becoming of local importance politically.

Daughters of Reth cannot become haroth, nor are they supposed to marry, and as youths they learn arrogance and are reared to domineer. They may have lovers, but few men wish to be received by them. Brown, describing a similar situation in Darfur, explained the reason: "Whoever . . . receives to his bed the daughter of a king or a powerful Mujaq . . . finds her sole endowment of his family and himself reduced to a cipher . . . of his real or reputed offspring be
The earliest use of this root as a verb may have been the Nuba word *ding* "to speak," and some bowls and spoons were fashioned for iron-working: the Nubians called them *ding* in Shilluk. The source of *ding* seems to be used for functional items having to do with the smithy's work: for example, *ching* = "hammer" and *choco* = "apron," and the stellar function known as "the big dipper" is called *ching*.  

The Shilluk also have *nang* = "back (anatomical)/to serve," and the existence of *nun* = "to be unequal/to be incomplete/to be discontent" and *nun* = "to exclude"—taken together with "hammer" and "apron"—made one of the "outcast clans" of Southern Ethiopia. The slaves of the Shilluk realm are known as *langnun*, and it is possible that at one time the "Master of the Slaves" was the *ding*.

For military purposes the Shilluk were divided into age-grades, with the leader of hostilities being known as *ding/ding* (the same as *nang/nding*). The system is probably very old, not only among the Shilluk, but elsewhere in Northeast Africa. It has been recently described: "The king himself is frequently an elderly man, and not a 'firebrand' and his functions are passive. He is appointed, just like any other chief, and when his people go to war he is carried as a mascot on a bed." When iron was less available than it is today the Shilluk carried spears and lances made of wood and bone, such as the royal lance called *nding*. Another weapon was the *ding*, known as *di*, *ding*, *nding*, or *ndun*, and in very early days they used throwing-sticks, as are still found on Ingassana. It is also possible that the Shilluk used wood...
their cattle to disrupt enemy formations. In Galla the word dugout has been translated to mean "the one who conducts the cattle toward the river," and the duty of a girl has played an important role in Shilluk history. As one would expect, considering the geography of the area, the main threat of the Shilluk was their ability to strike along the rivers. This might have been carried out by means of the lightweight ambush canoes (adobos), which were capable of transporting up to three people and were portable on land. For longer distances there were various types of dug-outs, the best being made from sant or mahogany wood. Requiring a much in the building, these boats would normally carry 6 or 10 people and would last forty years. The antiquity of this type may be judged by comparing the two words: ashure = "to float" and eshero/maher = "mahogany." Apart from military purposes dug-outs have always been used for hippo hunting, a traditionally important occupation with the Shilluk—the watercourses radiating out from Lake Bahr el-Ghazal being favorite hunting grounds, entire villages gathering there and staying two or three months out of the dry season. Hippo flesh has long provided the Shilluk with their staple meat. While the hide was tanned and stripped into whips, and the teeth found ready markets for overseas trade.

The government and administration of Shillukland prior to written records, or to the point in history when oral tradition becomes reliable, is difficult to trace historically or chronologically. There are words in the Shilluk language, however, which suggest a commonality of administrative philosophy and terminology over a very wide geographical area. One is aware of several sources of inspiration.
There is the circle, a design which ancient men must have recognized in the sun, the moon, in the round of the seasons, in wheels, in looms, in rosettes, and in goddesses. He saw the design in the moon, the eyes, the necks and limbs of animals and of other people, and it helped to fashion his own artistic creations. Some Shilluk people wear rows of button-shaped tattoos on the forehead, and at Lifei the entire balding are so covered.12 These buttons are called by the Shilluk Safi, which is possibly related to the Persis (Shea and Gula) word naam = "crown," the buttons being intended to represent the kernels. Currently the Shilluk wore rounded bits of ostrich-shell attached to a belt. They have a propensity for bracelets, rings and glass beads, and their houses, drums and pots are round in shape.

In Far dun is "moon" and dunis is "sun," while in Shilluk adala = "guard," adala = "sure," dalis = "carving/engraving," and adala = "crooked." The dalis of the Amak is a drum. The same root, dalis, provides "tongue" + dalis in Far, and the administrative implications of "tongue" can be seen by the word dalis used at Kanen for "Governor." Far to the east the Harer have dal = "to lead," for which the Galls use dawal. The Galls vocabulary also includes adab = "octant," dalis = "to make war," and the administrative post Adaba Gadda = "Master of the Dongolung," which brings the discussion full circle.

An important state on the Ethiopian coast was called daladdal (dal).13 and Aman's port was "Dalola." Arabic has dala = "to change," and dala = "empire/nation/empire." Beyond the fact that the Shilluk have the root dal = dal to describe the arc and circle, there is a hint
In these installation ceremonies, they were part of a wide administrative area employing this terminology. The ceremony, which is surely, at least in part, an attempt at historical disassociation, includes a stop by the Abba at a temporary temple called "Abu", where he is expected to have sexual intercourse with one of his half-sisters...a ritual breach of the rules of ancestry...".

An early agriculturist observed the relationship between sun, moon, stars on the one hand and their crops and the supply of water on the other: they developed a sense of unity in nature. They tried to discover the connections between the elements which were critical to their existence, and they sought to control them. In many cases there was an apparent physical bond, such as a ray of the sun, which priests sought to manipulate through sacrifice and prayer. It may have been thought that rain was the attachment between sun and earth, because the Adjua (Nilgri-Congo) and Fula (Charl-Rice) word fi = "rain"; while several other Charl-Rice Languages have variations of fi/fe = "water": fe/fe/fe/fe (Shiluk), fi (Iver, Acholi, Teso), fio (Donga). There were also the underground forces, which could be reached and propitiated through intermediaries, particularly the snake or the lizard, which seemed to have the ability to penetrate the surface of the earth, while friendly contact with the rivers was sustained through the good offices of the crocodile. The notions of unity and manipulating forces also were to be present in philosophies of administration. Among the Goilla the "spring/cool" was used in funer, held by the Abba Mungo and serving as a sort of loath upon the various "animals" or military divisions.

The Goilla word pulya means...
"body," and if the Abab Dangal was also the "Master of the Body," then his role would have paralleled that of the old of Man of the Funj.  

People were acutely aware of the linking parts of their own bodies; surrounding landscapes were viewed with these references in mind, and administrative organization was laid out accordingly. The name Jebel Gula, in the Senaar, may be related to the Shilluk word gula = "articulation," or gula ṣejo = "well." The "hand" was probably a group of mountains, as "Song" = ṣong (Funj), ṣongo = "mountains" (Galla), and the Shilluk refer to the Nuba Mountain people as ṣongo. It is clear that an "arm," which is ṣarī ṣaṣe ṣe ṣill a, might be associated with a river, offering a possible explanation for the Soba River. The root -ṣab- also had military implications: hatal = "to fight" (Arabic), and ahātā = "sword" (Birma). The extension of an "arm" into Southern Ethiopia is remembered by an "unusual" Oromia clan at Jageera, while another "arm" stretched into the Soba el Obooi, as the presence of the major fun division, that, would testify. But also means "elephant's trunk" in Shilluk and is interesting to compare with the Arabic word for "elephant's trunk," which is kharīb, the name of the present capital of the Sudan. As far as Bislamic speakers were concerned the "legs" may have represented southern expansion, when we remember that Efin/Layfon/Lagfool Hill means "tall of the leg."  

The descendents of the "first settlers" of Shillukland are called ṣhif, and ṣhif is the word used for "side" in Shilluk. The

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**See p. 55**  
**See p. 34**
northernmost province of Shillukland is called Mung, which may be compared with the Bédou (Eastern Sudanese) murm *'ayta* and Kordofan (Central Sudanese) murum *'ayta*). Lake So borders the southern end of Shilluk territory, and the Bwea, have mol *'ayta*.

Administration was carried out by means of plenipotentiaries empowered to collect taxes and to dispense justice. Among the Shilluk such a functionary was known as mungo, or "the throat," and in Graaf Reinet's accounts of the "Lugo" southward migrits the mungo/ mung appears frequently. It is possible that the "throat" was responsible for the establishment of orderly administration in new areas, as the role of the gogo at Kaffa might indicate (cf. Galla gogo as "throat"). In some places taxation was associated with milk, meaning either that milk formed an especially significant part of the total tax, or that the tax-collectors were identified with milk.

Among the Beni of the Soho el Guash the word gogo = "milk." At Jebel Culp gogo is the word used for "throat," while gogo means "milk" at nearby Tasi (Ingassana). The system is very old, probably dating to Cushitic days, because the Kilo Nilotic word for "throat" is gogo, while it is kango in Kesto and Gogo in Kesto. These words are related, one supposes, to the same root, which must have come from the root gogogog meaning "copper," as it does in Kaffa. Control over the resources of copper and its distribution required an extensive administrative network, capable of immediate action against potential or real disruption. The effectiveness of the Cushitic "throttle" may be seen from the following words for "Lugo": Rolf (Kuroba), gogo.
(Džingej), and Kesk (Kemal). Probably, these threats concealed a good deal of autonomy, because the anatomical relationships upon which philosophy of government was based did not include the notion of centralized brain control. A Shilluk farmer on his way to the field will say ćeąu dw ri: "My head must go needing," or lyaka dw mawit: "my foot has to go."

The Sth of the Shilluk must be their "head," although the evidence here is circumstantial. The Berta have also a "head," and the Shilluk have nyalo (nyi is a prefix) = "pythons," for which they also use nyalo. The Shilluk word for "head" is wafa, and the royal residence of the nth is Amuran. There is evidence that the title is an ancient one, being found in domestic and appearing in Nueric as perfia, which may be related to the Langoعود word barfu = "head."[40]

Tradition in Barfur tell of an old administrative system there based upon anatomical correspondences: "It was customary to name all the chief dignitaries of the state after various parts of the Sultan's body. El Desal give several examples, e.g., "the Duma" the right arm, the "Takapal" the left arm, the "Grundan" the leg, . . . .[41] An important functionary was the "neck," who was secretly strangled if the Sultan died in battle. There is no evidence that the Shilluk had a counterpart, but it may be of significance that the Awek word for "neck" is cieak.

The "trunk" of the Shilluk is the Chief of Dulpe Awam, who lives south of Pashenda.[42] Until the closing years of the 19th century he was the most important chief in the land, ruling during
periods of interregna and exerting a powerful voice in the selection of the new rukh.13

While the Fur associated the "tongue," dafu, with leadership, the founding hero of the Dinka is Deng, which in Shilluk means "lower jaw." The parallel role among the Shilluk may have been played by the "mouth," or dabo, variations of which are found over a broad area: dobo/toke (Bura), tok (Morav it, Dinka), toko (Galla), while dabo and dog mean "Number 10" in Dento and Thai respectively—both Central Sudanic languages. The Bura are a patrilineal people, and in their language the word toke means "woman" as well as "number 1," reminding one of the prominent (although often not public) role of women in politics. One of the dominant figures in Shilluk history was the woman Abushok, "Possessor of the House."
1. W. Brectow, "The Nubians," Anthropos. (Mailing, 1925), p. 18, but see J. P. Curochamp, The Nubia (Farnes, 1930), p. 40, who assumes that Sykkia and his group had cattle on their migration. The present interpretation will be clarified in the following chapter.

2. See, for example, S. I. I. (Ucr;), S. (Rics;), p. 139.


6. See Cossichius, The Zama, pp. 17-20, for the extensive analogical vocabularies in Shana, Koor, Shilluk, Acholi, and Aamu.

7. This meaning might relate to the Arabic Shalafa = "clothing." In Fulani Fatr is "foreign cloth, especially cotton," while the Gallu have Sabaf = "embassador."


10. See the Saliguns, Pagan Tribes . . . , p. 297, for Shadimu.


12. The accepted interpretation is that "Dwarr" was a person. This will be dealt with in the next chapter.


daughters, while the younger sister had one son named Ju, or Eworo. Meanwhile, Nop took a third wife, who bore a son called Dusut. Eventually there were quarrels, resulting in Nyanig taking his sisters, his brothers, and half-brother Ju to the area south of the Sabah, where they drove out the Arabs whom they found there.

Father Hofmayer came to Shillukland a few years later than Father Bashilter and was of the same religious order. Hofmayer drew from the other men's work. He placed the origin of the Shilluk at Lake Albert, and his genealogy began with Nya, followed by Aduk (a grey cow), Onoro, Kol, Mol, Mol, and Uwa. In one of his first articles Hofmayer gave three sons for Urubawa (Oowane)-Nyanig, Dusut, and Junner. A quarrel between the first two caused Nyanig to migrate northward, joined during his journey by twenty-eight tribes. However, in his comprehensive volume on the Shilluk, which appeared fifteen years later, Hofmayer's genealogy had adjusted somewhat. Nyanig, Mol, and three sisters were given as children of Nyanig and Olwa, while by another wife Olwa had Ju, Dusut, and Olwa, all male, and by a third wife he had the brothers Dusut and Uwa. The sons of Dusut were Olwa and Magbi. In a new migration version, it was a struggle for royal succession involving Nyanig and Dusut which sent the father in search of a new land, accompanied by Olwa (Amak), Dungdut (Duna), and Olate (Uwa or Uwa), although he, Nyanig, was leader. The Dusut and Amak broke off early, and apparently Olwa preceded Nyanig to the "Land of Thuwu," or "Niar." Nyanig later joined Olwa, married his daughter, and had by her a son called Duk. Cal, Tervo, Cali,
and Buro, the last named originally appearing as a brother of Nyikong, were given as brothers of Dik and sons of Nyikong. Eventually Nyikong and Diko quarrelled, the former migrating outward to settle Shilukland and Diko becoming the founder of the Jok. Contact between the two was sustained by Dik, who was allowed to visit the "Land of Diko" at will.

The tempestuous Dik is venerated by the Shiluk as a great traveller and conqueror, and Shilukum relayed three important stories built around his activities in distant places. In one of the tales Nyikong gave Dik's mother to Buroo and told him to travel toward the east and to found another kingdom. Discovering what had happened Dik pursued angrily, returned empty-handed, and took Nyikong's sister as hostage until offered satisfaction for the loss of his mother. To conciliate Dik and to redeem his own sister Nyikong gave Dik a daughter by another wife. To legitimize the incest Nyikong decreed that every Shiluk king thereafter should marry a half-sister.5

Another of Dik's journeys was to the "Land of Yilinggurya," where there was an abundance of silver and where the people were red.6 Once there he attempted to "jest" with one of the king's daughters, who called her brother, Garo, the "son of the sun." Dik threw Garo to the ground, cutting off his silver ring, but Garo's father came, and a terrible battle ensued, which was salvaged for the Shiluk upon Nyikong's arrival and his conquest of the sun. Dik returned home with large herds of cattle and the king's daughter, but the girl refused to marry Dik and was permitted to marry a countryman. Their
offspring from the Sun Adak. The Boro of the previous tale and Wai-kanggan are related in the following folk-song:

Anywak (Dak) is now here, he is travelling To the land of Boro And came by a silver ring. The ring of Goro - the ring from the stopped.

Later Dak travelled to the "land of Oilo," where he . . . wanted to see the famous kingdom of Anywak with his own eyes. The Anywak king controlled the trade in silver, ivory and skins and his army greatly outnumbered Dak's followers. Nevertheless, they struck a brutal blow, Dak returned home with an Anywak princess as his wife, and since that time the Shillik kings have taken Anywak brides. Dak became the second Shillik raja and "disappeared" after some twenty years.

Westermann used roughly the same Shilluk genealogy: Dean Adak, a gray or white cow, came out of the river bringling a gourd, which split and from which emerged animals and a man - Kala. He begot Queen, who begot Wat Nai, who begot Onue. The last named had four wives, who bore him several daughters and five or six sons, including Onue, Oua, Ou (called), and Myang. 8 Apparently the Shillik lived peacefully in a place called Goro, which, according to Westermann's map, must have been in the vicinity of Lake Hill, until a quarrel broke out between Ouaat and Myang, whereupon the latter . . . came and turned aside to the country of the Sun. 9 There Dak was born, was unpopular, and was the cause of Myang having to evacuate. A commonly told story is that Myang had to cut his way through adal to reach
Shillukland. It is generally assumed that Lake No is meant here, but an informant of Nostermann's referred to the well-blocked body of water as the "Khor Adaif," which is what the Shilluk call the River Sobut.10 Westermann also carried the tale of Dak's battle with Cang-garo, Nkh lung saving the day by "cutting the sun" and forcing it to "return to the sky."11

The American missionary Oyler traced Nkh lung's descent to the river cow through Omaa, Moel, Xolo, and Omaa.12 At one time Nkh lung lived in the "Land of Dowat or Here," and left there for the "Land of Turu ruled by Xung Bon." He married Dins daughter, who bore him Dak, but he separated with Din and founded Shillukland. Oyler related the story of Bur and Dak's mother, as well as the one of Dak and Garo, Nkh lung coming to the rescue and "cutting off the sun's feet."

Pumphrey gave the story of Nkh lung's migration to Pouda Mura, which he placed near Wau on the Abe al Ghazali.13 After serving Dins daughter Nkh lung separated, in about 1940, and left for Shillu-land accompanied by only 6 families. He and Dak established themselves near Toros (by Law No), engaged the Punj in a series of battles, and defeated them.

The most ardent collector of Shilluk traditions has been Father Grassia, who has attempted to account for virtually every step of the Southern Sudanese and his genealogy began with Jukk (God), followed by Adam-Rama and then Dypung Adau, the familiar river-cow. Next came Ooraha, Kola, Moel, and

\[\text{Set p. 57, The Ewe, for "Admasu" and the Pulafi.}\]
Olwaa, who fathered Nyikango and Dowaa by different wives. This took place in the "cradle land of the Swaas," which Crosslater placed as Atiwe-south-southwest of the Nile town of Shamba. Atiwe was chosen because it could have been derived from "Fu Jumaa," and because there are several "Jum" toponyms in the area.  

A succession struggle between Dowaa and Nyikango forced the latter to "flee by night" to Shimo-Thuru. Thuru was Shimo's son-in-law, and he had a daughter, who married Nyikango. After considerable bickering Nyikango, accompanied by Doak and Doak's half-brothers Gillo and Dotiit, left for Shillieland. A fight ensued between Nyikango and Gillo, and the latter headed up the Sabat to found the Anuak, while Doak crossed the Nile and fathered the Dinka. Nyikango became the first king of the Shilli and eventually "swallowed." Crosslater included the Dak stories but contended that Guro lived in a country which Nyikango and Dak had to pass on their way to Shillieland. Dak cut a silver ring from Guro's finger, and the ring was used to make a silver bracelet, which is given to the chief at his enthronement by the Nyikango clan of Akumsa district.  

The points of contention between these various writers have been many, but the most serious deviation was Wettermann's. He accepted the existence of migrations but brought the reality of Nyikango into question.  

In Chapter 1 it was hinted that Nyikango was not originally a personal name at all but designated an eastward expanding agricultural
people. The Nuer, who once occupied Jbel Marra, call themselves Pandang in the plural, and the Jir refer to the Shilluk as Omanga, while the Nuer think of them as Nuer. Encouragement is given to the broader usage of the name by the fact that Nyang, or a variation of it, is found in diverse places. The Nuer remember a spot west of Lake Bahr as Nubu, and, though they, the Nuer, have occupied the area for centuries, and the following has been a source of some confusion to Grassolara:

Nubu-Nubu is a large district of weak in Southern Colle (Shilluk) country; and precisely the same name Nubu-Nubu we find among the Aluor on the western shore of Lake Albert for a small group which states that their ancestors came from Nubu. In the Nuer district of Okowe (Aluor) we find Omanga, the same name.13

The stories generally agree that Nyang left Bahr, on the land of Dinka, leading a motley group through an almost impassable field of mud-blockage. He entered Shillukland, extricated the Jir, and created the Shilluk nation. Pamela attributed the achievement to Nyang and 6 families, while Grassolara stressed the lack of organization: "Throughout the whole course of their migration we do not come across a single fact that would indicate the existence of a central unit which would try to keep the various tribal groups together; each group ..., appears to have enjoyed full independence." The base upon communications using Shilluk King-lists it has been accepted that this must have taken place in the 15th century.16

The whole business is too Herculean to be believable when one considers the information presented in Chapter 1. If copper was traded

north from the Bahir el Ghezal five thousand years ago and trade goods were moving eastward along the water-routes to the Red Sea since very early times, it means that Shillukland, at the confluence of the Nile and Sobat and controlling Lake Nyi, would have been of the highest strategic importance. Massive armies are known to have been used by Sudanese and Ethiopian states to promote and to protect their interests. These armies were probably formed, in good measure, from Southern Sudanese, and all effort would have been made to secure the major waterways. The notion that six families, or a larger, disorganized group could have moved in across the nild and ousted the occupants of Shillukland defies common sense.

Another reason why one may doubt Nyang's authenticity is that so many of the stories concerning his are apocryphal, which forces one to look suspiciously at all of them. For example, Stefane recorded that Nyang did not die but was taken by a whirlwind during a four-day dance festival at Kuruwa. Crescolaya related a Shilluk legend which would have Nyang and Tak ... transferred into the Bulai or (Kuruwa/Fima) country, where they may still be seen occasionally as old white-bearded blacksmiths. Nyang has numerous heroic tales, among which are Aboriginal, or, "who makes the sun rise." Another is Nkioker—"for his many victories over foreigners, especially Turks and Berbers."

Nyaupa has centered about the location of Nyang's original home and the route of his migration, but there is evidence to indicate that he came from the East, the South, the West, and the North.
The truth is in the fact that Nykang is all things to all people—both geographically and historically speaking. The phrase commonly used among the Shilluk for the direction "east" is simply Nykang, or, "the source of Nykang," and the honourific Nykang Eem suggests a title used at Navoc, in the north. On the other hand, it has generally been agreed, as shown earlier in this chapter, that Nykang came from a southerly direction. Gyiel's statement that the Shilluk came from "the land of Dwat of Kero" leads one to think of the White Nile south of Lake No, because that stretch of water is commonly called Kir in the Southern Sudan, and a tribe of Dinka who live near Bar are called Kero. But Kir is also the mythical father of the large Guajok, Gapujok, and Gapung sections of the eastern Jekung Nuer. Now, these eastern Jekung have traditions of migrating from the west, while the western Jekung, who live in the vicinity of a place they call Nykang, to the west of Lake No, have no memory of migration. As far as the word Jekung is concerned, it is probably a particle, while koy has already been discussed in connection with the Fur people. The Bare/ Furtit people of the Bahar el Ghazaal figure in a possible "western origin" hypothesis because their word for "man" is guo, a word which also designates the mythological founder of the Nuer people.

If Nykang and Kir are imaginary figures then they embody centuries of history and represent the traditions of all the people who came to live in Shilliland. Of course, time sorts out the stories,

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* See p. 17.

** See p. 12.
and only events of profound impact have remained in memory; the development of agriculture and cattle-keeping, various wars, large-scale migrations, and unusually destructive floods, famines, and collapses.

It has been estimated that Southern Cushitic were in East Africa possibly before 2000 B.C.27 A major group of these people is known as "Mambu," (or "Masse") bringing to mind the root *m(a)b(h)27 discussed earlier and presenting the possibility of a connection with Shillukland.28 The Før were at the Nile at least by Hereditic times and spread southward as well. Several versions of the Shilluk migrations tell of someone throwing a "digging-stick" at Upkang and telling him to go off and plant.29 Indeed, the Før did, and as farming techniques spread it meant population explosions at Lefun, at Sine, and in the area of the Great Lakes. It meant not only outward migrations of excess populations but probably the development of organized states.

Jür traditions speak clearly of Zino and Upkang as brothers, who migrated together from the southeast, while the Shilluk are vague about the relationship. The fact that both Shilluk and Jür acknowledge that Upkang and Zino lived together for some time probably tells of a period when Chari-Nile speakers lived in the same area in the Rohr el Ghazi. The Shilluk word Jür means "tribe/nation/people/race," and Seligman felt that the Jür were "... the remnants of the greater people from whom the Shilluk split, although the Jür themselves have professed to be simply a branch of the Shilluk.29"
former may be closer to the truth, because there is topographic evidence that the Duk were active over a much wider area than they presently occupy. Petersman's map shows a "Governor's residence" at "Al-Mudhur," southeast of what is now Wadi in Darfur. In there is a district called "Al-jumah," north-northeast of Lake Chad, and Mudawara was an active port on the Gulf of Aden. The Hausa/Fulani word duru = "woman" associates the Duk with agriculture, while the Shilluk words dura = "vir- gin," and ajaru = "to reach womanhood" may indicate matrilinear society.

If Duk and Shilluk were one that may they claim separate culture-heroic? People from Gire, analogous to develop the copper and ivory trade from the Western Bank of Chad via Lake Chad, established themselves among the Duk, perhaps as traders. It may have been the position of trader, combined with the custom of patrilineal descent which brought political power to "Alma," and it is the people with political power whose traditions have the best chance of survival.

A Western Caushitic spread across the Southern Nuba and Chad it evidenced by the dim root, while gal suggest a similar movement of Eastern Caushitic speakers, and if the Saha [Charif-Nile] are related to the Saha (Eastern Shilluk) through "bana," gun, then they, the Saha, are related through "bana," or gene, to the Galla (Eastern Cush- tic), who have gene = "woman."

Rehagen's explanation of the Saha people is that they were founded by one of Rehagen's sons, who, finding the banks of the Nile inhabited, wandered off up the Wadi el Ghazal. In reality, the

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See preceding two pages.
The Shatt tribe west of the Jnr are called either Shatt or Shurt, and Shattara is found as a place-name southwest of Eura in Nordafien. In Chapter 1 it was demonstrated that variants of the name Shatt date back thousands of years, and the name may be true of “Tora.” Max-Nichael described the “To Ro” of Banfor as a “prehistoric people who, according to tradition, preceded the Fur both in the mountains of SI and Tura (the northernmost portion of Eura, immediately south of SI).”

The Shillik have an important “Thuvo” clan, which regards itself as slightly special and claims relationship to Dafu through Dafu. The Dafu and Shatt are very close linguistically, and the possibility of some connection between the Shillik figure Dafu and the Dafu people was suggested earlier. The Galla word adajo = “river” hints at Dafu control of waterways, and the Shillik words shurwo = “to float” and thurwo = “watering” could tend to support a hypothesis that the Dafu-Shatt-Thurwo controlled a portion of the water east-west water course.

The most commonly related story of Dafu is his travel to the “land of Elamɔmæn.” It was mentioned earlier that the royal metal at Jasjere was gold and that the story probably indicates contact with a tributary to Jasjere. In Gruzdlera’s version the silver ring taken from Goro was combined with other silver to make a bracelet. The only other place in the general area where a silver bracelet has been used as regalia was Calw: “At the head of every clan is a

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clanleader, who is the direct successor of the clan founder and bears his name, also. Clan leadership is tied to the possession of a so-called dumu ring. . . . The ring is . . . apparently silver . . . and worn on the right wrist. 35 In the Cangago saga there are reservations about claiming all-out victory: Duk is on the verge of defeat when Njikong comes to the aid and deals with the "own." While Njikong's prowess with the boomerang has been retained in popular memory, he usually played the role of statesman, and his appearance suggests a negotiated settlement. Suspicion deepens when it is heard that the captured princess refuses to marry Duk, but insists upon marrying a fellow-captive. She is allowed to do so, and the result is the "Kam Jul" clan. Of them it has been told that Njikong offered cows and women in conciliation, which they refused, but they were finally placated by the privilege of residing the Shilluk countryside before every royal election for girls, horses, fat, and sheep. 36 During the installation ceremony a sham battle is waged between supporters of the new chief and members of the "Kam Jul," "Kam Mal," and the "Gorou." 37 Apparently these three groups represent hostile forces, or at least elements which had to be brought to heel, in the memory of the "Kam Mal" clan. Traditions of the "Kam Mal" have it that they originated with a pair of "celestial beings," which suggests Ethiopia, if not the Nuba Mountains. The Shilluk word maf is used to express height, and it is noteworthy that it expresses precedence as well: maf = "high", pisho maf = "second," men a maf = "former/first/supreme/\nprecedent."
There have been many large-scale migrations in the Southern Sudan, and I suspect that the Nyang-Luk stories have to do not with one particular migration, but with a number of them. It is very difficult, however, because so much history has been telescoped, to arrive at any kind of precise information through these tales. The Luk story probably refers to a time prior to the 15th century, because after that Kaffa—and not Janjaro—seemed to be the dominant force in Southern Ethiopia. The part about Nyang manipulating the sun just may have been appended, because in 1553 the occupants of Shilluk-land experienced a total solar eclipse. Another possibility is that by the middle of the 15th century Choke was still nominally regarded as part of Janjaro, and the Luk story represents a major movement of Eastern Sudanic speakers which affected the entire Southern Sudan.

Shilluk tradition tells that Nyang, upon his arrival in the country, travelled to the Juba Mountains and gave his sister, Nyaduli, in marriage to an important Daban. The groom offered Nyang a silver stool and something called a "kar," in return for which the Daban were given the privilege of not sitting in the election of the Shilluk ruler. The Daban in question lived on Jebel Liri, near the southern end of Shilluk-land, and it was to there that a half-dozen of the greatest Shilluk chiefs would travel to make the final selection of a new ruler. The person on Liri with whom they consulted was known as the Dato of the Dambas, and at Janjaro one of the members of the Royal Council was called Dambas, while Dato is their word for chief.
Earlier in this century the most influential clan at Liri was called Nisa-kerri, a name which may have been derived from the Janjra word Nis = “iron.” What this points toward is the spread of Ashana control, beginning in the 11th or 12th century, through Kaffa to Southern Shillukland and probably westward from there. This notion is supported by the appearance in the Shilluk story of the word mar.

At Kaffa a Christian is called smano, and the ancient name for the Kaffa state was Gomoro, which subsumes this Christian heritage and incorporate into the name the important particle Go, which was discussed on pp. 63-66. The westward spread of Ashanas is seen among the Kessa, one of the founding clans of which was the Jonamwar, and the mar of the Shilluk, associated with Jebel Liri, tells of a possible Ashana control past there. This possibility is strengthened by the presence in the Shilluk vocabulary of the words mar = “love,” and mana = “dignity.” The Shilluk also have mar = “honey,” while mar means “yellow” in Amharic. There are a few other Shilluk words, which, when compared with Amharic ones, tell something of Ashana influence. The introduction of feudal land organization is suggested by the Shilluk word mar = “group of hamlets,” and the Amharic mar = “field.” The Ehor pillar (accent on the last syllable) is a stele which wanders northward into the Sabat, almost at the Sabat’s confluence with the Nile, and the Amharic word fellaw = “enemy,” hints that the banks of the Ehor may have served as a market-place. At a time in the distant past Wabhal was a Shilluk capital, and it is possible that its name is related to the Amharic wabhal = “wind.”
Instrument," and the Russian malguta, which were the royal banners there. The association of the word with royalty nicely suits the strategic position of Malakal, near the junction of the Nile and Sobat rivers.

Although the word is not descriptive of Shilluk life, they, the Shilluk, have mal for "river," and al mal is "water" in Amharic. This is of especial interest because the Fulani have ga mal = "to ax."40

A word that can, perhaps, be identified with Amharic is jam (or variations thereof). In the 16th century the Ethiopian of Peder Jahn was legendary, 41 and when Krapf visited there several hundred years later he noted that jam was the common name for the king.42 At Nekse Gule, in the Gashar, jam has been used as the word for "wax," 43 suggesting an Amharic presence, and the Shilluk and honor use chama and kama respectively for "water." The Amharic were remembered, but apparently not with much fondness, at Makal, where Amami means "water." The word for "water" at Benue is kama, and the Fulani of Adamawa have jangali = "cattle-tax."

During the "medieval" years in Ethiopia the Amharas were at almost constant war with the Falasha, whose word for "war" is adhuro, the same word that the Shilluk use for "slave/monkey." Perhaps in the 16th or 17th century the Amharas wrested control from the Koromoo people along the East-West corridor. The notion that the sequence was thus supported by the fact that the Soma of the Southern Senus have such unhappy memories of the Koromoo in the words nom = "to oppress," from = "to rob," while jam means "water." Amharas
Weren't apparently associated with horses, as the Dinka Jackar means "horse," and at Naba, far to the west, Jambu nur is used for "horn."86

Returning to the discussion of Jebel Lir, the position of that hill was a critical one, because it commanded the intersection of several major rivers and neighboring hills where iron was found and worked. Across the Nile to the south were the Karaf Hills, where tradition has it, Nyanjok found smithies, where he brought iron to live among his people on the river bank. Next to Lir is an "Ora Shatt," which brings fire to mind, and hence iron, and the Schlegelmann mentioned the presence of a smithy at Letha. They noted, however, that "Nyanjok was probably the most important iron-working hill of Southern Nuba, and exported a considerable amount of iron to the neighboring hills."85 Southern Rubans and Shilluk alike have always discouraged outside interest in Lir, and the activities there have been shrouded in mystery. Meischner wrote of a Liru "... which is fairly high and about which there are many Arab and Dypot stories. In spite of the fact that this hill is not volcanic it faces and is surrounded by clouds of smoke."86 He related a story that two Englishmen went there and never returned and that a large snake appeared on top of the hill.

Apart from the Liru connection people of Ruban ancestry formed a part of the Shilluk riverine population. One of the clans of Ruban ancestry is called Nak Thokdoj, the same name as Nyanjok's half-brother, the one who was given as bride and the same one whom Duk took as
mestage. Nya is a feminine prefix, and dwaal is the singular of dwoot, which means "mound," and it is possible that the Naba Mountains could be the Dwaal of Shilluk mythology.\textsuperscript{57} The importance of the name and of the Naban background is expressed in the words which finish the prayer: "I beg for some little things, to put into my mouth. The earth has been spoiled by the people; Looyot is travelling in the earth. I go to our grandfather, the chief of the daughter of Kyadial, to Akola, the children of Kyakang."\textsuperscript{48}

The Aauk live along branches of the Sobat River in country that is now divided between the Sudan and Ethiopia. Their traditions have Gilla, the youngest son of Kyakang, as their first king, and the principal argument centering about him is whether or not he left the "Land of Dwaal" before Kyakang or after him. It has even been speculated that he did not reach the "Land of Dwaal," but that he separated earlier.\textsuperscript{49} Another tradition has Gilla as the chief of "Chiru/Ochunho," who rose out of the river. A person named Gual is involved as a close and important relative in this myth. The Aauk king-list, which has been accepted by Cresswell, has sixteen kings beginning with Gilla,\textsuperscript{50} and if Struck's computation is used then Gilla must be placed between 2700-2759, while Kyakang comes 120 years earlier, evidence enough that Gilla was not Kyakang's son.\textsuperscript{51} The three largest clans among the Aauk are the Sannaam, the Anuabersu, and the Jooamideh. The first are certainly the descendants of the mythical Gual,\textsuperscript{52} a name which has to be compared with the Shilluk word Gual - "tremor" and Aauk "shock." The Anuabersu, as it has been shown, are probably descended
from Amharic, and it is likely that the 5th Amhar king, End, represents Southern Ethiopia influence, because the people from Amhara were sometimes known as End, and end is the word for 'queen' at Jimma.

The attempt on the part of the Amnak to splice themselves onto Shilluk and Jum history through the mythical figure of Gillo is their way of explaining very close contact at some time in the past. Amnak kingship shows signs of having developed along similar lines as the Shilluk one: the royal family does not remove the Incisor-teeth, and an audience with the king must be conducted with the commoner approaching on all-fours and with face averted. Formerly the Amnak supplied each succeeding Shilluk chief with a wife, and there was trade contact: "The Waate Gillo used also to make causes for the Collo, exchanging them for cows; such causes were very highly valued for their quality and size." Also, it will be remembered, that in the story of Sok's visit to the Amnak a trade in silver, ivory and skins was mentioned.

Because the Shilluk have had rulership for a very long time, these traditions have been carefully kept and fabricated in attempt to fit with those traditions of the Jum and the Amnak, with whom they have been at least in contact if not in league. The same cannot be said for Jum traditions. Their lack of governmental sophistication relative to the Shilluk, seems to be in almost direct proportion to the relative development of historical traditions. There is a founding-myth, and the sentiments recall founding-ancestors, but...
there are no king-lists. Linguistically the Nuer are about as close to the Shilluk as the Jem are, but in contrast to the other two they have no stories of brotherhood. Only the Western Nuer have acknowledged common origin to the Shilluk through what is probably a recent adoption of Nyanq as the son of their God "Aparch."55

Dinka traditions are fuller than the Nuer ones but show considerable regional differences. "Deng-Dengdit" is an important spirit to the Dinka, and some Shilluk traditions have his related to Nyang and Dak and accompanying them from "the land of Dmok."56 Deng means "lower jaw" in Shilluk and suggests a respected ancestor, or perhaps rain-giver, while dit has very old Egyptian as well as Southern Sudanese associations. Dinka, inhabiting the opposite bank of the Nile from the Shilluk, creep up frequently in accounts of Shilluk history, in some of domestic as well as external affairs. Formerly a succeeding Shilluk ruler took a Dinka and Nyanq wife as well as an Anak one, and the Dinka "cult of Deng" has always had an appeal in the southern part of Shillukland.57 A Shilluk's abode to Dengdit is called a lok, the same word which is used for a cattle-lyre or, in the social sense, for a group of companions.

The Dinka have a migration tradition, which divides a split: at Nuer on the White Nile, one party moving northwest, the other group following the Nile and splitting again at Karesh. The east bank of the Nile was occupied by one part of this second split, while the remainder headed westward to Kungkal on the Eme el Chanal. This migration was apparently led by Alwel Chaka, a son of Aparch Dit. 1
suggest that the movement along the east bank of the Nile and into Semer was part of a series of events which led to a Nilotic expansion southward into Kordof. Hofmann felt that precise dating of Shilluk kings could begin with Usok Omara, whose reign he gives to be 1800-1835, and that it was during the righthip of his son, Usut, that the Dinka arrived and engaged the Shilluk in terrible war.

I am sceptical about precise dating of early Shilluk History, because I am uncertain about the actual existence of the earliest Shilluk kings. Nyang perhaps embodied many centuries of history and seemed to have been especially associated with agriculture. Cal is sometimes given as the second roc, but near Shilluk discount his. Usut has been discussed and so has his successor Wyldowa, whose name would relate him to the use of iron and rock in building. The name Usok Omara could refer to a revolutionary social development as well as to an individual. It has been pointed out that the word dat in Shilluk has to do with migration and great numbers. In Dinka, it means "to set free." Today the Shilluk acknowledge four distinct social classes: (1) the Kaqrath, those who are theoretically descended from Nyang; (2) Doro, people of royal lineage who have been "degraded"; (3) Bonge, the servants (or slaves) of the roc; (4) Ondu, descendants of those who came into Shillukland with Nyang, yet who were unrelated to him and the descendants of the people who Nyang found upon his arrival. The word Doro probably comes from the Eastern Sudanic root nô: "black," as nôif = "black" (Marle), and nôl = "black" (Duer, Dinka) would suggest. From my observations
of Chari-Nile word-lists it appears that CVC words in some languages have related meanings to CVCC words in some or in other languages of the same group. For example, park = "homeland" (Shilluk); gobe = "higher" (Shilluk); dowo = "curving" (Shilluk); sabaal = "sprouted" (Shilluk); hauk = "tale" (Ful); zan = "body" (Sudanese); yauk = "back" (Shilluk); djak = "the people of" (Ingassana); adak = "foreign" (Kungas); djak = "God" (Shilluk); keku/dak = "God" (Nuer); and dun = "nest" (Galla-non-Chari Nile languages); hnyu = "body" (Nuer). Chau, which probably comes from cq, has a special ritual meaning to the Nuer. Several months after a death these people perform a ceremony *...* designed to prevent the dead from coming in anger to get the living. Something called chau is removed (from the body) by this rite. It has been analyzed: "... this removal is analogous to the settling of a boat hanging over the family," and "... the spirit of the dead is regarded as in some sense bound down or "unfree" until after the soul is taken away..." If the above assumptions are correct then Odak Goolle would be the release of some kind of oppressive obligation or taxation. Confirmation of the cq-chau sequence is in the fact that Odak Goolle’s shrine is located at Betong, which is one of several Shilluk words for “blank.”

Odak Goolle had several sons, and all of them except the succeeding park, Dowe, either showed weakness against the Dinka or were killed by them. Apparently one of the sons, Pyen, threw his spear in the river, refusing to fight, but Dowe recovered them and concluded the struggle. The upshot was that the rule of Odak Goolle,
exempting Dount's line, were "uprooted" to the statue of Ovuma. The action against the Dinka took place in the south, between Jong and Malakal, and perhaps it is more than accidental that Pyen is also the name of a Nigerian (Niger-Congo) tribe and that the stronghold of the "Prince of Dink," who may be traceable to Nigeria, was not very far to the northwest of Tonga. 63 The Shilluk story portrays Pyen's role as a rather passive one, but the word pyam in Shilluk means "to resist to disbelief," which suggests that Dinka and Niger-Congo speakers in the area of Lake Nga may have refused to coordinate their interests with more powerful groups in the vicinity.

It has been said that Dount ruled only part of the country, 64 and it is significant that his capital and burial site are near Malakal, which indicates that his primary concern was control over the Sobat-White Nile junction and the east-west trade route. His successor, Dina, whom Hofmeyr dates 1650-1660, is remembered for ruling over all of Shilliland, and his birthplace and residence were on the Nile Atala, island from Pobock, and well to the north of Malakal.

9 Ibid., p. 157.
10 Ibid., p. 155. Westermann's map shows the Shilluk entering the country via the Sobat.
11 Ibid., p. 161 and 160.
14 See J. P. Crummelin, The Dinka. (Verona, 1941).
15 Ibid., pp. 31-34.
The Shilluk, The Luo, p. 392. First enclosures are rare.

29 Ibid., p. 6.

30 E.g., Westermann, The Shilluk People, p. 61, uses Struck's 13-14 year average for African kings, multiplied by 20-30, the number of Shilluk kings, giving him c. 1500-1525.

31 For example, a joint Nubia-Ethiopian expedition to Egypt in 737 A.D. numbered 100,000 African warriors and 100,000 camels. See G. A. Nosticrat, A History of the Nubian in the Sudan. (London, 1947), Vol. I, p. 141.


33 Grossner, The Luo, p. 131.

34 Turks and Servicinos did not appear in Shillukland until the 19th century, some 300 years after Nyang's supposed arrival.

35 See, for example, T. von Hoogt, "Rotes in den Gebieten des Nil und ihre Vorklasse in ihren Verblendungen" (Leipzig, 1866). See also, K. H. Hildebrand, "Die Shilluk in Gespen". It is interesting that at Koura the word they seem "mouth."


37 For example, see Grossner, The Luo, p. 35.

The Nubia of the Nub of Gashil have a stick as part of the regalia of the royal house. The stick is known as an 'Amma, or 'Amma, both words supporting the one. Even in the former, and the latter "p" and "b" are often used interchangeably in the southern Sudan. I.e., 'Amma = Amma. See Mohamed Maha Ahmed, "The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk and its Origin: Being a Study in Diffusion." Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Vienna. July, 1936, p. 187.

38 The Selma, Fapam Tribes, p. 107.

39 Kap-surns 5 and 6 in Petermann, 1862-3.


26. W. Roffey, "Über Geschichte und Sozialismus..." in 333. This insight was apparently unwarranted until the present century.
27. The "souf" are descendants of a "degraded" caste, that is, one whose heirs were forbidden the priesthood.
30. In Shilluk the names of certain "things" are formed with a generic root, such as glephi, and a specifying word. For example, gisam is "a thing of the grass," gis pili is "a thing of the earth." Of men, in Shilluk would be "a thing of the water." See B. Kohlen, Shilluk Grammar. (Venona, 1933), pp. 31-52.
33. See word-list in Ernst Nure, Reich in Gebiete des Blauen und unteren Nil, im östlichen Sudan und den angrenzenden Negerlanden in den Jahren 1889 bis 1891. (Jenw, 1894).
35. Korandi is almost directly south of Liri—just off the Tonga Road. See Robb map, Sudan Survey Department. Khartoum, 1939.
37. See pp. 70-71. There is another consonant clue: The Jur call the Shilluk "daru", and the Bonny call them "Daru". The word "Daru" is used for "man" by the Nkwegu (Central Sudanese), and "man" = "man" at Ingassia.
The Shilluk People, p. 173.


Crozzolaria's Information is from E. E. Damos-Pritchard, but is without reference — see, The Locu, p. 146. However, Damos-Pritchard's published king-list "was almost beyond recognition from Crozzolaria's. See Damos-Pritchard, The Political System of the Akak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. (London, 1944).

Tukr estimated an average 15-18 year reign for African kings, which would place Akak at a time between 1500-1560.

"A" is a common plural ending in Shilluk.


Crozzolaria, The Locu, p. 11.

The Saligam, Pagan Tribes ... p. 229. To the Nuer Akak has powers over fish.


P. M. Noll, "Observations on the Shilluk of the Upper Nile: The Laws of Monoticle and the Legal Functions of the Naka," Africa, Vol. XIII, 1913, p. 107, now the cult as potentially oversensitive to the position of the naka, but never a threat. The Saligam, Pagan Tribes ... p. 88 describe it as "Limited."

He is the first naka to have a granary, those preceding him hav- ing just "disappeared." The spilling of his name here is also Muf- fanyo's. Crozzolaria, The Locu, p. 131, gives either Ooloo, Oock, or Okulo.

Tukr, The Shilluk People, p. 174, dates the Naka arrival to 1774, but the Shilluk have no memory of this war to coincide with that date.

Dunshe has no granary and a temple for him was built by Tukr of only in the present century.

The Saligam, Pagan Tribes ... p. 255.
62. Ibid., citing Evans-Pritchard and a Miss Boulis—no references.
63. For the “Prince of Izbī” see the appendix map in W. S. Boosey, Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria from the Year 1798 to 1802. (London, 1799). The major village on J. El Aïn—on the Lurit-Teng read—has been known as “Fellata.” See “Sabat” map.
64. Strasburger, The Leo, p. 151.
CHAPTER 8
THE ARAB PRESENCE

The period associated with the reign of Shaikh Uqala was one of war between what one might call southern and northern sympathizers in Shilbabland, the former standing to profit from the Harfar-Ethiopian trade route and having close ties with the Abuna through Jebel Mihir. The northern interest was in trade along the Nile and with Khartoum via Jebel Tsaga. The overriding external cause for the northward shift was the inability of the Abuna to maintain an open route through Southern Ethiopia against Galla and Arab (or Muslim) pressures.

"The Halfa" had described a "hostel" of Muslims at Soha in the 10th century, and by the outset of the 12th century the tribes of Gabeyne Arabs in the area were reckoned at 21. The distinction between Gabeyne and Halfa is almost impossible to make, and the "Abdallah," with whom "Abou Dungar" made his alliance to create the Funj Empire think of themselves as Halfa’s of the Gabeyne section. They controlled a stretch of the Blue Nile from Teshale southwards, and below them were other Halfa’s who had mixed heavily with the non-Arab Funj, the Halfa Gabeyne section of the Blue Nile. The Halfa’s perhaps betraying an assimilation of the Halfa population discussed in Chapter 4.

By the time of Uqala (c. 1270-1303) Muslim teachers had established themselves at the Funj court and throughout the Oasis, but Halfa’s own background and associations were far from pure Arab. It
will be recalled that one of his immediate parents was Sika and that
his grandfather was Bula, two of his brothers were "Shillah" and
"Dinka," and his grandchildren were "Gang," "Tandia," "Kof," and "Ubu
el Ghaya," relationships which point toward a network of southern
alliances. It may be that during Dinka's reign Funj influence also
spread into Kordofan and the northern Nuba Hills, because Jesseneger's
map shows a place around "Dukla" due west of El Ali. Moreover, in
the middle of the 17th century there appears mention of a "King Dukla,"
a Funj representative near Taqali. 5

Whatever ambitions the Funj had developed toward Kordofan and
the Nuba Mountains were temporarily thwarted when Saladman Salum
came to the Darfur throne in 1896. He extended his authority east-
ward, controlling the White Nile, and it seems quite likely that he
had Shilluk help. Who sat on Daji dominated the stretch of river
between Lake Ho and the Sobat, and the Ahamar influence there has
been noted. West of Lake Ho, however, was another story, and control
over the White Nile and Nuba rivers and the khors that feed them was exercised from the southeast Nuba. Baju and Shatt
were strong in these hills, and the Tumbur-Fur presence is remembered
at Kan Solo, near Telol, by the important administrative word "threats
a jamaaguru. In fact, just next to Liri itself is an "Um Shatt"
and a "Tumgaru." Linguistically the Niger-Kordofan speakers are
the most populous in this area, and they must have been politically
important as well. 6
It may be more than coincidence that the reign of Okah Ococo of the Shilluk coincides almost to the year with that of Solayman Solang in Darfur. The period described to the Fifth Shilluk king was marked by various domestic conflicts, resulting in the degrading of Okah's heirs. From being especially singled out, Jaffar, the client of the Amaraas in southern Ethiopia had lost its grip on the Sobaet trade, and Xaffa, the successor, was directed Fundujed by both necessity and perhaps by sympathy.

Threatened as they were with the loss of their overseas trade, forces of southwest Kordofan combined with disgruntled Southern Shilluk and struck against the Funj. One view, this would be "Oloa," cleared the Sobaet and the other engaged the Funj north along the White Nile, while Solayman Solang was establishing bridgespans in the Gezira. Shilluk traditions are rich in tales of battles against the Shilluk who were Funduj, it being generally agreed that they were located near Rosarios on the Blue Nile, while the "Bongo Odu" inhabited the Buram hills. Sometimes the Shilluk reference is to "Oloa," a term which was used synonymously with "Funj" by 17th century Portuguese.

By 1640 it appears that the Funj were literally back in the saddle, their strong suit being the famous "Black Horses": The Fur had withdrawn from Senecor, and Okah Ococo of the Shilluk had been subdued. There is a single place of evidence which suggests earlier Funj successes. The "22nd" manuscript tells of a 19th century Turkish expedition against the Shilluk as inflicting ..., such slaughter.
as had never been seen since the time of the Mub TaliJ转向。 The prince as far as he was concerned seemed to be Jobul’s fair and Tagall, which would have given him a strong foothold in the Baha Mountains. The problem they faced was the natural advantage of the Tagall ruler and encouraged him to boost: “. . . If the king of Senaar wants anything on his account and crosses the wastes of San Luma’s, then let him do what he will.” The Funj king at that time was Babu II, and he did, in fact, cross the desert, lay siege to Tagall and raid the surrounding hills. An agreement was eventually reached, and the Funj returned to Senaar with large numbers of slaves. This expedition may have crossed the Nile at El Alia (roughly 15° 75’ N. Lat.), but before long they had established themselves further south, because it is said of Babu II that he attacked the Shilluk along the Nile before he crossed the desert. The crossing which Babu probably had in mind (and perhaps used) was at Mall Island (17°), from where he could have followed the River ‘Agilshb almost 50 miles inland in the general direction of Tagall. As late as the 1840’s Bulli was called “Afufa” by the Shilluk. 11

There followed a period of extensive trade between Tagall and Senaar, slaves coming from the former in return for horses, among other items. The story of Nebu Hana’s, who became wealthy in cattle in the Atbara country, provides a splendid example of the development of a Funj community engaged in such trade in the 16th-century.

Dr. Numa’s Nebu Hana’s, or Nebu Neba Hana Ibn Al-Ha’if Ra’s.
Then when his cattle increased in numbers he went up to al-Mahya and Cantur al-Mumur and dug the storage pool known as the Dimayir and acquired slaves whom he mounted on horses saying: I will use these to guard my cattle.

He then moved on to Bilad al-Habyan and became known as the Habyan and attacked the Quraish and captured many slaves. Each of them bore a sword with hilts and handletips with silver and they bore 3 Qasr guns and muskets and they also carried slaves. They used to trade their trained horses to Tangiers and Darr Morqiq and Surfur and Syrian and to the Khilal. Agil and his slaves became whole villages...13

The groundwork for Fumaj expansion had been laid by Muslim traders throughout the preceding century, as well as by teachers and holy men, such as Māhūnd b. Ahmad b. 'Arrakī, who was born on the banks of the White Nile and who returned to the Sudan during the reign of Umar bin Abdul Azīz after having studied Malikite law in Egypt. He reportedly founded 17 schools between al-Aīn and Turī Island (Khartoum).14 The mention of al-Aīn as a southern limit suggests that below that point were Shiliqu, who were not amenable to conversion, but it is quite possible that at an earlier date the Shiliqu controlled Nile passages further to the north. The traditions of the Hama and Nubian Araba, who occupy much of the riverine country between Kordofān (15° N. lat.) and Khartoum, "...are full of mention of the Shiliqun whom (they) found on the White Nile as far north as Gebel Bitrān when they first came thereto from the north."15 A safe crossing of the Nile was fundamental to the expansion of Fumaj interests in Kordofān, and, in spite of the gradual development of Arab settlement southward along the Nile from what is now Khartoum, the reliability of al-Aīn must have been in good measure dependent upon friendly relations.
with the Shilluk. Salih II had attempted to eliminate a Shilluk threat to the key fording spots, but the Shilluk still had to be reckoned with: "About the middle of the 17th century ... A certain holy man known as "Ismaili the Jute-player" was killed at Aj-Joo by the Shilluk, together with more than 40 of his disciples."15

Muhammad al Sa'idi is credited with having brought Islam to Tegi in 1530 and is regarded as being the ancestor of the Tegali kings, but it seems more plausible to assume that the Muslim Arab influence there was brought about by a steady stream of immigrants, some of them teachers, and others traders seeking ivory and slaves.16 The name of the royal family at Tegali is "Saharan," a line which Arab pedigrees trace directly to "Dula," who is also given as the immediate ancestor of the Bouru and For royal families.17 The root Dal/ Dal, discussed in Chapter 6, has administrative implications from Bouru to the Red Sea, and its use at Tegali and in Shillakland suggests close contact between these two areas.

The route from Tegali to Kake via Jebel Kurum is an easy one, and from Jebel Ahmed Agha, north along the river from Kake, one may follow the Khor Ribam almost up to the Durun hills. Such a route had strong appeal to the Forü, but the Shilluk wanted this trade, or at least control over the Tegali-Durun route. On the other hand, if the Shilluk path should set himself up at Kake he stood to lose his authority over the Southern Shilluk. The Khor Agra is narrow between Kake and Halaka, yet isolated from the mass of Shilluk, and it commands the trail to Jebel Jungor and its neighboring hills.
-- Kau, Maena, Navee. From Fungur it is now 70 miles to the southwest to Libri, via Jebi Wenna, and the same distance northward to Jebel Kurun. The Shilluk took over established himself at Cher Atara and developed his ties to Fungur, which have lasted to the present.

The Kau of the Fungur area have considerable traditional connection with the Shilluk. The herds for Nyikang's body are brought from here, and gifts are exchanged between the Kau and the local Kau chief, when we met at Kassana were three after the installation when he was being invested with the insignia of a Shilluk chief.13

Naturally, the northern provinces received what benefited there were from the Togoli, White Nile, and South trade, and the "Kau Rash" also set out to establish its numerical superiority over Shilluk communities in the north. Today "Kau Rash" outnumber cattle in Batwok and Atumoi divisions (including Cher Atara). Since the 17th century royal authority has always been tenuous in the south, and two centuries later it was this weakness which intruders were to successfully exploit.

Contact between the Shilluk and the nearby, interior hills probably alternated between trading and raiding. The more militant of the two activities was common enough to find its way into the installation ceremony, which calls for the Akwabu subsection near Fashoda to "raid" Fungur for bamboo and apra, while its leader, near Kake, "raids" north along the Nile for other items.

Arabs began to arrive at these hills, as at Togoli, at least as early as the 16th century, sections of Kamer and Kawalia being among the earliest Arab groups in the area. 20 They settled at Jebel Kurun,
and eventually the Kenana drove the Kusalia south to Jebel Gedir.

In the same of these Kusalia found their way to Jebel Haraz and very likely to Fungur. The Arabs were adept at blending their religion with local customs and traditions. The use of a royal stool is of early origin in Abyssinia and the Beta Mountains: at Jebel Bato a rock head to be the throne of Queen Soba is still preserved, while the Inji had a royal stool called Bokar, and at Wulfin the word bakar means "book." Father Chavigny wrote that the Arabs at Jebel Gedir "... are possessors of a very celebrated and holy stone, on which there is a tradition that the prophet Muhammad sat and prayed." 22

FOOTNOTES


2. ibid., Vol. 1, p. 28.

3. ibid., Vol. 1, p. 78.


9. ibid., p. 416: "These Raines or Baloon, Balloon as they are called by the Portuguese writers, are distinctly stated to be identical with the Fungur." citing W. H. H. M. Lundelius, The Royal Chronicles of Abyssinia 1768-1800, "Ammadi" V, p. 532.
12. Ibn Khayyim al-Farsi, a treatise on astronomy, is also extant.
17. See MacDonald, A History of the Arabs . . . , Vol. II, p. 110 (Two to pedigree "4P").
18. F. Howell and W. G. Thompson, The Death of a Ruler of the Shilluk and the Establishment of His Successor (Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. XVII, 1905, p. 76). Actually the Shilluk got burned and sacred cows. The bullroarer is used for the efficacy of all war, and is also at the establishment ceremony.
20. See MacMichael, A History of the Arabs . . . , Vol. 1, p. 374. An ascertainment of Yawphi in the Sudan was determined by the Buhali, who saw them in Sayi country in 1912. The supposed ancestor of the Yawphi was named Habii, who must have flourished prior to 1912. But that the pilgrims be traced for accurate chronology. But it is interesting to note that one of Habii's wives was "El Farajala," which would place the first much earlier than "Our Donga."

34. MacMichael, The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan, p. 201.
CHAPTER 9
1566-1839

If the supposition that Nyikeng and Sek are mythological figures is correct then their creation must have been an attempt to forge a sense of unity among the people settled in Shillukland. Such a development may have occurred during the second half of the 17th century, a time in Shilluk history associated with the names Abudok, Bukot, and Tugo.

It has been suggested earlier that women have played an important, though covert, political role in the Shilluk past. Accounts vary as to the precise status of Abudok, daughter of Bukot:

"... she was de facto accepted as Sekh or queen-regent, and she settled questions like a godh, though there was no installation ceremony. Some call her godh, while others would insist that a woman cannot be godh. Fuller and slightly contradictory information was left by General H. G. Jackson, erstwhile Governor of Dongola:

"Man Bulch died he left his young sons to succeed him with the result that his daughter Abudok was entrusted with the rule. She was crowned with due ceremony at Bettin ... and reigned until her brother Bukot was old enough ... Abudok was then appointed as the King's representative at Bettin with practically full powers over a district that extended from the neighborhood of Kudkel to Tonga. The experiences seem to have been successful as from this time on the Ruk of the Shilluk always appears to have had either a sister or a daughter to administer this area on his behalf. The names of six queens ... In addition to Abudok there have been preserved ... Nyukon, daughter of Sekh," Gue, Alan, Sylshma,

W. M. Robson used 1700-1715 as the dates for Sekh.
Ken Adil, Nyakadii. These queens had full powers to deal with all questions arising within the boundaries of their kingdom except that of death arising from an intertribal fight which had to be referred to the king at Fikweto. They were always chosen from the descendents of Nyakeng and appear to have inherited all or part of his divinity.

Father Hofmeyr gave the names of eight "powerful female chiefs" in Shilluk history, and, as with General Jackson's list, the first of these dates to the early 18th century. Curiously, however, the names were entirely different, and the villages from which they ruled are all to the north of Dettin, leading one to the conclusion that women, particularly princesses, have exercised themselves politically throughout Shillukland -- not just in Dettin -- since the days of Abudok.

Shilluk tradition has it that Abudak predicted such a rapid growth of the Awek (royal) clan that it would eventually outnumber and dominate all the others, and, in fact, this has happened. Such expansion has resulted in the following way: a Seth sends his pregnant wife to bear their children in villages away from the royal settlement. Male offspring of these wives usually reside in the villages of birth, marry, and establish hamlets near to the settlement chiefs who have reared them, so that Awek lineages are found throughout the country, and in many cases have eclipsed the local ones. Also, there is evidence that the title of Seth (prince) was sometimes awarded to influential, or useful outsiders to bring them into the clan. It is significant that in Shilluk tradition neither Nyakeng nor Dak shows great concern over the succession of his line.
It is Abudhek who is associated with the perpetuation of a lust Rekh clan. Her influence, apart from the direct force of her own personality, lay in her ability to manipulate the relationship in favor of her half-brother, Shukoth, and later Tugo, her nephew and Shukoth’s son.

However, Shukoth (c.1670-1690), is remembered for his aggressiveness and his disposition to lead the Shilluk to war: not the sort to be easily manipulated. What seems very likely is that the two ruled the country together, Abudhek handling domestic affairs and Shukoth concerning himself with raiding. During the royal installation ceremony, the situation of which was in the Abudhek-Shukoth-Tugo days, the path stopped at a temporary camp and had sexual relations with a half-sister. This normally would have run counter to the rules of exogamy, but it is possible that it was a ritual rearrangement of the state of affairs that existed between Abudhek and Shukoth.

Abudhek ruled from Dottin, and Shukoth’s chieftains are just to the north -- at Kwarfouk and Atukong, in the Malual district. It is from here that he commanded raids far down the Nile and westward into the Nuba Mountains, his river successes being noted in the Zechariah and Psalms: "... from the Kharzoum to the Red Sea, seven thousand and seven hundred, all of which were destroyed by Shillem on the Lune," called on Lune in Arabic, a horrible famine occurred in 1668 and, taken together with the result of the Dengelass Shukoth, provides a backdrop of Tumbo difficulty against which the Shilluk raids were conducted. A growing Shilluk population in the northern
part of the country probably added impetus to their aggressive behavior. Shilluk raiders must have been primarily after cattle and dhuru, although they also must have prized the salt beds in the neighborhood of Arachbil — now Hassania country. If salt was a consideration in these raids, it was probably for northern Shilluk consumption, because there was formerly a large salt lake in the Lal Pambahda area, which was certainly an additional reason why Shilluk raids coveted that particular site.\(^3\)

It is said that Dhoaketh made use of a silver object called a mar when he was engaged in battle. Supposedly it brought good fortune to the possessor but more likely it symbolized an alliance between the Shilluk and people of the Nuba Mountains. It is significant that after Dhoaketh had successfully raided among the Nubas he "threw away the mar." Prisoners, taken principally from the Nyauro, Kae, and Fungar area due east of Koba, were settled at Athakong and probably constituted a bangleash, or personal bodyguard for Dhoaketh.\(^10\)

Tradition has it that the Shilluk people eventually vowed the Dhoaketh's raids, and the period of Tugo's rule (c. 1690-1720) was devoted to the establishment of more centralized rule. Apparently Tugo had been raised in Athakong, but upon his father's death he moved north to a location near Nubak and was supported in his royal claims by the northern chiefs. There he founded the village of Fubohda and made it his permanent residence. It was probably at this time that Tugo, in consultation with Anahuak, instituted the elaborate
installation ceremony that is still in use by the Shilluk. In a territorial sense the unity of Shillukland is emphasized in the ceremony through a symbolic reconciliation, after furious rock battle, between northern and southern Shilluk. And, as a reminder of the primacy of government and its representatives, a raiding party is sent far to the north of Shillukland to obtain a few items, the party's needs en route being met by taking whatever they like from their fellow-Shilluk along the way. Spiritually the Shilluk are drawn together through the reception of the spirit of Nyang into the person of the reth at the moment of installation, while all the major clans in the country have a role to play in the ceremony.

It is probable that the principal chieftaincies were established by this time. Originally the division between North (Go' Shaiml) and South (Go' Nyang) was at the Abor Arefajur -- by the village of Kwon, just south of Fashoda. Southern Shilluk interests were represented by the chiefs of Dhibalo Kwon and Tonga and the Northern interests by the chiefs of Colabony and Kuono (near Kaka). These were the most important chiefs in the country, and they, in concert with several other influential chiefs, selected the new reth. For at least two centuries the Chief of Tonga has been an Ouro clan, that is, from a clan which has been "upgraded," and is disallowed from providing a reth. Ouro are said to be traceable back to Pym, son of Olak Soile, but it is very likely that there have been numerous other "upgrades." During the present century agreement between the chiefs of Colabony and Dhibalo Kwon in the matter of
selection has been essential, and it has probably been so since the
time of Duyo, because the symbolic reconciliation between North and
South is such a significant part of the installation ceremony. A
man is chosen from among the sons of any previous, legitimate
Shilluk chief, and a requirement there in Shilluk history is the ability
to struggle for power. In the present century the problem has been
somewhat sorted out, and the surviving, eligible houses provide
rivals in turn, but this has been at the insistence of an occupying
administration, and the nature of the relationship has, of course,
changed considerably. The preceding two centuries, however, were
marked by familial treachery and wholesale assassinations.

By the end of Duyo’s reign the Funj Empire had fallen into
further disarray. Charles Montet, visiting Kordof in 1700, wrote
of a city where there was “nothing of authority” and which was “ill-
governed,” and a Catholic missionary, Theodore Krum, who was there
a year later, noted that the King of Kordof had to provide his
travelling merchants with an armed escort because trade routes had
become so disrupted. Krum was impressed, however, with the amount
of trade that took place at Kordof, calling it “… the most impor-
tant trading-centre of all the North countries in Africa.” He
emphasized the great amount of ivory being shipped north to Egypt,
and one might expect, given the geographic proximity that there was
between Funj and Shilluk and the considerably period of time in which
the two had been in contact, that the Shilluk might have been a
fruitful source of supply for Funj markets. It does not appear,
however, that the Shilluk have been particularly attracted by trade, evidenced by the fact that they use the same word, again, for both "to buy" and "to sell."  

Although Krapf made no mention of the White Nile the Funj had a base there, at El Ais, which had been -- and was to be -- a vital crossing point for the massive Dervish and Funj armies and was, therefore, a storage depot as well. In the opening years of the 19th century, during Togo's reign, the Funj garrison at El Ais rebelled, as the garrison at Kerkl and Senkar also did. Funj weakness along the White Nile was to Shilluk advantage, and by the end of the century the Shilluk were in complete dominion of the El Ais crossing.

Ahmadab had supervised the transfer of power from Khoodo to Togo, upon the death of the former, and when Togo died the riehship passed to Togo's son, Shikur, as undistinguished person in Shilluk tradition, and within a few years his older half-brother, Sayaduni, had supplanted him. Sayaduni had a long, and reputedly prosperous reign -- Hofmayr dates his 1715-1745 -- and it is said that the brick-price in his day was as high as 30-40 cow. The secluded conditions which prevailed are indicated by the fact that his burial site and shrine are located where he was born, at Kook in Gogony, and his establishments at Kook, at the head of the cull to Jokol

Fungur, suggests the possibility of trade between his representatives and Zalobeh operating from hills such as Plungur and Werna. Tradition from this period leaves the names of Sha and Nyiaso, chiefs of
Gotha and Atewa, respectively. It is agreed that they were closely related to the Akan, but accounts differ as to whether the relationship was hostile or friendly. Their presence in the Akan memory reinforces the notion that the weight of both population and power was shifting northward.

In 1948 the padj general Abu Liskak led a small armed group into Kumasi and re-established Padi authority there. Although he left after a few years to assume control of government in Yendi, his and Padi influence remained strong across the Nile for another two decades. It is a period that roughly coincided with, and may have had some bearing upon, a time remembered by the Akan as one of tension and intermittent struggle between royal houses in their country.

Maho was a son of Nyandu and reigned shortly upon the death of his father. His palace and burial site are at Fashia, also known as Funa. He was the Abor Anawo. He is identified with the mid-1700's 'Ma, or Maa, but it is questionable whether or not he was really a Maa. He was and burial site are at Adigang, just across the River Gokata from the old Gollih Mission, placing him rather far from the area that had stopped at the locus of the highest Akan authority. The location of Maa, taken together with Maha's withdrawal, suggests a decentralizing process,
perhaps occasioned by an excess of princes, who had strong local followings.

Dyelget, another son of Nyakali, moved to solve this problem by assembling all the princes at a banquet and having them murdered. However, a son of Cheo, Judit by name, escaped the butchery and rode his way to Liri, where he awaited a propitious moment for his revenge. One account has it that Dyelget’s birthplace and shrine are at Gala, in Galbobo, while another wherever places his shrine at a point near Nyakir. When this is true, it is clear that Dyelget intended to bring an end to the insecurity and to re-establish the ruleship in the Fashoda-Galbobo area.

One wonders if Judit’s exile to Liri might not have been shortened by a dreadful famine, which struck in 1798. For it certainly would here prepared a potential following for him in his bid to unseat Dyelget. Obviously he had the support of the Liri chiefs, who had been a traditional force in Shilluk affinity. His success was complete: he killed Dyelget and snuffed out the House of Nyakali. Perhaps out of gratitude to Liri and to the Southern Shilluk, or, more likely, because he would continue to rely on their backing, Judit founded the village of Malakal — a good distance to the south of Galbobo and Fashoda. Although he spent part of his time at Malakal he was also aware that the most control the north, and he built the village of Lii Omoa very near Fashoda. He spent much of his time there.
It may have been during the reign of Kelt that the explorer Bruce was at Genoa, and while the latter had an imperfect knowledge of the geographical scene about which he was writing, he left no
doubt that the Shilluk were in control at El Ais:

There are three principal governates in the kingdom
of Senaar. The first is at El-Ais, the capital of
that country, from which the Shilluk came. The Bahir
al-Ais spreads itself all over the territory; and,
divided into a quantity of small channels . . . sur-
rounds a number of little islands, upon each of which
is a village, and this collection of villages is called
the town of El-Ais. The inhabitants are all fishermen,
and have a number of boats, like canoes, in which they
sail up and down into the cataracts.22

And elsewhere: "The river El Ais is twice as broad as the
Nile . . . Before it flows the Nile are many islands; in these dwell
the Shilluk, who rob in banks up the whole of it."23 Apparently
these 'river Shilluk' lived by fishing and raiding, using the islands
for temporary shelter: "There are three principal islands . . .
They leave these islands in the rainy time, and repair to them
in the dry season."24 Bruce also mentioned a town called 'Shilluk' on
the east side of the Bahir-Al-Ais, three and one-half days journey
from Senaar.25 Whatever the real relationship between Rufu and
Shilluk, Bruce made no distinction between the two along this stretch
of the White Nile: "The Shilluk, in the islands of the Bahir El-Ais,
are Rufu also, say Rufu," and, "The Rufu occupy the river El Ais,
and extend themselves up it to the mountainous tract south . . . .26
One cannot say how far down-river these Shilluk ranged from El Ais.
Above, Bruce has then raiding to the confluence of the two Niles,
and he even credits them with activity as far north as the Cataracts.
Another scrap of evidence is in a story left by Reym-Pelletier to the effect that the site of present Khartoum had, in former times, been a settlement of importance, but that it had been ruined by Shilluk in 1780, when the town was leveled and the citadels massacred. 25

Some twenty years after Reym had been in Senaar a young Englishman just down from Oxford went out to Egypt, and after staying there a year he disguised himself as a North African and joined a caravan bound for Cairo. William George Browne had planned to travel on to Senaar and from there into Ethiopia, but these plans were impossible to carry out, and he returned to Egypt. Although his account is second-hand he left a rather detailed description of the El-Ais ford, "The place which the Ferry-bands frequent . . ."

Hallat Allah is situated on the West of the El-Ais. The river . . . is here of such breadth, that the features of a person standing on the other side cannot be distinguished but the house voice is heard — a number of trees is seen here to the West of the river, but to the East, Hallat Allah is altogether built of clay — a large palm tree grows in the middle of the town. On the eastern side of the river in Shilluk — not far away from it, being reported to be within sight of Allah. 26

Browne's source, albeit disingenuous with such a state of affairs, left no doubt as to who was in control of the river at that spot:

Shilluk is a race of beggars, built why clay. The inhabitants have no other clothing than hank of long grass, which they pull round the waist and between the thighs. They are all black; both sexes are accustomed to shave their heads. The people of Shilluk have the dominion of the river, and take toll of all passengers. In each article of traffic as paid among them. The name Shilluk is not Arabic, and its meaning is unknown.

Words, there was "confusion reigning at Senaar." Within the very room at the hotel, where the group was staying, there was a grand farewell banquet for the explorers, with speeches and toasts. The feeling of camaraderie was palpable, and the sense of adventure was evident as they left the Senaar area, heading south towards the White Nile.
When asked concerning their home or country, the people reply Shilluk. When employed in transporting merchandise across the ferry, they occasionally exhibit the important which pride situation gives them. After the Manlo has placed himself in the boat, they will ask him, "Who is the master of this river?" The other replies, as in ancient, "Shilluk or Oakland?" — God is the master of it. "No," answers the Shilluk, "you must say that such a one (pointing his chief) is the master of it, or you shall not pass."27

The informant, however, elaborated upon a Shilluk characteristic that was noted by several travellers throughout the following century: "They are represented as showing hospitality to such as come among them in a reasonable manner and as never betraying those to whom they have once accorded protection."28

Sennar was not a man of equals, but certainly one of the reasons that he returned directly to Egypt was that, in his own words, there was "mankind revolting at Sennar." Within the very recent past, Sir troops had occupied central Kordofan — and Taqwil. In the Blue Mountains, had removed its independence. Kordofanian and Mahas tribes were now finding its way to Shendi rather than to Sennar.

The now reference to the Blue Nile south of the confluence was by a Swiss explorer, Johann Ludwig Burckhardt, who was at Shendi in 1816. He outlined the heavy trade activity there in great detail and credited the book to "the interruption of ... direct communication between Sennar and Kordofan?" — a problem common "principally by the robbers and the rapacity of the Arabs of the Shilluk, at the passage of the Blue at Taqwil ... "29 Elsewhere he wrote of the "horrors between Kordofan and Shilluk, on the road to Sennar," giving priority to the name "Shilluk" over "El Silluk."29
Clearly, the Shilluk -- at least the "River Shilluk" of the north -- were more interested in ruling than they were in trading, or else they would have shown more concern with the preservation of the Kordofan-Sennar trade route. It is not possible to say to what extent the Shilluk north of Kaka were engaged in trade at this time. Certainly there were very old 'ties' with the Kaka Mountains via Fangor and Werts, and Kaka has easy access to Jebel Turum and Karou, but there is no documentation of trade contact between the Shilluk and Kordofanian Jallaba until the 1830's.

Instability in Sennar seemed to suit the Shilluk well. Ryskaat, son of Kaliit, ruled for some forty years (c. 1780-1820), and his reign is remembered as a time of peace. In terms of external relations there is a single scrap of tradition, which tells that during these years a mass of Dinka were anxious to migrate across the Soba. Probably these were the Dinka, because they asked for, and received from the Shilluk, some land on the Aher Ater -- south of Shillukland -- at a time when Aher were not settled. Such a mutual agreement on the part of Shilluk and Dinka could have come in response to the spearhead of the great Dinka movement that was to threaten both groups in years to come.

At this time another strong female personality made her appearance among the Shilluk. She was Abu, or Amonyin, daughter of Kaliit.

This Aher Ater is not to be confused with the Aher Ater, which is in northern Shillukland. The word Ater would appear to be related to the Arabic adjective 'corrodiyar.'
Secrecy surrounding the political role played by wives and the occasional frustration caused thereby to colonial administrators in the earlier part of the present century was noted by Nufayry:

"... a king’s daughter of the Shilluk government has never come forward as chief, but sends a trusted representative to appear publicly ... who claims to be chief. In this way the English Government only with great difficulty learned of a female regency." "Die Schilluk," p. 159.

Female offspring are not supposed to marry.

When Jack Hay visited the Venema Fathers’ mission at Lui in 1902 for the first time he gave this title to the Shilluk chief there for his "cooking ability and personality," but I think it more plausible that Hay saw this name as his best opportunity of keeping in close touch with activity at the mission. See Nebuchad, "Note on New Mission at Lui." Maghreb, July, 1906, p. 125.

According to Shilluk custom in any other case of incest the act will be followed by a disease called duma.

The Dabuqsi and Dabyalsh appears a manuscript D2 in H. A. Mac-Nicholl, A History of the Arabah in the Sudan, Vol. II. This quote on p. 252. The Dabuqsi was written by Muhammad el Har Walad Dabyalsh, named Muhammad in 1875. It is a compilation of biographies of holy men in the Sudan beginning in the first decade of the 19th century.

The Lui Mission was located here: "... the land was a large place where the earth was impregnated with salt -- the remains of a very old salt lake, on the borders of which was the great village of Oliman, destroyed during the Dervish-Shilluk wars."

Bullitt’s De Es-Soudan, Mesopotamia de Geographie, 6, p. 150. The Lake had dried up by the 18th century, and thereafter the salt flats near Kaduqana probably assumed greater importance.

Nufayry, "Die Schilluk," p. 74, mentioned these Jebels. Also, see Jackson, "A Note on Shilluk Kicks," p. 50, who specified Jabal Tumpe, which might possibly be Jubail Diri. See p. 25.

The North is now called Derv and the South is Lwa, and the division is well to the south of here -- between the villages of Toma and Medam. The boundary between Mab and Maw, had, prior to the closing years of the Nubians, been further to the north. See pp. 200-205.

16Charles Fosbet, A Voyage in Ethiopia Made in the Years 1898, 1899, & 1900, p. 10.
upon Nyakwac's accession to the rulership, a half-sister to Nyakwac came to live with him, and they both had children at Fashoda. Crossland dates the custom of the rohj measuring with a half-sister from this time, but, as suggested earlier, it seems very likely that it originated in the time of Abudok and Shukot.

The presence of such a custom among the Shilluk presents the possibility that a patriarchal descent system had been superseded over a matrilineal one at some time in the distant past.

The death of Nyakwac was roughly contemporary with the Nile expeditions of the armies of Muhammad Ali. The former event marked an end to a century-and-a-half of Shilluk aggressiveness, which had eventuated in their complete domination of the White Nile from Lake No as far north as El Alie. The latter event brought with it an end to Funj confusion and the installation of a "Turkish" government, the principal aim of which was to encourage and coordinate trade in the Sudan to the ultimate benefit of Egypt. The net cast by the new government brought it into conflict with the Shilluk.

Footnotes

2. H. C. Jackson, "A Note on Shilluk Kings." Republic of the Sudan Central Records Office. Dakkha/112/0017/Plots 42.
4. I think it is correct to say that, generally, Shilluk are loathe to admit this. Ewen Lee, the son of an ex-rohj, told me in personal interview that there were no "queue ofotten" and that Abudok was simply an interim ruler. (Interview conducted at the Ministry of Southern Affairs, Juba, March 4, 1971).

14. By "the Shilluk" I mean the bulk of the Shilluk population. At least during the 18th century, if not earlier, Sera was a very active trader. His monopolization of all important trade items certainly must account for the general lack of commercial sophistication.

15. Hofmayer, "Die Schillik," p. 79.

16. Ibid., pp. 79-82, has Abu Allah, a relative of Sysabul, as Chief of Odo (Golden) in Syabul's time. He portrays their relationship as hostile. He places Sysabul as a daughter of Kudi, Chief of Kyowa, and co-ruler of the Shilluk with Sysabul. The version of the tradition concerning Abu and Sysabul I am using is from Cramb's The Anna,. ... p. 296. According to him the relationship between the three, Abu, Sysabul, and Syabul was friendly.


18. The name was known as descendant of Sabe, "the year of pressure." See Cramb, A History of the Anna, ..., Vol. II, p. 247.

19. Hofmayer, "Die Schillik," p. 87, has Syabul killing the last son of Sibyl.


21. Ibid., Vol. 7, Appendix II to books 7 & 8, p. 91. To Bruce the term "Shillik" meant the Blue Nile.

22. Ibid., p. 91.


Also, see Ferdinand Wonne. Expedition to Discover the Source of the White Nile in the Years 1806-1811. (London, 1843). Vol. 1, p. 80, who wrote that, "according to the expression of the Bahracz," the Shilluk territory "has extended ... up to the mouth of the White Nile ..." (Shillika are Wonne's).
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
28. Ibid., p. 293.
30. These is Crazzolara's version of Abo, but for Hofmeyr's conflicting tradition the reader is referred to Cramote IA, page 120.
31. In support of the earlier date is the fact that in a tale supposedly relating to the earliest Shilluk history Ark takes a half-sister to wife, and it is my notion, as already stated, that both Arka and Ark were fictional creations dating from the time of Abohuk, Mabou, and Tago.
32. In this respect it is interesting to note that the offspring of the ancestors, rival act was ruled by the maternal uncle.
CHAPTER 10
1821-1833

Immediately upon the conquest of Senaar the new Turco-Egyptian administration undertook to justify their invasion through the acquisition of slaves and gold. The quest for the former took an expedition to the area near present-day Koch, on the White Nile, where several hundred Dinka were captured, but it was not until five years later, in 1826, after both civil and military functions of the Turco-Egyptian administration had been brought together in the person of 'Ali Kurshid Pasha, that the main body of Shilluk came into direct contact with the new government. In that year a scouting mission was sent into their territory, and in 1827 'Ali Kurshid pushed as far south as the Sobat, bringing a sizeable number of Dinka captives back to Senaar. Then, pressed by Cairo for slaves, 'Ali Kurshid, supported by a fleet carrying 2000 men, ventured up the Nile as far as the Sobat confluence. On his return he attacked the Shilluk, but they were prepared for battle and only gave up some 200 prisoners—not an overwhelming defeat.

It appears that the Dinka continued to have the run of the White Nile up to 14° N. lat. during the early years of Turco-Egyptian rule. A French explorer and engineer, Libant de Bellefonds, an erstwhile employee of Muhammad 'Ali, but now travelling under the auspices of the British African Association, attempted to make contact with the Shilluk in the year 1877 and reached as far south as El Ais.
..." Yet it was still used as a crossing-point, and Shilkh were engaged in the business of ferrying feluccas. Shilkh boatmen had earned a reputation for arrogance in preceding years, and Linant reported that sixty merchants had been slaughtered only a few days before his arrival.

The possibility of large-scale Shilkh attacks upon Alpashian Arab settlements, even as far north as the confluence of the Nile, was mentioned in the last chapter, but as the 19th century progressed the most common form of belligerence came to be the small-scale Shilkh raid, in which the aggressor had prior knowledge as to when and where a nomadic Arab group would bring its herds to water. Advancing by night the Shilkh would submerge themselves by the river's edge, and, when the moment was right, would pounce upon the unsuspecting guards and take-off to the opposite shore with the captured beasts.
If the head was sizable the Arabs would be forced to give up cloth, tobacco, or other items of appeal to retrieve their heads. Captured Shilluk, on the other hand, were sold as slaves to Korofesian traders.  

Liman was not happy over his failure to penetrate Shillukland proper, and on his return north he had a chance to discuss the matter with Rustan Bey, Governor of Korofe, who was on his way through Wad Shilluk. Turkish-Egyptian administrators were not anxious to allow Europeans to travel and to trade freely in the Sudan, and Rustan was uncooperative toward Liman, although he did offer that Liman accompany an “invasion” into “nagru country” after the rains. It was suggested that Liman could make contact with the Shilluk during the raid, which was presumably to be of a tax-collecting nature into the northeastern extremity of what was regarded as the Korofesian Governor’s sphere of influence. Liman, hoping to meet with the Shilluk under less strained circumstances, chided himself for using the wrong approach:

I should have gone without delay, to Misgalela, Obeid, or Haman, in order to send a messenger from thence to the Shilluk, hoping especially to succeed in this, through the means of sheikh Ahmad Bedani, of Obeid, who is said to have frequent communication with the Shilluk.  

What emerges from Liman’s self-castigation is a picture of regular trade contact between Korofesian Gallabas and the Shilluk. It has been suggested earlier that the Shilluk themselves were not especially active traders, so it may be assumed that it was the Gallabas who visited the Shilluk and not the latter who travelled to the markets of Korofe. It is most likely that this sort of trade dated at least to the mid-17th century and partially explains the
establishment of a capital on a site that dominates the Fuger Tells and the Duba Hills for the purpose of taking slaves.' However, the growth and increased activity of Kordofanian Government probably did not seriously hamper the flow of trade between Khartoum and Jallabia. 10

At about the same time that Salena was in Kordofan another Austrian subject was on the White Nile. Joseph von Rassenger, in 1837, noted very little change since Limant had been there ten years before. Perhaps there was increased production at the Manjara boat works, but much of the output seemed to find its way to Egypt, and south of Ed-Dauin the river was still reported as being a Shilluk one. 11

The first White Nile exploratory expedition, sponsored by the Turkish-Egyptian Government, set out in November of 1829. After reaching
a point north of Shillukland it returned to Khartoum, replenished its supplies, and headed southwest again late in 1840. Several Europeans accompanied the second cruise, and their observations tell of a rather altered situation along the river. A government man, whose role seemed to be primarily that of tax-collector, was now stationed at El Ais, which had become "one of the principal colonies of the Han- somics" and which was also "... a kind of emporium ... wherein the traders of El Ais, by their slaves, barter Kurbashas ... tama- rhins, dried basins, and hides, in exchange for horned cattle, dura, and woolen stuffs." Although this account mentioned the Shilluk in connection with the market, and another of the travellers told that: "They descend ... the river with their pilgrages ... up to almost 1", and navigate up to the point of the Isle of Semna ...", other evidence suggests that within the few years since Rungegger's visit in 1837 the Shilluk had been forced to the defence. For example, in Werner's account there is no mention of Shilluk villages south of El Ais until Kaha. Instead, he wrote of the upstream Ragura Arabs, who: "... on the left shore are here all erected, which en- ables them to make during incursions into the land of the Shilluks and Janjeh, who are not horsemens." According to one source many of the Arabs in this area were refugees from Zemafien rule, using the low water at Mahald during the dry season to escape into Semna. Therefore it seemed to be no immediate Shilluk response to the estab- lishment of a new government in Semna in 1831. They had apparently
prospered under a popular ruler for some forty years, and upon the
death of Nyakwee one of his sons, Anyi, succeeded to the throne.

There is a story that the old king would have preferred that another
of his sons, Ayezi, be chosen. Eventually Nyakve had his brother
murdered, and a third brother, Akwe, became king, but there could be
none to this violent episode than mere sibling rivalry. Possibly
Anyi represented the view that the Shilluk should avoid unnecessary
involvement in external affairs, because it is said that his final
words of advice to his offspring were "to remain peaceful and happy"
and to "strive not for honors and riches." Anyi’s death, as dated by
Mofmay, roughly coincided with the first Turkish- Egyptian slave-raiding
expedition against the Dinka in the Sobat area, and it seems very
likely that the most influential Shilluk opinion favored an aggres-
sive policy toward what appeared to be a changing balance in the
Southern Sudan.17

The Dinka were now vulnerable, threatened as they were from
the north, and Akwe, the successor to Anyi, used the opportunity to
attack. Striking from the two major centers of Shilluk power he de-
novated the Aungil, across river and inland from Bulbary, and the
Agor, across from Bagu. Proceeding further toward the east Shilluk
forces had a successful military encounter with the "AiIo," the pre-
cise identity of whom remains uncertain, but who were apparently
located in the vicinity of Mansur.

17 See p. 125.
One source, recounting the tradition of this period, spoke of Akwet as having recovered a silver pot from the river, a recovery which somehow spurred him on to his victories, while Hathor’s version of the story had Akwet miraculously locating the lost “cure of the Shilluk” prior to achieving his successes on the field of battle.

My understanding of Southern Sudanese traditions is that the discovery or transformation of such a basin as a silver pot or ring is either a sign of divinity or alliance, meaning that the Shilluk may have had assistance from others. Or at least one other occasion this was as according to the tradition of the Todi Shinka on the Khor Atter, Hath Akwet, assisted by Anaka, “fell in on flood waters in caddie and carried off large numbers of Todi women and children . . .”

Raiding neighboring tribes for cattle and women was part of the way of life in the Southern Sudan, but combat involving large numbers of people was relatively infrequent. Shilluk tradition leaves record of only a few major encounters with the Dinka, and in this particular instance the violence probably had been triggered by the first Turco-Egyptian expedition, the ensuing Dinka panic, and the realization on the part of the Shilluk that a tremendous booty was there for the taking. However, a decade later the Shilluk were again at war, and this time their resources were to be more severely taxed.

Suffering from famine has played a critical role among the people under consideration here, because with it there has sometimes been population movement. The drought that began in 1935 was an especially bitter one, lasting three years, and it was probably the
major reason why the Nuer began to move on move toward the east, converging the relative place of the Shilluk and Nuba. Father Buyar presented a rather complete story covering the events of that time.\footnote{24}

About had died probably in 1871 or 1872 and was succeeded by Asis, still another son of Nyaseh, but one Asis, supported by Luck (the South), set himself up in opposition. Meanwhile, the Chief of Twal, Aduchit to name, was making his own private arrangements with the advancing Nuer. However, far from preventing Aduchit's cause, the Nuer, overam Luck, destroyed Asis's following, and chased Asis as far north as Kaka, where they crossed the river and set upon the hopelessly helpless Aduchit. Credibility is lost to this account by a verse that appears at Asis's grave site in Nyale:

"O Aduchit from Tunga, where have you gone? The Nuer came! And you didn't flee to Jokaleland? O Aduchit, son of Nyaseh!

Verse left the following note, most certainly the product of Shilluk sources, from his travels on the White Nile in 1949: \footnote{25} "... the Shilluk, several years ago, had a great war with the Pades, drove them from those parts, and took possession of the lake abounding in fish." The Lake in question was at the junction of the Sabat and White Nile, an area controlled by Shilluk prior to the Nuer invasion. After the Shilluk had repelled they probably pushed out the remaining Nuer and reassured their claim to the area. However, the main body of the Dinka-Shilluk section of Nuer, of which the migration was comprised, pressed on up the Sabat and established themselves on both sides of the river. Apart from the hindering
suffered from invasion and defeat that the Shilluk had to bear, the outcome of the entire affair was disastrous for them in that it cut them off from the Nuer and forced them to accept the possibility of assault, where there had formerly been alliance, from that direction.22

With the familiar case political authority, and, as people will often do in difficult times, the Shilluk pinned their hopes on a brutal and harsh man. Alue, a son of Alueit, is remembered as being responsible for the senseless slaughter of a great many Shilluk, but what his motivations were will never be known. Apparently he was murdered in the district of Nbook after a short reign -- ostensibly for his cruelty, but the underlying reason was probably that he had been unable to lift the famine.23

The installation of Nbook, the fourth son of Nbook to become reth, coincided with the last days of the drought, and Shilluk tradition credits him with the prosperity that followed over the next two decades. Yet, a few of Nbook's subjects may have been concerned, even at that early date, over the growing number of Nbooks and the encompassing Turkic-Egyptian administration to the north of Shillukland. As the Shilluk had profited earlier at the expense of the Nook, there were now those who were prepared to benefit from Shilluk misfortune.
FOOTNOTES


2In the eyes of a pro-administration historian of a slightly later date this was seen as a crushing victory: "In 1851 Kharshid Agha made an expedition in Sanaa against the HEJAZI and inflicted upon them such a thrashing as had never been seen since the time of the Mub Rali Rihaat." (S. R. K. MacKintosh, A History of the Arabs in the Sudan. London, 1907), Vol. VII, p. 392.

3A government boat-work had been established at Madna, north of Wad Shail in 1892, perhaps for the purpose of assisting Mil Khurshid's expedition, but it was not until 1895 that the capitulation of the administration was shifted from a site on the Blue Nile to the burgeoning town of Kortum at the confluence of the Niles.


5See Emilio Dandolo, Viaggio in Egitto, nel Sudan, in Steam ed in Palestina (1860-61). (Milano, 1863), pp. 294-295. Ferdinand Verwee, Expedition to Discover the Sources of the White Nile in the Year 1860-61. (London, 1866), Vol. I, p. 42, was told that such Italian artifice was necessary because their numbers had become too small to challenge the Arabs and that "open violence" was not customary at that time.


8Ernst Höppel, Reisen in Saba, Kordofan und den Petòlichen Annalen. (Frankfurt, 1879), pp. 130-137.

9He claimed that in 1871 some 40,000 Sudan had been taken captive and that by 1879 the number had increased to 200,000. See Emiliano Palma, Prowele de Kordofan. (London, 1843), pp. 83-90. However, Palma's personal motives and, hence, his credibility, must be brought into question, because he later assisted a plan to a representative of the Austrian Government for the feasibility of a take-over of the areas now comprising Ethiopia, the Central Sudan, and Libya. The original document is in the Colorado State Archives, Denver. I have a microfilm copy.
It was observed in 1879 that there were Sallu Jajajwe Arabs in the vicinity of Wuli Island (just north of Asal), who traded cattle for copper regularly with the Silliuk. They also apparently bought Silliuk ivory for Kenduwalik cloth at a market in Kenduul — three types of Asal honey. — Although the market was strictly supervised by the Yemeni-Egyptian government. See G. Thirault, "Voyage de M. Thirault a Fourque Blanche." Nouvelles Annales des Voyageurs, 1879, January 1879, p. 26.

11Below that point the practice was to spend nights aboard ship in mid-stream from Isur of Silliuk Cash. See Joseph von Hammer, Relazione di una Viaggio di Geografia, p. 12, in den Jahren 1822 bis 1824, (Stuttgart, 1942), Vol. II, pp. 57-59.


14Vera, "Voyage de M. Thirault a Fourque Blanche," p. 23.

15See Wilhelm Hofmann, "Die Silliuk," Anthropos, 1925, p. 29. For this piece of Silliuk tradition.

16Hofmann's dating for the Silliuk reach prior to 1839 (1905-1939) is largely conjectural, and, as will be shown, is sometimes clearly erroneous. In this case he may be correct. He gives Zaky's death at 1925, while the Turkish Conquest mission against the Silliuk was in 1826 and the first revolt against the Turks, following the initial skirmish in 1823, took place in 1827.


P. P. Howell, "The Zaire Hills." Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. XXIV, Part II, 1945, p. 921. This way have occurred in 1839, as there was an especially high Nile in that year.

The Salliuk and Amuk have both traditionally been very close. One of the "royal spoils" of the Amuk was obtained from the Salliuk, and Gaza Wali Dey, one of the early Amuk kings, obtained an honorary garment from a Salliuk reach.

B. S. Wainwright, "Il Piano Bianco e i Dodici" (Venezia, 1883), p. 151, describes how the two people: "In 1892 two boats of Arab merchants ventured up the Asirn River, and after many days travel they came to a tribe of Negroes who call themselves Salliuk, who have
a king the same like the one at Bonab. And "... southeast of the country of the Nuer Nago other Shilluk are to be found on the left bank and on the right of the Sobat, as well as along the Gabba, which appears to be a branch of the River Adda. All these Shilluk, how-
erer form a single, large tribe, subject to the same Chief, who ... has the title of King."

3Wisse, Expedition ..., p. 706.

Further, the Shilluk may have had to pay tribute, at least for a time, amounting to 1/10 of the chief's revenue. The following was told to John Petrikin by a Shilluk who had been captured by a Nuer in 1840, so it can be assumed that the information is reliable. See John and Rose Petrikin, Travels in Central Africa and Explorations of the Western Tribesmen. (London, 1859), Vol. II., pp. 4-5.

"Nawithstanding his might, state, and the circumstances of his office being hereditary in his family, he acknowledges his fidelity to Jambang, Sultan of the Bongo, by the payment of an annual tribute, amounting to the 1/10 part of his revenue.

The Bongo are a powerful tribe in possession of a considerable dis-

The location mentioned in this quotation is precisely where the el-
gantry heretofore settled, but that area was occupied by Nuer before the

2Hutnay, "Die Shilluk," pp. 94-95, notes that "circa 1840-1845," and J. T. Crowther, The Nuer. (Verona, 1991: Vol. 11, p. 137, gave "9 years ago [1840-1849]"). Both these are in error. Hutnay claims that these ruled during the great famine, which, according to various testimony, spread over the years 1845-1850. Furthermore, by the time of the 1845 Turk-Egyptian expedition, the Nuer had already lost. See Thibet, "Voyage ... .", p. 38-39: "Neb Kiedok's residence is a
two-hour walk."

...
CHAPTER 11

THE REIGN

In the two decades following the Turco-Egyptian exploratory voyages of the White Nile there were numerous first-hand accounts of the Shilluk left by travellers, missionaries, and hunters, but much of the information was superficial and focused upon the description of the people. During the Mahdiyya, of course, there were no Europeans in Shillukland, but within the first few years of the present century British administrators and Christian missionaries had established themselves in the area and were turning out a considerable amount of material in the form of reports, some of it concerning tribal organization, customs, and history. By and large their assessment of the Shilluk and his administration seemed to confirm the observations of the earlier witnesses -- that a tyrannical ruler took a very active part in governing his people. Eventually, the difficulties faced by the British in establishing workable administration in the Southern Sudan led them to call in anthropologists to help create understanding where conflict had developed. However, such scholarly effort was undertaken, at least where the Shilluk were concerned, against a backdrop of rapidly changing institutions, brought about by the machinations of administrators concerned in the earlier years with expedience and later with fostering triballism.

During this period the reign undergoes dramatic change, from a position of broad secular power to one in which the ruler served primarily sectarian functions. War, whose reign included the final years...
of the Mahdiya, was kept on by the British but was found by them to
be less than palatable. In spite of the fact that he was probably an
efficient administrator, doing a considerable amount of travelling
throughout the country to hear cases, the British administration felt
that his interests would be better served if it could deal with a more
transitable Pasha, and it was, consequently, arbitrarily deposed and
packed-off to the Northern Sudan. His supporters were, naturally,
quite agitated, and such tampering with the highest political and
religious institution exacerbated the feelings of other Shillah.1 At
the new election the Governor of Kordofan participated and threw his
weight in favor of Fadil, who was elected and installed without pro-
per ceremony. And, on top of it all, the alien administration had
imposed, in the meantime, a cattle-tax. In short order, the British
had circumvented traditional means of dispatching a Pasha, undermined
the duties of the Chiefs of Dabalo Ewe and Galbany through interfer-
ing in the election, and had usurped the prerogative of the Pasha by
levying their own cattle-tax.

As for Fadil, he was a lackey from the outset and was not gene-
really recognized as a legitimate Pasha by the Shillah. The aims of
the administration as stated in the following succeeded:

... everything is being done to try and prevent the
new Pasha falling into the way of the old and assuming the
powers that are recognized by the whole tribe as pertain-
ing to the office of Pasha certain customs, such as the
traffic in young girls (as payment of fines), which are
of an old standing as the establishment of the office of
Pasha itself, have been prohibited.2

The measures taken by the administration, as outlined above,
and during the intervening years had so weakened the authority of the
Chiefs of Debolo Kwen and Gatonyo that, when Fadjet succeeded in 1917, they were unable to agree upon the succession, and the administration once again stopped in and forced Fadjet upon a powerful Southern Shilluk population. In order to sidetrack any possible broader aspirations it was British administrative policy from about 1920 forward to encourage tribalism in the Southern Sudan. The roothold had, of course, lost its political and judicial teeth with the depoising of Fadjet, so now the religious aspect of that office was dramatized and held up to scholarly scrutiny. Yet even there the roothold had been stripped of a great deal of its former prestige. For example, the roothold, driven to live on a small salary, could no longer afford to provide the cattle for the sacred herd at Nyiyival and Nau.

Seeing the Shilluk in these circumstances scholars took issue with the previously accepted observations, such as expressed by the missionary Westerners: "The power of the king was, previous to the British occupation, absolute; he disposed of life and death of his subjects. The subjects had to pay heavy taxes in cattle, dura, beets, skins for clothes, and under certain circumstances in persons also."

The revisionist view was exemplified by P. F. Howell:

"It is my opinion that the ordered indigenous administrative system of the Shilluk, so enthusiastically described by some writers, and the organized repressive measures alleged to have been undertaken by the roothold, are not only exaggerated, but also, in part, derived from contacts with alien governments. At any rate it is more than probable that no system existed among the Shilluk whereby all wrongs were redressed by the diphot intervention of the roothold and his representatives."

Evans-Pritchard felt that one could not really use such terms as "state" and "government" in speaking of the Shilluk and that at
Administrative system only came into being through contact with foreign
governments. Audrey Hott, in emphasizing the ceremonial nature of
the relationship, assigned the king of the Shilluk virtually no political
authority:

... for the king is primarily a symbolic representa-
tion of the Shilluk people and has ritual rather than
regulative and executive powers. Living in the age of
audrey in which the coercive, administrative and regula-
tive powers of state are unknown, the individual, sup-
ported by his big, has to feed for himself and look after
his possessions.

In my own view, what Hottman failed to underline was the very
important role played by the Nyanjang religion as a buttress to the king's
secular authority, while those in the other camp seriously underesti-
imated the king's actual secular functions as they may have existed
prior to the Turco-Egyptian government. It is, of course, difficult
to separate the secular and spiritual offices of the Shilluk reik,
nevertheless an attempt will be made to view the latter in terms of
the nyang with the reik at the apex of such. There will be a simul-
taneous effort made to place Shilluk organizational development in an
historical context, although this task is not made easier by the dearth
of source material prior to the establishment of Turco-Egyptian admin-
istration. Some of my speculations are, therefore, based upon circum-
stantial evidence. For example, I have already attempted to show that
Nyanjang was a mythological figure created during the 17th century, and
since it is from that time that Shilluk tradition dates the establish-
ment of a capital at Phasha and the inception of an installation cere-
mony, it also seems logical to me that each of the present Shilluk
customary law, which is attributed to the degrees of Nyanjang, and is,
therefore, "divine" and not susceptible to ready change, derives from that period. Formerly, violations of customary law had top priority as far as an order of hearing was concerned, followed by assault and murder, theft, and sexual assault. As with the precepts of the Mosaic Decalogue it was divided into two areas; the first dealing with the necessity for the individual to respect and obey the divine being, and the second concerning itself with secular behavior. Among the Shilluk one could not pray to the gods of aliens and could not shirk specific responsibilities toward the puch -- namely, to pay tribute and to help, when expected, in the construction of a royal residence.

Nyakang also decreed that upon the death of a puch no activity should take place until a new puch had been installed. The secular aspect of "divine law" addressed itself to matters of inheritance, the distribution of hunting and fishing territory, and the allocation and ownership of land. Such secular laws had built-in sanctions in that they were part of a body of customary law that was, itself, divinely ordained, and the puch, as legal arbiter, had the ancient power of the move as a reinforcement.

The over-all custodianship of the religion was in the hands of the barnath, of whom the puch was the first priest. They could be of either sex, and many of them were royal women, who were past their child-bearing days. The barnath attended the ten shrines of Nyakang, which were spread throughout the country, but they might be absolved and initially instructed by local chefs, which had traditional interests in the shrines. The shrine was the focus of virtually all important provincial festivals, and local involvement was reaffirmed
every few years with communal participation in the rebuilding or repair of the shrine structures.

All the land and cattle of the Shilluk was, in theory, held in trust by the rehkh for Nyakang, so prosperity in these terms was the greatest measure of royal success. The share of cattle which the rehkh reserved especially for his keeping were tended by barns, and, of course, the maintenance of ample herds was important to royal prestige. It is very likely that in the past the barns were able to augment these royal herds through taxation. This spiritual administrative structure dates probably to the founding of the Nyakang religion and is not the product of recent example or pressures. Han-Bullet noted it in the 1800’s: “Now every village is a temple, or house — a village in itself — in which resides a sort of spiritual nobility. They are held in great respect and enjoy the privilege of receiving a share of all gain that accrues to the community — whether acquired through friend or enemy.” One of the obvious particularly attracted his attention: “The Shilluk have a type of sun and Nile cattle. Both ‘own’ herds of cattle kept in UAO (Wau), which are regarded as holy, and the core of these herds is in the hands of the Aaron prophets known as ‘SHILMAMI’.”

It should be clear that the existence of “divine law,” a priesthood, and royal wealth had secular ramifications in the daily life of the Shilluk. To what degree the rehkh exercised authority within a religious-administrative framework must have depended upon individual personality as well as the dictates of custom. Concerning those barns which had been royal wine, the rehkh probably was faced with
something approaching a fait accompli as to appointments. That is, the women concerned would have thrown up their own candidates based upon the natural hierarchy that had developed in royal quarters, and were the regent to challenge this kind of selective process he would have been faced with serious domestic difficulties. As already mentioned there is the strong possibility that it was at one time the Shilluk custom for the royal wives to participate in arrangements for the assassination of the regent, when they felt that he was no longer capable of serving the interests of the populace. If that were, indeed, the case then the necessity for the regent to be responsive to his wives' interests is obvious. There were also, according to the Saligua, another baraka, representative of local clan or popular interests — "certain old men, who appear to have an hereditary connection with the shrine," and individuals, usually epileptics, who were regarded as being possessed with divine spirit.

The religion of the Nyang was perpetuated, as far as the mass of the Shilluk was concerned, through participation in activities centering about the shrines, but when a Shilluk person, for one reason or another, presented himself to the regent at Fashoda there was a protocol that left no doubt as to the utter subservience of the individual. He was required to approach his king on all-fours with face averted, a custom which was noted in the 1890's by European observers. It seems most unlikely that this aspect of the Nyang religion was ever indirectly a result of foreign pressures, because the Amak, who were virtually at one with the Shilluk prior to the Fashoda invasion of the 1890's, have preserved the identical custom, and the
Ammak were almost completely isolated from the presence of Turco-
Egyptian administration in the Sudan. 14

The religion of Nyang has been a conservative force in Shilluk
life. It has worked toward the preservation of old ways, and it has
been strong enough to deny this spread of alien religions. The customs
discussed above concerning the path's sanctity may help to explain why
early European visitors found it impossible to gain an audience with
him and why later administrators found themselves dealing with emis-
saries. 15 The religion was strong enough so that neither Muslim nor
Christian teachers could ever attract sizable followings.

However, the opinion that the functions of the path were of a
strictly secular nature is not borne out by an examination of the
training of a young prince. Although occasional ceremonial acts dif-
ferrentiated a potential path from his companions the qualities that
were most seriously considered in his royal candidacy were of a secu-
lar character — courage in fighting and in the hunt and the ability
to win over and to lead his fellow-Shilluk. 16 He was not reared in
seclusion, to ponder the mysteries of the highest office. He was
trained to be physically perfect and to develop fortitude and dignity,
so that he could meet the very real tests of war, famine, and the
daily dispensation of justice.

The following discussion will concern itself with the pyreoid
representing the primarily secular aspects of the pathship. Prior to
the 1850's the Shilluk had only peripheral contact with the Turco-
Egyptian administration. It is true that All Kouroud had imposed,
through an initial raid described earlier, an annual tribute upon them,
but there is no evidence that raiding had become a regularized phenomenon until much later. It would seem difficult to argue, therefore, that what the early Europeans reported in respect to Shilluk organization would have derived from contacts with the Turko-Egyptian administration. Indeed, Shilluk organization was profoundly affected by external influences, but I would argue that the Shilluk administrative system was one which, in its general form, was modelled after a system that was traditional to Northeast Africa, the Shilluk version of which dates to the 17th century.  

Brun-Nollet, who had brief contact with the Shilluk in 1844-1845, was struck by the stringency of their laws and reported upon the singular role played by the roth: "...adulterers ... are drowned, if they cannot pay for their crime" and "He punished thefts committed throughout his kingdom by fines." This theme was repeated by numerous European observers over the next fifteen years, none of whom, admitted, were influenced by Brun-Nollet's commentary. However, a corroborating account was given by Ali Gifoon, a Shilluk born about 1780, who had been enslaved in the 1860's by the freedower Muhajer Khayr. In describing the reign of Muhajer, "which was of the best and strictest description," he remembered that serious offenses were punished by death and that theft was rare. Proponents noted in the early 1860's that the roth spent the entire day hearing cases, a responsibility that apparently survived forty years of Turko-Egyptian and Mahdist administration intact. Badwashi, one of the early Christian missionaries of the post-Mahdi era, was impressed by Muh's ability to rule and to judge. He described a typical court session of
In the absence of a written record, the role of the pasha and his councilors in resolving disputes is best understood through the author's observations. The author notes that the pasha, being the highest authority in town, would hear appeals from all over the province, including cases that were referred to him by the councilors. However, the author cautions that the pasha's decisions were not always fair, and that his authority was not always respected by the local population. The author also mentions that the pasha's decisions were often influenced by the political and economic conditions of the time, and that his decisions were sometimes arbitrary.

While the pasha's role in resolving disputes was significant, the author notes that the pasha's decisions were not always respected by the local population. The author attributes this to the pasha's lack of understanding of the local culture and traditions, as well as his own bias and prejudice. The author suggests that the pasha's decisions were often influenced by the political and economic conditions of the time, and that his decisions were sometimes arbitrary.

The author concludes that the pasha's role in resolving disputes was important, but that his decisions were not always fair or just. The author suggests that the pasha's authority could be improved by increasing the transparency of his decision-making process, and by involving the local population in the decision-making process. The author also suggests that the pasha's decisions could be improved by increasing the representation of the local population in the decision-making process.
at the close of the 18th century, and Linant, who had been most interested in visiting among the Shilluk, although he only succeeded in reaching El-Alo, reported what had been told him of the rest and his country in 1827: "In placing myself under his protection I knew well that I should run little or no risk, as far as my life was concerned, for they respect more, perhaps, than their neighbours the laws of hospitality, excepting only near the frontiers..." The relative security with which foreigners could pass through Shillukland was noted by Palmier in the 1830's, although his account was not first-hand, and by Wern, who accompanied the first Turco-Egyptian exploratory voyage and was struck by the fact that "a merchant was by them esteemed... almost a sacred person." On the heels of the Mahdiyya Toppo was able to describe Shilluk security in the same terms as Broome had over a century earlier: "Their friend can travel the width and length of the country unscared, and without escort -- the Shilluk will respect his presence." I suggest that such security did not develop as a royal nonaggressive device in response to a burgeoning nineteenth-century ivory trade but was very likely a policy which had been followed in that part of Africa, in order to facilitate trade, for a very long time. As roughly the same time as Wern was in Shillukland Toppo and Lionberg were in Ethiopia, and they wrote about the Galla, with whom the Shilluk may bear an historical relationship, but who had not been exposed to the same alien pressures: "If a Galla likes a stranger, he makes him his 'Hugai,' or favourite.

*See p. 144.*
declaring before the Ababsa... that no man should touch him...
If you have become the ‘enemy’ of a Gallia, you can go through the whole tribe; but if you have not, the Gallas will kill you immediately.'

The undisputed secular authority of the roth was a matter of commentary on the part of Christian missionaries in the opening years of this century. Tappi observed that 'when he (the roth) wants to issue a decree, he sends someone from Fashoda...'. In issues which might call for coercion, such as tax-collecting and hunting down criminals, special, permanent functionaries known collectively as takur were called upon, and in situations where an armed force was needed for domestic use the roth could muster his jagruth, a body of retainers composed mainly of captives taken in battle. For additional aid he might call upon particular settlements or sections -- usually eager to assist in the administration of justice, because it would mean that they would share in any fines imposed. In the earlier part of the present century the roth was able to anticipate from which quarters trouble was likely to come through an extensive spy network, although there is no evidence that such activity dates further back.

No matter how forceful a shilla roth might have been, however, his decrees had to pass through the filter of an advisory council headed by the four most important chiefs in the land -- those of Tonga, Moppa, Nebalo Kew, and Galway -- before they reached the local chiefs. Apart from these four the council was composed of the chiefs (or their representatives) of the numerous settlements. Henshaw noted that each ‘major chief’ had a deputy, and, at least in the past, it

T to assume this to mean settlement chief.
is very likely that the deputy resided semi-permanently in Fashoda and acted as liason between his chief and the capital. Knobloch remarked in 1849 that the "king . . . rules through settlement chiefs, whose representatives meet with his, the king, every three weeks . . . ."32 In 1850 Thilcart counted 25 important provincial chiefs between the northern limits of Shillikland and "Tashouara," so that one could suppose that there would have been between 50 and 100 in the entire country.33 Some forty years later Wernernm and Behsholler, separately, estimated that there were 60 provincial chiefs, who also took part in the election ceremonies, an indication that the basic administrative structure of Shilluk society had not drastically changed through the years of the Turkana and the Maasai.34

The gaf, consisting usually of two huts, is the family home and the smallest social unit in the country. Anywhere between one and fifty of these constitute a pat (pl. patri), or hamlet, and a series of hamlets, each separated by a couple of hundred yards, makes up the path, or settlement. Each hamlet represents an extended family, or lineage, and the most senior lineage in the settlement is called dypa, which is regarded as owner of the land. The lower lineages are known as safa. The settlement chief is ordinarily from the numerically strongest lineage, whether it be dypa or safa, and is popularly selected and confirmed by the path, although there has been varying testimony on this point, and it is possible that in times of stress, or where personal interest was at stake, the PCA was inclined to involve himself in the nomination.35
Ownership of land has been important to the Shilluk, and the fact that their word for “settlement,” pômk, is a derivative of the word for “farm” and “field” suggests that land was originally parcelled out to various clans for agricultural use. There is no indication that the Shilluk diversified their agriculture along clan lines in the past, but clans did specialize in other areas. For example, the Ass Ayibpo were blacksmiths and hunters, the Ass Nyilay were probably metal-workers, the Ass Obogo attended the royal herds, and the Ass Omon, according to the same, were fighters. In Shilluk tradition the Ass Ojul, one of the oldest of their clans, was known for its cattle-rearing in the “land of bino.” Ojul is a “hawk” in Shilluk, and it is quite likely that in the distant past totemic clans served administrative-military functions. However, the Shilluk say that when Nyikong came he “turned animals into people,” which may be symbolic reference to the fact that a major change in administrative-religious system took place, whereby human anthro-political correspondences replaced totemic ones. An Atuia, the “head,” was built in the 17th century. It follows that the entire organization as described in Chapter 6 dates back at least that far.

Wealth among the Shilluk has been estimated almost entirely in terms of cattle, although they do keep sheep and goats, as well. Of course, the pômk, in his spiritual role as custodian of all the cattle in the land, was incontestably the richest Shilluk, but his position and prestige rested to a great degree upon his ability to maintain and augment the royal herds, while simultaneously providing over the prosperity of his fellow-Shilluk. To a certain measure his success
depended upon conditions of nature — drought, flood, insect invasions, and so forth — the only control ever which he had was sacrifice and prayer. However, through the exercise of good judgment and diplomatic skill he was in position to do much toward minimizing the potential sources of domestic friction, which will be outlined later in this chapter, and toward responding to outside pressures in such a way that the Shilluk would be able to retain their identity and sense of unity.

At the personal level the royal needs were passed on through inheritance so that a substantial wealth was maintained by succeeding males, and, as mentioned earlier, the rukh further benefited in livestock through his role as arbitrator and judge. Yet another royal means of acquiring cattle was through taxation, a method remembered upon by Brun-Ballet in the 1900's. He noted that the rukh wanted "...

an annual tribute of a certain number of cattle, proportionate to the relative wealth of the inhabitants." 57 An account of Shilluk life given to John feathers by a Shilluk captured by Boopy's Arabs in about 1869 more or less corroborates Brun-Ballet's information, the informant telling that there was an annual tax of 104 in cattle and grain, as well.58 Feathers spoke of a grain tax and pointed out that farmers were obligated to turn over to the rukh all grain, fat and certain parts of the crocodile.59 In 1903 Toppi observed that the rukh could "take whatever cattle he needs from the chiefs" and that he also had a right to most of the hippo hide.60 The rukh himself sometimes engaged in hippo hunting, and, on those occasions was personal witness to what was caught. As hippo hunting was a favorite
pursuit of the Shilluk it may have been difficult for him to keep
precise track of what was due him in tribute at other times, but pre-
cedence had probably given him a fairly close idea of what to expect,
especially from the clans whose traditional activity it was to
catch and prepare hippo. There were also strong religious sanctions
against denying the rish his share of the hunt.

Apart from taxation income the rish was entitled to a share of
the booty taken in raids and in warfare. Paterakis’s Shilluk infor-
mant claimed 10% to be the rish’s portion, with the remainder divided
“in proportion to the number of appearance each individual took into
the field.” Another account, by Thibaut, suggested that the “river
Shilluk” of the far north did not escape the royal levies: “Their
booty or prey is divided in three equal parts — one for the rish, one
for the chiefs who protect them, and the third for those who took
part in the chase.”

Other sources of royal income were, as suggested earlier, fines
taken in adjudication and royal intercession in local disputes. Howell
felt that it was not a long-standing Shilluk tradition for the rish
to intervene vigorously in local affairs, and that, in his homeland,
the rish was simply the product of Ezo-Egyptian and Nabaiti custom.
However, there are other Shilluk rulers who have earned a reputa-
tion for cruelty — notably Madero, Baijoli, and Miao, and it would
seem quite likely, as with Har’s case, that their reputations came
about not only through the ruthless suppression of political oppo-
sition, but also through a continuing intervention in provincial
affairs.
Finally, there is the question of trade, which will be discussed in the next chapter, and royal monopolies. In order to capitalize on the dramatic upsurge in the use of ivory in 19th century Europe, hunters and traders of various backgrounds came out to the Sudan to kill elephants. Shillukland, however, did not become an important hunting-ground. There were several reasons for this, perhaps the most important being that there were simply more fruitful areas for hunting elsewhere. Because of the heavy Shilluk population density, especially near the river where animals would come to drink, it is highly doubtful whether elephant were ever present in large numbers in Shillukland proper. They did abound in the peripheral areas. Munsterberg had observed that herds of over 100 elephant were “commonplace” near of 12°. Father Knobloch saw “great herds” of them coming to drink along the Sabat, and Westermont recorded a story that Itiek Nyabit was accustomed to joining Mahabas in elephant hunting, suggesting that herds were also to be found on the western fringes of the country.

The Shilluk were not famous as elephant hunters, but they did take some ivory, which was monopolized by the nath and was used domestically in the form of bracelets. These were given to royal wives and to outstanding soldiers. Trade conducted by jallò between Kordofan and Shillukland, via the Khus, was certainly underway the 19th century, but the first mention of it was by Fallew in 1899, who specified that the Nath was bartering ivory to Kordofanian traders. A dozen years later Ambolo wrote of a royal monopoly on ivory and that jallò from “Zaire” and “Zambezi” had access to the path’s
Arab and Buhar traders, firmly ensconced at Fima, on the
River flare, would have done everything possible to eliminate threat-
ening competition, to the point of encouraging a royal monopoly.
Such a monopoly, whether it was long-standing or recent, came in-
creasingly to the attention of Europeans. Terrasson d'Antonie wrote
in 1855:

In this country one is unable to buy ivory, because
the government forbids trade; they sell all to the Mer-
defian traders, in the presence of the king of the
country, who levies a tribute on all merchandise.  

And Beltrame, who, because he worked among the Binda, was hos-
tile toward the Shilluk, complained that the trade in ivory "... from the interior, cannot develop due to the strangling monopoly of
the Monarch and the Counselors, the prohibition against importing and
exporting, and the capricious decrees..." A most important rea-
son why the rulers did monopolize ivory and exclude European traders,
even after the Southern Sudan had been thrown open to free-trade, was
that the Shilluk were required to pay an annual tribute to the Turco-
Egyptian administration, and to trade with private individuals from
Khartoum might well have resulted in a government belief that Shilluk
taxes could be raised.

It is very likely that non-politicize practice was an old story
to the Shilluk, but rather in iron than in ivory. The Buhar Hills were
rich in red iron oxide, and in the south Kuruddi was an especially
well-known source. This hill and the neighboring ones, where iron-
workers had established themselves, were under the political authority
of Liri, the chiefs of which may have worked together with the Shilluk royalty to control output and distribution of iron through iron-working clans, which in some cases seemed to serve religious duties, as well. For example, Westermann, in his list of Shilluk clans, mentioned "the descendants of Kung," a name which means "eye," and who, appropriately enough, were supposed to "watch over the religious items of Mykang." They were settled at Myliba, which means "smith" in Shilluk, and which is located adjacent to Tonga—at the head of the trail to Koronda and Liri.

At one time Myliba, in Fanaykang, where one of the great royal herds of cattle was traditionally kept, may have been a major administrative center. Westermann recorded the existence there of several clans whose names represented parts of a cow's body and who were in some way connected with the care of the royal herds. The fact that Max Guich, the "head," was found at Liri, suggests that there was a time, perhaps prior to Assabok, when Shillukland, at least the southern part of it, was ruled from Liri. As Shilluk administration developed and was able to exert more widespread authority it brought smithies in from surrounding areas and settled them along the river. The poem that Mykang brought the smithies down from Obeil Serit, which is just to the south of Shillukland, was discussed earlier.* This may have been the ancestor of Westermann's "Max Augob."  

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*See pp. 111-112.

**See pp. 111-112.
who were blacksmiths settled at Nyamuth, and who were also responsible for supplying the Path with dried hippo meat. 14

Another item that the Path might well have tried to bring under his control was salt, although there is no evidence that the case was so. The only hint to that effect was the existence, mentioned earlier, of a salable salt lake at Lul, very close to the site of the Shilluk capital.

The storehouse at Fashoda in which the Path's most valued items were kept was not meant to overawe. In fact, entrance to the building was very difficult to attain. In my view the remarkable thing about the village was its very secular nature -- its lack of religious structures and the absence of an omnipresent priesthood. Farhan Baltime described it:

The residence of the Path is entirely enclosed, as a secretum, and is composed of some 60 huts of straw, which are almost all inhabited by the Path's wives. 4 or 5 huts are for pregnant wives, and 4 or 5 for those otherwise ill. A very large hut, distinguished from the others by its shape, is the Treasury. This contains the largest tanks of naphtha and hippo, horns of rhino, and assorted antelope, mixed hides, and strings of glass beads, pieces of material and beads given to the Monarch by Arab merchants, Turks, and Europeans. This hut is regarded as sacred, and only the Path has the right to grant entrance.

At the four angles of the walls of the "Lurath" are four small fortifications, each of which contains some fifty select Negroes -- among the strongest in the tribe, and this constitutes the Royal Guard. Before the entrance grew several large trees, in the greatest of which throws its shade the Royal Throne, and it is where the Council and the Path meet, and where justice is dispensed by the Chiefs. Authors with lovely daughters pay court there. 15
Having discussed the position of the rank in terms of his authority and the religious-administrative systems in which he functioned, it will be useful now to examine some of his limitations and the centrifugal tendencies in Shilluk society. The story that Hyang "proceeded to create a people from the animal life he found in the forests and rivers" is probably the Shilluk way of saying that an attempt was made at the clan level to encourage the occupants of Shillukland to trace their ancestry to human beings rather than to animals. In an administrative sense it meant that anatomical references would henceforward be to a human form rather than to an animal one, and in terms of religion it meant that the worship of Hyang would challenge the religion that had gone before.

Of course, many of the old ways survived as part of the new, so while the Shilluk worshipped Hyang and directed most of their sacrifices to him they continued to venerate Juck as the Creator and as the author of good and evil. The relative antiquity of the latter vis-à-vis Hyang is suggested by the fact that many Nilotic-speaking groups know of Juck, while Hyang is peculiar to the Shilluk. Among the Sinka Juck is associated with the spirits of ancient and powerful ancestors, especially tortoise ones, while the Lotuko and Sur also know Juck in the form of ancestral spirits. Juck in the Shillukland dwells in a far-off land of the dead, but, in common with the Acholi, they find his spirit manifested in rivers and forests.

In Shillukland those practitioners through whom appeals to Juck are made are called ajwéj and are most commonly active in situations involving sickness, death and hunger, but they are also called in on
matters of dispute between individuals. Their powers and abilities apparently have ranged in the past over a wide area. Westerners mentioned them as being previous rain-makers, while Hofmeyr recorded an instance of an ajuûng offering human sacrifice, and he noted that they were sometimes asked to help in decisions concerning war. Most ajuûngs were of Dinka background, made sacrifices to the Dinka god Deng, and have been a perpetual thorn in the side of the Shilluk ruler. The war associated with Deng in the 17th century led to so with a large migration of Dinka into Southern Shillukland, and it is in the south that ajuûngs have been particularly active and where the Cult of Deng took root. According to Shilluk tradition Reth Mwot (c. 1820-1832) was especially concerned with the spread of ajuûng influence, and in the present century a resurgence of false prophets, using the Cult of Deng as a front, aroused the anger of Faifif and they were dealt with.

The persistence of the Cult of Deng notwithstanding, the religion of Nyang has been far and away the dominant spiritual influence in Shillukland. The privacy of Nyang, with the râsh as his incarnation, is stressed at the Installation ceremony and at all other important state events. If ajuûngs in the past may have engaged in the practice of human sacrifice it was without official sanction, but the râsh's power over life and death was symbolically stressed in the Installation ceremony. Where ajuûng sacrificed privately to Dinka for rain, the râsh, with Dinka participation throughout the country, sacrificed to Nyang on behalf of the entire population. In fact, rain-making has been one of the râsh's most important functions, and
the name of one of the greatest of Shilluk poets, Skoth, actually means "plinemaker." 65

Juk the Creator remained with the Shilluk, but the religion of Nyang, using similar institutions and forms, has quite favorably competed. The idea of the shrine, used in connection with Juk or Deng by other Nilotic-speakers, was incorporated into the new religion as the cenotaph altars of Nyang, which were staffed by barch. The concept of a river spirit, known as Juk byu by the Shilluk, had its counterpart in Nyang by, the mother of Nyang, who supposedly has dwelt as a crocodile at the confluences of the Nile and Sobat, and from the notion of Juk as a forest spirit, Juk byu, has come the identification of Nyang with particular trees. 66

Shilluk society is composed of classes, the most privileged of which is the Joe Roth, because it is from its ranks that the Roth has always been selected. It is the largest clan in the country. The son of a Roth, either living or dead, is eligible to become Roth, but if he dies without having succeeded his line can eventually lose its status and be "degraded." The Gyore, or "degraded" class, is supposedly descended from Oba Oblia, but, as previously mentioned, it is highly likely that there have been numerous other "degradings" in Shilluk History. 66 To a certain degree the obvious potential for Gyore antagonism toward the Joe Roth may have been kept in check through concessions. Although the Gyore are relatively small in number they play a leading part in the royal honorary and investigating rites, and it is customary for a Roth to take several Gyore wives. There is also the possibility that they played an active role in the
assassination of the rooth when it was decided, or when he decided, that death should come to him, but the most important concession to the Crows on the part of the nobility was the chiefcy of the settlement of Tonga. It has been estimated that the Crows have held this position "for at least 7 generations" although I think it safe to suppose that it dates to the time of Aabhu, Aalao, and Tojo, who are associated with the establishment of the installation ceremony, which is symbolic of reconciliation between North and South.

Under British administration the rooth lost his longworth, or "glove" following, because the British frowned upon the idea and because the rooth no longer could afford to keep such retainers. Prior to that time the longworth, as a body of autocrats, volunteers, and captive, constituted a special group within Shilluk society. However, there is no tradition of them ever representing an element hostile to the rooth or the nobility.

Cromahia observed that class distinction was deeply felt among the aawala, or "commoners," and I have been aware of resentment along those lines in conversations which I have had with Shilluk. Because they are not descended from Nyang their class cannot provide the rooth, although they can own land and are eligible to become chiefs. Naturally, the Shilluk have strong unity in their traditions, so there are no stories of open hostilities between aawala and rooth, but the rumor in there and in future may be a source of conflict.

The rooth has gained its position among the Shilluk not through the destruction of other clans, but because it has numerically overwhelmed them. There is, however, one other clan, the Has Turee,
which has a sense of superiority towards the people and has often been challenged by the Rasa Rasha. The Rasa Tharo claims descent from the "Tharros" of Shilluk mythology, who, according to Crossland, was the foster of Mace — the son of Gat's mother by Atyang. Hence, the Rasa Tharo feel that they belong to the people of Shilluk, not to the Cello or Cello Durongo. A close, if not exact, relationship between the Rasa Rasha and the Rasa Tharo is further suggested by the fact that the Tharros tribe of the Rase el Chassal, when Crusoe and Sentandere identified as synonymous with the Shatt, share with the Rasa Rasha of Shillikland the custom of retaining the four lower incisor teeth, while "consumers" among the Shilluk and Amkus, as well as all of the Rasa, Elba, and Jir, have the lower four incisors removed at an early age. Also, it may be more than coincidence that the largest Rasa Tharo village is in the district of Attandere (Kare), one of the areas in Shillikland where the Rasa Rasha outnumber the Amkus.

It is interesting to note that in Kordofan, across the Nile from the old settlement of "Shilluk" and inland several miles from the former town of El Ale, are the Shatt Walls, and southwest of Kordofan there are still Tharros people near Jebel Jedmi in the western Rubus, and immediately next to Liri in "Tom Shattar. If the equation of the Shatt with the Rasa Tharo in Shillikland is correct then these Tharros people closed the Rubus and were in position to control the Nile from Lake Xo perhaps as far north as Shaffi, which is opposite told Shillik at 24° 79'. While present in the Shatt el Chassal and in the mountains of south-central Ethiopia was discovered earlier. There is a suggestion

— See p. 4.
that the San Mauro may have gone by that name in Shillukland because of a special association with boats, in that the word Smauro in Shilluk means "to float," and olshur/shur means "mahogany," the wood from which the finest boats were formerly made. 72

In the very distant past groups of homesteads, based on geographical considerations and clan differentiations, tended to cluster together for economic and defense purposes, each section conducting its own age-set and age-grade rituals. One of the primary functions of age determinations, which cut across clan lines, was military. It has been pointed out that the age-set system "gives a solid basis for acceptance of authority of the elders by the younger men . . ."73 thus, as one would expect, the leader of organized hostilities, the bamy, was usually an elderly man. According to recent description, his role was a passive one: "He is appointed, just like any other chief, and when his people go to war he is carried as a mascot on a bed. He takes no active part . . ."74

A look at the social organization of the Dinka across the White Nile from the Shilluk suggests that perhaps the Shilluk bamy had, at one time, enjoyed a more active role. Apparently the various Dinka sections had a figure known as the bamy piam, who was the "real power and authority of his country,"75 in that he was the rain-maker and was the only person in a position to make major decisions concerning war. Also, prior to cultivation the villagers had to bring a small amount of seeds and cow butter to him for his blessing. The bamy piam was not permitted to die a natural death, but was usually suffocated through enclosure with one of his wives. On all points the above
Description is characteristic of the Shilluk kingdom, which has assumed under its control both the responsibilities and the ritual behavior of the position of king in the ceremonial and administrative system and the growth of the kin,birth clan have acted simultaneously to support the position and to diminish the need for kin influence of age-sets and age-grades in the provinces. Thus, the district dany among the Shilluk have lost considerable ground in terms of influence, but, at least as late as the 1940's. the dany were regarded as a threat by both the kin and the British administration. 76

In most cases village feuds have had little effect upon the position of the succession of rule in the squabble between Towillong and Nai in 1901. However, after the death of the rule in 1903 the succession of rule lost a good deal of prestige and actual authority, and, with the threat of forceful, royal intervention eliminated, village feuds may have assumed a more violent character. For example, one involving two people broke out in 1905 and lasted 27 years leaving 46 dead. 77 There was also a revival, during Fadier's reign of a very old feud which had originally threatened the position of the ruler. During the reign of Muhbok (c. 1832-1859) the village of Mokwe attacked and burned the royal village of Fashoda, an assault which was directed possibly by an ambitious son of Faidier's son. As eligible princes have the traditional right among the Shilluk to try to overthrow the reigning ruler, and since today Mokwe is a village numerous in kin, it is likely that the feud had its origin in such an attempt. 78

has also been known by the Shilluk as "Nin" land, suggests that the Nufi were strong in this area, and there is a single shred of corroborating evidence, which, if valid, admits an important Nufi heritage in Shilluk History. As far as their origins are concerned
Probably the next serious domestic threat facing Shilluk leaders since the founding of the kingdom has been the potential for fissure between the northern and southern parts of the country. From the "degrading" of Pyen in the 17th century up to recent elections this tension has been a constant theme in their history. Beltermann applied the word "northerners" to the Shilluk north of Kaka -- the "river Shilluk," -- who were "considered as slaves of the Arabas among whom they live, by the southerners who extend all the way to Lake Bahr."

However, the distinction should be made between the "river Shilluk" and those who might also be called "northerners," who inhabit the area between Kaka and the present district of Fashoda. The interests of both of these groups lay in the directions of Kordofan and Northern Sudan. The "river Shilluk," as observed in the 19th century, were probably composed of diverse groups, including those who, because of lean times, had raided north from the Shilluk "heartland" in an organized body but expected to retureen south. There were also those who had settled more or less permanently among the islands -- either by choice or as outcasts. Finally, there must have been those who were remnants of what had been a sizable Shilluk population center in, and across river from, El At and who had been cut adrift by the disintegration of the Darfur-Funi trade route.

The fact that Shill Island, a few miles to the north of Kaka, has also been known by the Shilluk as "Hafawaf" Island, suggests that the Funj were strong in that area, and there is a single shred of corroborating evidence, which, if valid, adds to the important Funj heritage in Shilluk history. As far as their origins are concerned

The bottom part of Ossor, the part near Fashoda and the proposed new capital of the country, may have been in touch with Kordofan as early as the 17th century, when Abou established himself at the Blue Nile.

The area between Nyfill, in Galbany, and Fathou, in Ngal, is a twenty-mile stretch comprising the district of Fashoda, which the British incorporated into Ossor. By including both the chiefs of Galbany and Debalo Kuma as part of the North this division did violence to the careful balance struck between the two areas under Abduhok's careful guidance and may have served to weaken the position of the

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See p. 49.
the Shilluk have reported that "in the beginning" Jank created a great white cow, which came up out of the Nile, and, as mentioned earlier, the Jujdjo, whose cattle are typically white, is one of the main families of the nomadic Fula. To complete the circle, the people of Kaka, representing Gurr — also known as Gai Shang, or "home of the cow" — participate in the Inshalin ceremony through presenting the flesh with a white flag.

Several early European visitors to Shillukland felt that Kaka either was, or had been, the capital of the country. Herms, in 1840, showed it on a map as the "chief town of the Shilluk," and nine years later Father Yorkesthorpe wrote of Bande as "the residence of the king of the Shilluk, since Kaka, where he formerly resided, has been governed by the Turke." The confusion may, in fact, have arisen by Kaka having been a commercial center, where Arab traders from Kordofan and Senaar had established themselves in semi-permanent residence.

The bottom part of Gurr, the part near Fashoda and the geographical center of the country, may have been in touch with Kordofan as early as the 17th century, when Dico established himself at the Alor Alara.

The area between Nyirig, in Golbany, and Fashoda, in aged 10 a twenty-mile stretch comprising the district of Fashoda, which the British incorporated into Gurr. By including both the chiefs of Golbany and Fashoda as part of the North, this division did violence to the careful balance struck between the two areas under Abukor's careful guidance and may have served to weaken the position of the

*See p. 69.
Chief of Debalo Kwan. Traditionally, the division was at the Khor Arqapaj, with the Chief of Golbaa representing the interests of the people on the northern (Cai Shiang) side of the stream and the Chief of Debalo Kwan looking out for southern (Cai Syeang) interests, the Fashoda-Guriee region being of easy access to both.

The primary concerns of the Southern Shiluk have lain historically along the east-west water routes, and, consequently, external influences upon them are to be sought among other Nilotic-speakers, and in the southern Nuba Hills, as well as among the Ethiopian states that formed at the headwaters of the various branches of the Sobat River. By and large, since the 17th century the southerners have occupied a position of slight inferiority vis-à-vis the Northern Shiluk, a status dramatized by the fact that the Chief of Tonga is an Away, and in the installation ceremony, in which the southerners present the new chief with a gift, while the North provides a bull. The resultant feelings of discontent in the South worked to the advantage of Christian missionaries in the early years of this century, who found a more receptive population at Arigga, near Tonga, than they did at Lui, in Fashoda district. Previously, Turko-Egyptian and Mahdiic administrators had exploited this insipidous tendency among the Shiluk.
FOOTNOTES

1. Bedeodhri, "The Shilluk."


6. For example, the "Ghuloph" and "Jensiti" clans at Fangkang See C. G. and R. T. Salgmann, Papuan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. (London, 1932), pp. 79-84.


8. "The Shilluk."

9. For example, the keepers of the shrine at "Fangkang" at the time of the Salgmann visit to Shillukland in 1932 were a young woman who was married to both Mur and Rakia.

10. See pp. 93-93. For further reference to this custom the reader is directed to the Salgmann, Papuan Tribes. . . . p. 96-97, and Schayer, "Die Shilluk." pp. 178-180.


12. "The Shilluk."


15. Thibaut, "Voyage de M. Thibaut au Nilo Blanc." Nouvelles des Découvertes des Egyptiens. Tom 1, Januay, 1866, pp. 20-34. When the expedition stopped at Sabah Thibaut was sure that Mench would not appear, "because it is Shilluk custom that a king nor be seen by a stranger."

16. Many Shilluk tales of Nyakog and the reeds run along these lines, e.g., the following song of Kulkan from Imboulay, "Dij Schillik," p. 40. 

Seng Kulkan, Akody, guards of Hipple and everywhere in the river, And Kulkan reached Chang with four horses. The fifth was a small one.

17. See pp. 87-91 for an outline of the nomenclature used in the Shilluk speech and for mention of the possibility that some tribal parts were used in reference to administrative functions as far back as Kumbia West. On page 90 it is also noted that the system has been used in Darfur, and it has apparently been traditional in Ethiopia. The title "siao," or "sio," and "goa, goa," or "mouth of the kiul," among the Ambures would support. The "siao" was associated with the judicial aspect of government and was paralleled by the "goa, goa" at Kaffa. Actually, in Kaffa one can see "lower incisors," but the Shilluk have "zimpl'gokh" for the singular and plural of "lower incisor(s)" and "gokh for "mouth," as one may suppose "mouth" and "lower incisors" to be synonymous in the administrative aspect. It is interesting to compare with the above words the Shilluk for "cow," which is "gokh, and "cattle," which is "bekh, leading to the idea that authority has been predicated upon the ownership of cattle.


22. *All Endsall Giffon*, "Memories of a Sudanese Soldier." *Cornell Magazine*, London, 1894. Series 3, Vol. 1, pp. 90-95. The short biographical note accompanying the article is of incidental interest. *All Endsall Giffon*, at present Yeoman (Custard) and honorary adjutant-major of the 12th Sudanese Battalion... describe the order of the World's Fair, the Khedive's star, the English medal, the French medal for the Mexican campaign, bearer the date 1862-67, and the name of precious manuscripts in that country, also the French gold decoration 'Pour Votre et Disciplin', which was pinned on his breast by Napoleon III, at Paris..."


24. A. P. C. Toppi, "Notes Éthnologiques sur les Chilicks." *Bulletin de la Société Méthodiste de Géographie*, 4, 1907. Le Caire, pp. 1-24. 123. Toppi reported a typical village dispute between "Chiliks" and was over fishing rights, in which hundreds of Chiliks took part. There were a few wounded, no deaths, and the elders quickly settled the affair.

25. phot."


30. Toppi, "Notes Ethnologiques...", p. 140.


32. Toppi, "Notes Ethnologiques...", p. 122. Enclosures are none.

33. Teichelhorn. *Notes Journal...* p. 26. An idea of the influence of the council in the 19th is given by Julian Pocet, who, with his brother sought permission to hunt in Bilobland. They were refused, and the military who came to intercede with the council said that it was the council and not the rank which had decided. "French" Géographique et Ethnologique sur la Region du Nilen Blanc et sur ses Habitations," Nouvelles Annales des Voyages. Tome 161. October, 1863.

It is of interest to note that at Tobi (Inessaneni) the word for "beauty" is dar, an administrative term that one encounters over a widespread area. At Jebel Gula the word used for "beauty" was halid.

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from the sky of the god Song and his possession of certain individuals. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, "The House of Trika and Clan," Sudan Notes and Records. Vol. XVIII, part 1, 1934, p. 54, said that this phenomenon became current during the Mandigas and its apogee was closely related to the spread of Musulim influence in the Western Sudan at that time.


62. P. P. Howell, "Observations . . . ," P. 102, says that while the Cult of Dong has sometimes found favour with certain Skillard individuals and as such is subordinate to the status of the pele , . . . it has never provided a serious threat.

62. P. P. Howell and W. T. Thomas, "The Death of a Naha of the Shillig and the Installation of its Successor," Sudan Notes and Records. Vol. XXVII, 1944, p. 78: "It is traditional that a man should be tied down and stopped over by opposing armies. This ceremony ended in 1903, when a youth appealed to government on behalf of his father, who was to be sacrificed." Also, Hofmann, "Die Schillich," p. 146: " . . . to show his power over life and death, the Naha steps over an old man, and has been kept for 24 hours without food by the Oroos. Everyone then steps over the old man, who dies."

64. The notion of the death as "rainmaker" is strengthened by the fact that among the Asseri the "Rainmaker" is known as pele.

65. The Nyakas see p. 75. For Jdheb Rama see Joseph-Pen Pena Duvane, in a letter to M. J. Drum. Bulletin de la Societe de geographie. XIV, Feb., 1947, p. 93. "They worship several, who appear to them in the form of a tree." Also, Ben-Hallet, "Penn-Hallet's Notes . . ., p. 22: "Nyankan also appears from time to time under a tree in various forms . . ."
67. Biswas, op. cit., pp. 178-180: "The grave might kill the king by surprise if he is unconscious, ill, etc. This is done with the complicity of the priests."
68. Pugh, op. cit., p. 12.
69. F. Grassi, Barotse. The Luso.
70. Ibid., p. 127.
71. For the Shatt-Tshem identification see p. 106. I do not know whence the Hausa tribesmen received the removal of the deity or not.
72. These boats were constructed and supplied by the men but probably based less accessible after the Haus migrations of the 1290's.
76. Hewitt, "Observations ...", p. 107, citing the unpublished records of a Shilluk Chiefs' Council meeting in 1924:

The rudder is opposed to them all as a destructive influence, but there are evidently some Chiefs who are afraid of them. Young boys who give trouble shall be punished and turned out." And, Ibid., p. 108 added an incident in 1921 in which the settlement of Nyigir carried their home into Nubia, neighboring to the south. The rudder had to intervene to prevent war.
77. Ibid.
78. See Ibid., p. 108, citing H. P. G. Thomson, unpublished Government records, for this information concerning the Ake. Also see Bonnet, "The Shilluk," p. 102, who recorded the Shilluk tradition that Nyigir, a son of Atanu, caused unrest in Nyigir and stole the royal herd of cattle during Nyigir's reign.
80. Bannister,; Voyage ... ... p. 214: "This year, with the approach of the southern winds, that part of the population which finds itself poor, driven, and consumed by one of their chiefs, descends the river almost a hundred leagues in canoes,"

42. "The Sudan, Expedition...", appended map.


44. The false division was probably the result of poor intelligence gathering rather than a conscious attempt to disrupt traditional boundaries. See Government of the Sudan, Sudan Intelligence Reports, June, 1902. Appendix C. G. Whitmore, "Report on Shilluk Country": "The administrative purpose the tribe has always been divided into two portions, the southern half extending from Lake to Rol,... the southern from Paul to Tangay.""

45. "Bericht der apostolischen Vikare von Zentralafrika über den Stand der Mission," Norddeutsche Allgemeine, 1912:

"The main missionary work was the most successful in the south... . In Attigo there are 400-500 of the natives attending school, in Bol 120."
CHAPTER 12
1939-1949

The material necessities vital to Shilluk existence have been cattle, dura, and the river lily, especially hippo, which they caught and ate. They also had to have salt, and they had needed iron for spears and kamas, and navigary for the large canoes so that they could hold their territory along the Nile and other rivers. Some of these items they had in their own country, but others needed to be gained through conquest or trade.

In prosperous years there was enough dura among the Shilluk and there were ample herds of cattle so that basic food requirements were met, but the need for cattle went beyond the bare necessities. In a patriarchal society, such as the Shilluk one, the propagation of lineages meant wives to produce sons, and for a Shilluk man to marry a Shilluk woman he had to furnish the prospective father-in-law with a gift of cattle. On the other hand, the prosperity of the lineage would be largely determined by the marriage of daughters for hard currency or brida-presents. Cattle, wives, and children were at the core of Shilluk economic life, and even in good years the Shilluk would pay for them, and when times were lean, children and cattle might be traded to others for a bit of dura.

The favorite robbing targets of the Shilluk were the Dinka sections across the Nile and the people inhabiting the southeastern Bahr El Ghib. "All Dicoum remembered cattle raids against the Ahoodong, Yong, Bongol, and Panchong Dinkas, with whom he and other Shilluk were "in almost
daily conflict. He also recorded what must have been frequent raids against the \\
Nabateans, in which hundreds of men participated and were \\
directed by the Nab, when I assume to have been Bedr Yulmik. The \\
fact that a raid against the Keshfleh of Jabal Hurun stood out par-


ticularly in Gilson's mind tells that during those years the Shilluk 

probably did not strike farther into the Nubia. Tradition leaves 

record of military expeditions, presumably for the purpose of acquir-

ing cattle and women, all the way across the Semna Peninsula to the 

area of Rosetta, and the opinion that such activity was still taking 

place, or was at least a threatening possibility, as late as the middle 

of the nineteenth century was entertained by Petherick: “His daring 

are they, that on several occasions, hiding their canoes in the reeds 

and rushes, they have undertaken excursions across the country to the 

neighborhood of Semnaa, on the Blue River, made slaves of women 

and children, and driven off herds of cattle.” By 1850 Shilluk raids were 

still feared along the Nile as far north as Nubia country. Father 

Kuschkeher, upon reaching “lomvah” just south of Wad Shalleh, received 

a report that “the Shilluk in 40 canoes were approaching Arab country 

in order to raid for cattle.” While it is true that cattle were the 

primary objective of these Nile raids one supposes that the Shilluk also 

had an eye on the salt pans near Turmâa.

As far as iron was concerned the importance to the Shilluk of the 

11th-Century complex has already been discussed, but that source did 

not supply all the Shilluk needs, and it is quite likely that

*See pp. 11 and 109-111.
Individuals found their way to such markets as Kadamu, south of Bari
Shangul, which d'Arnaud characterized in 1890 as "the great base of
central Africa," where "lances and other goods for the blacks are sold."
Perhaps some of this manufactured linen reached the Shilkuk by way of
different traders. Ledast had talked with the "Sheik of Pumalo and
others," who wrote of "the merchants who go directly from that
province into the country of the Sengigas, and those who traverse the
countries south of Hararo and Omofoela, along nearly the same road,
and in the same parallel of latitude, as the Corom seeds, the Sengigas,
the Wed Arosb, etc." It is also possible that Cadda traders were a
source of iron, and, according to Kaufmann's testimony, Shilkuk were
known to barter dura for iron as far south as Harjien. Finally, the
ivory products of the Jiar, who have been traditionally prominent as
oatmills, probably reached the Shilkuk.

If the Nuer, by assuming control of part of the Shilkuk, checked
the Shilkuk supply of tobacco, they also stood between the Shilkuk and
one of the favorite sponsors of the latter. The Amak were tobacco
growers, and they must have sent a considerable amount of it down
river. It is difficult to say what, if anything, the Shilkuk gave in
return, because the Amak have not had much interest in cattle, and in
the past they were known as elephant and hippo hunters, so that Shilkuk
ivory would not appear to have been a likely trade item.

The diminished supply of Amak tobacco and a probable difficulty
in obtaining salt from Tua's on the White Nile encouraged the Shilkuk
to rely increasingly upon Kordofanian salt lakes for these goods, and,
fortunately for the Shilkuk, the outside demand for ivory gave them a
quite marketable produce. Pallas has remarked upon a surviving ivory trade at El Cheif and Sawa in the 1830's, and the information he received was that a great deal of it was brought from "Shilluk and the Shilluk country." The fact that he mentioned "many hundreds" of elephant numbers "several hundred each" being found in Shillukland suggests the extreme western fringes of the country, and, in this regard, it is worth noting a Shilluk tradition recorded by Westerners: "Nyudolok built the village of Pubo . . . (and) he said, "Let me reside beside the Nilotic!" He built a village in the Nilotic country. He lived together with the Nilotes, being their king. He used to kill elephants, the Nilotes used to ask him for the elephants' ears, he gave it to them, and they ate it. So he was the king of the Nilotes." 10

In fact, Nyudolok's "Pubo" was probably the village of Fana, which is on the River Atbara and has also gone by the name "Pubo." Traditionally there has been a cooperative relationship between the Shilluk and the people of Fungor, but it is doubtful, based upon Al Giffon's remembrance of visiting the "Komdilak" at Jebel Korong, that the Shilluk had developed alliances further west than Fungor. The chiefs of most of the Southeastern Nubian Hills probably paid tribute to the Chief at Jebel Geder, who, in turn, acknowledged the sovereignty of Tegail, which had managed to maintain its independence from Turco-Egyptian administration. 11 According to Rappel, cotton goods were manufactured at Tegail, and some of this may have found its way to the Shilluk, 12 but the important trade was with Jallaha from El Cheif and Sawa, who brought salt and such luxury items as tobacco, Songaful cloth, and glass beads. 13

While the bulk of Shilluk trade with Khartoum was under direct control of Nyudolok the Chief of Fungor, functioning under royal sanctions,
permitted considerable trade to be conducted in the north. Thibault, travelling with the Turkish-Egyptian exploratory voyage, observed that the Shilluk Bagraw Arabs at Buli Jirg trading cloth and cattle for ivory, which they sold in Kordofan, and a dozen years later, in 1890-1891. Dandolo reported that the Shilluk were accustomed to selling strips of hippo hide, used to make whips, to the "Egyptian muleteers at El Ali." It is quite likely, however, that this trade involved Arab intermediaries and had run for some time along lines described by Barthélemy a few years after Dandolo had been on the Nile.

In time of peace, which never extends beyond the three month in which it is made, the Shilluk trade with the Bagraw, the 'aba Rof, and the Gudora. In their way—what they sell to the Bagraw of the left bank and the 'aba Rof of the right bank strips of hippo hide and much of the crocodile skin to the Gudora gifted meat and tobacco, and receive durum in return.15

Tschudi had been impressed by the commercial importance of slaves at the Shartum market, and a few years later Bayard Taylor was to observe that a large number of these had been purchased from the "Shillukas" and Sibus.16 In fact, it was most certainly the Shinkas who suffered most, because they were all but surrounded by Shilluk, Bagraw, Bagarja, and 'aba Rof and frequently were faced with an alliance between Shilluk and Bagarja. Thibault had remarked upon the tenuous position of the Shinkas in this respect,17 and Petherick elaborated:

They seldom frequent the river-side, except when drought in the interior compels them, as in their invertebrate manner, the Shillukas and Bagraw, join in expeditions to carry off their cattle and children. They are equally harassed by the nomadic Arabs of 'aba Rof, occupying the

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15 See p. 256.
discourteous to the east of them, about a hundred miles distant from the white hill. 12

Later in the 1850’s, Selmar commented that “The Baggara and Dinka still carry on legitimate commerce at “Kaki” and they both use the rail tracks to transport goods back and forth across the Nile, but the raiding against the Dinka had intensified and was of a different character than it had been earlier. The Baggara, armed with guns, now rode the way on horseback, while the Dinka, wielding clubs and lances, followed on foot, and, in an accurate digest of what he saw, one European observer prophesied that the Arabs would soon be masters of the Dinka.”

During the 1850’s and 1860’s the Abu’s of the Arab Dinka, often called the Mass Ali, had moved west from the Central Sudan Peninsula and had replaced the Abbakar Dinka on the right bank of the White Nile. Selmar claimed that they occupied a stretch extending from 158 N. lat. as far north as 161°, which would have placed them across the river from Bekwak — only some 15 miles north of present-day Kordofan. He observed them trading ivory, gun, and pieces of cloth to the Kordofanian Dinka in return for Egyptian firearms. On the opposite bank from the Abu’s, but extending southward only as far as Bull Island, were Baggara Arabs, whose name means “cattle-hungry” and who were part of a large group of censure tribes existing from the Nile as far west as Lake Chad. The tribes occupying the left bank of the Nile were known as Salih Baggara, and those were the Arabs who led the Dinka against the Dinka. One realizes that the concentration of these Salih Baggara was not strictly greedy and brutish nature when it is learned that in 1897 Kordofan Pasha Kireid, then Governor of Kordofan, conducted an expedition

and the new firearms an the army were an the possession of the

rebels, who, according to Kireid, had difficulty in obtaining powder and lead. Meanwhile the Baggara not only had horses and firearms but were active in trying to develop special lances to place the defense of their enemies in Kordofan. Perhaps the necessity of adaptation was more upon the Salih Baggara, who were in the 1850’s under
government patrol, which consisted of his officers, returned to Khartoum, where he had the matter referred to the Sudanese Council in Egypt. Now the British Government, upon being made aware that certain of its subjects might stand to gain through evading custom duties with the claims being made by Brun-Rollet, contends that the incident was a violation of a treaty signed by Mahamud Ali in 1839, in which the slavery had agreed to regulate monopolistic practice. Forced to yield, the Porte issued a firman in 1849 which sanctioned the British position. However, the Khartoum Government, still not anxious to give Europeans a free-hand in the south, attempted to interfere with Peter Knochhor's missionary expedition in 1849-1850, and the Vicariate of Central Africa added its disapproval voice to those of the traders. At about this time John Pentrich was named Resident Vice-Counsel for the British in Khartoum, and Constantin Bajis arrived to assume duties as Counsel representing the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Having recourse to local diplomatic pressures the Europeans were able to force the resignation of Latif Pasha as Governor-General and to have him replaced by an appointee who was under instructions from Egypt to avoid obstructing European trade enterprises.

Ironically, within two years, Brun-Rollet, realizing his inability to personally finance the cost of maintaining his security in the south, made the proposal through diplomatic correspondence to his consul in Egypt that the intervention of the Khartoum Government would now be appropriate. His assertion was that his battalion of infantry and four hundred irregular cavalry, camped near the north of the Sudan, together with ten gun-boats, suffice to guarantee the promotion of
the Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk and Bagirmi. There is further irony in the fact that such a station actually was established in 1886, but in response to the policy of Isla'd Pasha, Vizir of Egypt, which called for the end to the importation of slaves into Egypt. The 500-man station was abandoned within a few months due to illness, lack of food, and a fire which destroyed the garrison stores. Moreover, another station, set up at Padinda in 1885, continued to function and in 1886 became the headquarters of the White Nile Militia.

During the winter of 1886-1887 Isla'd Pasha was in Khartoum and announced the reorganization of government, whereby the Governor-General was to be abolished and the various provinces were to be directly responsible to Egypt. He also issued a prohibition against the slave trade, the result being an end to the public market in Khartoum and the removal of such activity to areas less accessible to the eye of the casual observer.

In the south the European ivory traders, for several reasons, were beginning to see lower margins of profit, so were turning to the expedient which had been used in Kordofan to eliminate the cost of wages and which had been responsible for the increase in the frequency of Bagirmi and Shilluk raids against the Dinka. Such raiders were being paid in slaves rather than in cash, and thousands of captives were finding their way north, in spite of the recently established government stations along the Nile. Kuka came to be the depot for the slaves sent from the southern Kordofan. Previously when Kuka showed this role is uncertain, but the impetus and organization was provided by Hammad Khyr, a Dongola by birth, who had resided at Tegall prior to his coming to Kuka. In 1884, or perhaps a year or two
later, he arrived among the Shilluk—a poor man, with "nothing but his tab, his dhow and a staff and books." Apparently he lived with them about a year then went north and returned bringing two baths, ten, and firearms and brought the commercial activities at Kaka under his control. Boltermann went the barn at Kaka from the title of Sa'id Pasha's abolition of slavery, noting that in a single two-month period, during his, Boltermann's, absence from the area, the Arab population of Kaka had been augmented by "perhaps 300 inhabitants." A part of this influx may be credited to new opportunities at Kaka, but certainly some of it was due to the steady pressures applied upon the people of the southern fringes of Kordofan, causing them to move out of range of government raids. Petherick mentioned a Kordofan government tax-raid against the Nagrau in 1898, in which several thousand head of cattle were taken, and Meachen wrote of the oppressiveness of the "Turkish regime," which had caused many "Congolese" to settle at Kaka.

As the 1890's drew to a close events began to move swiftly, but the Shilluk were ill-prepared to deal with the problems to come—even though the ominous signs had been there to read in the 1880's with the coming of the Sa'id Pasha. The Pasha had kept Arab and Sudan traders isolated at Fama, monopolizing all items of significant value to himself, and the situation at Kaka followed the same lines. Over at the Kaka market was maintained by a representative of the Chief of Nuuma, while the Chief, himself, lived some ten miles away. Although Arabs and Shilluk mixed freely, the latter were disallowed from trading in ivory, which was monopolized by the Chief, and even the promontoary markets, hastily organized to do trade with passing boats, were strictly supervised by Shilluk officials.
Nation. What does strike one, however, is his dismissal of "toung" as "the former seat of the Shilluk king." Whatever his source of information, Mr. Low was partly correct about "toung," because Katiper spent very little time there, preferring to reside at Gau, the next village to Toung, and it was at Gau that Katiper received the Hurung expedition.

Perhaps one of the reasons why Katiper chose to stay at Gau was to heighten his security against the pretender, Ajma, but more important was the danger presented by Mohamed Khayr, who, during the fall of 1880, had "terrorized" the Shilluk. In fact, Khayr and a number of other Arabs had been ejected from Kau in September, and a three-man Shilluk delegation had been sent to Khartoum to appeal to the government for help, but these efforts were tardy. By 1881 there was too much at stake, an average of 2,000 slaves being sold annually at Kau, for Khayr to relinquish such profits lightly. Besides, there were Shilluk collaborators whose interests were served best by a perpetuation of the slave-market at Kau.

It appears that for a brief time Ajma may have succeeded in bringing trade at Kau back under his own control, because Hurung noted in December that "the Shilluk forbade his people to sell to slaves," but by February Mohamed Khayr was back with 200 Egyptian cavalry, over 1,000 riflemen, and 10 boats. He attacked at Denja, burning it and sixty other villages, while inflicting heavy casualties on the Shilluk. Having eliminated Ajma he established himself near Kau behind earthwork barricades and opened negotiations with the Khartoum Government, offering to give an annual tribute of 1,000 head of cattle in return for recognition of himself as ruler of the Shilluk. The Government
reached no decision for a year and a half, during which time Kuyr continued to ravage the countryside. The Patheticus, travelling south in 1862, were told by Jules Papon that the area from Ams Island to the mouth of the Nubat was "in a very disturbed state," and that "the once-powerful Shillukas have been scattered far and wide."17 Near Juba, they were halted by a group of Bagura, who wanted Patheticus to employ them on a slave-trade, and further up-river Jose Patheticus wistfully noted in his diary: "Passed an old ruined village of the Shillukas called Mak; there were at least 500 deserted huts. Last year (they) were driven from their homes. They were an industrious people, and cultivated grain to a large extent."18 Later they passed one of Kuyr's expeditions, composed of 100 Bagura, which had taken 500 slaves and 12,000 head of cattle.19 "Sawan territory" was uninhabited, and, finally, at the mouth of the Nubat they were able to contact some Shilluk, who told them that "the Mak" would like to visit with them, so they waited, but no Mak stayed away.

In December of 1862 the Shilluk sent a delegation to Khartoum protesting Kuyr's behavior, and it apparently came away satisfied with the new arrangements,20 whereby a Barbersa slave-dealer, one Kali Brachluss, was to be given authority over Shillukland for an annual tribute of 1,000 pounds. Meanwhile, Muhammad Kuyr, aware of the petitions of the Shilluk and of Kali Brachluss, made his own representations through his brother, Taho. But Taho had influential enemies in Khartoum, and both he and his money were sequestered.21 A direct invitation was now issued to Muhammad Kuyr to come to Khartoum for negotiations. Nuha Shekhe Hamid, the new Governor-General, promised to support his
petition to become Chief of the Dinka under the new conditions that
the Khayir had been accorded, in return for which Khayir would be
expected to recognize Wad Ibrahim. However, Khayir knew that Pisa
Hamid was a forceful man, who intended to establish firm government
control in Shillukland as soon as possible, and he saw that the trip
to Khartoum might be his last one. Besides, Khayir had just undertaken
an unsuccessful raid against the Shilluk, in which a number of his
Baggara had been killed, and, sensing his vulnerability, he retreated
to the interior in the early days of 1903, just prior to the arrival
of a government force under Tumit Hassan al Shallali, which had been
sent to aid the Shilluk. Eventually Muhammad Khayir was run down and
killed, perhaps at Fungor, because the chief there was his father-in-
law, to whom he may have tried to appeal for help.23

Wad Ibrahim carried on for the remainder of the dry season of
1903, attempting to collect in ivory the tribute that he owed to the
government, realizing the impossibility of doing it, and bringing a
force of Baggara in to help him make up the difference in elabo.
Father Morling saw these Baggara encamped in Shilluk country in March,
1903. They were charming for battle, having recently discovered the
carcasses of 150 of their comrades slain in a fight with the Shilluk.24

During these years local Europeans knew of the slave operation
at Kaha, but, as the quest for ivory and the traffic in slaves had
become inter-related, the traders were not inclined to take steps
against Khayir, and a mission station, opened by the Missions
scions at Kaha in September, 1901, had closed the following year — partly
due to deaths caused by disease and climate,25 but also due to pressure
exerted by Mohamed Khayr. Of course, international protests had been lodged against the slave trade through diplomatic channels, resulting in its official abolition, but the transport and sale of slaves continued to the profit of government officials.

In 1863 Mans Harfi tackled the trading men, the first of a series of measures designed to drive European traders out of the Southern Sudan, and he extended his own control southward along the Nile. The White Nile (Maddughe) was raised to the level of Madgigo, its headquarters remaining at Fashoda-Koda, and Salah Hijazi was appointed Harfi. However, the administrative posts at Fashoda and Koda were faced with Shilluk opposition from the outset, and they labored under the burden of having to collect taxes and recruits for the expanding Sudanese army. The situation deteriorated steadily, judging from the report of von Wiegand, who, in March, 1864, passed the fortification at Fashoda in which a thousand government troops were stationed. "The poor Shilluk will...not understand the blessing of a new leadership among them. They have for themselves barely the necessities for living, and now they must supply, and well-supply, these unwelcome guests" with a large tribute in cattle and yearly number of slaves, to serve as soldiers. Naturally, the Shilluk raided the block for the required tribute, and, in this they very likely concurred with government, because in the vicinity of Fashoda-Koda von Wiegand's expedition came across a slave-transporting force composed of four "well-gained" transport ships, three of which sailed under Turkish flag. While these ships were vitiated by slave and cattle raids, government did what it could to accommodate and to placate the Shilluk. Apparently "Major Ali," the
commandant at Kano was under instructions not to touch Shilluk wheat and cattle and to exempt his subjects from the year's taxes, and he had managed to capture the boat of a European and to release twenty Shilluk, although with a force of only 100 men and a small boat he was ill-equipped to thwart the slavers seriously. Von Hauglin had observed 60 ships and 2,000 mounted Sugars assembled for a raid north of Doko. 31

At the very first it might have seemed to Kanker that a government presence in Shilluk-land would be an improvement over the Mohamed Mager years, and, in order to cement the relationship and to keep in close touch with the government policy, the Raut married his daughter, Leangoye, to the ‘Maula. 32 However, it soon became clear that the presence of a new administration was not going to result in an appreciably better situation, and stern and arbitrary measures were to be taken in early 1866 with the accession to the Governor-Generalship of Ja‘far Ra‘ba Ma‘n. 33 Because the Shilluk seized several boats belonging to traders and attacked the government troops, which barely managed to hold their positions. 34

"All Bay Side, called ‘Ali Purdi, Ja‘far Ra‘ba’s appointee on head of the White Nile Muhibb, saw the problem as having to do with Kanker’s refusal to cooperate with the government, and he had no difficulty in coming up with another myth. This was Ajong, the scribe who had opposed Kanker’s election. Apart from his own following, which was in the north, Ajong may have profited by Kanker’s persecution of rivalries," 35 but really he was ‘Ali Purdi’s creature, and his position rested upon his usefulness to the administration. As far as the Southern
Shilluk were concerned with Katheri was the elected and installed ruler, and they continued to support him. In an attempt to bring them to heel, Ali Burdji sent a force of 2,500 troops south in November of 1869 but without conclusive results. In the same year the administration levied an annual tribute of 12,000 pounds upon the Shilluk and Dinka, and the resentment throughout the country was deep.

The situation remained hostile. One European, who was at Fashoda-Kodok in February, 1869, noted that "the Governor was notoriously on terms of open enmity and feud with the Shilluks in the south," and that "year after year the Governor... was undertaking expeditions against them." He referred to "Nabugor" (Katheri), who "still maintained himself as an uncontrolled sovereign" in the south and who "was able to render that part of the river extremely unsafe for navigation." Sir Samuel Baker, who spent seven months at the Sobat junction in 1870 due to mudslide, described further south, corroborated Schweinfurth's account. Baker had been appointed Governor of Equatoria Province by Isma'il, Viceroy of Egypt, and had been mandated to bring an end to the slave trade, so he was interested in such matters. During his stop in Shillukland he interrogated one raid by some government boats and liberated 150 captives, but his attempts to deal with, such less to fashion, the local political complexities, did not meet with striking success. Baker's situation was a delicate one, it is true. He was only temporarily in the area, and, while he had been officially empowered to act against slavery, he was functioning within an administrative territory that was not his own.
Baker's natural sympathies went off to Kuether, whom he interviewed after the appropriate exchange of gifts. The latter arrived, having been fetched by Baker's steamer, with a retinue of some seventy people, including two wives and four daughters, and was received under a mimosa tree at a "court" consisting of a sofa, a few chairs, and a carpet. Baker's side of the story was presented entirely by an old woman, one of his wives, who also appeared to be his chief adviser. She portrayed the evils of 'Ali Kurdi and aljeng and defended Kuether's legitimacy on grounds of his descent from "a long line of kings."

Finally, Baker prevailed over a verbal confrontation between Kuether and 'Ali Kurdi, from which, according to Baker, the Shilluk emerged clearly victorious.

The upshot of Baker's intervention was that 'Ali Kurdi was required to "explain himself" to the Khedive, while Baker recommended to Ja'far Pasha, the Governor-General, that Kuether be returned to his rightful position. In fact, Kuether sent his sons to Khartoum to petition for his cause directly, and Ja'far Pasha, aware of Baker's interest in the affair, wisely extended full hospitality to the representative. Baker left the Shilluk a bit bewildered over what he assumed to be his success, certain of Kuether's reinstatement, but soon afterward Kuether was notified to go to Khartoum for discussions, and there he persisted "of Khartoum and favor."

In 1871 the office of Governor-General was abandoned, and administrative duties in the Sudan were decentralized. The experiment, which lasted only until 1871, was conducted with Ahmad Pasha Makki as Governor of the combined provinces of Khartoum, Tenser, the White Nile,
families, managed to make their escape on the boat Ismaila, which was under the command of Husain Gessi. Shilluk troops also besieged Fashoda, and only the arrival of reinforcements prevented the annihilation of the government garrison there. Desperate for suitable leadership against the Shilluk, the Governor-General rehabilitated 'Ali Kurd, whose fortunes had waned following his removal from the Mahdi's cabinet in 1871. Showing immediate firmness, 'Ali Kurd counseled the Shilluk to submit, and, upon their refusal, engaged them in war. Aided by the use of Remington rifles, government troops scored an overwhelming victory — thousands of Shilluk were killed, and the leaders were brought to swift trial — yet it was not until April of 1874 that the government could confidently say that even the area between Fashoda and Kala was secure.

At that time a peace was arranged, whereby the Shilluk were to lay down their arms, and those who the government refused to retaliate were shipped south to Gondokoro. Those Shilluk who were allowed to remain faced military conscription, and it appears that a large number of them were sent up to Cairo for training.

On the other hand, government had learned from the violent episode and gave the Shilluk a rest, although Khusim, the new man, was not installed by his people. He was "meditated" by Gordon Fasha, given a substantial salary, and the title of bey, and was charged with the suppression of the slave trade in his area. Khusin may have set about his task in earnest, and possibly even managed to convince Gordon to abolish the annual tribute requirement, but the rest's zeal was short-lived, and soon enough he was himself profiting from the sale of slaves. In fairness to Khusim it must be pointed out that if Gordon had, indeed,
cancelled the Shilluk tribute. Its payment was demanded by his successor, Ra'uf Pasha. At any rate, it was reported in 1881 "that hundreds of Jellaba regularly travelled to Kondola to purchase crowds of slaves, who were captured and sold by the government forces in order to cover the tax of 12,500 pounds."

Kalkon did all he could to ingratiate himself to the Turco-Egyptian administration, Gordon apart, even to the point of secretly undergoing circumcision and becoming Muslim. He participated in at least one government sponsored raid into Southern Souths and facilitated the slave-trade in order to render his tribute to Ra'uf Pasha. There would be some justification in his conduct if one could point to a period of Shilluk prosperity during his reign, but the fact that, in recognition of a dwindling population in both human and livestock terms, he was forced to lower the bride-wealth to a single cow to encourage matrimony, suggests a desperate situation. His final act of abdication to the administration was his participation in a government expedition to Jebel Ceder in December, 1881, the purpose of which was to route an Arab holy man who had been troublesome to government, had resisted capture, and was holed-up there. Kalkon did not return.

2. G. H. Witmer. "On the History and Force of Some West African Control." (London, 1961), p. 31. The article is in German. It discusses the influence of the West African Fulani and the facts surrounding the Shilluk and their history, as referred to "the current myth" as "Gao."

3. Hofmayer, op. cit., pp. 140-144.


The fact that Ajang was not installed was an issue in the 1917 election between Willy, son of Ajang, and John.

4. Hofmayer, op. cit., p. 34. He wrote that "Alicu," supported by Liri, opposed Willy in this election, but he did not, to my knowledge, have any mention of the people of the village, nor of those of the province, apart from Hofmayer, has advanced this possibility. Hofmayer listed Ajang as the nephew of Waku, but given Ajang's politics — or at least his father's politics for his — prior to John's death, it seems more likely that this "Alicu" and Ajang are the same. Whether or not Ajang was supported by Liri, however, I do not know.

The diminished importance of Liri suggests that the other, not better source of iron had developed. Hofmayer, op. cit., p. 39, said that in his day (1939's) all iron came from a source from Katonga.


7. Vienna Handschrift. Topograph ie des Fersman Hofmayer. 1861-1861. "We were accepted in a friendly way by Shilluk Rai and his son Prada."


15. ibid.,
18. ibid., p. 95.
19. ibid., p. 95. Khayr gets 2/3 of the booty.
22. ibid., p. 97.
26. Morland, op. cit., p. 208; "in the morning we were at the spot where Peter Stothard with his people met the age rage. They could not stay long since they were forced to leave the place by Robinson Clark." For several years Khayr had kept close touch with missionary plans. He had served as a crown-member on the board that brought Fother Beltrame and Stinner to Dinka and Shilluk country in 1898. See Beltrame, Il Pianeta Bianco a fine Doku, p. 42.
27. von Beuglin, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Weltkriege in den Jahren 1852-1866, p. 49.
This Fashoda was not synonymous with the Shilluk capital. The Turco-Egyptian administration built its headquarters more than a mile to the north of the Shilluk Fashoda. The Shilluk called the site Babon. Von Benglis, op. cit., p. 242.


Arab domination of the river north of Kasa was complete. On his way south in 1863 von Benglis noted that the old Frank settlement of El As had become known as "Heliet el Lenaga." While the former town of "Shillocch" was called "Heliet el Lenaga." See ibid., p. 77.

Rudmer, "Die Shilluk," p. 105. Rudmer did not mention what the matter was or when the marriage took place. I am only assuming that it was in the first years of the existence of the medrese because Khater's good-standing with government — 11. Indeed, such a condition ever existed — did not last long. Khater was in Daudkum during the Nabiyga, returned to Shillukland afterward, and became Chief of the village of Bir under Fadali, her cousin.

I have no evidence for this, except that he is remembered in Sudanese tradition as a special tax-collector, and as one who increased taxes by six times. He gained his position by demanding the weakness of his predecessor, and it would foist that he would begin his service with immediate and harsh measures. See Hill, op. cit., p. 190.


Doumé, op. cit., p. 499.

29. von Benglis, op. cit., pp. 92-93. Much of Schweinfurth's reporting is not objective. He was a strong supporter of the government and took pains to assure that it had "no narrow views," presumably concerning the charges of slave-trading. His visit to the south was under the supervision of Günther, the sultan.


53 Ibid., op. cit., p. 119. See figures for Shilluk leaders.
Also see Mortguy, "The Shilluk," p. 117, who identified the leaders as Prince Delanyalal and four chiefs from Kuma and Aibukuk in the north.


55 Ibid., op. cit., p. 116.

56 Ibid., op. cit., p. 114. This would have been sometime after May 5, 1877, when Gordon became Governor-General of the Sudan, but the reader should also refer to Mortguy, "The Shilluk," p. 116, who notes that Kukuk had been taken to Fashoda by the slaves and "installed" there. Probably Gordon was simply mentioning a de facto situation.

57 Mortguy, op. cit. "The Province of rambora was obligated to pay a yearly tribute of 12,000 pounds, valued annually through the sale of slaves. At this time Gordon was Governor-General in Khartoum, and Kukuk's request found a sympathetic listener in him. He abolished the tribute."

58 Ibid., op. cit., p. 143.


60 Mortguy, op. cit., p. 115. Ajang had resisted conversion to Islam.

61 Ibid.

62 E.G. and C.G. Seligman, Paper Figures of the Nilotic Sudan, p. 65. The Bagalame, who were still in Shillukland in the present century, during a period of relative prosperity, noted that a normal bride-price was 10 cowie, but that "few may be paid if a man is very attached to his betrothed."
Also, on p. 216, they commented that the customary price among the Nuer was 50 cowie.
CHAPTER IV
THE MARSEILLE

As the Turco-Egyptian Government sought to extend its dominion southwestward it saw the importance of river power and stepped up its production of boats at wad Shallal. By the 1870's there was a similar works at the Island, and such was the demand for wood that observers held the forests to be in jeopardy of exhaustion. The Shallal, once borders of the river, perhaps up to the confluence of the Nile, had withdrawn from the north of Abu almost completely and were no longer credited with the stout qualities which had made them feared marauders in the past. At wad Shallal, El Ali, and Abu Island there were now administrators, Arab merchants, and boat-builders, and along the banks were Desouq settlements. In Shallal Island proper there were government posts, one of the ostensible duties of which was to broach the slave trade, but the trade continued — to the profit of local officials, Arab merchants, and Egyptians, the Shallal. Both nevertheless, it was government policy to suppress the commerce in slaves, and, under pressure from London, Paris, and other Europeans, a show had to be made, although Government's token opposition to the slave trade set it at odds with a way of life that had been traditional in the Sudan.

Muhammad Ahmad, the future Mahdi, had come to the Island from Darfur with his father, who was a boat-builder. There, at Abu Island, the young man earned a reputation for his pluck, and, after a trek through Kordofan, became convinced that the country's salvation would
come through religious purification and an expansion of foreigners.

In the late spring of 1931 he announced his divine mission, and his meager following was supplemented by enthusiastic and disinterested, especially from among the Khamsa and the local Egyptian Arabs. In August, during the rainy season, a detachment of two companies was dispatched from Khartoum to arrest him. The detachment was routed by a poorly armed but devoted populace, which was quick to point to its military success as being divinely inspired, and soon afterward the Mukht and his followers moved to Jebel Qudir — in the spirit of the Prophet’s Hijra.

The Governor-General, Ra‘if Pasha, decided against taking further action at that time, but the Mukht of Fashoda, Rashid Bay Nyam, took it upon himself to move against the Mukht. With 400 regulars and 1,000 Shillik whoopers he headed across the flatland toward Qudir in December of 1931, but the Mukht, having been alerted to the plans of the expedition, lay in wait and massacred his opposition. Rashid Bay and several other were killed. The destruction of government troops signalled an uprising among the Shillik against Turco-Egyptian personnel and only after considerable damage had been done was the situation brought under rather tenuous control by the Mukht, who had left in charge. Ibn Pasha, on his way to Khartoum from the south in February, 1932, sensed the agitation in Shillikland and reported that the people there were on the verge of an uprising. Then in May a much larger force went out from Fashoda, and it, too, was crushed, and now the Mukht issued the call for a general rebellion against the government.
Meanwhile, Yus, a younger brother of sick, had been to the Mubalaq camp at Jebel Qalid and had agreed to make common cause with the insurgents. He had become Muslim, adopting the name "Muawi," and, with this latest Mubalaq success he was recognized as such by the Mubalaq and was given instructions to return to Fashoda and to turn out Gik. This was done, the latter being banished to the Southern Sudan, and Turkish-Egyptian rule among the Shilluk came to an end.

In January, 1887, El Geddi fell, and two years later the Mubalaq achieved his supreme conquest when Khartoum capitulated. A few months afterward he died. During these years the apoprtly had remained on good terms with the Mubalaq, but in short time relations began to deteriorate between the Shilluk and the new government of the Shilfa and 'Ammali. Fashoda had been used during the years of the Mahdiyya as a place of punishment for criminals and political undesirables, and the Mubalaq continued the practice, resulting in the presence among the Shilluk of an element which was hostile to government and which was anxious to sow the seeds of antagonism. Also, the slave-raiding had continued, although in lesser dimension than in the preceding two decades. Private slave-trading had been prohibited to prevent the growth of personal armies and to deny the possibility of slaves being used against the Sudan by alien powers, but the Mubalaq government did not hesitate to plunder the south for conscripts into its own military, and an expedition, sent south from Umm Durna in 1888, proved most useful to government for the slaves it took. However, two of the point-loads of the human cargo sent north bogged-down in the sodd and were taken by the Shilluk, an instinct which constituted part of
Bukka were uncertain. The Shilluk won major victories near Karai, between Tshaha and Maibak, and possible a Dervish flag at Kongoe,
but in the early months of 1922 the tide began to turn, and on March 1st 500 slaves, as many head of cattle, and some ivory arrived at Umm Dura
from Ali Dher, 27. A few weeks later the bulk of the 6,000 man
Muhlisil garrison set out in earnest after Yor, 28 whipped the Shilluk
at Haistok, and pursued the rout on to Tonga. 29 This was
the last stand of the Shilluk, and they absorbed a massive defeat, her
finally being taken and beheaded. 29 There is indication that Yor Adit,
a sister, or half-sister, of Yor, and a "Queen of Detti" in the
Arabik tradition, 30 picked up the fallen banner, 29 but by July, British
Intelligence sources reported that the Shilluk had been beaten. A large
number of slaves had been taken, and that the important chiefs had been
dismissed. 27

In the wake of Shilluk humiliation the customary jockeying for
the presidency took place. Yor, a son of Abyuek, with strong Shilluk
support from the Dokouk and Gobun sections, 31 attached himself to Ali
Dher Yorai's line-up upon its withdrawal from ShillukLand and made his
way to Umm Dura, 32 where he paid homage to the Abulshef and was given
the Arabik name Abo Ad. In the meantime, however, Abo, who had
unsuccessfully contested against Yor for the presidency, appeared in Umm
on reassess his claims, and his entry into Tshaha was prevented only
by the forcible opposition of the villages between Bukka (Bukak)
and Besh (Tshaha), which stopped Abo at the battle of Kivir. 33 A
part of this alignment which opposed Abo, the villages from Besh to
Kivir, had been considered as the southernmost section of Umm, but
following this turnabout it became, and has remained, the southernmost section of Core. 31

Upon his return from the Damar War himself set out to punish Akei's followers, which he did at an engagement in Settis, and the pretender was forced to retire to Abuja on the Sokat River. 22 Akei's fate was sealed when he was captured by 'Abubu Lafa'dallah, acting under the Shillie's orders, at Amurajuk (Malakal) and was packed-off to Kajaf to finish out his days there. 33

'Abubu's primary mission had been to make his way to the southernmost reaches of the Sudan and to deal with the possibility of a Congolese invasion up the Nile Valley, but, in spite of Salit's earlier military success some sections of the Shillie and Dinka remained hostile and still posed a threat to Northern legend. 24 the operation which resulted in the capture of Akei was probably undertaken in cooperation with Nejbu Elma and may have required quite some time in its execution, 'Abubu having left the Damar on August 17, 1899 and not arriving at the Sokat, south of Mengole, until September 20, some six-and-a-half weeks later. 33

It was not long until Mok had further domestic problems with which to deal. Sok, who had been banished by Yar, had returned and was apparently giving trouble, because it is said that Mok ordered his cattle and had his provost a second time from the country. 36 Also, a son of Akei, Abobu Mahare, was fighting against Mok in the neighborhood of Abuk (Kosti), and he was banished. 37 It seems likely that these events coincided with Nejbu Elma's expedition south in the fall of 1899. 'Nejbu's mission was of the utmost urgency, because Masal's troops in Equatoria
were by this time under renewed pressure from advancing Fulbe, and the Sultan was so alarmed that he ordered one-tenth of his fighting forces in the Bani to prepare to go north. While this order was not carried out, the Sultan did send a fleet composed of one hundred, seven boats, and about 1,000 troops. Given the pressing nature of his assignment it is, therefore, surprising that Darur Sabih, on his way north, would spend several months on a joint peace-enforcing campaign with Kur in Skullowland. At that time the latter was under an arrangement with the Sultan whereby he, Kur, was to pay an annual tribute of "Ivory, coromelle, hawk, etc." and to supply horses and cattle to Sultan's enemies on their way to Mehel. But by the early months of 1866 Jallaba-Roki had been evicted by the Fulbe troops, and Kur was left to rule semi-independently of the Sultan, under which circumstances it seems quite possible that Kur was willing to allow Darur's men to have booty rights in return for their assistance against the Fulbe and Ameleins.

Over the course of 1866 the predicament of the governorship's forces in the Southern Sudan became increasingly desperate. For example, the latter, had embarked on expedition of 700 men one month by 'Arabi in January, but Kur rode certain that he stayed on the right side of the Fulbe, and the Sultan withstood the face of defeat in the south at the end of 1866 was the Jallaba-Roki. It appears, however, that Kur's attitude may have been changing, allowing by the Spring of 1867, because British Intelligence reports for April and May were that 'Darar movements at Fulbe, and some of it, are said to be holding their ground more or less on account, and to be unable to
collect taxes.\textsuperscript{186} By the middle of the following year the bedouin were already weary of being expected to support Muhàdîthî troops with grain and cattle, or else he suggested that the future was not going to favor the Muhàdîthî, because by July of 1938 he was at open enmity with the Muhàdîthî Government. In that month an expedition of two steamers, 14 sailing-boats, and 300 men, under Said Saghâlîy, put-in at Ka'a with the purpose of sending desperately needed grain back to Um Dunwah.\textsuperscript{187} Said has left his version of the story:

On my arrival at Ka'a, I sent a letter to Muhàdîthî Redîl . . . , and a present of 3 loaves, sugar, ghee, tur- den, raisins . . . . In answer the Muhàdîthî sent 3 interpreters—making me to go to him. After settling out 5 more interpreters, put on and told us to go to Muhàdîthî in Kaala. I sent back telling the 187 that the meeting would be at Fahoda and not Muhàdîthî in Kaala. About 15 August we arrived at Fahoda and were engaged in battle.\textsuperscript{188}

On September 3, the Muhàdîthî, Sichelleh, who had been steadily advancing toward Um Dunwah from the north, struck against the Muhàdîthî from the Ksarwi Hills and won the battle which brought an end to Muhàdîthî rule. A week later Sichelleh received word that Fahoda had been occupied by another European force, and on the 18th he was at Tablo, some twenty miles north of Fahoda.\textsuperscript{189}

Clearly the second half of the 20th century is a period that does not live in Shilluk memory as a prosperous one. Is it possible to estimate the damage done or the humiliation suffered? And were there positive aspects that lay hidden beneath post-Shilluk attempts to dis- credit Islam and the Arabs? In terms of sheer numbers one has to assume that the Shilluk suffered greatly. The earliest recorded estimate of Shilluk population was done by D'Arnaud, who wrote in 1893 that his
count, based upon a computation involving number of villages, dostelles
per villages, and individuals per dostelle, came to 3,500,000. 49 A
decade later Kuhlmann, using the same categorical compo\ntents, but
much higher figures as far as number of villages and dostelles were con-
cerned, arrived at 17,500,000, a population that he regarded as unbeliev-
able himself and so settled in his own mind at "between 2 and 3 million
people."50 Then, toward the end of the 1880's Kaufmann, without expla-
\ning his arithmetic, asserted that "the minor... is more than a half
million."51
The mistake made by both d'Arnaud and Kuhlmann was the assination
in their computations of one family of five persons per hut (in\nhut),
where in reality a single family, with children and retainers, will
occupy, from two to five huts.52 The above calculations, then...are about
three times too high, and the appropriate adjustment would bring d'Arnaud
down to less than one-half million, consistent with Kaufmann. Kuhlmann
would come down to 5 million, but he made a further error in judging
that there were 7,000 villages in Elisland.53 It was an easy mis-
\ntake to make, for he was observing villages, most of which were at least
a quarter of a mile inland from the river and strung out diagonally,
giving the effect of virtually a single village stretching some 200-
250 miles from Kaka to Tonga. Kullih villages, however, are now, and
were then, anywhere from 500 yards to a mile apart.54

Early population losses began with Muhammad Khayr's plundering.
Fumbul Beasi, although his contents were well after the fact, claimed
that in Khayr's devastation of Fukushima in 1641 the latter had taken
with him 8,000 Arabs who had been transported in 300 naguwa (boats)
take that d'Arnaud and Knoblocher had, that of assigning five occupants
per hut, so that his figure is immediately three times too high. Of
course, in the case of the Mudir, who would have known better, it seems
quite possible that he might have taken it upon himself to "over-
populate" the Shilluk, in order to claim higher taxes in cattle and
grains. It is also noteworthy that the Mudir claimed the number of
villages to be 1,000, which, given a 200 mile length of Shillukland,
works out to roughly 150 yards between villages, but according to
Schwinfurth, and it was to his that the Mudir gave his information,
the "sections" were "separated by intervals varying from 300 to 500
paces." On the other hand, the Mudir estimated that each village
had between 45 and 200 huts, while Knoblocher had proposed 500 and
d'Arnaud had guessed 500. What seems most plausible is that d'Arnaud's
estimate of 900 villages, roughly resembling with the 1933 census fig-
ure of 1,000, was generally accurate and that the number of villages

* See p. 217.
remained fairly constant, while the number of people in the villages decreased.

With the necessary adjustments being made in d'Arnaud's computation, bringing him into line with Kaufmann, one may propose that a maximum figure for Shilluk population in the middle of the 19th Century would be 400,000 to 500,000. Now, correcting the Meller's mistake of assigning four to five people per hut, and bringing his village count into line with d'Arnaud, one can arrive at a possible figure of about 150,000 for 1871. From this set of data the loss of perhaps one-quarter million Shilluk during the decade of the 1870's can be postulated.

The next census was the careful one done by the British in 1904, which showed a total Shilluk population of 39,21260 and suggests the possibility of the loss of an additional 110,000 Shilluk during the last decade of the Turdelu, and the years of the Nikoli. Even the 1903 census, however, must be regarded with caution, because numerous Shilluk had left the country during the difficult times only to return after it had become clear that the British were not bent on destruction.61 Cattle statistics can also be misleading, because it has been Shilluk practice to drive their herds into Sinks on Nuer country in times of strife. For example, when Ali Zakl Tamir began to revenge the country in 1897 for some of his herds to Nuerland with a trustee, Napui, who, upon his return became Chief of Tonga.62 Father Barthelme, who tried to establish the number of cattle among the Shilluk in the early years of British administration was well aware of the difficulties such a problem could present.63
As far as the economy was concerned the Shilluk were not brought into the main of important trade during the second half of the nineteenth century. Their participation in the sub-saharan gum trade of the 1840's, mentioned by Travellers, did not develop, and, following the revolts of Muhammad Shayer, the ivory monopoly was lifted from royal control and was let out to Muslim-Arab concessionaires by the Turco-Egyptian Government. Ivory was not a high priority item to the Abajiyya, and it is doubtful whether much Shilluk ivory found its way to Egyptian markets. The lack of imports was noticed by one of the first missionaries into the area following the Mahdiyya: "One finds no salt among the Shilluk ..., with salt, glass beads, and iron one can have anything he wants there." Among the Shilluk domestic prosperity is best measured in terms of cattle, and the bride-price during the Mahdiyyah had remained at one cow, as it had been during the days of Suluk.

The second half of the nineteenth century was a time of material loss and humiliation for the Shilluk, as it was for the Bidaa and the Nuba of the other Nilotic-speaking groups, but the day was not ready for what might have been a positive result from this period. When tribal identities were being threatened Shilluk failed to draw together to defend a common heritage, which was also in jeopardy. The sense of togetherness through common culture is yet to come, but it will, and the future of the Southern Sudan will be told in the fulfillment of that destiny.
1. Georg Schweinfurth. *The Heart of Africa.* (New York, 1904), Vol. 1, p. 57, noted at Bad Galla: "For a few years ago unlimited forests were not the stranger's eye: the large demand for timber for ship building purposes, however, has all but destroyed them. . . . At present there is a similar establishment higher up the streams upon the isle of Aba, where the stones of wood are being removed to meet the demands of the future." "A few years later forest fires. Afrika in den Egyptischen, Ägyptologischen, und den Afrikanischen Jahren 1874-1876." (Elfen, 557), p. 15, wrote: "The forested banks of the Nile began here, in all their tropical glory, and they provide the ship-builders with most of their wood—exclusively-used when not contracted with past descriptions."  

2. As early as 1863 El Ais had become known as "Hietet el Beija"—see p. 279. William Jankin, *Travels in Africa During the Years 1875-1876.* (London, 1879), p. 294, jadeணகணண of only a single Shilluk village north of Kasa.  

3. For example, see George Catull. *Ten Years in Equatoria.* (London, 1891), Vol. 1, p. 316: "The Shilluk—once a powerful tribe, now reduced to dependence . . . are not very warlike, their courage having been qualified by the repeated massacres at which their country has been the theatre."  

4. W.A. Macleod. *The Tribes of Northern and Central Equatoria.* (London, 1907), p. 271: "Before the natives had gained his first successes in open war, and whilst he was still at Noba Island in 1875, he was joined by many Nema, and it was with a vist of them that he set out for . . . "  


Jackson, op. cit.


Ochre.

Bott. Der Shilluk People. (Berlin, 1912), p. 115: "Two stations had stuck in the mud in the winter of 1888, and had been taken by the Shilliks; desperate efforts were now made by the Khartoum to effect their rescue."

Sillitoe, op. cit., p. 78.

Eichendorff, The Zehthos..., p. 98.

Jackson, op. cit. The Shilliks was himself a Ta’alishe and had a special interest in their well-being.

Hofmeyr, op. cit., p. 119.

Ochre is not regarded as having being a part of the Shilliks, because he was not properly installed at Fashoda, but apparently some kind of installation ceremony was held on his by the Southern Shilliks at Fashoda. See P.P. Bowell, "The Election and Installation of the Kari Kar Red Fatiki of the Shilliks," Sudan Notes and Records, vol. X, iv, part 2, 1923.


Ali Zali had won a great victory over the Khartoum at Gallabat in 1889. He was a Mandala, which is to say part Ta’alishe.


Hofmeyr, op. cit., pp. 119-120.

Intelligence report, Egypt, no. 5, appendix A, April, 1903.

Ochre, appendix C. The Abbasiya post at Fashoda was composed of 3,000 "sword and spearmen," 1,000 "milkmen," 1,000 "khalifis," and 50 cavalry. The extent of the Shilliks’ desire to control Shilliks land is expressed by the fact that he had more than 30,000 men, which was three times the size of. With the exception of USB Durnas and El Obeid.
A first-hand account of the battle was left by "Gold Saghayer." E unidades Report. No. 10, appendix 45, 19 Sep-31 Dec., 1916. When we arrived at Tophus, we found Zuul Tumal fighting the Shirliks, who had revolted... under their king, who was killed by the Shirliks. The Shirliks were defeated and their king was shot and escaped to a place called Tange.

The Shirliks remember this defeat as being particularly disastrous, according to Odenon Oal, son of ex-emperor. Personal interview conducted at the Ministry of Southern Affairs, Khartoum, April 9, 1917.

The Shirliks are in the process of fighting for their independence. The Shirliks, who were treacherously betrayed by Zuul, have been replaced by a group who now controls the Shirliks. Zuul, H.C. Jackson, "A Note on Shirliks Kins," op. cit., "Kon Afif, daughter of Abulbich, was appointed by Zuul..."

The appointment, according to Jackson, was to rule the territory of Kalakel to Tange from Jette.

Intelligence report, Egypt. No. 4, July, 1922, and no. 8, Nov., 1922.

Jackson, "Shirek Country Under Mah. Sur Kaf Modak, 1919," op. cit., wrote that the headman of the village of "Gumbah" (Kadi, the village near the Mekah) was instrumental in promoting Zuul's candidacy to Al Raffat. When Zuul died in exile, at Kaffa, in 1915, a Raffat was held for him at Gumbah, which is adjacent to Kaffa.

Forbury, "The Shirliks Tribes," p. 5.

The area in question between Ruff and Kaffa has been known as "Raffat," which means "head of the Kaffa" in Shirliks. It is the geographical parallel to the rest, who live in the administrative region.

Jackson, "History of the Shirliks Tribe (Nov 1913-1920)," op. cit.

Intelligence report, Egypt. No. 11, Feb., 1931: "The Shirliks and Binks are still hostile. There still is a German force of about
247

1,000 under Ibrahim ed-Delea at Jebel Amad Agha, north of Bahshadi."

No. 14, May, 1894: "... the Shilluk still maintain their independence, and ... the Khalifa has practically lost all authority over them."

25See letter from 'Arabi to the Khalifa, cited by Collins, The Southern Sudan, 1883-1886, pp. 111-117. In a letter dated September 21, 1893 (Kabir 11, 1311) 'Arabi reported that the expedition, which was assembled in Bahshadi, had resulted in the capture of several important Shilluk chiefs and 21 guns. Also, ibid., p. 30, would indicate that 'Arabi's action against the Shilluk was strictly punitive, and for purposes of pillaging cattle, because most of the grain had probably been destroyed by locusts in the summer of 1893.

26Jackson, History of the Shilluk Tribe...

27Ibid.

28'Arabi had sent "more than 100 north with a frantic plea for men and supplies," Collins, op. cit., p. 182.

29Ibid., pp. 132-133.

30Ibid., p. 133.

31Intelligence Report, Egypt, No. 36, Mar., 1897.

32Ibid., Also, appendix A, p. 13, outlines the strength of Mahdist forces in the Sudan and mentions no troops of Bahshadi.

33Collins, op. cit., p. 133.

34Kur sent a messenger to 'Arabi informing him of difficulties that the expedition was having. Ibid., p. 133-134.


36Intelligence Report, Egypt, No. 53, Apr.-May, 1897.

37Sudan Intelligence Report, No. 60, appendix 40, 25 May-31 Dec., 1898. The men were armed with 150 Hendington's and 150 Dack and double-barred rifles.

38Ibid.


easy. It might have been to overestimate Shilluk population if provided
by the missionary Scherer, who arrived in Shillukland in 1900. He
guesses 3 million three years prior to the official count of 39,000.
C. Scherer, "Einiges über die Shillukenser und ihre Einrichtung."
51a. Kauffmann. Das Gebiet des Mokoum Florence und dessen
(London, 1932), p. 40; said 2+4 huts per family. Westerners, op. cit.,
p. 201, said 5 huts.
51d. Schmidt's estimate of 900 villages was probably close to
accurate. See p. 291.
52. Schreiwerth, op. cit., p. 87, from his observations in the
1870s, wrote that the "villages are separated by intervalls varying
from 300 to 1000 paces." E. Dietz-Pfeifer. "The Divine Kingship
of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan." Essays in South Sudanology,
(New York, 1963), p. 67, noted well into the present century that the
humbered were built "from 200 yards to a mile or so apart." Melchizedek,
op. cit., p. 19, wrote that "villages follow each other at intervals
of not more than 100 paces," and mistakenly used an average based
upon this premise in his computations.
181-199.
54. Sudan Intelligence Report. No. 107, June, 1903. The 12,773
figure should be subjected to certain other considerations. See p. 242.
55. Schreiwerth, op. cit., p. 85.
56. The same thing was probably done by the British — either by
mistake or to discredit the Abissina. Selwin Pacca and Father Chevalier
reported to Wingate that the Shilluk had murdered 300,000 prior to the
Abissina years, but that by 1890 they were down to 120,000. See Lord
Cromer's Report by H.R. Hookey's Agent and Commissariat on the
Interior, Administration and Conditions in the Sudan, 1922.
58. Sudan Intelligence Report. No. 107, June, 1903.
59. This was true of Akol's folowers, for example. See pp. 275-277.
The Citerri-Fanchetti expedition, which came down the Omo River in
Ethiopia to Amanuel, who, approached by a Shilluk who made himself
available as a guide. He had been forced to emigrate from his home-
land with his entire village due to the continued raids. C. Citerri
397-398.
Hofwary, "Die Shillies," p. 333.


Ivory accounted for only 4.4% of the total value of goods exported between 1892-1896 from the Sudan via Khartoum and Suakin. See Collins, op. cit., p. 57.

Apart from the fact that, because of proximity, Bashe ivory would have had priority, there seemed to be little activity at such markets as Eredet and Redi Shangul. See Citerri and Vanoni, op. cit., p. 394, who described the discovery in Abyssinia due to "Boha" and "Gourih" raiding. Also, Carlo Zanghi, Viaggio di Ermola Gossi, (Milano, 1939), pp. 148-149.

C. Schroer, op. cit., p. 57.

A.W. Ginosen, The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (London, 1905), Vol. I, p. 193: "A wife can be had for a slick cow and 4 to 5 camels, but this is a high price to pay at present."
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Intelligence Report, Egypt. A report of information gathered from the Sudan 
For which was from 1892 to April, 1903. These are available at the Library of 
The University of Khartoum.

I made extensive use of the material in the Southern Sudan which appears 
in the “Nubian” category at the Central Records Officer in Khartoum.

INTERVIEWS

I conducted an interview with Samuel Benge, Executive Secretary of the 
Bible Society of the Sudan, on April 1, 1971, at his office in 
Khartoum and with Edward Dik, on April 8, 1971, at his office at 
The Ministry of Southern Affairs in Khartoum.
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Appendix II
Glossary

wahat: type of water-reed
bahr: large river
dar: old Sudanese administrative unit
duru: grain
jebel: mountain
khor: seasonal watercourse
sudd: Southern Sudanese river swamp
APPENDIX II
LINGUISTIC NOTES
APPENDIX II
LINGUISTIC NOTES

1. In this paper, unless otherwise indicated, ə, ʃ, th, tuh, sh, ch, zh used in non-English word examples, all represent the hushing voiceless affricates Ċ (as sh in "charge"). I have adopted this procedure in order that I might take words from sources without distortion.

2. I have generally omitted the use of diacritical markings in Arabic words.
DIVISIONS OF SHILLUKLAND