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THE SHAIKÍYA

THE SHAIKÍYA

An Account of the Shaikíya Tribes
and of the History of Dongola
Province from the XIVth to
the XIXth Century

BY

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P R E F A C E

I HAD originally intended to compile an exhaustive treatise on the History of the Northern Sudan from the Christian Era to the present day. This treatise was to consist of three parts, viz.: 1. The Nubian Kingdoms. 2. The Fungs and the Shaiḳíya. 3. The Turkish Ascendancy.

The time, however, at my disposal was not sufficient to allow of my carrying out my original intention.

I therefore resolved to devote my attention solely to Part II, and the result is the present small volume, which will, I hope, arouse sufficient interest in the history of this most remarkable corner of the Sudan to promote further researches into its records.

Owing to the almost complete destruction of native manuscripts which took place during the Dervish rebellion, the historian has but very slender material to work upon, and is largely dependent upon the chance remarks of travellers who have visited or passed near to this country.

Native accounts, unsupported by documentary evidence, are very unreliable, and require most careful sifting, owing to the exceeding snobbery which is innate in the inhabitants of the Sudan.

Every native, however mean be his origin, will endeavour to prove that he is descended from the purest Arabian stock, and that his particular tribe held an important place and played a noble part in the history of the Sudan.

My sincere thanks are due to Captain E. S. Jackson, Senior Inspector, Dongola Province, to Captain G. S. Symes, Assistant Director of Intelligence, Sudan Government, and to Mohammed Bey Es-Siyed of the Intelligence Department, for the valuable help which they have given me.

W. NICHOLLS.

EL OBEID, KORDOFAN, 1913.

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THE SHAIKÍYA

CHAPTER I

THE FALL OF THE NUBIAN KINGDOMS AND RISE OF THE FUNGS

ONE of the most interesting of the tribes of the Northern Sudan, from a historical point of view, is the Shaikíya. This tribe, not only from its geographical position, but also from the warlike propensities of its members, their enterprise, and their skill and prowess in actual warfare, has been closely bound up with the history of the Northern Sudan from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries.

The Shaikíya tribe is composed of the descendants of Shaik, the son of Hemeidan,¹ the son of Subh abu Amerkha, who, according to their tradition, brought them into the Sudan from Arabia. They are closely akin to the Jimiab, Jowamia, and kindred tribes, and more remotely related to the Bedeiriya, all of them belonging to the Ja'ali family.

¹ On this point all the "Nisbas" or genealogical trees which I have examined agree.

I append a table showing the relations of these Ja'ali tribes, who formed part of the large and gradual immigration of Arab tribes into the Sudan from Arabia via the Red Sea during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

These tribes, entering the Sudan via Suakin and Massawa, moved westwards and southwards towards the Nile. The nomads clung to their nomad life in the rich country between the Atbara and the Blue Nile, and the more sedentary tribes settled along both banks of the Nile between the fourth and fifth cataracts, thus severing the two Christian kingdoms—the southern kingdom of Alwa from the northern of Mukurra.¹

These kingdoms, formerly strong, powerful, and united, offered an unsurmountable barrier to the Moslem conquest of the Sudan. But, owing to the neglect which they had suffered at the hands of their mother church, the Church of Alexandria, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and owing to the rapid spread of Mohammedanism, they had been torn asunder by internal dissensions and split up into numerous small mutually-inimical factions.

They thus fell an easy prey to these hardy Arab invaders, joined firmly together not only by the powerful bonds of kinship, but also by the more binding ties of a common fanatical religion.

¹ For the history of the Christian kingdoms of Nubia, see Quatremère, *Mémoires Historiques*, vol. ii.

At the end of the fifteenth century these various Arab tribes acknowledged a single leader, Abdullah Jama'a of the Kowasma Arabs, the Sheikh and founder of the Abdallab tribe.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the united Arab tribes, under Abdullah Jama'a, made a compact with the negroid tribe of the Fung,¹ which, coming from the South, had then, under its king, 'Umára Dunkas, become a power in the land.

By their concerted efforts the Christian kingdom of Alwa² was conquered and destroyed,³ its territories, from Arbagi on the Blue Nile to the mountains of K̄erri,⁴ falling to the lot of the Arabs.

Thus in the first decade of the sixteenth century the Fung held all the country in the South between the White Nile and the Abyssinian frontiers up to the River Rahad; while the Arabs, subject to them, were masters of the Nile valley from the Rahad to the fourth cataract.

The northern kingdom of Nubia was now in a parlous state. For many years it had

¹ For a *résumé* of the various theories as to the origin of the Fung, see MacMichael, *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan*.

² Whose capital was at Soba, on the Blue Nile.

³ So states the MS. "History of Sennar" (see chap. ii.); but it is much more probable that the disintegration of the Nubian kingdoms was a slow and gradual process.

⁴ At the fifth cataract.

been engaged in continual wars and quarrels with the Beja on the east and the Fōrs on the west. It had been latterly invaded on the north by the Ottoman Turks under Sultan Selim, who had conquered and occupied all its territories from Assuan to the cataracts of Hannek.¹

And now, exhausted by these constant struggles, and split up and weakened by internal strife among its many princes and between Christians and Mohammedans, it was invaded by the united Arab tribes under the Abdallab Sheikhs, acting on behalf of the Fung king of Sennar.

Thus the kingdom of Dongola fell, and with it the last remnants of Christianity in the Sudan.

Such of its inhabitants as were willing to embrace Islam were suffered to remain, and gradually coalesced with the invaders ; so that, at the present day, it is extremely difficult to distinguish the Nubian from the Arab.

The more so, as no one will willingly confess himself to be a Nubian ; but, on the contrary, the people vie with one another in claiming to be of the bluest blood of the Hedjaz.²

But that the number of those who remained was large, especially in the northern half of

¹ The present northern boundary of Dongola Province, *i.e.* the third cataract.

² *Cf.* the Nubian inhabitants of Mahass, who claim to be of the Beni Ommeiya. ✓

the kingdom, is shown by the fact that the Arab conquerors and immigrants took the language of the Nubians, and the Nubian tongue is a living language to-day and is almost universally spoken throughout nearly two-thirds of Dongola Province.

Those Nubians who refused to abandon their ancient faith fled to the mountains of Kordofan and Darfur, where they quickly sank back to their former state of paganism and savagery.¹

Thus at the end of the sixteenth century, the whole Nile valley from the cataracts of Hannek to the river Rahad was tributary to the Fung king of Sennar, through the Abdallab Sheikhs of Kerri.

At this time the kingdom of Dongola was disintegrated and split up into three principal "Dars," or settlements, called after the principal tribes which inhabited them. Each of these dars was sub-divided into several small principalities or kingdoms, as they were

¹ The inhabitants of several of the Nuba mountains in Kordofan speak a language which differs very little from the Dongolawi Nubian. See Lepsius, *Nubische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1880) *Eingleitung*, pp. lxxvii. and lxxviii., where comparative tables of the languages spoken at J. Kargo, J. Koldagi, J. Nuba, and J. Kulfân, with the Dongolawi language are given.

I once met a Nuba from J. Abu Jenûd, and found that by speaking Dongolawi to him I could make myself comparatively understood. I collected from him a vocabulary of words which I found to differ very little from those used by the Dongolawis.

Questioned as to his origin, this Nuba replied that he was of the same race (the word he used was "irg," which means "root") as the people of Dongola.

pleased to call themselves, each under its separate prince or Melik.

1. The first or most northerly settlement, which I will call "Dar El Jawâbera"¹ (from its most numerous tribe), stretched from the cataracts of Hannek to the village of Teiti, and included the kingdoms of Argo, Magassir Island, and Khannág.

¹ Jawâbera. Cf. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, pp. 133, 134: "The two tribes of Djowabere and El Gharbye, the latter a branch of the great tribe of Zenaty, took possession of the country from Assouan to Wady Halfa, and subsequently extended their authority over a great number who had settled on the banks of the river at the period of the general invasion, among whom were the Kenous, a tribe from Nedjed and Irak. The large tribe of Djaafere [*Note*:—Many of the present inhabitants of Dongola (El Ordi) belong to this tribe.—AUTHOR.] occupied the shores of the Nile from Esne to Assouan; a few families of Sherifs settled in the Batn el Hadjar and a branch of the Koreish possessed themselves of Mahass. For several centuries Nubia was occupied by these Arabs, who were at continual war with each other, in the course of which the kings of Dongola had acquired so much influence over them as to be able at last to compel them to pay tribute.

"The Djowabere having nearly subdued the Gharbye, the latter sent an embassy to Constantinople, in the reign of the great Sultan Selym, to seek aid against their enemies, and they succeeded in procuring from the Sultan a body of several hundred Bosnian soldiers under a commander named Hassan Coosy. By their means the Djowabere and people of Dongola were driven out of Nubia, into the latter country; and to this day, the more wealthy inhabitants of Dongola derive their origin from the tribe of Djowabere. Some families of the Djowabere, however, remained peacefully behind, and their descendants, who are found chiefly at Derr and Wady Halfa, are still known by the name of their ancestors."

The chief seat of the Jawâbera at present is the Island of Badin. There are also many in El Zawarât, where Mukhtar Effendi Awad is their chief representative, and also in the Island of Simit, in Mahass. The name "Jawâbera" is called in the Nubian dialect "Jiberki."

The inhabitants of this district were very mixed, being chiefly Jawâbera and Nubas with a sprinkling of Kunûz¹ and Egyptian immigrants. There were also a few Arabs of the Beja stock² in the desert to the east.

The ruling family of Argo was, however, of the Hâkimab,³ a Ja'ali tribe, and the Melik, or king, who had residences at Argo and at Binna, was also called "the King of the Isles." His capital was at Argo, and he was by far the most powerful ruler in the northern half of the province, the other princes acknowledging his supremacy.

2. The "Dar El Bedeiriya"⁴ stretched from Teiti to the confines of the Dar Es-Shaikíya, at

¹ The Beni Kenz, a branch of the great Arab tribe of the Rab'ia, emigrated from Nejd and Irak in the middle of the ninth century and settled in Southern Egypt. They intermarried with the inhabitants and became a powerful and warlike tribe. Towards the end of the thirteenth century the Sultan of Egypt, Seif-ed-din Kalaôn, invaded Nubia as far as Dongola; it is related that many of the Beni Kenz accompanied him. In the fourteenth century the Beni Kenz attacked and captured Aswân, but were in turn driven out by the Howâra Arabs at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The principal sub-tribes of the Kunûz are the Nasrellâb, Abu Hor, and Amenelâb, who inhabit the country between Aswân and Derr. (See Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, pp. 29, 308; and Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, p. 26.)

² The Bisharin, who, despite their boastful claim to be of Kowahla stock, are clearly a Beja tribe. (See Ibn Batuta's account of his visit to the Red Sea coast.)

The Bisharin are represented in Dongola at the present day by the Hâmok tribe, who inhabit the desert to the east of Argo.

³ See Appendix I.

⁴ Cf. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, p. 63: "Between the city of Dongola and Merowe is the wady of the Arabs called Bedeyr, whose chiefs have, till lately, been tributary to the Sheygga."

Mount Dager, and had princes reigning at El Khandak, Old Dongola, Tangussi Island, Abkur and Duffar, Old Dongola being the chief kingdom, to which the other principalities were in the position of vassal states.

This country was inhabited by Bedeiriya and Nubas, the districts of Korti and Ambigól being peopled by the Tereifiya, a tribe closely akin to the Bedeiriya (see table, p. 44).

3. The "Dar El Shaikíya" stretched along both banks of the river, from Mount Dager to the upstream end of the fourth cataract, and contained the four kingdoms of Hannek, Kajebi, Merawi, and 'Amri.

This district was inhabited entirely by the Shaikíya Arabs, with a few Nubas in a state of semi-slavery. Unlike the people of the other dars, the people of the Dar Es-Shaikíya, though split up into four separate kingdoms, and though their four kings often fought with one another, yet, on the approach of a common enemy, they always put aside their private quarrels, and joined together under one leader to meet him. Herein lay their strength.

The other kingdoms of Dongola could never present a united front to a common enemy, but were always divided one against the other, and hence, since they sprang into being, were always tributary to some other power.

CHAPTER II

THE DECLINE OF FUNG POWER IN DONGOLA

DURING the seventeenth century the Shaikíya became a powerful and influential tribe. In fact, so strong had they become that during the latter half of this century they were able to throw off the yoke of Sennar and defy both Abdallabs and Fungs.

The moment for revolt was opportune, for troubles and internal dissensions had broken out in Sennar, as the following excerpt, translated from an Arabic manuscript in my possession, entitled "An Abbreviated History of the Sudan," in the handwriting of the late Sheikh Ibrahim Sherifi, shows :

"He [King Badi abu Dakn¹] had reigned for thirty-six years, and there succeeded him his brother's son, Onisa Wad Nasir. During his reign, in the year 1095 A.H. (1684 A.D.), there occurred a severe famine, so that the people were compelled to eat dogs. This year was called 'Um Lahm.'² Large numbers of

¹ Abu Dakn = the bearded (lit. = father of a beard).

² A euphemism. "Um Lahm" means the year of food, the plentiful.

people perished and whole fertile districts became desert, owing to the famine and the small-pox.¹

"This king continued reigning^{1689 A.D.} at Sennar until his death, in the year 1106 A.H., and the duration of his reign was twelve years.

"His son, the Mek Badi, 'The Red,' succeeded him. This was the first of the Fung kings from whose allegiance the sub-tribes broke away, and there went forth against him El Amin Aradeb Wad 'Agib, at the head of 1000 men of the Fung and others, and they set up for themselves a king by name Aukal, for they wished to depose Badi, 'The Red.'"

The yoke of the "Black Sultan" lay ill upon the necks of this proud nation of warriors, and now there arose among them a champion and a liberator in the person of 'Itman Wad Hammed the 'Amerabi, who was to be the means by which they were to be enabled to put an end, once for all, to their irksome and degrading position as a subject race.

'Itman was the worthy son of a worthy mother. His mother was 'Ázila, that famous Amazon of Shaiquíya tradition, who was more skilled in horsemanship and the warlike arts than all her male compeers, and who rode to war in the van and was in the thick of every combat.

Her presence and her courage stimulated

¹ See Appendix III.

the warriors to mighty deeds of valour, and won for her tribe many a hard-fought fight.

From her, some say, arose the Shaikíya custom noted by Cailliaud (*Voyage à Meroë*) and by Waddington and Hanbury (*Travels*) at the battle of Korti, of having a maiden riding at the head of the troops in war to cheer them on and give them the signal for battle, but I think the custom has a much older origin.

It was shewho induced, nay, rather compelled, 'Itman to harbour an outlaw fleeing from the wrath of El Amin Wad 'Agib of the Abdallab, whose trust he had betrayed. Thus 'Azila became the cause of the war which established the Shaikíya independence.

When Wad 'Agib heard that this outlaw had found an asylum with 'Itman, he sent to 'Itman a messenger calling upon him either to put the outlaw to death or to deliver him up without delay.

To this message 'Itman returned an insolent reply, refusing to put the outlaw to death and telling Wad 'Agib that if he wanted him he must come and take him if he could.

Realising the inevitable consequences of this defiance, 'Itman retired to the Island of Doulga¹ and prepared for fight.

Wad 'Agib lost no time in setting out with his army, and, encamping on the mainland

¹ Doulga Island, about 56 miles upstream from Merawi, in latitude 18° 53'.

opposite Douлга, he summoned 'Itman to surrender, giving him five days in which to decide.

'Itman had only a very small force with him, but by keeping his horses all day in the sun, feeding them on dry food, and changing their colours daily with coloured earths and lime, he apparently watered every day at sunset a different set of horses. He thus deceived Wad 'Agib into thinking that his force was five times greater than it really was.

This so alarmed Wad 'Agib that on the sixth day, instead of attacking, he sent to 'Itman and invited him to a conference under a flag of truce. 'Itman, fearing treachery, crossed over alone with his horse at the end of the island, out of sight of the Abdallab camp, and came riding up unexpectedly to Wad 'Agib, who was sitting on the ground with his attendants playing "Munkala" (a kind of draughts).

As he was dismounting from his charger, his foot caught in his stirrup. Wad 'Agib, seeing this, whispered hurriedly to one of his attendants: "Allah has delivered him into our hands. Up and kill him."

However, a friendly ShaiḲi, who was sitting with Wad 'Agib, heard this and immediately cried out in the ShaiḲíya patois: "Wi hyát er-rubb sherek um hibeiba fi rigeibik tubb" ("Ods life, but the bird-snare is plumb on your neck"). The Abdallab did not understand what this meant, but 'Itman did, and at once leaped back

into his saddle. He urged his horse forward to the river bank, and, plunging in, horse and all, swam over to Douлга.

Now he must act and act quickly. He called all his men together, and they hurriedly collected all the animals, cattle, donkeys, and sheep, and all the dried grass and brushwood they could find.

After sundown he and his fighting men crossed over with the animals to the mainland out of sight of Wad 'Agib's camp.

The animals were then collected together and a large bundle of dried grass and brushwood was tied on the back of each.

In the middle of the night, when Wad 'Agib and his troops were asleep, this vast herd of animals was driven close up to their camp.

There, the bundles on the backs of the animals were fired and the frightened beasts driven headlong into the midst of the sleeping foe.

'Itman and his fighting men rode hard behind this flaming mass, lustily shouting their war-cry.

The ruse was successful and the Abdallab troops fled in confusion, leaving their leader, who scorned to run away, sitting on his "firwa"¹ alone, awaiting death.

He was there found by 'Itman, who, sword in hand, promised him his life if he would guarantee the independence of the Shaiḳíya.

¹ Sheepskin rug used as a saddle cloth.

Wad 'Agib gave the necessary pledges, which were afterwards ratified, thus firmly establishing the Shaikíya as an independent race.

This is according to Shaikíya tradition ;¹ but how far it may be true it is difficult to say.

This took place probably about the year 1690 or thereabouts, as Wad 'Agib was himself slain by King Badi in about the year 1702,² and Poncet,³ who was at Korti in January 1699, tells us that, the Shaikíya having revolted against the King of Sennar, it was unsafe to pass through their territories. They were probably at that time tasting the first sweets of independence.

¹ As related to me by Omda Mohammed Ali Bileilu of the Suarab. He is a great grandson of the famous Sheikh Abôd, who fought at the battle of Korti.

² This is the date as given in the MS. quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

³ See Poncet's *Voyages*, English translation, p. 15.

CHAPTER III

THE RISE OF THE SHAIḲĪYA

At the beginning of the eighteenth century we find the ShaiḲīya, having shaken off their allegiance to the kingdom of Sennar, consolidating their power and demanding recognition as a determining factor in the history of the Northern Sudan, while the remainder of Dongola Province remained tributary to the Fung Sultanate.

At this time internal troubles claimed all the attention of the Fung monarchs, as the following extracts, translated from the above-cited manuscript, show :

“Then [in 1137 A.H.—1713 A.D.] his son Onisa succeeded him. He gave himself up continually to pastimes and playing, and indulged in excesses until news of him reached the Fung in the South . . . and they resolved to depose him. . . . Then he went forth from the seat of power, and that was in the year 1130 A.H. and with him the sovereignty of the Fung passed away from the royal house.”

“The Mek Bâdi abu Shillûk ascended the throne in 1135 A.H., and he was the last of the kings who had power, for, at the end of his reign, the Sheikhs of the Hamej got the mastery, and the accession of the kings passed, *de facto* but not *de lege*, into their hands, for they had the supreme power.”

“At this epoch [1175 A.H.—1762 A.D.] the power of the Fungs was humbled and the supreme authority was in the hands of the Hamej. Sheikh Mohammed Abu'l Keilak got the upper hand over the king and put to death many of the chief people of the Fung.”

The Sennar monarchs being thus fully occupied with their domestic troubles, and the Shaiķīya having defeated the Abdallab Sheikh, the very slender hold which the Fungs had on Dongola was severed, and it was not long before the Shaiķīya succeeded in making themselves masters of the whole province.

✓ The term “very slender hold” may perhaps require some explanation, as on reading the Fung historians and the accounts given by the Fungs themselves to Poncet, Bruce, and Cailliaud, one is led into the belief that the Fungs were absolute masters of the Sudan from the cataracts of Hannek to the borders of Abyssinia from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries.

In my opinion, this, as regards the Northern Sudan, and especially Dongola Province, is

entirely erroneous, and, the Fung boasts to the contrary, are only another proof of the well-known, inordinate conceit of the African. For we have nothing whatever to prove that the Fung hold on Dongola was otherwise than of the slenderest description.

I think that too much stress has been laid on the fact, which is established, that the Dongola Province paid during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and part of the eighteenth centuries a kind of tribute (we do not even know if it was annual, regularly paid, or of any value) to the Fung king. ✓

This, to my mind, is not sufficient evidence to prove absolute mastery, but simply shows that the Dongola princes feared the Ottoman Turk, as they had every reason to do, and willingly paid the tribute, in order that they might reap the benefits of the agreement which, through the good offices of the Imam Es-Samarakandi, had been made between the Sultan Selim and the Fung king; and by thus pretending, as it were, to form a part of the Fung Empire, they bought off Turkish aggression.

We have no proof that the Fung monarchs had any voice in the succession of the various princes of Dongola, or that any military service was ever demanded from them. None of the authorities mention that there were ever Fung residents or agents at any of the various Courts of Dongola, or that the Fung kings

ever interfered in the internal affairs of Dongola or punished non-payment of tribute.

This, I think, is sufficient to show that Dongola never really formed a part of the Fung Empire. Furthermore, the princes of Dongola, when attacked by the Shaikíya, did not ask the Fungs to help them.

The Shaikíya did not depose the native princes, but appointed residents at each Court, who collected from the prince one-half of his revenue,¹ while their marauding bands of horsemen ranged the country from Korti to Hannek, pillaging and plundering and terrorising the inhabitants. Such havoc did they cause that large numbers of the inhabitants emigrated to Kordofan, Darfur, and Berber.

Browne, who visited Darfur about 1792-98, found a large settlement of natives of Dongola at Hillet Hasan, near Kobbé, and also at Kobbé. He says: "Most of the Kobbé merchants come from the river, who seem the first to have opened up direct communication between Egypt and Darfur. For many years their native countries Dongola, Mahass, and all the borders of the Nile as far as Sennar, which, according to report, are, in all the gifts of nature, superior to Darfur, have been the scene of devastation

¹ Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, p. 61. "The Arabs Sheygiya, since they have been in possession of a share of the revenue, take from the ground irrigated by each wheel four Mhourys of Dhourra, two or three sheep, and a linen gown worth two dollars. The native kings take the same."

and bloodshed, having no settled Government, but being continually torn by internal divisions and harassed by the inroads of the Shaigiya and other tribes of Arabs who inhabit the regions between the river and the Red Sea."

There is a large settlement of the Tereifiya tribe from Korti and Ambigól at the present day in Kobbé and a smaller settlement at Kerri (Khartoum Province). There are also many Bedeiriya and Danagla in Kordofan, driven out from Dongola by Shaikíya aggression. ✓

Cailliaud tells us¹ that when Ismail Pasha's expedition reached Berber Province they found there 400 families who had fled from Dongola owing to the attacks of the Shaikíya.

The only one of the kings of Dongola who appears to have made any stand against the Shaikíya was the King of Argo, who, collecting a numerous army of Moghrebi mercenaries, marched up to the borders of the Dar Es-Shaikíya.

A great battle was here fought at the foot of Mount Dager, and the troops of the King of Argo were defeated with great slaughter. Thus the hold of the Shaikíya on Dongola was strengthened.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century the Empire of the Fung was fast crumbling.

¹ *Voyage à Meroë*, vol. ii.

The Abdallab broke away from their allegiance only to be harassed by the Shaikíya, whose bands of cavalry ravaged the country on the west bank of the Nile up to opposite Halfaya, and even attacked Halfaya and routed the Abdallab.¹

Cailliaud² says that before the Shaikíya invasions the population of Halfaya had been 9000, but that in consequence of these invasions it had been reduced to three or four thousand in 1822.

Burckhardt³ says : " Before the arrival of the Mameluks in Dongola (1811), Mek Nimr (King of Shendi) had been for many years in continual warfare with the Arabs Sheygiya, who had killed several of his relatives in battle, and, by making inroads into his dominions with large parties of horsemen, had repeatedly laid waste the whole western bank of the river. The Sheygiya made peace with him, in order more effectually to oppose the Mameluks."

While the Shaikíya were engaged in these wars and expeditions, their lands were cultivated for them by their Nubian prisoners and slaves.

Hence it is, that even at the present day, most of the technical terms dealing with sagias⁴ and agriculture in general among the Shaikíya are in the Nubian language.

¹ Abdallab and Shaikíya traditions agree on this point.

² *Voyage à Meroë*, vol. ii., p. 194.

³ *Travels in Nubia*, p. 248.

⁴ Water-wheels.

At the end of the eighteenth century we find the Shaikíya the most powerful tribe in the Northern Sudan, terrorising the country from Halfaya to the borders of Mahass.

To quote Cailliaud : "After the break up of the kingdom of Sennar, they [the Shaikíya] became redoubtable to their neighbours : Dongola, Berber, and Halfaya suffered at the hands of this daring people—a nation of warriors, men and women."

CHAPTER IV

THE MAMELUKS

THE Shaiḳíya remained absolute masters of Dongola until the arrival of the Mameluks from Egypt put the first check upon their power.

Mohammed Ali had been appointed Pasha of Egypt in the spring of 1805 A.D., and immediately set to work to exterminate the Mameluks, root and branch, and from this year until the year 1811, when the great massacre in the citadel took place, massacres of Mameluks were of yearly occurrence.

A large part of them fled from these massacres into Nubia. They were here pursued by Ibrahim Bey, the son of Mohammed Ali Pasha, who defeated them at Wadi Kostamneh,¹ about half-way between Assuan and Derr.

After this battle the remnants of the Mameluks split up into two parties under Ibrahim Bey, the same who, during the massacre in the citadel of Cairo, escaped by leaping his

¹ Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, p. 12.

horse over the battlements into the trench below, and Abdel Rahman Bey, and fled southwards towards Dongola. One party moved along the west bank of the river, ravaging the country as they went, while the other party took a short cut across the desert.

Both parties united again on the banks of the Nile near the cataracts of Hannek in the year 1811, mustering, according to Burckhardt, about 300 white Mameluks and as many armed slaves, *i.e.* an effective fighting force of about 600 men, though according to Waddington's account, their number must have been nearly double that total. I am inclined to accept Burckhardt's numbers.

On their arrival at Hannek they found Mohammed, the Káshef of Mahass, at war with Melik Tumbul of Argo, who being hard pressed had shut himself up in his fortified castle on the Island of Tumbus.¹

Mohammed the Káshef endeavoured to induce the Mameluks to take his side against his rival, and for some time Mameluk opinion was divided as to whom they should join. However, finally a decision was come to in favour of the King of Argo, and the Mameluks marched to Argo.

Mohammed the Káshef retaliated by putting himself under the protection of Mohammed Ali Pasha.

¹ Waddington and Hanbury, *Travels*, p. 225.

The Shaikíya resident in Argo at that time was Mahmoud El Adlanabi, who, as the Mameluks had informed him that they were only passing through Dongola on their way to Sennar, where they proposed to settle, received them with great hospitality and made them considerable presents of horses, camels, slaves, and provisions.

“These treacherous fugitives,” says Burckhardt,¹ “however, had not been a month at Argo, when upon some slight pretext, they killed their benefactor, with several of his attendants; and then, spreading themselves over the country, plundered the property of the Shaigiya, and seized upon the revenue.

“In this state of things, one of the kings of the Zubeir family (the ruling family of Argo) joined the Mameluks against the Shaigiya; while the other, his cousin, named Tumbul Ibn Zubeir, returned to Egypt to seek for aid in men and arms against the new invaders, who were joined by another body of Shaigiya, amounting to about eighty horsemen, the inveterate enemies of the tribe of Mahmoud El Adlanabi. The Mameluks have since been at continual war with the Shaigiya and several individuals have been slain on both sides.”

The Mameluks settled upon the village of Maragha, about three miles north of the

¹ *Travels in Nubia*, p. 66.

present position of Dongola (El Ordi) as their capital, and there they built themselves many fine buildings.

They do not appear to have been altogether happy in their new domicile, for Burckhardt tells us that "many of the Mameluks died last summer from the effects of a putrid fever, which regularly prevails in Dongola during the hot season, and carries off numbers of inhabitants. Unable to bear the heat in their hot woollen dresses, which they still continue to wear, they constructed a number of rafts, on board of which they passed the whole of summer, under awnings of mats, kept constantly wet by their slaves." They were also constantly harassed by the Shaikíya, whose daring horsemen gave them no rest.

Nevertheless they appear to have somewhat benefited the country over which they ruled. They taught the people many improvements in agriculture, and the introduction of wheat is said to have been due to them.

According to the account given by Waddington, the part of the country ruled over by the Mameluks appears to have been better cultivated than the rest of the province, and its people to have been more advanced. They were, however, hard taskmasters, and took from the people one-third of their total produce.

Their dominion extended from the borders of Mahass to the village of Khandak, while the

remainder of the province was in the hands of the Shaikīya.

Exasperated by the repeated predatory incursions of the Shaikīya, the Mameluks resolved to attack them, and accordingly in January 1812 an expedition left Maragha for the Dar Es-Shaikīya.

While this expedition was on the way, a party of Shaikīya, crossing over the desert from Merawi by the Mehaila road, fell upon Argo, which they occupied, and they also inflicted severe damage upon the remnants of the Mameluks who had been left behind at Maragha.

When news was brought to the Mameluk troops of this raid, they split up into two parties, one party, under Ibrahim Bey, returning to Maragha to cope with the Shaikīya raiders, while the other, under Abdel Rahman Bey, advanced towards the Dar Es-Shaikīya along the left bank of the river.

A battle was fought at the village of Hettâni, near Jebel Tamaka, which is reported to have been indecisive.¹ After the battle the Mameluks returned to Maragha.

Whether the battle was indecisive or not, the effect produced by it on the Shaikīya was a

¹ Melik Tumbul of Argo informed Waddington that the Mameluks beat the Shaikīya at Koraigh, killing 150 of them. Tumbul further stated that he was with the expedition, and that the victory was "extremely glorious."—*Travels*, p. 228.

This is highly improbable, and I am afraid the Melik was indulging in a little self-glorification without regard to veracity.

salutary one, for, for some time after this, their raids on the Mameluks' territories completely ceased, and thus the Mameluks were left free to devote their energies to the improvement of the country which they occupied.

CHAPTER V

THE TURKISH INVASION

IN the year 1820, however, matters took a different turn. Mohammed Ali Pasha's ambition was, we are told, to possess all the banks and islands of the Nile and to be master of all who drink its waters from Abyssinia to the Mediterranean.

In the spring of 1820 he resolved to make an effort to realise that ambition, and accordingly he fitted out an expedition consisting of 10,000 men with twelve pieces of cannon, to bring the tribes of the Nile valley into subjection. He gave the command of this expedition to his younger son, Ismail Pasha, who was then only twenty-two years of age.

The expedition left Cairo at the beginning of summer, and in the month of June the remnants of the Mameluks, whose numbers, Cailliaud tells us, had been reduced by fever and war to eighty men, shook the dust of Maragha off their feet, and, accompanied by their armed slaves, set out for Shendi, crossing the Bayuda Desert from Korti.

The Shaikíya, hearing of their departure, had

arranged an ambush near Korti to surprise them, but were themselves taken by surprise; many of them were captured by the Mameluks, who immediately beheaded them and went their way towards Shendi.¹

No sooner were the Mameluks gone than the Shaikíya made a descent upon the territories which they had occupied, pillaging, burning, and laying waste the country. They captured large numbers of the inhabitants, whom they carried away to the Dar Es-Shaikíya to cultivate their lands and to help them to fight the Turk.

They only retired when Ismail Pasha's army arrived.

The Mameluks arrived at Shendi and encamped outside the town. Here they remained until the Mek of Shendi, hearing of Ismail Pasha's successes over the Shaikíya, ordered them to depart from his territory.² They then dispersed, one party going towards Darfur, another towards the Red Sea, and a few even returning towards Egypt by way of the Nubian Desert, where it is related that they were killed by the Bisharin.

The Mameluks thus passed out of history, and nothing more was heard of them.

To return to Ismail Pasha's expedition.

His army of 10,000 men was composed chiefly of Turks, Albanians, and Moghrebis under the leadership of Abdín Káshef, Hassan Dar,

¹ Waddington and Hanbury, p. 230.

² *Ibid.*, p. 231.

Selagh Dar, and Omar Káshef, together with 1500 Bedouin horsemen and camelmen under the command of Khoji Ahmed. A large number of Ababda Arabs joined him at Assuan.¹

Ismail and his army advanced without meeting any opposition as far as New Dongola (El Ordi).

The most powerful kings of the Shaikíya at this time were Melik Sha'ous (sometimes corrupted into Shawish) of the Adlanab, whose capital was at Merawi, and Melik Sibeir (not to be confounded with Zubeir) of the Hannekab, whose capital was at Hannek.

There were two other minor kings, Melik Medani of Kajebi and Melik Hammed of the 'Amrab. But on the approach of the Turks all the Shaikíya united under Sha'ous and Sibeir, of whom the former was the chief.

"On his arrival at Dongola," says Waddington, "the Pasha sent them orders to submit to the power of Mohammed Ali; they expressed themselves willing to cultivate their ground and to pay tribute. The Pasha then commanded them to prove their sincerity by sending to him their arms and their horses. They simply repeated their former offer. The Pasha replied that his father had ordered him to make them a nation of Fellahin, instead of a nation of warriors, and renewed his demand.

They replied with a defiance, "Either go on

¹ Waddington and Hanbury, p. 93.

your business or come and attack us," and the Pasha moved his troops towards their frontiers.

The first blood was spilt at the village of Salaki, where five Albanian soldiers were cut off and slain by the Shaikíya.

The campaign opened by a skirmish near Old Dongola, where Ismail Pasha, some of his officers, and a few soldiers, who were separated from the main body, were suddenly attacked by a party of Shaikíya horsemen, who were, however, repulsed without difficulty.

Ismail continued to advance along the left bank of the Nile without meeting any further resistance until he reached the neighbourhood of Korti. Here, Cailliaud relates, on the authority of Abdín Káshef, the second in command, that a reconnaissance of a hundred Bedouin cavalry was cut up by the Shaikíya, losing seventy killed and twenty wounded, and here the main body of the Shaikíya was assembled to oppose the invader.

Near to where the present village of Korti stands a fierce battle was fought, which ended in the rout of the Shaikíya.

On the Shaikíya side, a young girl, Meheira, daughter of Sheikh Abôd of the Sûârab, riding on a richly caparisoned camel, gave the signal for battle by uttering the "Zagharit," whereupon the Shaikíya cavalry charged with great vigour and skill. So impetuous was their onset, that the Bedouins and Moghrebis, who formed the van of the Turkish forces,

were driven back on the main body in great disorder.

Abdín Káshef came to the rescue with his cavalry, and, charging three times in rapid succession, held the Shaiķíya in check until the Bedouins and Moghrebis rallied and returned to the fight. The issue was for a moment doubtful, and had the Shaiķíya only possessed firearms and known how to use them, the result would have been very disastrous for the Turks. As it was, they were armed in the most primitive fashion, having each only two lances, one broad-sword, and a shield of hippopotamus hide, though some of their chiefs had coats of mail and a few had pistols.

At this juncture, however, Ismail Pasha brought up the main body, who fired several volleys with deadly effect into the closely massed enemy.

The issue was no longer doubtful; the Shaiķíya fled in dismay, while such of them as fought on foot fell on their faces, holding their shields over their heads, and implored mercy.

They left nearly 600 dead and wounded on the field of battle, of whom over ninety per cent. were infantry.

The Shaiķíya infantry was chiefly composed of the Nubians who had been captured by them in their numerous raids on Dongola. Many of these fell alive into the hands of Ismail Pasha, who sent them back to their villages.

The Shaiḳíya fought with great bravery and daring, and earned the admiration of their foes.

Waddington thus describes their manner of fighting :—

“They are singularly fearless in attack, and ride up to the very faces of their enemy with levity and gaiety of heart as to a festival, or with joy as if to meet friends from whom they had been long separated ; they then give the ‘Salam Aleikum!’ ‘Peace be with you!’—the peace of death, which is to attend the lance that instantly follows the salutation : mortal thrusts are given and received, with the words of love upon the lips. This contempt of life, this mockery of what is most fearful, is peculiar to themselves—the only people to whom arms are playthings and war a sport ; who among their enemies seek nothing but amusement, and in death fear nothing but repose.

“In this case they had motives enough to increase even their natural and hereditary bravery. They had lived the companions of their horses, with the lance in their hands : they were to resign the former to strangers, and exchange the latter for harrows and pruning knives ; and were to drive an ox round a sagia, instead of chasing an enemy across the desert. They had many Nubians settled in the country, whom they obliged to do all the labours of cultivating the ground, and whom they treated as greatly their inferiors. They were now called upon to perform these

labours, which they had been brought up to consider as servile, and were to expect no better treatment than that which they had been accustomed to exercise; they were to fall at once to slavery, not from liberty merely, but from tyranny."

Cailliaud says that the majority of the infantry were drunk, and that several of them hurled themselves headlong upon the Turkish rifles carrying in their hands vessels of intoxicating liquor, and appeared as joyful as if they were taking part in a festival.

The Turkish casualties are stated by Waddington to have been only one officer and sixteen men wounded.

This may be true of the Turks themselves, but their allies the Bedouins and Moghrebis must have suffered severely, as they bore the brunt of the Shaikíya attack. Cailliaud gives the numbers as thirty killed and eighty wounded, which are probably more correct.

After the battle the villages of the surrounding country were given over to plunder and burnt, and frightful brutalities and atrocities were perpetrated by the conquerors on the enemy who had so gallantly opposed them.

Ismail Pasha had offered a reward of 50 PT. for every pair of Shaikíya ears brought to him, in order that he might send them to his father as a testimony of his brilliant success.

The result of this was, that not only the ears of the dead and wounded on the field of battle

were cut off, but also those of innocent people who had taken no part in the battle, and, not only of men, but also of women.

Those who resisted were, if not killed outright, horribly mutilated, while the dead and wounded were left lying where they fell as food for the vultures.

The following passage from Cailliaud throws a lurid light on the aftermath of this victory.

“Some of the Shaikiya fled to their homes thinking that their enemies would spare unarmed men—Vain hope ! the infuriated soldiery spread forth like a torrent, bringing with them everywhere fire, robbery, and massacre. In vain the Pasha wished to restrain these madmen, having himself egged them on to it by putting a price upon the ears of the Shaikiya. If some Turk, moved by feelings of humanity, deigned to grant his life to one of these unfortunate wretches, he never let his generosity go so far as to leave him in possession of his ears. I heard a Greek, the Pasha's doctor, boast of having given as a present to a soldier, the ears of a young woman whom he had found hidden in a field of Dura, and make a great show of having felt for her a compassion with which he had not been inspired by the other and older women, whom he had massacred without a scruple.”

Giovanni Finati, who followed the path of the expedition, confirms beyond all question the remarks of Cailliaud.

The exasperation of the soldiers at having been so gallantly opposed and their greediness of plunder or reward, drove them to horrible excesses and outrages; so that it was no wonder that a single victory did not suffice, and that a high-spirited people continued to do all they could against their oppressors. The signs of this, he adds, were but too visible; "for half the natives whom we met, many even of the women, were deprived of one or of both of their ears, others mutilated in their limbs; while bones and carcasses, and hovels that had been burnt, were everywhere to be seen by the way." The persecution seemed, in fact, to have been carried almost to extermination. The whole district was laid waste, and thereby reduced, at least for the time, to a sullen obedience.

After the battle of Korti one or two of the minor Sheikhs on the left bank of the river submitted, but the bulk of the troops and the people, crossing the river under Melik Sha'ous, assembled at Jebel Dager, where they determined to make another and a strenuous bid for freedom.

The Turkish army, which was accompanied by a fleet of about 150 boats, crossed over to the right bank from Korti and advanced towards Jebel Dager. This was in the first week of December of the year 1820.

Sha'ous had marshalled his troops on the slopes of the hill, protected by his castles and

fortifications, darkening, as an eye-witness described it, the side of the hill.

The position selected by him was an extremely advantageous one, and which, had there been no difference in the arms used by the contending hosts, would probably have secured to him a decisive victory.

But the mass of peasantry whom he had dragged or induced into the field had no other weapons than lances, shields, and two-edged swords; and they were placed in the front, rather to receive and exhaust the shot of the Turks than to maintain any effectual resistance in the moment of attack.

The Pasha posted his troops parallel to the enemy, placing the greater part of his horsemen opposite to the open ground between the mountain and the river, and pushing the artillery a little in advance.

The natives, uttering loud cries and brandishing their lances, rushed forward; and many of the infantry with no other arms than those already described, threw themselves upon the cannon and were blown to atoms.

“The desperate courage of these wretched peasants,” says English, an American officer who fought with the Turkish artillery, “was astonishing; they advanced more than once to the muzzles of the pieces, and wounded some of the artillerymen in the very act of loading them. But after feeling the effects of a few rounds, which dashed horse and man to

pieces, they fled in dismay, leaving their foot-soldiers to be rode over and shot down by our cavalry, who destroyed many hundreds of them in the pursuit.

“I say ‘shot down,’ for the sabre was found an unavailing weapon, as these people are so adroit in the management of their shields that they parried every stroke.

“I have seen upon the field where this battle was fought several shields that had not less than ten or fifteen sabre cuts, each lying upon the dead body of the man who carried it and who had evidently died by two or three balls shot into him.

“The soldiers have told me that they had frequently to empty their carabine and pistols upon one man before he would fall.”

Waddington relates the case of one of the Shaikíya who, after receiving five balls, continued fighting and crying out “that they might fire but could never hurt him,” till he received his mortal wound.

This unusual valour or military fanaticism has been ascribed to an assurance given by the Fikis that the armies of the Shaikíya should prove invulnerable in the presence of the invaders. These Fikis supplied the men with heaps of consecrated dust, the sprinkling of which on their persons was to produce the desired effect, and hence they advanced against the Turkish line rather in the attitude of dancing than of fighting, with countenances

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expressive of the utmost confidence and derision.

But being so miserably deceived by the charms in which they had been taught to put their trust, they inflicted a dreadful vengeance on the authors of them ; for their first act after the battle was to put to death the whole family of the Fikis (said to be the Dhueihiya), and even to destroy the village where they dwelt—Shibba, near Merawi.

The results of this battle were disastrous for the Shaikíya. Their power was completely broken, their infantry being almost annihilated ; their cavalry, however, under Sha'ous, escaped by flight, and took refuge in the hills of Amri.

The Turkish army continued the pursuit as far as Jebel Berkal, pillaging, burning, and massacring everything in its path and laying waste the country far and wide. The wholesale destruction was terrible ; not even the old men and the young boys peacefully working their sagias were spared, but were cut down in the midst of their labours, and their bodies, and those of their animals, left to rot amidst their abandoned crops.

The picture drawn by Waddington, who passed through this country a few weeks after the army, is a terrible tale of desolation.

Shortly after the battle, Melik Sibeir tendered his submission, and the reason of this was as follows :

After the Shaikíya were routed at Jebel Dager, and as the Turkish army was reducing their strongholds, Sibeir's virgin daughter Sâfia, while endeavouring to effect her escape from one of her father's castles, was captured by a party of the Pasha's Bedouins.

They immediately brought her to the Pasha, in the hope of receiving a substantial reward, for Sâfia is reported to have been a very beautiful maiden. The Pasha, however, instead of availing himself of the rights of conquest, ordered her to be richly dressed and gave her much jewellery. Then, providing a camel and a trustworthy escort for her, he sent her back to her father.

The latter, when he saw her bedecked with Turkish ornaments, and wearing rich Turkish clothes, came to the conclusion that these were the price of her dishonour, and refused to receive her. When, however, he had learnt the truth, he embraced her and immediately made his submission to Ismail, "for," as he said, "he could not fight against the man who had respected his daughter's chastity."

Several of the minor princes also submitted with him; these were sent back to their villages.

But Melik Sha'ous, keen soldier that he was, refused to submit, and, having obtained an armistice, retired with his forces to the neighbourhood of Shendi.

Ismail encamped with his army in the village

of Kareima during the months of December and January, in order to give his army a rest and to collect stores and transport for his expedition to Berber and Sennar. At length, on the 21st February 1821, having completed all his arrangements, he crossed over to the left bank of the river, and, leaving 300 Moghrebis as a guard for his stores and his fleet of 120 boats, he set out eastwards. Marching from Nuri to Kirbekan, he marched thence across the desert via Gura and the Wadi Dam El Tor to El Bageir on the Nile in the province of El Robatab (now incorporated in Berber Province).

From El Bageir the Pasha marched southwards along the left bank of the Nile until he arrived opposite to Shendi, without meeting with any resistance, and receiving *en route* the submission of Melik Nasr El Din of Berber, Melik Nimr of Shendi, and all the minor chieftains of Berber Province.

At Shendi, Melik Sha'ous finding that further resistance to the invader was useless, crossed over the river on 15th May 1821, and tendered his submission to the Pasha with 200 of his troops.

When his submission had been accepted, he begged the Pasha not to deprive him and his men of their arms and horses, but to suffer them to remain, as they had been born and bred, soldiers, and to allow them to enter his service and fight under his standard.

The Pasha, in consideration of the gallantry

with which they had opposed him, acceded to his request, and thus a band of 140 ShaiḲíya warriors was added to the army of the Turks under the command of Melik Sha'ous the Adlanabi, who was appointed Bulukbashi.

This little band gave a good account of themselves in Ismail's wars in Sennar and Kassala, and on his return from his campaigns in the South, the Abdallab having revolted during his absence and their lands having been sequestered, the ShaiḲíya were granted these lands *in perpetuo*, on condition of military service.

By this allotment the town of Halfaya, formerly the property of the Abdallab, was handed over to the Melik Sha'ous and his tribe the Adlanab, and here they and his descendants dwell to this day. From this time dates the large settlement of ShaiḲíya in Khartoum Province; the Sûârab in Hagar-el-'Asal, Medessisa and Wadi Bishara and the Kadenkab in Abu Dôm, Kodab, and Wad-el-Basal.

Here the history of the ShaiḲíya as a nation virtually ends, being merged in the history of the Egyptian government of the Sudan; and this brave tribe of warriors, whose warlike mettle had been proved by the Turks both as enemies and as allies, continued to render loyal service to the Government from that day when their warrior prince Sha'ous submitted at Shendi, until that fateful day in January 1885 when Khartoum fell and Egyptian government came to a temporary end in the Sudan.

APPENDIX I

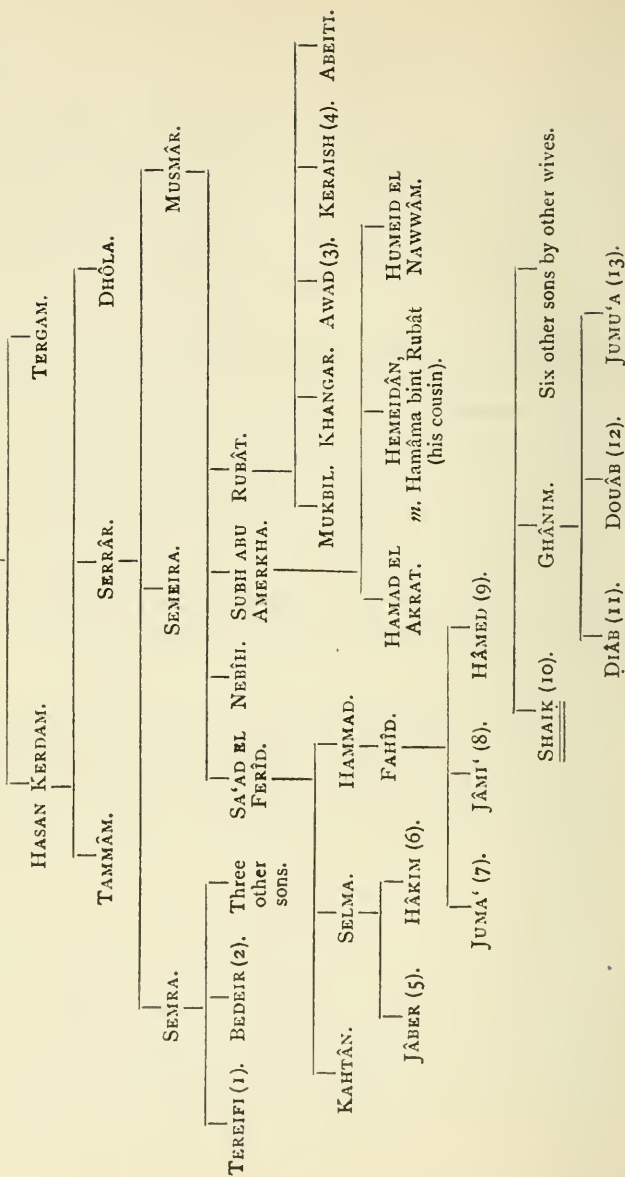
AN abbreviated table of the various Ja'ali tribes to show the relations between the Shaikíya and its kindred tribes.

These tribes take the name "Ja'ali" from their ancestor Ibrahim Ja'al, a descendant of Abdulla Ibn El Abbas of the Banu Hashim, who received the nickname Ja'al on account of his generosity, for which he was renowned.

Abu Dis, who heads this table, was the son of Kuda'a, the son of Abdulla Harkân, the son of Masruk, the son of Ahmed El Yamani, the son of Ibrahim Ja'al.

Note.—It should be clearly understood that "Jaaliin" was formerly not the name of a tribe but a collective term for a vast number of tribes, not even closely connected, and inhabiting Dongola, Berber, Khartoum, and the White Nile Provinces, chiefly, but is now generally used only for the descendants of Douab (see table, p. 44).

ABU DÍs.



NOTES ON GENEALOGICAL TREE

- (1) The ancestor of the Tereifiya Tribe.
- (2) The ancestor of the Bedeiriya Tribe.
- (3) The ancestor of the Awadia Tribe.
- (4) The ancestor of the ẖereishâb Tribe.
- (5) The ancestor of the Jawâbera, Jabria, and Jâberab Tribes.
- (6) The ancestor of the Hâkimab Tribe.
- (7) The ancestor of the Juma' Tribe.
- (8) The ancestor of the Jawâmia Tribe.
- (9) The ancestor of the Hamada and Ahâmda Tribes.
- (10) The ancestor of the SHAIḲÍYA Tribe.
- (11) The ancestor of the Robatab, Meirifab, Nâserab, Abdel, Rahmanab, Fâdelab, Sereihab, &c. &c.
- (12) The ancestor of the Sha'eddinab, Makâberab, Zeidab, Kitiab, and many other tribes, now known under the generic name of "Jaaliin."
- (13) The ancestor of the Jimi'ab and Jumu'iya.

APPENDIX II¹

THE SONS OF SHAIK AND SUB-TRIBES OF THE SHAIKÍYA

NO two lists of the sons of Shaik which I have examined entirely agree. However, all the lists agree as to the number of his sons, which was twelve. They also agree as to the names of eight of his sons as follows:—Kadenka, Um Sâlim, Nâfi'a, Shellûf, Hawash, 'On, Suâr, and Meris.

The name of the ninth son is given as 'Umâra and Koreish.

The names of the remaining three sons are given variously as follows:—

- (a) Capt. Jackson's list gives Ba'oud, Maras, and Shrenko.
- (b) Omda Mohammed Ali Bileilu of the Suârâb gave Adlân (or Salâh), Marzûk, and Hâmid.
- (c) Sheikh Mohammed Sâlih abu Dôm of the Kadenkâb gave Marzûk, Salah, and Sherbel.

Kadenka was the eldest son, but accounts differ as to the order of succession of the remaining sons, and I do not think the matter of sufficient importance to deserve an examination of the various discrepancies which are found in the different lists.

¹ I am indebted to Capt. E. S. Jackson for much of the material contained in this appendix.

KADENKA, ancestor of the Kadenkab, had male issue as follows :—

- (a) *Sâlih*, ancestor of the Hannekâb residing in Usli, Hezeima, Messâwi, Gureir, and Amri (Dongola Province), Shendi (Berber Province), and Eilafûn (Khartoum Province).

The sub-tribes of the Hannekâb are: the Mah-mûdâb, Nâsirab, Gôtâb, Shereishâb, Hasanâb, and Shellâlîl.

- (b) *Salâh*, (1) ancestor of the Salâhâb residing in Zûma, Debeiba, and Messawi (Dongola Province), and Goz el Besabîr (Shendi District, Berber Province); (2) Ancestor of the Assômab residing at Geili (Khartoum Province); (3) Ancestor of the Adlânâb residing in Halfayat el Mulûk, Abu Halima, and Geili (Khartoum Province).

The sub-tribes of the Adlânâb are the Merowi, Kajeji, Aulad Ali, and Menâwerâb.

- (c) *Hâmid*, ancestor of the Hâmdâb residing at Hâmdâb (Dongola Province) and in Kordofan, where they are Nomads.
- (d) *Abdel Dâ'im* (also known as Tulbun), ancestor of the Tulbunab residing in Gezîret el Tulbunâb (Dongola Province).
- (e) *Jûrrum*, ancestor of Jûrrumâb residing at Tangassi and Berkal (Dongola Province) and Wad el Basal (Khartoum Province).
- (f) *Zemâm*, ancestor of Zemâmâb residing in Merawi, Berkal, and Tangassi (Dongola Province).
- (g) *Hussein*, ancestor of Kurusâb residing in Kuru (Dongola Province).
- (h) *Righeim*, ancestor of the Righeimâb residing in

Wad el Basal (Khartoum Province), and also in Dongola Province.

- (i) *Kôda*, ancestor of the Kôdâb residing in Kôdâb, Abu Dôm, and Gôz Nefisa (Khartoum Province).
- (j) *Marzûk* (also stated to be son of Shaik), ancestor of the Marzûkâb of Tangassi and Kuru (Dongola Province).
- (k) *Shrenko*, ancestor of the Shrenkâb and Ghererâb of Berkal (Dongola Province).
- (l) *‘Issa*, ancestor of ‘Issayâb of Nûri and Gureir (Dongola Province).

And also two sons by a Sudâni slave woman, viz. :—

Farag, ancestor of Faragâb of Kuru (Dongola Province).

Faragûlla, ancestor of Faragullâb (also known as the Karâkera) residing in Kuru, Zûma, Berkal, and Tulbunâb Id. (Dongola Province).

UM SÂLIM, ancestor of the Um Sâlim tribe residing in the White Nile and Berber Provinces, and also of the Yâcûbâb tribe of Sennar Province, had male issue as follows :—

- (a) *Bâdi*, ancestor of the Bâdiâb in Zûma (Dongola Province).
- (b) *Kalshûm*, ancestor of the Kalâshîm in Zuma (Dongola Province).
- (c) *Gada*, ancestor of the Gadâb in Amri (Dongola Province).

NAFI‘A, ancestor of the Nafi‘âb in Dongola Province, had male issue :—

- (a) *Ghâsîn*, ancestor of the Ghâsînab residing in Gereif and Dueim (Dongola Province).

- (b) *Deifulla*, ancestor of the Deifullâb residing in El Hugeir (Dongola Province).

SHELLÛF, ancestor of the Shellûfâb of Dongola Province and Gedâref (Kassala Province), had male issue as follows :—

- (a) *Hâg Mohammed*, ancestor of the Hâg Mohammedâb of Gereif (Dongola Province).
 (b) *Ali*, ancestor of the Aliâb of Gureir and Korti (Dongola Province).
 (c) *'Omar el Gar*, ancestor of the Bâdiâb of Magal (Dongola Province).

HAWASH, ancestor of the Hawashab residing in Abu Dôm and Tangassi (Dongola Province), Kôdâb and Kadaro (Khartoum Province), and Besabîr (Berber Province), had male issue :—

- (a) *Magan*, ancestor of Maganâb in Tangassi and Abu Dôm (Dongola Province).
 (b) *Agrab*, ancestor of Agrabâb in Abu Dôm (Dongola Province).

'ON, ancestor of the 'Onia of Gilas, Korti, El Barsa and Genetti Id (Dongola Province), and Shendi District (Berber Province), had male issue :—

- (a) *Gharbâwi*, ancestor of the 'Onia in Genetti Id and El Barsa (Dongola Province).
 (b) *Zein ed Dîn*, ancestor of the Hasnâb in Shendi District (Berber Province).
 (c) *Dawâna*, ancestor of the Dawânab in Shendi District (Berber Province).

SUÂR, ancestor of the Suârâb, the most powerful and numerous of the Shaiḳiya sub-tribes, inhabiting

Gureir, Hezeima, El Arak, Usli, and Kûri (Dongola Province); the Desert of Bayûda; Hagar-el-‘Asal, Medessisa and Wadi Bishâra (Khartoum Province) and Wâd Hâmid, Zileitâb and Kabûshiya (Berber Province) had six sons, as follows :—*Wasîf* and *Gâdât* by his first wife, *Hamdulla* and *Hasan Tamaleik* by his second wife, and ‘*Aîd* and *Nimr* by his third wife.

- (a) *Wasîf*, ancestor of the Kafunka, Zileitab, and Zaragna in Shendi District (Berber Province) and the Bayûda Desert.
- (b) *Gadât*, ancestor of the Mishindil in the Bayûda Desert and Gureir (Dongola Province) and Hagar-el-‘Asal, Medessisa, and Wadi Bishara (Khartoum Province).
- (c) *Hamdulla*, ancestor of the Hamdullab in Gureir and Korei (Dongola Province) and Shendi District (Berber Province), and of the Izeirikâb in Khartoum Province.
- (d) *Hasan Tamaleik*, ancestor of the Tamaleik in El Arak, Kuri, Mora, and Takar (Dongola Province).
- (e) ‘*Aîd*, ancestor of the ‘Aîdâb in Gureir (Dongola Province) and Wâdi Bishâra (Khartoum Province) and of the ‘Atiatullâb in Wadi Bishara (Khartoum Province).
- (f) *Nimr*, ancestor of the ‘Eneinâb in Hezeima, Abu Dôm Kushâbi and Abu Kileiwât (Dongola Province) and Hagar-el-‘Asal (Khartoum Province).

MARIS, ancestor of the Marisâb in Berber Province, and in Abu Dôm (Dongola Province), had one son *Alît* ancestor of the Alitâb in Takar.

ḲOREISH, ancestor of the Ḳoreishâb in Shendi

District, Berber Province, is stated to have had three sons :—

- (a) *Abu Dâd*, ancestor of the Abadîd in Karîma and Merawi (Dongola Province).
- (b) *Sâlih*, ancestor of the Sâlhâb in Karîma and Merawi (Dongola Province).
- (c) *Abu Nab*, ancestor of the Abonâb in Karîma and Merawi (Dongola Province).

‘ÂMIR, ancestor of the ‘Âmrab in Karîma, Korei, and ‘Âmri (Dongola Province), is by some stated to have been the son of Koreish, and by others to have been the son of ‘Umâra, son of Shaîḵ.

BA‘OUD, ancestor of the Bay‘oudâb living in ‘Amri and Berkal (Dongola Province), is also stated to have been the son of Shaîḵ and to have had male issue :—

- (a) *‘Agîb*, ancestor of the ‘Agibâb in ‘Amri and Berkal (Dongola Province).
- (b) *Ali*, ancestor of the Ḳotâtia in Berkal (Dongola Province).
- (c) *Mohammed Kheir*, ancestor of the Amanab in Rakabia (Dongola Province).

MARAS, ancestor of the Marsâb in Môra and El Arak (Dongola Province), is also stated to have been the son of Shaîḵ and to have had male issue as follows :—

- (a) *Abu El Hasan*, ancestor of the Hasanab in El Arak.
- (b) *Rahma*, ancestor of the Rahamab in El Arak.

SHRENKO is also stated to have been a son of Shaîḵ and to have died without issue.

The Suârâb and the Kadenkâb are by far the most numerous and the most important of the Shaikíya tribes. The 'Onia was formerly a powerful tribe, but owing to its constant feuds with the two former tribes, it was much scattered and reduced in numbers and wealth. The reason of these feuds was as follows :— Shaik once went to Darfur and brought a present of horses to Sultan Túnqur of Jebel Hereis. The Sultan was so pleased with the present that he entertained Shaik right royally at his court for the space of a year and gave him one of his daughters in marriage.

By this daughter of the Sultan, Shaik had a son, whom he called Suâr. When the time came for his departure, Shaik left his wife and son with the Sultan, promising that, as soon as he had prepared a place for them in Dongola, he would return and fetch them. He returned to Dongola but was unable to return to Darfur. Accordingly, on his deathbed a few years later, he summoned Kadenka, his eldest son, and made him promise that he would go to Darfur and look for Suâr and his mother and bring them back to Dongola. Kadenka then went to Darfur, but the Sultan Túnqur being dead, and the new Sultan being unfriendly to the Shaikíya, he was unable to search openly. However, one day while he was sitting in the market-place of one of the villages in the neighbourhood of Jebel Hereis eating dates, a crowd of small boys collected around him to watch him. He amused himself by throwing dates among the boys and watching them "scrambling" for them. He noticed that one of the boys stood apart from the rest and did not join in the fun. He called him to him and questioned him, asking him why he did not join with his fellows. The boy replied that he was a foreigner and could not join with them in their play. Kadenka became interested, and questioned the boy further until he had assured himself that this was

indeed his father's son Suâr. He then made arrangements secretly and brought the boy and his mother back to Dongola.

Owing to the favour which Kadenka showed to this boy, great jealousy arose among the other sons of Shaik, and 'On and Hawash, conspiring together, kidnapped the boy and his mother, and sold them as slaves to a tribe of Arabs in the neighbourhood of Korosko.

When Kadenka heard of this, he immediately set forth in pursuit and bought them back from the Arabs.

This boy Suâr was the ancestor of the Suârâb, and for this reason there arose a bitter feud between the Suârâb and the 'Onia, which continued until modern times, and in which the 'Onia suffered much.

APPENDIX III

DONGOLA IN THE YEAR 1698, AS DESCRIBED BY M. PONCET

To quote from the Preface to the English translation of Poncet's travels, published at London in the year 1709: "He [Monsieur Poncet] was an able Doctor of Physick, lived at Cairo, the Capital City of Egypt, and gave such pregnant Demonstrations of his Abilities in those Parts, that the Emperour of Aethiopia being seized with an Illness which threatened his Life, he was prevailed upon as the best qualified Physician, to undertake the Cure."

Poncet set out from Cairo on 10th June 1698, accompanied by Haji Ali, an officer of the Emperor of Æthiopia, and Father Charles Francis Xaverius de Brevedent, a Jesuit Missionary. He travelled via Manfelout, Ibnah, Helaoe, Sheb, and Selima.

To continue in his own words:—

"On the 26th of October (1698) we arrived at Machou,¹ a good large township on the Eastern² bank of the river Nile. This river forms in that place two great islands³ full of palm trees, of Senna and Coloquintida. Machou, the only place inhabited between that and Helaoe, is in the province of Fungi. It appertains to the King of Sennar and is the beginning of the country of the Baraures,⁴ whom

¹ Meshu.

² A mis-translation; should be "Western."

³ Artigasha and Bullinarti.

⁴ Berâbera.

we call Barbarins. The Erbab or Governor of this Province, having understood that the Emperor of Aethiopia had sent for us to his Court, invited us to come to Argos,¹ where he resides. This Borough is over against Machou, on the other side of the Nile; we went thither by boat. The Governor received us with much civility and regaled us for two days, which very much refreshed us after the great fatigues we had undergone. The chief officer of the Customs, who is son to the King of Dongola, has also his residence at Argos.

"This Prince never appears in Publick, but mounted on horseback, covered with two hundred little brass bells, which make a great noise, and attended by twenty Musketeers and two hundred soldiers, armed with lances and sabres. He came to visit our tents, where they presented him with coffee, and where they paid the duties, which consist of soap and linen cloth. He did us the honour to invite us the next day to dinner. We went thither at the hour appointed. His Palace is large and built of brick that is baked in the sun. The walls are very high, flanked at certain distances with great square towers, without any port-holes, because in that Country they have no use of cannon but only of muskets.

"After having passed eight days at Machou we left it on the 4th of November and we arrived on the 13th of the same month at Dongola;² all the country we met with upon our road up to this town and even as far as Sennar is very pleasant but it has not above a league in breadth. Beyond this there are only frightful Desarts. The Nile glides through the middle of that delicious plain. The banks are high and much raised; so that 'tis not the overflowing of the river

¹ Argosâb, where reside the descendants of the Princes of Argo to this day.

² Old Dongola, Dongola Agûz.

which causes the fruitfulness of this soil as in Egypt, but the industry and labour of the inhabitants. Whereas it seldom rains in this country, they take care by the means of certain wheels, which are turned by oxen,¹ to pump up a prodigious quantity of water, which they convey through the middle of their grounds into large conservatories made on purpose to receive it; from whence they afterwards draw it as occasion serves to water their lands, which, without this help would otherwise be fruitless and barren.

“Silver is of no use in this country in the way of trade; all is done by exchange of commodities, as in the primitive times. With pepper, aniseed, fenil, cloves and chomga, which is wool dyed blue, with spica of France, Mahalab of Egypt, and other like things, passengers buy such provisions as they have occasion for. They eat no other bread than that of Dora, which is a small round grain, and which they make use of for a sort of thick beer very ill-tasted.² This, being bad to keep, they are forced to make it fresh almost every hour. A man that has but some bread of Dora, and his gourd full of this unpleasant liquor, which they will drink till they are intoxicated, thinks himself happy and to make good cheer.

“With this light nourishment, the people here enjoy good health, and are more robust and stronger than the Europeans.

“Their houses are of mud, low and covered with the reeds of Dora. But their horses are exactly well-shaped and very proper for the menage.

“Their saddles are very high, both before and behind, which fatigues a horse much.

“Persons of quality go bare-headed, with their hair

¹ I have often heard it stated in Dongola, that sagia wheels were introduced by the Turks at the time of the invasion (1821). This account shows how erroneous this statement is.

² Merisa, called by the Dongolawis “Mersiki.”

braided agreeable enough. Their whole habit consists of a sort of mishapen vest without sleeves ; they wear nothing on their legs nor on their feet, except a single sole made fast with latches.

“The common people wrap themselves about with a piece of linen cloth, which they wear after a hundred different manners. The children are almost naked.

“All the men have lances which they constantly carry with them : the iron at the end is like a hook ; there are some of them very neat. Those who wear swords carry them hanging on their left arms. Oaths and blasphemies are very common amongst those stupid people, and who likewise are so debauched that they have neither modesty, nor civility, nor religion. For although Mohammetanism is what at present they make profession of, yet they know no more than the bare formulary of their profession of faith, which they repeat upon all occasions. What is trully deplorable, and which drew tears from the eyes of Father Brevedent, my dear companion, is that it is not long since this was a Christian country, and that it has not lost the faith, but only for want of some person who had zeal enough to consecrate himself to the instruction of this abandoned nation.

“Upon our way we found a great number of Hermitages and Churches, half ruined. We made short journeys from Machou to Dongola to recruit ourselves after those long ones we had made in passing through the Desarts.

“It was not above two years since that country was depopulated by the plague.

“It was so violent at Cairo in the year 1696 when I was there and where I exposed myself to the service of the infected, that they assured me that there died every day to the number of ten thousand.

“This terrible scourge fell upon all the higher Egypt and the country of the Barbarins ; so that we found

several towns and a great number of villages without inhabitants and large provinces, at other times very fertile, quite laid waste and entirely abandoned.¹

“As soon as we came in sight of the city of Dongola, the Captain of our caravan left us and went to beg permission of the King for himself and his company to enter the town; which was willingly granted him. We were at that time in a village which is, as it were, the suburbs to the city and we past the river in a great boat, which that Prince keeps for the convenience of the Publick. All merchandises pay a duty but the passengers pay nothing. The city of Dongola is seated on the Eastern Bank of the Nile upon the decline of a dry and sandy hill. The houses are ill-built and the streets half deserted, occasioned by floods from the mountain. The castle is in the very centre of the town; it is large and spacious but the fortifications are inconsiderable. It keeps in awe the Arabians, who are masters of the open country, where they have liberty to feed their flocks, paying a small tribute to the Mek or King of Dongola.

“We had the honour to eat several times with that Prince, but at a table apart. At the first audience he gave us, he was clad in a vest of green velvet which reached down to the ground. He has a numerous guard. Those who are near his person carry a long sword in the scabbard. The outward guard carry half pikes. This Prince came to give us a visit in our tent, and I, having been successful in some cures I had undertaken, he invited us to stay at his Court, but, as soon as we had made known to him the engagements we had with the Emperour of Aethiopia, he pressed us no further. His kingdom is hereditary, but he pays a tribute to the King of Sennar.

¹ Compare chap. ii, p. 7.

"We departed from Dongola on the 6th of January of the year 1699, and four days after, we entered into the kingdom of Sennar. Erbab Ibrahim, brother to the Prime Minister of the King, whom we found upon the frontier, received us with honour, and defrayed our expenses as far as Korti, a fair borough upon the Nile, whither he accompanied us, and where we arrived on the 13th of January.

"Whereas the people who are beyond Korti upon the river Nile¹ are in rebellion against the King of Sennar, and that they pillage the caravans, when they pass through their country, they are forced to keep at a distance from the banks of the river and by directing their journey between the South and the West,² to enter into the great Desart of Bihouda, which is not to be crossed in less than five days, whatever speed they make. This Desart is not so frightful as those of Libya, where there is nothing to be seen but sand; in this you meet with here and there both grass and trees. After having passed it, we again met with the Nile at Derreira,³ a considerable village, where we rested two days. This is a plentiful country, and probably by reason of the great plenty, the inhabitants have given it the name of Beladulla, that is to say, "God's country."

"We left it on the 26th, and bent our course towards the west. There's not a village to be found upon that road, but the inhabitants, who live under tents, bring in provisions to travellers. After some days' journey we again met with the Nile near Guerry.⁴ 'Tis the residence of a Governour⁵ whose principal employ is

¹ The Shaikíya.

² Should be "East."

³ In Berber Province, Shendi District.

⁴ At Kôdâb, opposite to Gerri, which is situated at the fifth cataract.

⁵ One of the Abdallâb Sheikhs.

to examine whether in the caravans, which come from Egypt, anyone has the small-pox, because that distemper is not less dangerous, nor makes less destruction in that country, than the plague in Egypt.

“That Governour showed a particular civility to us in favour of the throne of Aethiopia, as they express themselves when they mention that Emperour, and he exempted us from the Quarantain, which they usually make in that place, where is the passage over the Nile.”

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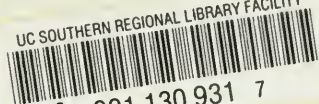
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