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EDITORIAL

In taking up the position of Hon. Editor of *Sudan Studies*, I should first like to express my thanks and appreciation to Paul Wilson, who edited this journal so well for many years; I shall do my best to ensure that *Sudan Studies* thrives in its new home here at Durham.

This issue, and the next two or three, will be largely composed of papers presented at the Sudan Studies Conference at Durham in 2000. The selection and editing of these has been undertaken by the newly-formed Editorial Board, the members of which have given willingly of their time and energy. I would hope that by the beginning of next year we shall have published most of the conference papers which have been selected; and I look forward to receiving other material for publication!

This issue and the next carry no reviews, but Professor Martin Daly has kindly agreed to take on the role of Reviews Editor, and I would encourage anyone publishing on the Sudan to make sure a review copy finds its way to him: his address appears on the last page of this issue. We will also carry a regular feature of Notes and News listing new publications which have come to our attention and giving information on ongoing research projects.

Comments and suggestions are most welcome. Most of all, I would very much encourage the submission of contributions; the journal relies on your efforts and interest.

Justin Willis    Hon. Editor, *Sudan Studies*
Durham, June 2001
'Sandy' Sanderson, who died suddenly on 10 April 2001, will be long remembered for the leading role he played in Sudanese studies for over half a century.

Sandy was born in Morecambe in 1919, and later attended grammar school in Macclesfield. It was a solid north country background of which he remained proud throughout a life spent in more southerly climes. His first important move south came when he won an Exhibition to Balliol College Oxford, from where he graduated with a First Class Degree in History in 1940. His attachment to Balliol remained with him and he was an active member of the College society for the rest of his life. It was particularly unfortunate that on several years SSSUK's Annual Symposium clashed with the Balliol gathering, and Sandy would be hard pushed to fit in appearances in both Oxford and London on the same day.

From Oxford it was straight into the army and off for the first time to the African continent with a posting to Egypt. Sandy was given the task of collecting the unexploded detritus of war-shells, ammunition etc- and then taking it out into the desert for final detonation. He once recalled that if anything had gone wrong on this hazardous assignment then at least it would have meant a swift demise. Fortunately Sandy survived, and he had a 'good war' which he ended with the rank of major.

However once the war was over he had no intention of remaining in the army, but took his love of history up the Nile to a post in Khartoum in 1946. The Gordon Memorial College was emerging from being a training ground for Sudanese officials of the government into becoming a University College associated with the University of London. He taught in Khartoum through one of the most fascinating periods of Sudan's history as the country went through its transition from Anglo-Egyptian condominium into independent state in 1956, and then on into the first experiences of democratic government, military rule and popular uprising, before he finally left in 1965. During that time the academic environment was
particularly lively with a number of other outstanding young historians as well as Sandy, including Peter Holt; and several Sudanese historians of note coming up, among them Yousif Fadl Hasan.

Also in that time two great events in Sandy's life took place. He met Lilian Passmore, who was headmistress of Khartoum Girls' School, and they married in 1960. They were to form a very close relationship, expressed both through their family and joint research. Their house was later the site of a girls hostel known appropriately as 'Sanderson house'. He also carried out the research for his magnum opus, *England Europe and the Upper Nile, 1882-99*, which was published by Edinburgh University Press in 1965. In addition Sandy did valuable work as an editor of *Sudan Notes and Records*.

Leaving the turbulence of Khartoum in 1965 for the quiet and leafy glades of Royal Holloway College in the Surrey countryside must have been quite a change. As Professor of History at the College Sandy played an active role including serving as Head of Department for many years. He was also prominent in African history in the University of London, and served on the board of the School of Oriental and African Studies. At the same time he maintained his links with Sudan, including serving as a valuable member of the Gordon Memorial College Trust Fund for many years. He continued to publish regularly, including a joint book with Lillian, *Education, Religion and Politics in Southern Sudan, 1899-1964*.

It was during his time at Royal Holloway that the idea developed of forming SSSUK. Durham was the natural place to meet and Sandy and I went north in 1986 for a meeting with Lesley Forbes and Tony Trilsbach, out of which the society grew. There was never any question about who would be the first Chair, and under his leadership SSSUK took off and grew rapidly. After Sandy's success as Chair it was natural that he should later be invited to become our President, and although he felt that it was time for him to stand down in 1999, he remained interested in SSUK's activities until his death.

Though Sandy will be remembered for his contribution to Sudan studies in particular it was far from being his exclusive academic interest. He taught widely on various history courses; and was never happier than reading extensively on a range of subjects on which he would
talk fascinatingly and lengthily to family and friends. The loss of Lilian in 1996 was undoubtedly a huge blow, but one that Sandy bore manfully. He leaves his three children, Margaret, Neville and Elizabeth.

Peter Woodward
THE FIRST TURKIYYA IN THE SUDAN
AH 930/1553 AD - 1200/1823
By John Alexander

The unification in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of regions whose history and development in the previous two hundred and fifty years had been so different did not destroy those differences. The study of the development of the present Republic needs to include that period which - in the Nile Valley and on the Red Sea coast - may be called the 'Ottoman Turkiyya', and will owe much to the evidence supplied by archaeology. In broader terms it can be seen as the first of three periods in which external and powerful Turkish, British and Egyptian influences were exercised in the Middle Nile Valley and adjacent regions, and greatly influenced the present Republic of the Sudan.

In the two hundred and fifty years proceeding Mohammed Ali Pasha's conquest of the Funj sultanate, a large part of what is today the northern (ashShamaliyah) and eastern (ashSharqiyyah) states of the Republic of the Sudan, were integral parts of the Ottoman - Turkish Empire and under direct Ottoman rule. In that period the Empire was powerful and sophisticated, its sultans being 'Khalifas of the Dar al Islam' and 'Guardians of the Holy Places'. Its influence in the Middle Nile Valley during such a long period deserves to be studied in more detail than has so far taken place and to be considered as the first of three 'Turkiyyas', the other two being the Turco-Egyptian (1823-1886) and the Egypto-British (1898-1916), in which the imperial government in Istanbul played little part.

In the Nile Valley, in the 1550s the Ottoman frontier was advanced from Aswan to the 2nd Cataract and in 1583 to the 3rd Cataract, 600 kms from Khartoum (Holt 1967, Ménage 1998). This was the Sanjak ('sub-province') of Ibrim in the Eyelat ('province') of Misr (Fig. 1). On the Red Sea coast the Ottomans had held Suakin since 1524 and before the 1550s had extended their control southwards into present-day Eritrea; this was the Sanjak of Habesh.
Beyond the southern frontier were the land-locked Funj and Tajur sultanates, the most easterly of a chain of Islamic states which stretched westwards to the Atlantic through the sahel and savannahs, on the frontier of the Dar el Islam and the Dar el Harb. These, including the Funj, were very different in their organisation and wealth from the Ottoman Empire through which, as their main trading partner, most luxuries and innovations reached them before the 19th century.

Figure 1: The first *Sanjak* of Ibrim

In the last twenty years, as Intesar Saghouran el Zein (2001) has demonstrated, archaeological research in the Sudan has contributed much to the study of this period. Archival research in Cairo and Istanbul has contributed less but the excavations at Qasr Ibrim have uncovered a large number of dated manuscripts in Arabic and Turkish and their translation and publication (Hinds and Sakkout 1986; Hinds and Ménage 1992) has provided much evidence of life in the *Sanjak* of Ibrim and this has been supplemented by survey and excavation at Kulubnarti (Adams 1994; Adams and Adams 1996) and Say (Alexander 1997).
The full Ottoman administrative system in force elsewhere in the Empire was promulgated in Egypt (Ahmed 1978). The documents from Qasr Ibrim show that it was in place in the sanjak by 1600AD and probable from its conquest in the 1550s. The new sanjak had taken its name from the ancient fortress of Qasr Ibrim which lay within it and which, with smaller forts at Gebel Adda and Faras near Wadi Halfa, defended the southern frontier of Egypt. The headquarters of the sanjak was at AlDirr and AlDiwan some 20kms north of Qasr Ibrim. From here a succession of Sanjak Beys, appointed every few years from Cairo, controlled civilian officials (kachefs) who collected the heavy taxes from its districts (kaza). Its Shari’a lawcourt would have had qadis who, like the Imans of the main mosques, were trained in Egypt and held Sunni convictions. It is unfortunate that AlDirr and AlDiwan were submerged by Lake Nasser without archaeological investigation taking place, but Qasr Ibrim, on its 70m high cliff beside the Nile had been under excavation since 1964, and 90% of its Ottoman levels have been examined and are in process of publication, (Alexander 1988 and 1995). It had been abandoned in 1812 and since the preservation of organic remains is exceptional and includes much paper, wood, leather, textile, plant and animal remains as well as many stone buildings, it has allowed a detailed study of the Ottoman garrison and its equipment.

In the first phase of occupation (c.1550 - 1583) it was the major fortress of the frontier. Its ramparts were repaired, its bastions armed with cannon and a new and skilfully designed main gate and defended water point added. Described in the 19th century as 'a sort of ruined Ehrenbreitstien' (Edwards 1882) it would have been impregnable to any enemy without a siege train. Within the walls were stone buildings which included barracks and store rooms, but few dwellings. No details of its garrison in this phase have been published from the Cairo archives, but a contemporary report mentioned that the sanjak's military establishment cost more than its revenues.
A new phase of frontier policy began in the 1580s. In an attempt to conquer both the Christian Empire of Abyssinia and the Funj Sultanate attacks were launched from the Red Sea Coast and the Nile Valley. In the Nile Valley it was preceded in 1583, by the creation of a new province, the Eyelat of Ibrim, a decision which must have been taken by the Imperial Diwan in Istanbul. Stretching over 90,000km² it comprised the sanjaks of AlSa'id and Ibrim from Egypt and, when conquered, a sanjak of Mahas south of the 2nd Cataract in the Sudan. (Fig. 2). It was the base from which the conquest of the Funj sultanate was to take place, but the attack failed and within the year the eyelat was abolished and a frontier with the Funj established at the 3rd Cataract where it remained until 1823.

The sanjaks of AlSa'id, and an enlarged Ibrim stretching from the 1st to the 3rd Cataract were returned to Egypt (Fig. 4). The new frontier needed a fortress to defend it, Qasr Ibrim being 150kms further north. An existing one on Gezira Say was selected and refurbished. It has recently been surveyed and test-excavated (Alexander 1997).

Its mudbrick ramparts were rebuilt, cannon - which survived into the 19th century - were mounted, and a new main gate embodying the principles used at Qasr Ibrim added. Four-fifths of the Ottoman levels in its interior had been destroyed without record, but there is evidence of many buildings (Vercouter 1958). The Cairo Archives show that through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries its garrison was approximately twice that of Qasr Ibrim (Shaw 1962 and 1968) which became a second line of defence (Fig. 3).

A change in Ottoman army regulations at this time greatly changed the nature of the garrisons. Soldiers were allowed to marry and their sons, if of Turkish or Arab mothers, allowed to enlist. The effect of this was shown in the Qasr Ibrim excavations and documents. The garrison was composed of detachments (böllöks) from the janissary units stationed in lower Egypt and soldiers were allowed to build, and their descendants inherit, dwellings inside the fortress, in some cases over or incorporating earlier buildings. These continued to be lived in and modified through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
From the documents found, up to five generations of garrison families could be reconstructed and recruitment from resident families replaced recruitment from Egypt. Excavation found no evidence of a market, artisan shops - except what was probably a garrison shoemaker - and no caravanserai or baths, confirming Evliya Celebi's account of his stay in the fortress in 1673 (Prokosch 1994: 180). The Friday Mosque (the converted cathedral), the armoury/munitions store (a converted fifth/sixth century temple), and sixty-three of the seventy buildings he mentions were however located in the excavations. In the Cairo archives the garrison strength decreased to 56 by the end of the period (Fig. 3), the documents showing that the families became landlords and farmers, but the fortress never
became a town or a village; what in the nineteenth century was described as a town lay at Qatta Ibrim 1.5 kms to the north.

Figure 3: The comparative strengths of the garrisons at Qasr Ibrim and Qa'lat Salai.
*Calculated from the Cairo archives, Shaw, 1962: 212 and 395

Destruction has left much less evidence and no manuscripts of this period at Qala't (fortress) Say, but fifteen dwellings and part of the Friday Mosque have survived. The garrison lived in the fortress, the dwellings showing some similarities with those at Suakin, and its history may have been more eventful than at Qasr Ibrim. Evliya Celebi reported Funj/Mahas aggression, which at one time reached Say Island, but the Cairo records show a garrison of 200 - 3 00 men paid through the 17th-18th centuries, and it was still inhabited in the 19th century.
The only excavation of a civilian settlement in the Sanjak has been at Kulubnarti, a poor and isolated island community at the southern end of the Butu el Hajar (Adams 1994; Adams and Adams 1996). Complete excavation showed it to have been continuously occupied from Christian times until today, but incorporation into the Ottoman Empire showed only by increased poverty and there was no changes in house plans before the 18th century. The single 'Castle House', a very impressive building, was occupied by a kachef in the nineteenth century and may well have housed one earlier. The settlement cannot be considered typical of the sanjak which, further north was prosperous in the 18th century. The Sanjak of Habesh, after the failure of the attacks on the Abyssinian Empire, shrank to the environs of Suakin and a similar enclave at Massowa.

Both were garrisoned and attached to the Sanjak of Jeddah of which they remained important parts until the 19th century (Forster, ed. 1992).

No excavations have been carried out at Suakin, but much was recorded before falling into ruin (Greenlaw 1954; Hinkell 1994). Built of coral, its buildings were in the 'Red Sea Style' and it controlled the caravan trade in gold, slaves and ivory from the Funj Sultanate. Through it passed many of the Sufi holy men whose khalwas and rabats (centres of religious teaching and reform) so greatly influenced development in the Funj Sultanate and increased its difference from Egypt.
The third phase of the 'Ottoman Turkiyya' began in 1798 with the French conquest of Egypt as far south as Aswan (Deherain 1940). Payments to the garrisons in the Sanjak of Ibrim must have ceased and were never restarted, but the Sanjak remained loyal to the Ottoman Empire, being the only part of the Eyelat of Egypt which was not occupied, and from it a *jihad* was mounted against the French until their withdrawal. Led by several Mamluk military households that had fled from Aswan, and aided by Ghazis from Arabia, it may well have involved members of the garrisons, but no details are known. Qasr Ibrim was abandoned in 1812 after having been seized by rebel Mamluks fighting Muhammed Ali Pasha’s control of Egypt. Driven out by his army, the Mamluks fled south beyond the frontier, but the Qasr Ibrim fortress was not garrisoned again. Burckhardt (1818) who stayed a night in 1813 with garrison families in a riverside village recorded their traditions, several of which, including their claim to have been a Bosnian unit placed there by Selim I, have been disproved (Ménage, 1988). The Qala’at Say garrison families do not appear to have been disturbed by either the Mamluks as they fled south or by Mohammed Ali’s army when it marched to the conquest of the Funj Sultanate in 1823, and local traditions recorded in 1997
insisted that the fortress was occupied until 1887; abandonment only took place as the Mahdist army advanced northwards.

After the conquest of the Funj Sultanate, the administration of the whole region was reorganised, the Sanjak of Ibrim was abolished - its last Sanjak Bey becoming an Egyptian pensioner - while the garrison families must have lost any special status they may have retained with the abolition of the janissaries throughout the Empire in 1826. A second, 'Turco-Egyptian', Turkiyya had begun, in which the Istanbul government played very little part. A third, 'Egypto-British' one began with the reconquest of the Hakimdar of the Sudan in 1898.
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JA'AFAR PASHA MAZHAR

A WORTHY GOVERNOR-GENERAL, 1865-1871
By John O. Udal

Ja'afar Mazhar could lay claim to have been the most enlightened Turkish governor-general of the Sudan in the Egyptian military occupation which lasted from 1820 until the fall of Khartoum to the Mahdist forces in January 1885. Unusually, but in company with Abdel Latif Pasha Abdallah (1850-52), his military experience derived from service in the Egyptian navy in the years 1830-47 before appointment successively to a number of provincial governorships, including that of the island of Thasos (off Kavalla, birthplace of Mohammed Ali Pasha) in 1863, and of Qena, Upper Egypt, a year later.

The death of the ruthless Musa Pasha Hamdi, Governor-General 1862-65 - after a successful defence of the Sudan from the Abyssinian threat of the Emperor Theodore II in 1862 - followed shortly after a mutiny of Sudanese troops of the Kassala garrison in November 1864. Skilfully contained by the intervention of Sayyid el Hassan Mohammed Osman el Mirghani, the terms for a truce were broken by the provincial governor, Ibrahim Bey Adham el Mahallawi, in reporting the event to Khartoum, leading to instructions from Cairo for capital punishment to be visited on the mutineer leaders. At this point, February 1865, Musa Hamdi was dying, yet news of his decease seemingly did not reach Cairo until May. It was to take a further six months and a further mutiny in Kassala before a new governor-general reached Khartoum.

In 1862 Viceroy Ismail Pasha Ibrahim had reacted decisively to Theodore's threat of invasion in 1862 by again appointing a governor-general. In June 1865, in marked contrast to this, he initially planned that Musa Hamdi be succeeded by three general-governors: Ja'afar Pasha Sadiq now aged 60, to be general-governor of Taka (Kassala) province with Suakin
and Massawa; Selim Pasha Sa’ib el Jazairli, of Blue Nile and eastern White Nile territories; and Ja'afar Mazhar, of Kordofan, Dongola and Berber and the western White Nile. Selim Pasha’s distaste for Sudan service prompted his early withdrawal, leaving the two Ja'afars in disharmony and the plan in ruins within a fortnight. The Viceroy swiftly appointed Ja'afar Sadiq aged 60 as hakimdar with Ja'afar Mazhar, six years younger, as his deputy on 19 June and himself quit Egypt for eight weeks. Unbeknown to him or to his Sudan lieutenants, a second mutiny had broken out at Kassala, news of which only reached Cairo on 20 August, shortly after Ja'afar Mazhar's departure to finalise the acquisition of Suakin and Massawa. The latter task was countermanded in order to enable Ja'afar Mazhar personally to command a regiment of reinforcements from Suakin to Kassala where the second mutiny had been bloodily crushed by 10 September. It fell to him in November 1865 to conduct courts-martial of the serving mutineers and to report on the background to the mutinies.

Thereafter instead of proceeding to his original task, Ja'afar Mazhar was ordered to remain in Taka to clamp down on the insurrectionist Beja. When summoned to Khartoum in March 1866, it was to find himself appointed hakimdar in the place of Ja'afar Sadek and charged with a major overhaul of the machinery of government. Ja'afar Mazhar’s energy and competence had impressed his Viceroy. Ja'afar was confronted with a demoralised army, an exchequer in deficit and a country suffering from disease and famine. Musa Hamdi had now been dead for a year.

The Kassala and other mutinies of 1865 had exposed the internal threat to security. The Viceroy accepted the need for drastic economies, and sanctioned the reduction of the regular troops from 10,000 to 7,000 and of the irregulars from 7,000 to 4,000. Most important, the pay of regular troops would be assumed by Cairo, leaving the irregulars only for the account of Khartoum, so that budgeted annual military costs fell to £76,000 in 1867 against £367,000 three years previously. Civil expenditure economies were likewise sought.
by Ja'afar Mazhar. It was impossible for these to be on a comparable scale, yet they approached twenty per cent, and economies in the expenditure of the hakimdaria itself approached a third. On the revenue side, the Viceroy ordered the mitigation of Musa Hamdi's excessive tax burdens. Had the new Governor-General been left free to pursue a financial policy of prudence and moderation, and to direct investment into the development areas of economic potential, notably Taka and Sennar, the Sudan might have emerged a contented if not a prosperous dependent province of Egypt.

Ja'afar Pasha's accomplishments extended to the intellectual and the cultural. A devout and well-educated Moslem, he encouraged the spread of literary Arabic and approved the appointment of the Sudanese Sheikh el Amin Mohammed el Darir as president of the Islamic Professors of the Sudan. Primary schools were started in Khartoum, Berber and Dongola, and Koranic khalwas in all provinces. Civil law and civil courts were introduced on the Egyptian model. To augment the limited numbers of Egyptian doctors, the first medical assistants were trained and hospitals were eventually founded in nearly every province. In the principal towns at least, permanent municipal building projects for offices, residences, mosques and forts built in limestone were initiated to replace the traditional mud and wattles. A dromedary postal service was started to connect Khartoum and Berber with the weekly steamer service between Suakin and Suez, while by 1870 the telegraph line commenced in 1863 between Cairo and Khartoum reached Khartoum North.

His personal courtesy won the cooperation of tribal chiefs alienated by Musa Hamdi. Sheikh Ahmed Bey Awad el Karim Abu Sin remained mudir of Khartoum and in 1869 Sheikh Hussein Khalifa of the Ababda became mudir of Berber. The Hadendoa Sheikh Ibrahim Musa, the Beni Amer Sheikh Hamid Musa and the Shukriya Sheikh Ali Awad el Karim, younger brother of Ahmed, were to be honoured in Cairo by the Viceroy in 1867. Ja'afar was regarded by the people as personally incorrupt and Richard Hill recorded: "there
still lingers a story that he left Khartoum (in 1871) owing large sums to various creditors, an evident proof in Sudan eyes of his refusal to live by graft.

The first year of Ja'afar's governor-generalship was marked similarly by energetic activity on the political front. He consolidated the provincial structure he inherited from his predecessors, including the White Nile province of Deinab, soon to be renamed Fashoda. Sennar was merged with Fazughli. The indolence of the governor of White Nile in countering razzias mounted by Sennar merchants against the Dinka and Shilluk, the victims being auctioned at Deinab, was visited by firm retribution: the governor and military commander were sentenced to hard labour in Fazughli and the victims were released and repatriated or recruited. Slave-raiding suffered a major set-back. The Shilluk reth misread the action for weakness and merited his deposition. More significant in the long-term however was the attack by the Darfur Hamar on Kordofan and the suspected collusion between the Darfur Sultan and Emperor Theodore II of Abyssinia, who continued to harbour predatory ambitions on the eastern Sudan until his suicide at Magdala. Aware of the Viceroy Ismail's long-term ambitions to occupy Darfur, Ja'afar Mazhar was responsible for dispatching an intelligence mission, ostensibly cementing good relations, to the Sultan in El Fasher. Finally, in January 1867, he had ordered the occupation of Kufit on the route from Massawa to Kassala.

When at the end of that first year Ja'afar Mazhar left for Cairo in April 1867 on leave, he was unaware that his proactive initiatives towards the establishment of better government in the Sudan were to be dashed by the aggrandisement plans of his Viceroy. His leave was interrupted in July 1867 with an extraterritorial mission to reconnoitre and secure for Egypt the support of the Danakil and Somali tribes of the southern littoral of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden as far as Berbera and, to pre-empt any British intent, to plant the Egyptian flag at principal vantage points. To his disappointment this new speculatively Egyptian territory
was to be the concern, at least temporarily, not of Ja'afar Mazhar but of a separate general-governorate.

Throughout the next eight months Ja'afar Pasha's presence was retained in Cairo while the new Khedive planned financial and military dispositions - some current, some future - for a plurality of expensive projects: firmands granting to his personal family hereditary succession to the viceroyalty and to himself the title of Khedive; escalating expenditure regarding the completion and opening of the Suez Canal; and territorial acquisitions on the Abyssinian border, the Red Sea littoral, Equatoria, Bahr el Ghazal and Darfur. All would overshadow the remaining years of Ja'afar Mazhar's Sudan service and, when he was finally permitted to return to Khartoum in May 1868, it was only after acceding to the termination of the Egyptian subvention to the Sudan of over £150,000 and its substitution by an annual Sudan contribution to the Cairo treasury exceeding £200,000. Once again the Sudan was in the economic thrall of its conquerors, a spring-board for further territorial aggrandisement.

A swingeing increase in the level of taxation in the Sudan had now to be levied, undoing the previous patient efforts of the Governor-General to reconcile the Sudanese to the previous record of exploitation and brutality of their masters. From Europeans, traders and travellers alike, he was to suffer unfair blame for the consequent imposition of an uplift in revenues of some two-thirds and even the accusation of corruption. By contrast the chronicler of the Ta'arikh el Sudan would eulogise his period of rule.

There is no evidence on his return in 1868 of the energetic personal visits to his provinces which had characterised that first year of optimism. Loyal to his Khedive, he was doubtless depressed at the defeat of his development plans, and the coming years were marked by increasing alienation. Disappointed by the creation in his absence of a distinct general-governorate of the Littoral with Suakin and Massawa, though it lasted only until Ja'afar's return to Khartoum, the governor-general now found himself the midwife, by way of
the Shilluk corridor of the White Nile, of two military expeditions. He had himself been a protagonist of the first, aimed via the axis of the White Nile and the Bahr el Ghazal, at the seizure of the qism of the Dar Fertit. It had been inspired by the ambitions of Sheikh Mohammed el Hilali, a former dependent of the Darfur Sultan, who losing the latter's protection had originally turned to Ja'afar for succour in 1867. In 1869, the Abyssinian threat having been quashed by the British, and the Fur threat to the Sudan continuing, Ja'afar now deemed the moment propitious to pre-empt any Fur strike at the Fertit qism by sending a military force to occupy it.

Simultaneously a larger, more ambitious and more costly expedition to occupy the equatorial region, to extend into Uganda and, at least cosmetically, to suppress the Upper Nile slave trade had been sanctioned by the Khedive under Sir Samuel Baker. The management of these two several expeditions, the former of which to Fertit was not ready to move until after the rains of 1869, was undermined by the limited availability of river transport, a factor, but only one, in the delayed departure of the Baker expedition in February 1870. Navigation barred by a falling Nile and floating vegetation, the expedition had to await the north wind of the following December. An additional casualty was the previously good relationship of Ja'afar and Baker, the former roundly but unfairly blamed for wilfully obstructing Baker's departure, although Baker insisted that they were always cordial in their private capacity. As to Hilali's expedition, it was to founder at the hands of Zubeir Rahma Mansour in 1872.

So demanding on the hakimdaría was the logistical handling and the enabling of these two expeditions that already, in August 1869, Ja'afar had written to the Khedive suggesting the hiving off of the Red Sea littoral again as a separate general-governorate. It attracted no response until April the following year when the Khedive, perhaps aggravated by Baker's complaints against Ja'afar, did indeed create a new general-governorate but its ruler was to be the enthusiastic muhafiz of Suakin, Ahmed Mumtaz Bey. The latter had impressed the
Khedive with his over-optimistic scheme for larger-scale cotton cultivation which, Mumtaz claimed, would revolutionise the scale of Sudan revenue for Egypt, while Ja'afar's criticisms of what he deemed to be Mumtaz's neglect of his administrative duties, especially in tax collection, were ignored.

Ja'afar Pasha's previous career in the armed forces naturally influenced him in making internal and external security the priority. His initiatives in the civil field with communications, public buildings and education were certainly conducive to the economic infrastructure, but in the field of agricultural development at first sight at least his rule appears defective, especially by contrast with Ahmed Mumtaz. Ja'afar however not only distrusted the superficial optimism of Mumtaz's plans but had rooted misgivings regarding the viability of cotton-growing as a cash crop taking priority over dura and other food crops. He judged correctly that the assumption of the local cooperation on the part of the inhabitants was too facile, that the cost factor of supervision, transportation, disease prevention, ginning and marketing were being under-estimated. He had comparable reservations regarding Ernst Marno's proposal for an irrigation canal in the Gezira.

In all this Ja'afar alienated Khedivial support, although Ismail Pasha was sufficiently concerned by the strength of Ja'afar's criticisms of Mumtaz, to send Shahin Pasha Kinj to investigate the profitability of Mumtaz's cotton plans. By June Shahin had found emphatically in favour of the latter, backed as Mumtaz was by the Swiss muhafiz of Massawa, Werner Munzinger Bey. Only in 1873 - by which time Mumtaz, promoted to the general-governorate of Khartoum, had been dismissed for alleged peculation and Munzinger had been appointed to the general-governorate of the eastern Sudan - did it become evident that their forecast profits of cotton cultivation were proving to be a chimera. In the words of Sir Duncan Cumming, district commissioner of Kassala and its historian, in 1940:
"Let us not be led into believing that there was more than a substratum of truth in the claims of these amateur agricultural economists. Only in the fertile deltas of the Gash and the Baraka will cotton grow and it must of course be sown annually and be subject to careful and relatively skilful agricultural methods.

"... Seventy years after Shahin Pasha made his estimate that two million feddans could be grown in the Gash, the present government has 100,000 feddans under effective cultivation and of this only 30,000 feddans can be flooded annually if the fertility of the soil is to be preserved and the growth of weeds kept within manageable limits."

The last two years of Ja'afar's hakimdaria were thus overshadowed by the loss of Khedivial confidence and by the onerous financial burdens imposed on the Sudan as a contribution to African territorial expansion. By June 1871 Ja'afar Mazhar had had enough. Overruled by the Khedive in a dispute with Mumtaz over the emigration to Taka of Sennar tribesmen in default of their taxes, there to be welcomed by Mumtaz as cotton field labourers on the Atbara, and called to explain himself in Cairo, Ja'afar announced he would not be returning and left Khartoum in August. "The catastrophe of his recall befell the Sudan, and universal grief was shown" related the Taarikh el Sudan.

Ja'afar's career was not over, nor was he disgraced. He was appointed president of the majlis el ahkam in Egypt and it was in this capacity that he was appealed to by the relatives of Mohammed Hilali whose goods had been seized following his murder by Zubeir. Ja'afar did not shrink from representing their case to the Khedive, but again encountered a deaf ear. After being made president of the Egyptian legislative assembly, he died in 1878.

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PERCEPTIONS OF THE C'ABABDA AND BISHARIN IN THE ATBAI

By Janet Starkey

Introduction

Who went to the deserts of the Atbai? Why did they go? What did they find? Do their experiences provide real data on their social and physical environments? If so, what information do they provide? Desert travellers endured harsh terrains for long distances, inadequate water supplies and provisions, with extreme weather conditions. Preparation for successful travel was essential: the selection of good camels is tricky; large quantities of water have to be carried in tanks or skins; a good guide or map is needed to locate essential landmarks. Travellers' perceptions are used in this paper to build up an ethno-historical picture of the C'Ababda and Bisharin of the Atbai, with its old gold and emerald mines.1

The Atbai

The ancient territory of the Bisharin is situated east of Aswan, through a land of small hills. After a journey of eight days by camel is an area of high mountains, plains of trees and water, between Jabal Elba (the province of Shenirab) and Ábrag (the latter exclusively in C'Ababda territory). Most Bisharin live in the Atbai an area of limestone and ragged mountains with a sandstone plateau to the north - between the Nile and the Red Sea, and south of the C'Ababda and north of the Amarar, both other Beja tribes.2 They are scattered over the Batn al-Hajar

2 The major Beja sub-groups are: C'Ababda, Amarar, Bisharin, Hadendoa, Beni Amir Beja, Beni-Amir Tigre and Babail Ukhra. Web pages indicate that there may be as many as 58,000 C'Ababda-Bisharin Beja speakers and 142,000 C'Ababda Arabic
(Nubian Desert) and in the Nile Valley where they have settled in their own villages and practice agriculture.\textsuperscript{3} The āAbabda are found between the Nile and the Red Sea in Upper Egypt, that is from Asyut southwards to the cataracts of the Nile around Aswan; the greater part of the tribe is found east of Luxor, in Daraw (four miles south of Kom Ombo, twenty-three miles north of Aswan on the railway),\textsuperscript{4} trading with Aswan, and in the north Atbai.\textsuperscript{5}

The Bisharin probably existed as a separate tribe as early as 1600. Around 1750, many Bisharin migrated to the Atbara with its adequate water supplies and better grazing; others remained in the Atbai or around Aswan. In the past routes to īYdhab went through Bisharin territory but they had little contact with the main east-west routes such as Qina to al-Qusayr controlled by the āAbabda and Ma’aza to the north; or to Port Sudan and Suakin from Atbara, a route which was controlled by the Amarar and Hadendowa to the south.

Sources

Many travellers found the presence of deserts alluring and exotic, if threatening. Travellers in the Atbai left a scattering of information on everything that caught their eye: mimosas, matting tents, stone cooking pots, shaykhs and superstitions. Classical and medieval sources provide a basis for subsequent studies: a nineteenth-dynasty (c. 1100 BC) sketch map of a gold-mining area in the Eastern Desert, now in Turin museum, may well be the oldest extant

\textsuperscript{5} MacMichael, A History of the Arabs, 388.
map of the area. Herodotus (c. 450 BC), Strabo (c. 25–19 BC) and Heliodorus (AD 300), Diodorus Siculus (c. 50 BC) who quoted Agatharchides of Cnidus (c. 170–120 BC), and Pliny’s *Naturalis Historiae* (AD 75) were sources for later travellers like Linant de Bellefonds and Sir John Gardner Wilkinson.

Medieval sources are also useful, for example, Ibn Selim al Assuani’s lost book (AD 971) entitled ‘Nubia, Mukurra, Alwa, the Beja, and the Nile’ describes groups of pastoral Beja dependant on large herds of camels and fine cattle. The numerous tribes spoke their own language, some being pagan and devil worshippers, They dwelt in caves or skin tents; their basic food was milk, beef and lamb. They carried spears and round bull-hide shields, as well as poisoned arrows. Around 1470 they drove the Hadareb out of the Atbai. Later Don Juan de Castro (1500–1548) describes the Beja as

never at peace with their neighbours, but continually at war with everybody. They have no King or great Lord over them, but are divided into tribes and Parties, over each of which there is a Shaykh. They build no Towns, nor other fixed habitations; their Custom being to wander from one place to another with their cattle.

A. Paul outlines these sources in more detail in his *History of the Beja*.

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10 *Naauwkeuerig verhaal van een reys door Portugijsen uyt Indien gedaan na Soez, in de jarren 1540 en 1541* (Leyden: P. Vander Aa, 1706).

By the nineteenth century there are references to the cAbabda as they acted as guides across the Eastern Desert from al-Qusayr and Aswan and across the Nubian Desert, but fewer sources mention the more elusive Bisharin, the focus of this paper. For example, James Augustus St John described the house of the cAbabda shaykh between Dakke and Korti in Nubia in 1832–1833:

About noon we passed, on the eastern bank, the house of the chief of the Ababdé, settled in this part of Nubia—a small square neat building, with two windows towards the river, and an entrance from the south. Behind it was an extensive garden, surrounded with a good brick wall, and thickly planted with trees; the beautiful foliage of which appeared above the inclosure. Near the house, towards the south, were several tower-like buildings, containing wheels for raising water, conveyed from thence by neat aqueducts to the upper part of the valley. The tamarisk is here plentiful, covering the western bank with verdure; and the land, on all sides, admirably cultivated, bearing strong evidence of the active industry of the Ababdé, who, forsaking the wandering life led by their forefathers, have settled and become cultivators.12

J.L. Burckhardt, a superb Arabist, travelled in the region between 1812 and 1817 disguised as a poor merchant from India pretending to seek out a mythical cousin in Sennar. He travelled with a caravan of slave traders from Daraw to Shendi via Abu Hamed, the route taken by James Bruce in the 1770s. He describes the Bisharin as ‘a handsome and a bold race of people: they go constantly armed and are seldom free from quarrels’ and ‘treacherous,
cruel, avaricious and revengeful’. Yet one wonders how far is his point of view ethnocentric or merely a reflection of his own personality, for other travellers reflect a different picture.

Napoleon was fascinated by Egypt, and was captivated by its exotic strangeness. Egypt was also a place of strategic importance to Britain between India and the Mediterranean. In May 1798 Napoleon invaded Egypt. He also took with him an army of scientists, engineers, artists and historians, the Scientific and Artistic Commission, or Savants, to undertake a detailed survey of the country, excavating temples and sending artefacts back to France. Their most important discovery was the Rosetta Stone. That spring Vivant Denon, the commission’s chief artist and director of the Louvre, travelled in the Eastern Desert to Qina with French troops under General Desaux, in pursuit of Mamluks and gives details about routes and water supplies. He describes meeting tribesmen in the Eastern Desert:

[one] was armed with a lance, sabre, and a javelin, which he carried on his left shoulder; his crisped, but not woolly, locks were perfumed; knotted on the top of his head, this composed his whole coiffure, notwithstanding the ardent heat of the tropic and of the desert.

The young prince and his uncle were completely clothed, in flowing habits: the complexions of these persons were but little tawny: in their characters, they were very ostentatious, and very selfish; but their manners were mild and polished, and their dispositions peaceable. ... the Arabs invited me to eat of the product of the chase; and, curious to see their mode of dressing it, I went to their camp: the chief, haughty as a

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sovereign, found a palace wherever he spread his carpet; his kitchen-furniture consisted of two plates of copper, a pot of the same material.\textsuperscript{14}

By August 1799 Napoleon was defeated by the British and had fled to France, leaving his Commission who continued their work for another two years. It eventually produced the \textit{Description de l’Égypte} in twenty-three lavishly illustrated volumes each one metre square, produced between 1809 and 1828. This was the first detailed account of Egyptian civilisation for a European audience. We even find mention of stone tobacco pipes in volume 17!\textsuperscript{15}

Edward Lane, who went to Egypt in 1825, criticised the savant’s \textit{Description de l’Égypte} as being too general and ‘careless’. He produced his own \textit{Description of Egypt} which was only published in 2000. He is, however, famous for his \textit{Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians}, published in 1836, and never yet out of print. Although Edward Lane met the Bisharin in 1826 in Qina, Daraw and in Aswan he never ventured into the Atbai. However his descriptions of the Bisharin in the newly published \textit{Description of Egypt}\textsuperscript{16} are interesting:

The Bish’a'ree'n bring to Aswan, from their deserts, camels of the finest breed existing, sheep, charcoal, the best senna, and ostrich feathers. They are of a very deep brown complexion, some of them nearly black: and in physiogamy, they greatly resemble the Abyssinians. The men generally dress their hair like some of the Nubians: very thick and bushy at the sides, and stiffened with grease. The women also arrange their crisp hair nearly in the same manner as those of Nubia; but part it into smaller strings. Some of the men shave the head, and wear a white scull-cap; but few

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\textsuperscript{14} Vivant Denon, \textit{Voyages dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte} (Paris: P. Didot l’Ainé, 1802), 122.
\textsuperscript{15} P.S. Girard, \textit{Description de l’Égypte}, État Moderne, (1\textsuperscript{re} edn, 1812), II, 590–1; (2\textsuperscript{nd} edn, Panckouke, 1812), XVII, 199–203.
\textsuperscript{16} E.W. Lane, \textit{Description of Egypt} (Cairo: American University in Cairo, 2000).
\end{flushleft}
wear turbans. Their costume consists of a shirt (if they can afford it), or any ragged piece of linen, covering a part of their bodies, and confined by a girdle. The young women are celebrated for their beauty: many of them wear nothing but the leather fringe round the loins, reaching half-way down the thigh. I visited an encampment of Bisharin at Aswan, on my return from Nubia, as well from motives of curiosity as for the purpose of purchasing some charcoal, of which they brought a great quantity.17

Nevertheless, he concluded: 'the Bisharee is the least civilised of the Bedawee tribes between the Nile and the Red Sea.'

Frédéric Cailliaud travelled to Kordofan and Darfur, and met the many Arabs who live in the desert between the Nile and Red Sea, including the cAbabda and Bisharin. He noted that they exchanged sheep, goats and young camels, tanned hides of cattle, ostrich plumes for tobacco, arms and la toile grossière which the Barabras manufacture. 18

Another French traveller, L.M.A. Linant de Bellefonds, provides further insight into the people of the Atbai, as is recounted in a recent essay by Marcel Kurz and Pascale Linant de Bellefonds.19 The cAbabda chiefs were closely tied to the Turko-Egyptian administration. In July 1820 a force of 4,000, left Cairo to invade Sudan under Isma’il Pasha with a variety of forces from Albania, Bosnia, Maghreb and the Bedouin. Only two years later, Linant was able to travel in Nubia where he met Kerrarish, who claimed to be remotely connected with the cAbabda; whilst in June 1822 he quit Aswan having left his camels with ‘mon Abaddi’ and a servant.

17 Lane, Description of Egypt, 425.
18 F. Cailliaud, Voyage à Meroé (Paris, 1826), II, 117.
In 1831 and 1832, Linant was commissioned to search for mineral deposits in the Atbai on behalf of Muhammad Ali Pasha. Linant states that the inhabitants of the Atbai are called ‘Bicharin’, but were previously known as Blemmyes when he described his experiences in *L’Etbaye ou pays habité par les Arabes Bichariehs. Géographie, ethnologie, mines d’or* (Paris, s.d.). He traced their origin - strongly contested by ancient authors - studied their language, customs, wars, resources, and commented on the superiority of their camels. Linant provided an interesting account of the country and of the northern Bisharin who were then completely beyond the range of Egyptian administrative control. At the time the Bisharin were pillaging villages around Shendi and the Pasha was waging war against them.

Leaving Aswan, Linant’s caravan travelled along the Nile to 23º latitude and turned east to Wadi Allaqi towards the Red Sea; he visited the valley and its mines (Romit and Derchib) where he found evidence of certain activity, hand mills to crush the minerals and materials for washing the minerals, dwellings and old gold workings. He then crossed the mountains of Hégatte, El Beda and Gerf. As on the first expedition, he established a good rapport with local tribal chiefs and the presence of a distinguished chief facilitated his mission greatly. He gained a knowledge of local customs and appreciated that some expertise

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21 Bisharin (Bišarin, Bišariab) a dialect of Tu Bedawie is spoken by Beja in Sudan and Egypt.

22 The black steatite used by the Bisharin for their cooking and coffee pots (Arabic, *gebana*), and tobacco pipes was extracted from Jabal Gerf. L. Keimer found similar pots in the Bisharin camps around Aswan in 1949 and some of these are now in Rotterdam Museum and were deposited in the University of Cairo, Department of Geography: O 302 stone coffee pot (or jug) cf. O 307; O 207 *gebana* of black steatite, probably originally Sudanese but bought in the Bisharin camp in Aswan, see ‘Notes Prises chez les Bišarin et les Nubiens d’Assouan’, *Bulletin de l’Institut d’Égypt*, 32 (1949–1950).
in the language of the country was important. On his return to Cairo the authorities were surprised how little *de facto* control the Egyptian Government held over the area.

On his second journey in 1832, Linant travelled with Joseph Bonomi\(^ {23} \) who made over 200 drawings of the Bisharin and ṮAbabda in the Nubian Desert and Atbai using the *camera lucida*.\(^ {24} \) After crossing the mountains of Hégatte, El Beda and Gerf, he attempted, with Joseph Bonomi, to climb Jabal Elba, a mountain situated near the Red Sea, with a reputation for its richness and sanctity\(^ {25} \) which was inhabited by robber clans, especially the Hamadorab, under Ahmad Gourabieh, and Shinerab. Linant found, whatever else, that the local Bisharin used their unique geographical position to pillage passing caravans and the stray traffic of their Arab neighbours. Linant was the first modern traveller to penetrate this region — a region encircled with legends. According to local legend, the massive mountain is sacred because the ancestor of the Bisharin, a mysterious Couca, disappeared there. Pascale Linant de Bellefonds and Marcel Kurz\(^ {26} \) recount that legend has it that Couca was turned to stone and his colossal statue might be found again in the heart of the mountains where it proffers oracles. According to Bisharin legend, Couca was a holy man and a contemporary of Abu Zeid al Hilali, the Arab hero of the end of the eleventh century. The Bisharin also believe that Anakw was the true founding ancestor from the eighth century, and that Kuka was his nephew with an unknown Arab father.\(^ {27} \) Arita Baaijens found the supposed burial site of Couca elsewhere on camel rides in the Atbai in the late twentieth century.

\(^ {24} \) Keimer, ‘Notes prises’.
\(^ {26} \) Kurz and Linant de Bellefonds, *À la découverte*, 170-2.
\(^ {27} \) Paul, *History of the Beja Tribes*, 78. The Bisharin also claimed Khalil as an ancestor when they adopted Arab ancestry.
Linant and Bonomi began their ascent. When Bonomi was injured, Linant continued to climb alone, through luxurious vegetation that contrasted sharply with the arid deserts all around. As he ascended he started to have second thoughts: the night was cold and demoralising, the camels factious and the dangers reinforced by the resentment of the local Bisharin. He abandoned the attempt to find Couca, descended rapidly and made for the Nile. After he abandoned his attempt to climb Jabal Elba, he followed a north-westerly direction to explore the length of the Atbai and its eastern side. His caravan passed near the wells of Meisah and Beida, and went along wadis Khashab, Hodein, Rod el Kharouf, Kharit and reached the Nile at Derrawé.

Linant gives considerable ethnographic detail in the book. He described a group of Bisharin: ‘one of them smoked and drank coffee’: and this Bisharin in question was reputed to be 120 years old and did not appear to be in the habit of taking the beverage. He found that: ‘only a few of them smoke tobacco, and that generally in soapstone pipes which they carve out for themselves’. According to Keimer’s Bisharin informants in Aswan in the 1940s, only the Hamedorab and the Shentirab among the Bisharin hollow out stone pipes but other Bejas (Hadendowa and Amarar) frequently make them.

Linant describes the round or oval Bisharin shields (136), made from the skin of crocodile, giraffe, rhinoceros or wild buffalo. The Bisharin armed themselves with a sword (baa, with article o-maddád) and a skin shield (gube, with the article o-gb) made from the skin of the elephant (kuríb, with article u-kruub) or hippopotamus (sin, with article a-sint). He describes their (134) impermeable basketry containers for milk (kafalt) and huts made by Bisharin women from the leaves and branches of the Egyptian palm (dom), Medemia argun, found only in the Nubian desert, inhabited by the Bisharin between Korosko and Abu
Hamed. Linant claimed that the Bisharin do not eat the flesh of birds; and commented on the beauty of Beja women!

Linant published *L’Etbaye* in the year after the journey, in 1833 and developed a map, published later. This map remained the most complete record of the region for many years and on which Linant marked centres of population, villages and the location of wells. An earlier plan was made by Leake in 1819 on the scale of 1:850,000 following information from Burckhardt, and this marks the course of the Nile. But Burckhardt made his way directly north-south across the desert between Berber and Aswan without noting the mountains of ‘Alaqi and Dejaab. Frédéric Caillaud also made a plan in 1822 (1:500,000), but its many errors were later corrected by Linant.

Linant’s maps of the l’Etbaye were very accurate and detailed. The map is in two parts: (1) the extreme West, from the right bank of the Nile to massif of Gebel Rafit, ie the area inhabited by the ‘Ababda, subdivided into 4 regions; (2) the centre eastwards, including Wadi ‘Alaqi, mountains of Hegatte, Gerf and Elba; inhabited by Bisharin and subdivided into 14 regions. Linant’s map shows the two routes which he took: that is, the north-south route from Korosco to Abu Hamed by Jabal Rafit, following a route parallel to the desert caravan route to Sennar via the long loop of the Nile which was the same route taken earlier by James Bruce; and the west-east route from the Nile to the Red Sea along Wadi ‘Alaqi across Jabal Hegette, Jabal Gerf and Jabal Elba. Comparisons with Linant’s map against the geological map of the South East Egypt by John Ball (1912) (scale 1:75,000); that of Hume (1934) scale 1:375,000 and the Topographic Survey of Egypt (Cairo, 1929) on which G.W.

28 Smaller fruit (about 4 cm, stone about 3 cm) than the doum palm and similar to fruit found in ancient Egypt, see George Edward Stanhope Molyneux Herbert. 5th Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter, *Five Years’ Exploration at Thebes: a record of work done 1907-1911 ...* (London: Henry Frowde, 1912), pl. LXXIX. The fruit is a little bigger than a chicken’s egg, the colour of a horsechestnut. By 1858 it was called *Dum* (*Crucifera Thebaica*) and the tree described as less than 10 metres tall.
Murray also worked, have shed light on the originality and weaknesses of Linant’s map. Nevertheless, Linant’s map remained the most complete record of the region for many years.

Linant’s journey, like that of John Petherick in 1845, did not really produce the results Muhammad Ali Pasha was hoping for as regards mineral wealth, for Linant found that there was not enough gold for commercial exploitation. Nevertheless the Viceroy attempted to develop the mines of Wadi Allaqi but the plan was abandoned as too remote and difficult. Today further attempts have been made by French miners to reopen the mines. One thing is certain, the region was then, and still is, closed to strangers.

Excellent camels and salt smugglers

By the 1870s the Atbara Bisharin and the Atbai Bisharin were basically two separate tribes, the latter beyond any tax-gathering raids. A Bisharin camp was established in Aswan around 1870–1875 with six or seven tents (gaû) (tents — bait birsh in Arabic) and others living in mud houses of the Nile valley. Georg Schweinfurth also explored the Atbai in the 1870s and published his accounts in 1875 and 1885. He noted the Umba or Umbet (Dracena Umbet), a curious tree in the area of Jabal Elba, which is used to make cords by the Bisharin. Some of the Atbara Bisharin supported Osman Digna in the 1880s. On the other hand, the Atbai Bisharin remained almost unaffected by Mahdiyya, unlike the Atbara Bisharin. In April 1889 there was a raid on the Bisharin port of Halaib by Osman Digna, whilst Bisharin were involved in the Battle of the Atbara under Osman Digna in 1898. The rift between the two parts of the Bisharin increased in the 1890s.


Even at the end of the nineteenth century, the Bisharin were essentially beyond the control of the Egyptian authorities. From 1896 the Coastguard Camel Corps provided the only administration in the deserts at the time — for it was ‘not a question of seizing a few camel-loads of smuggled salt but the Government’s prestige itself was at stake’. 32 Ahmad Muhammad Nasr, from the Bisharin al-Kurbeilab, died about 1903. He was the father of Shaykh cAli Karar Ahmad, and was the first shaykh of the Bisharin and the Meleikab based in Aswan, to negotiate with the Egyptian government. Eventually the Desert Directorate was organised into the Middle and Upper Egypt Districts responsible for the Nile as far as Aswan, its headquarters at cAin al-Shams and Asyut, with 170 men in the Camel Corps (500 men by 1907).

André von Dumreicher, head of the Coastguard Camel Corps Desert Directorate, explored the region in the 1890s and early 1900s in search of salt smugglers and excellent camels, and published his experiences in Trackers and Smugglers in the Deserts of Egypt (1931). He was familiar with the Bisharin, the excellence of their camels, and valued the superiority of their guiding and tracking skills. 33 The cAbabda, along with their neighbours, the Bisharin, breed fine camels, the Ba Nagir and the Kiliewau, and control the camel markets at Daraw. 34 Von Dumreicher describes Daraw, as the only important camel market in southern Egypt, especially visited by Bisharin and cAbabda from the Atbai who exchanged their camels for other goods. His description is far from favourable, for Daraw was infested at midday by fleas, bugs, flies, ticks, cockroaches, mosquitoes, spiders, tarantulas, scorpions, snakes, lizards, geckos, beetles and centipedes. The one excitement of the day was the Luxor

32 Von Dumreicher, Trackers and smugglers., 139.
33 There are photographs of von Dumreicher and the Camel Corps in the Sudan Archive in Durham.
express, when the village youth swarmed onto the railway platform to offer tourists handmade baskets, whips, camel-sticks and live sparrows, and asking for bakhsheesh.

Daraw is the nominal headquarters of the Khalifa family, chieftains of the Amelekab-Ababda who fought with the British against the Dervishes in Sudan. The Khalifa owned the great caravan road from Korosko to Abu Hamed which was so important before the railway was built from Wadi Halfa to Khartoum. Von Dumreicher was on good terms with the Khalifa omda, Ahmad Bey Khalifa, and the author pitched his tent in his garden in Daraw. A tall man with great physical strength, as well as an agreeable and plausible talker, Ahmad was ‘well respected by British because of the service he rendered at Murat wells’ and carried out arrangements for Slatin Pasha’s escape from the Mahdi’s clutches. He boasted of eighteen wives: when the harim got too noisy, according to von Dumreicher, he appeared with a whip and reduced them to silence.

From 1923 the Atbai Bisharin were supposedly administered from the headquarters of Red Sea Province based at Suakin and government posts were established in Tokar, Agig, Mohammed Ghol and Halaib. In 1929 the Bisharin were unified under a single nazir. Yet the Bisharin found tax evasion irresistible. Sir Thomas Russell, Douglas Newbold, R.D. Clark, G.E.R. Sandars, T.R.H. Owen and other British administrators in this area of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium provide further insights into the Atbai in the early twentieth century. In 1927 the Red Sea Province was amalgamated with Kassala and the Bisharin were ruled from Sinkat.

G.W. Murray, in his detailed and fascinating book, *Sons of Ishmael* (1935), gives many details about Bisharin customs and beliefs. For example, the Bisharin and the Ababda

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have a curious belief that animals sacrificed at a tomb turn into gazelles or ibex which enjoy that wali’s protection.\footnote{G.W. Murray, \textit{Sons of Ishmael: a study of the Egyptian Bedouin} (London: G. Routledge, 1935), 154.} George W. Murray (1885–1966) worked on the Topographical Survey of Egypt and was subsequently involved with the Arab Revolt and got a ‘good’ Military Cross for his work. P.A. Clayton described Murray as a ‘brave little man’ (he was much shorter than Pat Clayton). He and his wife Edith were serious mountaineers — the Alps on leave, Eastern Desert mountains for work, and no doubt Sinai in the early days. Peter Clayton recalled that they had no children but an enormous brown curly haired Airedale dog that was always friendly when he knew them in Maadi 1935–1937.\footnote{Personal communication.} G.W. Murray was in Cairo throughout the Second World War, until 1951 and helped the Long Range Desert Group (created in 1940 and famous for its 1000 miles raid across the Libyan desert to Murzuk in the Fezzan) in its early days. George Walpole (geologist on the Geological Survey of Egypt from the 1920s) noted that ‘I get laconic notes from Murray occasionally, always understamped! He is a most expensive correspondent’ (Amman, 15 May 1940).

Like the anthropologist Professor C.G. Seligman, who developed ideas about diffusion of pre-dynastic Egyptian to the Beja,\footnote{G.W. Murray, ‘The Northern Beja’, \textit{Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (JRAI)}, 57 (1927), pp. 39–53, esp. 40–41.} G.W. Murray gives details of physical characteristics of the Hamitic Beja: \textquoteleft Ababda, Bisharin, Hadendawa and Beni \textquoteleft Amir, based on Seligman’s article of 1913.\footnote{C.G. Seligman, ‘Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan’, \textit{JRAI}, 43 (July–Dec. 1913), 593–705, and his ‘Note on Bisharin’, \textit{Man}, 15 (1915), 81–83.} He pursued Seligman’s hypothesis, stating that ‘East of the Nile in the Red Sea hills, a scanty rainfall has enabled a race resembling the pre-dynastic Egyptians to remain to our times in spite of repeated Arab invasions.’\footnote{\textit{Sons of Ishmael} (1935), 11} It was another member of the Khalifa family, Muhammad Mahmud Bey Khalifa, also from Daraw, who was
Seligman’s chief informant in 1913, along with Hunter Pasha of the Coast Guard Service and a colleague of von Dumreicher, as well as the District Inspector J.H. Davidson. Seligman showed that there were pronounced physical resemblances between the Beja, a Hamitic-speaking race, and the pre-Dynastic Egyptians of Upper Egypt. They were intrigued by contradictions between Semitic Arab and Hamitic Beja which the Northern Beja mediate by their Arab genealogies and is reflected in their use of both Arabic and Tu Bedawie. They thought that the Beja had continued to exist in their proto-Egyptian form almost unmodified isolated in the desert to modern times but also infiltrating continually into the surrounding regions where they had been absorbed, akin to the riverain people of Nubia.

There were also, as we noted earlier, Bisharin living or trading in Upper Egypt. For example, the Bishari Aliab are sedentary in Aswan and many live in small numbers on the peripheries of many small villages in Upper Egypt near markets and along major routes. Bisharin Qamhatab are believed to be true Bejas, more ancient than the Bisharin, except the Shentirab and the cAbabda are counted among the Qamhatab.41 The cAbabda are closely related to the cAliab and Hamadorab sections of the Atbai Bisharin42 with whom they have intermarried. As a Bisharin informant stated to L. Keimer in Aswan in 1949: ‘The Begga were in the desert well before the actual Bišarin. The word Bišar came from Begga. We call our language biggawija and it contains many element of Arabic (belaeijet). When we meet a stranger we immediately ask: are you biggawijet (=Bišari) or belaeijet (Arab)?’ In Upper Egypt, from 10 May 1934, cAli Karar Ahmed was Bisharin shaykh and of the cAbabda Mekeikab in Aswan and was wakil nazir from 1942. The Bisharin of Qus live near the market, with seven to eight tents and around twenty houses near the Nile in 1950; also near Qus are the Kimeilab who speak cAbabda (Ashabab) dialect. In 1950 there were also Bisharin

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41 Qamhat was a great personality, chief of the tribe, but became poor, all the tribe and its members were associated with other tribes (Murray, Sons of Ishmael (1935), 306).
in Qift, all living in proper houses, about twenty-five households in all, some decorated inside with matting, others being traditional matting tents. There were others in Karm Omran, north of Luxor, with fifty houses inhabited by Bisharin (probably mostly Bisharin Hamedorab, and Qamhatab) whose men all wear turbans rather than the tradition wild hair style of the Beja. By the 1950s they did not speak Tu Bedawye correctly but rather a drole mixture of Bishari and Arabic; and many have forgotten their ancestry.

With the building of the Aswan High Dam from June 1964, the Bisharin lost much of their early summer grazing land for their herds of camels and goats along the Nile and Khor al-Allaqi. Prior to 1964 they sold their livestock in Aswan and markets along the Nubian stretch of the Nile before returning to the desert in early winter. By 1964 those who settled near the new Lake Nasser with its fluctuating water levels often had to walk long distances to fetch drinking water. They were deprived of their essential traditional summer pastures of old Nubia. In addition, micro-climatic effects of the new lake caused local drought which threatened the fragile ecology.

In 1978, in co-operation with the Egyptian National Academy of Science and Technology and the High Dam Lake Development Authority, a team of experts explored the Eastern Desert. Their aim was to report on the effects of the High Dam Lake and to find ways to improve Beja livestock, their sparse cultivation and sedentary patterns. The team included a geologist, a livestock expert and a settlement planner. They visited Bisharin in Bir Abraq, Wadi Hodein, Berenice, Halayib, Jabal Elba region and Bir Is in the Sudan in their matting houses: so many of the places earlier visited by Linant de Bellefonds.
They found the only permanent pasture on the lake was in Khor al-Allaqi where only three Beja families were found in 1978. Dr Shahira Fawzy, with the High Dam Authority and NGO support, introduced schemes to improve sedentarisation in the *khor* by using simple techniques for digging wells and vegetable farming on 25 to 50 metre plots. From 1987 other projects and surveys were undertaken, including those promoted by the High Dam Lake Development Authority, UNWFP, FAO, UNCHS and the ILO. Implementation of the Khor al-Allaqi Project were inspired by Dr Fawzi’s persistent efforts to establish self-help projects among the Beja. These projects began in 1986 with experts from the African University of Aswan (Dr Ahmad Esmat Belal), the British Council in Cairo, the University of Glasgow’s Environmental Department as well as the High Dam Authority. By 1999 there were about 200 Beja families living permanently on either side of Khor al-Allaqi, with quarries at Khor al-Allaqi using Nubian labour.

Conclusions

By 2001 the building of tarmac roads from Qina to al-Qusayr and the promotion of tourism along the Red Sea south of al-Qusayr, means that the Eastern Desert on the Sudanese-Egyptian border is beginning to be accessible to a wider variety of travellers than it was until the early 1990s. Yet even today Jabal Elba keeps its secrets and no one has yet fully explored the region although Dr Georg Schweinfurth criss-crossed the Eastern Desert many times at the end of the nineteenth century. It remains a region encircled with legends. A mission to inventory the region has been on the books for fifteen years at the Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale. According to Pascale Linant de Bellefonds (through a communication from R. Vergnieux), an Egyptological expedition on foot is planned to pursue

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the mystery of Couca, but the project has not yet got off the ground for numerous political reasons. More recent explorers, such as Arita Baaijens who roams with her Bisharin camels; Alan Rowe who is exploring Wadi cAllaqi; photographer Zbigniew Kosc who has made photographs and recorded music;\textsuperscript{45} and Willeke Wendrich (co-director of an archaeological project at Berenice and working on a cultural heritage project in the region, supported by the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Cairo) amongst others,\textsuperscript{46} continue the tradition set by earlier intrepid travellers in the Eastern Desert.

This paper attempts to shed light on this wide range of questions as it explores the many facets of travel in the Atbai. The cAbabda and Bisharin, their nomadic neighbours and ancestors lie on the margins of the known world. We have met the Bisharin as informants, as political men of influence, and as religious leaders and a focus for pilgrimage. There is also an extraordinary and unexpected network of connections between a wide variety of European travellers, the Nile Valley, the Red Sea ports — and the people in the Atbai.

\textsuperscript{45} http://www.barnard.nl/desert/; http://puck.wolmail.nl/~kosc/Ababda\%20folder/ababda.html. \textsuperscript{46} They have set up a small Ababda museum in Berenice, an exhibition in the Ottoman Fort in Quseir. An exhibition on the Ababda and Bisharin is planned for 2002 in Rotterdam.
An Orthography for Nobīn: 
A Contribution to the Debate

Muhammad Jalal Hashim

The aim of this study is to evaluate three different orthographies which have been used to write the Nobīn language: (1) Arabic-based, (2) Latin-based and (3) Old Nubian. Special attention will be given to Old Nubian since there is a growing surge among Nubian intellectuals in both Egypt and the Sudan to modify this mediaeval script for writing the modern language. This evaluation will first focus on representative solutions in Arabic, Latin and Old Nubian scripts. It will then examine various Nubian scripts applied to texts ranging from Old Nubian to modern Nobīn. Special attention will be given to an orthography which attempts to provide a bridge between Old Nubian and Nobīn.

In the Christian era of the mediaeval Nubian kingdoms a special script was derived from Greek, Coptic and Meroitic for the Old Nubian language. Griffith (1909, 545) considered this language to be a direct ancestor of Nobīn.

Of the three competing orthographies, Old Nubian, Latin and Arabic, the last has been utilised the least. There is relatively little published material on Nobīn literature written in an Arabic-based script, even though almost all of the younger generation of Nubians have been educated in Arabic and are literate in Arabic. Interesting exceptions include the Gospel of Mark produced by Karl Richard Lepsius and Theodor Irrsich (1899 & 1906) and two books by Muhammad Mutwalli Badr (1955 & 1978).

Considerably more has been produced in the Latin script, for example Lepsius (1860 and 1880), Reinisch (1879), Badr (n.d.), Simon (1980) and Werner (1987).
Old Nubian has been well served by scholars such as Griffith and by Gerald M. Browne. In the revival and modification of the Old Nubian script for Nobīn special attention must be paid to the work of the late Mukhtar Khalil Kabbara (1996 & 1997).

There will now be a brief analysis of the work of selected scholars for each of the three scripts: Irrsich and Badr for Arabic, Lepsius, Badr and Muhyi al-Din Sharif for Latin and finally Kabbara for Old Nubian.

The Arabic-based orthography of Irrsich (1899 & 1906) bears a striking resemblance to the system of Khalil 'Asakir, which is presented in Abu Bakr (1978). Irrsich provided three new consonants (ny ǧ, ǧ with and tf ḫ) and two new vowels (e ˙ and o ’) which were adequate for representing Nobīn, although the distinction between high and low tone was not recognised. The solution Ǧ for ǧ was confusing since it was distinguished from the ǧ for g only by a dot within the circle in 1899. In the 1906 edition the dot was omitted in the absence of Irrsich and the ǧ could no longer be distinguished from the g.

Badr (1955) did not provide special Arabic-based symbols for e and o. He did develop special symbols for ē (-context) and ny (-context), but failed to apply them consistently.

In the Latin-based orthographies Lepsius (1860), Badr (n.d.) and Sharif (1995) found the five vowels of the alphabet consistent with the five-vowel system of Nobīn… a, e, i, o and u. The only difference was in indicating vowel length. Lepsius used a macron (˘), Badr a circumflex (ˆ) and Sharif doubling (aa, etc.). Although the doubling may be confusing to English readers, it seems to work well for languages such as Swahili (ee and oo). It was occasionally used in Old Nubian and therefore has a historic claim. Diacritics are notoriously easy to forget and are better avoided, if possible. As for the consonants, Sharif used ny, while Badr opted for the French solution of gn and Lepsius preferred an n with an acute accent (ˆ).
For ɳ, Sharif used ɳg rather than Badr’s ɳ with an acute accent and Lepsius’s ɳ with a superscript dot. Although this makes it difficult to distinguish between ɳ and ɳŋ, Sharif’s solution is once again the simplest. Unlike Badr and Sharif, Lepsius uses a ɡ with an acute accent both for ɡ and for ɡh. This is a perceptive choice and works in most situations in Nobiin. A doubled ɟɟ would automatically be pronounced chch.

It can be concluded that the Latin system requires fewer diacritics than an Arabic-based system does to represent Nobiin and this is in its favour. On the other hand, almost all young Nubians are now proficient in writing Arabic and find it easy to indicate features such as vowel length with Arabic characters.

There is, however, a third way. Pioneering work on the Old Nubian alphabet has been undertaken by a number of scholars. The late Mukhtar Khalil Kubbara has led the way in publishing his system. Therefore his system is widely available for critical attention.

A major criticism of his system is that it often fails to take the traditional solutions of Old Nubian into account. For example, instead of using the Old Nubian of ɳ ɳəpə ‘it is one’ he makes use the consonant symbol for omega ( ω ) without concern for its original function. The author does not seem to recognise the Meroitic language as a third contributor to the Old Nubian alphabet along with Greek and Coptic. The Meroitic character Ʌ is sacrificed for the Greek character omega, although Ʌ had the appropriate phonological value for ɡ in Old Nubian. He could have used Ʌəpə, if he had wished to avoid ɳəpə.

Although Old Nubian occasionally indicated vowel length by doubling the vowel character, Kubbara opted for a diacritic which can easily be neglected. For more accurate results and an easier educational task, it would be better to double the vowel, i.e. ɅɅ rather than Ʌ.

An interesting issue relates to the letter ɳ in Old Nubian which corresponds to b in modern Dungulawi and f in modern Nobiin. Nubian
intellectuals with an interest in sound change and sound correspondences, might prefer to retain the Old Nubian ꞎENTI 'date' which could be read as benti in Dungulawi and fenti in Nobfin. Instead, Kabbara introduced the Greek letter ϕ yielding ꞎENTI instead of ꞎENTI.

Kabbara modifies the Old Nubian character ꞎ to achieve a ch in addition to the j. Following the example of Lepsius, this distinction can generally be achieved by doubling the ꞎ (_SHADOW_PICTORIAL_SYMBOL). Not only is the writing tradition of the language ignored, but also the language history may be distorted. It is time to undertake a thorough reappraisal of Kabbara's system.

There will now be a focus on varieties of the Nubian orthography itself. This will entail a comparative analysis of four renderings of a verse from the gospel of Mark in Old Nubian script. These renderings are as follows: (1) Old Nubian, (2) a transliteration of Irrsich's Arabic version into Old Nubian script, (3) present-day spoken Nobfin and (4) a modern katharevousa, blending mediaeval and modern Nubian.

From verse 11:9 from the Gospel of Mark the following passage is selected: 'Blessings on him who comes' in the name of the Lord'.

A. Old Nubian:

TAFCOY FOAINNO

B. Transliteration of Irrsich's Gospel in Arabic script (19th century):
C. Modern spoken Nobûn:

\[ \text{NÖPIN TÅFCIA} \]

D. Modern Katharevousa

\[ \text{FÖPIN TÅFICAOGO} \]

1. F & N
The pronunciation of the initial nasal in \[ \text{FÅDÅ} \] - NÖP 'Lord' was /ŋ/ in Old Nubian and is /n/ in Nobûn. B and C make this sound change explicit with N. But D retains the mediaeval character F because F will not create confusion. There are few if any minimal pairs with F versus N in initial position.

2. A & R
The pronunciation of the final consonant in \[ \text{FÅDÅ} \] - NÖP 'Lord' was /d/ in Old Nubian and is /r/ in Nobûn. B and C make this sound change explicit with R. D also rejects the mediaeval character A because A could potentially create confusion. In Nobûn there are many minimal pairs with A versus R in final position.

3. Suffix attached or not
A, B and D attach suffixes to a previous noun with no intervening space. C inserts a space before the suffix, possible due to the tendency to separate morphemes in
European languages. Arabic, like Old Nubian, joins suffixes with no intervening space.

4. Formal style of suffix

In Nobin the full suffix \( \lambda\sigma\rho\sigma \) is considered to be more formal than \( \lambda \) or \( \lambda\sigma\rho \). D prefers the formal version, while B and C opt for the colloquial solution. In this case, D does not seem to be supported by the Old Nubian example where the structure of the whole phrase is different.

5. Genitive construction

The Old Nubian genitive construction above reverses regens and rectum and employs a suffix \( \sigma\gamma \) which is not available in Nobin. Although the reversal of regens and rectum is possible in Nobin, it is not neutral and would indicate an unusual placement of emphasis. Hence D avoided introducing the Old Nubian pattern here.

In conclusion, the three scripts - Arabic, Latin and Old Nubian can be made efficient for writing Nobin. Which one to use is a decision that should be made by the Nubians themselves. The people should be consulted. Nubian intellectuals should not take the Nubian people for granted.

The new Sudan can be realised only if the question of language policy and language planning is addressed to the people who will be affected.

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Notes and news

Recent publications on the Sudan notified to the University of Durham. Compiled with the help of John Lumsden and Jane Hogan:

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Kibreab, G.
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**Other**

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Lesch, A..


Parker, M.


Werner, Roland, William Anderson and Andrew Wheeler

CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS AND CONTACTS

This information is listed to promote research interchange amongst Sudanists; those with information or interests in the research area are encouraged to contact the researchers.

If you are involved in, or know of, ongoing research on Sudan which you would like mentioned here, please contact the Editor.

Lia Paradis a PhD candidate at Rutgers University, New Jersey, is currently doing research at the Sudan Archive, Durham University. She is interested in the Anglo-Sudanese who returned to live in Britain during the time of the Condominium and after independence. She would welcome any opportunity to speak to Anglo-Sudanese and/or their children about their experiences of returning home to the United Kingdom. She can be reached by email at lparadis@eden.rutgers.edu, or by post at #6B 330 Wadsworth Ave., New York, NY 10040.

Dr Maureen Malowany, funded by the Wellcome Trust, has just begun a five year project which will investigate the organisation and application of laboratory scientific research to disease control and health policy programs in Sudan and Kenya, 1900-1970, with particular reference to the research conducted in and generated by the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories, Khartoum and Nairobi. She plans to begin archival research in Sudan in October/November 2001.

Contact details:

maureen.malowany@wuhmo.ox.ac.uk

Dr M Malowany, Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine University of Oxford, 45 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 6PE
Justin Willis, at the University of Durham, will be beginning a major project on Colonial Governance and Authority in the Sudan in October 2001, looking at the nature of local authority in three parts of Condominium Sudan. The project will be largely archival, but if possible oral historical techniques will be used. Dr Willis can be contacted at the addresses given on the cover.
Fifth International Conference on Sudan Studies
University of Durham: 30th August-1st September 2000

List of papers presented during the conference

Some papers were presented without titles being notified: the names of the presenters are not listed here. Abstracts of papers, texts of those which have been made available to the Editor, and some photographs may be seen at the conference web-site, accessible at
http://www.dur.ac.uk/History/conferences.html

John Alexander                     The First Turkiyya
Mohamed Abusabib                Political Islam and the Arts: the Sudanese Experience
Ahmed Abushouk                   A Sudanese Scholar in the Diaspora: the Life and Career of al-shaykh Ahmed Muhammed al-Surkiti in Indonesia
Elsir A.G. Ali         Glimpses from the History of Sudanese Singing
Elizabeth Baroudi Ali        Women and Development in Sudan
Nada M. Ali                             Women's Rights in Sudanese Exile Political Discourse
Hassan Nuri El-Amin              General Education in the Sudan
Munzoul Assal                         Displacement, aid and the predicament of the anthropologist
Arita Baaijens                          Modern travels among the Beja
Rawa Bakhit                             Good Governance in Concepts of Local Government in Sudan
Herman Bell and Muhammad Hashim    The Difuufa of the Third
Cataract: An Enigma

Anders Bjorkelo
Private Trade and Entrepreneurship During the Turkiyya

David Chand
The Sources of Conflict Between North and South in Sudan

Robert Collins
Malakal Revisited: Britain in the Southern Sudan after Fifty Years

Declan Conway
Water Resources Development on the Upper Blue Nile: Some Environmental Considerations

Curtis Doebbler
Human Rights in Sudan: the Rational and Irrational

Simon Harragin
Knowledge and the Practice of Relief in Southern Sudan

Yusuf Fadl Hasan
Keynote speech: The Cradle and the Core

Muhammad Jalal Hashim
An Orthography for Nobiin: a Contribution to the Debate

Thomas Higel
The Coinage of Ali Dinar

P M Holt
The Funj Chronicle and Turco-Egyptian Conquest

Aisha Abdallah Hommaida
Poverty and Politics: the Case of the Red Sea Hills

Steve Howard
Binati Mwalafati: Mahmoud Mohammed Taha and the Republican Sisters

Hassan Ibrahim
Strategy, Responses and Legacy of the First Imperialist Era

Hassan Ibrahim
Sayyid Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi: a Master of Manipulation Manipulated,
1934-1944

Amir Idris
Identity and Political Discourse among Southern Sudanese in Egypt

Shamil Jeppie
The Work of Conquest and Violence

Douglas Johnson
The Trial of 'The Vigilant'

Tania Kaiser
Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement: Refuge from Refuge

Aneesa Kassam
Napoleon's Story: the Human Tragedy of the War in the Sudan

Michael Kevane and Endre Stiansen
Salam and the Islamist Influence on Agricultural Finance in the Sudan

Eisei Kurimoto
Analyzing the Distance between the Colonizer and the Colonized: the February 1912 Punitive Patrol against the Pari

Cleophas Lado
The Political Economy of Oil Discovery and Mining in the Sudan: Constraints and Prospects on Development

Mark Leopold
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The Influences of Western Culture on Present Sudanese Literature (First Impressions). With Special Reference to Hamza Almelik Tambal

Charlotte Martin
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David Mayo
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Simon Mollan  
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Alice Moore-Harell  
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Albaqir Mukhtar  
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Tim Niblock  
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Peter Nyaba  
The Chollo Predicament

Gerard Prunier  
The Failure of the 'salam min dhakil' Process

Isaac Riak  
Concepts of Development in the Sudan

Oystein Rolandsen  
The NCA Integrated Development Programme, 1974-1986

Jemera Rone  
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On the Difficulties of Fieldwork

Mahasin El-Safi  
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The Elite of the Minorities. Educated Sudanese and their Role in the State

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Imagining and Managing Survival: a
Case Study of the Dinka in Diaspora - Work in Progress

Janet Starkey  Perceptions of the Ababda and Bisharin in the Atbai

Endre Stiansen  To Be or Not to Be: the Catholic Mission to Central Africa in the mid-nineteenth century

Declan O'Sullivan  The Death Sentence for Mahmoud Mohammed Taha

John Udal  Ja'afar Pasha Mazhar. A Worthy Governor-General, 1866-1871

Gaby Warburg  Slatin Pasha in Sudan

Anette Weber  Women and War in the Sudan

Justin Willis  Patrol No. 32: Colonial Violence and the Nature of Authority among the Nuba


Philip Winter  The Sudan Conservation Trust: a Proposal for Discussion

Peter Woodward  Sudan's Foreign Relations since Independence

Siddig Babikr al Zalee  The Unlearned Lesson of History: Colonial Policy and Nuba Identity
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