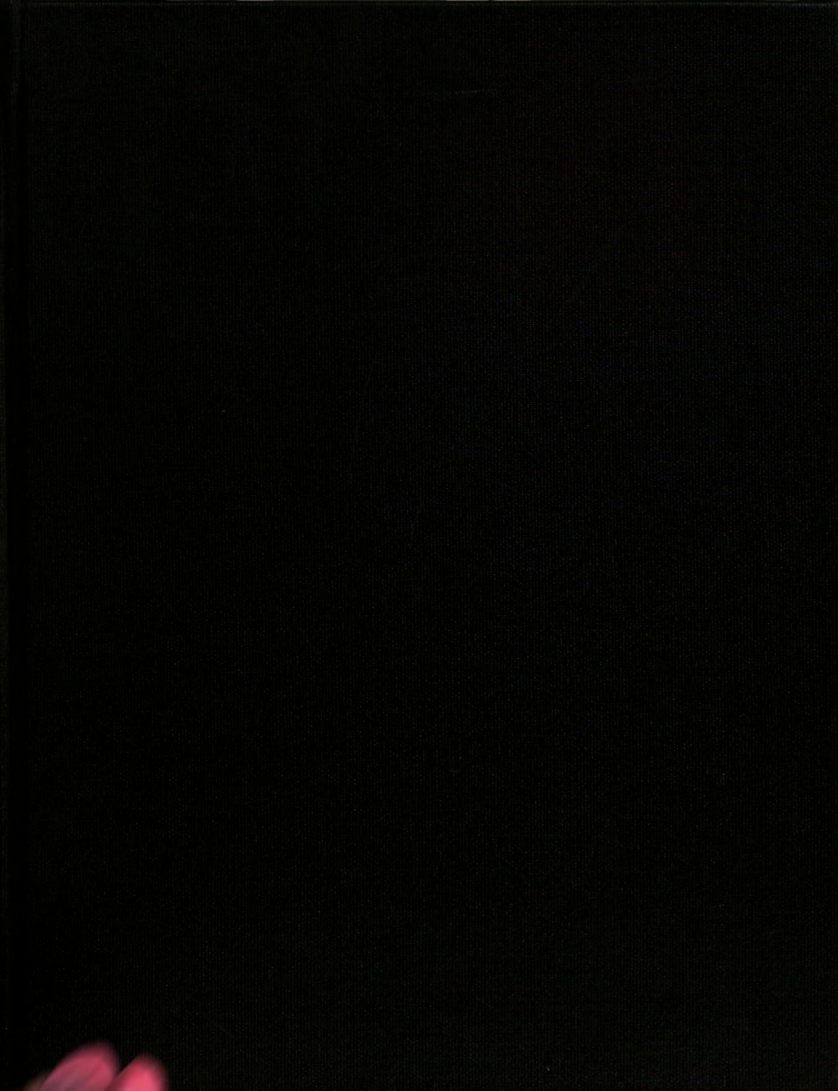






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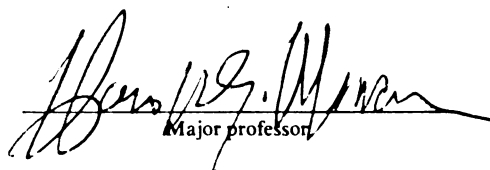
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**VIOLENCE, ETHNICITY AND POLITICAL CONSOLIDATION
IN SOUTH SUDAN: A HISTORY OF THE DINKA
AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THEIR NEIGHBORS**

presented by

Stephanie F. Beswick

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VIOLENCE, ETHNICITY AND POLITICAL CONSOLIDATION
IN SOUTH SUDAN: A HISTORY OF THE DINKA
AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THEIR NEIGHBORS

VOLUME I

By

Stephanie F. Beswick

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of History

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ABSTRACT

VIOLENCE, ETHNICITY AND POLITICAL CONSOLIDATION IN SOUTH SUDAN: A HISTORY OF THE DINKA AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THEIR NEIGHBORS

By

Stephanie F. Beswick

This dissertation focuses on a history of the Nilotic Dinka of the Southern Sudan and integrates their experience into the wider literature of ancient, medieval and modern Sudanese historiography. Working from approximately three hundred oral interviews, published sources and theoretical interpretation, this study represents the first to combine the histories of each of the approximately twenty-three regional Dinka groups as one large ethnic unit. It traces the migration of this ancient culture and speech community from its Nubian homeland in the Gezira into the Southern Sudan and fits these movements into the wider scholarship of eastern African Nilotic history.

The Dinka socioeconomic and political system emerged as the dominant and expanding ethnic system in the Southern Sudan because they possessed a superior breed of hump-backed cattle and dhurra grain. This expansion however, came abruptly to a halt towards the latter eighteenth century with the intrusion of Baggara slave raiders. By 1821 the first of three

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subsequent colonialist regimes took control of the Dinka homeland. With each stage in the colonial experience Dinka society became restructured, politically and economically. Through the colonial Egyptian and Mahdist periods the Dinka began a phase of military and then political centralization. By the time of the third colonial power in Sudan, the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, there existed two Dinka proto-states.

Throughout the British colonial period in the South administrators introduced secular leadership and justice and encouraged the emergence of a new Western-educated Southern elite. When the British divided the Sudan into two it revived earlier Southern nationalist sentiments born from the devastation of the nineteenth century slave raids and depredations of their land. However, in 1947 during independence talks the British reunified the Sudan and bestowed power on a group of Northern Muslim elites. Soon thereafter civil war erupted.

The post-colonial period has witnessed two of Africa's longest civil wars (1955-1972 and 1983-present). The second conflict has been spearheaded by the Dinka organization the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Army. In 1994 a new "nation within a nation" called New Sudan emerged within the war zones of the South. This new administrative structure introduced a democratic apparatus into the Southern Sudan and while the North/South war continues, intra-Southern strife, virulent since the 1970s, has begun to decline.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the research for and the preparation of this dissertation many people gave freely of their time, friendship and advice. My profound and special thanks to Dean Patrick McConeghy for support of my field research and dissertation writing phase with the Michigan State University Merit Scholarships. Also special thanks to Dean Karen Klomparens for her support of my research. I thank the Scandinavian American Foundation for a grant to conduct research in Norway at the University of Bergen and the Center for Development Studies. For advice concerning research in South Sudan I am particularly grateful to Dr. Roger Winter of the U.S. Committee for Refugees, Washington D.C. who provided me with the many contacts necessary to conduct research in Kenya and Sudan. Very special thanks to John Prendergast of the Center of Concern, Washington D.C., Dr. Damazo Dut Majak, Dr. Ambros Beny, Dr. Julia Aker Duany, Dr. Abannik Hino and Reverend Roger Schrock of the New Sudan Council of Churches for suggestions and contacts for my research in Kenya and Sudan. Since my days as an undergraduate Dr. Mom Kou Nhial Arou has mentored me in the Dinka language and given me consistent unwavering support and encouragement through my dissertation writing phase; to him I offer very special thanks.

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For support and aid in my field research at Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya special thanks to Robert Koepp, Eric Watts and Alice Chege of the Lutheran World Federation and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. At Kakuma my sincere and profound thanks to Mr. Deng Dau Deng, Chairman of the Dinka at Kakuma without whose support and encouragement my rich data collection among the major Dinka groupings would never have been possible. Many people also supported and aided me in my research at Kakuma including Ayuel Parmena Bul, Sister Mary Ellen, Sister Nikki, Sister Carolyn, Sister Maureen, Yilma Teferi, Nuwa Senkebe, Zaka Kuawogai, Simon Sael Lomoe, Helen Ajode, Nazir Mohamed Farah and Cesar Pastor Ortega.

Special thanks to Sally Bernheim, Phillip O'Brien at UNICEF Nairobi for aid and support of my research in the various regions of South Sudan. I also thank Pagan Amun and Arthur Achuien Chol and the SRRA in Nairobi and the SPLM/A for support and permission to conduct research in South Sudan. At Lokichoggio I thank David Kagunda, Howard Meredith and Moses Hixhanga for their advice and support of my research.

In South Sudan I am profoundly grateful to all those who aided me with my data collection. In Akot my special thanks to Raphael Ngei Mutiku of Oxfam as well as Jok Ayom Majak, Stephen Anyaak Chol, Dut Malual Arop and Paul Mayom Akec who encouraged many to talk to me. In Nyabagok my thanks to Bruce Menser and Rob Jenkins of World Vision and Victor Majok Amecrot, Matthew Mathem Daw and Napoleon Adok Gai. In Yambio

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I thank Walter Baumgartner, Timothy Chomba and Samuel Juma Abende of UNICEF and Bangasi Joseph Bakosoro, Bandindi Pascal Uru and Samuel Abujohn Khashi and Bishop Daniel Manase Zindo. Very special thanks also to Lual Benjamin and Simon Malual Deng for their aid and support with my research in Nairobi.

During the period of archival research for the dissertation I obtained support from many. Special thanks to Dr. Rex O'Fahey for kindly allowing me use of his personal (and very rich) library at the University of Bergen as well as Leif Manger and Terje Tvedts at the Center for Development Studies, University of Bergen, Norway. Special thanks also to Jane Hogan and Leslie Forbes at the Sudan Archives Durham, England, Father Eppink at the Mill Hill Mission in London and Reverend Andrew Wheeler at the archives of the New Sudan Council of Churches in Nairobi.

During the early years of my career I conducted interviews in England and I thank especially Brian Carlisle for his support and advice in providing suggestions on those former British District Commissioners willing to be interviewed. I also send my warmest thanks and affection to those former Sudan Plantations Syndicate personnel, and present-day friends of the family, Mary Thackeray, her late husband Louis Thackeray, Graham Reid and Robert MacMaster, Willie and Josie Van Mierlo, all of whom supported my research over the years.

On the academic side, I am profoundly grateful for the

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advice, encouragement, concern and continuous support of Dr. Elizabeth Eldredge. I am particularly thankful for her unequalled generosity of her time. Also on my committee I am particularly grateful to Dr. Gordon Stewart who provided me with invaluable support and advice over the course of my graduate career. I am also grateful to the other members of my committee including Dr. Harold Marcus and Dr. Alan Fisher.

During my days as an undergraduate scholar studying the Sudan many supported my efforts and encouraged me to continue; they include Lual Deng, Margaret Deng, Mom Kou Nhial Arou, Michael Wal Duany and David Chand. During my undergraduate years I was also given strong support and encouragement for my study of the Sudan by those at the Sudan Studies Association, USA and special thanks to Carolyn Fluer-Lobban, Richard Lobban, John and Sarah Voll and Nelson Kasfir.

This journey towards the highest degree would not have been possible without the material, moral and spiritual support of my husband, Dr. Jay Spaulding for whom I offer my profound gratitude and warmest thanks. It is also unlikely I would have possessed my enduring interest in the Sudan had I not been born in and grown up in this country and I extend my affection and special thanks to my parents, Douglas Beswick and Stella Beswick Boyd for their endless support and encouragement over the years. I also thank my step father Tony Buzzelli and my sister Yvonne Reinecke. As a pilot for American Airlines she aided me in the early years of my field research by providing discount airline tickets.

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jiang

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Shilluk

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KEY TO NAMES AND TERMS

<u>jiang</u>	Dinka term of self-identification preferred by the community considered in this study; not commonly used by modern outsiders
Nilotes	Speakers of any of several related languages belonging to the Eastern Sudanic branch of Nilo-Saharan
Dinka	A Nilotic language; the <u>jiang</u> , the community who speak it
Nuer	A Nilotic language; the people who speak it
Luo	A Nilotic language; the people who speak it
Shilluk	A Nilotic language; the people who speak it
lineage	A sub-group of a clan
clan	An exogamous lineal descent group, normally with political significance
totem	A symbol of group identity; among the Dinka, a common totem which prohibits marriage and encourages peaceful interactions
<u>iur</u>	Dinka term for "aliens" and non-Dinka
<u>pancieng</u>	Dinka term for "latecomers" (assimilated Dinka)
<u>kic</u>	Dinka term for "commoners;" not from a clan capable of producing priests
<u>koic</u>	Dinka term for those who inherit spiritual power and can become priests
<u>beny bith</u>	Priest
<u>Reth</u>	Shilluk: "king"

states

Kush

Napata

Meroe

Meroitic

Nubia

Nubian

Nubiin

Alwa

Makuria

Sinnar

Funj

Dar Fur

states	Some Northern Sudanese states include Kush, the (precolonial) XXVth Dynasty of Egypt, Napata, Meroe, Nubia and Sinnar (see individual entries); in South Sudan the Azande and the Shilluk had prominent states; two important western Sudan states were Dar Fur and Wadai
Kush	Northern Nile-Valley state, before c. 700 BCE XXVth Dynasty. The Kushite dynasty of Egypt, c.700-c.600 BCE
Napata	Northern Nile-Valley state, c.600-c.300 BCE.
Meroe	Northern Nile-Valley state, c.300 BCE-c.300 CE
Meroitic	The language of Kush, Napata and Meroe; probably Nilo-Saharan and possibly Eastern Sudanic; undeciphered, but not Nubian
Nubia	Northern Nile-Valley, c.300-c.1300 CE: see Alwa, Makuria, Nobatia, Sinnar
Nubian	One of several related Eastern Sudanic languages; includes Classical Nubian, the written language of the medieval Christian Nubian kingdoms, its modern descendant Nubiin, and Kenzi-Dongolawi, the most widely-spoken Nubian language today. Not Meroitic.
Nubiin	The modern Nubian language of Mahas; living descendant of Classical Nubian
Alwa	Large Nubian kingdom in the central Sudan, with its capital at Soba near the Nile Confluence
Makuria	Northern Nubian kingdom with its capital at (Old) Dongola; for most of its history, also included Nobatia, in modern Egyptian Nubia
Sinnar	Islamic Nubian kingdom, c.1500-1821 CE; its eponymous capital, after about 1650 a city See also "Funj"
Funj	The hereditary ruling elite of Sinnar
Dar Fur	Western kingdom, c.1500-1916; based on the Fur-speaking community of Jebel Marra, during the later eighteenth century it acquired a fixed capital at the site presently called "the capital," al-Fashir.

Wadai

hamil

iebel

Nile

Blue
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Nile

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Gezira

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Bahr el
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Bahr
al-Arab

Kir

Wadai	Western kingdom, c.1500-1909; based on Boro Mabang-speaking community of eastern Chad. Two comparatively fixed capitals of the nineteenth century were Wara, and then Abesher
<u>hamil</u>	In Sinnar and Dar Fur (and probably elsewhere), the right of a lord to appropriate for himself all livestock, including slaves, that stray into his territory
<u>jebel</u>	Arabic <u>jabal</u> : "mountain;" in the Sudan, a rather flat place, virtually any elevation will be perceived as a <u>jebel</u>
Nile	A large river that flows from Khartoum to the Mediterranean Sea through the Northern Sudan and Egypt
Blue Nile	A large eastern tributary of the Nile that descends from Lake Tana in the Ethiopian highlands to Khartoum
White Nile	A large southern tributary of the Nile that descends from Lake Nyanza in Uganda to Khartoum via the Southern Sudan; see <u>sudd</u>
<u>sudd</u>	A very large swamp that lies along the middle course of the White Nile in the heartlands of the Southern Sudan
Gezira	The land between the Blue and White Niles
Sobat	An eastern tributary of the White Nile; figures prominently in Dinka legend and regional <u>Realpolitik</u>
Bahr el-Ghazal	A major western tributary of the White Nile; name of a province during the colonial periods and following
Bahr al-Arab	See "Kir;" A western tributary of the White Nile, significant in Dinka history; sometimes interpreted as a boundary between northern Islamic and southern (non-Islamic) peoples of the Sudan
Kir	Dinka for "river," especially the Bahr al-Arab

Damda

dhurra

kec

caudat

toic

Arab

fellaba

zeriba

Tokruri

<u>Damdama</u>	(Plural form: <u>Damadin</u>), the fearsome "Tatars of the Sudan" during the thirteenth century, who invaded the southern Christian Nubian kingdom of Alwa from the south. Probably emergent Nilotes, and quite possibly the forefathers of the Dinka
<u>dhurra</u>	sorghum; a vital staple grain of the Dinka diet, often consumed as porridge or beer
<u>kec</u>	An exceptionally palatable variety of <u>dhurra</u> , whose cultivation is limited to certain favored soil conditions
<u>caudatum</u>	Several varieties of <u>dhurra</u> suitable for brewing, and unusually well adapted to the exigencies of a cattle-oriented way of life in which labor-intensive cultivation is not always possible
<u>toic</u>	Dinka: "grasslands"
Arab	A person who speaks Arabic, particularly as a native language, and who wishes to be identified as such Baggara Arabic-speaking cattle pastoralists; penetrated the Sudan from the west during the eighteenth century
<u>jellaba</u>	Private traders (as opposed to official state merchants of precolonial kingdoms) who travelled to seek profit, conspicuously in the slave trade. Usually Muslims, and often Arabs or Tokruris (Fellata) (West Africans); during the nineteenth century became armed functionaries of the <u>zeriba</u> system
<u>zeriba</u>	Literally a stockade of thorn boughs, used throughout the Sudan to protect livestock from predators. In Southern history, the <u>zeriba</u> system refers to the nineteenth-century northern Sudanese and colonial Egyptian slave raiders' fortified settlements together with their widespread servile rural dependencies
Tokruri	A Muslim who entered the Nile-Valley Sudan from the west; included natives of Dar Fur and Wadai, if of humble estate, but the westerners so designated were often Fellata, or people from the Kanuri and Hausa-speaking world. Typical motives for travel included the Pilgrimage to Makka and private trade, but many settled permanently in the Sudan.

Fellat

Darb al
Arba'i

Turk

Turkiyy

Condomi

Mahdiyya

Ansar

Khartoum

Malakiya

Shari'a

feki

- Fellata Muslim immigrants to the Sudan who spoke Hausa, Kanuri, or a geographically adjacent language
- Darbal-Arba'in The "Forty Days' Road" from Dar Fur to Egypt, opened to commerce in mid-eighteenth century when the sultans of Dar Fur moved their capital east of Jebel Marra to al-Fasher and began to open their land to private commerce, notably in slaves
- Turk In the Sudan, anyone associated with either of the colonial governments, particularly but not exclusively if pale-skinned, was classified as a Turk, irrespective of native language and ethnic or religious preferences
- Turkiyya The first colonial period, from 1820 to about 1884, when the Ottoman elite who ruled Egypt annexed and also exploited the Sudan. In the beginning they spoke Turkish; by midcentury the language of colonial administration was Arabic, and by the 1870s, English. See also Condominium
- Condominium The second colonial period, from 1898 to 1956, in which Great Britain and Egypt were said to rule the "Anglo-Egyptian" Sudan jointly; Sudanese called the arrangement "the Second Turkiyya"
- Mahdiyya From about 1884 to 1898 the Sudan expelled the colonizers under the leadership of a leader whose followers deemed the Mahdi the "Rightly-Guided One" in Islamic eschatology
- Ansar The followers of the Sudanese Mahdi
- Khartoum The colonial and postcolonial capital of the Sudan; located near Soba at the Nile confluence
- Malakiya Settlement of ex-slaves, often originally soldiers; in general, any urban community of "deculturated" immigrant people from the countryside, normally of humble estate and unknown ancestry
- Shari'a Islamic law; under the shari'a, no non-Muslim may exercise political authority over any Muslim; this has made the introduction of democracy difficult in a land where some people are Muslims and others are not
- feki Sudan Arabic: "holy man" (compare Classical faqih), "expert in jurisprudence"

Mura

Peop
Defen
Force

Chuku

Any

SPLA/

Murahilin Paramilitary non-Southern ethnic armies licensed by recent Northern regimes; see also "People's Defense Forces"

People's
Defense
Forces

Paramilitary armies licensed by recent Northern regimes; see also murahilin

Chukudum Site of 1994 constitutional convention; proclaimed "New Sudan"

Anya Nya Southern-based opposition movement born of the First Civil War (1955-1972)

SPLA/M Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement; southern-based opposition movement born of the Second Civil War (1983-present)

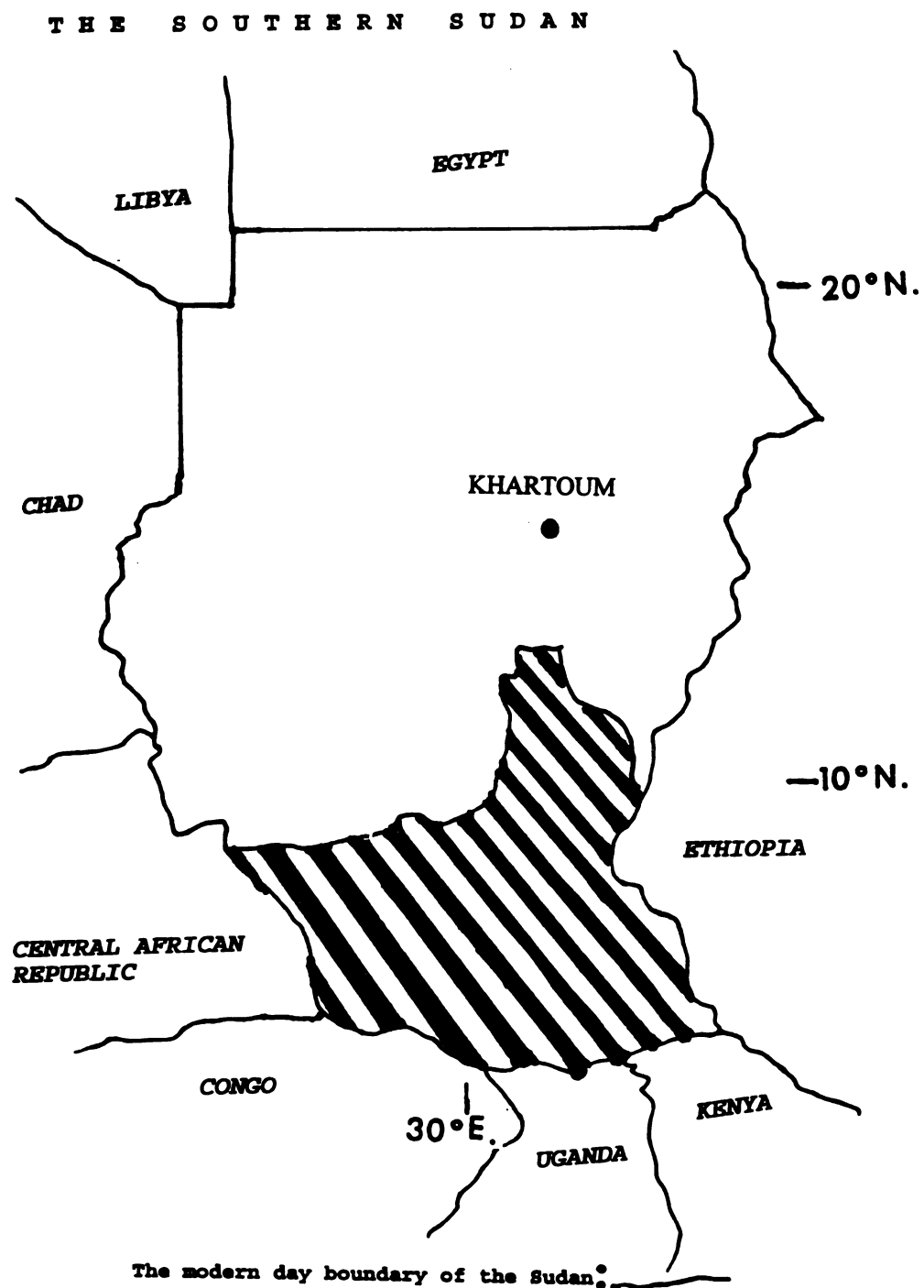
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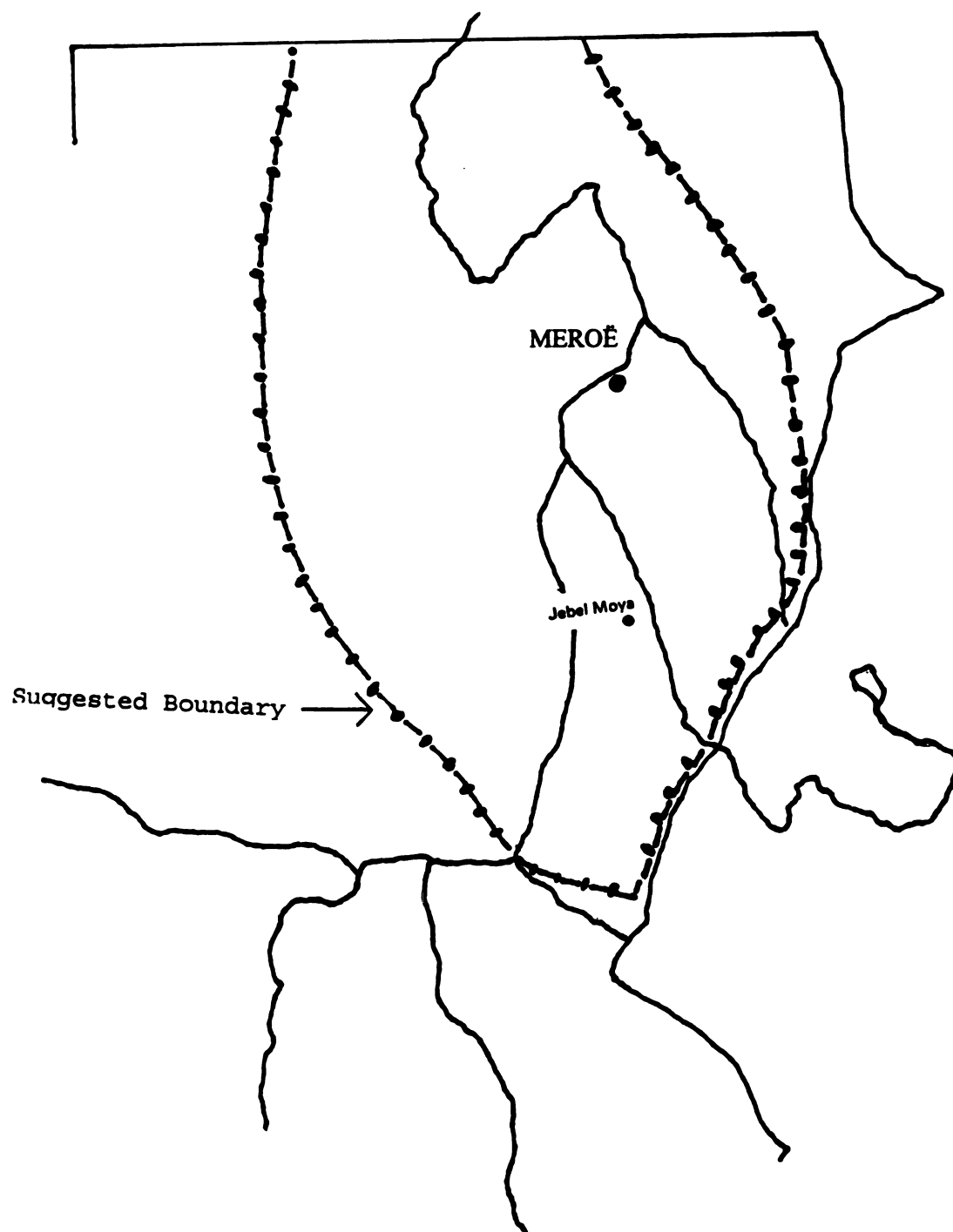
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Map 2.

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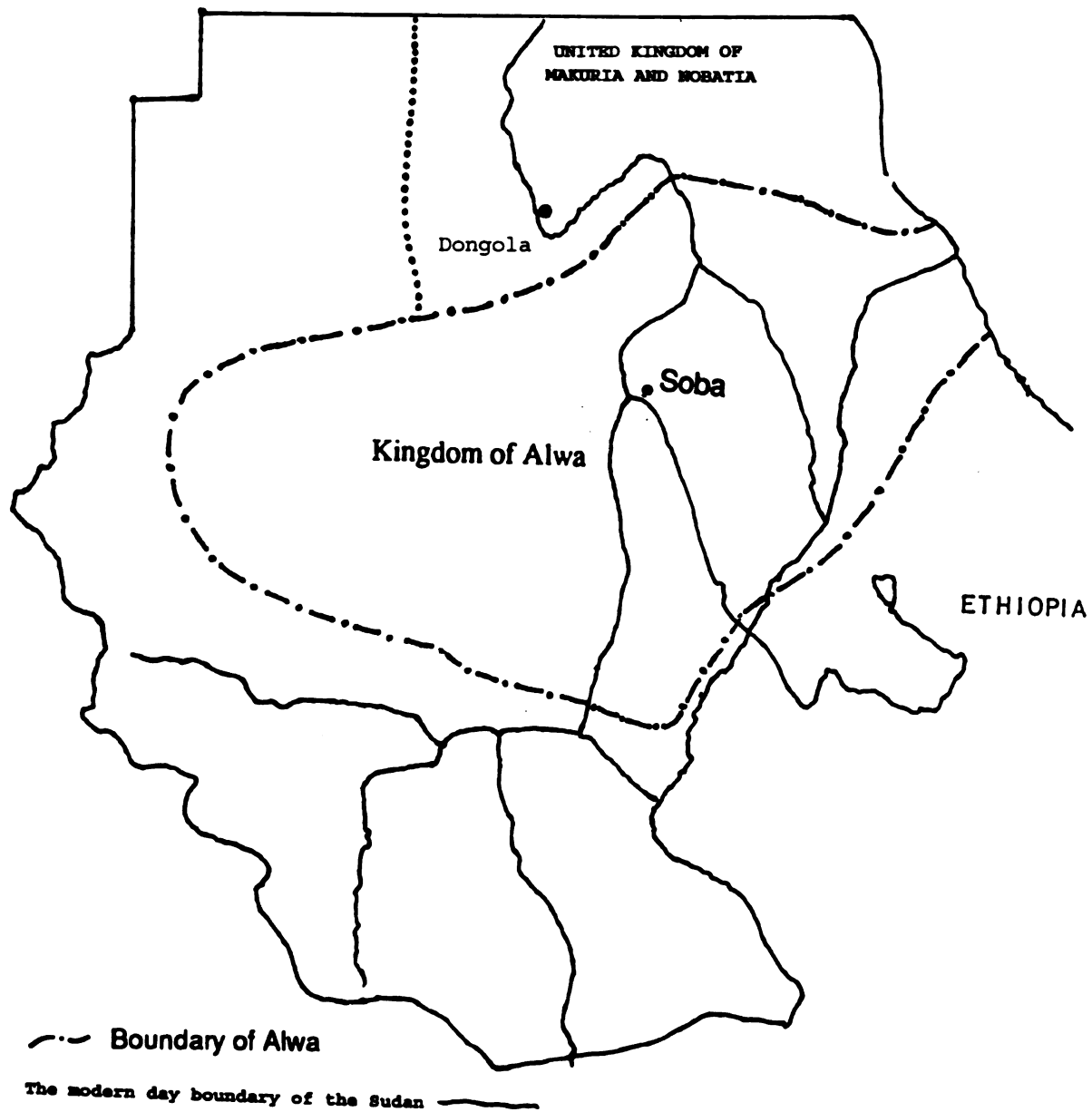


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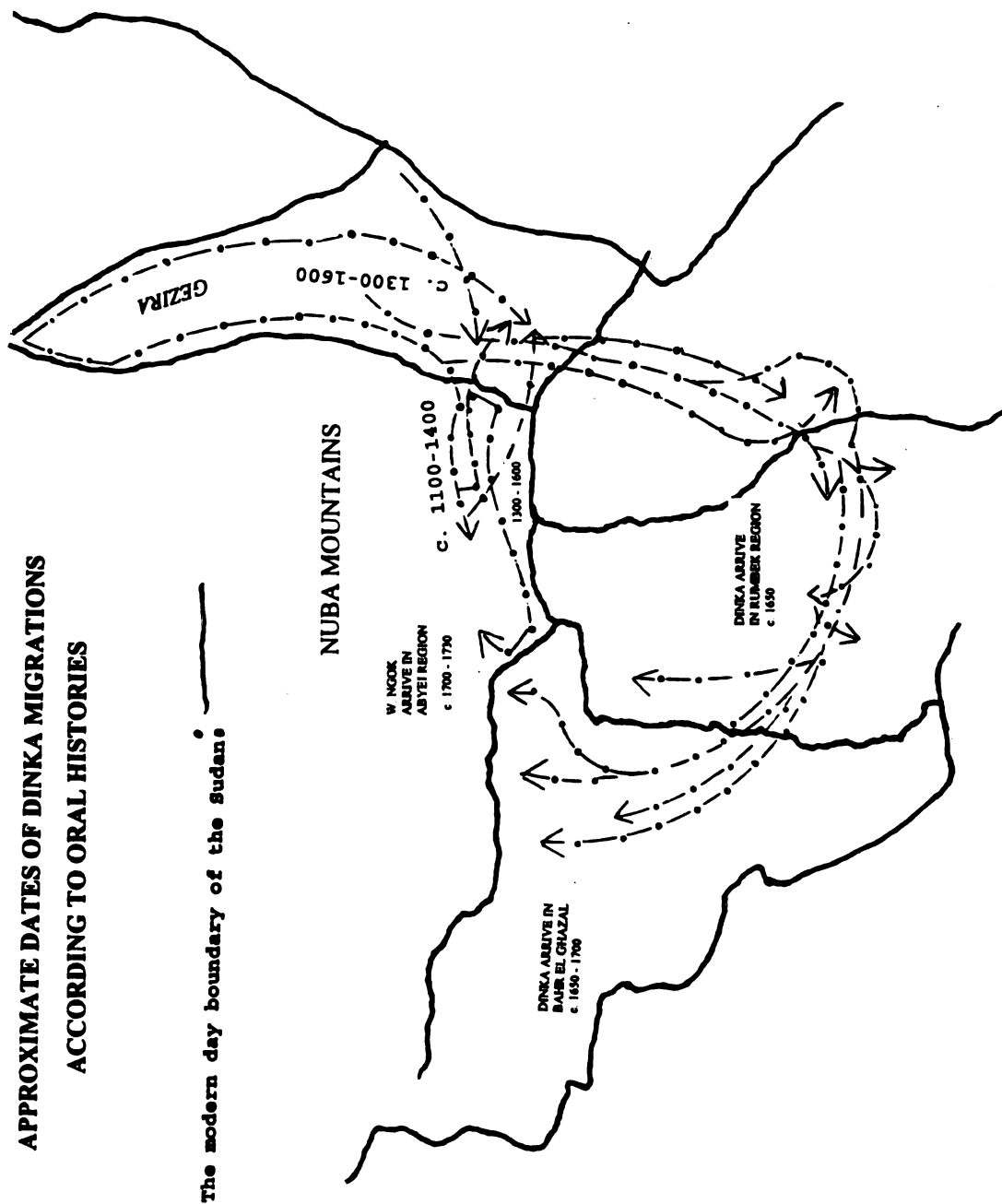
Map 3. THE NUBIAN KINGDOM OF ALWA AND ITS BOUNDARIES
(ca. 300-1300 a.d.)





**APPROXIMATE DATES OF DINKA MIGRATIONS
ACCORDING TO ORAL HISTORIES**

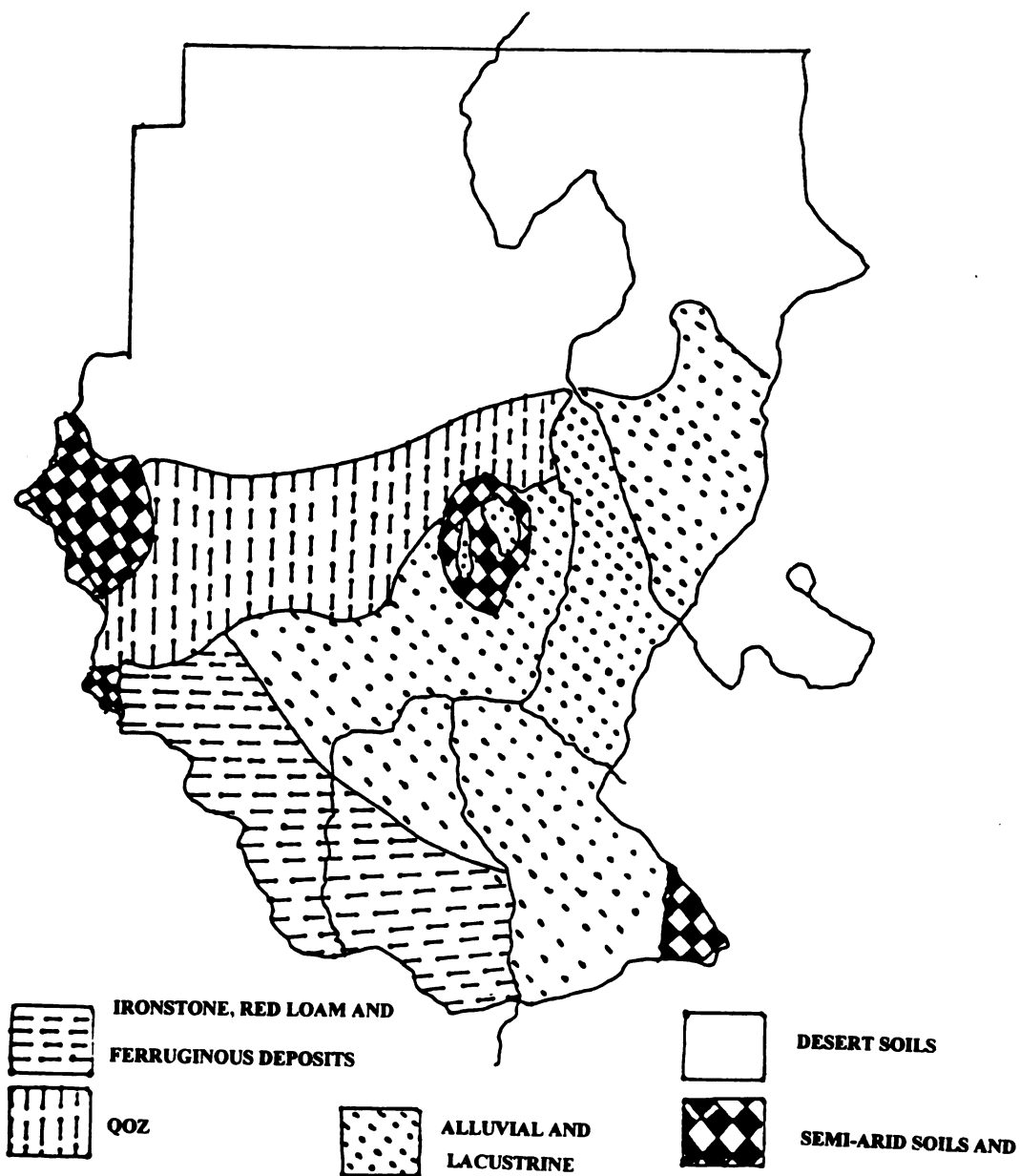
Map 4.





Map 5.

SOILS OF THE SUDAN

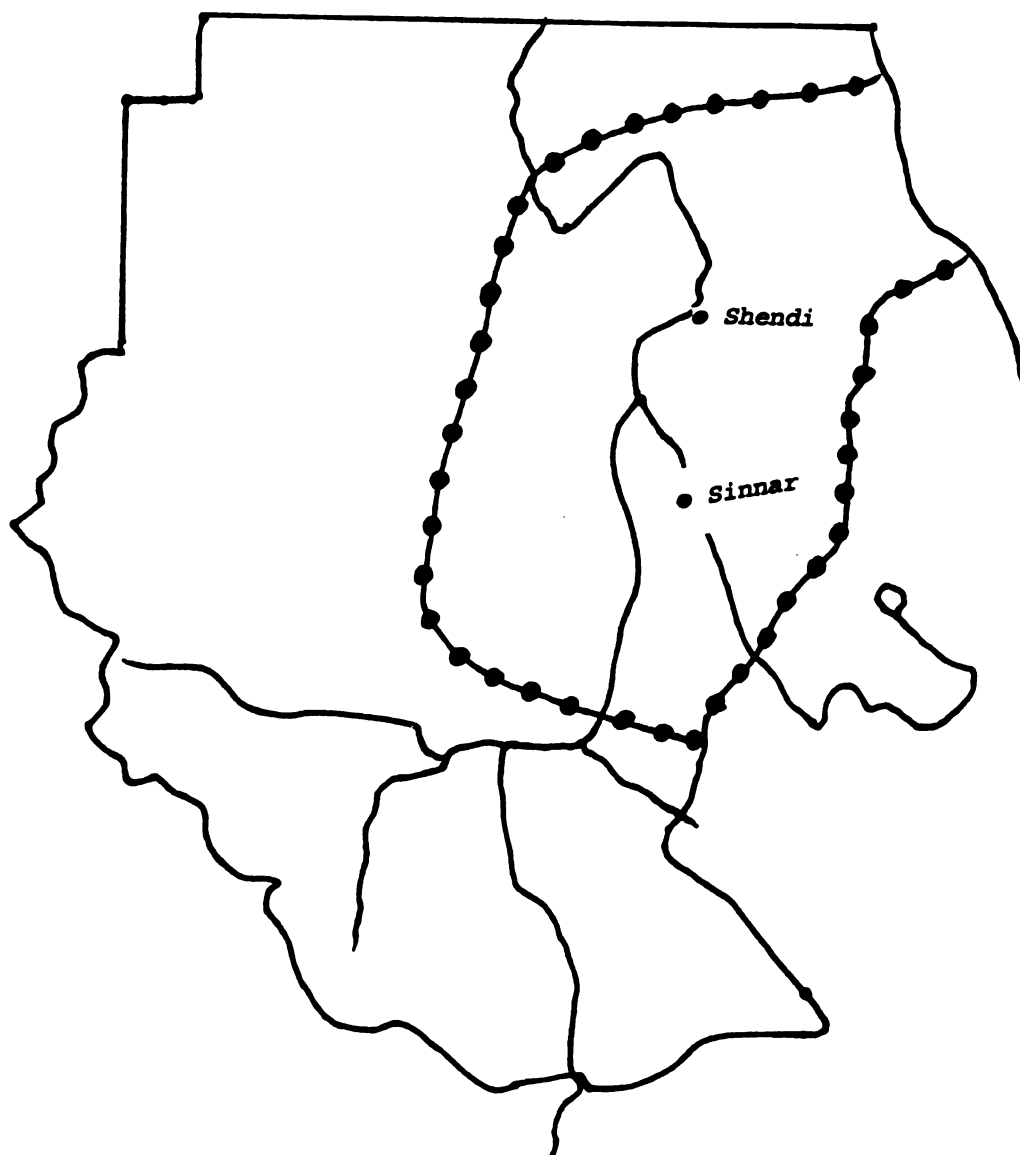




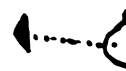
Map 6.

Sinnar and its Southern Tributaries, ca. 1700

(The Funj Sultanate)



Map 7.



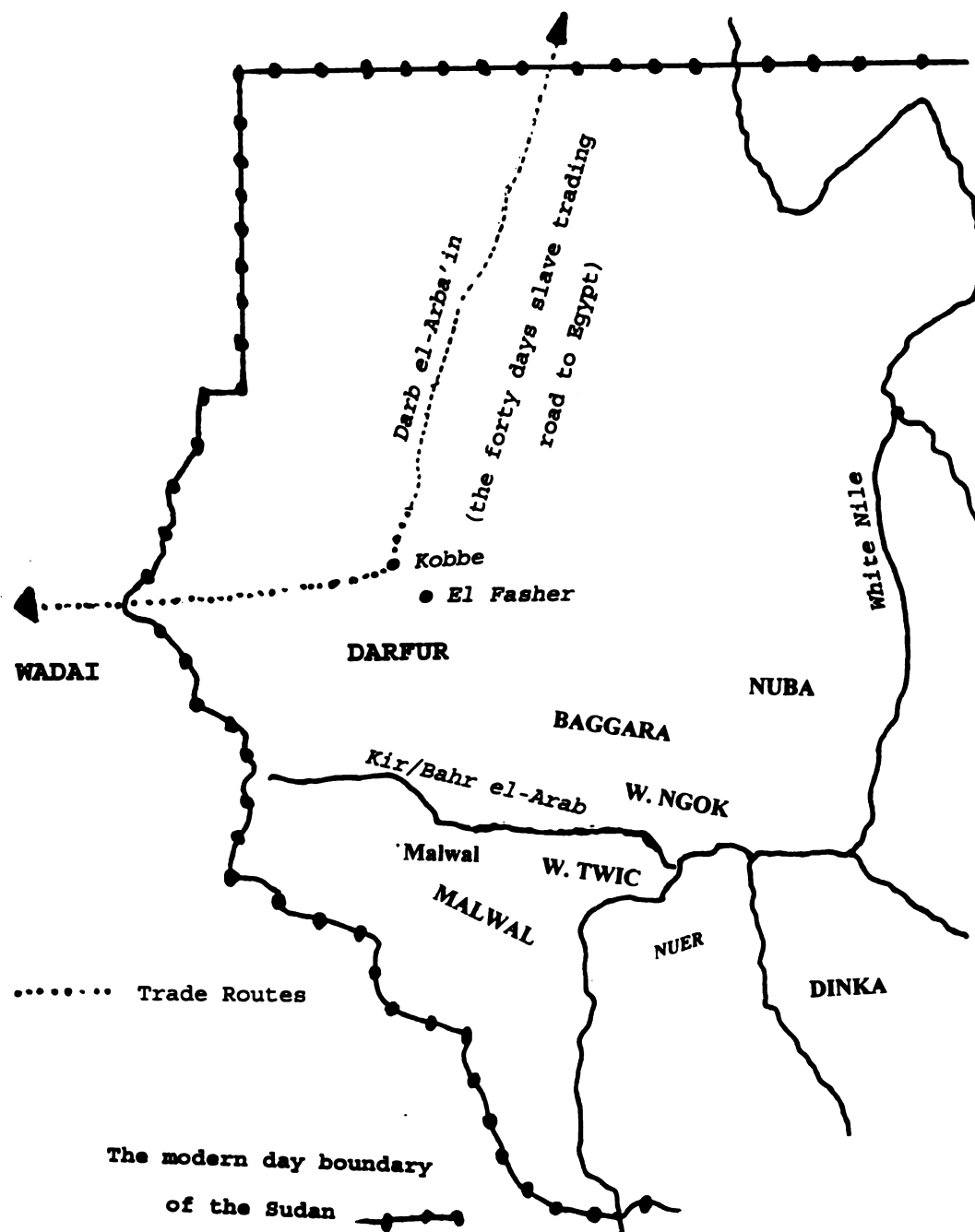
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Map 7.

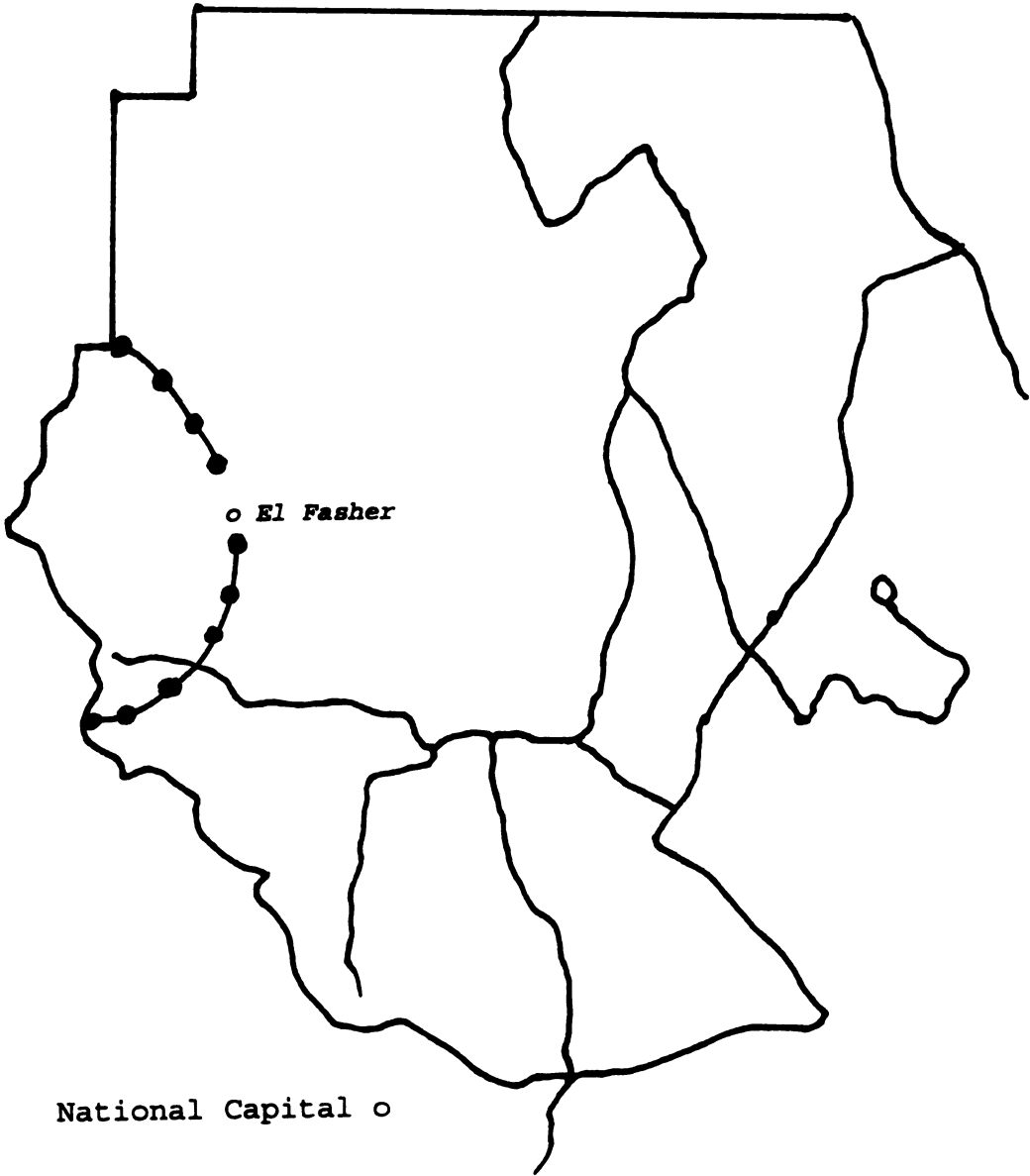
THE KINGDOMS OF DARFUR AND WADAI
(circa. 1700 and following).





Map 8.

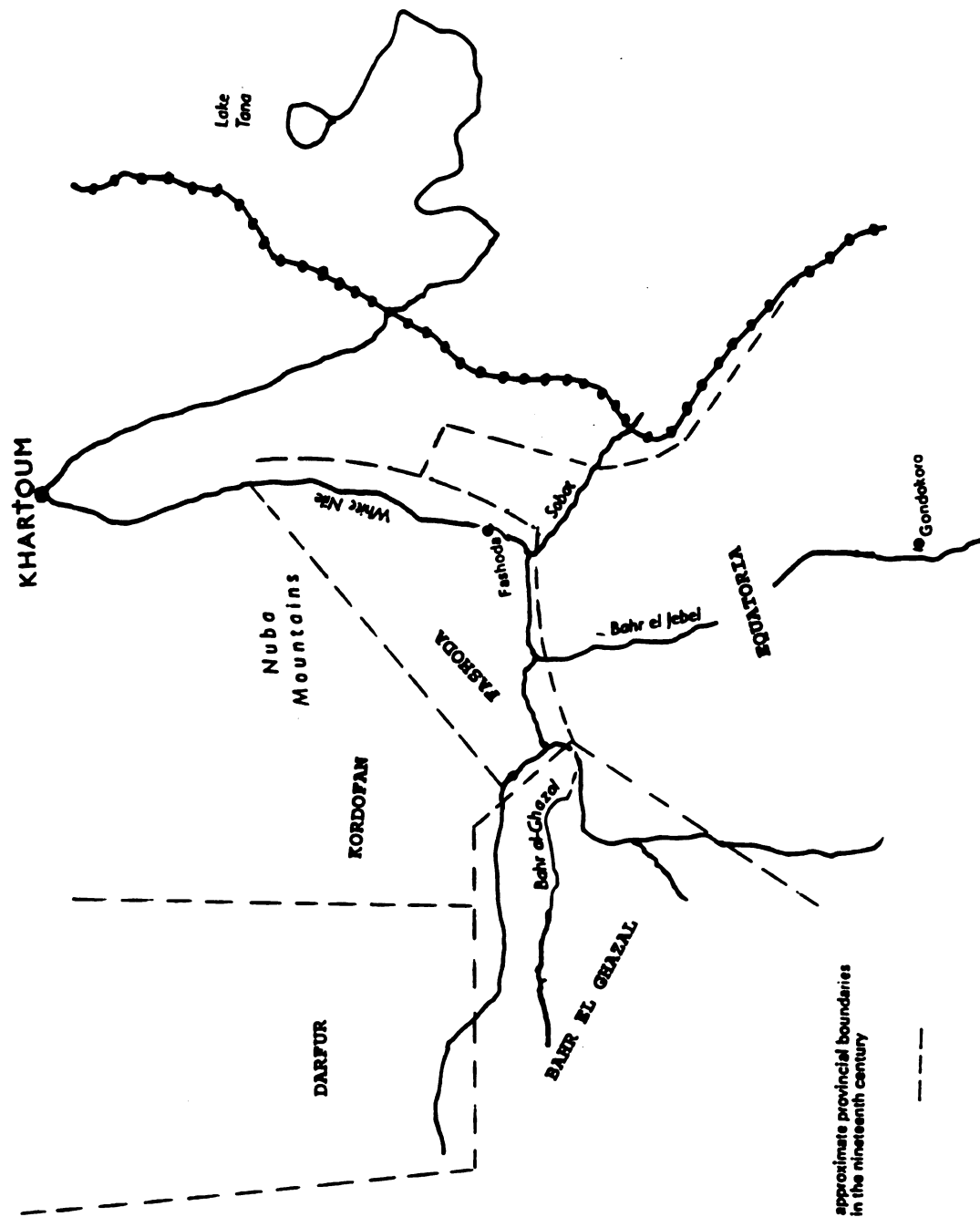
DARFUR (ca. 1770)



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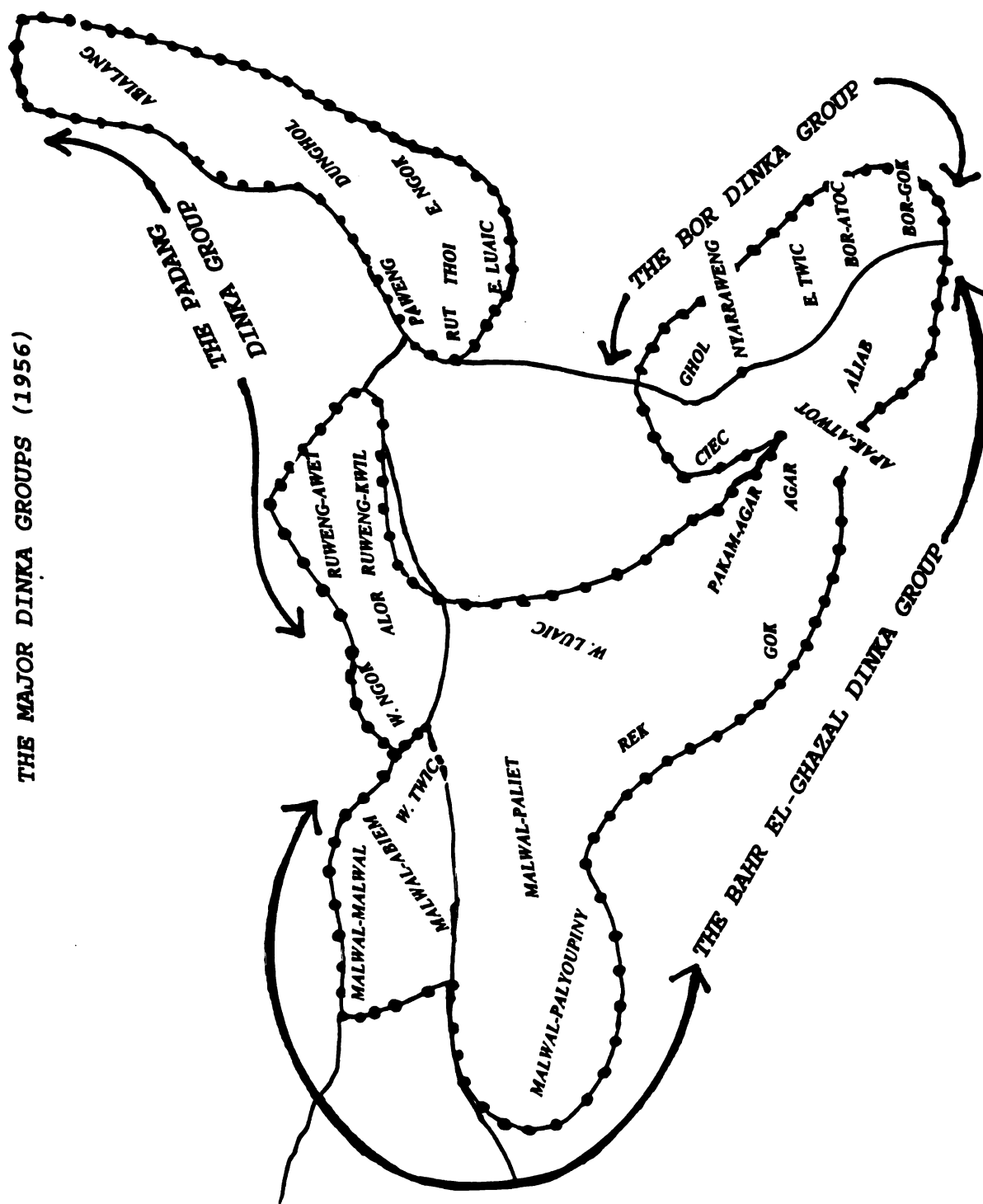
KHARTOUM

Map 9. SOUTHERN PROVINCES OF THE EGYPTIAN COLONIAL SUDAN
(1821-1883)

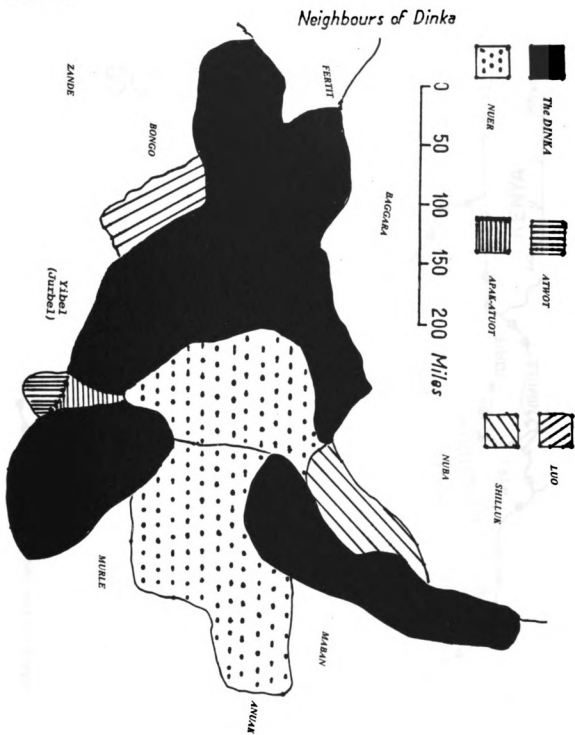




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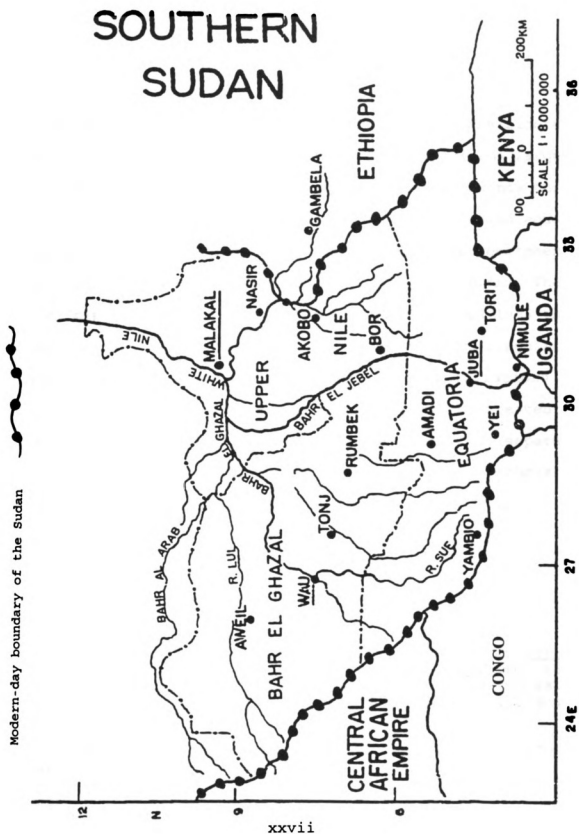
Map 11.



Modern-day boundary of the Sudan



Map 12.



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation presents the history of a pre-literate people known today as the Dinka. These Nilotes are the largest ethnic group in Sudan and comprise approximately twenty three major groups. Spread out over an area of 113 thousand square miles with their neighbors the Nuer on their inner periphery, they reside within the heartlands of Southern Sudan. Their major form of wealth is inherited livestock and in 1956 they numbered around a million souls. Their cultural and linguistic homogeneity is striking and despite regional variations in dialect, custom, and social structure they may be treated as a single people.⁽¹⁾ Yet, with the exception of separate single studies of the Malwal and the Bor Dinka, no scholarly history of these people exists.⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Godfrey Lienhardt, "The Western Dinka," in Tribes Without Rulers Studies in African Segmentary Systems, eds. John Middleton and David Tait (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), 97-135 and Divinity and Experience, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 6.

⁽²⁾ Only a few isolated studies of the individual groups exist.

The Problem:

In much of Africa there are only scarce contemporary written records covering the stateless societies in pre-colonial times. Hence, many historians have tended to gravitate to those groups which were deemed to be "making history" meaning the great states. Thus, stateless societies have warranted minimal attention, it being assumed they remained stagnant politically without historical change.⁽³⁾

It has always been understood that the Dinka are a stateless society and not surprisingly scholars have assumed they are a people with no history. According to the nineteenth century traveller, Georg Schweinfurth the Dinka were "a people ...without chiefs, without traditions, without history." Even the eminent British anthropologist who studied the Dinka, Godfrey Lienhardt accepted this as "fact" and wrote that the Dinka had an "absence of any tradition of historical development."⁽⁴⁾

In recent times historians have gravitated to Northern Sudan and the anthropologists have studied the South. This has resulted in a rich ethnographic literature but less in-depth historical study of the region. While these studies are immensely important for the historian the early studies of

⁽³⁾ This viewpoint was first suggested by Robin Horton, "Stateless Societies in the History of West Africa," in History of West Africa, Vol. I, J. F. A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder, eds. (New York: Longman, 1976), 73.

⁽⁴⁾ Dr. Georg Schweinfurth, The Heart of Africa, Vol. 1 (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, 1874), 145; Lienhardt, Divinity and Experience, 2.

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Southern peoples have tended to treat each "ethnic group" as a discrete entity. Few if any studies focus on the interface of differing ethnic peripheries.

In recent times historians might have become more interested in the study of Southern Sudan but for civil war which has beset the region intermittently since 1955 with only a brief decade of peace in the 1970s. The ongoing conflict has made field research in Southern Sudan difficult and dangerous. The few archives which existed in the South have long since disappeared with all their data.

Sudan has a history of centuries of slave raids, particularly in the South. However, Dinka oral histories of the era of the nineteenth century depredations have rarely been collected. Rather they have been avoided or ignored by scholars of Sudan history because of sensitivity concerning the topic. The scholars have preferred to rely only on the British and other archival resources. Hence few oral histories have been collected from Southerners including the children and grand-children of those ex-slaves who returned to the South.

The lack of an all-encompassing historical study of the Dinka has led to some fundamental errors regarding these Nilotic peoples. It is assumed they have always been stateless, that they are egalitarian (although Godfrey Lienhardt noted two clearly demarcated classes) and that Dinka chiefs exercised little control over their people. Further it has been assumed that they do not accumulate wealth and that

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there is no growth and change in cultural possessions. It has been argued that their leaders did not command any form of tribute, judicial authority or military power.⁽⁵⁾ However, none of these assumptions is correct and this more comprehensive historical study has revealed quite the opposite.

THE DINKA PEOPLE

The Dinka are a Nilotic people whose country fringes the great region of swamp and open savannah of the central Nile basin in the South Sudan. Their land falls between latitude five degrees and twelve degrees north of the Equator. Geographically Dinkaland stretches from the town of Renk in the north to about one hundred and twenty miles from the Ugandan border with a wide extension to the west occupying much of the Bahr el-Ghazal Province and even crossing the Bahr el Arab river into Kordofan.⁽⁶⁾

Whereas the Northern Sudan is poor in vegetation the

⁽⁵⁾ Lienhardt, "Western Dinka," 131; Lienhardt, Divinity and Experience, 2.

⁽⁶⁾ They occupy continuous stretches of Dinkaland which tend to be distinctly separated from each other by natural boundaries such as rivers, swamps and waterless forest. In 1956 the populations of the Dinka groupings varied from under 3000 people in the smallest to well over 150,000 in the Rek group which is the largest. In 1950 the Western Luaic numbered approximately 14,000, the Rek 156,000, the Abiem Malwal 13,800, the Paliet Malwal, 4370, the Malwal-Malwal 37,640, and the Palyoupiny 8,530. See Lienhardt, "The Western Dinka," 97-135; C. G. Seligman and Brenda Z. Seligman, Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan (London: George Routledge, 1932), 135. Bol Yuol, "The Agaar of Rumbek," unpublished paper, written for Oxfam South Sudan, March 1996.

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Southern region comprises a swampy plain surrounded on all sides by higher ground and canopied with tall grass and evergreen forests. The Southern Sudan is a land divided by numerous rivers and streams. The White Nile rises from the East African Highlands and wends its way northwards through the South during which a great proportion of the actual volume of water is lost in one of the world's largest swamp regions, the Sudd. Economically Southern Sudan is today potentially among one of the richer regions in Africa. Its wealth includes cattle, oil, gold, diamonds, uranium and rich soils.⁽⁷⁾

Historically the Dinka did not refer to themselves as such but rather have always known themselves as "moin jiang." However, in early Northern Sudanese literature of the nineteenth century they are also referred to as the "Zanj" or non-Islamic Africans. The name "Dinka" is most likely derived from European or Arabic sources and may have emerged, according to the Dinka, from a time in the Egyptian colonial period when a stranger approached the Northern Dinka looking for a Chief Deng. As the word "over there" is "kak" the term "Dengkak" emerged (meaning "Deng is over there.")⁽⁸⁾ It is said that after a time all foreigners referred to these Nilotes as "Denka." As late as 1857 the missionary A. Kaufmann used the term "Dinka" only for the Padang north of the Sobat.

⁽⁷⁾ Deng D. Akol Ruay, The Politics of Two Sudans (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1994), 11-13.

⁽⁸⁾ Personal interviews: Victor Majok Amecrot, Matthew Mathem Daw (Rek) Nyabagok, South Sudan; Deng Dau Deng (E. Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.

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Elsewhere he referred to these Nilotes only by their group names.⁽⁹⁾ It is only after the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium of this century that the Dinka have identified themselves by this name.

While it has always been assumed the Dinka have been stateless there is evidence that they were peripheral to state societies at one time as they were closely connected to the ancient Kingdoms of Meroe and Nubia. There are markers within their recent culture to suggest these ancient affiliations. Until recent times the Dinka conducted human sacrifice of young virgin girls to the rivers and the practice of king killing; both are commonly associated with rising kingdoms and states in Africa and elsewhere. They have also built pyramids for their esteemed leaders and on occasions buried them there. Lastly, their core vocabulary comprises twenty seven percent classical Nubian words. All these factors suggest an historical affiliation with the Nile Valley kingdoms.

This study shows that the primordial "statelessness" of a people cannot always be assumed. It appears that the Dinka have not always been in this political phase but have shared the same pressures as any other human community towards state formation in conditions of stress. Under key pressures the Dinka have also centralized, first militarily and then politically, as witnessed by the two emerging proto-states of

⁽⁹⁾ A. Kaufmann, Schilderungen aus Centralafrika oder Land und Leute im obern Nilgebiete am Weissen Flusse (Brixen & Lienz: A. Weger, 1862).

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Nor is their society egalitarian but rather it is highly stratified. Chiefs have evidently exercised considerable control over their people, for to control a force of 50,000 warriors in the nineteenth century, even temporarily, requires military and political authority. In fact eighteenth and nineteenth-century Dinka history suggests many instances where a series of Dinka leaders throughout the South as well as in the Gezira commanded large forces of thousands of warriors.

Contrary to historical assumption many Dinka have striven to accumulate wealth as can be witnessed in the nineteenth century by Malwal leaders, Duang Marial and Awutiek, who sold slaves and amassed weapons and other luxury goods at their "capital." Further, Malwal Dinka leader Awutiek and possibly Western Ngok Dinka Arob Biong commanded tribute in the nineteenth century as did Arienhdit in the twentieth century, while Dinka chiefs have also commanded judicial authority.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This dissertation is organized into eight chapters with an introduction, a conclusion, an Appendix and a bibliography. In chapter two I suggest that the ancient Dinka homeland lies not in the Southern Sudan but rather in the Northern Sudan. Dinka oral histories trace their ancient homeland to the Sudanese Gezira between the Blue and White Niles as well as points further north. Mindful of the controversy associated with relying on oral data alone I investigated the validity

of these claims by consulting linguistic and archaeological evidence. I also referred to medieval Arab geographers' accounts of Nubia dating from the twelfth century. There is sufficient evidence to support the Dinka assertion of a Northern Sudanese homeland. The strongest evidence is provided by Robin Thelwall who demonstrates that the Dinka language shares twenty-seven percent of its vocabulary with Nubiin, the modern descendant of classical Nubian.⁽¹⁰⁾

Oral histories note that they migrated in clan groups in a southwesterly direction into safer territories away from "Arabs" and because of drought. Further investigation supports that there was a series of thirteenth and fourteenth-century droughts which forced many towards the river systems on the Nile and the Sobat river junction. Additionally there were pressures from Nubian slave traders, the number of which increased when the kingdom of Alwa collapsed around the thirteenth century.

These Dinka migrations were made possible because of two important factors. Hump-backed cattle were brought into Sudan from Ethiopia sometime around the year 1000 A.D. These animals are far hardier than the non-humped variety, are more resistant to drought and can travel long distances. If the

⁽¹⁰⁾ He utilizes the term "a dispersed range of loanword counts." See Robin Thelwall, "Lexicostatistical Relations Between Nubian, Daju and Dinka," an unpublished paper presented at the Third International Colloquium of Nubian Studies, Chantilly 1975, 5.

Dinka were located in the Southern Gezira they would have acquired these animals shortly after their arrival into Sudan. Further, the Nilotes are credited with domesticating a hardy strain of sorghum (dhurra) which is able to grow in drought conditions as well as watery swamps.

In chapter three I argue that the Dinka migrated into various regions of the South which also experienced ecological stress. With the economic advantage of their superior breed of cattle and caudatum sorghum the Dinka prevailed over the resident populace. Because of their wealth and perceived power their charismatic religious authority came to preside politically over those regions into which they migrated. By this process rapid ethnic expansion took place. By the twentieth century the Dinka periphery measured over a thousand miles and Dinkaland encompassed 113,000 square miles (including their inner neighbors the Nuer).

In the construction of this chapter I have referred to a series of theories to explain more deeply the method by which the Dinka came to preside as a minority over the majority of the resident populace. E. I. Steinhart⁽¹¹⁾ argues that in periods of ecological stress the economic advantages of pastoralism can lead to pastoral expansion and encroachment on agricultural domains. Cattlemen translate their economic

⁽¹¹⁾ E. I. Steinhart, "The Kingdoms of the March: Speculations on Social and Political Change," in Chronology, Migration and Drought in Interlacustrine Africa, J. Webster, ed. (London: Longman and Dalhousie University Press, 1979), 203.

advantage into social and political privilege and eventually political power. Stemler, et al. argue that caudatum sorghum agriculture is related to Nilotic folk movements and is the staple grain of the Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk.⁽¹²⁾ Further, the domestication of this crop coupled with well-adapted breeds of sanga hump-backed cattle made possible an economy that was far more efficient than any other in the Sudan or East Africa.

For another view of the mechanisms of actual Dinka ethnic expansion I refer to the work of Sigismund Diamond.⁽¹³⁾ He argues that in almost all regions of the world historical correlation exists between the economic development of a culture and its laws. As the Dinka claim to have been pastoralists for centuries and most pastoral groups worldwide observe exogamy (marrying outside of the group), upon migrating into the South the Dinka married "foreigners" or non-Dinka peoples.

Jane Fishburne Collier⁽¹⁴⁾ notes that with "ranked" (hierarchical) societies men marrying for the first time acquire a women of equal or higher rank because status is determined by the initial marriage that is contracted. However, their secondary wives tend to be of lower rank. The

⁽¹²⁾ A. B. L. Stemler, J. R. Harlan and J. M. J. Dewet, "Caudatum Sorghums and Speakers of Chari-Nile Languages in Africa," Journal of African History XVI 2 (1975): 161-183.

⁽¹³⁾ Sigismund Diamond, Primitive Law Past and Present (London: Methuen, 1971), 225-270.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Jane Fishburne Collier, Marriage and Inequality in Classless Societies (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 147.

Dinka are a "ranked" society and oral histories and present-day cultural practices confirm this factor. Hence Collier's and Diamond's arguments show how the Dinka ethnic system could have expanded by exogamous marriage customs over time. As each generation acquired numerous foreign wives they ethnically expanded against the resident population. As their own bridewealth was higher than the surrounding populace foreign men found it difficult to marry Dinka women.

As the Dinka became wealthier than the surrounding populace and practiced exogamy they came to dominate politically. The Western Ngok Dinka scholar Francis Deng states that in Africa wealth and status are closely connected; one is a means through which the other may be acquired. Status once created by wealth in turn attracts wealth.⁽¹⁵⁾ Similarly, both Jack Goody and Aiden Southall⁽¹⁶⁾ suggest that through time certain groups come to dominate when they are perceived as important members of the stronger, wealthier and more numerous lineage groups. Under these circumstances political and religious power is gained, not by control over the means of subsistence but through supernatural and symbolic appeal to the people.

I suggest that the above theories explain how the Dinka

⁽¹⁵⁾ Francis M. Deng, "Property and Value-Interplay Among the Nilotes," Iowa Law Review 51 3 (1966): 541-560.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Aiden Southall, Alur Society (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., 1956), 261; J. Goody, Technology, Tradition and the State (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 21-38.

acquired more wealth than the surrounding populace and came to be viewed by non-Dinka peoples as possessing greater religious power. As this process continued they came to represent more numerous lineage groups. Hence, they then acquired political power over the resident populace.

Although the Dinka have been described as "egalitarian," in fact they have a highly structured society. H. L. Bergson and John and Jean Comaroff⁽¹⁷⁾ argue that totemism emerges where a political community has incorporated either immigrant or conquered populations. The Dinka are totemic and this form of identification structures marriages and politics in their society. Further, society is divided into "chiefly" and "commoner" clans as well as "first-comer" versus "late-comer" peoples.

In the construction of chapter three I refer to detailed oral accounts of early Dinka migrations into Southern Sudan. The dates of these movements can be more closely pinned down by cross-checking the oral histories of their close Nilotic and non-Nilotic neighbors including the Luo, the Shilluk, the Bari, the Murle and the Baggara. These have in turn been cross-checked with archaeological data. I estimate that the Dinka initially migrated into the Nile/Sobat river junction around the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In noting the details of the peoples they displaced, "absorbed" or warred

⁽¹⁷⁾ Henri Louis Bergson, The Two Sources of Morality and Religion (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1935), 172-5. John and Jean Comaroff, Ethnography and the Historical Imagination (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), 54-5.

with it becomes clear that these migrations were partly peaceful and partly martial.

In the seventeenth century a second great Dinka migration occurred and Shilluk oral histories note that "waves" or "hordes" of Dinka fled out of the Gezira from the east. Concomitantly they were joined by another "horde" migrating from the southwest of the Shilluk towards the Nile. Dinka oral histories note that some of these migrations are in response to the seventeenth century droughts as well as wars in the Gezira with the Sinnar Sultanate.

In chapter four I argue that while little is known of the eighteenth century Southern Sudan it is a critical period in the region's history for the civil wars of the latter twentieth century were born from this era. Slave-raiding in the South is commonly believed to have begun in the nineteenth century in the eastern Dinka territory. However, oral data and travellers accounts suggest it began in the western Dinka territories in the eighteenth century. Since this time the Southern Sudan has been plundered for its wealth in the form of slaves and ivory which have been transferred in large quantities into regions of the Northern Sudan and points beyond.

The initial forays into Dinka territory took place when the Islamic slave-raiding Baggara forged south with their military advantage of horses into Malwal country. A slaving society, they had recently migrated from present-day Chad. A testament to the success of their raids lies in the fact that

within a generation these Muslim pastoralists had transformed their economies of combined camel and cattle pastoralism to one more heavily reliant on cattle or cattle alone.

I argue that the rise of the Islamic sultanate of Darfur north of the Dinka territory coincided with the beginnings of slave raids into the Dinka country of the Bahr el-Ghazal. During the eighteenth century Darfur began its socio-economic transition out of the ancient world of old agrarian northeast African states, in which an import-export trade was initiated and dominated by the royal court, into the modern age in which private merchants were allowed to travel freely to seek profits. Symbolic of this transition was the shift of Darfur's capital east of Jebel Marra to the modern site of El Fasher and the opening of the forty-days' caravan road through the desert to Egypt. At this time the emerging free enterprise system of Darfur became more attractive for slave-raiding societies such as the Baggara. They had recently migrated from the environs of the Sultanate of Wadai largely because Darfur held less control over its surrounding territories.⁽¹⁸⁾

These Baggara slave raids into Dinka and possibly Nuer

⁽¹⁸⁾ R. S. O'Fahey and J. L. Spaulding, Kingdoms of the Sudan (London: Methuen, 1974), 37-9; O'Fahey, R. S. "Fur and Fartit: The History of a Frontier," Culture History in the Southern Sudan Archaeology, Linguistics and Ethnohistory, John Mack and Peter Robertshaw eds. (Nairobi: British Institute in East Africa, 1982), 82 and "Slavery and the Slave Trade in Dar Fur," Journal of African History XIV I (1973): 41; W. Browne, Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria From the Year 1792 to 1798 (London, T. Cadell, 1799), 226, 298. El-Tounsy, Mohamed (al-Tunisi, Muhammad b. Umar.) Voyage au Ouaday (Paris: B. Duprat, 1851), 481.

territory gave rise to the genesis of eighteenth century Nuer expansion towards the east during which these inner neighbors of the Dinka dislodged or incorporated four times their population with Dinka peoples. Because seventy percent of today's Nuer population comprise former Dinka this event is commonly referred to as the "Nuer Conquests." Many scholars suggest this movement of peoples is attributable to ecological and/or population pressures alone. I argue, however, that destabilization in the Bahr el-Ghazal must also be factored into the equation.

Although certain scholars suggest that the forefathers of the Nuer are Dinka I accept the arguments of Mohamed Riad and Douglas Johnson who believe that the Nuer are the descendants of the Luo. These peoples would have been part of a larger amalgam of Luo located in Kordofan and Southern Sudan prior to the Dinka arrival. When the Dinka migrated into the territory the Nuer become increasingly "encased" over time within the expanding Dinka amalgam. However, the Dinka and Nuer struggle over resources and concomitant changes in economic lifestyle marked the beginning of a centuries-long war among the Nilotic Southern Sudanese. As more Dinka were forced to observe the mono-economy of a pastoral non-agricultural socio-economic system when land became scarce, they were forced to rely more heavily on raiding.

It has always been assumed that the Southern Sudan has been "totally isolated" and "free" of all foreign influence but this assumption is not correct. The penetration of the

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Baggara into the Bahr el-Ghazal in the eighteenth century was followed by, and may even have also been predated by, the penetration of itinerant Sudanese and Tokruri (West African) traders. They skirted the Bahr el-Ghazal and then forged east towards the Nile and the Dinka country. By the same token an intra-Southern trade appears to have been well underway by this time.

In chapter five I argue that the nineteenth century Egyptian colonialist regime introduced a level of violence and disruption hitherto unknown in remembered history. Scholars estimate that slavers carried off two million Southerners from their homelands and of all those peoples enslaved the Dinka were the most prized.⁽¹⁹⁾ The Dinka oral histories of the violence and atrocities presented in this study are supported by travellers accounts, European administrators' reports and missionaries. They are among the first to present in detail a Dinka viewpoint of the Egyptian colonial and slaving depredations of their land and people. These accounts have been cross-checked with that of the travel and missionary data and they correlate.

While the history of slave raids in the eighteenth century involved only raiding, the nineteenth century saw psychological control by violence and torture perpetuating great fear throughout the region. This era marked the

⁽¹⁹⁾ Sudan: the Long War, Institute for the Study of Conflict, March 1972 cited in Edgar O'Ballance, The Secret War in the Sudan (London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1977), 20. Naum Shoucair, Tarikh al Sudan (Cairo, Dar al-Kutub, 1903), 51.

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beginnings of Dinka and other Southern peoples becoming human commodities or currency imprisoned in predatory enterprises called zeribas. Many young men were castrated. Captives considered unredeemable were executed and their bodies disposed of in mass graves or deep trenches some distance from the zeribas. European travellers noted that human skulls littered the South as well as the caravan routes to the North.

While the usage of the word "genocide" is controversial it must be noted that the Egyptian colonial government attempted to solve their Abialang Dinka "problem" in 1863 by means of "wiping them out." These peoples who resided in the southern Gezira and represented the northernmost Dinka had been obstructing the slave traffic and convoys passing through their regions. By the end of the century most Abialang (also known as the Dinka Ibrahim) had been forced off their land and had fled to various other regions including Ethiopia. It was rumored that another slaver, Alphonse de Malzac, had a wall of human heads on pikes surrounding his station to ward off offending Dinka intruders.⁽²⁰⁾

Devastated by external invasions and the subsequent execution of many male chiefs who failed to deliver their tax quotas the Dinka adopted a new political strategy of resistance. Women were elected to take the place of male chiefs. Deemed a temporary measure by those who devised it, this strategy nevertheless provided a certain political

⁽²⁰⁾ Richard Gray, A History of the Southern Sudan 1839-1889 (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 47, 53-54.

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coherence as well as security because Egyptian colonial administrators did not execute female chiefs quite so frequently.

While there are reports of Dinka reacting militarily, much historiography of the region suggests that they were too weak or ignorant to defend their homeland. By the end of the century for example, early British intelligence reports noted that the Dinka were a rigid non-changing stateless society and merely represented, along with other Southern Sudanese, a "Monkeydom of Nations."⁽²¹⁾ However, this perception of weakness and rigidity is incorrect and at a certain point a Southern Sudanese military confederation was born under the leadership of a prominent Malwal Dinka chief.

The initial idea of a militarily united Dinka and Southern front had been introduced by the Muslim Sudanese Holyman and leader of the Ansar brotherhood, Muhammad Ahmed the Mahdi. At this time he suggested a Dinka/Baggara alliance. However, it was primarily a confederated Southern Sudanese force led by the Dinka which militarily evicted the Egyptian colonial administration from various points of the South.

I argue that the act of militarily evicting the Egyptian colonial administration from the Dinka homeland of the Bahr el-Ghazal introduced the notion of a Southern homeland with parameters or borders which needed to be militarily defended

⁽²¹⁾ MacMichael to Maffey, May 29, 1927 CIVSEC I/42/112. Cited in Robert O. Collins, Shadows in the Grass (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 122.

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in future generations. It suggests a notion of sovereign territory. Thus, it represented the nascent beginnings of Southern proto-nationalism in the South.

In chapter six I demonstrate how two early Dinka states emerged among the Western Ngok and the Palyoupiny Malwal. The process of political centralization, however, followed military unification after a Dinka force of five thousand warriors expelled the Egyptian colonial administration from Bahr el-Ghazal province in 1884. Numerous theories contend that military unification leads to political centralization. For example, Elman Service notes that state formation is encouraged when, along with limited territoriality, external pressures escalate and a chief is able to provide protection for the populace against enemy attacks. Herbert Spencer, Keith Otterbein and F. O. Gearing suggest that the organizational capabilities demanded by warfare, its hierarchy and central command spread from the military to society.⁽²²⁾

For subsidiary theories suggesting how political centralization evolved in the Egyptian colonial period I refer to Irma Taddia who argues that administrative collaboration with colonialists afforded a degree of resistance by the very

⁽²²⁾ F. O. Gearing, "Priest and Warriors" American Anthropological Association Memoir No. 93, 1962; Keith Otterbein, The Evolution of Warfare (New Haven: HRAF Press, 1970), 23-28; Elman R. Service, Origins of the State and Civilization (New York: Norton, 1975), 259, 271, 299; Herbert Spencer Principles of Sociology (New York: Appleton-Century-Croft, 1897) quoted in Ronald Cohen, Ronald. "State Origins: A Reappraisal," in The Early State, Henri J. M. Claessen and Peter Skalnik eds. (New York: Mouton Publishers, 1978), 43.

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occupation of the office itself. From the imperialists' perspective Jay Spaulding notes that in the Sultanate of Sinnar provincial noblemen could be assured of a sizable sympathetic faction when they intervened to award leadership over rival groups.⁽²³⁾ Among the Dinka processes of centralization among the Western Ngok took place when Egyptian colonial administrators implemented an indirect administration among some Dinka groups, making one chief paramount over several others. In this fashion Chief Arob Biong of the Western Ngok gained pre-eminence.

In regard to the rise in power of the Palyoupiny Malwal I refer to John Burton and Douglas Johnson who argue that foreign contact in the Southern Sudan added further incentive to seek gain at the expense of one's neighbors.⁽²⁴⁾ In this case Palyoupiny Malwal Dinka leader Duang Marial perceived a benefit in collaborating or making an alliance with the most notorious slave trader in the Bahr el-Ghazal, Zubayr. The result of this alliance was, for this prominent chief, an increasing amount of wealth and access to weapons. In turn he solidified his political and military power in the region

⁽²³⁾ Irma Taddia, "Constructing Colonial Power and Political Collaboration in Italian Eritrea," in Personality and Political Culture in Modern Africa Mel Page, Stephanie Beswick, Timothy Carmichael and Jay Spaulding (eds.) (Boston: African Studies Center, Boston University, 1998); Jay Spaulding, The Heroic Age in Sinnar (East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, 1985), 49-50, 95.

⁽²⁴⁾ Douglas H. Johnson, "History and Prophecy Among the Nuer of the Southern Sudan," Ph. D. Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1980, 210; John W. Burton, A Nilotic World (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 3.

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Both of these Dinka polities (the Western Ngok and Malwal-Palyoupiny) became further centralized when, soon after expunging the Egyptian colonial administration from their homelands in the Southern Sudan, there followed a series of Mahdist invasions from the North and assaults from the powerful Azande to their southwest. Throughout the Egyptian colonial and Mahdist periods both Dinka polities had created "standing armies" in response to the continued ravages of foreigners on their borderlands. As both Western Ngok and Malwal leaders and states were perceived to be safe havens these polities became more sovereign when they offered sanctuary to thousands fleeing for protection.

As each Dinka proto-state gained in population against its limited territoriality the processes of political centralization intensified. Their leaders Arob Biong and Awutiek (who inherited power from his uncle Deng Marial and father Dengdit) became "sultans," they controlled the labor of their citizens, and in the case of the Malwal acquired taxes in the form of tribute and executed people for criminal offenses. By the dawn of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium the Western Ngok and Palyoupiny Malwal had come to represent early Dinka states.

The British became the second colonial power to rule Sudan when they overthrew the Mahdists at Karari in 1898. Known as the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, this period in Southern Sudanese history has commanded the most attention.

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While some scholars believe that after the British pacified the South little of any consequence happened thereafter, I suggest the reverse: that the British revolutionized Dinka society. In chapter seven I demonstrate how, in order to solidify their control the British secularized Dinka leadership and justice while simultaneously encouraging the formation of a new elite class.

In the initial years of the Anglo-Egyptian period the Dinka presented a formidable military resistance to the British forces and took twenty years to conquer. While the Dinka were militarily defeated they continued to counter the notion of foreign control, and expressed their view of their relations between ruler and ruled by various means which James Scott describes as "hidden transcripts." His theory suggests there is a wide variety of low-profile forms of resistance typically employed by dominated peoples against their rulers.⁽²⁵⁾ For example, the Dinka attempted to decrease the social distance from the British district commissioners by encouraging them to "marry" into the Dinka amalgam. They were limitedly successful and most "marriages" were organized by Dinka elders and chiefs who charged the British high bridewealth payments. Naming ceremonies further discouraged abusive district commissioners from remaining in their territory for without an official Nilotic name it was difficult to administrate.

⁽²⁵⁾ James C. Scott, Domination and the Arts of Resistance (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), ix-16.

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In 1922 the British introduced their policy of Indirect Rule and in this fashion colonial administrators ruled through indigenous chiefs. Secular rule began because the British preferred to give chieftainships only to those who were willing to base their authority solely on the power of the British government. They began to avoid those whose authority was based on divine knowledge acquired by inheritance. As a result ex-slaves, junior members of society, women and policemen acquired chieftaincies.

Ethnically the British altered relations between pastoral peoples and reidentified others. Scholars Kamal Osman Salih and Douglas Johnson argue that in multi-ethnic colonies colonial oppressors succeeded in this task by preserving the differentiation of African peoples along ethnic, linguistic and often religious lines. This in turn culminated in the strengthening of identification within each ethnic group and in the sharpening of cultural divisions between them. Aidan Southall argues that we do not know how much cultural and linguistic unity existed between the Dinka and Nuer nor how far they were actually aware of themselves as differing ethnic groups until the British colonial administration fostered this perspective among them.⁽²⁶⁾ In order to control the

⁽²⁶⁾ Kamal Osman Salih, "The British Policy and the Accentuation of Inter-Ethnic Divisions; the Case of the Nuba Mountains Region of Sudan 1920-1940," African Affairs Vol. 89, #356 (July 1990): 417-436; Douglas H. Johnson, "Enforcing Separate Identities in the Southern Sudan; The Case of the Nilotes of the Upper Nile," in Les Ethnies ont une Histoire, Jean-Pierre Chrétien et Gerard Prunier eds. (Paris: Editions Karthala, 1989), 234-245. Aidan Southall, "Nuer and Dinka are

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population the British introduced militarily enforced ethnic boundaries and reified peoples' ethnic identity. These policies destroyed intra-ethnic alliances while simultaneously halting intra-ethnic wars.

Although the British succeeded in acquiring secular chiefs the system would never have evolved had there been no introduction of the monetary economy. In Dinka society wealth translates into political power and the opportunity to accumulate wealth by different means yielded to non-elites new socio-economic and political alternatives. The existence of multi-ethnic communities called Malakiyas served as labor reserves for the British as well as encouraging the cash economy.

Secularism affected other parts of society. Non-elites could become upwardly mobile by acquiring wealth in the form of cash and then purchasing cattle, opportunities which would not have been possible in the Egyptian colonial period. The introduction of the cash economy also encouraged an individual rather than a group economy. As British law became entrenched it atomized Dinka society and enforced a legal system whereby the individual rather than the group paid for his or her criminal offenses.

British policies were supported by the introduction of Western education and, as Leroy Vail argues for elsewhere in Africa, the role of missionaries was crucial because they were

People: Ecology, Ethnicity and Logical Possibility," Man vol 11 no. 4 December (1976): 463-91.

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instrumental in providing the cultural symbols that could be organized into a cultural identity. This was especially true regarding written languages and researched written histories. Further, language stands as the central item in the assemblage of a cultural package.⁽²⁷⁾ Hence, the introduction of missionaries and education also affected ethnicity while giving rise to a new class. During the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium the Bor Dinka region acquired an advantage of twenty years of Western education over their western and northern contemporaries and today they represent much of the leadership in the South.

In chapter eight I suggest that two key themes marked the post-independence period in Southern Sudan: nationalism and intra-Southern ethnic strife. Benedict Anderson argues that the definition of a nation is one in which there exists an "imagined political community;" imagined both as internally limited as well as sovereign.⁽²⁸⁾ In Southern Sudan an "imagined political community" had evolved from the devastation of the nineteenth century atrocities of the slave trade and subsequent military eviction of the Egyptian colonial administration and the Mahdists from the South. In 1930 the British had formally divided Northern and Southern Sudan and reintroduced the notion of a sovereign Southern

⁽²⁷⁾ Leroy Vail, ed. "Introduction: Ethnicity in Southern African History," in The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 1-19.

⁽²⁸⁾ Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities (London: Verso, 1995), 6.

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nation. However, in 1947 at the Juba Conference Britain unified the Sudan and prepared for independence talks. It was the new Western-educated Southern class who expected to inherit the reins of leadership in the South. When the British yielded all of the political power to the North this event augured decades of civil war and the death of millions.

After independence in 1956 the civil war era witnessed the rise of the most ethnically-divisive period in Southern Sudanese history. Some scholars suggest these disturbances represented little more than "traditional" or "primordial" ethnic rivalry during which Southern political leaders undermined the Southern war effort. However, numerous theories suggest that when nationalists begin to adopt modern Western political structures and struggle for political power it encourages ethnic divisiveness.⁽²⁹⁾ Similarly, I support that in the South the post-independence ethnic stress was never a product of primordial tensions but rather connected to the birth, struggle and competition of an emerging Southern nation-state.

The phenomenon of political competition can be seen by observing that ethnic rivalry was not a factor in the early

⁽²⁹⁾ Samuel P. Huntington, "Political Development and Political Decay," World Politics, Vol. XVII, No. 3 (1965): 388. Robert H. Bates, "Modernization, Ethnic Competition, and Politics," in State Versus Ethnic Claims: African Policy Dilemmas, eds. Donald Rothchild and Victor A. Olorunsola (Boulder: Westview Press, 1983), 163. Comaroff, Ethnography, 63; Nelson Kasfir, "Peacemaking and Social Cleavages in Sudan," in Conflict and Peace-Making in Multiethnic Societies, ed. Joseph V. Montville (Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1990), 15.

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independence period as witnessed by the multi-ethnic political parties of the era. As the Southern Sudanese rebel group, the Anya Nya, which was fighting the civil war against the Northern Sudanese government, gained power, it began to resemble a legitimate Southern military and political movement and Nilotic and Equatorian competition emerged. This fierce struggle was amplified in the 1970s when the South won a limited political autonomy after the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972. The two competing parties for power in the South were the pastoral Nilotes (the Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk) and the agricultural Equatorians (those peoples south and west of the Nilotes). From the late 1960s to the early 1980s these groups had competed fiercely for political control of the South.

It was the threat of a second civil war in 1982 which brought intra-Southern tensions temporarily to a halt. In that year oil was discovered in the South. To gain financially, Northern President Jaafar Nimeiri realigned himself with those who pressured him the most, including the political-religious forces in the North and the Arab states.

In 1983 Nimeiri devised a method of disenfranchising Southern peoples while controlling their wealth. He promulgated the infamous "September Laws" making the Islamic law of Shari'a the law of all of the Sudan. It now prohibited non-Muslims from holding political office even in Southern Sudan. Most now returned to the notion of another civil war in an attempt to wrest complete autonomy for the South.

In chapter eight I demonstrate that the latest civil war

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in Sudan is not, as the popular press understands it, religious in origin: a Christian South versus a fundamentalist Islamic North. Rather the issue is economics, for Northern Sudan has fewer resources compared to the wealthier South. Hence the North is compelled to militarily control its intractable Southern inhabitants by force. To acquire legitimacy and financing the war is sold to the public as an "Islamic Holy War."

The Dinka perception of Northern tactics has always been that the government wants to "use the slaves to kill the slaves" by forcing Southerners to kill each other. They claim that the long-term objective of the Northern Sudan government's war effort is to seizing Southern land. By all accounts this notion is correct as the Sudan government has successfully manipulated competing Southern elites with devastating results. The government has also aimed to sponsor an enormous number of Southern militias whose sole aim is to attack the Dinka-led Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Army fighting the Northern government in this second civil war.

Adding to the intra-Southern tensions are numerous prominent "outsiders" some of whom have been intensely attracted by the South's new found oil wealth. Interested parties have included Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam, former Ugandan leader Idi Amin, the countries of Libya, the Arab States, British businessman Tiny Rowland, International aid organizations as well as British and American interests.

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This increased international involvement in the second civil war has generated increasingly bloody and intense struggles for leadership within the South. Although the 1970s was marked by Nilotic/Equatorian stresses, this era has witnessed bloody struggles between the Nilotic Dinka and Nuer. As the stakes in the war have increased so have the violence and brutality. In recent years more people have died by Southern hands than in the latest North/South civil war.

While intra-Southern strife has been highly prominent, the North/South civil war has wrought havoc on Southern societies particularly in the western Bahr el-Ghazal. In the last decade there has been a resurgence of slave raids. One of the South's greatest resources is its people and two centuries ago slave raiders forged South into Malwal Dinka territory to seize people and cows. Today, the Baggara and other government forces (the Peoples' Defense Forces "PDF") continue to raid the Malwal Dinka communities. Raiders seize young children, women and young boys; many of the latter end up in the Northern Sudan for training for the Southern militias.

In 1994 at the height of intra-Southern ethnic conflict a critically important event occurred in the South changing the entire dynamic of the war. On April 2, 1994 under intense pressure from much of the populace a new Southern Sudanese nation was conceived. Known today as the "New Sudan" it introduced a new administrative and judicial structure which formally separated it from the military. Bor Dinka John Garang de Mabior was democratically elected to head the new

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With the dawning of this "nation within a nation" the divide and rule policies of the North have been severely curtailed and intra-Southern strife is on the decline. Slowly Southerners are starting to realize they have been manipulated by the Sudan government and some are rejoining the SPLA. After centuries of plunder and violence the Southern Sudanese people have militarily won for themselves a new unofficial country, "New Sudan."

LITERATURE REVIEW

The first European to look at Western Nilotic migrations within Southern Sudan was J. Crazzolara who conducted a study of the Lwoo people. His major works include the The Lwoo Migrations (part 1 and 2). Crazzolara suggests that the Dinka and other Luo peoples migrated from South to North, a hypothesis that counters my own oral collected data.

Christopher Ehret's Southern Nilotic History and Nicholas David's articles "The B.I.E.A. Southern Sudan Expedition of 1979: Interpretation of the Archaeological Data" and "The Archaeological Context of Nilotic Expansion" and William Y. Adams, "The Coming of Nubian Speakers to the Nile Valley." contribute critical works for my reconstruction of Dinka oral histories which claim a homeland in the Gezira and points further north. Their work suggests that the Dinka language with other Western Nilotic languages emerged from the Gezira.

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language it is necessary to refer to the work of Robin Thelwall on "Lexicostatistical Relations Between Nubian, Daju and Dinka" which suggests that the Dinka language contains twenty seven percent common vocabulary with classical Nubian. For archaeological evidence of the Dinka south and north of Khartoum I refer to William Adams, Nubia, Randi Haaland, "The Season Interconnection between Zakiab and Kadero: two Neolithic Sites in the Central Sudan," Bruce Trigger, "Paradigms in Sudan Archaeology," J. D. Clark, "The Domestication Process in Sub-Saharan Africa with Special Reference to Ethiopia," and Margaret Shinnie, A Short History of the Sudan (Up to A.D. 1500). These works note Nilotic remains throughout various regions of Northern Sudan. Merrick Posnansky's article "East Africa," makes the connection between Nilotic culture and Egypt.

Arab geographers' accounts suggest that the possible forefathers of the Dinka were the "Damadim" or "Dumduma" who resided in the Southern Gezira of the Nubian period. This data has been collected and translated by Giovanni Vantini in his Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia while Alwa Mohi el-Din Abdalla Zarroug, The Kingdom of Alwa gives data concerning the Nubian kingdom of Alwa.

H. Epstein, The Origin of Domestic Animals of Africa suggests pastoralists and agriculturalists acquired humped backed cattle in the Gezira from Ethiopia around 1000. R. S. Herring, "Hydrology and Chronology: The Rodah Nilometer" and J. Webster, "Noi! Noi! Famines as an Aid to Interlacustrine

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Chronology," provide climatological historial data. A. B. L. Stemler, J. R. Harlan and J. M. J. Dewet, "Caudatum Sorghums and Speakers of Chari-Nile Languages in Africa," provides information regarding Nilotic caudatum sorghum growing.

Jay L. Spaulding's works, The Heroic Age in Sinnar, "The Fate of Alodia," R. S. O'Fahey and J. L. Spaulding, Kingdoms of the Sudan and James Bruce, Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile provide information on the rise of the Funj Sultanate and their relations with the Dinka from the sixteenth century onwards.

Harold MacMichael, A History of the Arabs in the Sudan and a book in the personal library of Meriam Al-Batool, Ali Salih Jaiballa, Mudhakirat Al-Omda Al-Sabiqa: Al Haj Ali Salih Jaiballa (Memories of the Former Omda) and Yusuf Fadl Hasan, The Arabs and the Sudan From the Seventh to the Early Sixteenth Century provide Northern Sudanese historical accounts and an historical relationship with the Dinka in the Gezira.

W. Hofmayr, Die Schilluk, D. Westermann, The Shilluk People: Their Language and Folklore, Mohamed Riad, "Of Fung and Shilluk," and "The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk," provide information for Dinka, Shilluk and Funj relations and an analysis of early Shilluk/Dinka oral histories, the King list of the Shilluk which dates from the sixteenth century and notes the movements and wars of various Dinka groups.

F. Barth, "Introduction" in Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, Godfrey Lienhardt, "The Western Dinka" and Robin Horton,

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"Stateless Societies in the History of West Africa," provide information on the evolvement of the Dinka class structure in the Southern Sudan.

Mohammed el-Tounsy's Voyage au Ouaday, W. G. Browne, Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria from 1792 to 1798 and John Lewis Burckhardt, Travels in Nubia, provide data on slave raids into Dinkaland in the eighteenth century. Also Rex O'Fahey's articles "Fur and Fartit: The History of a Frontier," and "Slavery and the Slave Trade in Dar Fur," represent secondary sources concerning the rise of the Darfur Sultanate and the increase of the slave trade.

E. E. Evans-Pritchard "The Nuer: Tribe and Clan," and his book The Nuer, Peter J. Newcomer, "The Nuer are Dinka: An Essay on Origins and Environmental Determinism," Ray Kelly The Nuer Conquest: The Structure and Development of an Expansionist System, Maurice Glickman, "The Nuer and the Dinka: A Further Note," Douglas H. Johnson, "History and Prophecy Among the Nuer of the Southern Sudan," and Marshall Sahlins, "The Segmentary Lineage: An Organization of Predatory Expansion," offer suggestions for the "Nuer Conquests" of the 18th century and the absorption of a large percentage of Dinka peoples.

P. M. Holt and M. W. Daly, A History of the Sudan is a good secondary survey of the nineteenth century Sudan. Other primary sources comprise works written in five languages: Italian, German, French, Arabic and English. Good general historical sources for the Egyptian and British colonial

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periods in Sudan can be broken into four types of accounts: traders, missionaries, explorers and administrators.

The many traders include Antoine Brun-Rollet, John Petherick, and Andrea de Bono. Some traders left their accounts in the form of letters to friends and relatives. This latter group of documents have been collected and published by Paul Santi and Richard Hill as The Europeans in the Sudan. Missionaries have left rich sources of information particularly for the Dinka. Among the most important is the German missionary, A. Kaufmann, Schilderungen aus Centralafrika oder Land und Leute im Obern Nilgebiete am Weissen Flusse. The Italian missionary G. Beltrame has written Ile rive del Fiume Bianco da Chartum a Seilak and Di un viaggio sul fiume bianco nell' Africa Centrale. Other accounts have been collected and published into a book entitled The Opening of the Nile Basin and numbers of books written by missionaries have been published.

For early European travellers and explorers there are many however, Ferdinand Werne, Expedition to Discover the Sources of the White Nile in the Years 1840-1841 is most valuable. Among other important primary sources are Gaetano Casati, Ten Years in Equatoria, Wilhelm Junker, Travels in Africa, Georg Schweinfurth, The Heart of Africa, Mr. and Mrs. Petherick, Travels in Central Africa, John Petherick, Egypt, the Soudan and Central Africa and Robert Hartmann Die Reise des Freiherrn Adalbert von Barnim durch Nord-Ost-Afrika in den Jahren 1859 und 1860.

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Various British, French and Italian administrators have left important primary source works including: A. Brun-Rollet, Le Nil Blanc Et le Soudan G. Lejean Voyage aux Deux Nils, J. Poncet, "La Région du Fleuve Blanc et Sur Ses Habitants," Nouvelles Annales Des Voyages, M. Frederic Cailliaud, Voyage à Méroé and an Italian Administrator of the Bahr el-Ghazal, Romolo Gessi, Seven Years in the Soudan.

No primary source has been devoted primarily to all of the Dinka throughout the Egyptian colonial period however, a number of secondary sources have been devoted to certain regions of Dinkaland or to all of the South generally. The Dinka scholar, Damazo Dut Majak's dissertation "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal: People, Alien Encroachment and Rule, 1856-1956," provides information specific to the Malwal Dinka and the Luo. Further works include Richard Gray, A History of the Southern Sudan, Robert Collins, The Southern Sudan, 1883-1989 A Struggle for Control and F. R. Wingate, Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan.

Most history written about the Southern Sudan has concerned the British period largely because it contains the richest archival materials. Much like the Egyptian colonial period there are travellers, district commissioners' reports, intelligence reports, governmental documents, missionary accounts and books, etc. For important information about the Dinka I consulted the journal Sudan Notes and Records. For missionary accounts Catholic Father Stefano Santandrea has written a number of valuable works including: Ethno-Geography

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of the Bahr el Ghazal (Sudan) and The Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal (Sudan) both of which cover present-day and past ethnological studies primarily of those in the Bahr el-Ghazal. Additionally, the Comboni missionary journal La Nigrizia (written in Italian) is an important source, particularly for the Dinka in the early British period.

During the British period many anthropologists conducted important research among the Southern Sudanese. The most important for the Dinka is Godfrey Lienhardt, Divinity and Experience and E. E. Evans-Pritchard's many studies of the Nuer including his book The Nuer. Later anthropological studies which have noted British history include John Burton's books, A Nilotic World and God's Ants both of which concern the Atuot. Sharon Hutchinson has studied the Nuer in the British period on through to the present day. Her works include "The Cattle of Money and the Cattle of Girls Among the Nuer 1930-1983," and Nuer Dilemmas.

M. W. Daly, Empire on the Nile provides a good overall history of the Sudan during the British period. Among the most important historical studies of the Dinka during this ear in the South is Dinka scholar Frances Mading Deng's The Man Called Deng Majok, Recollections of Babo Nimr, The Dinka of Sudan and The Dinka and their Songs to name a few.

For a history of the Nuer, Douglas Johnson has produced numerous articles and books including, Nuer Prophets. A History of Prophecy from the Upper Nile in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, The Upper Nile Province Handbook and

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"Political Ecology in the Upper Nile: The Twentieth Century Expansion of the Pastoral "Common Economy." Robert Collins Land Beyond the Rivers The Southern Sudan, 1898-1918 and Shadows in the Grass provides a comprehensive study of events in Southern Sudan primarily from a British viewpoint. Lazarus Leek Mawut, Dinka Resistance to Condominium Rule 1902-1932 provides a view of the British era from the Dinka viewpoint.

Francis Mading Deng, Africans of Two Worlds, Edgar O'Ballance, The Secret War in the Sudan, Oliver Albino, The Sudan: A Southern Viewpoint and Gerard Prunier, "From Peace to War The Southern Sudan 1972-1984," represent key sources for the post-independence period. Bona Malwal's journal, Sudanow, presents a balanced view of Southern politics in the 1970s. The Bor-Atoc Dinka Abel Alier has written a book that is valuable for a present-day Dinka viewpoint of the second civil war and intra-Southern politics, Southern Sudan Too Many Agreements Dishonoured Other important works are Francis Mading Deng, War of Visions and Douglas Johnson's ten page article, "The Southern Sudan," which gives an excellent precise of events in Sudan from the 1960s through to the 1980s.

The literature of non-governmental organizations and human rights organizations has served as an important source for recent years and John Prendergast's Crisis Response Humanitarian Band-Aids in Sudan and Somalia, Sudanese Rebels at a Crossroads is perceptive. Various volumes produced by Human Rights Watch/Africa including Civilian Devastation

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Abuses by All Parties in the War in Southern Sudan and Frontline Diplomacy Humanitarian Aid and Conflict in Africa, Children of Sudan also give a perceptive view of war in Sudan. Among the important journals updating readers on current events of the civil war in the South as well as in Khartoum is The Sudan Democratic Gazette published by Bona Malwal, the London based Sudan Update and the organ of the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army, SPLM/SPLA Update published in Nairobi.

METHODOLOGY AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The reliance of scholars studying Sudanese history on the usage of British written archival data has led to a preoccupation with the historical activities of alien forces in Southern Sudan: the Khartoumers, the Turco-Egyptian government, the Mahdists, the British and the Europeans. On the other hand the contribution of local people to their own history has been treated as secondary and incidental. Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak suggest that this form of elitist historiography fails to acknowledge, far less interpret the history of the mass of non-elites who comprise the bulk of society. Further, in history we have tended to treat the subaltern as though it had a collective consciousness which falls prey to anti-humanist critique.⁽³⁰⁾

The best way to recapture the subaltern perspective, Guha

⁽³⁰⁾ Ranajit Guha, "The Historiography of Colonial India," Selected Sub-Altern Studies, Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 37.

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and Spivak suggest, is through the collection of oral histories. The use of this form of data in scholarship however, is controversial. Regarding the value of oral evidence Dinka scholar Francis Deng notes that it is necessary to counter the denigration of oral literature and the over-emphasis on written, mostly published sources, in order to understand the culture of a predominantly preliterate society.⁽³¹⁾ On the other hand one American scholar of Southern Sudan claims that oral history is unreliable and marked by modern-day emotional Dinka interpretations.⁽³²⁾

Many prominent scholars have used oral data in their own works, however Joseph Miller argues that oral traditions contain "nuggets of meaning" preserving parts of the past in the present. Jan Vansina and T. Spear argue that oral traditions are historical documents and, while it is understood that oral histories are not intended to provide accurate chronological information, if they are cross checked with other data (linguistics, archaeology, etc.) or can be corroborated by other forms of evidence, then these accounts often contain accurate historical facts.⁽³³⁾ Hence, if a

⁽³¹⁾ Francis Mading Deng, The Man Called Deng Majok (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 8.

⁽³²⁾ Anonymous personal letter to me February 23, 1998.

⁽³³⁾ J. Miller, ed. The African Past Speaks, (Kent, England: Wm. Dawson and Sons, Ltd., 1980). J. Vansina, "Once Upon a Time: Oral Traditions as History in Africa," Daedalus Spring (1971): 442-468 and "Is Elegance Proof?: Structuralism and African History," History in Africa 10 (1983): 307-348. T. Spear, "Oral Traditions: Whose History?" History in Africa 8 (1981) 165-181.

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converging line of evidence can be established the oral data becomes important.

Thus, I note the controversy of relying on oral data alone to represent historical accuracy and that it is necessary to ferret out the facts from their social and political trappings. I have therefore consulted my collected oral histories and cross-checked them with other data available including travellers accounts, archaeology, secondary historical sources, linguistics and other forms of evidence available to historians. I further argue that if a similar historical event is repeated by peoples of different ethnic groups and who are interviewed and reside in different regions of the South, I consider that this oral data represents a converging line of evidence or discourse which has a basis in historical fact.

I have interviewed women and men that fall into both the non-elite and elite categories to obtain historical data that represent the general populace. Some of my informants were Western-educated but many were not. Numbers could speak English, others could not. I therefore believe that in this study I have obtained historical data from all walks of Dinka life and classes. Lastly, I have interviewed women and men from all of the major Dinka groupings of southern Sudan in such settings as Nairobi, Kenya, a refugee camp in Kakuma and in various points of the war zones of the Southern Sudan.

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Clan Groups Among the Dinka and their Definition

For the definition of "clan" in the context of analyzing the history of the Dinka I rely on that suggested by John Middleton and David Tait. They suggest that a "clan" is a long standing term used to refer to a unilineal descent group, especially when it is exogamous. It consists of several lineages which may be segmented. They note its use is best restricted to unilineal descent groups or clusters of such groups within which exact genealogical relationships are not traced. Further, the clan is usually believed to have a single founding ancestor.⁽³⁴⁾

Data Collection

When I visited Sudan in 1996 to conduct field research it was not my first experience in the country. I was born in Khartoum and spent my first ten years in various points of the Sudan. I lived first on the borders of the Abialang Dinka at Goda, and then in Zuleit on the west bank of the Nile forty miles south of Kosti, at Bunzuga near Roseires and lastly in Khartoum.⁽³⁵⁾ I visited the Sudan again in 1989 just prior to

⁽³⁴⁾ John Middleton and David Tait, "Introduction," in Tribes without Rulers, eds., John Middleton and David Tait (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), 3-10.

⁽³⁵⁾ From 1947 to 1953 my father, Douglas Beswick worked for the Sudan Plantations Syndicate in the southern Gezira at Fahal. In 1953 he was then hired by a Sudanese business man, Abdel Hafez Abdel Monheim to manage the giant 20,000 acre cotton scheme at Goda on the White Nile adjacent to the Abialang Dinka town of Geiga. In 1956 he was employed by Sayed Mohammed al-Khalifa Sherif to manage the cotton scheme at Zalate (Zuleit) on the west bank of the While Nile 40 miles

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In January 1992 I visited Canada to conduct interviews with both Sudanese and British informants who had worked in the Sudan during the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. In February and May of 1992 I visited England twice to interview British and European informants as well as Sudanese exiles. In 1996 I conducted field research in Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya near the Sudanese border and in Nairobi. I then visited the South Sudan towns of Akot, Nyabagok, Yambio and Nazara and their surrounding areas. The dates of my interviews are given in the bibliography at the back of this dissertation.

In the summer of 1994 I conducted research at the Center For Development Studies, University of Bergen Norway as well as the private library of Dr. Rex O'Fahey, Department of History, University of Bergen. Prior to this time in the United States I visited the Presbyterian Archives in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; the Hartford Seminary, Yale University Archives, New Haven; and the Sudan Interior Mission Archives in Charlotte, North Carolina. In the summer of 1996 I conducted research in the Archive of the New Sudan Council of Churches, Nairobi which contains the largest holding of Sudanese documents in Kenya. I also obtained useful information from the UNICEF library at Lokichoggio in Kenya. After leaving Africa I visited the Public Record Office and

south of Kosti where our family remained until 1961. At that time he was transferred to a large cotton scheme on the eastern banks of the Blue Nile 30 miles north of Roseires called Bunzuga. We left the Sudan in 1963.

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the Mill Hill Fathers' Archives in London. I then visited the Sudan Archive at Durham, England.

THEORETICAL APPROACH

History, The Longue Durée and the Annales School

Fernand Braudel argues that "traditional history" on the whole is often centered on the drama of "great events" conceptualized in a short time span. However, the "longue durée" perspective allows the historian to note economic and social and political cycles over time. Hence, "the longue durée" approach is the most useful line to take towards a way of observing and thinking common to all the social sciences.

This dissertation spans several centuries which has allowed me to study political centralization and decentralization and violence over time, and to understand why "becoming Dinka" has been an attractive proposition for many who were formerly non-Dinka.⁽³⁶⁾ Throughout time, Dinka ethnicity has changed both from the outsider's viewpoint as well as from that of the insider. This "longue durée" study has allowed me to understand that over the long expanse of their history the Dinka have not always been "stateless" but have vacillated between varying degrees of political centralization, depending on external and internal stresses.

That the Dinka are not egalitarian and that some chiefs have exercised considerable control over their populace has

⁽³⁶⁾ Fernand Braudel, On History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 25-53.

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also come to light. Additionally, it is apparent that the Dinka do accumulate wealth and cultural possessions and that their leaders have, at times commanded forms of tribute and possessed judicial authority and military power.

The Annales school in France dates to 1929 when historians of the movement regarded orthodox history as too concerned with events, too narrowly political, too narrative in form and too isolated from neighboring disciplines. Annales-oriented research has always sought to interweave historical and social-science approaches to the past to construct a "total" history. Through interdisciplinary co-operation such as ecology, psychology, economics, art history and anthropology the scholar can recombine these various sciences to recreate a "holistic" past.⁽³⁷⁾ In the following dissertation chapters I attempt to use a broader range of social science disciplines to reveal in-depth historical events of the Dinka.

Although the Dinka have often been referred to as a conventional ethnic group, more properly they represent an expansive socio-economic and political system which has incorporated many of the previous Nilotic and non-Nilotic populace of the Southern Sudan. Hence "Dinka" is a life system

⁽³⁷⁾ A. Bernard Knapp, ed., "Archaeology and Annales: Time, Space, and Change," in Archaeology, Annales, and Ethnohistory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1-21.

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rather than purely an ethnic group.⁽³⁸⁾ I identify these peoples as one that is largely a biologically self-perpetuating social collectivity identified by myths of a common provenance and by identifying markers.

Leroy Vail argues that in the 1960s it was accepted that Africans were organized naturally into "tribes." Today empirical evidence shows that ethnic consciousness is very much a new phenomenon. Further, in the past scholars had the a notion that rural Africa was preserved in some sort of "traditional" pickle, that they were antithetically opposed to "modern" industrial Africa, and largely untouched by the forces of change associated with capitalist expansion and urbanization. Vail believes that there is also the primordialist interpretation of ethnicity, an interpretation which now appears to be on the ascendancy among many scholars. He asserts these interpretations of ethnicity are ahistorical.⁽³⁹⁾ Mindful of the pitfalls of assuming that primordial ethnic stress prevails in Southern Sudan I have shown that the Dinka and Nuer were less ethnically conscious of themselves until the British influenced them. By the post-independence periods they sometimes utilized their "ethnic" identity to rally for political power.

The creation of ethnicity is linked to political and cultural processes associated with centralization and the

⁽³⁸⁾ Frederik Barth, ed. "Introduction," in Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (London: Allen and Unwin, 1969), 10.

⁽³⁹⁾ Vail, "Introduction," 1-19.

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emergence of proto-states. In this dissertation I define a state as a government and a social reality in which a centralized authority influences the behavior of other people residing within a specific sovereign boundary. This definition is broad enough to include early states as well as the more complex systems.

In the various societies that can be classified as early states, the degree of complexity, the extent of the territory, the size of the population and the degree of power of the central government may differ considerably. Thus it is important to distinguish three types of early states. The inchoate early state is found where kinship, family and community ties still dominate relations in the political field; where full time specialists are rare; where taxation systems are only primitive and ad hoc taxes are frequent, and where social differences are offset by reciprocity and close contacts between the rulers and the ruled. I argue this form of state emerged during the nineteenth century in Southern Sudan among the Western Ngok and Palyoupiny Malwal.

The typical early state is characterized by kinship ties counterbalanced by territorial ones, where competition and appointment to office counterbalance the principle of heredity of office; where non kin officials and title holders begin to play a leading role in government administration; and where ties of redistribution and reciprocity still dominate relations between the social strata.

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apparatus dominated by appointed officials; where kinship influences are only marginal aspects of government; and where there is a market economy and the development of overtly antagonistic classes. This type of early state already incorporates the prerequisites for the development of the mature state. In chapter nine I argue that this form of state emerged after the Chukudum Convention of 1994 wherein a separate administrative and judicial apparatus were created separately from the military to form a nation called New Sudan.⁽⁴⁰⁾

⁽⁴⁰⁾ See Henri J. M. Claessen and Peter Skalnik eds., "Introduction," in The Early State (New York: Mouton Publishers, 1978), 22-23.

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CHAPTER TWO

WHO ARE THE DINKA AND WHENCE DO THEY COME?

The historical traditions of Nilotic migrations in Eastern Africa form an important aspect of African scholarship. Indeed, these migrations have concerned peoples who originated in Sudan and, over a period of centuries forged south into Uganda, Kenya and as far as Tanzania. It has long been held by some older scholarship that the Dinka are indigenous to the Southern Sudan. Robert Collins argues that the Nilotic cradle land embraced that area of the Southern Sudan along the Bahr al-Jebel river south of Lake No.⁽¹⁾ Roland Oliver notes that the Dinka have no traditions of ancient migrations or contacts with other peoples and that they have never needed to build states or armies to defend themselves against their neighbors. Both of these arguments are based on the various works of J. Crazzolara, a Catholic father who worked in Uganda and Southern Sudan during the British colonial period. Crazzolara has suggested that the Dinka have remained in the Southern region only migrating into their present-day homelands from the south first splitting on the White Nile at Bor with some moving northwest and others

⁽¹⁾ Robert O. Collins, "The Sudan: Link to the North," in The Transformation of East Africa, Stanley Diamond and Fred G. Burke, editor (New York, (no publisher listed) 1966), 360.

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proceeding north and diverging again at Malakal.⁽²⁾

However, a problem exists in that the Dinka oral traditions that I collected directly oppose this model. Rather, they suggest that their forefathers migrated from all points within the Gezira in northern Sudan in a southerly direction to their present-day homeland. Further, a comparison of this oral data cross-checked with linguistics, archaeology, Nubian travellers accounts, the history of hump-backed cattle and caudatum sorghum support these notions. I argue that the forefathers of the Dinka evidently are not indigenous to Southern Sudan but rather, are a people whose ancient roots can be traced to the north of their present-day homeland in the Gezira and possibly beyond. Further, the present-day Dinka culture contains remnants of the ancient Nile valley kingdoms of Meroë and Nubia.

⁽²⁾ Many scholars have interpreted Nilotic migrations in Sudan with the consequence that there is a wide divergence of opinion. A critique of this scholarship would be a monumental task and is beyond the scope of this dissertation, however, it is necessary to note the most noteworthy of the migration theories: Crazzolara has always assumed the Dinka, like the other Western Nilotes, the Shilluk, Anuak and Luo of southern Sudan, migrated from the far southern Sudan. See, J. Crazzolara, "The Lwoo People," Uganda Journal 5 (1937): 1-21; The Lwoo Migrations (part 1 and 2) (Verona: Institutio Missioni Africanae, 1950) and "Lwoo Migrations," Uganda Journal 25 (1961): 136-148. Another administrator claimed oral histories of the Abialang Dinka revealed they migrated from the Bor territory two centuries previously, see Ibrahim Bedri, "More Notes on the Padang Dinka," Sudan Notes and Records Vol. XXXIV (1948): 40. However, in the early 1950s, former British District Commissioner Brian Carlisle noted the Agar claimed they migrated into the south from northern Sudan. Personal interview: Hampshire, England. Roland Oliver, ed. The Cambridge History of Africa, Vol. 3 (from c. 1050-1600) (London: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 635.

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This chapter consists of three parts: i) The oral histories of Dinka and other Sudanese relating their ancient migrations, ii) empirical data supporting the Dinka notions of a northern Sudanese homeland and iii) a discussion supported by further empirical data suggesting why these Nilotes fled the Gezira in a southwesterly direction. I also suggest tentative dates for these migrations.

ORAL HISTORIES OF MIGRATIONS FROM NORTHERN SUDAN INTO THE SOUTH

Dinka oral histories of migrations from Northern Sudan into the Southern heartlands correlate with those Nilotic movements south into eastern Africa. For example, a Kenyan Luo Dickson Ogolla Oroku argues, "we never talk of our history without referring to the Dinka. We came from the Sudan and the Dinka pushed us south although some remained behind." Another Sudanese Luo notes that all the Nilotes originated from the southern Gezira region:

We Shilluk Luo came from the far east in southern Blue Nile at a place called "Tindil" close to the Ethiopian border. It is believed that this is where all mankind came from and dispersed, and a man called "Chai" moved with his people west and settled on the east of Nile.⁽³⁾

Similarly the Yibel (Jurbel), a Southern Sudanese group now located south of the Agar Dinka, also claim that at one time they resided in an arc from the modern-day town of Shambe in Ciec Dinka territory on the White Nile northwest towards

⁽³⁾ Personal interview: Albino Ukech Simon, (Sudanese Luo) Nyabagok, South Sudan.

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the town of Tonj in Rek Dinka territory in the Bahr el-Ghazal. They were displaced by the Dinka forging south into their homeland. They claim Yibel names continue to exist in the Ciec area which is supported by Dinka informants who note non-Dinka place names such as "Paneka."⁽⁴⁾ A Kakwa informant whose people reside on the Ugandan border also notes that centuries ago his ancestors resided further north in Jebel Lado.⁽⁵⁾

Oral Migration Histories Common to All Nilotic Peoples

Of note is that within the Nilotic Dinka, Luo, Shilluk, Anuak, Nuer and Atuot myths are references to migrations from a large body of water, although no scholar has been able to place this mythical "sea" geographically.⁽⁶⁾ One Dinka

⁽⁴⁾ Personal interviews: Gordon Matot Tut (Ciec Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya and informal discussion, Gary Jones of the Lutheran World Federation, Nairobi, Kenya who has worked among the Yibel (Jurbel) for two years.

⁽⁵⁾ "We came from north to our present homeland. The Kakwa are ethnically related to the Kuku, the Maasai, and the Moro." Personal interview: Ebe Enosa (Kakwa) Cairo, Egypt.

⁽⁶⁾ In Shilluk and Jur-Luo traditions there is also remembered "the large expanse of water," See M. Pumphrey, "The Shilluk Tribe," Sudan Notes and Records 24 (1941): 1-45. Riad states the Shilluk claim their cradleland is Nam Doung. Riad believes this the great river of the Nile, north of Khartoum. Mohamed Riad, "The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk and its Origin," Archiv Für Völkerkunde Band XIV, (1959): 219, 266. Gabriel Giet Jal also notes myths of a large body of water. See "The History of the Jikany Nuer Before 1920," Ph.D. Thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1987, 110. Burton reports that, among the Atuot, a number of elders believe that before they lived in south Sudan, "all Dinka, Nuer and Atuot came from a place known as adekdit, a Dinka term that in colloquial usage refers to a body of water so vast that a bird would be unable to cross its expanse without dying." John Burton, Nilotic World 10: James asserts the Nilotes often refer to rivers and the crossing of

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informant states:

It is said we came from the north, possibly from Egypt. There are two reasons for this: our people picture a river where a bird can fly until it gets so tired it falls in the water, but there is no river in our area like that. Yet the Dinka terminology for this body of water is Abab Dit (ocean) a river with no shore. We think that this story refers to the Mediterranean or the Red Sea and so we believe we come from the north.⁽⁷⁾

The Dinka Mythical Place of Origin

In terms of their mythical place of origin the Dinka, unlike their northern Muslim counterparts, prefer to connect their ancient origins to places in biblical texts rather than those of the Koran. In seeking to place themselves in the Judeo-Christian belief system many Dinka today state they are a people of the Old Testament. For example, in the "Prophet Isiah, Chapter 18":

It is in the bible that the people of Kush⁽⁸⁾ in

them in the course of their historical migrations; Wendy James, 'Kwanim Pa The Making of the Uduk People (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 61.

⁽⁷⁾ Personal interviews: Ayuel Parmena Bul, Alier Arok Akuein, Mayen Jok Majok, Kuc Manyang Kuany, Deng Dut, Dau Tor, Atem Ayiik (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Stephen Anyaak Chol (Agar-Pakam Dinka) Akot, South Sudan.

⁽⁸⁾ Around 850 B.C. the Nubians established their own independent and long-enduring Empire of Kush, which extended from the first cataract at Aswan far into the interior of the Sudan. Its government and institutions were closely modeled on those of Pharaonic Egypt and for many centuries the rulers of Kush continued to employ exclusively the Egyptian language for their monumental proclamations and religious dedications. See William Y. Adams, "The Coming of Nubian Speakers to the Nile Valley," in The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History, eds. Christopher Ehret and Merrick Posnansky (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982),

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Hebrew means "Sudan" and in Sudan "Kush" means "a black man." And there was interaction between the Jews and the Kush people so we may have been there in those days. But we believe we were pushed down to southern Egypt and beyond.⁽⁹⁾

Other informants did not necessarily mention Kush but believe the Dinka once lived in Egypt and at some point in the past left for Khartoum leaving Nilotic culture behind:

We see a similarity between the Dinka and the ancient culture of Egyptians. Their drawings show canoes, spears and ivory very similar to our own. Arabs always use swords and Africans use spears, yet we note hieroglyphics in Egypt show shapes of spears and sizes of sticks attached to them which are similar to ours. They used the same small spear with identical teeth; long in the middle with thick or thin sticks.⁽¹⁰⁾ Our ancient Dinka burial practice was to bury the dead kneeling and their way was similar.⁽¹¹⁾ Also our way of hunting birds

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⁽⁹⁾ Personal interviews: Ayuel Parmena Bul (E. Twic Dinka); Also supporting this argument: Diing, Akol Diing (E. Twic Dinka), Deng Acuoth, Abed Nego Aciek (Bor-Gok Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok Dinka) Akot, South Sudan; Andria Acin-Nyin Maketh (Atuot-Apak) Nairobi, Kenya. During the 13th and 14th centuries the King of the southern Nubian Kingdom, Alwa resided at a place called Kushah or Kus/Kush al Wagilah, whose position is uncertain. However it was the chief place of the Zang or Zenj of Nubia and was some distance from the Nile. See O. G. S. Crawford, The Fung Kingdom of Sennar (Gloucester: John Bellows Ltd., 1951), 27.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Posnansky argues a present-day analysis of material culture between the Nilotes and Egypt indicates certain correspondences, as in stool design traceable to Egyptian prototypes. See Merrick Posnansky, "East Africa," in African History, 58. While Arkell suggests an Egyptian hieroglyph for Zeti (the earliest name of Nubia) shows the ceremonial use of a Nubian bow which is almost identical to that carried by Dinka religious leaders. It is presently used in dances at Nuer weddings. See A. J. Arkell, History of the Sudan to A.D. 1821 (London: Athlone Press, 1955), 49.

⁽¹¹⁾ Other Dinka sources state that today the dead are not buried kneeling however, one king of Sinnar states the Dinka during the Funj period did so. See Crawford above.

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and fishing is similar. Their pictures show ancient Egyptians hunting birds using a stick with a small flat iron object or heavy soil or metal on soil as a slingshot to make it travel to kill the birds. Our way today is similar. The way they dress, use skin of animals and the beads they put around their waists and necks are similar to ours. We also note they have similar names, and wonder whether it is coincidence. We believe we left with the formula and that ancient Egyptian civilization is also ancient Nilotic civilization.⁽¹²⁾

However, many Dinka also believe they are connected in some way to the kingdoms of Nubia.

Dinka Historical Traditions of a Connection to Nubia (323 A.D. to 1504 A.D.) and to the Nubian Jaali of Shendi

Almost all informants claim a linguistic as well as cultural affinity with the Sudanese kingdoms of Nubia: "The Dinka and the Nubians have a connection, we are all brothers. They were our neighbors and we left them behind."⁽¹³⁾ Another educated informant asserts:

I had a Nubian professor and he told me that the Dinka and Nubians share many words such as Acak,

⁽¹²⁾ Personal interviews: Asunta Mario (female) (Rek-Ajak) Cairo, Egypt; Samuel Bulen Alier, an artist (Bor-Atoc Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Gordon Matot Tut (Ciec Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya; Stephen Anyaak Chol (Agar-Pakam Dinka) Akot, South Sudan. Another informant states: "I counted 27 names that are similar to Egyptians including Tut, Tap, Diing, Aman, Mun, Lual, Achol. We also have pyramids and Nungdeng's pyramid is the biggest building in our area." Philip Aguer Panyang (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. Cagai Matet Guem (Ciec Dinka) writes "Tutsmosias is believed to have been a Nuer who reigned during the Meroitic Kingdom." See "Orientation to Southern Sudan, Informal Introduction to Southern Sudan, its History, Culture and Politics," Lokichogio, November 15-18, 1993, 3.

⁽¹³⁾ Personal interviews: Michael Alier Agou (Bor-Gok Dinka); Ayuel Parmena Bul (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok Dinka) Akot, South Sudan.

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Cak, (donkey, shoulder). Additionally, the Ja'aliin claim we are their cousins. The Jaalis come from Arabia and met the Dinka and intermarried with us and they call us "the sons of Abbas" but we do not believe this. However, in 1967, I went to a Jaali village, Atbara. The train was delayed in Gubba so four of us went walking to a house and an old man we met said "which tribe?" When we said "Dinka" he accommodated us for the night because he believed we both had an ancient relationship.⁽¹⁴⁾

The Northern Sudanese Jaali people are of Nubian descent and informants confirmed this ancient belief of Dinka-Jaali brotherhood although its origin is unknown:⁽¹⁵⁾

When the Jaali arrived they met Dinka and today many Jaali state they have Dinka grandmothers thus claiming a familial connection. It is remembered in ancient times that there was much Dinka/Jaali inter-marriage.⁽¹⁶⁾

Of note is that the Jaali homeland is in Shendi and the Dinka claim to have once resided in that region. Not only do the Dinka claim to have Egyptian and Nubian connections but to have resided in Khartoum centuries ago as well as other northern Sudanese towns.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Personal interviews: Stephen Anyaak Chol (Agar-Pakam Dinka) Akot, South Sudan. Other informants who cited a Dinka connection with Nubians were: Akec Nyatyiel Nar (Atuot) Joseph Agel Ring. Paul Mangok Maror, Deng Agak Duot, Michael Angok Malong (W. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Personal communication: Professor Malik Balla, (Jaali Sudanese) East Lansing, Michigan.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Personal interview: Meriam Albatool Alkandri, granddaughter of the famous Baggara Chief, Babo Nimr on her mother's side. Her uncle's mother is the sister of the Western Ngok Dinka scholar Frances Mading Deng and she is a daughter of a Jaali notable on her father's side, Cairo, Egypt.

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Historical Traditions of Residence in Northern Towns

For each northern Sudanese town the Dinka claim to have a concomitant name of their own which they believe was later corrupted to an Arabic equivalent. For example, they assert "Shendi was named after a Chief Shendit who settled there and later left for Khartoum."⁽¹⁷⁾ One Aliab Dinka ponders how the town Aliab acquired its name and postulates there may be a connection.⁽¹⁸⁾ Many informants claim not only to have come originally from Khartoum but that the town's name originated from the Dinka language, "Khartoum [Kirtoum] is a Dinka word for 'meeting place of two rivers' that is kir for river, and toum for meeting."⁽¹⁹⁾ Another claims proof of Dinka

⁽¹⁷⁾ Personal interviews: Chol Mayen Kur (Bor-Athoc Dinka) Edward Ngong Deng (Aliab Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Michael Manyiel Chol (Agar Dinka), Stephen Anyaak Chol (Agar-Pakam Dinka) Akot, South Sudan. Crawford states that Shendi was a metropolis of commerce and the largest town in eastern Sudan. The people grew dhurra and possessed many fine cattle. It is estimated Shendi's kingship began at the of the 16th century, and that prior to this time no central political control existed. The traveller Reubeni noted there were two rulers in the Kingdom: Abu Akrab near Shendi and the "great chief" at Ataqi; Crawford, Sennar, 61-3.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Personal interviews: Parmena Awerial Aluong (Aliab Dinka) London, England; Mum Kou Arou (Bor-Atoc Dinka) Hamilton, Canada.

⁽¹⁹⁾ The following personal interviews demonstrate this belief is universal among most Dinka sections from different regions of the world: Akec Nyatyiel Nar (Atuot) Kuol Lual Mou, Akot Ajuou Majok, Athian, Akec Macol Akec, Ater Bol Mayen, Piol Piol Adim, Ding Akuei Deng, Paulino Akon Ken (Malwal Dinka), Phillip Thon Marol (Thoi Dinka) Paul Dak Kachuol, Santino Malual Meet (Rut Dinka), Barnaba Wuor, Samuel Majak Piok (Ghol Dinka), Solomon Leek Deng, Abdengokuer Adut (Nyarruweng Dinka) Alier Arok Akuein, Mayen Jok Majok, Kuc Manyang Kuany, Deng Dut, Dau Tor, Atem Ayiik, Bul Awuol Ayuel, Tor Deng Lual, John Majok Deng, (E. Twic Dinka) Abed Nego Aciek, Michael Alier Agou, Johnson Kuol Kur (Bor-Gok Dinka),

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residence at Khartoum by noting: "If you go there, you will see cow dung that is dried and burnt and it makes ashes which accumulate over the years (as is practiced in Southern Sudan today); these mounds have been there a long time."⁽²⁰⁾ They further argue:

One time during the 1980s when I was living in Khartoum they were digging in Lybia market in Omdurman and brickmakers discovered this grave with bones in it and reported it to the government. Inside the grave there was a skull which had gar Nuer markings. There were also pots in the grave of the man and some beads and pipes that resembled those of the Nuer and Dinka.⁽²¹⁾

When mentioning Khartoum, most Dinka informants assert the Nuer were with them as brothers:

The Nuer were with us in the north and we split off when people began to move out of Khartoum. But in Khartoum there are names that are Nuer, for

Emanuel Kot Kuany, Zande Cuor Yol, John Luk Majok, Martin Makur Beny, Zakaria Chol Kot (Ciec Dinka), Abdulla Ayom Kuany, Magot Majok Anyieth (Bor-Atoc Dinka) Paul Manhom Mading, Isaac Makoi Major, Kana Achol Dak (woman); Mabor Morwel Lok, Manasseh Keluel Cindut, Joseph Mathiang Dhalbeng (Agar Dinka), Kakuma Kenya; Andria Acin-Nyin Maketh (Atuot-Apak) Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal Dinka), Gordon Matot Tut (Ciec Dinka), Nairobi, Kenya; Victor Majok Amecrot, Matthew Mathem Daw (Rek Dinka) Nyabagok, South Sudan; Michael Manyiel Chol, Mabet Mabum Arop (Agar Dinka) Akot, South Sudan. Arkangelo Ayuel Mayen (W. Twic Dinka) Glendale, Maryland.

⁽²⁰⁾ Personal interviews: Archangelo Ayuel Mayen (W. Twic Dinka) Glendale, Maryland, USA; Paul Manhom Mading, Isaac Makoi Major, Kana Achol Dak (woman); Mabor Morwel Lok, Manasseh Keluel Cindut, Joseph Mathiang Dhalbeng (Agar Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽²¹⁾ Cuts across the forehead usually performed on young men at initiation and which marks are said to cut into the skull leaving a permanent mark. Personal interview: Samuel Bulen Alier (Bor-Atoc Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

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example, Tuti Island is a Nuer name.⁽²²⁾

Others argue that the name "Omdurman," the neighboring town of Khartoum is actually a corruption of a Dinka word "wut/wad durman" which means brothers crying for their mother.⁽²³⁾ It is believed Kosti has a Dinka name: "We came from Egypt to Kosti and we used to call it 'Wunthow.'" Some of our people then settled in Renk, named after Chief Areng who settled there."⁽²⁴⁾ The Dinka meaning for the town Wad Medani is 'wet badek' which is to make a small hole so that you can get water."⁽²⁵⁾ Another argues: "In Medani we were with the Nuer. "Medany" is a Nuer word (medan) meaning 'ours.'"⁽²⁶⁾ Hence, the Dinka not only claim northern origins but state that various northern towns today once had their own Nilotic names; evidence, they believe of historical residence farther north.

⁽²²⁾ Personal interviews: Gordon Matot Tut (Ciec Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya; Michael Manyiel Chol (Agar Dinka), Stephen Anyaak Chol (Agar-Pakam Dinka) Akot, South Sudan; Archangelo Ayuel Mayen (W. Twic Dinka) Glendale, Maryland USA; Kuol Lual Mou, Akot Ajuou Majok, Akec Macol Akec, Ater Bol Mayen, Piol Piol Adim, Ding Akuei Deng, Paulino Akon Ken (Malwal Dinka), Barnaba Wuor, Samuel Majak Piok (Ghol) Edward Ngong Deng (Aliab Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. A Shilluk myth also claims Nyikang built a village on "Toti island" at the confluence of the Blue and White Niles, later returning to Shilluk land; see Riad, "Divine Kingship," 166.

⁽²³⁾ Personal interviews: Phillip Thon Marol (Thoi Dinka) Ayuel Parmena Bul (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Stephen Anyaak Chol (Agar-Pakam Dinka) Akot, South Sudan.

⁽²⁴⁾ Personal interview: Musa Ajak Liol (Abialang Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽²⁵⁾ Personal interview: Stephen Anyaak Chol (Agar-Pakam Dinka) Akot, South Sudan.

⁽²⁶⁾ Personal interview: Johnson Kuol Kur (Bor-Gok Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

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Dinka Historical Traditions of Migrations South

Numbers of informants claim their ancestors left Khartoum and went south down the "western" (White) Nile, because of wars with those in the north or because of the need for water and new pastures.⁽²⁷⁾ Others claim their ancestors migrated down the "eastern" (Blue) Nile:⁽²⁸⁾

We moved from Khartoum south via the Blue Nile towards Ethiopia, while others followed the White Nile mostly because of desertification but also because of wars.⁽²⁹⁾

Yet others claim their ancestors left Khartoum moving down both Niles some reaching Ethiopia and then moving westwards.⁽³⁰⁾ Some state "we still have songs of these migrations."⁽³¹⁾ One informant argues:

We came from the north, pushed southwards by the Arabs. Our sections are named after those people who came from the north, these were the people who led us. Our name was given to the people by Chief

⁽²⁷⁾ Personal interviews: Akec Nyatyiel Nar (Atuot) Abed Nego Aciek (Bor-Gok Dinka) Tor Deng Lual, Bul Awuol Ayuel, John Majok Deng (E. Twic Dinka), Barnaba Wuor, Samuel Majak Plok (Ghol Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya; Victor Majok Amecrot, Matthew Mathem Daw (Rek Dinka) Nyabagok, South Sudan; Michael Manyiel Chol (Agar Dinka) Akot, South Sudan.

⁽²⁸⁾ Personal interview: Bul Awuol Ayuel (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽²⁹⁾ Personal interview: Gordon Matot Tut (Ciec Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽³⁰⁾ Personal interviews: Malwal Chan Gaac (E. Luaic Dinka) Ayuel Parmena Bul (E. Twic Dinka), Joseph Agel Ring; Paul Mangok Maror, Deng Agak Duot, Michael Angok Malong (W. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽³¹⁾ Personal interview: Andria Acin-Nyin Maketh (Atuot-Apak), Nairobi, Kenya.

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Makuac, the first chief of the Kwil.⁽³²⁾

However, by far the greatest number of oral traditions of migrations from the north cover Dinka-Funj relations.

Dinka Historical Traditions of Dinka/Funj Relations

Prior to the wars with the Nuer and slave-trading period of the Egyptian colonial period (1821-1885) the Dinka were involved in a series of bitter wars against the Funj Sultanate (1504-1821). This kingdom was the Islamic Nubian successor state to the medieval Nubian kingdom of Alwa. Throughout its history, not all aspects of which are presently fully understood, it struggled to control the Nuba Mountains, the Southern Gezira and the White Nile valley as far south as the Sobat. Within the historical traditions of many Dinka are war stories. Some simply state "we met the Funj as we moved south" or "the Funj were east of us and they were cattle owners" or "we passed by the Funj as we moved down the Blue Nile."⁽³³⁾ However, most stories concern war with the Funj: "The Dinka fought with the Funj, then they pushed east of the Maban and then they settled."⁽³⁴⁾ Others state: "We heard about the

⁽³²⁾ Personal interview: John Biem Ngok Bilkuai (Ruweng-Paneru Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽³³⁾ Personal interviews: Akec Nyatyiel Nar (Atuot-Apak) Bul Awuol Ayuel (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Gordon Matot Tut (Ciec Dinka, Nairobi, Kenya. Of interest is that the Abdullabs, though subordinate to the Sultan of Sinnar were almost completely autonomous because they were pastoral. See Crawford, Sennar, 77.

⁽³⁴⁾ Personal interview: Phillip Thon Marol (Thoi Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

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Funj. We were taking the west bank and the Funj were on the east bank and those Dinka following the eastern Nile fought with the Funj."⁽³⁵⁾ Padang informants believe their land used to belong to the Funj people before they arrived:

The Eastern Ngok are called founders of the Funj. When we moved east of the Nile we found Funj and we fought them. We overtook this place and took their land and came and settled in our present location. We pushed the Funj to the Blue Nile and the Ngok name came from all Dinka who come from the east. We originally came from the north, moved westwards and then came back to the east bank of the Nile.⁽³⁶⁾

Two Padang Dinka informants offer a slightly different history:

According to my grandfather who spoke Arabic we met the Funj going southwards and fought with them. Today around Renk there are artifacts that used to belong to the Funj. When you dig in the ground you step on pots made of mud that were burned and do not perish; these are Funj pots. Every section of the Dinka has its own decoration and its own size, and we always know our own pots. These are not Dinka pots but artifacts of Funj decoration.⁽³⁷⁾

While another states:

Abialang had a son, Dengkak, who inherited the chieftainship. We found Funj in our areas and we fought with them and defeated them. When we killed

⁽³⁵⁾ Personal interviews: Paul Manhom Mading, Isaac Makoi Major, Kana Achol Dak (woman); Mabor Morwel Lok, Manasseh Keluel Cindut, Joseph Mathiang Dhalbeng (Agar Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽³⁶⁾ Simon Ayuel Deng (E. Ngok) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽³⁷⁾ Personal interviews: Cok Kuek Ywai, Majak Chol Mayiik (Dunghol Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. Of note is that at present in this Dinka region are ancient mounds called Debbas, some of which are covered with potsherds. Some have a smooth red surface unlike any now made by the Dinka; see O.G.S. Crawford, "People without a History," *Antiquity* XXII (1948): 8-12; and Else Johansen Kleppe, "The Debbas on the White Nile, Southern Sudan" in *Culture History*, 59-71.

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the Funj the women made pots and cut off the heads of the Funj and put them in pots and buried the pots. We chased the Funj all the way up to Omutholwi, east of Renk, then up to Parmi, now called Gospami, and then chased them all the way to the Ethiopian border, called Jebel Toktok and left them there.⁽³⁸⁾

In a different vein, other Dinka informants claim their ancestors told them stories of peaceful relations with the Funj and that the Dinka quietly passed through Sinnar en-route south, or even remained in the region: "We meet Funj near Roseires in the east; we did not fight with them. They were black people but not Muslims."⁽³⁹⁾ Others also argue their ancestors knew the Funj before they were Muslim:

We settled in the Sinnar area. We continued south but some people remained. When we left Shendi, Chief Ajak was a king by then and remained in Sinnar (as Melek) and the rest of us left southwards. These people got assimilated and now there are people in Sinnar who still call themselves people of Ajak although they are Muslims and Arab. We found the Funj in Sinnar and fought with them, but they were not Muslim at that time; Islam had not reached the area. They had totems but no Islam or Christianity.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Some Dinka informants wondered if perhaps they were of Funj ancestry themselves:

Probably we ourselves might have been the Funj and become displaced. When we heard of the Funj we imagined ourselves as part of this kingdom and

⁽³⁸⁾ Personal interview: Musa Ajak Liol (Abialang Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽³⁹⁾ Personal interview: Johnson Kuol Kur (Bor-Gok Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Personal interview: Chol Mayen Kur (Bor-Athoc Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

later left it when it broke down.⁽⁴¹⁾

Others believe that "when we left from Khartoum we settled in the Sinnar area."⁽⁴²⁾ Another had recently met some Funj people who still claimed to be Dinka:

In 1985 I ran into some Funj Dinka in the southern Blue Nile region south of Kurmuk. They were a Funj section called Mapou and they were originally Dinka. They still speak Dinka today, and they have the same physical features of Dinka and claimed to have been there a long time. They told me that when the people dispersed and the Dinka left the area, that they remained with the Funj. They had owned cows but were looted by the Arabs and now owned pigs and goats and cultivated a lot of dhurra.⁽⁴³⁾

A Padang informant later supported this story:

Regarding the "Funj Dinka" near Kurmuk, these are people in the Funj area from the Ager Dinka section. They have been with the Funj a long time and those still there know the Dinka language, although it is fading away. The clan within the Ager Dinka today called Kiel are related to those in Kurmuk who say they used to be Dinka a long time ago. This happened before the Madhiyya that some people joined the Funj settlement. When Sinnar fell, these people may have moved east with them.⁽⁴⁴⁾

The Dinka also have oral histories concerning a people called the Maban who are their present-day eastern neighbors:

⁽⁴¹⁾ Personal interviews: Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok), Michael Manyiel Chol (Agar) Akot, South Sudan.

⁽⁴²⁾ Personal interview: Magot Majok Anyieth (Bor-Athoc Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁴³⁾ Personal interviews: Michael Angok Malong (W. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. A similar story was recounted by Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal) Nairobi, Kenya (however, he believes the Funj are Dinka and that on one trip to Juba, South Sudan ran into "Funj Dinka." All had Arab names but claimed to be Dinka.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Personal interviews: Cok Kuek Ywai, Majak Chol Mayiik (Dunghol Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

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When we came, the Burun Maban were already there. We think they were part of the Funj at one time but when the Dunghol [Dinka] people fought with the Funj the Burun didn't take sides. So when we chased the Funj from the area the Burun remained our neighbors.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Other informants recount ancestral stories of migrations westwards from Ethiopia.

Migrations from the Ethiopian Highlands

Dinka informants recall stories told to them by their ancestors of originating from the Ethiopian borderlands, at or near the Blue Nile. For example, "we were on the borders of Ethiopia before we crossed westwards."⁽⁴⁶⁾ Another Dinka scholar Mom Kou Nhial Arou questions why the Dinka language has a word for "mountain" (pan-nhial) and yet all the regions inhabited by the Dinka today are entirely flat. He notes that "when we bury people their heads must always face east because our migration myths state we came from the east and the land of Pan-Nhial." He suggests that the Dinka may have originated from the highlands of Ethiopia in the east centuries ago.⁽⁴⁷⁾

A Sudanese Luo informant supports this argument:

The Dinka say they come from the north, but we believe the Dinka come from the northeast; near the Blue Nile. The Ethiopians were in the highlands

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Ibid.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Personal interviews: Lawrence Lual Lual Akuey (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya; Gabriel Awec Bol (Rek Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Personal interview: Mum Kou Arou (Bor-Atoc Dinka) Hamilton, Canada.

while the Dinka were in the lowlands.⁽⁴⁸⁾

If these histories regarding the Funj and migrations south are numerous, stories regarding wars with the Shilluk are few.

Dinka/Shilluk Relations

Of interest is that Shilluk oral traditions note numerous bloody wars with the Dinka dating from the 1600s. Yet Dinka histories of relations with their Shilluk neighbors who reside near the Sobat river on the west bank of the White Nile seem to be limited to the nineteenth century era of the Turkish slave trade. One of the few items noteworthy of comment was: "Some Shilluk were helping the Turks to enslave us and showing them the way across the river which separates us."⁽⁴⁹⁾ However, most stories viewed war with the Shilluk as unimportant, preferring to stress integration:

We did pass the Shilluk as we moved down the White Nile but our wars were not major and the Shilluk assimilated some Dinka. In Shilluk society a king should be at least a son of a Dinka woman, that is, the mother of the King should be Dinka, even today.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The above represent Dinka historical traditions of migrations from the northern Sudan into the Sobat river

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Personal interview: Albino Ukech Simon (Sudanese Luo), Nyabagok, South Sudan.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Personal interviews: Cok Kuek Ywai, Majak Chol Mayiik (Dunghol Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. For Shilluk oral traditions, see Diedrich Westermann, The Shilluk People Their Language and Folklore (Philadelphia, Pa. The Board of Foreign Missions of The United Presbyterian Church of N.A., 1912).

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Personal interviews: Andria Acin-Nyin Maketh (Atuot-Apak) Gordon Matot Tut (Ciec) Nairobi, Kenya.

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region. Although these oral histories vary they all support a north to south migration. The Luo/Malwal Dinka scholar, Damazo Dut Majak recorded two hundred interviews among the Malwal supporting similar historical traditions.⁽⁵¹⁾ However, I note the controversy of relying on oral data alone to represent historical accuracy, and that it is necessary to ferret out the facts from their social and political trappings.⁽⁵²⁾ Yet, as Jan Vansina argues verbal traditions are historical documents, and supported by other scientific data including linguistics, historical facts can be gleaned.⁽⁵³⁾ The following empirical evidence supports the Dinka notion of an ancient Northern Sudanese homeland.

⁽⁵¹⁾ He states, the Malwal trace the cradleland of their Nilotic ancestors from Western Ethiopia. Before reaching Yirrol where they continued their migrations to the Bahr al-Ghazal, these ancestors had migrated from Western Ethiopia down the Blue Nile following one another to its confluence with the White Nile at Khartoum. He notes that oral histories recount that as soon as these Nilotic ancestors reached Khartoum, they established settlements along the Blue Nile, the White Nile and the main Nile. See, Damazo Dut Majak Koejok, "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal: People, Alien Encroachment and Rule, 1856-1956," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1990, 23-6.

⁽⁵²⁾ See, T. Beidelman, "Myth, Legend and Oral History," Anthropos 65 (1970): 74-97; Spear, "Oral Traditions," 165-181; and J. Vansina, Oral Tradition (Chicago: Aldine), 1965.

⁽⁵³⁾ See Vansina, "Is Elegance Proof?" 307-348; "Once Upon a Time," and Paths in the Rainforests (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990).

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**EMPIRICAL DATA SUPPORTING A DINKA PRESENCE IN THE Gezira
LINGUISTICS, ARCHAEOLOGY AND TRAVELLERS ACCOUNTS**

Linguistics and the Gezira: the Nilotic Cradleland

Linguistics suggest the cradleland of all the Nilotic languages,⁽⁵⁴⁾ including Dinka, lies somewhere near the Ethiopian border between the Blue and White Niles. Christopher Ehret believes this linguistic region lies in the Sudanese Gezira in the lower dry regions to the west and southwest of the southern Ethiopian highlands.⁽⁵⁵⁾ However, Nicholas David argues the proto-Nilotic linguistic area lies farther north than placed by Ehret and his colleagues. He notes a dialect chain of Western, Eastern and Southern branches of Nilotic languages diversifying from the north into a southerly direction.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Clarifying the puzzle, William Y. Adams argues

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Bender classifies Nilotic as one of the Eastern Sudanic languages (which in turn is part of Nilo-Saharan). Nilotic is divided into three:

Eastern Nilotic comprising Bari, Lotuko/Ongamo-Maa (Masai); Southern Nilotic comprising Kalenjin (Nandi, Sebei, Dorobo) and Omotik/Datoga] and Western Nilotic comprising Jieng (Dinka) Naath (Nuer); Burun, Anywa (Anuak), Colo (Shilluk) Jur, Acholi/Southern Lwo]; See, M. Lionel Bender, "Sub-Classification of Nilo-Saharan," in Proceedings of the Fourth Nilo-Saharan Conference, Bayreuth, Aug. 30-Sept. 2, 1989, ed. M. Lionel Bender (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1989), 20-21.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Ehret argues the Proto-Nilotic linguistic community broke up as much as four or five thousand years ago and that the Luo peoples, whose languages form a second subgroup, live scattered on all sides of the Dinka-Nuer territory. The Burun dialects, the third Western Nilotic subgroup are spoken just northeast of the Dinka-Nuer region, below the Ethiopian plateau. See Christopher Ehret, Southern Nilotic History (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1971), 30, 35.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Nicholas David, "The B.I.E.A. Southern Sudan Expedition of 1979: Interpretation of the Archaeological Data." Unpublished paper obtained from the Center for

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the original homeland of any language family emanates from that area where the various member languages have the widest diversity.⁽⁵⁷⁾ In this case, the widest diversity of all Nilotic languages exists in the country of the Burun west of the Ethiopian highlands. Thus, it is probable the Western Nilotic language of Dinka emerged from this region.⁽⁵⁸⁾

Linguistic evidence also supports a close historical relationship between Dinka and the classical language of Nubia, Nubiin.⁽⁵⁹⁾ According to Robin Thelwall who compared

Development Studies, University of Bergen, Norway. See also, Nicholas David, "Prehistory and Historical Linguistics in Central Africa: Points of Contact" in African History, 83.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Adams, "Nubian Speakers," 13.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Ehret postulates that proto-Western Nilotic (of which Dinka is a part) was spoken in the southern Blue Nile region around 2000 B.C. It then diverged into proto-Burun and proto-Jii communities diverging towards the southwest where it eventually broke up into proto-Dinka-Nuer and pre-Luo societies, by the end of the second millennium or early last millennium B.C. Christopher Ehret, "Population Movement and Culture Contact in the Southern Sudan, c.3000 B.C. to A.D. 1000: a Preliminary Linguistic Overview," in Culture History, 27.

The traveller, Munzinger notes that on the southwest border of Eritrea there exists Nilotic-speaking inhabitants together with the Baria [non-Nilotic Nilo-Saharan speaking peoples] and Kunama on their north, and that neither people has any racial, cultural or linguistic affinity with the Bejas. Crawford argues that so northerly an extension of a Nilotic language in this region is likely to be very ancient, considering the main Nilotic area is 500 miles to the southwest. See Crawford, Sennar, 106; W. Munzinger, Ostafrikanische Studien (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1967 [originally Schaffhausen, 1864]).

⁽⁵⁹⁾ The Nubian kingdom of Alwa dates from 300 a.d. to 1323 a.d. The conversion of Nubia to Christianity in the sixth century was concurrent with the rise of extensive and powerful new kingdoms: Nobatia in northern Nubia, Makouria in southern Nubia and Alwa in the region around the confluence of the Blue and White Niles. See Adams, "Nubian Speakers," 17.

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Daju, Nubian and Dinka, the Nubian and Dinka languages were closer. He notes that the overall picture is of a dispersed range of loanword counts within one language group:

"The inter Daju-Nubian comparisons give a spread of ten to twenty-five percent....However, the check of Dinka gives one comparison (with Nobiin [the classical language of Nubia] of twenty-seven percent...and this stronger link to Dinka than to Daju implies that it was in close contact with Dinka..."⁽⁶⁰⁾

Along with linguistics, archaeology also supports an ancient Nilotic presence throughout the Gezira.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ The unexpected degree of similarity in vocabulary between Dinka and the modern descendant of Classical Nubian, Nobiin, was first noted by Robin Thelwall. In his first interpretation of the linguistic evidence, "Lexicostatistical Relations Between Nubian, Daju and Dinka," an unpublished paper presented at the Third International Colloquium of Nubian Studies, Chantilly 1975, 5, Thelwall attributed these similarities to a loaning process of historical interaction between speakers of Classical Nubian and their Dinka contemporaries. The plausibility of this interpretation has more recently been enhanced by the demonstration that some (or many) of the modern Arabic-speaking peoples of the central Nile valley Sudan previously spoke a Nubian language more closely related to Nobiin than to Kenzi-Dongolawi; see Jay Spaulding, "The Old Shaiqi Language in Historical Perspective," History in Africa 17 (1990): 283-292. and the sources cited therein. According to Adams in the recent past Nubian speakers were widely distributed extending up the Nile as far as modern-day Khartoum and over much of the Gezira. William Y. Adams, "The Coming of Nubian Speakers," 13. If the Alwan peoples spoke classical Nubian, as seems likely, they had at least a millennium in which to interact linguistically with the Dinka in the Gezira. In a published version of his findings Thelwall changed the interpretation of his evidence to suggest that all the similarities in vocabulary between Dinka and Nobiin could be attributed to cognate descent of these terms from an ancestral proto-language. Since this proto-language has never yet been reconstructed this interpretation remains speculative at best, and in view of the plausibility of historical interaction between medieval Dinka speakers and medieval Nubian speakers, it is unnecessary. See Robin Thelwall, "Lexicostatistical Relations Between Nubian, Daju and Dinka," Extrait des Études Nubiennes, Colloque de Chantilly, 2-6 Juillet 1975, 273.

The Nilotes and Ancient Archaeology

Much like the Nilotes of the Southern Sudan today, four thousand years ago ancient peoples of the Nile commonly known as the C-Group reared large herds of cattle on the banks of the Nile.⁽⁶¹⁾ Three thousand years ago they also practiced cultivation together with the herding of humpless cattle and small stock which now formed the economic basis of some, if not all, of the inhabitants of the Gezira.⁽⁶²⁾ Randi Haaland argues that excavations at the Kadero and Zakieb sites on the Nile, four hundred miles to the north of the Upper Nile Basin, indicate the presence of an economic system identical to that of the Dinka and the Nuer as early as 3372 B.C.⁽⁶³⁾ Bruce Trigger states that north of present-day Khartoum there is archaeological evidence showing the early exploitation of sorghum and millet. He postulates this may be how the Dinka acquired their agricultural acumen later harnessing these skills in Southern Sudan.⁽⁶⁴⁾

⁽⁶¹⁾ William Y. Adams, Nubia Corridor to Africa (London: Lane, 1977), 152-4.

⁽⁶²⁾ Nicholas David, "The Archaeological Context of Nilotic Expansion," in Proceedings of the International Symposium on Languages and History of the Nilotic Peoples, Cologne, January 4-6, 1982 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1983), 64-5, 94.

⁽⁶³⁾ Randi Haaland, "The Season Interconnection between Zakiab and Kadero: two Neolithic Sites in the Central Sudan," Nyame Akuma 13:31 (1978): 31-4.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Bruce Trigger, "Paradigms in Sudan Archaeology," The International Journal of African Historical Studies Vol. 27 No. 2 (1994): 323-345. See also David, "Nilotic Expansion," 64-5.

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J. D. Clark suggests the spread of food production (and later cattle) along the Sudanese-Ethiopian borderland created the first stage of inter-regional convergence between Ethiopian and Sudanese people. He argues this led to the ethnogenesis of the pre-Nilotes.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Throughout Sudanese history this region has been important because control over the trade routes leading to the gold mines of western Ethiopia was crucial for the Kingdom of Napata (750-300 B.C.) and its successor kingdom, Meroë (300 B.C.- A.D. 350). Both kingdoms lay on the direct route to the gold and slave producing country now known in Ethiopia as Beni Shangul.⁽⁶⁶⁾ This region is of importance as it is the geographical linguistic cradleland of the Western Nilotes of which the Dinka are a part.

Archaeology also provides evidence of a Nilotic presence 270 kilometers south of present-day Khartoum.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Towards the

⁽⁶⁵⁾ See J. D. Clark, "The Domestication Process in Sub-Saharan Africa with Special Reference to Ethiopia," IX Congress U.I.S.P.P., Nice, 1976 Colloque XX (1976): 56-115; V. L. Grottanelli "I Pre-Niloti: un'arcaica provincia culturale in Africa," Annali Lateranensi 12 (1948): 280-326; G. P. Murdock, Africa: its Peoples and their Culture History (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959). Wickens also argues it is likely their immediate ancestors obtained their domesticates from the north and then moved south. See, G. L. Wickens, "Changes in the Climate and Vegetation of the Sudan Since 20,000, B.P.," Boisseria XXIV (1975): 43-65.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Alessandro Triulzi, Salt, Gold and Legitimacy (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1981), 60.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ During the Meroitic period the land of the southern Gezira was a vast plain covered with a dense forest of mimosa thorn a region of annual rains increasingly heavy as one goes southwards and the plains between the White Nile and its tributaries are fertile corn-growing regions. The most fertile

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end of the third millennium B.P. the Kingdom of Meroe (300 B.C.-300 A.D.) controlled the region from Khartoum stretching as far south as Sennar on the Blue Nile and west towards Jebel Moya and Jebel Tomat on the White Nile. Jebel Moya flourished in the first half of the second millennium B.P. when it may have been a trading post linking the north with the southern peoples.⁽⁶⁸⁾ There is archaeological evidence in the Jebel Moya region of the Nilotic trait of evulsion of lower incisors (the removal of the lower teeth) practiced by 12.8% of the males and 18.1% of the females. The most prominent people who continue this practice are the Nilotic speakers of today, particularly the Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Supporting archaeology are certain Arab geographers of the Nubian period (circa. 300 a.d.-1323 a.d.) who visited the far southern

part of the whole region is the Gezira, or island between the White and Blue Niles. See Crawford, Sennar, 1.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ See David, "Nilotic Expansion," 64-5. Arkell suggests the southern extent of the kingdom of Kush (750 B.C.-300 B.C.) which later became Meroe is not yet known however, it included the central Sudan of today and may have stretched as far as the Sudd at the mouth of the River Sobat. Arkell, History, 137.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ While lipstuds, another Jebel Moya trait are also worn by some Nilotes today. F. Addison, Jebel Moya (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), 53-5. Evulsion of the lower incisors very rarely of the upper, is a custom practiced in the ethnographic present overwhelmingly by all three branches of Nilotic speakers. See A. C. R. Hownam-Meek, "On the culture history of tooth mutilation in Africa," cited in David's article below.

See also David, "Nilotic Expansion," 64-5; S. Cole, The Prehistory of East Africa (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963), 282. Among others who practice dental evulsion are the Burun where both sexes have the two lower central incisors removed, see Seligman, Pagan Tribes, 444.

Nubian kingdom of Alwa.⁽⁷⁰⁾ They documented their accounts of a possible proto-Dinka presence on the far southern fringes of Nubia in the southern Gezira region.

Arab Geographers of the Nubian Period and the Forefathers of the Dinka: the Damadim?

A number of ethnic groups resided in the Gezira during the Nubian period and Arab geographers noted some of the larger ones. It is only recently that the Dinka occupied the Sobat river region and the original occupants are believed to have been southern Nubian/proto-Funj peoples. Around 955 A.D. Ibn Hawqal noted:

In the upper part of 'Alwa there is a river coming from the east which is called Ur (Awr)... This river flows into the Nile... Some people say...[it is] the land of Tubil ...this is the extreme limit of the kingdom of Alwa on the Nile. Its inhabitants have no contact with their neighbors nor do they make any commercial transaction with them. They go naked, without covering their bodies, nobody knows anything about their mode of living and their behavior.⁽⁷¹⁾

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Much as it is for the present-day Nilotes of the southern Sudan, during the later Nubian period cattle pastoralism was a main focus of cultural interest and archaeological evidence shows this activity to be the highest form of wealth. Agriculture also played an important part in the Nubian economy, much as it does today among the Dinka and Shilluk. Adams argues the Nubians should be compared to the Shilluk, a people who count their wealth in cattle but derive their livelihood from agriculture. Adams, Nubia, 53, 152-4. I believe the Dinka should also be included in the same category.

⁽⁷¹⁾ He writes that the boundary of the kingdom of Alwa almost reaches the modern-day river Sobat/Nile confluence of the South Sudan, the present-day home of the Dinka and the Shilluk. See Ibn Hawqal Abu-l-Qasim b. Hawqal an-Nasibi was an Arab traveller and Shiite who died around 988 a.d. See, J. H.

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As the Dinka have had substantial contact with the Nubians, suggested by their linguistic connections, it is unlikely that these folk were the forefathers of the Dinka. They are most likely the Funj whom the Dinka later claim to have displaced.⁽⁷²⁾

In the tenth century Arab geographers began to note a people in the present-day Gezira called the Damdama or Damadim (plural), possibly the forefathers of the Dinka. A number of accounts are devoted to these peoples and the tenth century Arab geographer, an-Nadim notes their speech resembles a mumbling sound.⁽⁷³⁾ As the Western Nilotes claim to have practiced dental evulsion (removal of lower and upper teeth) for centuries, to foreigners their speech sounds muffled. Thus, the Damadim are possibly Western Nilotic peoples.

Further evidence that the Damadim may be the forefathers of the Dinka comes from the thirteenth century. At this time serious wars were noted to be taking place in the southern

Kramers, ed., Opus Geographicum Auctore Ibn Hawqal...Liber Imaginis Terrae (Arabic) (Leiden, 1938-39), 57-8; and J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet, La Configuration de la Terre (Paris-Beirut: UNESCO, 1965), 53-6. Fr. Giovanni Vantini, Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia (Heidelberg and Warsaw, Polish Academy of Sciences and Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Frg., 1975), 4-6; Mohi el-Din Abdalla Zarroug, The Kingdom of Alwa (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1991).

⁽⁷²⁾ As the Funj were of southern Nubian ancestry, they are likely occupants of the region; see Spaulding, Heroic Age.

⁽⁷³⁾ Ja'qub b. Ishaq an-Nadim al-Warraq. He died before 998 A.D. and was a bookseller who wrote the most important index for the oldest Arabic literature. Vantini, Oriental Sources, 179.

Gezira involving the Damadim. Geographer Al-Harrani then placed the Damadim peoples geographically further southwest at the river Sobat, describing them as having a large population:

...the country of the Damadim lies along the Nile above the country of the Zanj. It is densely populated. The Sudan always go on raids to this country, killing and plundering. The Damadim do not care about their religions (advani-him).⁽⁷⁴⁾ In their country there are many giraffes. It is in this country that the Nile bifurcates, one branch flowing to Egypt and the other towards the Zanj country.⁽⁷⁵⁾

As the above accounts state, the Damadim were populous, and another account notes these people were at war with the Nuba to their west and the Ethiopians to their east. In the thirteenth century, the Arab geographer, Abu'l-Fida writes:

Another nation are the Damadin who live on the Nile above the Zanj, they are "the Tartars (at-Tatar) of the Blacks (Sudan)." They (the Damadim) waged war against them (the Zanj?) and killed many, as it happened between the Tartars and the Moslems. They do not care about their religion (adyan); they have idols (awthan) and different manners. In their countries there are giraffes. In the land of the Damadim the Nile divides, one branch flowing towards Egypt, the other to the Zanj.⁽⁷⁶⁾

⁽⁷⁴⁾ With these late 13th and early 14th century accounts is evidence that the Damadim are now located on the White Nile above the Sobat river and that they are already at war with another group of people, the "Zanj" (possibly the Nuba).

⁽⁷⁵⁾ Najm ad-din Ahmad b. Hamdan b. Sabith al-Harrani al-Hanbali, an Egyptian ophthalmologist and poet (1295 A.D. approximately), from his Collection of All Arts and the Consolation of the Sad, see Vantini, Oriental Sources, 449.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ Abu'l-Fida' Isma'il b. Ali b. Mahmud b. 'Umar b. Shahinshah b. Ayyub 'Imad ad-din al-Ayyubi (1273-1331 A.D.). A descendant of Saldin's family (born in Damascus) who fought against the Crusaders and later became Prince of Hama, he was a geographer and historian. See, Vantini, Oriental Sources, 465.

The thirteenth century, Spanish-Arab scientist, traveller and geographer, Ibn Sa-Id al-Andalusi, also noted wars with the Damadim:

Among the towns of the Blacks (as-Sudan) located in this fourth Section (juz) there is Dumdum, whence the Damadim people set out against the Nuba and the Habasha in the year 1220 a.d. (617 hijra) at the time when the Tatars (at-Tatar) invaded Persia. For this reason the Damadim are called "the Tatars of the Sudan." ⁽⁷⁷⁾

These accounts make clear the Damadim did not remain in the Sobat area but waged war with their neighbors on both the Blue and White Niles and this information correlates with Dinka oral histories. ⁽⁷⁸⁾ Moreover, it is only in the oral traditions of the Dinka and Shilluk that long-distance raiding takes place in the Gezira. The Dinka today are the largest of the Western Nilotic speakers and their language diverged from other Western Nilotic languages at the end of the first millennium. Hence, it is not unreasonable to argue that by the thirteenth century the Damadim represented the forefathers of the modern-day Dinka. ⁽⁷⁹⁾

The accounts above suggest that the forefathers of the

⁽⁷⁷⁾ Ibn Sa-Id al-Andalusi (1206-1286 A.D.) A Spanish-Arab scientist, traveller and geographer. K. Jughrafiya, The World Map Divided into Seven Climates, Section IV of The Land Beyond the Equator (probably lost, but there are some summaries and editions from 1311 A.D., (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Manuscript Arabe 2234 from 1311) Vantini, Oriental Sources, 400.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ See page 11 of this chapter concerning displacement of the Funj on the Sobat.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ Ehret postulates that proto-Western Nilotic (of which Dinka is a part) broke up into proto-Dinka-Nuer and pre-Luo societies by the end of the second millennium or early last millennium B.C. Ehret, "Population Movement," 27.

Dinka clearly lived in the southern Gezira in a long arc from the White Nile stretching all the way to the Ethiopian highlands. This data correlates to Dinka oral histories. Only the Dinka claim that resided on the Blue Nile, and that they warred and were pushed south by the "Arabs" in ancient times.⁽⁸⁰⁾

Northern Sudanese Historiography and the Dinka

During the course of my field research, I sometimes heard non-Dinka Southern informants state that the Dinka were "northerners." Over the centuries northern Sudanese historiography has supported that the Dinka are of either northern descent or at least formed part of the population of the north at one time. During the Funj period (1504-1821) there is evidence that the Dinka and Shilluk were a strong presence on the kingdom's periphery. Dekin, an early Funj sultan (1562-1577)⁽⁸¹⁾ claimed that his brothers were

⁽⁸⁰⁾ During the course of my research I understood "Arabs" to represent in meaning all enemies of the Dinka residing north of their present position that were not Southern Sudanese. For Shilluk oral traditions, see Westermann, Shilluk People.

⁽⁸¹⁾ Although MacMichael claims this document dates from the 1500s, Spaulding takes issue with this claim as the account documents the 1821 invasion of the Turco-Egyptians into the Sudan. Jay Spaulding, "The Chronology of Sudanese Arabic Geneological Tradition," unpublished paper presented at the workshop "Ideologies of Race, Origins and Descent in the History of the Nile Valley and North East Africa," 12th July 1994, St. Anthony's College, Oxford, 5.

"Shilluk, Dinka and Ibrahim."⁽⁸²⁾ Both the Dinka and Jaali claim an ancestrally close relationship. The author of a published book Memoires of the Former Omda notes that all the branches of the Jaaliin are from one man and "our dear Dinka and Watawit are from the Jaaliin."⁽⁸³⁾

Early in the eighteenth century northern Sudanese writer Muhammad walad Dolib the younger noted a more ancient Dinka presence in the Gezira and classed the autochthonous Danagla as "Anag," stating the Dinka are "Anag from among the Zing."⁽⁸⁴⁾ What is implicit in this author's argument is that the Dinka are ancestrally connected to the Danagla (Nubians). Another manuscript from the same period (claimed to date back to 1738) presents a similar argument.⁽⁸⁵⁾ The terminology is confusing, but serves to support the argument that the Dinka were a known presence in later Sudanese historiography, even

⁽⁸²⁾ H. A. MacMichael, A History of the Arabs (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1967), 27. Yunger postulates that this sultan either subdued or created an almiance with the Shilluk during which the Funj Sultanate expanded its territory. Kathy Ann Yunger, "Nyikang The Warrior Priest: Shilluk (Chol) Imagery, Economics and Political Development," Ph.D. Dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1985, 159.

⁽⁸³⁾ Ali Salih Jaiballa, Mudhakirat Al-Oumda Al-Sabiga: Al Haj Ali Salih Jaiballa (Memories of the Former Omda) (Khartoum: Mahmoudiyya Press, 1974) obtained from the personal library of Meriam Albatool Alkandri.

⁽⁸⁴⁾ MacMichael, History, Vol. I, 12-13. Crawford (Sennar, 156) states that "Anak" [Anag] are Nubian fugitives who fled before the onslaught of the Arabs after the destruction of Soba.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ MacMichael, History, Vol. I, 194, 209. "Zing" may also be the "Zanj" referred to in earlier historical source materials.

if their classification was unclear. Lastly, the nineteenth century geneologies of the Hameg at Jebel Gule in the Gezira mention Shilluk, Dinka and Kira as having a common ancestor with the Funj.⁽⁸⁶⁾ The above data suggests the Dinka, rather than being temporary visitors to the Sinnar region, have been permanent residents.

An Analysis of Dinka/Funj Wars

The prevailing literature suggests the Dinka expanded into the Gezira at the expense of the Kingdom of Sinnar and the Funj Sultanate (1504-1821).⁽⁸⁷⁾ However, I argue that the southern Gezira was the Dinka homeland and that as Sinnar expanded these Nilotes resisted. For example, when Sinnar annexed the successor state to the fallen Nubian kingdom of Alwa, Fazugli [across the borders of the southern Gezira in modern-day Ethiopia] in about 1685 the kingdom faced continuous Dinka and Shilluk invasions.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Traveller James

⁽⁸⁶⁾ Crawford (Sennar, 156) suggests that while the Funj were not Shilluk, their association with the Funj army may have derived indirectly from the Fazughli region and the jebels (hills) to the west. It is believed the first Funj armies originated from this region and their inhabitants were partly Shilluk in origin. He notes there is a Kaka in Fazughli as well as in Shillukland.

⁽⁸⁷⁾ See James Bruce, Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Constable, 1805).

⁽⁸⁸⁾ Fazugli lay within the Beni Shangul country of today within the highland kingdom of Ethiopia extending eastwards to the Gumuz country between Gallabat and the Blue Nile and included the Burun country with its center at Jebel Gule. The kingdom also extended to the south from the Bertha country to Fadasi. Of interest is that skeletal remains discovered in this region are believed to be Western Nilotic. See, Triulzi,

Bruce reported that during the next two centuries (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) both groups expanded into the southern Gezira at the expense of Sinnar.⁽⁸⁹⁾ However, Bruce assumed the Dinka "invasion" was merely a matter of expansion, suggesting this reflects a Sinnarian view only. If the southern Gezira was one of the ancestral homelands of the Dinka it explains why they would fight so ardently to maintain their ground.

From this time there is consistent evidence of external forces taking advantage of Nilotic disunity by allying with one to defeat the other. This tactic proved to be successful until modern times. To oppose the Dinka the Funj Sultan Badi II and the Shilluk Reth Duwat (c. 1635 to c. 1650) formed an alliance and their combined efforts succeeded in containing the Dinka to the north and west. Travellers accounts note the

Salt, Gold and Legitimacy, 61-7.

Spaulding argues Alodia continued to exist after the foundation of Sinnar but was restricted to the right (east) bank of the Blue Nile. In 1825 the bulk of this fief was reconstituted under Turkish suzerainty as the province of Ghule. See, J. Spaulding, "The Fate of Alodia," Transafrican Journal of History 2 (1977): 39-53; and al-Shatir Busayli' Abd al-Jalil, Makhtutat Katib al-Shuna fi ta'rikh al-sultana al-sinnariya wa'l-idara al-misriya (Cairo, 1961). J. Beaven, Renk District Notes, Upper Nile Province Handbook (1931) Chapter three, University of Durham, Sudan Archives 212/14?1; Ibrahim Bedri "Padang Dinka," 40-57.

⁽⁸⁹⁾ Versatile and adaptable, they were formidable fighters and their 'citizenry at arms' far outnumbered the small professional armies of the Funj. However, since the Dinka lacked a central political institution, their energies were often dissipated in internal feuds and large-scale co-operation among the clans lasted for only short periods. For this reason the Dinka were never a mortal peril to Sinnar. See Jay Spaulding in Kingdoms, 61-3; W. Hofmayr, Die Schilluk (Mödling: Anthropos, 1925), 66.

Dinka contested the Funj hegemony in this region throughout the eighteenth century carrying their raids to the gates of Sinnar itself.⁽⁹⁰⁾

Oral histories collected by a British administrator claim that after the Dinka leader Aiwel Longar invaded the Funj Empire, his son Akwaj Shokab (Chakab) pursued the enemy as far as the Shidra Mahi Bey, and then all the northern Dinka settled down around Kodok on the east bank of the Nile north of the Sobat River.⁽⁹¹⁾ Histories that I collected note that: "the Padang [Dinka] went from Nasir up to the borders of Ethiopia; we were led from west to east by Ayuel Longar, leader of all the Abialang."⁽⁹²⁾ From the Dinka viewpoint, it

⁽⁹⁰⁾ R. Hartmann, "Skizzen aus Aethiopen, Globus IV (1861): 433, 449; A. E. Brehm, Reiseskizzen aus Nord-Ost Afrika; Egypten, Nubien, Sennahr, Roseeres und Kordofahn, 1847-1852 (Jena: F. Mauke, 1855) I: 246; F. Cailliaud, Voyage à Méroé, (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1823) III: 84-5; R. Hartmann, Reise des Freiherrn Adalbert von Barnim durch Nord-Ost-Afrika in den Jahren 1859 und 1860 (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1863), 473, 547, 559. In the course of time the Dinka, like the Shilluk before them began to enter into less hostile relations with the people of Sinnar. Units of Dinka mercenaries served the makks (kings) of the southern Funj provinces while Dinka merchants became important suppliers of the slave trade of Sinnar. See O'Fahey and Spaulding, Kingdoms, 66. Traveller Bruce's states that the White Nile was the frontier between the Funj and Shilluk in 1772. Bruce, Travels VI, 270. While Westermann's study of the Shilluk suggests that the Funj were expelled from the east bank of the White Nile opposite the modern-day Shilluk country after their defeat by the Dinka leader, Akwai Chakab in about 1775. Westermann, Shilluk People, Iv.

⁽⁹¹⁾ C. A. Willis, "The Cult of Deng," Sudan Notes and Records XI (1928): 195-207.

⁽⁹²⁾ Personal interviews: Reverend Reuben Abiel Chuang and John Aben Deng (E. Ngok Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya, Abdulla Ayom Kuany (Bor-Atoch Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. Traveller Linant states that the Dinka were near the town of Fazughli in the late

is likely they were defending an existing homeland rather than expanding northwards into an organized kingdom. By the end of the Funj period, the Dinka were a well known presence on the Nile and in the southern Gezira.

Later Funj/Dinka Relations

In 1821 vestiges of ancient Dinka residence in the Gezira were noted by Sir James Robertson who wrote that during the late Funj period the people of Abu El Dugu claimed to be indigenous and that "the mek (king) is always chosen, usually by heredity, from some eight families of Dinka who are said to have come from Teifa."⁽⁹³⁾ Badi VI, the last Mek of Sinnar had much to say about the Dinka:

The muks [sultans of Sinnar] were always at peace with the Abyssinians, but were frequently at war with the people of Denka and Shelook...The Denka live on the east bank of the Bahr-el-abiad, part of their country being parallel (in the same latitude) with the Shelooks, and a part extending beyond them. The capital town is Danah, and their sheick's name is Akone. They bury their dead in an upright position, and make of wood the head of a bull, which they worship. At the age of puberty both sexes have a tooth drawn from the upper jaw...Originally the Denka and Shelooks were the same nation, but they are now quite separate and constantly at war. Both possess cattle in quantity, and are armed with long spears, which they do not throw, but crouching behind their shields, wait the near approach of the enemy. When Courschied Bey

Sinnarian period. Quoted in Crawford, Sennar, 82.

⁽⁹³⁾ Early in the Turkiyya the Hamegs, Dinka and Hudur quarreled about the kingship however, the Dinka won and with the Hudur sat together as rulers in Abu El Dugu in the Gezira. Dakhliya 112/16/102, "Buruns and Allied Tribes," J. W. Robertson, "Sillak, Maghagha & Abu el Dugu," (15/12/31). Obtained from the personal library of Dr. Jay Spaulding.

went against the Denka not a man was to be seen during the day; but every night, and all night long, sudden attacks were made on his camp though as soon as the troops were under arms the Denkas disappeared, to return when all was again quiet.' ⁽⁹⁴⁾

According to Lord Prudhoe, Idris 'Adlan, the Funj manjil of Ghule had intimate contact with the Dinka:

His territory extends to within four days of the Denka country: and as he speaks that language, he would be of much service to persons wishing to penetrate up the Bahr-el-abiad this way, which seems to be a route offering less difficulty than any other... ⁽⁹⁵⁾

Hence, by the early 1800s the Dinka had made a limited peace with the Funj. Other scholars have also noted connections to the north.

Recent Scholarship Supporting a Far Northern Dinka Homeland

While Dinka oral history supports a northern Sudanese homeland, others scholars note religious and cultural connections between the latter and the ancient kingdom of Meroe. Mohamed Riad believes that the Nilotic practice of king killing was inherited from this ancient kingdom. ⁽⁹⁶⁾

⁽⁹⁴⁾ Lord Prudhoe, "Extracts from private Memoranda kept by Lord Prudhoe on a Journey from Cairo to Sennar, in 1829," Journal of the Royal Geographical Society V (1835): 38-58. This information was acquired from the last Mek (king) of Sinnar, Badi VI who reigned from 1792-1799 and 1805-1821.

⁽⁹⁵⁾ He continues, "By the Shelooks the road appears impossible except by force." Prudhoe, "Extracts from private Memoranda," 52.

⁽⁹⁶⁾ See Mohamed Riad, "Of Fung and Shilluk," Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen Vol. 3 (1955): 138-66 and "Divine Kingship," 267.

According to Alessandro Triulzi in the Bela Shangul region in present day Ethiopia there are still strong cultural influences from the Dinka and Shilluk and ceremonial regicide is the best example of such ritual syncretism and cultural miscegenation.⁽⁹⁷⁾ C. G. Seligman argues that king killing is believed to be connected with the "Sed" festival of ancient Egypt which is thought to have originally celebrated the Osirification of the king through death. It continues as a custom today among the Nilotic Dinka and Shilluk who put their kings (chiefs) to death before their bodily vigor passes away.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Thus scholars observe religious parallels between practices of the ancient Sudanic kingdom of Meroë and rituals

⁽⁹⁷⁾ Triulzi, Salt, Gold and Legitimacy, 54. In 1932 Evans Pritchard reported an isolated tradition of ritual killing of rain makers in the same region among the Bertha adjacent to the Beni Shangul region, a custom which is said to have existed in Fazogli, the successor state of Alwa up until 1838. He suggested that it was a Dinka derived custom. E. E. Evans Pritchard, "Ethnological Observations in Dar Fung," Sudan Notes and Records XV Part I (1932): 46-57.

⁽⁹⁸⁾ C. G. Seligman, "Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," Journal Royal Anthropological Institute Vol. XLIII (1913): 665-6. Later, it was the custom in the core area of southern Sinnar that elderly, crippled or otherwise incompetent individuals when they became "a burden to themselves and others" should have their relatives and friends bury them alive or otherwise dispose of them. J. von Russegger, Reisen in Europa, Asien und Afrika, unternommen in den Jahren 1835-1841 II 2 (Stuttgart: E. Schweitzerbart, 1843), 603; T. Habraszewski, "A Brief Account of Evliya Çelebi on a Violent Death Practiced in the Southern Sudan (1672)," Folia Orientalia (Krakow) 11 (1969): 139-44. However, king-killing was one special instance of a general feature of pre-Islamic ideology in Sinnar. See Jay Spaulding, "Toward a Demystification of the Funj: Some perspectives on Society in Southern Sinnar, 1685-1900," Meroitica 7-8 (Berlin, 1984): 513.

practiced until recently by the Dinka and the Shilluk.⁽⁹⁹⁾

Seligman suggests that the Dinka practice of artificial deformation of the horns of their cattle may also be of ancient Egyptian origin (Vth Dynasty, c. 2500-2350 B.C.).⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Another custom possibly adopted from a former peripheral residence of the Nubian kingdom of Alwa is beer drinking while sowing seed. According to a traveller of the Nubian period, Ibn Selim el Assouany, the method of sowing dhurra in this region is to leave (mozer/bouzer) beer (mou in Dinka) in the field and "when they return the field is sown." The modern-day Dinka also have beer parties while sowing and cutting dhurra.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Assuming therefore that the ancestors of the Dinka lived much farther north of their present-day position, I now propose a number of factors that gave rise to their migrations south.

⁽⁹⁹⁾ King killing is widely practiced in Africa. In the Sudan it is a custom of the Shilluk, Burun and many other groups of Dar Fung as well as the Dinka. Riad, "Fung and Shilluk," 163.

⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ However, it may be of even greater antiquity (before 3000 B.C.) as Bovidian rock drawings at Bardai, Enneri Debassar and Areun in the desert between Tassili-Oua-N-Ahaggar, Fezzan and Tibesti show cattle with one horn trained upwards and the other downwards. See H. Epstein, The Origins of the Domestic Animals of Africa (New York: Africana Publishing Corp., 1971), 422; Seligman, Pagan Tribes.

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ See John Lewis Burkhardt, Travels in Nubia, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1822), Appendix III, 453; David Cole and Richard Huntington, African Rural Development: Some Lessons from Abyei Unpublished manuscript, Cambridge, Harvard Institute for International Development October, 1985.

DINKA MIGRATIONS: REASONS AND DISCUSSION

We know that a series of Nilotic migrations from central Sudan to points farther south took place in the course of the last thousand years but the question of how many waves is unclear. What is clear that the Dinka were the last to migrate into the heartland of Southern Sudan. There are several factors which, taken together, support the reconstruction of this movement: the acquisition of hump-backed cattle, ecological/climactic stress, and political upheaval following the demise of the Nubian kingdom of Alwa which encouraged wars and increased slave raiding. Each of these points will be examined below.

Migrations and the acquisition of hump-backed cattle

It is certain the Western Nilotic acquisition of (Sanga) hump-backed cattle from Ethiopia sometime around the year 1000 A.D. contributed to their expansion into Southern Sudan.⁽¹⁰²⁾

⁽¹⁰²⁾ David, "Nilotic Expansion," 94 and "The B.I.E.A. Southern Sudan Expedition of 1979." Sofholm argues the first Lwoo (ancient Nilotes) migrations were stimulated as a result of pressure from peoples to the east possessing a superior breed of cattle which greatly influenced their later successful migrations; see Per Sofholm, "The River-Lake Nilotes: Politics of an African Tribal Group," *Studia Sociologica Upsaliensia* #8, Uppsala: Uppsala University Doctoral Dissertation Thesis, 1973; cited here is a subsequently unpublished document derived from the dissertation entitled "The Dinka: The River-Lake Nilotes (Uppsala, 1973), 141. Of the two principal cattle types of the Sudan today, Zebu and Sanga (both humped back), the Sanga is undoubtedly the older and bred mainly by the Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk of South Sudan as well as the Mundari area of Equatoria province. Both Zebu and Sanga are humped cattle and are believed to have originated from Ethiopia, their center of origin and dispersal. See Epstein, Domestic Animals, 415, 417,

Sanga (and Zebu) cattle are better suited to long distance transhumance patterns and until the acquisition of these animals most people in Sudan were limited to short distance migrations.⁽¹⁰³⁾ Nicholas David suggests that when the Dinka obtained this type of cattle near the Ethiopian borderlands they realized the potential of migrating out of the populous central Sudan region into the Southern Sudanese lowlands.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Nilotic peoples migrating into Southern Sudan would have had a distinct advantage over non-pastoral farming communities as well as pastoralists in possession of non-hump-backed cattle. During arid periods the hump-backed variety is very hardy and can survive the crop-searing droughts.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Hence, the acquisition of hump-backed cattle allowed Western Nilotic/Dinka expansion. However, there is more evidence beyond population pressures to explain Nilotic expansion.

Migrations and Drought/Climactic Changes

Geographic studies of the Sudan suggest that the climate

517, 556 and David, "Nilotic Expansion," 94.

⁽¹⁰³⁾ David, "Nilotic Expansion," 94 and "The B.I.E.A. Southern Sudan Expedition of 1979."

⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Linguistic evidence suggests influences from Ethiopia may have included the diffusion of food crops such as eleusine. David, "Nilotic Expansion," 94.

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ R. S. Herring, "Hydrology and Chronology: The Rodah Nilometer as an Aid in Dating inter-lacustrine History," in Chronology, Migration and Drought in Interlacustrine Africa, J.B. Webster, ed. (London: Longman, 1979), 39-86.

from the seventh to the twelfth centuries was fairly stable.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ However, after this time J. B. Webster argues there were two severe and distinct droughts in 1382-1409 and in 1436-1463.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Supporting this evidence, R. Gray's eclipse maps provide evidence of a serious drought between 1397 and 1410.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Another climactic study is provided by the Rodah Nilometer in Egypt. Each year the maximum and minimum levels of the Nile have been measured and recorded. Egyptian measurements suggest that severe and prolonged droughts occurred sometime between 1009 and 1045 and again in 1397-1412 in eastern Africa and it is known that in 1201 famine killed one third of the population in Egypt.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ All three studies above show severe drought plagued the Sudan somewhere in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Concurrent with this period, the Kingdom of Alwa

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Oral history suggests major droughts took place in 1387-1409, 1436-63, 1580s, 1620, 1720 and 1780. Herring, "The Rodah Nilometer."

⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ J. B. Webster, "Noi! Noi! Famines as an Aid to Interlacustrine Chronology," in Chronology, Migration and Drought, 5.

⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ R. Gray, "Eclipse Maps," Journal of African History 6 (3) (1965): 251-262.

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The annual rise and fall of the levels of the Nile River have been studied in Egypt for millennia and since the eighth century measurements have been taken on the Rodah Nilometer, situated on the island of Rodah near Cairo. The southern Sudan became more swampy because when rainfall from the Ethiopian highlands feeding the Blue Nile was above normal for the period 1412-1419 it formed a dam across the main Nile at Khartoum causing the water in the White Nile to back up forming huge swamps in the south Sudan region. Herring, "The Rodah Nilometer," 39-86.

Collapsed and slave raiding of the peoples of the southern Gezira increased.

Webster argues Luo migrations took place in two phases. First an earlier wave took place between 670 a.d. and 1070 a.d. when the southern and western Nilotic languages split in two. However, a second wave took place because of famine. Many Nilotic groups remember significant movements of people between 1490 and 1544 and many forged south into Kenya and Uganda during the Nyarubanga famine of 1436-1463. The Shilluk invaded and defeated the Funj rulers of the Sobat White Nile river region around 1490-1517.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ If the proto-Dinka started migrating into Southern Sudan around the fourteenth century it follows that this second wave of southward Luo migrations would have coincided with those of the Dinka to their north.⁽¹¹¹⁾ While famine conditions would have encouraged migrations and hump-backed cattle would have facilitated these long distance movements, it is likely that war was the overriding factor encouraging flight.

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Oral traditions support there were two severe and distinct droughts in 1382-1409 and 1436-1463. The first of these broke up the proto-Northern Lwo settlements in southern Sudan. From there groups then slowly dispersed with the Central Paraniotic proto Maasai moving into Kenya and some of the proto-northern Paraniotes pushing west settled nearer the Lwo. See Webster, "Noi, Noi!" 5-11 and Herring, "The Rodah Nilometer," 39-86.

⁽¹¹¹⁾ B. Blount and R. T. Curley, "The Southern Luo Languages: A Glottochronological Reconstruction," Journal of African Languages IX, I (1970): 1-18; Herring, "The Rodah Nilometer," 39-86.

Migrations away from Areas of War and Slave Raids

Dinka oral histories claim that they migrated south because of drought and war. Sometime during the thirteenth century the Nubian kingdom of Alwa collapsed politically after which there followed a period of chaos intensified by slave raiding. Margaret Shinnie argues that if the Dinka, as they claim, were once located in the region of the Gezira between the Blue and White Niles they would have fallen within the orbit of this Nubian Kingdom (circa. 300-1300).⁽¹¹²⁾ Thus, its catastrophic decline after 1208 a.d. and the concomitant increase in slavery in the region⁽¹¹³⁾ are likely to have encouraged those among the slaving classes (the Nilotes) to migrate south.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Adams further argues that the cordial relationship existing after 1250 A.D. between the southern Nubian kings of Alodian successor states and the Mameluk sultans of Egypt was motivated by a strong commercial interest in slaves.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

⁽¹¹²⁾ Margaret Shinnie, A Short History of the Sudan (Up to A.D. 1500), (Khartoum: Sudan Antiquities Service, [n.d.]), 4-5. By the tenth century, Soba was the most important town in the Sudan south of Dongola and remained so for two to three hundred years until the fall of the Christian kingdom of Dongola and the invasion of the Arabs; MacMichael, History, Vol. I, 48.

⁽¹¹³⁾ Stories of its annihilation last in historical Sudanese traditions. Crawford, Sennar, 28.

⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Shinnie, Short History, 4-5.

⁽¹¹⁵⁾ In the fifteenth century there were already Nubian slave-dealers in Cairo and the great outburst of slaving which followed the Egyptian conquest of the Sudan in 1821 was largely organized and directed by Dongolawi Nubians. Adams, Nubia, 505. The southern region of Alwa was subjected like the

Hence, slave-raiding was a primary objective of the numerous Egyptian military expeditions against Nubia in later times. Following suit, Nubians also became slave-raiders and traders and the principal victims of these raids were those peoples further up the Nile.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ A twelfth century geographer, Marwazi (d. 1120), gives an account of how merchants acquired slaves:

Cunning merchants visit the places (of those Zanj) to kidnap their children and boys. The merchants go out to the grazing lands (of the Zanj) and hide in swamps covered with trees, carrying with them dry dates which they throw in the playground of the boys, who scramble to pick them up, find them good and ask for more. On the next day, the merchants throw the dates to them in a place further than the one of the previous day and so continue to go further. The boys follow ...and when they are (sufficiently) far away from the homes of their fathers, the merchants rush on them, kidnap them and take them to their home countries.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

Early evidence of the Muslim attitude towards non-Islamic peoples of the Southern Gezira is clear, even as early as the fourteenth century. Geographer Ad-Dimishqi (d. 1327 A.D.)

north to external attacks as it was frequented by Muslim slave traders. Because the region it included some of the richest grazing lands in the Sudan, it was heavily infiltrated by nomads who migrated between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. Thus, it was more vulnerable to attack than the Nubian kingdom of Makouria further north. Adams, Nubia, 471, 505, 537 and Yusuf Fadl Hasan, The Arabs and the Sudan From the Seventh to the Early Sixteenth Century (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1967), 131.

⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Adams, Nubia, 43.

⁽¹¹⁷⁾ The traveller, Marwazi was a Persian physician at the Court of the Seljuk Sultan Malik-Shah and died around 1120 a.d. See, Sharaf az-Zaman Tahir al-Marwazi, Taba'il al-Hayyawan (The Nature of the Animals) ed. and trans. by V. Minorsky, (London, 1942), 47, 205-6. See Vantini, Oriental Sources.

talks of the people of the Sobat with contempt:

Beyond the 'Alwa country there is a land inhabited by a race of Sudan who go naked like the Zanj and who are like animals because of their stupidity; they profess no religion.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

A correlation of the period in which hump-backed cattle are acquired (from the eleventh century onwards) with that of drought (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries) along with evidence of the political demise of Alwa and increased slave raiding (late thirteenth century) makes it reasonable to assume that the period of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries would have been an opportune time for the proto-Dinka to migrate in a southwesterly direction for reasons of sheer survival, as well as to preserve their herds.

CONCLUSION

This chapter supports the notion that the ancient homeland of the forefathers of the Dinka lies in the modern-day northern Sudan. This thesis is supported by Dinka oral histories which claim that they are not indigenous to Southern Sudan coupled with empirical evidence including linguistics, archaeology and Arab geographers' accounts during the Nubian period. When the Dinka, who are part of the Western Nilotic speaking peoples, acquired (Sanga) hump-backed cattle from Ethiopia sometime after the year 1000 A.D. they expanded into Southern Sudan. The reasons for these migrations into the

⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Shamsaddin Abu 'Abdalla b. Abi Talib as-Sufi ad-Dimishqi (d. 1327 A.D.). Arab traveller and geographer. See, Vantini, Oriental Sources, 457.

South, according to Dinka oral history, were drought and war. Further investigation suggests that there were serious droughts around the fourteenth century. Just before this period in the twelfth century, the Nubian kingdom of Alwa on whose periphery, linguistics suggests the Dinka resided, began a political decline. The concurrent rise in slavery and the slave trade which began shortly after this time would, much as it has done in recent times, give rise to waves of migrations farther afield into safer territories.

The time of Dinka migrations into Southern Sudan can be more closely confirmed by cross-checking their oral histories with that of the Luo who migrated south into Uganda and Kenya. Both groups migrated in southerly directions around the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As the Dinka moved into the Southern Sudanese heartlands, their hump-backed cattle gave them an advantage over the resident populace.

CHAPTER THREE

DINKA MIGRATIONS AND EXPANSION INTO SOUTHERN SUDAN (1400-1700)

Throughout the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries the Dinka migrated out of the Gezira. They arrived at the junction of the Sobat and Nile rivers on the periphery of the northern Sudan and eventually proceeded first west across the Nile and south of the Nuba mountains. Others later forged south to the modern day region of Bor and then crossed the river and migrated three hundred miles northwest. In determining the direction of these migrations I have relied primarily on oral data and archaeological studies. Additionally some evidence can be gleaned from the totemic familial closeness of the Padang over that of the Bahr el-Ghazal Dinka. It suggests that the former resided in the mother region from which the others migrated. Today the Dinka are the largest ethnic group in Sudan. Yet by all accounts, much like their Nilotic cousins the Shilluk they migrated as a minority into the Southern heartlands and over a relatively brief period of a few centuries expanded ethnically against much of the resident populace. The question posed is why the Dinka migrated into only specific regions and by what mechanisms this expansion took place.

I suggest that when the Dinka arrived in the South they

followed those soils which supported their genus of dhurra while simultaneously ensuring they had enough water and grazing land for their cattle. Further, their varieties of cattle and dhurra grain were hardier than those of the resident populace and as they proceeded in drought conditions they prevailed over those who depended on agriculture alone. As they acquired more wealth than the surrounding populace they came to be viewed by non-Dinka peoples as possessing greater religious power. Their wealth dictated that their brideprice for marriages would have been higher. Ethnic expansion took place when exogamous Dinka marriage practices dictated that they marry "foreigners." Hence, Dinka males married many non-Dinka females. Simultaneously however, non-Dinka men marrying Dinka women became "Dinka" to acquire more wealth. This process over time gave rise to rapid Dinka ethnic expansion. By the twentieth century the outer boundary of the Dinka ethnic periphery measured over a thousand miles.

Although Dinka society has been described as egalitarian it has actually been highly structured. As the Dinka confederation expanded population densities increased and those who became "Dinka" joined an increasingly hierarchical socio-cultural and political system. Society discriminated between the "chiefly clans" (those of ancient Dinka origin) who inherited religious powers by heredity as opposed to those newly naturalized "commoners" (former non-Dinka) who possessed no divine authority. Even within chiefly Dinka communities those "firstcomers" who arrived in the land acquired more

political authority over those deemed "latecomers."

One can only acquire citizenship by marriage and within the heartlands of the Dinka amalgam are numerous unintegrated peoples. Their socio-economic and political polities are totally discrete suggesting that although some Dinka expansion was violent, much of it was not. When the Dinka first began migrating into the Southern Sudan, however, their socio-economic and political philosophy dictated that they move in small descent groups or clans.

Clan Groups Among the Dinka and their Definition

David Newbury notes that there is no agreed definition of the term "clan" today in the anthropological literature. Nor has there ever been.⁽¹⁾ I therefore rely on the definition suggested by John Middleton and David Tait who note that a "clan" is a long standing term generally used to refer to a unilineal descent group, especially when it is exogamous. It consists of several lineages which may be segmented. They suggest its use is best restricted to unilineal descent groups or clusters of such groups within which exact genealogical relationships are not traced although the clan is usually believed to have a single founding ancestor.⁽²⁾

Ecological stress and the Dinka political philosophy of

⁽¹⁾ David Newbury, Kings and Clans Ijwi Island and the Lake Kivu Rift 1780-1840 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 5-6.

⁽²⁾ Middleton and Tait, "Introduction," in Tribes without Rulers, 3-10.

atomization has encouraged the birth of many clans and subclans. There are many clan communities throughout Africa and the Dinka have much in common with them. They are named after totemic animals or objects and membership has been inherited or adopted through the patrilineal line. Segments recognized others as belonging to their clan because of their common totemic allegiance. But as a result of high mobility such segments of the same clan could be found hundreds of kilometers from each other and common clan membership did not create a community larger than the cattle camp.⁽³⁾

The proliferation of clans in Dinkaland parallels that described by Elizabeth Eldredge for Lesotho. She notes that patrilineal descent was advantageous because it permitted groups to incorporate people easily and quickly. It was only possible to take advantage of this feature however, if polygamy was practiced for if men were limited to one wife then the growth of the descent line declined. Polygamy thus went hand in hand with patrilineality as instruments to speed the growth of descent groups.⁽⁴⁾

Godfrey Lienhardt observed that among the Dinka the genealogies of dominant or "authentic" groups are longer than those of accessory groups and it is the genealogies of the former that are politically more significant. A Dinka group

⁽³⁾ Vansina, Paths in the Rainforests, 187.

⁽⁴⁾ Elizabeth A. Eldredge, A South African Kingdom The Pursuit of Security in Nineteenth-Century Lesotho (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 30-1.

and section is thus an association of subclans with the addition of individuals or families who have attached themselves by marriage to one or another of the subclans which are thought originally to have settled together and grown into the major grouping. Thus Dinka clans are formed both of kin and non-kin related peoples and are of two categories: one is led by the bany or priest whose symbol of office is the sacred fishing spear while the other is termed the kic or commoner clan. Dinka clans are very numerous and the largest are represented in many different sections and subsections. Some clans are known all over Dinkaland⁽⁵⁾ and are a product of the Dinka political philosophy.

Dinka Politics and the Process of Fission and Fusion

In Dinkaland when the land could no longer support the people a process of "fission and fusion" occurred. Lienhardt noted that when a cattle-camp reached a certain size an ambitious man, usually a master of the "fishing spear," gathered a group of his own kin and sometimes non-kin and set off to form his own camp.⁽⁶⁾ Each man wanted to found his own descent group; a formal segment of the subclan which will for long be remembered by his name. For economic reasons he was

⁽⁵⁾ Lienhardt, Divinity and Experience, 8-9 and "The Western Dinka," 104; Middleton and Tait, "Introduction," in Tribes without Rulers, 3-10.

⁽⁶⁾ Lienhardt, "Western Dinka," 109, 112-17, 134. G. W. Titherington, "The Raik Dinka of Bahr el Ghazal Province," Sudan Notes and Records Vol X (1927): 167.

easily able to find followers because many Dinka males preferred to withdraw from their more distant agnatic kin in order to relieve themselves of the customary requirement of contributing towards marriage payments.⁽⁷⁾

Limited land and resources however, were not the only reasons for political fission. Certain Dinka groups migrated away for totemic reasons. For example a clan within the Ciec Dinka became offended by others not treating their totem animal with respect.⁽⁸⁾

The Meaning of History Among the Dinka

The oral traditions that I collected among the Dinka are histories of clan groups. They record time by noting the numbers of generations ago that an event occurred. Most Dinka have an intimate knowledge of their backgrounds for "if a Dinka does not know his background he is not a Dinka and he will have difficulties in life."⁽⁹⁾ The Dinka state that it is important to remember one's ancestry for up to a dozen

⁽⁷⁾ Lienhardt, "Western Dinka," 109, 112-17, 134.

⁽⁸⁾ The Ciec of Shambe said that the first people to settle there were the snake men and that for some time they formed the majority; after a time the crocodile clan became powerful and because its members killed and ate snakes the men of the now weakened snake clan left the country to live among a group of Aliab where they were free from the horrible odor of cooked snake's flesh. Seligman, Pagan Tribes, 148-50.

⁽⁹⁾ Personal interview: Paul Machuer Malok (Agar) Akot, south Sudan.

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generations however,⁽¹⁰⁾ some claim to remember as many as twenty. Knowledge of one's ancestry is important for reasons of marriage and all Dinka must also have knowledge of their clan totem in order to avoid incest with other possible "closely related" clan members.⁽¹¹⁾

The number of generations that a Dinka records may have greater importance for the historian. Many Dinka that I interviewed could remember between nine and twelve generations of their ancestors. Of interest is that this baseline of remembered ancestry may represent the Dinka arrival in the South as individual clan groups. If a generation represents approximately thirty years it would suggest a migration into the heartlands of the south beyond the Padang region around the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. There would have been a need for this form of identification as they lived among many non-Dinka when they first migrated into their new homelands. For example, Bor Dinka informants count the generations in which they have lived in their present territory "those of us in Bor are immigrants and we wonder regarding the original inhabitants who disappeared and had different languages about ten to eleven generations back." ⁽¹²⁾

⁽¹⁰⁾ Personal interview: Simon Adel Yak (Agar-Rub) Akot, south Sudan.

⁽¹¹⁾ Personal interview: Stephen Anyaak Chol (Pakam Agar) Akot, south Sudan.

⁽¹²⁾ Personal interview: Philip Aguer Panyang and Ayuel Parmena Bul (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.

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DINKA MIGRATIONS INTO SOUTHERN SUDAN

The Dinka of South Sudan today can be divided into three geographical regions: 1) The "Padang" who reside in the far north adjacent to the Nile within the southern Gezira region opposite the Shilluk and stretching west across the Nile south of the Nuba mountains into southwest Kordofan; 2) the "Bor" who reside on the east side of the Nile in southeastern Dinka territory; and 3) the "Bahr el-Ghazal" Dinka who are located on the western side of the Nile opposite the Bor Dinka, and who extend in an arc three hundred miles northwest up to the Bahr el-Arab river. A detailed study of these migrations appears in Appendix A.

Although evidence of the direction of Dinka migrations within the South is solely reliant on oral data, I argue the proximity of totemic groups and their relations to each are revealing. The Padang are very closely related totemically while there is a decreasing closeness between totemic groups towards the Bor territories and even less as one crosses the Nile and forges northwest into the Bahr el-Ghazal. This data concerning the close relations of totemic groupings within the Dinka supports a migration away from the Padang group rather than towards it.⁽¹³⁾

Today the Dinka collectively number approximately twenty three major groupings each with their own sections and sub-

⁽¹³⁾ Many of the Padang have the same totems and thus, because they are "related" they never raid each other. Personal interviews: Malwal Chan Gaac (E. Luaic) and Phillip Thon Marol (Thoi) Kakuma, Kenya.

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sections. The routes traversed by the Dinka clan groups to their respective modern-day homelands are various. However, today Dinka oral histories recount major migrations from the Padang Dinka group in a southerly direction to Bor and then crossing the Nile and forging northwest. When the Dinka emerged out of the Gezira they initially arrived at the junction of the Sobat and Nile rivers.

The Padang Dinka Group

After the Dinka arrived on the Sobat they displaced, warred and absorbed what they now believe to be Funj people. However, there is no mention of the Shilluk at this juncture. They initially crossed the Nile and migrated west into today's Ruweng Dinka territory south of the Nuba mountains.⁽¹⁴⁾

Frost has suggested that the Sobat river region is an historically strategic east-west and north-south crossing point in Africa.⁽¹⁵⁾ Further, Africans have migrated back and

⁽¹⁴⁾ The region south of the Nuba mountains comprises wide plains of sand and clay soils with an annual rainfall of 700-800 millimeters allowing for crop farming and some cattle rearing. Leif O. Manger "Traders, Farmers and Pastoralists: Economic Adaptations and Environmental Problems in the Southern Nuba Mountains of the Sudan," The Ecology of Survival Douglas H. Johnson and David M Anderson eds. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 1988), 157.

⁽¹⁵⁾ John Warner Frost, "A History of the Shilluk of the Southern Sudan," Ph.D. Dissertation University of California, Santa Barbara, 1974, 5. He notes that today after the rains one can still travel the entire width of Africa by water along the southern fringe of the desert and notes the historical attraction of this region is that to its east (east of Lake No and extending a short distance up the Sobat River) was gold and silver, and to its west in the Nuba Hills, gold and iron ore. The region is also rich in food and hence would have been

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forth along these axes for millennia. Herring suggests that during the early fifteenth century the waters of the White Nile south of the Sobat River were so high they encouraged the formation of huge swamps limiting southward migration.⁽¹⁶⁾ Hence, during this period it is not surprising that Dinka histories claim they migrated west rather than south towards the sudd [swamps] region. The time of this migration can be compared to the histories of the Shilluk.

The Shilluk king list is very important as it notes all of its kings and approximate lengths of their reigns since the 1500s. According to their history the Shilluk migrated into their present-day land north of the Sobat and west of the Nile around the late 15th to early 16th centuries. Yet they barely mention the Dinka beyond name. However, seventeenth century droughts forced those Dinka south of the Nuba mountains and now southwest of the recently arrived Shilluk to backtrack east towards the Nile. During this time period (1600-1630) Shilluk oral histories record that large numbers of Dinka "hordes" arrived from both the east and west of their territory, and as the former forcibly tried to stop the

attractive to migrants from the Gezira region.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Herring, "The Rodah Nilometer," 39-86. Herring argues the southern Sudan would have become more swampy because when rainfall from the Ethiopian highlands feeding the Blue Nile is above normal, as it was for the period 1412-1419, it forms a dam across the main Nile at Khartoum causing the waters in the White Nile to back up forming huge swamps in the southern Sudan region.

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latter, violent wars between both resulted.⁽¹⁷⁾

Dinka oral histories note their ancestors migrated east again to the Nile because of famine and drought. While those forging west out of the Gezira were under pressure of war from the expanding Funj Sultanate. In the meantime, some of those retracing their steps east to the Nile now migrated down the eastern banks of the river in a southerly direction.

The Bor Dinka Group

As droughts intensified during the 17th century many other Dinka groups originally residing in the Padang area east of the Nile migrated south out of the territory. Many among the Eastern Ngok particularly left clans and sub-sections of the same name behind. The Murle, a martial pastoral people from the east, began to forge west in the late 1700s pushing the Dinka along the eastern Nile closer to the river. Numbers of them reached the modern-day Bor Dinka territory and apparently displaced some people and absorbed others. Today they note as linking evidence non-Dinka place names such as Dorkolong and Kolmerak and believe they may be Bari. Others note there was a pastoral group residing in the region called the Loki or Lau, believed to have been of Luo origin. Some of these former residents migrated south while others were absorbed into the Dinka amalgam or remained as unintegrated groups later calling themselves "Dinka."

⁽¹⁷⁾ Westermann, Shilluk People, Ivi and Yunger, "Nyikang," 131.

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Hence, in Bor Dinka territory today many calling themselves "Dinka" or "Bor" are believed to be descended from those of different origin. Informants state that today the Bor are a cultural admix (primarily Mundari) and that their language is sometimes not understood by other Dinka. It is also believed that the Adul subsection has assimilated many Luo groups.

An approximate time of arrival for many clans later known as Bor can be calculated by the oral histories of the Murle. These martial pastoralists found Dinka east of the Nile by the mid to latter 18th century. The oral histories of the Bari who are located south of the Bor Dinka note that they arrived in their present position in Eastern Equatoria in the late 1600s or early 1700s. They did not forge further north perhaps because the Dinka already occupied their present position.

While many became absorbed into the Dinka socio-economic system, others preferred not to integrate and remained as discrete polities. In 1857 missionary A. Kaufmann noted that between the Ciec, Twic, Bor and Aliab Dinka small settlements of poor nations calling themselves Dinka Mon Thain supported themselves by fishing and blacksmithing. Although they claimed to be Dinka in ethnic origin they may at one time have been Luo or Mundari.

Because the present-day Bor territory is frequently

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flooded the land supports only a limited population.⁽¹⁸⁾ Hence, certain Dinka migrated west across the Nile into today's modern-day Ciec territory. It has better soils and is much richer agriculturally and less flooded than the Bor region. Around the mid-nineteenth century the Angac and the Ghol Dinka migrated back across the Nile to its eastern banks after a dispute with the Ciec.

The Bahr el-Ghazal Dinka Group

Ciec Dinka informants believe they arrived in their present territory in the early seventeenth century. Oral testimony from Yibel (Jurbel) informants now residing south of the Agar and Gok Dinka claim they once resided in the modern-day Yirrol region and that they were displaced and forced south around three centuries ago. A non-Nilotic group originally from western Africa, they claim present-day place

⁽¹⁸⁾ Flooding limits the reliability of cultivation in these areas allowing only stable cultivations along those parts of the Sobat and White Nile where flooding is most restricted due to a combination of deep banks and high ridges. All the Bor Dinka live in areas chronically vulnerable to rain and river flooding which, historically have yielded low productivity. Permanent settlement is only possible in a few elevated areas and the inhabitants live in a mosaic of areas alternatively suited for grazing, cultivation and permanent dwelling. Douglas H. Johnson, "Political Ecology in the Upper Nile: The Twentieth Century Expansion of the Pastoral "Common Economy," in Herders, Warriors and Traders Pastoralism in Africa John G. Galaty and Pierre Bonte eds. (Boulder: Westview, 1991), 95-96; and "Adaptation to Floods in the Jonglei Area of the Sudan: an Historical Analysis," in Ecology of Survival, 179-81.

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names around Yirrol are of Yibel origin.⁽¹⁹⁾ On the other hand, Dinka informants state the Yirrol region was originally inhabited by Luo people and isolated Mundari groups who today continue to reside in discrete polities within the Dinka amalgam. The Ciec claim to have fought many former residents of their region who also later migrated south towards the Nile.

As the resources of the land became limited and as Dinka populations began to increase, more and more clans and sub-clans migrated west and north away from the iron stone plateau following the alluvial soils. The Dinka sought and settled on the best agricultural soils for their dhurra (grain) while also ensuring that there was good grazing lands and water for their cattle.

It is possible to date approximately the arrival of the Dinka in the Southern Bahr el-Ghazal because of archaeological studies. West of the Ciec territory is the Agar Dinka town of Rumbek. Nicholas David uses archeological evidence to argue that the Dinka migrated to this territory only within the last five hundred years.⁽²⁰⁾ A cross check of Dinka, Luo and Yibel oral data suggests this migration took place sometime during the seventeenth century. Some informants state that bitter

⁽¹⁹⁾ Worth noting is that the Yibel are also known to the Sudanese Luo as the Wira people and that they claim to have also resided farther north and west in the Bahr el-Ghazal. Santandrea notes Wira people in the Bahr el-Ghazal and suggests they may be of Luo origin. Personal interview: Albino Ukec Simon (Sudanese Luo) Nyabagok, South Sudan.

⁽²⁰⁾ David, "Nilotic Expansion," 68.

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wars took place between the Yibel and the Dinka while others claim the former yielded their land in a peaceful manner.

In the western Bahr el-Ghazal region archaeological evidence shows that the Rek Dinka territory was once home to a cattle herding, iron-using people called the Luel. Some fled while others became assimilated when the Dinka arrived in their region from the south east. Driven from the River Loll many Luel fled to the Bahr el-Arab river region and points further north. Many who remained were integrated into the Dinka amalgam.

The Luo and Dembo (also of the Luo family) had only recently occupied the northern Bahr el Ghazal north of the Rek Dinka but later proved no match for the second migrating population, the Malwal. These Dinka gradually took over almost all of the Luo land.⁽²¹⁾ However, the Malwal mention nothing of battles with the Luo but instead remember only more wars with the Luel. Eventually these peoples were also displaced, absorbed or resided in discrete polities within the Malwal amalgam. Stubbs and Morrison estimate that the Malwal migrated into their territory sometime between 1500 and 1620 A.D.

⁽²¹⁾ Santandrea argues that the Shilluk-Luo of the Bahr el-Ghazal resemble their closely related kin, the Shilluk of the White Nile. Today they are known to the Dinka as the Jur-Chol and they also maintain the tradition of "divine kingship." Stefano Santandrea, Ethno-Geography of the Bahr el Ghazal, Sudan (Bologna: Editrice Missionaria Italiana, 1981), 133, 138-149.

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coinciding with that of the movement of the Atwot.⁽²²⁾

The arrival of the Western Twic on the Bahr el-Arab parallels that of the Malwal. Recent excavations in the Twic territory at a site in Bahr el-Ghazal, Dhang Rial (nine degrees north and twenty-eight degrees east) reveal that hump-backed cattle which were introduced into the region by the Dinka entered the territory only within the last five hundred years. The Western Twic however, predated the arrival of the Western Ngok who were the last Dinka to arrive in their present-day homeland.⁽²³⁾

The Western Ngok are part of the Padang group and today they reside north of the Western Twic and west of the Ruweng. It has been reasonably well-established that the Ngok Dinka did not reach their present-day homeland in southwest Kordofan until the mid 18th century [their oral histories have been cross checked against that of their northern Islamic neighbors, the Baggara].⁽²⁴⁾ Having thrust their way northwest the Ngok found Begi peoples, possibly a subgroup of the Luel. As they warred with them some Begi moved further

⁽²²⁾ J. M. Stubbs and C. G. T. Morrison, "The Western Dinkas, their Land and their Agriculture," Sudan Notes and Records Vol. 21, (1938): 251-68.

⁽²³⁾ According to Santandrea and Lienhardt the Twic wrung piece by piece most of their territory from its former inhabitants. Other Dinka wrestled territory from the Luel from as far southeast as the borders of the Ciec and Agar Dinka territories. Most of the movement occurred in the eighteenth century. See, Santandrea, Ethno-Geography, 126-7; Lienhardt, Divinity and Experience, 177.

⁽²⁴⁾ Cole and Huntington, African Rural Development, Ch. 7, 2-3.

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north and west integrating with the Nuba and Baggara. Those that remained were absorbed into Ngok society.

Within a few centuries the Dinka had come to occupy a large central position in Southern Sudan. The Nuer, their inner neighbors, occupied the center and the outer circumference of the all the Dinka groups measured approximately one thousand miles. They had succeeded in gaining a foothold into a vast territory. By the twentieth century their land measured approximate 113,000 square miles (including the Nuer homeland).⁽²⁵⁾ Their absorption of much of the non-Dinka Southern Sudanese populace was likely due to the differential in wealth between the former and the latter.

MECHANISMS FOR DINKA EXPANSION

The Economic Advantages of the Dinka: Pastoralism, Agriculture and Famine

During the seventeenth century much of the Sudan was subjected to an intense period of famine.⁽²⁶⁾ As the pastoral Dinka migrated in a southerly direction they had a distinct advantage over those presently residing in the south as they possessed a superior breed of hump-backed cattle. These animals could withstand epidemics and drought better than the

⁽²⁵⁾ See Johnson, "History and Prophecy," 84.

⁽²⁶⁾ Herring, "The Rodah Nilometer," 39-86.

non hump-backed varieties.⁽²⁷⁾ Archaeological investigation within two regions of the Bahr el-Ghazal shows these breeds of cattle reached the region only within the last five hundred years.⁽²⁸⁾ Moving in a southerly and then a northwesterly direction the Dinka cattle eventually replaced all the non-hump-backed varieties in the South.

E. I. Steinhart argues that in periods of ecological stress the economic advantages of pastoralism can lead to pastoral expansion and encroachment on agricultural domains. Cattlemen translate their economic advantage into social and political privilege and eventually political power. At first there develops a process of increasing landlessness and then there follows population dislocation among forcibly dispossessed or economically unviable mixed farming families. Landless agriculturalists reduced to desperate straits by famine might well accept service among pastoral neighbors with a stock of valuable and mobile resources such as cattle. This process accounts for an intensification of social

⁽²⁷⁾ In neighboring today's Uganda Banyoro historical traditions refer to a cattle disease of 1625-52, the generation of the Great Famine. Webster, "Noi Noi! Famines as an Aid to Interlacustrine Chronology," 14. David also argues that as the Dinka migrated into south Sudan their cattle replaced the previous non-humped and less hardy variety as seen by excavations of Wun Rok and Dhang Rial. Further, hump-backed cattle do not appear until sometime in the last five hundred years. See David, "Nilotic Expansion," 72; and "The B.I.E.A. Southern Sudan Expedition of 1979."

⁽²⁸⁾ The Luel in the Bahr el-Ghazal did not have hump-backed cattle and the introduction of this new breed was a significant causative factor in the spread of modern patterns of Nilotic pastoralism. David, "The B.I.E.A. Southern Sudan Expedition of 1979," and "Prehistory," 87-8.

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stratification.⁽²⁹⁾ This argument suggests how the Dinka were able to move into various points of the South in a relatively short period. Many neighbors of the Dinka are agriculturalists including the Bari, Mundari, Yibel and at a later point the Luo groups. Because of ecological stress they gained territory over their agricultural and pastoral neighbors. However, they also arrived with another distinct economic advantage over their neighbors.

Caudatum Sorghum

Stemler, et al. argue that caudatum sorghum agriculture is related to Nilotic folk movements, and is the staple grain of the Dinka, Nuer, and Shilluk. Of vital importance is that these grains are also drought resistant and produce well with very little care. They argue that the domestication of this crop, coupled with well-adapted breeds of sanga hump-backed cattle, made possible an economy that was far more efficient than any other in the Sudan or East Africa. These integrated systems were able to support population increases in the Bahr el-Ghazal and later expansions towards the west and southeast.⁽³⁰⁾

⁽²⁹⁾ Steinhart, "Kingdoms of the March," 203.

⁽³⁰⁾ By 1000 a.d. it was grown in many parts of the savanna belt stretching from the eastern shores of Lake Chad to southwestern Ethiopia. Stemler et al., "Caudatum Sorghums," 161-183.

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Among the Dinka the wealthiest are those resident in the regions of richest soils and today "the Gok Dinka are expanding faster than other groups because they have much land and good soils."⁽³¹⁾ Although not wholly dependent on farming the Dinka practice considerable agriculture and each household today cultivates an average of two feddans of sorghum around their homestead along with other various crops.⁽³²⁾

When a man and his family produce a small surplus of crops they convert it into a more stable and valuable resource, cattle. In turn, this enables a man to acquire more wives.⁽³³⁾ Additionally, dhurra and cattle are used in bartering and many marry with both cattle as well as dhurra. Those who have cattle bought with dhurra and agricultural produce are more honored and given more respect:

This cattle is not returnable and does not have external links and cannot be taken back easily, for example, by divorce. It therefore represents "pure property" derived from labor and this kind of man has much more stable wealth and is more honored. However, no one has all cattle that are free of ties.⁽³⁴⁾

⁽³¹⁾ Personal interview: Samuel Aru Bol (Agar) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽³²⁾ Cagai Matet Guem, SRRA Secretary, Bahr el-Ghazal Region "Orientation to Southern Sudan" held in Lokichogio, November 15 1993. Unpublished paper given to me by Mr Cagai.

⁽³³⁾ Yunger, "Nyikang," 112-119. One informant states: "Land is very important to the Dinka. We slaughter gifts to our grandfathers and like to remain on the land of our ancestors." Personal interviews: Victor Majok Amecrot and Matthew Mathem Daw (Rek) Nyabagok, South Sudan.

⁽³⁴⁾ Personal interviews: Victor Majok Amecrot and Matthew Mathem Daw (Rek) Nyabagok, South Sudan.

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Because of their agro-pastoral economy when the Dinka migrated south they preferred to settle in regions of alluvial and lacustrine soils. They were very partial to those lands which supported kech dhurra cultivation (their favorite dhurra) as well as grazing for their cattle. In Southern Sudan the clay soils are extensive occupying a vast triangle between Lake Rudolf, Malut and Aweil and their fertility increases from north to south comprising one of the better agricultural soils in the Sudan. It was within these regions that the Dinka came to settle.⁽³⁵⁾

Hence, as the Dinka migrated into various southern regions their superior breeds of cattle and drought resistance dhurra gave them a distinct advantage over the resident population. Because the Dinka were rich and able to withstand the ecological stress it appears they were perceived to possess more religious potency.

RELIGION, POLITICAL POWER AND EXPANSION

Both Aiden Southall and Jack Goody argue that as certain groups consolidate themselves over time their position of dominance is achieved when they are perceived as important members of the stronger, wealthier and more numerous lineage groups. Under these circumstances their economic power is perceived to have been gained by control of supernatural

⁽³⁵⁾ John Garang de Mabior, "Identifying, Selecting and Implementing Rural Development Strategies for Socio-Economic Development in the Jonglei Projects Area, Southern Region, Sudan," Ph.D. Thesis, Iowa State University, 1981, 38, 40.

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forces and symbolic appeal to the people.⁽³⁶⁾ Much Dinka history today recounts stories of ancestors arriving in a particular region, settling, absorbing a larger number of existing residents and then gaining political control. Religion and religious leaders played a key role in legitimizing political authority over these foreign territories.

According to Lienhardt many Dinka claim descent from Aiwel Longar who "was the first to be created after coming from the land of divinity."⁽³⁷⁾ Today his association with drought is remembered:

Longar was the most powerful of all chiefs for when drought came and the water dried at the cattle camps, he looked for a particular variety of grass ("awar"), and when he pulled it out of the ground water appeared and people and cattle drank from it.⁽³⁸⁾

Another Dinka myth demonstrates how political control was acquired by an outsider deemed to possess potent religious powers:

Among the northern Dinka, Aiwel appeared mysteriously and after performing miracles, took over the supremacy of the people. The leader of the commoners, Ding ... who was believed to be the first ancestor of the Dinka and Nuer and Aiwel's foster father, surrendered his position to him. The agreement between them resulted in Aiwel being acknowledged as leader and "savior" and given many wives. His foster-father asked only that he and his

⁽³⁶⁾ Goody, Technology, 21-38; Southall, Alur Society, 261.

⁽³⁷⁾ Lienhardt, Divinity and Experience, 41, 216-8, 311.

⁽³⁸⁾ Personal interview: Gabriel Awec Bol (Rek) Kakuma, Kenya.

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descendants should be recognized as landowners. Each of Aiwel's sons together with their people was allocated by Aiwel a different territory over which he was placed as religious and temporal head.⁽³⁹⁾

What is implicit here is that Aiwel was perceived to have certain religious/divine powers (performing miracles) which gave him paramount priestly legitimacy and political power over the resident populace.

In sum, it appears that the Dinka migrated into various regions of ecological stress with the economic advantages of a superior breed of cattle and caudatum sorghum, supported by charismatic religious authority. Over time they came to preside politically over those regions into which they migrated. As the Dinka class system evolved they now incorporated outsiders into their amalgam.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM OF THE DINKA AND ETHNIC EXPANSION

Sigismund Diamond argues that in almost all regions of the world, historical correlation exists between the economic development of a culture and its laws.⁽⁴⁰⁾ As the Dinka claim to have been pastoralists for centuries, and most pastoral groups worldwide have observed exogamy (marrying outside of the group), the forefathers of the Dinka would have followed suit.

⁽³⁹⁾ Sofholm, "River-Lake Nilotes," 58, 116-131. Among the Shilluk a similar event took place when King Nyikang originally granted each settlement to a clan. Yunger, "Nyikang," 208.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Diamond, Primitive Law, 225-270.

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These exogamous marriage systems encouraged Dinka ethnic expansion.

Wealth, Political Power and the Accumulation of Wives

According to the Western Ngok Dinka scholar, Francis Deng in Africa wealth and status are closely connected; one is a means through which the other may be acquired. Status once created by wealth in turn attracts wealth. In patriarchal societies ownership and control of wealth rests with men and only those who are married.⁽⁴¹⁾ Among the Dinka strong sections or clans are those who are many in number and the quest for many wives to produce as many children as possible is of paramount importance, both economically and politically. While women and cows represent wealth to Dinka clans it is also important to have manpower for the defense of the section or clan in wars.⁽⁴²⁾ However, as the Dinka are an unequal brideprice society the range of brideprices dictated that Dinka males marry non-Dinka females.

Horizontal Expansion, Exogamy and Totemism

Jane Fishburne Collier notes that with "ranked" (hierarchical) societies men marrying for the first time acquire a women of equal or higher rank because status is

⁽⁴¹⁾ Francis M. Deng, "The Family and the Law of Torts in African Customary Law," Houston Law Review Vol. 4 No.1 [n.y.]: 1-50.

⁽⁴²⁾ Cagai Matet Guem, "Position of the Girl Among the Dinka Community."

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determined by the initial marriage that is contracted. However, their secondary wives tend to be of lower rank. Conversely, low-ranking families often give sisters or daughters in marriage to higher ranking men to obtain patronage.⁽⁴³⁾ As the Dinka were the wealthiest peoples in the South they appear to have practiced similar socio-economic marital patterns. Their first wives were Dinka and each succeeding wife was a non-Dinka. Today the Dinka brideprice for a first wife is higher than all of their surrounding non-Dinka neighbors, including the Nuer, Shilluk, Maban, Murle, Mandari, Yibel, the Bongo, Fertit and the Luo. One Aliab Dinka argues:

After we marry Bor [Dinka] we marry more Mundari, because these women are cheaper; you may only pay five cows. To us a girl is like a toic or a river, you keep taking water without stopping and you have to keep going every season.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Over time this process allowed the Dinka to expand ethnically against their non-Dinka neighbors. One informant argues that there has been so much intermarriage between the Agar and the Yibel that it has decreased the numbers of the latter.⁽⁴⁵⁾ However, the mechanisms for upholding and

⁽⁴³⁾ Collier, Marriage and Inequality, 147.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Personal interview: Parmena Awerial Aluong (Aliab) London, England.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Informal discussion, Gary Jones of the Lutheran World Federation, Nairobi, Kenya. While an Atuot argues: "the Aliab area is very rich while most Mundari have a low income. Therefore more Aliab men marry Mundari women." Personal interview: Andrew Anhiem Alit (Atuot) Akot, South Sudan.

Within Dinka communities bridewealth varies and those groups who are richer command higher brideprices:

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structuring these exogamous marriage patterns lies in the totemic belief system of the Dinka.

The word "totem" as a term often refers to an animal or plant that is regarded as the protector of a particular clan or lineage. These beliefs are supported by legends telling how the animal, or tree etc. once saved the life of an ancestor or performed some other critical service.⁽⁴⁶⁾ All Dinka clans identify with a particular totem or totems and with a few notable exceptions,⁽⁴⁷⁾ people of the same clan totem never

"The most expensive marriages are those Dinka from Yirrol (the Ciec) because they have a lot of cattle, (or used to before the war) and they have good grazing, excellent agricultural land and thus the people are more wealthy there. Therefore, their bridewealth is very high. On the other hand, Nuer marriages are very cheap because they don't have much cattle and we can marry prestigious Nuer women with 30 cows."

Personal interview: Gordon Matot Tut (Ciec Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

Another describes Dinka versus Nuer bridewealth:

"Our bridewealth is expensive. With the Dinka it ranges from thirty to one hundred cows. However, for Nuer women it is usually fifteen to twenty-five. Uniformly, throughout Dinkaland a Dinka woman is worth thirty cows but if she is beautiful she commands more and if she is from a large family, she is worth still even more."

Personal interviews: Alier Arok Akuein, Mayen Jok Majok, Kuc Manyang Kuany, Deng Dut, Dau Tor, Kuir Jok, Atem Ayiik (E. Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ David C. Conrad (ed.), A State of Intrigue The Epic of Bamana Segu According to Tayiru Banbera (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 46.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Among the Western Twic, a priest Nyuol Bol abolished the totemic system of exogamous marriage so that his people could multiply more quickly. "In the old days we never intermarried. But when Nyuol Bol was dying he called the people and said...for you to multiply...the blood relations that previously inhibited intermarriage, I will take down with me. Then he said 'on my grave when I die bring a goat and a

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marry. Rather, they seek marriage partners who are "not related to them by blood":⁽⁴⁸⁾

The minute you meet a girl she asks about your lineage. We will discuss what our great great grandparents have and we can go up to 20 generations discussing totems before marriage. Even children as young as three years of age are inculcated to understand that lineage is extremely important.⁽⁴⁹⁾

While another argues, "We can only marry foreign people, we can never marry our relations."⁽⁵⁰⁾

Dinka men marrying non-Dinka women maintain their ethnic identity. A non-Dinka man marrying a Dinka woman however, frequently prefers to adopt the Dinka socio-economic lifestyle. In this way he can acquire wealth eventually

sieve and bury me with these things. I will be buried with the blood relations and you can marry people with same totem and no harm will come to you." After that, the people of the Amol Western Twic subsection intermarried. Personal interview: Bol Bol Chol (W. Twic-Amol) Kakuma, Kenya.

There is also no recognition of the totemic incest laws among the Padhieu Rek community. Their totem is the jak (a tall bird with a neck like a crane.) They marry one another because they are in one area and expanded so much. They divided each other into families. These Padhieu Rek Dinka made this decision about fifty years ago. Personal interview: Mawien Kual Ariik (Rek-Lou) Cairo, Egypt.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Personal interview: Mel Anyar Aduol (Rek) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Personal interview: Stephen Anyaak Chol (Pakam-Agar) Akot, South Sudan. Another informant argues: "Our blood relations are traced through a common deity. We trace our lineage back up to ten and that is how we determine it. If there is a common deity (totem) before ten on the male side you are related, however, if you go up to eight and there is no common deity it is possible for marriage." Personal interview: Lazarus Leek Mawut (Nyarruweng) London, England.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Personal interview: Samuel Aru Bol (Agar) Nairobi, Kenya.

becoming "Dinka" by identification.⁽⁵¹⁾ A Luo man explains bridewealth and marriage of this own family:

My father is a Dinka and my mother is Jur-chol. My maternal uncle, is a Jur-chol and he married a Dinka woman. When you marry Jur-chol people you pay less but with Dinka women you have to pay more to marry them. However, the Jur want to marry Dinka because they don't have much cattle and they want to become Dinka to acquire cows.⁽⁵²⁾

However, this ethnically expansive Dinka system slowed considerably at the northern limits of Dinka territory which borders the pastoral Islamic Baggara. Unlike those peoples in the South Islamic society has an entirely different socio-economic structure. In this instance endogamy prevails and men marry close kin to maintain the wealth within the family.⁽⁵³⁾ Hence, ethnic Southern expansion and Dinka/Muslim socio-economic fusion has not taken place at the same rate. However, it appears that rather than paying bridewealth, all pastoral groups in the Southern Sudan have preferred on certain occasions to acquire extra wealth in the form of cows and women by raiding their neighbors.

⁽⁵¹⁾ This situation parallels that of the Islamic Dinka neighbors, the Baggara. When an agricultural Fur buys a cow (pastoralism being more economically lucrative than agriculture) and attaches it to the herds of the Baggara, by definition his agricultural/ethnic association is altered and he very shortly thereafter identifies himself as "Baggara." Hence, the adoption of ethnicity is closely connected to economic acquisition. See Barth, "Introduction," in Ethnic Groups and Boundaries.

⁽⁵²⁾ Personal interview: Duang Deng Duang (Malwal) (mother is Jur-Chol) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽⁵³⁾ SAD GIIS1124/446.

Bridewealth and the Raiding Economy

Louise Sweet argues that pastoral peoples customarily rob and pillage their neighbors for to continue long in a state of peace diminishes their wealth. War and plunder therefore become necessary. Alois Musil adds that the more geographically distant these groups are the more prolonged will be their hostile relations.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Among the Dinka a similar philosophy prevails and the raiding of one's neighbors both to acquire cows as well as women is a time-honored activity.

The acquisition of many extra wives and cattle strengthened the section. The adage, until recently among the Dinka was "many wives shall bring forth many daughters who shall be married with great numbers of cattle."⁽⁵⁵⁾ According to a Dinka informant:

There has been a lot of raiding for greed. It has always been important to show we are good warriors and when you are strong you go and rob the weak. It was the formula for those days and everybody did it. If you defeated another clan you took their cows and women. We took the women to become wives while young girls could be married to other men and bring more cows. Small boys could raid for more cattle.⁽⁵⁶⁾

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Louise E. Sweet, "Camel Raiding of North Arabian Bedouin: A Mechanism of Ecological Adaptation," American Anthropologist Vol. 67 No. 5 Part 1 (1965): 1132-1150; Alois Musil, The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins (New York, American Geographical Society, 1928), 504.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Cagai Matet Guem, "Position of the Girl Among the Dinka."

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Personal interview: Phillip Thon Marol (Thoi) Kakuma, Kenya.

However, the Dinka have never been free to declare war on all their neighbors for they are constrained by the degree of close totemic relations both within the Dinka as well as their neighbors, the Nuer. If their neighbors have the same totem one can neither declare war nor marry them for "they are our brothers." Thus, one's totem defines "enemy" versus "friend." This is aptly demonstrated by one Dinka who argues:

Many of the Padang have the same totems so we tend only to have small skirmishes among ourselves and we never raid each other. Therefore we have to raid the Nuer and we all unite against them. However, with the Shilluk only individual clans fight against them.⁽⁵⁷⁾

One group that is never out of bounds for a raid is the Baggara although many are also totemic. The Dinka claim:

We Malwal all war with the Rizeiquat and the Humr. A long time ago we contracted certain marriages between the Dinka and Baggara but since our grandfathers there has been no marriage. We raid the Baggara and capture girls and make them wives and they give birth to children and they do the same thing. This has been going on a long time across the [Kir/Bahr el-Arab] river.⁽⁵⁸⁾

Others indicate the economic necessity of raiding the Baggara:

Before the British we captured Baggara and vice versa. If we captured men we killed them but we kept the women and children. A Baggara women may bring a brideprice of fifty cows, the same for a Dinka woman although the brideprice changes if she is good looking. A Dinka man cannot marry if he

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Personal interviews: Malwal Chan Gaac (E. Luaic) and Phillip Thon Marol (Thoi) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Personal interviews: Kuol Lual Mou, Akot Ajuou Majok, Akec Macol Akec, Ater Bol Mayen, Piol Piol Adim, Ding Akuei Deng, Paulino Akon Ken, (Malwal) Kakuma, Kenya.

doesn't have cows.⁽⁵⁹⁾

As for intra-Dinka raiding in regions other than the Padang it occurs most frequently among those who do not "know each other" and by all accounts there are more intra-Dinka raids among the Bahr el-Ghazal Dinka than within the Bor and Padang. Informants claim: "it is pastoral law that stronger clans acquire wealth from their neighbors and those who are the strongest and most numerous are the richest."⁽⁶⁰⁾

Raiding and Violence

Historically the Nilotic peoples, including the Dinka, have always been perceived as fierce fighters and in war they have killed women and children as well as men.⁽⁶¹⁾ Thus indiscriminate killing is not unknown in Nilotic warfare. However, the Dinka claim that in "traditional warfare" one used spears and sticks and hence could not commit mass

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Personal interview: John Biem Ngok Bilkuai (Ruweng-Paneru) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Personal interview: Emanuel Kot Kuany, Zande Cuor Yol, John Luk Majok, Martin Makur Beny, Zakaria Chol Kot, Kakuma.

⁽⁶¹⁾ According to traveller Schweinfurth: "It is affirmed that they are pitiless and unrelenting in fight, that they are never known to give quarter, and revel in wild dances around the bodies of their slaughtered foes; a whole village will take their share in the orgies which one of the community will start..." Schweinfurth, Heart of Africa, Vol. I, 168. In the early 19th century an army of two to three thousand Dinka under Abialang leaders, Kak Abilang and Akonyo Deng attacked the Funj inhabitants at Hillet Sihha in the Gezira on the Blue Nile. Most inhabitants offered little resistance nevertheless they were all "butchered." Hartmann, Reise, 449.

killings.⁽⁶²⁾ Some informants and scholars suggest that in the past brutality was limited by religious taboos and the enforcement of payments to the family of the deceased. The Dinka state that historically they did not kill anyone in cold blood because "god would punish you." Hence, a certain protocol of war existed in which one made sure the opponent was prepared and warned. Although young men killed each other women and children were less frequently killed.⁽⁶³⁾ Thus, although violence was involved in raiding it did not necessarily result in mass killings and unnecessary or random killings. In later centuries however, the violence factor was to increase. Although exogamous marriage customs and the acquisition of foreign wives is common among many Southern peoples, in the realm of politics the Dinka diverged from their neighbors supporting further ethnic expansion.

(62) Ibid.

(63) Personal interview: Andria Acin-Nyin Maketh (Atuot-Apak) and Gordon Matot Tut (Ciec Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya. Among the Nilotic Shilluk and Nuer undue violence has been restrained in the past by the entity "cyen." Peter Adwok states that if Nilotic peoples kill the disabled, women or children, especially in a non-combat situation, one will be haunted by this entity. Peter Adwok, "Rights of Vulnerable Groups in Conditions of Conflict: the Link Between Traditional Values and International Humanitarian Principles in South Sudan in Respect to Rights of Children," Unpublished paper acquired from UNICEF, Nairobi, 8. Furthermore the relationship between the blood curse of the deceased and commensalism, the payment made to the family of the deceased by the offender also discouraged undue violence and killing. See Sharon Hutchinson, Nuer Dilemmas (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 155.

DINKA EXPANSION AGAINST MORE CENTRALIZED POLITIES

As the various Dinka clan groups gained more citizens and processes of fission and fusion intensified they acquired more territory within the Southern heartlands. They entered a land in which many native groups were dominated by chiefly leaders who used the claim to territorial authority as a basis on which to build a hierarchical network of subordinate chiefs and dependents. On the other hand the Dinka, who observed no boundaries as they territorially expanded easily absorbed the disaffected subordinate peoples of other groups. For example, the southern neighbors of the Aliab and Atuot the Mundari, resided under the patronage of a sacerdotal leader the "Mar" who assumed office by hereditary right and once installed could never be deposed or killed by his own people.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The Yibel (Jurbel) who resided south of the Agar and Gok Dinka lived under the protection of only one or two chiefs for their entire populace.⁽⁶⁵⁾ The Nilotic neighbors of the Dinka the Shilluk-Luo (Jur-chol/Jur-Luo) who resided to their west and southwest respectively had lost their cattle generations ago and earned their living as agriculturalists, fishermen and ironworkers. They were more centralized politically and led by

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Jean Buxton, "The Mundari of the Southern Sudan," in Tribes Without Rulers, 67-96.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Personal interview: Bishop Reuben Macier Makoi (Yibel) Nairobi, Kenya. The Yibel claim to be related to the Bongo group and may have separated from them near Mvulu. It is believed these people migrated into South Sudan around three centuries ago. See Stephano Santandrea, "The Tribes of the Bongo Group in Sudan," Sudan Notes and Records Vol. XLIII (1962): 150.

the strongest and largest clans.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Those Shilluk who reside on the Nile were an agriculturally based society and politically centralized with a king (Reth).⁽⁶⁷⁾

The circumstances proposed above encouraged territorial and ethnic expansion among the Dinka at the expense of the surrounding populations in the South. Only three of the immediate neighbors of the Dinka tended towards territorial expansion: the Baggara, the Murle and the Nuer. The Baggara and Murle arrived a century after the Dinka had consolidated their territories in the southern heartlands. When these groups expanded and began raiding it increased pressures on the internal neighbors of the Dinka, the Nuer. However, this topic will be discussed in greater depth in the next chapter.

As the Dinka expanded they incorporated many and displaced others. This factor gave rise to a hierarchical socio-economic and political system which continued into the modern era. This initial class structure within the Dinka system of chiefly clans however, emerged when Dinka "firstcomers" acquired political rights over "latecomers."

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Although the Thuri (Luo) society is decentralized. Damazo Dut Majak "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal," 57.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ See Yunger, "Nyikang."

THE EMERGENCE OF INTRA-DINKA CLASS STRATIFICATION

The Absorption of Foreigners, Totemism and Vertical (Hierarchical) Expansion

H. L. Bergson and John and Jean Comaroff argue totemism emerges where a political community has incorporated either immigrant or conquered populations. These populations are assimilated into an existing social order, not as a subordinate class but as units of structure similar to those already existing. In such situations a form of totemic pluralism emerges.⁽⁶⁸⁾

Although the Dinka have been described as egalitarian, contrary to this view they have a highly structured society. Within this culture is a class system wherein "chiefly clans" have more power than "commoner clans."⁽⁶⁹⁾ As the theories above suggest Dinka society is totemic which supports its

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Bergson, Morality and Religion, 172-5; Comaroff, Ethnography, 54-5.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Although pastoral systems are often described as egalitarian, Gough notes the egalitarian ethic governing relations among Nuer kin groups are not extended to their dependent immigrant clients. Kathleen Gough "Nuer Kinship: A Re-examination" in The Translation of Culture: Essays to E. E. Evans-Pritchard, T. O. Beidelman, ed. (London: Tavistock Publications, 1971), 79-121. Sofholm, "River-lake Nilotes," 58, 63, 116-131. Chiefly clans represents those original migrants who inherited religious powers by primogeniture (divinity) from Aiwel. The latter represent those residing in the territory prior to the Dinka arrival or those newly naturalized. In Dinka myths/histories resident "commoners" yielded political power to Aiwel a "chiefly" outsider and his people. For example, among the Northern Dinka the commoner clans claim they are indigenous while their masters of the fishing spears ("chiefly clans") are all descendants of Aiwel and hence, non-indigenous. Sofholm, "River-lake Nilotes," 63. Lienhardt, Divinity and Experience 41, 216-8, 311; Also personal interview: Gabriel Awec Bol (Rek) Kakuma, Kenya.

hierarchical nature. It is the product of its totemic nature which defines "chiefly" from "commoner" clans giving birth to two models of power distribution; "bany," (those with special religious functions symbolized by the sacred fishing spear "bith") from which the priests "bany-bith" are derived. Secondly are the "kic" or "commoners" and members who have no special hereditary religious and political function.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Power distribution is controlled by knowledge of ancestral totems. Hence, those of the chiefly clans define each other by "their backgrounds."⁽⁷¹⁾

Stratification within Dinka communities of "chiefly" clans also developed however, when "firstcomers" who migrated to a new territory claimed political superiority over immigrant Dinka "latecomers." This kind of polity gains politically by incorporating weak immigrants.⁽⁷²⁾ For example, the Western Ngok Dinka came to distinguish between

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Lienhardt, "Western Dinka," 97-135. Among the eastern Dinka the chiefly clans are regarded as immigrants; Sofholm, "The River-Lake Nilotes," 58, 116-131.

⁽⁷¹⁾ The essence of one's background is knowledge of one's totem and those of one's family tree for at least ten generations so that intermarriage "with a relative" does not take place. Hence, "commoners" are those who cannot recall Dinka totems from generations back and thus, do not have hereditary religious functions. Personal interview: Paul Machuer Malok (Agar) Akot, South Sudan; Majak, "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal," 42.

⁽⁷²⁾ Horton, "Stateless Societies," 78-119. For example, around 1740 the first of a number of sections of Western Ngok under Chief Kwoldit of the Abyor section, moved north across the Bahr el-Arab river into the modern-day region of Abyei. As firstcomers the Abyor clan settled on the best farming and grazing lands of the region. By 1810 nine distinct Ngok subsections had settled in southwest Kordofan.

two groups of their own people, the original settlers, (koic) the Abyor, Achweng, Anyiel, Diil, Mannyuar and Mareng clans, and the late comers, (pancieng) the Alei, Achak, and Bongo.⁽⁷³⁾ Many "incorporated" peoples within the Dinka amalgam however, have remained in reality as discrete polities. The size and number of these polities is proof that Dinka ethnic expansion was not always a product of violence and more likely related to economics. In modern times many of these discrete polities continue to exist.

Unincorporated Discrete Ethnic Groups within the Dinka Amalgam

There are many unincorporated ethnic groups within Dinkaland and although numbers of peoples reidentified themselves over time as "Dinka" others preferred not to do so. In recent times at Kor-Adwet in the Bahr el-Ghazal near the Western Twic Dinka territory of Gogrial certain Luo groups remained as foreign enclaves.⁽⁷⁴⁾ In modern times within the Rek Dinka community southwest of the town of Thiet in Mapel and in Wau township independent Luo groups resided under their own chiefs still speaking their own language.⁽⁷⁵⁾

In Western Dinkaland the Luo group the Mananger continue to live as a discrete polity within the north-eastern Rek

⁽⁷³⁾ Henderson, "Migration of the Missiria," 58; SAD GIIS1124/450.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ Although they presently call themselves "Dinka." Santandrea, Ethno-Geography, 139.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ Personal interview: Albino Ukech Simon (Sudanese Luo) Nyabagok, South Sudan.

Dinka country. They practice fishing and hunting of hippos which they exchanged for grain and other necessities. The Jur Wir ("the foreigners of the river") are also a group living north-east of Tonj. Their origin is unknown however, they may well be related to the Yibel for the Sudanese Luo know them as the "Wir." Santandrea notes their mode of life resembles that of the Mananger above.⁽⁷⁶⁾ In the Malwal territory twenty years ago there was a village within the Palyoupiny Malwal Dinka area northwest of Aweil called Makuac Lang. Here groups of unintegrated Luel clans continued to exist, among them the "Panyang."⁽⁷⁷⁾

Towards eastern Dinkaland near the Yirrol Ciec Dinka region discrete polities of Mandari people remain along with their chiefs. They identify themselves as "Dinka" yet they are non-pastoralist iron working clans known as the Nyonker and Gumbek, (collectively known as the Adjong.) They sell their iron products to the Atuat and hunt elephants. These clans are endogamous (they intermarry) because their lack of cattle makes it impossible to integrate with the surrounding Dinka.⁽⁷⁸⁾ On both banks of the Nile a people of possible Luo

⁽⁷⁶⁾ Santandrea, Ethno-Geography, 148; Safholm, "The River-Lake Nilotes," 58, 116-131.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ These Luel "disappeared" probably integrating with the Dinka. Personal interview: Lawrence Lual Akuey (Malwal) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ Personal interview: Gordon Matot Tut (Ciec Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya. A Nyonker provided 60 lumps of iron as bridewealth to marry a woman of the Fajwat clan. Seligman, Pagan Tribes, 135-8.

origin called the Mon Thain now claim they are "Dinka." However, they are non-pastoral marshmen living in the neighborhood of the Ciec and Bor Dinka who depend largely for their sustenance on fishing and hippopotamus hunting.⁽⁷⁹⁾

Thus, those resident on the land as the Dinka advanced into their territories had a choice. They could become Dinka by marriage or remain as independent discrete polities within a larger Dinka amalgam.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I suggest that the accepted version of Dinka historical migrations within Southern Sudan counters that of my own research. Rather than moving from south to north, their migrations were the opposite. The Dinka migrated south from their parent Padang groups into various points of the Southern heartlands. Oral historical data and the proximity of totemic groups within the Padang Dinka support this argument. Within a few centuries they had expanded into and come to occupy a large part of the Southern region encompassing, by the twentieth century an ethnic circumference of over one thousand miles and occupying (along with their inner neighbors, the Nuer) an area of about 113,000 square miles.⁽⁸⁰⁾

This ethnic expansion within the modern-day boundaries of

⁽⁷⁹⁾ Kaufmann, Schilderungen, 55, 134-8; Seligman, Pagan Tribes, 135-8.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ See Johnson, "History and Prophecy," 84.

Southern Sudan took place during a period of ecological stress. It was supported by the Dinka ownership of a superior breed of cattle and dhurra, both of which withstood drought conditions. Additionally, the agro-pastoral Dinka had an advantage over resident agriculturalists who suffered more in severe droughts.

During this period Dinka religious leaders or priests (Aiwel, and perhaps Deng) whose religious potency was deemed most powerful gained political powers over those communities into which the Dinka migrated. While the Dinka corporate socio-economic system had similarities to that of many other Southerners their higher bridewealth system supported ethnic expansion. In turn totemic marriage customs supported these exogamous marriage practices.

As they further migrated into the Southern heartlands the Dinka political philosophy of fission and fusion had a centrifugal territorial effect. They expanded against most of their more politically centralized boundary conscious neighbors who did not regularly split from the parent group in search of new grazing lands. As the Dinka increased in population over time consistent fission and fusion further encouraged an ethnic and territorially expansive phenomenon.

Although the Dinka have been described as egalitarian, in fact they are the opposite. As the Dinka amalgam gained new citizens it developed a vertical socio-political hierarchy wherein those of "original" Dinka extraction (those who could remember the totems of their ancestors for ten generations)

and who were descended from prestigious clan groups came to politically preside over newly "naturalized" Dinka who did not. Societal hierarchy also emerged within Dinka groups wherein those arriving at a territory first (the "firstcomers") dominated politically over those arriving later (the "latecomers"). Hence, as the Dinka reached the extent of the soils that could support their numbers and populations became denser vertical hierarchy intensified. An example of this is the Western Ngok who reside in one of the harshest environments of Dinkaland. This group was among the first to politically centralize. Thus, the present-day social system of the Dinka evolved from the circumstance of migrations into the Southern heartlands. While these movements sometimes encouraged wars, more often they were non-violent. This fact is supported by the large numbers of unintegrated Southern peoples who continue to reside as discrete polities within the Dinka amalgam. As the Dinka began to settle, it was only a short time before they acquired new enemies on all their flanks. The Dinka were shortly to begin bitter wars with their northern neighbors the Baggara, their eastern neighbors the Murle and their internal neighbors, the Nuer. They were also to discover their flight from slave raiders was far from over.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND THE GENESIS OF CIVIL WAR IN THE SOUTH (1750-1821)

When the Dinka migrated into various regions of the Southern heartlands they encountered ecological stress. With the economic advantages of a superior breed of cattle, drought proof hardy dhurra (grain) coupled with charismatic religious authority they came to preside politically over the peoples of those regions into which they migrated. Their wealth created an increasingly expansive socio-political and economic system which attracted many adherents.

No sooner had the various Dinka clans become established however, than this era witnessed the birth of three great centuries-long pastoral wars in Southern Sudan. Violent conflicts took place against the Dinka on three different fronts: in the north it was with the Islamic Baggara, on their inner periphery it was their close neighbors the Nuer, and on their eastern borders they faced the martial Murle.

Of overriding importance in the historiography of the Sudan is the centuries-long violent transference of Southern wealth into regions of the Northern Sudan and beyond. Little is known of the eighteenth century Southern Sudan, but I suggest it is a critical period in the region's history. This

era gave birth to much which plagues the South in present times including three centuries of slave-raiding. Although slaving is commonly believed to have begun in the nineteenth century in the eastern Dinka territory oral data and travellers accounts suggest it began in the western Dinka territories in the eighteenth century. At this time Islamic slave raiders and pastoralists later known as "Baggara" forcibly penetrated south into Malwal Dinka country to capture people and cattle. The extent and success of these raids is proven by the fact that within a generation the Baggara, originally camel and cattle pastoralists had been able to switch their economies entirely to depend on cattle alone. These incursions marked the beginning of external forces from the north who came armed with superior technology (in this case horses) to penetrate and plunder the region.

Further east on the inner periphery of the Dinka their pastoral neighbors the Nuer also suffered destabilization from Baggara raids. Many Nuer fled encouraging a growing migratory scramble away from the Bahr el-Ghazal towards the safer territories in the east on the White Nile. This event, commonly if inaccurately termed the "Nuer Conquests," has been attributed by many scholars to either ecological or population

pressures alone.⁽¹⁾ Massive societal destabilization of the Bahr el-Ghazal region by external forces, however, must also be factored into the equation. By the twentieth century seventy percent of the Nuer comprised former Dinka citizens. Yet, while the forefathers of the Nuer have always been assumed to be Dinka it is more probable that they are of Luo origin. As the Dinka fought the Baggara and then the Nuer this era gave birth to the third major pastoral war between the Bor Dinka and their eastern neighbors, the Murle. These conflicts have continued to present times.

While it has always been assumed that the Southern Sudan has been "totally isolated" and "free" of all foreign influence this assumption is not correct. One of the outcomes of the eighteenth century Baggara penetration from the north was the concomitant appearance of West African traders known as Fellata from places such as modern-day northern Nigeria. They skirted the Bahr el-Ghazal and then forged east towards the Nile and the Dinka country. By the same token an intra-Southern trade appears to have been well underway by this time. Ironically, the event auguring this new era of intense strife and bitter war began soon after the Dinka migrated into various regions of the Bahr el-Ghazal and evicted the previous

⁽¹⁾ Karen Sacks also suggests that slave raiding triggered the Nuer eastern migration however, she assumes it is the Turkish slave trade of the 19th century. See Karen Sacks, "Causality and Chance on the Upper Nile," American Ethnologist Vol. 6 No. 3 August (1979): 437-448; Raymond C. Kelly, The Nuer Conquest: The Structure and Development of an Expansionist System (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985).

residents, the Luel.

THE FIRST PENETRATION OF SLAVERS INTO THE BAHR EL-GHAZAL

The Malwal, Rek, and Western Twic Dinka arrived in the Bahr el-Ghazal from the beginning to the middle of the eighteenth century and evicted the Luel from the region. Eventually the Luel fled north across the Bahr el-Arab river to their close relations, the Fur.⁽²⁾ They were not to rest long for yet another Dinka section, the western Ngok, migrated into the territory. Arriving from the east into the region known today as southwest Kordofan the Dinka warred with the Luel (who were also known as Begi) and forced some from the land while others integrated.⁽³⁾ For a generation or less the

⁽²⁾ The Bahr el-Arab River is viewed by some scholars as a frontier representing an ideological and physical barrier between the Arab Muslim north and the African non-Muslim south in the Sudan. Geographically, the river, known as the "Kir" to the Dinka and "Bahr al-Arab" to the Baggara, leads westwards from the White Nile through southwest Kordofan and runs approximately between southern Darfur and Bahr al-Ghazal provinces. See Robert O. Collins, Land Beyond the Rivers (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 18; Ahmad Alawad Sikainga, The Western Bahr al-Ghazal Under British Rule, 1898-1956 (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1991). The Luel inhabited many parts of the south including the eastern Bahr el Ghazal. Santandrea, Ethno-Geography, 149, 152, 155; and are also known as the Daigu (Daju or Dago). They were remembered as dwarfs, light in color, short and stocky in appearance. Armed with bows, arrows and poisoned hand darts they possessed much cattle and sheep. The Shilluk-Luo had preceded the Dinka and been militarily beaten by the Luel until they joined the newly arrived Rek Dinka and attacked successfully. The Fur are described by the Dinka as similar in physical stature to the Luel. SAD 465/3.

⁽³⁾ Personal interviews: Maguith Deng Kuol and Agoth Alor Bulabek, (W. Ngok-Abyor Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. Santandrea suggests the Luel were of Luo origin. See Stefano Santandrea, The Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal (Sudan) (Editrice: Nigrizia,

Ngok resided in peace until the arrival of the Islamic Baggara to their north (c. 1760-70). This event marked the beginning of permanent instability in the region for these Islamic pastoralists were a slave raiding society who had recently migrated from the west.

Historically the Baggara (the literal meaning in Arabic is "people of cattle") represent the oldest foes of the Dinka in southern Sudan; bitter Ngok, Eastern Twic and Malwal Dinka wars against the Rizeiqat and Humr-Messiria Baggara continue to the present day.⁽⁴⁾ These pastoralists had previously resided in the region of Dar Burgo within the environs of the Kingdom of Wadai. The Baggara (who formerly herded camels as well as cattle) forged east into Muglad in modern-day southwest Kordofan province around 1770 a.d.⁽⁵⁾ Once in the region they underwent processes of fission into various

1968), 129.

⁽⁴⁾ The Twic and Malwal are adjacent to each other and located at the north-western extent of Dinka territory south of the Bahr el-Arab River and north of the town of Aweil. Lienhardt, Divinity and Experience. The Messiria are the most easterly of the Baggara on the Bahr el-Arab river and their neighbors are the Fellaita section of the Humr. See N. Yunis, "Notes on the Baggara and Nuba of Western Kordofan," Sudan Notes and Records Vol. 6, (1922): 203; and Ian Cunnison, Baggara Arabs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 7.

⁽⁵⁾ SAD 660/11/147. Henderson argues the Baggara arrived in Muglad north of Abyei about 1770 a.d. while Santandrea calculates they arrived at the end of the 17th century. See K. D. D. Henderson, "A Note on the Migration of the Messiria Tribe into South-West Kordofan," Sudan Notes and Records Vol. 22 (1939): 49-79; Santandrea, Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal, 195; See also G. Nachtigal, Sahara and Sudan: Vol. IV Wadai and Darfur trans. Allen G. S. Fisher and Humphrey J. Fisher (London: C. Hurst, 1974).

groups: the Humr and Zurug (now called Messiria) Hawazma and Rizeiqat. After bitter fighting among each other, eventually only the Humr-Messiria remained and the others were forced northwest.⁽⁶⁾

Ironically, ethnic stresses associated with the struggle to acquire land among individual Baggara groups gave rise to the genesis of alliances between the Baggara and certain western Ngok Dinka. Concomitantly this also resulted in the enslavement of those further south in the Bahr el-Ghazal.⁽⁷⁾ Soon after the Baggara arrival a Seruri feki (holymen), Ali Abu Gurun, persuaded the Torjok (later the Abyor) and Achak Dinka sections of the Western Ngok to join him in battle against the Messiria Zurug leader, Abu Agbar, at Fut. While some Ngok joined the feki, others preferred to remain peripheral to the fray returning south; among these was the Alor Chief of the Mannyuar clan.⁽⁸⁾ Shortly thereafter these

⁽⁶⁾ SAD 660/11/154. Messiria leader, Hameidan Abu Hazla arrived in Muglad and declared war on the Beigi King Dienga. Easily defeated the king fled south towards the Ngok territory. Following in hot pursuit Baggara warriors came into contact for the first time with the Ngok Dinka, one of whose leaders, Deing (Deng) of Torjok resided at Debbat El Mushbak near the modern town of Abyei. The other, Moindong (son of Kwal Dit, chief of the Mannyuar) resided near Hasoba. SAD 660/11/154; Henderson, "Migration of the Messiria," 61-2.

⁽⁷⁾ SAD 660/11/146.

⁽⁸⁾ The Torjok (Jok) are the ancestors of the Abyor and nine generations ago the leader of this section was called "Jok." Personal interviews: Ring Deng Biong (W. Ngok-Abyor Dinka) Cairo, Egypt; Maguith Deng Kuol and Agoth Alor Bulabek (W. Ngok-Abyor Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. SAD 660/11/156. Much of this information was noted in the British period by District Commissioner Lampen who acquired it from an old man, Rihaima Kabbashi (a Mahri) later passing it on to Henderson. This

intra-Baggara feuds evolved into slave and cattle raids south of the Bahr el-Arab river, when the Luel, also peripherally involved in the fray, appealed to the Baggara for assistance to return to their previous homeland. Now the Malwal and Western Twic became fair game for the raiders.⁽⁹⁾

The attempted return of the Luel to their former homeland accompanied by the Baggara mounted on horseback marked the genesis of a centuries-long destabilization of the northern Bahr el-Ghazal region. Having never before seen horses, the Dinka were terrified by what appeared to be "men with two heads and four legs running very quickly." There were two columns which forged south through Malwal Dinka territory during which the Baggara captured men, women, children and large herds of cattle and both columns returned north with much booty.⁽¹⁰⁾

As it has been reasonably well established that the Baggara arrived in Kordofan somewhere between 1740 a.d. and

suggests the various Ngok sections reached southwest Kordofan around 1740 a.d.; SAD 660/11/146-156. The Ngok distinguish two groups of their own people, the original settlers, the Abyor, Achweng, Anyiel, Diil, Mannyuar and Mareng clans, and the late comers, the Alei, Achak, and Bongo clans. Henderson, "Migration, of the Messiria," 58. These two sections were to represent the two major rivals within the Western Ngok in the 20th century.

⁽⁹⁾ SAD 465/3.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Of the two columns, one passed through Lewal Maturm's country which forged as far as Warait just north of Meding-Awiel and the other passed through Chief Nuan Atoyon's country penetrating the river Loll opposite today's town of Nyamlell. SAD 465/3.

1780 a.d..⁽¹¹⁾ This suggests these first slave raids occurred in or around the mid-to late eighteenth century. Malwal oral history recounts:

When we came to our present area we fought with people on horseback. Although we are tall these people could see us from afar and when we ran the men on horseback overran us. Then Turtuk, a man, brought out a red bull and killed it and asked God to reduce the size of the red people. So today we are called "Malwal on foot" which is the name of this bull.⁽¹²⁾

Emboldened by the success of their initial attempt the Baggara made further forays into the Malwal Dinka region of Meding-Awiel capturing more cattle and slaves. Within the year, however, the Dinka discovered horses and men constituted two different beings. Resisting further invasions, they annihilated the latest Baggara column.⁽¹³⁾ After their defeat the Baggara slavers created small parties of horseman who lay further west of the Dinka country in forests where they abducted children on horseback.

By this time the Humr and Messiria Baggara had acquired enough cattle from the Dinka (and Nuer) raids in the Bahr el-Ghazal to switch from their previous mode of existence. As

⁽¹¹⁾ SAD 660/11/147; Henderson argues the Baggara arrived in Muglad, north of Abyei about 1770 a.d. while Santandrea calculates they arrived at the end of the 17th century. Henderson, "Migration of the Messiria," 49-79; Santandrea, Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal, 195; See also Nachtigal, Sahara and Sudan.

⁽¹²⁾ Personal interviews: Kuol Lual Mou, Akot Ajuou Majok, Akec Macol Akec, Ater Bol Mayen, Piol Piol Adim, Ding Akuei Deng, Paulino Akon Ken, (Malwal Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽¹³⁾ SAD 465/3.

former camel and cattle pastoralists they now converted to primarily cattle ownership.⁽¹⁴⁾ In the meantime, the Ngok Dinka returned with their herds to the Bahr el-Arab river region for grazing where, for a time both Baggara and Dinka maintained an uneasy but militarily matched peace.⁽¹⁵⁾

These initial Baggara raids encouraged others in the north to enter the slaving business. With the rise in economic power of the Islamic Kingdom of Dar Fur which was based directly north and north west of Dinkaland, numerous itinerant traders (jellaba) forged south to enter the business of slave raiding. The growing power of Dar Fur was concomitant to the increased slave raiding of peoples in the Bahr el-Ghazal and was also connected to events further west in the Islamic kingdom of Wadai.

The Islamic Kingdoms of Wadai and Dar Fur and the Explosion of Slave Raiders

The region stretching from Lake Chad to the Nile and from the Sahara to the Bahr al-Ghazal comprises multiple states and

⁽¹⁴⁾ Many of the Baggara camels died of disease in the region and hence, it became necessary to acquire more cattle for survival. From this period onwards cows rather than a mix of cows and camels formed the basis of most Baggara economies. Some Baggara still maintain a mix of camels and cattle for example the Zurug, the Salamat and Rizeiqat continue to have considerable quantities of both. SAD 660/11/151.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Ibid. Turning their sites to less martial and more vulnerable groups in southwest Kordofan, the Shatt became victims of Baggara slave raids and, travelling through Dar Fur at the end of the 18th century El-Tounsy noted these Nilotes lived between the Rizeiqat Arabs and the Dinka (Jange). Mohammed el-Tounsy, Voyage au Ouaday, 467-95.

societies. Of great significance to the entire eastern Sudan has been the presence of numerous itinerant traders (jellaba)⁽¹⁶⁾ and Muslim Hajjis whose commerce greatly enhanced the economy of the entire region. The Baggara migrated east from what is now modern-day Chad to escape the tight monopoly exercised on slave raiding by the sultans of the Islamic kingdom of Wadai. However, it appears the Baggara continued to procure slaves for these sultans for by 1816 traveller John Lewis Burckhardt was informed that a large Dinka slave society resided in this region.⁽¹⁷⁾ Rex O'Fahey argues that during this period the emerging free enterprise system of the nearby Islamic state of Dar Fur became more attractive for slave raiding societies such as the Baggara largely because this sultanate held less control over its

⁽¹⁶⁾ The slave raid in this region is, in effect a mobile Sudanic state for any of the sultan's subjects could request permission to make a raid into southern pagan territory for slaves. O'Fahey, "Slavery and the Slave Trade," 29-43; Many jellaba based themselves for centuries in Kobe, north of El Fasha (the later capital of the Sultanate of Darfur) a city where merchants and foreigners conducted a direct trade with Egypt. The flourishing trade that developed between Egypt and Dar Fur along the darb al-arba'in (the forty days road) seems not to have started much before the turn of the eighteenth century although the route was well known before this time. See, Terrence Walz, "Trading into the Sudan in the Sixteenth Century," [Extrait des Annales Islamologiques, t. XV, 1979] Le Caire: Imprimerie de L'Institut Francais d'Archeologie Orientale, 212; El-Tounsy, Voyage au Ouaday, 467-95; O'Fahey and Spaulding, Kingdoms, 122; Nachtigal, Sahara and Sudan IV, 353-4; Browne, Travels, 267, 272; Arkell, History, 213-244; SAD 660/11/152.

⁽¹⁷⁾ According to Burckhardt (Travels, 441), "west of Darfur in the Islamic kingdom of Borgo, (Wadai), slaves are acquired from pagan negro nations ten to fifteen days journey." The most noted slaving groups included the Dinka, as well as the Dargulla, Benda, Yemyem (Zande) and Ola.

surrounding territories.⁽¹⁸⁾

While there is little documentation of the exact number of ethnic groups comprising the slave populace of Dar Fur, travellers accounts suggest Dinka and possibly Nuer slave settlements were located near the kingdom's slave markets. Traveller Mohammed El-Tounsy noted that in 1789-1800 Sultans Muhammad Tayrab and Abd al Rahman al Rashid established slave settlements known as "Turuj." Located in Dar Daju in southeastern Dar Fur their inhabitants were used as laborers and soldiers. The term "Turuj" was loosely applied however and it included those captured south of Kordofan and therefore would have included the Malwal and Twic Dinka

⁽¹⁸⁾ For example, in eighteenth century Darfur the sultan derived revenue from slaves in the form of taxes paid by slave raiders and merchants as well as those sold directly to the Egyptian markets by his agents in Cairo. O'Fahey and Spaulding, Kingdoms, 37-9; O'Fahey, "Fur and Fartit," 82; and "Slavery and the Slave Trade," 41. El-Tounsy (Voyage au Ouaday, 481) notes that the Baggara participated in organized raids in Wadai and that they continued when they settled in their new homelands of southern Kordofan and Darfur. Every year the sultan gave permission for between sixty and seventy raids and each ghazwa (raid) was given a particular route to follow and a particular people to raid. See also Watkiss Lloyd, "Some Notes on Dar Homr," The Geographical Journal XXIX (January to June 1907), 653; Nachtigal, Sahara and Sudan IV, 98, 165; G.K.C. Hebbert, "The Bandala of the Bahr el-Ghazal," Sudan Notes and Records Vol. 22 (1939), 187-94 and Browne, Travels, 226, 298.

For the conceptual issues at stake see Rhoda H. Halperin, Cultural Economies Past and Present (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994). For an extended treatment of the century earlier penetration of northeast African old agrarian state society in the Nile valley by capitalist principles and institutions see Spaulding, Heroic Age.

territories.⁽¹⁹⁾ Traveller W. G. Browne described people resembling the Dinka and their internal neighbors the Nuer and noted they "mark themselves on the face, and that one race of idolatrous negroes near Fur has a habit of extracting two or more of the front teeth of children before puberty."⁽²⁰⁾ To the best of my knowledge in this region only the Nuer and Dinka simultaneously practice dental evulsion as well as distinguishing their sections by facial markings. Therefore it is not unreasonable to argue traveller Browne took note of early Dinka and or Nuer slave settlements in the environs of Dar Fur.

Supporting Browne's observations a Malwal informant states the Baggara first enslaved the Nuba and then the Dinka:

We believe that the Nuba were enslaved first and then the idea caught on with the Dinka further south, because it is easier to get to Malwal territory than other parts of Bahr al Ghazal and this region is adjacent to the Baggara.⁽²¹⁾

Of importance here is that Nuban cattle were less desirable than that of the Dinka and Nuer. Throughout this period the Western Ngok residing north of the Bahr el-Arab river

⁽¹⁹⁾ O'Fahey, "Slavery and the Slave Trade," 36-38. Various terms for slave evolved including "Turuj," which was attributed to the Nuba and those captured south of Kordofan including the Dinka. Fartit was applied to the pagan inhabitants below the ill-defined southern boundary of Dar Fur, living north and south of the Bahr al-Arab and in the Bahr al-Ghazal region. Peoples raided below the Sinnar Sultanate in the Gezira were "Nuba." El-Tounsy, Voyage au Quaday, 173. Na'um Shugayr, Ta'rikh, 455.

⁽²⁰⁾ Browne, Travels, 347-9.

⁽²¹⁾ Personal interview: Lawrence Lual Lual Akuey (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

developed a markedly different relationship with the Baggara. Rather than suffer incessant war, the Ngok compromised and made alliances, some of which have endured to present times. Because of their peculiar geographical position these Dinka came to represent a "gateway" between the Islamic Baggara and the non-Islamic Bahr el-Ghazal Dinka.

Ngok/Baggara Relations

Although the Baggara raided the Ngok's southern Dinka neighbors their relations with the Ngok were marked by the need for precious water over that of slave labor.⁽²²⁾ Plagued by a climate which is one of the harshest in the Southern Sudan,⁽²³⁾ the Baggara and Ngok homelands of southwest Kordofan experience radical alterations between dry and wet seasons. It is a hot and parched semi-desert for some months and during the rainy season it becomes an isolated and muddy tropical swamp.

⁽²²⁾ Stephanie Beswick, "The Ngok: Emergence and Destruction of a Nilotic Protostate in Southwest Kordofan," in Kordofan Invaded, ed. Michael Kevane and Endre Stienssen (Leiden: Brill, in press).

⁽²³⁾ Like the Ngok in Abyei, the Baggara homeland of El Muglad suffers ecological limitations in that the arable land consists of ridges of grey sandy soil in and around the towns. Like the Dinka they cultivated sorghum and watered their herds from the pools which hold water for only six to eight weeks after the yearly rainfall. Abyei and El-Muglad are separated by a harsh desert scrub of 120 miles. David Cole and Richard Huntington, African Rural Development: Some Lessons from Abyei unpublished manuscript. (Cambridge, Harvard Institute for International Development, October 1985.) Obtained from the Center for Development Studies, University of Bergen, Norway, Chapter 7: 1, 2-3, 10.

Initially, when both groups needed water for their herds from the river systems south of the Ngok homeland, Abyei military tensions erupted. The difficult ecological situation was tied to the Baggara's recent acquisition of Malwal and Western Twic Dinka cattle⁽²⁴⁾ and the increase in their herds which required more water than the camels they previously possessed. However, a compromise between both groups over water rights and access to the rivers south of the Ngok was reached when each Baggara section maintained the same specific route north and south from their rainy to their dry season camps. These migration routes prevailed for centuries.⁽²⁵⁾

However, further south in the Bahr el-Ghazal region cattle and slave raids increased while jellaba from Dar Fur began to trade with southern people who bartered captured

⁽²⁴⁾ Lloyd, "Some Notes on Dar Homr," 650. As noted earlier, the Baggara arrived from the west with camels however, many died of disease in the region and hence it became necessary to acquire larger herds of cattle for survival. From this period onwards cows rather than camels formed the basis of most Baggara economies. SAD 660/11/151.

⁽²⁵⁾ Tensions intermittently resulted however when, during certain years of drought the Humr migrated south ahead of schedule while conversely the Ngok failed to move north away from the rivers for exactly the same reason. The need to maintain forage and fodder for the animals necessitated these routes not cross each other. (Dr. David Decker research notes given to me for consultation. He conducted research in Kordofan 18 May 1987, and interviewed the Paramount Chief of the Humr-Messiria, Ali Nimr the great-grandson of Ali Jula of the Messiria in Muglad as well as numbers of his relatives); See also, Cole and Huntington, African Rural Development, Chap. 7, 7.

enemies.⁽²⁶⁾ The extent to which slavery and the slave trade devastated Southern society is noted by travellers of the period. In 1796 Browne was the first and only European to pass along the whole length of the Darb el Arba'in (the forty days road from Assiut in Egypt to El Fasher in Dar Fur). He noted a caravan of one thousand slaves. By 1820, just prior to the Turkish invasion of Sudan, German geographer Ritter, observed that Dar Fur caravans numbered from five thousand to twelve thousand slaves.⁽²⁷⁾ In the midst of the ongoing slave raids and ensuing chaos the Nuer began to forge east into heavily populated Dinka territory seeking security. This migration had a momentous impact on future Dinka/Nuer relations.

THE GENESIS OF THE CENTURIES LONG DINKA/NUER CONFLICTS

The Forefathers of the Nuer: Dinka or Luo?

The Nuer are the Dinkas' closest neighbors and today seventy five percent of self proclaimed "Nuer" comprise those

⁽²⁶⁾ Lawrence Mire, "Al-Zubayr Pasha and the Zariba Based Slave Trade in the Bahr al-Ghazal 1855-1879," unpublished paper, Princeton University 1977, 7-9. Dennis D. Cordell, "Secondary Empire and Slave-Raiding Beyond the Islamic Frontier in Northern Equatorial Africa: The Case of Bandas Hakima and Sa'id Baldas," unpublished paper. Both papers obtained from the personal library of Dr. O'Fahey, University of Bergen, Norway.

⁽²⁷⁾ Quoted in Thomas Fowell Buxton, The African Slave Trade and its Remedy (London: J. Murray, 1840), 65. W. B. Shaw, "Darb el Arba'in," Sudan Notes and Records Vol. 12 (1929): 63, 71.

of Dinka origin.⁽²⁸⁾ Yet, the question of the forefathers of the Nuer is still open to debate. Ray Kelly and Peter Newcomer suggest the Nuer are an ethnic group born entirely of the Dinka and linguistic studies of both groups note that they are more closely related than other Nilotic languages.⁽²⁹⁾ Nuer informants support these arguments and they state that "we used to be one: the Dinka are the older and the Nuer the younger."⁽³⁰⁾ Dinka informants also support this assertion:

Marol is the grandfather of our grandfathers. These various daughters gave birth to four groups. Amou Marol gave birth to the Rek people, Nyantoc gave birth to the Nuer, Achuei gave birth to two sons, one of which gave birth to the Gok and the other to the Luaic.⁽³¹⁾

The strength of the above arguments rests on linguistics and Dinka and Nuer myths. Douglas Johnson, however, suggests that any study of these languages is inherently problematic because neither is unified; linguistic studies conducted on the Bor Dinka and the Jikany Nuer are unreliable because both

⁽²⁸⁾ E. E. Evans-Pritchard estimates that as much as 75 per cent of the Lou Nuer were of Dinka descent ("The Nuer: Tribe and Clan," Sudan Notes and Records Vol. XVI, Part I, (1933): 53.)

⁽²⁹⁾ Bender, "Nilo-Saharan," 7; Peter J. Newcomer, "The Nuer are Dinka: An Essay on Origins and Environmental Determinism," Man Vol. 7 No. 1 (1972) 5-11; Kelly, Nuer Conquests, 166; Maurice Glickman, "The Nuer and the Dinka: A Further Note," Man Vol. 7 No. 4 (1972) 586-94.

⁽³⁰⁾ Personal interview: Abraham Riak Bum (Nuer). Also personal interviews with Peter Malwal, James Gatluak, Thok Top Liem, Peter Nyang Khat (Nuer) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽³¹⁾ Personal interviews: Paul Manhom Mading, Isaac Makoi Majur, Kana Achol Dak (woman), Mabor Morwel Lok, Manasseh Keluel Cindut, Joseph Mathiang Dhalbeng, (Agar Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

have incorporated large numbers of other southern peoples and languages. I support Johnson's argument for the Dinka language has incorporated multiple different dialects and foreign words.⁽³²⁾

Johnson further argues that the Nuer language contains much to suggest it is of Luo origin. For example, in social organization the Nuer share significant common traits with the Shilluk and Anuak (both of Luo extraction) and divergent social organizations existing among these three groups suggests a common ancestral foundation differing from the Dinka. Although Nuer and Dinka share more cognates in their core vocabulary than Nuer and Luo this factor is explained by recent "Dinkaization" wherein the Nuer adopted certain Dinka customs while retaining others fundamental to Luo political culture.⁽³³⁾

In my own field research I noted Sudanese and Kenyan Luo informants today believe they have a linguistic affinity with the Nuer but not with the Dinka. According to one Luo

⁽³²⁾ Johnson, "History and Prophecy," 85-98, 568. Future linguistic comparisons between the Nuer and Dinka will need to acknowledge that neither language contains unity; Dinka Bor is linguistically a combination of Mundari, Luo, Murle and Dinka, while three hundred miles northwest, Malwal Dinka contains many Arabic, Luel and Luo words in the vocabulary.

⁽³³⁾ Johnson, "History and Prophecy," 85-98, 568; Newcomer, "Nuer are Dinka," 5-11; Kelly, Nuer Conquests; Bender Nilo Saharan Language Studies 7. McLaughlin's figures indicate that the Nuer share a higher percentage of cognates with the Anuak than do the Dinka. His glottochronological analysis yielded a separation date between Nuer and Dinka around AD 85, see John McLaughlin, "Tentative time depths for Nuer, Dinka, and Anuak," Journal of Ethiopian Studies 5 (1967): 13-27.

informant: "I understand Nuer better than Dinka; it is linguistically closer to us. We believe we [the Luo] were in one place with the Nuer, Shilluk and Anuak."⁽³⁴⁾ But some Atuat informants, whose language it is claimed is very close to Nuer claim "the Atuat language is closer to Luo than any other language. We speak a dialect of Nuer only because we were adjacent to these people for a period."⁽³⁵⁾

Dinka and Luo oral histories note that prior to the former's occupation of the Bahr el-Ghazal, the latter dominated most of the territory west of the Bahr el-Jebel river and along the Bahr al-Ghazal and its tributaries; the region from whence the Nuer emerged.⁽³⁶⁾ Riad suggests the Luo are scattered not only throughout southern Sudan but also in modern-day Kordofan. He suggests that the Nuer are of Luo origin and migrated south from a drought-ridden semi-arid area of Kordofan or Darfur arriving in the Bul country around 1700. This is the region where the Bahr el-Homr and Bahr el-Ghazal rivers join. He suggests the Dago are of Luo extraction and that they and the Nuer have an ancient relationship. He notes that Bul, the last Dago sultan, is also located in the country

⁽³⁴⁾ Personal interview: anonymous Kenyan Luo, south Sudan; Dickson Ogolla Oroku (Kenyan Luo) and Albino Ukech Simon (Sudanese Luo) Nyabagok, south Sudan.

⁽³⁵⁾ Personal interviews: David Deng Athorbei (Atuat) Nairobi, Kenya; Napoleon Adok Gai (Atuat); Dickson Ogolla Oroku, (Kenyan Luo) and Albino Ukech Simon, (Sudanese Luo) Nyabagok, south Sudan.

⁽³⁶⁾ Johnson "History and Prophecy," 85-91; Gabriel Giet Jal, "Jikany Nuer," 15.

in the Bahr el-Ghazal from whence the Nuer core originated.⁽³⁷⁾ Although other Luo groups remained contiguous to each other when the Dinka migrated into various parts of southern Sudan the Nuer were cut off and isolated by the Dinka who surrounded them. While the topic requires more study, the Luo origin of the Nuer appears strong.

The Nuer Migrations to the East

Two centuries of violent ethnic Dinka and Nuer conflicts date from the 1700s when the Nuer occupied a territory of around nine thousand square miles located in the west central portion of the Upper Nile Basin. Entirely encompassed by a Dinka domain more than ten times its size,⁽³⁸⁾ the Bul were the initiators of the Nuer migrations east and neighbors of the Western Twic who were victims of Baggara slavers. It is likely the Western Twic began to migrate eastwards to safety behind the Nuer, setting in motion a larger eastern migration.⁽³⁹⁾

Reconstructing the Nuer advance along with a tentative historical date Riad calculates that the Nuer expanded east to

⁽³⁷⁾ Riad, "Divine Kingship," 256-66; H. Barth, Travels in Central Africa, Vol. III (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1857), 425.

⁽³⁸⁾ SAD 660/11/146, SAD 660/11/156.

⁽³⁹⁾ Willis ("Cult of Deng," 199) also noted a connection between the slave trade and the eastward expansion of the Nuer. Nuer historical traditions remember that the Jikany Nuer migration eastwards was preceded by conflict within Jikany sections and then between the Jikany and Bul Nuer. See Johnson, "History and Prophecy," 29, 95-6.

occupy the Bahr el-Ghazal and Bahr el-Jebel River regions around 1750.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Ray Kelly argues that the Nuer forged east to the edge of the Upper Nile Basin in a hundred-mile wide swath through the center of Dinka as well as Anuak territory. By 1890 the Nuer had increased their territorial domain fourfold to a total of thirty-five thousand square miles. Exogenous factors subsequently brought this expansion to an abrupt halt and their eastward thrust ended at the close of the nineteenth century.⁽⁴¹⁾

Up to this time in Southern history it was the Dinka who absorbed external peoples. Now the reverse took place. During this migration many Dinka were "digested" into the expanding Nuer culture. Unsurprisingly, the Nuer and Dinka views of this expansion differ. Certain Nuer view this period as one of accommodation and Abraham Riak Bum notes:

My ancestors were from Bentiu in Upper Nile. When we came there the settlers in these places were Dinka and there was tension between us until we expelled the Dinka from these places on the central Upper Nile. After a time there was a reconciliation between the Nuer and Dinka and we agreed to share the land. So the Dinka moved back to the Malakal border along the Sobat. This agreement was reached with the aid of Nuer elders, Kuany Jang and Wal Nangjok and on the Dinka side, Deng Pakak of the Thoi Dinka and Riak Yak of the Eastern Luaic. However, initially, the fighting was between the Nuer themselves; we fought over cattle and grazing; we are also farmers and we grew our own dhurra.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Riad, "Divine Kingship," 223-4, 238, 241.

⁽⁴¹⁾ At this time the Mahdists and slave raiders withdrew from their strongholds along the Duk ridge with the dawning of the first years of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. Kelly, Nuer Conquest 1; SAD G11S1124; E. E. Evans-Pritchard, The Nuer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940).

However, as we migrated our population increased and the Bentiu region became overpopulated, so we had to migrate into more marginalized areas. We found Dinka also moving into the region and we fought with them, partly because the Dinka and Nuer cultural and political systems differ.⁽⁴²⁾

However, the Dinka have always viewed this period in their history as a violent encroachment into their land. A Thoi Dinka Phillip Thon Marol states that his ancestors resided in Ayod and were forced north to their present position:

We were neighbors of the Bor who were based in Ayod but today it is a Nuer town. We were pushed by Lau, Gawaar, Lak and Thiong Nuer north. They also displaced the Anuak from the Nasir area. My great grandfather was born in Ayod and the Thoi people used to live further south and we were pushed north by the Nuer.⁽⁴³⁾ The Ruweng and Nyarruweng used to be in the present-day Gawaar area in Ayod. However, the Nuer came and fought them penetrating them and dividing them, sending the Nyarruweng south and the Ruweng north.⁽⁴⁴⁾

A Rut Dinka Santino Malual Meet notes his people used to reside in Ayut and were pushed north:

After migrating south we settled in Ayut (today's Gawaar territory) and the Nuer came in big numbers and we fought them and we were pushed north to our

⁽⁴²⁾ Personal interview: Abraham Riak Bum (Nuer) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁴³⁾ Two groups greatly affected by the Nuer expansion were the Rut and Thoi Dinka. P. P. Howell suggests it is probable that these groups were once far more numerous than today (approximately 3000 during the British period) occupying an enormous area. However, many were killed or absorbed by the Nuer while others fled in all directions seeking refuge with other Dinka. As the Thoi migrated north to the Zeraf hills it may have encouraged the Ruweng and Abialang Dinka migrations to the northwest and northeast respectively. (SAD 212/15/4 P. P. Howell.)

⁽⁴⁴⁾ The Nyarruweng Dinka, now some few thousand claim they held all the Lau Pali and ran to a hundred thousand. See, Willis, "Cult of Deng," 199.

present position of Khor Fulus.

Two Ghol Dinka Samuel Majak Piok and Barnaba Wuor state the Nuer now reside in what used to be Padang territory:

The Padang used to be further south and we got pushed north by the Nuer. The Nuer wars ended up with the Thoi and Luaic moving north and the Ghol remaining where they are now. So the present location of Nuer used to be a settlement of Padang.

Two Nyarruweng Dinka Solomon Leek Deng and Abdengokuer Adut note that the Dinka resided in a line from Renk to Bor:

We were all along the Nile from Renk down to Bor and it was our area when the Nuer came and fought with us and cut us in two. Now the Nuer are in Waat, Ayot and Fanjak. When the Nuer came and raided us they took cows, women and children.

An Eastern Twic Diing Akol Diing states his people were pushed south by the Nuer:

In the early nineteenth century the Nuer pushed the Bor Dinka further south to their present region. We have songs remembering the places we used to live, and today they still have Dinka names, but these areas are now occupied by the Nuer.

Among the Bahr el-Ghazal Dinka a Ciec-Ador Gordon Matot Tut notes that many residing in the Nuer territory today used to be Dinka:

Shambe near Yirrol was an important area; the land was initially occupied by the Paliau Dinka alone and they subsequently defended the region militarily against the Luo, and the Nuer...in occupied Nuer territory today the people are all Cui Dinka groups who originally crossed the Nile from the east. The Nuer today have Lou and Ador sections much the same as the Ciec Dinka.⁽⁴⁵⁾

⁽⁴⁵⁾ The Ciec at one time occupied the country south of Lat. 7.50, however they were forced to evacuate by the Nuer in the latter part of the 19th century. The Luaic clans date back 200 years to 1721, to the time when they had inhabited the "Looch" country on the Bahr el Gebel. See Captain V. H.

The above account suggests that those Dinka groups into which the Nuer expanded remained and became "Nuer." However, another reason for tensions between the Nuer and Dinka at this time may have been more localized and represented nothing more than pastoral raiding. Maguith Deng Kuol and Agoth Alor Bulabek, both Western Ngok-Abyor note:

We do not agree that we left the Eastern Ngok because of Nuer aggression because we left before the Nuer came. The wars between us came about because the daughter of Kuot Awut was promised to a Nuer man in marriage for one hundred cows. After having paid the dowry, the father of the Dinka girl demanded the Nuer man (who was from the Nyang section, a subsection of the Leik Nuer) bring a cow with two tails, which in reality he knew was impossible. He further demanded that the color of the cow must be "reng" red and white mixed. The Nuer were in a fix because they had paid the dowry but did not receive the wife in return. This event encouraged war and it happened after we had arrived in Abyei.

It is likely that tensions between the Dinka and the Nuer existed before the Baggara raids and the Nuer migrations east although few oral histories of this era are known. What is certain about the wars between the Dinka and the Nuer is that the increased populations in the eastern Nuer and Dinka territories encouraged ecological stress on the land and may explain why so many Dinka were forced to convert to the Nuer mode of existence.

Fergusson, "The Nuong Nuer," Sudan Notes and Records Vol. 4, (1921): 154.

Ecology, Population Stress and the Need to Convert to Nuerism

Marshall Sahlins suggests that Nuer political organization represents a tool for military expansionism born from seasonal ecological scarcity and recurrent famines. E. E. Evans-Pritchard argues that ecological scarcity produces a high interdependence between members of the same Nuer villages and cattle camps encouraging a "common economy" of "mutual assistance and consumption of food" within these groups.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Much of the violence remembered by the Dinka may have been a factor of increased militarism among those now forced to convert to the Nuer socio-economic and political system. This crisis would have affected those living within the periphery of the Nuer and Dinka regions. Lacking sufficient arable land to accommodate an increasing population they were forced from a life system of agro-pastoralism to one of pastoralism alone.⁽⁴⁷⁾

The ongoing tension gave birth to violent Dinka/Nuer wars which continue today. Each generation of Dinka newly inducted into the expanding Nuer economic fold had no choice but to readapt to the dominant mode of existence.⁽⁴⁸⁾ While Dinka/Nuer tensions continue in present times the eighteenth

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Marshall Sahlins, "The Segmentary Lineage: An Organization of Predatory Expansion," American Anthropologist 63 (1961): 322-45. Evans-Pritchard, The Nuer, 81-93.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Personal interview: Gordon Matot Tut, (Ciec-Ador Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ See Newcomer, "Nuer are Dinka," 5-11; Lienhardt, "Western Dinka," 114.

century also gave birth to the third series of virulent pastoral wars; that between the Bor Dinka and their eastern neighbors, the Murle.

THE GENESIS OF THE CENTURIES-LONG DINKA/MURLE WARS

During the time of early migrations down the eastern White Nile into the heartland of southern Sudan many Dinka had come to reside near Akobo in an arc towards the modern-day Bor region. A brief period after they settled a martial pastoral group, the Murle, arrived from the east. Originating from near the modern-day Didinga territory on the Ugandan border Murle oral history recounts that they forged north under pressure from the Jiye and Topotha. Migrating from Kathiangor Mountain to the Maruwa Hills, they reached the valley of the Lotilla near south eastern Ethiopia around 1780 and then migrated west into what had recently become Dinka territory. By the early twentieth century their population numbered around twenty to thirty thousand.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Because the Murle are pastoralists their relations with the Dinka from the outset were marked by constant raids for cattle and women. As the Murle forged into Dinka territory they forced the latter west towards the Nile.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The Murle are remembered in old Dinka songs as the "Bier" and the Dinka

⁽⁴⁹⁾ SAD 104/16/1-13 (John Winder). Personal interview: Lawrence Lual Lual Akuey, (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Personal interview, Tor Deng Lual and John Majok Deng (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

remember: "we had to abandon the good agricultural areas in the far east because of the Murle threat."⁽⁵¹⁾ Settling east of the Nile in the modern-day region of Bor the Dinka were left with poorer soils which produced less food.⁽⁵²⁾ Some accounts note the Murle also thrust westwards across the Nile into the Ciiec Dinka territory where the famous Ciiec leader, Juet repulsed them sometime during the eighteenth century:

Juet protected our land from the Luo, who then left. Then the Nuer tried to occupy the land, he resisted, and then the Murle crossed to the west of the Nile and he fought them off too, pushing them back to their territory on the eastern banks.⁽⁵³⁾

While war has dominated relations between the Dinka and Murle to a lesser degree relations of peace and integration are also remembered. Some Dinka note many Murle became integrated into the Dinka amalgam:

The Murle were our friends to the South of Bor and many of these Dinka are believed to be of Murle ancestry. In the Southern Bor region many kept cattle together and intermarried and there was only minor raiding between both. Other Murle immigrated and become Dinka, and adopted our culture and became assimilated.⁽⁵⁴⁾

Murle/Dinka integration was also encouraged in the early 19th century when an earthquake took place on the borders of the

⁽⁵¹⁾ Personal interview: Lazarus Leek Mawut (Nyarruweng Dinka) London, England.

⁽⁵²⁾ Personal interviews: Alier Arok Akuein, Mayen Jok Majok, Kuc Manyang Kuany, Deng Dut, Dau Tor, Kuir Jok and Atem Ayiik (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁵³⁾ Personal interview: Gordon Matot Tut (Cic Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Personal interview: Diing Akol Diing, (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

Murle/Bor region at the end of the mountains in a place called Macbol. "People were dancing and then the earth opened and swallowed them up. The people in this place were Duor Dinka." Fearing the place was cursed, the Duor migrated further into the Murle area and eventually became "Murle" while those closer to the Bor region migrated into Anyidi (Dinka territory) becoming "Dinka."⁽⁵⁵⁾

Nevertheless, integration aside, war marked much of the history between these two groups for both are pastoral and much like all pastoral societies the strength of their economies has rested in constant raids. The Dinka claim, however, that they are less interested in counterraiding because the former's cattle, the short horned variety are less coveted. On the other hand Murle girls were abducted as wives in response to the former's cattle raids.⁽⁵⁶⁾ These events set off a continuous chain-reaction of wars,⁽⁵⁷⁾ the most remembered being the battle of Anyidi.

This famous battle began sometime in the Turkish period (1821-1881) when the Murle raided a Dinka cattle camp at Manjongo however, the latter defeated the former and captured war weapons, spears, shields and a series of "beautiful hats"

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Personal interviews: Wuut Mac, Bor-Gok and Wec Chol (Bor-Gok Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Personal interview: Lazarus Leek Mawut (Nyarruweng Dinka) London, England.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ "When they raid us they carry away our girls!" Personal interview: Abdulla Ayom Kuany (Bor-Atoc Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

made of animal skins. That evening as the Dinka celebrated their victory dance in Anyidi the young warriors sought the advice of their beny bith: "We asked if the priest could make the Murle attack again so that we could acquire more of the beautiful animal skin caps, weapons and spears." Shortly thereafter the Murle attacked the Dinka. However, the event did not bode well for they were not only totally defeated but acquired no booty whatsoever. ⁽⁵⁸⁾

Relations between the Dinka and Murle much as between the former and the Nuer are best characterized as two centuries of war punctuated by brief periods of peace. In the 20th century the Khartoum government exploited this well-known centuries-long pastoral war to its own ends. Notwithstanding the chaos of Dinka/Nuer and Dinka/Murle wars, the penetration of the Southern Sudan by the latest "outsiders" from the north gave rise to new forms of trade.

EARLY TRADERS IN SOUTHERN SUDAN

It has often been assumed that the Southern Sudan has been "totally isolated" and "free" of foreign influences until the Turkish period of the 19th century. In reality this is not correct. Travellers accounts suggest that prior to the 19th century the Dinka exchanged ivory with the Islamic Baggara who

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Personal interviews: Wuut Mac and Wec Chol (Bor-Gok Dinka), Kakuma, Kenya.

sold it to itinerant traders (Danagla and Ja'lliyyin).⁽⁵⁹⁾ The Abialang Dinka in the north sold or exchanged cut agates or flints of the desert and corals to the Selim Baggara during the same time period.⁽⁶⁰⁾ When the first European traders arrived in the Southern Sudan on the White Nile in the 1840s at Kuronjah Ciec Dinka Chief, Tchinkah already possessed strings of blue glass Vermiglio or Venician beads.⁽⁶¹⁾ Other Dinka on the Nile possessed strings of white beads which they claimed to have acquired from West African Tadrari (Fellata) traders who peddled their wares in the Hofrat el-Nahas region. They then moved south and east as far as two days west of the White Nile.⁽⁶²⁾ This trading was well under way at the dawn of the Turkish era.

Equally important is that traveller Werne noted that a thriving intra-Southern trade also existed. The Dinka acquired hats from a distant people of Kekess (possibly Murle)

⁽⁵⁹⁾ R. C. Stevenson, "Old Khartoum, 1821-1885," Sudan Notes and Records Vol. XLVII (1966): 15.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Ferdinand Werne, Expedition to Discover the Sources of the White Nile in the Years 1840-1841, Vol. II (London: R. Bently, 1849), 311.

⁽⁶¹⁾ Werne, Expedition, Vol. I, 268; Vol II, 172.

⁽⁶²⁾ Traveller Werne deduced that these traveler/traders, also known as Tokruri did not take partake of the Nile route as nothing had been reported of them in Khartoum. It appeared more likely that they joined the pilgrim caravan of Bornu and distributed themselves in the neighborhood of the Nile. Werne, Expedition, Vol. I, 335, 338.

exchanging them for cows.⁽⁶³⁾ The Ciec Dinka exchanged iron for spears and arrows from the Arol Dinka to their west.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Werne noted that most White Nile peoples possessed Bari spears.⁽⁶⁵⁾ More importantly, an intra-Southern slave trade existed and Bari King Lakono both enslaved his own people as well as purchasing Bukos slaves. These peoples were closely related to the Mundari and located just south of the Bor and Aliab Dinka.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Abannik Hino argues that when the European and Turkish government forces conquered the Sudan in 1821, the pre-existing Southern trade facilitated external invasion.⁽⁶⁷⁾ When Turkish and European travellers arrived on the White Nile in the early 1840s the Dinka were anxious to trade ivory as well as undesirable members of their villages for beads.⁽⁶⁸⁾

⁽⁶³⁾ They refused to part with them when the European travellers offered them beads in exchange. Werne, Expedition, Vol. I, 268; Vol II, 172. During my field research Dinka informants told me that they fought the Murle to acquire their hats.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ These Dinka, now known as the Ghol or Hol migrated east across the Nile in the mid-19th century.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Werne noted the spears all over the region of the White Nile appeared remarkably similar to those of the Bari and suggested all iron work was manufactured in that country and bartered to neighboring nations. Werne, Expedition, Vol. I, 257, 269, 295 and Vol. II, 162.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Werne, Expedition, Vol II, 123-4.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Abannik Hino, "Eastern Equatoria and the White Nile Trade: the Political Economy of a Frontier, 1840-1900," Ph. D. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1997.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Journal of J. A. Vayssiere, 1853-4 "Ivory-Buying on the White Nile," in The Europeans in the Sudan 1834-1878, translated and edited by Paul Santi and Richard Hill (Oxford:

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have suggested that the Southern Sudanese tensions of the latter twentieth century were born two hundred years earlier in the mid-eighteenth century. This era saw the genesis of early Islamic Baggara slave raids into the western Dinka country. In turn this affected the Nuer encouraging instability in both the western Dinka and Nuer territories. These events gave rise to the genesis of 18th century Nuer expansion to the east during which the former dislodged or incorporated four times its population.

Although certain scholars argue that the forefathers of the Nuer are the Dinka it is more probable they originated from the mosaic of various Luo groups residing in Kordofan and Southern Sudan prior to the Dinka arrival. It is also probable that many Dinka converted to Nuer culture relying more heavily on pastoralism in the wake of ecological stress and difficulties involved in an agro-pastoral livelihood as populations exploded. The struggle over resources and concomitant changes in economic lifestyle marked the beginning of a centuries-long war among the Nilotic Southern Sudanese as the mono-economy of a pastoral non-agricultural socio-economic system relies more heavily on raiding.

Clarendon Press, 1980), 137. Slaves were also purchased on the White Nile from Dinka groups who had been raiding other peoples for cattle; Gray, History, 45. Because of starvation, many Dinka throughout the centuries, have been forced to sell their children for a nominal fee, in the hopes of saving the rest of the family. See Colin Campbell and Deborah Scroggins, "...children up for sale as 20,000 hungry refugees seek a way out," Atlanta Constitution, Section A, p. 1, April 15, 1988.

Of equal importance to the later history of the Dinka are the violent Dinka/Murle wars which began in this period. These conflicts represented the third in a series of centuries-long pastoral wars which were born in the eighteenth century and continue to the present time. Along with the penetration of the Baggara into the Bahr el-Ghazal came itinerant Sudanese and West African traders. The following Turkish and Mahdist periods of the nineteenth century saw increased violence perpetrated by external forces while intra-Southern tensions concomitantly increased. What followed was a level of violence, hitherto unknown in southern Sudan; a period best understood as "the hundred years war" or as the Western Ngok remember, "the time when the world was spoiled."⁽⁶⁹⁾

⁽⁶⁹⁾ This phrase was coined by a Western Ngok Dinka (Deng, Deng Majok, 40-50).

CHAPTER FIVE

VIOLENCE, ETHNICITY AND MILITARY CONSOLIDATION IN THE SOUTH (1821-1884)

The eighteenth century Southern Sudan saw the genesis of early Islamic Baggara slave raids into the western Dinka country. In the following century the Egyptian colonial era introduced a level of violence and disruption hitherto unknown. Scholars estimate that slavers carried off two million Southerners from their homelands and, of all those peoples enslaved the Dinka were the most prized.⁽¹⁾ The Dinka oral histories of the violence and atrocities presented in this text are supported by travellers accounts, European administrators' reports and missionaries.

The history of slave raids in the eighteenth century involved raiding alone, however, the nineteenth century saw psychological control by violence and torture perpetuating great fear throughout the region. This era marked the beginnings of Dinka and other Southern peoples becoming human commodities or currency imprisoned in predatory enterprises called zeribas. Many young men were castrated. Captives considered unredeemable were executed and their bodies

⁽¹⁾ Sudan: the Long War, Institute for the Study of Conflict, March 1972 cited in O'Ballance, Secret War, 20. See also Shuqayr, Tarikh, 51.

disposed of in mass graves or deep trenches some distance from the zeribas. European travellers noted that human skulls littered the South as well as the caravan routes to the North. In the Gezira the Egyptian colonial government attempted to solve their Abialang Dinka problem in 1863 by means of "wiping them out." By the end of the century most Abialang (also known as the Dinka Ibrahim) had been forced off their land and fled to various other regions including Ethiopia.

While there are reports of Dinka reacting militarily, much historiography of the region suggests that they were too weak or ignorant to defend their homeland. By the end of the century for example, early British intelligence reports noted that the Dinka were a rigid non-changing stateless society and merely represented, along with other Southern Sudanese, a "Monkeydom of Nations."⁽²⁾ I argue however, that the level of violence and human suffering rose to such heights that a confederated Southern Sudanese military was born under the leadership of the Dinka. It represented the first unified Southern military resistance movement to forcibly remove Northern intruders from their homeland and marks the nascent beginnings of Southern proto-nationalism in the South. Yet, at the beginning of this violent Egyptian colonial era the Dinka still comprised a series of disunified stateless clan groups. Only two groups had begun military centralization prior to this period; the Western Ngok had become more militarized in

⁽²⁾ MacMichael to Maffey, May 29, 1927 CIVSEC I/42/112. Cited in Collins, Shadows in the Grass, 122.

the face of Baggara attacks to their north and the Abialang Dinka in the Gezira had come to represent a military confederation after centuries of war with the Sinnarian Sultanate.

PENETRATION OF THE SOUTH AND EARLY IVORY AND SLAVE TRADERS

The early nineteenth century witnessed an intensification of violent penetration into all points of the Sudan. The Egyptians entered the Sudan as the first external force to seize control of the region since the Pharaohs. This period marked the most violent in living memory of the Dinka. Viceroy Muhammad Ali Pasha's desire to increase the ranks of his army could only be met by draining the reservoir of slave labor located in the Southern Gezira, the Nuba Mountains and the Southern Sudanese heartlands.⁽³⁾

In 1839-1841 an Egyptian expedition led by Salim Qapudan broke through the huge swamp the "sudd" as far south as the Bari country on the borders of modern-day Uganda.⁽⁴⁾ Abannik Hino argues that pre-existing trade in the South, including

⁽³⁾ P. M. Holt and M. W. Daly, A History of the Sudan (London: Longman, 1979), 47, 54, 62; Richard Hill, Egypt in the Sudan 1820-1881 (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 1, 11. Hill notes the term "Egyptian" must be used with discretion as the Sudan was not conquered or ruled by Egyptians but by a Turkish-speaking governing body whose members had dominated Egypt since medieval times.

⁽⁴⁾ The first European trader in Sudan was Joseph-Marie-Francois Vayssiere. See Endre Stiansen, "Overture to Imperialism; European Trade and Economic Change in the Sudan in the Nineteenth Century," Dissertation Thesis, University of Bergen, Norway 1993, 39.

the Bari slave trade, facilitated the penetration of nineteenth century external traders.⁽⁵⁾ When the Egyptians and Europeans first appeared they were therefore greeted with some enthusiasm. On one of the first expeditions up the White Nile in 1840 traveller Thibaut purchased a Ciec Dinka girl for a few glass beads and on the same expedition "voluntary" slaves were collected from the Bari and the Dinka.⁽⁶⁾ Upon arrival in Bari King Lakono's territory early Egyptian expeditions profitted from the opportunity to buy cheap slaves; Suliman Kashef brought fifteen slaves to Khartoum and sold them as soldiers.⁽⁷⁾

This trade may have encouraged early tendencies towards centralization among the White Nile Dinka and in 1849 a Ciec Dinka prophet attempted to administer and control trade in his region. These actions are not typically associated with stateless societies and suggest an early stage of political centralization. When he failed to reach an agreement with the traders the following year he forbid his people to sell their ivory.⁽⁸⁾ However, soon the traders took by force those items Southerners would not agree to give.

Two trade routes dominated the region: the White Nile

⁽⁵⁾ Hino, "Eastern Equatoria."

⁽⁶⁾ Noted in Werne, Expedition, Vol. I, 238, 248, 257, 303 and Vol. II, 3, 308.

⁽⁷⁾ These slaves were primarily the Bukos and related to the Mundari. Werne, Expedition, Vol II, 3, 123-4.

⁽⁸⁾ Gray, History, 37.

commonly called the river route, and the older, less accessible overland route from the west in the Bahr el-Ghazal which crossed the Bahr al-Arab river en-route to the Islamic Sultanate of Darfur and points further north. Shortly thereafter, the Southern Sudan was flooded with European and Muslim traders.

Initially traders came to barter for ivory however, it became more lucrative to acquire slaves. This event coincided with the Russian conquests in the Caucasus which cut off the supply of Circassian concubines to the Middle East and North Africa and led to an increased demand for African slave girls. The American civil war's reduction of readily available cotton resulted in the spread of cotton cultivation in Egypt bringing increased prosperity. In turn these events strengthened the demand for domestic slaves. By the 1860s there developed a thriving slaving business on the White Nile.⁽⁹⁾

Scholars estimate that in the nineteenth century slavers abducted two million Southerners from their homelands.⁽¹⁰⁾ Of

⁽⁹⁾ Mire, "Al-Zubayr Pasha;" Gabriel Baer, Studies in the Social History of Egypt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 165, 169; Stefano Santandrea, A Tribal History of the Western Bahr el Ghazal (Verona: Nigrizia, 1964), 18; Gray, History, 66; Vayssiere, "Ivory-Buying," 137.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Sudan: the Long War, Institute for the Study of Conflict, March 1972 cited in O'Ballance, Secret War, 20. Scholars have noted the size of slave caravans estimated by travellers and such organizations as the British Anti-Slavery society took avid notes from North Africa. By calculating these size and numbers of sighted slave caravans each year along with the numerous caravan routes scholars have been able to estimate the numbers brought north. Further, as slavery and the slave trade was not a secret and very much openly practiced until the 1870s there are many reports and almost

those forcibly taken the Dinka were the most prized primarily because of their military skills.⁽¹¹⁾ Although many of these Nilotes were transported to Egypt informants believe their relatives were also shipped and sold as far away as the slave markets of Zanzibar, Saudi Arabia, Libya and the Yemen.⁽¹²⁾ Within Sudan the main slave markets were located in the northern Sudan in Khartoum, Omdurman, El Obeid, Kordofan and El Fasher.⁽¹³⁾ When the Egyptian government strove to extract more wealth out of the Sudanese by decreeing that taxes could be paid in cash or in slaves of equivalent value the level of violence greatly increased.⁽¹⁴⁾

all travellers and administrators who noted these caravans gave an estimated size of the caravan of slaves.

⁽¹¹⁾ The Syrian intelligence officer working for the British in Cairo noted that the Galla/Ethiopian slaves were the most prized but that in Sudan it was the Dinka; Shuqayr, Tarikh, 51.

⁽¹²⁾ Southern Sudanese informants noted that many of their relatives seized during the nineteenth century had returned from Egypt and other points in the Middle East and particularly Lybia at the beginning of the twentieth century. One Dinka medical doctor serving in Lybia for two years met Dinka peoples who had been brought to the country as slaves in the 19th century. Personal interview: Anonymous informant. At this time the British facilitated repatriation of these peoples to the Southern Sudan. Further, many of these people served in the Egyptian military as well as the Northern Sudanese armies and also returned to the South in the British period. For information on Dinka slaves in the Egyptian army see Richard Hill and Peter Hogg, A Black Corps d'Elite (Michigan: Michigan University State Press, 1996).

⁽¹³⁾ Personal communication, Fidele Majok Mabior, (Rek-Dinka); Anti-Slavery Reporter, September (1880), 87-88; November (1880), 118 and November (1883), 281; Shuqayr, Tarikh, 51. Mire, "Al-Zubayr Pasha," 165, 169.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Hill, Egypt in Sudan, 15.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF VIOLENCE AND
THE COMMODITIZATION OF HUMAN BEINGS

Two factors mark a difference between the history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Southern Sudan. In the latter a level of psychological violence and torture perpetuated great fear throughout the region. It also marked the beginnings of Dinka and other Southern peoples becoming human commodities or currency imprisoned in predatory enterprises, zeribas. These forts or stations were militarily defended, thorny fenced enclosures. At the height of the slave trade there were eighty of these zeribas throughout the South.⁽¹⁵⁾ Here they were forcibly held for sale to Northern traders or in readiness to be marched north to slave markets. In 1874 Italian administrator, Romolo Gessi, was highly disturbed by the levels of butchery that he observed in the South:

...we found the body of a negro boy of about eight years, with the throat cut. Further on another; then a third and a fourth, and then a little girl, all murdered in this barbarous fashion. The besingers [slave troops] who knew the customs of the slave traders, told me that these unfortunate children must have refused to go on, being overcome by fatigue and famine, and that then, in order to frighten the other slaves, their masters had cut their throats...⁽¹⁶⁾

The primary reason external forces could grasp control were the technological advantages they possessed, namely guns

⁽¹⁵⁾ They resulted in the emergence of the first towns to appear in the South; see also Gray, History, 61.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Romolo Gessi, Seven Years in the Soudan (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1892), 281.

and horses. Very commonly, Egyptian soldiers surrounded a village and "using horses and guns thrust into villages seizing young beautiful women." The Dinka moved on foot and possessed only clubs and spears with which to defend themselves.⁽¹⁷⁾

Traders such as Alphonse de Malzac, known as the "King of the White Nile" were reputedly successful only by deeds of widespread cruelty. It was reported that the heads of this trader's victims surrounded his settlement, Dar Ronga, (Agar Dinka territory) in order to instill terror into the neighborhood. His example of brutality was imitated by many of the White Nile traders.⁽¹⁸⁾

This new era of violence saw a departure from the generally accepted practice of intra-Southern pastoral war tactics. Although the Dinka frequently abducted people

⁽¹⁷⁾ Personal interviews: Mayar Mayar Mareng (Rek Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Lawrence Lual Lual Akuey, (Malwal) Nairobi, Kenya; Kuol Lual Mou, Akot Ajuou Majok, Akec Macol Akec, Ater Bol Mayen, Piol Piol Adim, Ding Akuei Deng, Paulino Akon Ken (Malwal Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Lazarus Leek Mawut (Nyarruweng Dinka) London, England; Mary Awien Nyok (Alor Dinka); Zacharia Chol Kot (Ciec Dinka); Phillip Thon Marol (Thoi Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Another informant states: "If you refused to march they amputated your leg and left you to die." Personal interview: Stephen Anyaak Chol (Agar-Pakam Dinka) Akot, South Sudan. A Zande informant states: "Those who were caught were taken away with chains around their necks and hands and led off to Dem Zubayr. There was always a lot of killing; any young children too burdensome to transport were speared while the sick and elderly were thrown into their houses which were then set on fire. Those that became sick along the way had their throats cut." Personal interview, Ephraim Sunguzagi (Zande) Yambio, South Sudan.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Trader Andrea de Bono, a Maltese, transferred 550 slaves on a boat to Khartoum of whom the greater part died in transit. Gray, History, 47, 53-54

themselves and young men died in battle women and children were not frequently killed.⁽¹⁹⁾ Now the psychology of terror perpetuated by Egyptian administrators and European and Arab slave merchants introduced a new and sinister form of forced compliance.

The following oral histories of the violence and atrocities during this era are supported by travellers accounts, European administrators' reports and missionaries.⁽²⁰⁾ Upon capture Dinka were marched to the nearest zeriba and violently packaged into saleable commodities. Captives were immediately branded with three vertical marks carved into their cheeks. Known to the Dinka as the "one eleven" it represented the ethnic markings of the Dongolawi Northern Sudanese.⁽²¹⁾ Many young men were

⁽¹⁹⁾ Personal interview: Andria Acin-Nyin Maketh, (Atuot-Apak) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽²⁰⁾ This is in response to one European historian of the Southern Sudan who wrote to me: "You have relied too heavily on oral testimony from Dinka informants, third generation, angry and not very reliable when commenting on the past 150 years ago."

⁽²¹⁾ A traveller noted many of the men and women of the south bear the slave marks of the Dervishes; three deep diagonal incisions on each cheek below the cheek bone. See, Lieutenant Boyd Alexander, From the Niger to the Nile Vol. II (London: Edward Arnold, 1907), 357.

Initially people could buy freedom for captured relatives with ivory or cows. Later, however, one could only secure the release of relatives from a zeriba by exchanging them with another. Personal interviews: Jok Ayom Majak (Gok Dinka) Akot South Sudan; Atem Garang Deng and Deng Kuek Atem; Alier Arok Akuein, Mayen Jok Majok, Kuc Manyang Kuany, Deng Dut, Dau Tor, Atem Ayiik (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

castrated and "turned into women" (eunuchs).⁽²²⁾ To hinder escape troublemakers had their achilles tendon cut while others were maimed by having their hands mutilated. Informants claim that some zeribas were surrounded by moates to hinder escape.⁽²³⁾

Throughout my research in Southern Sudan and Kenya I interviewed Dinka and non-Dinka informants in a number of

⁽²²⁾ Personal interview: John Biem Ngok Bilkuai (Ruweng-Paneru Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. For the commerce in eunuchs see Shuqayr, Tarikh, 51; C.T. Wilson and R.W. Felkin Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan, (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1882), 127-128; E. de Cadalvène and J. de Bréuvéry, L'Égypte et La Turquie, Vol. II (Paris: Bertrand, 1836), 231, 236; and Gessi, Seven Years, 351-6.

⁽²³⁾ Informants state that present-day moates are still observed at Rumbek and Ayot (Nuerland). Personal interviews: Michael Manyiel Chol (Agar Dinka) Akot, South Sudan; Lazarus Leek Mawut, (Nyarruweng Dinka) London, England; James Gatluak and Peter Nyang Khat (E. Jikainy Nuer) Kakuma, Kenya.

The most powerful and successful merchants and slavers, all of whom built zeribas were John Petherick (1853-1863), Alphonse de Malzac (1857-60), Ambrose and Jules Poncet (1860-1869), A. Johan Kleincznick (1853-70), Ai Abu-Amuri (1853-1880), Rahma Mansur Zubayr (1856-80), Biselli (1860-70), Mohammed Abu-Sammatt Ghattas, (1866). See Santandrea, Tribal History 21; A. Thuriaux-Hennebert, Les Zande dans L'Histoire du Bahr al-Ghazal et de l'Équatoria (Brussels: Éditions de l'Institut de Sociologie de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1964), 20.

While conducting field research I noted that among the Dinka the three zeribas best remembered in oral history were those at Rumbek (Dar Ronga), Tonj (Jur Gattas) and Dem Zubayr.

For travellers accounts of zeribas, see O. Antinori "E. C. Piaggia Nell' Africa Centrale" Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana I, 1868, 93. (91-165); G. Schweinfurth, F. Ratzel, R. W. Felkin and G. Hartlaub, Emin Pasha in Central Africa (London: George Philip & Son, 1888), 334-5, 342; Gaetano Casati, Ten Years in Equatoria, Vol. I, (London: Frederick Warne, 1891), 67; Wilhelm Junker, Travels in Africa, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1891), 390; Schweinfurth, Heart of Africa. Many slaving stations came to be known by the prefix Dem which is a Bongo word corresponding to the Arabic word, zeriba. Gessi, Seven Years, 259.

sites. Numerous informants recounted oral histories of pits where people had been buried and although no other data exists regarding this particular topic I argue that the information represents converging lines of discourse. Informants noted that captives considered unredeemable were executed and their bodies disposed of in mass graves or deep trenches some distance from the zeriba. For example, in Agar Dinka territory near Rumbek,⁽²⁴⁾ a mass grave existed at a place known as "Lolnhom" near the River Naam. In the 1860s John Petherick and his wife noted a "Lolnun" in the Rumbek area. Informants state that Dinka men and women were commonly chained together in a line with their hands tied and their backs to the trench. As each had their necks slashed they fell or were pushed into the pit to die.⁽²⁵⁾ One victim however, an Agar Dinka man Ater

⁽²⁴⁾ The notorious slaver Alphonse de Malzac founded the village and "plundered, wasted and consumed everything far and wide round his settlment, shooting down all who resisted him and committing atrocities of all kinds." Traveller, Dr. Junker notes "what a pigstye." Cited in Richard Wyndham, Gentle Savage (London: Cassell & Co., 1936), 120.

⁽²⁵⁾ Personal interview: Michael Manyiel Chol (Agar Dinka) Akot, South Sudan; John Biem Ngok Bilkuai (Ruweng Dinka). Still visible today, Lolnhom was three miles southeast of Old Rumbek and 18 miles east of present-day Rumbek (the town was relocated north in the British period). The trench is estimated to be twenty by twenty feet wide and four feet deep. In the 1860s the Pethericks noted a "Lolnun" in the same area. The slavers knew it as Abu Kuka and it was in the village of Ador. See Mr. and Mrs. Petherick, Travels in Central Africa Vol. II (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1869), 116 and Vol. I, 166.

The following Dinka informants relayed oral histories of atrocities at Lolnhom: They are from various Dinka groups and interviewed in a series of different locations supporting that these oral histories coincide: Paul Machuer Malok, Michael Manyiel Chol, Simon Adel Yak (Agar Dinka) Akot, South Sudan; Mabet Mabum Arop, Paul Manhom Mading, Isaac Makoi Majur, Kana Achol Dak (female), Mabor Morwel Lok, Manasseh Keluel Cindut,

Madet survived his "execution" and passed on the grizzly tale to his grandson:

As he stood, chained with his hands tied awaiting execution, his sensitive organs shrunk inside of him because of fear, and either purposely or accidentally his neck was not slashed. He nevertheless was pushed into the trench with the others, and as they bled to death, he waited for the Turks to leave and then crawled out to safety. His organs never returned.⁽²⁶⁾

Those who survived their tenure inside this series of camps and later escaped passed on their experiences to their grandchildren. Of the eighty various zeribas in the South one of the most dreaded camps was Dem Zubayr also known as "the house of death."⁽²⁷⁾ It became the largest marketplace for slaves in the western Southern Sudan (Bahr al-Ghazal) and in 1866 its owner, Rahma Mansur Zubayr exported as many as 1800

Joseph Mathiang Dhalbeng, Mourthon Marial (Agar) Kakuma, Kenya.

Other mass graves existed at Chuai Ajak, the home of the Rek-Giir Dinka as well as near the towns of Tonj and Dem Zubayr in the Bahr al-Ghazal. Personal interviews: Victor Majok Amecrot and Matthew Mathem Daw (Rek Dinka) Nyabagok, South Sudan; Makuac Majok Mangeng (Western Luaic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Bandindi Pascal Uru, Jerome Barikue and Romano Gasi (Balanda) Yambio, South Sudan.

⁽²⁶⁾ In Sudan and in Sudanese historiography employees of the nineteenth century colonial government, particularly white skinned individuals, are termed "Turks," irregardless of native language, ethnic origin, religious preference or national identity. The above account is derived from a personal interview with Michael Manyiel Chol (Agar) in Akot, South Sudan who obtained the account from the grandson, Moses Majok.

⁽²⁷⁾ Personal interviews: Bandindi Pascal Uru, Jerome Barikue and Romano Gasi (Balanda). Carlo Zaghi, Gordon, Gessi e la Riconquista Del Sudan 1874-1881 (Firenze: Università Degli Studi di Firenze Centro di Studi Coloniali, 1947), 303, 308.

slaves.⁽²⁸⁾

To discourage any violent resistance newly acquired slaves particularly males were made to lie down on their backs with heavy pieces of wood across their chests while wooden needles were driven into peoples' feet to stop them from standing. People were fed "like pigs and many died of hunger and from needle wounds." According to certain accounts Southern resistance was intense and another informant states:

At night one could hear screaming and beating and those that were lashed became sick and were often killed. Although there were shelters and open areas, sanitation was very bad. Walls had many poles with people fastened to them while others were allowed to sit in the court yard. Food and water were rationed because these items were difficult to acquire in the region and many died of thirst. Men and women were segregated and females were taken as concubines by slavers.⁽²⁹⁾

Another recounted a history passed down by a relative who was enslaved in a zeriba near the Rek territory:

Within the compound there was a large hole as deep as a man's chest to which people were placed and then guarded by soldiers. The hole was surrounded by wood and barbed wire and ranged in size from about 150 feet wide and long. Those that appeared trustworthy were released from the pit and put to work. My grandfather, Mou, presented himself as non-radical and one soldier took him to work in his compound. During this tenure he was sent outside his own zeriba on errands and saw many other camps in the region. In each he noticed about

⁽²⁸⁾ Schweinfurth, Heart of Africa Vol. II, 355, 366.

⁽²⁹⁾ Personal interviews: Bandindi Pascal Uru, Jerome Barikue and Romano Gasi (Balanda), Lawrence Lual Lual Akuey, (Malwal-Paliet Dinka). Some women cooked for their masters and also cultivated around the camps while others made beer for the slavers, many of whom were drunkards. Schweinfurth Heart of Africa Vol. 11, 360: "the drunken indolence and torpor of the loafing Turks..."

150 people; most were incarcerated inside the zeriba's pit. Some men in the zeribas saw their wives and sisters in separate camps, however if one informed a soldier concerning this fact he would be killed immediately because they were keeping these women for their entertainment.⁽³⁰⁾

Many became too sick to be transported North which took place before the Bahr el-Arab floods of June. Therefore climactic conditions eventually dictated that all slave raids took place in the dry season around October when the river was low.⁽³¹⁾ Those fit enough faced forced marches into the slave trading centers of the north. With their hands tied and chained together in a line the trek began with a slaver at the fore pulling the rope on horseback. Those attempting to escape were executed; many died en-route. European travellers noted that human skulls littered the South as well as the caravan routes to the north.⁽³²⁾ Much as in the eighteenth century

⁽³⁰⁾ Personal interview, Mayar Mayar Mareng, (Rek Dinka). Traveller Schweinfurth noted a slave caravan of females and children in the Bongo country coming from Ghattas's and Agadh's territory suggesting the sexes as well as adults and children were separated. See Heart of Africa, 368.

⁽³¹⁾ Personal interview: Said Mohammed Arthur (Zande) Nazara, South Sudan; See, G. Schweinfurth, "Dal Gianghe (Sennaar)," Bolletín della Società Geografica Italiana Vol. 3, (1870) 118; Wilson and Felkin, Egyptian Soudan, 161.

⁽³²⁾ Cadalvène and Bréuvéry, L'Égypt et la Turquie, Vol. II, 182-237; Ignatius Pallme Travels in Kordofan, (London: J. Madden, 1844), 262; Richard Hill, On the Frontiers of Islam, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 36; John Petherick, Egypt, the Soudan and Central Africa (London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1861), 222.

Personal interviews: Dhieu Deng Dhieu (W. Twic Dinka); Mayar Mayar Mareng (Rek Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Bandindi Pascal Uru, Jerome Barikue and Romano Gasi (Balanda) Yambio, South Sudan.

The major routes from which slaves were moved were Dem Zubayr to Wau, from Tonj and Rumbek to Yirrol and Shambe where

external pressures of the nineteenth century precipitated increased intra-Southern ethnic strife.

**DIVIDE AND RULE BY WAY OF INCREASING
INTRA-SOUTHERN ETHNIC STRIFE**

In 1868 the traveller Georg Schweinfurth noted that:

the Dinka have all the material of national unity; but where they fail is that they not only make war upon each other, but submit to be enlisted as the instruments of treachery by intruders from outside.⁽³³⁾

This observation accurately sums up early events in the Southern Sudan; however, external pressures encouraged intra-ethnic wars. In the Egyptian period external raiders quickly comprehended that Southern pastoral societies customarily raided each other. Taking advantage of pre-existing ethnic tensions ivory merchants manipulated one village's silence as they passed through another by promising stolen cattle in exchange for military support. The merchant-raiders in turn retained the ivory and the slaves.⁽³⁴⁾ The violence increased

they picked up steamers going north. Each caravan numbered 30-50 people. Prior to the Turkish arrival in 1796 traveller Brown noted a caravan of 1000 slaves en-route to Egypt.

In 1820, German geographer Ritter observed Dar Fur slave caravans numbered from 5,000 to 12,000. Quoted in Buxton, The African Slave Trade, 65.

Kobbe, the terminus for the Arba'in road lay 35 miles northwest of El Fasher (in 1814 the second most important town in the Sudan region after Sennar); Shaw, "Darb el Arba'in," 63, 71.

⁽³³⁾ Schweinfurth, Heart of Africa Vol. 1, 167.

⁽³⁴⁾ Among the Ciec, Chief Jickwi refused to procure portage for traveller Petherick unless he would help support a raid on the Aliab for cattle. Petherick, Travels, Vol. I, 167-8; Burton, Nilotic World, 3; Zaghi, Gordon, 303, 308.

when one village discovered to be active in a raid was punished by two or three neighboring villages; often they killed all the men burning down the villages and divided the women and children among themselves.⁽³⁵⁾

By far the most significant factor perpetuating Southern ethnic strife was the Egyptian tax in the form of people/slaves levied on village chiefs. Many were forced to enslave or trade in their neighbors to protect their own populace. In the Bahr el-Ghazal a Rek chief, Buk Alok Buk began abducting his neighbors for sale utilizing the northern practice of "hamil." Any person found near or in his territory became his "property" to fulfill his tax quotas.⁽³⁶⁾ Another example of this practice took place when slavers raided the Abialang Dinka. Father Beltrame and other European missionaries went to great lengths to retrieve ten women held at the trading center of Kaka in the Shilluk country. Upon returning the women to a neighboring Dinka chief, Akol-Guorgieb of the Abujo, the missionaries later discovered the

⁽³⁵⁾ See Gessi, Seven Years, 85; Wilson and Felkin, Egyptian Soudan, 163, 185; Kaufmann, Schilderungen, 62. Petherick Egypt, 348; G. Beltrame Ile rive del Fiume bianco da Chartum a Seilak, (Venice: [n.p.], 1881), 837. Johnson "History and Prophecy," 210.

⁽³⁶⁾ Personal interview: Fidele Majok Mabior (Rek Dinka). For an explanation of "hamil" as utilized in northern Sudan, see R.S. O'Fahey, State and Society in Darfur (London: C. Hurst, 1980) and Spaulding "The Business of Slavery in the Central Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1910-1930," African Economic History, 17 (1988). Also, personal interview: Makuac Jok Deng, and Makere Chol Adol (Bor-Gok Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

women had been resold to slavers.⁽³⁷⁾

Another means of acquiring slaves was to steal large numbers of cattle and only allow the owner to buy back their animals with abducted people. Markets sprang up in many places where Southerners could barter slaves for their stolen cattle and in the Gezira traveller Robert Hartmann reported:

The Funj of the Makk of Gule...undertake frequent raids in which they steal slaves or they buy them in the Ingessana hills, from the Shilluk, Dinka, Jabarti, etc... All the tribes gladly buy back with slaves and ivory their cattle carried off by the bandits [Northern Sudanese, Turks, etc.].⁽³⁸⁾

Hence slavers not only terrorized and disrupted whole communities of Southerners but also inaugurated intra-Southern strife on a scale hitherto unknown in remembered Dinka history. The Nuer preyed on the Dinka who in turn made war on the Bari. Among the most noted Dinka/Nuer wars of this period is the one initiated by the Pakam Agar Dinka leader, Wuol Athian, who was originally of Nuer descent. He called his people together and invited the Nuer to join him in battle. In a speech he urged "our hostility with the Nuer should be suspended and let us [the Dinka] befriend each other against the Turks." According to an Agar Dinka informant:

"The Nuer agreed to join Chief Wuol against the Turks in battle. However, unknown to the Nuer, Wuol

⁽³⁷⁾ G. Beltrame, Fiume Bianco Nell' Africa Centrale (Verona: [n.p.], 1864), 34-5.

⁽³⁸⁾ Hartmann, Reise, 473-4, 546-556. See also O'Fahey and Spaulding, Kingdoms 64; L. G. Massaia "Khartoum to the Gold Workings of Fazughli, 1851" in The Opening of the Nile Basin, Elias Toniolo and Richard Hill eds. (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1975), 208.

Atiang had deceived them for a secret agreement among the Pakam resolved that after uniting with the Nuer and winning in battle against the Turks, the Dinka chief would call out "Kedian Wien," (let's attack; the secret password to first kill the Turks and then to immediately turn on the Nuer). We carried out the plan and the Nuer were unprepared. The Turks were killed and only a few Nuer escaped. Today this battleground is called Wath Kawata, and it is located east of present-day Rumbek. " (39)

While intra-ethnic strife undermined Southern efforts to defend themselves it eventually destroyed the military resistance of the Abialang Dinka. Long one of the most fierce of military forces they had represented the northern Dinka bulwark against aggressive external forces. They had shouldered invasions twenty years earlier than those further to their south. These Dinka were subjected to numerous raids of Rufa'a Arabs (Abu Ruf) in their northeast and Selim Baggara from the northwest across the Nile. These annual raids were frequently aided by the Egyptian army. Initially the Dinka launched counter-raids of their own into the Blue Nile region

(39) Dhorgon, the great grandfather of present-day Nuer leader, Riak Machar was also killed by Wuol in this battle. Personal interview: Simon Adel Yak (Agar-Rub) Akot, South Sudan. Also, personal interview with the great-grandson of Chief Wuol, Lual Wuol Nhiak (Gok-Toc Dinka); Joseph Mathiang Dhalbeng (Agar Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

Captain V. H. Fergusson ("Nuong Nuer," 151) noted a battle fitting this description (although his suggestion of the date 1886 appears rather late). He notes Wuol invited Nuer Chief Madi to join forces in a cattle raid against the "Turks" 35 miles southeast of Rumbek. The raid was successful but on reaching Marah Mayjok about 10 miles north of Bahr en Naam post Wal Atiang ordered his men to attack the Nuer.

capturing hostages which they held for ransom.⁽⁴⁰⁾ However, their defenses began to falter on their southern flanks after 1827 when large numbers of Nuer expanded from the South into their territory and occupied the Sobat river region. Simultaneously the Abialang were beset by Shilluk invasions on their western flank and Funj attacks to their north and east.⁽⁴¹⁾

In 1863 the Governor-General of Sudan, Musa Pasha Hamdi commanded Mohammed Kheir to exterminate or "wipe out" the northern Dinka. The latter continuously harried slave caravans that passed through their homeland. Egyptian forces attacked the Abialang (also known as the Dinka Ibrahim) forcing them to flee to Jebel Gule. Throwing themselves at the mercy of Sheikh Regab wad Idris, they paid the sheikh a heavy tribute for

⁽⁴⁰⁾ During the early years of Turkish rule the Abu Ruf nomads like many other Sudanese were forced to contribute slaves to the government every year. Hence they made annual raids into the Dinka territory. Abd-al Ghaffar Muhammad Ahmad, Shaykhs and Followers Political Struggle in the Rufa'a al-Hoi Nazirate in the Sudan (Khartoum: Khartoum University Press, 1974), 57; G. Beltrame "On the White Nile from Khartoum to Gondokoro, 1859-1860" in Nile Basin, 130; Bartoli, "History of the Sudan," in Frontiers, 34-5; A. Brun-Rollet, Le Nil Blanc Et le Soudan (Paris: L. Maisson, 1855), 90-91; Petherick, Egypt, 348; G. Lejean, Voyage aux Deux Nils (Paris: Hachette, 1865), 60; J. Poncet, "La Région du Fleuve Blanc et Sur Ses Habitants," Nouvelles Annales Des Voyages, Vol. IV, (1863), 23; Johnson "History and Prophecy," 83.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Personal interview: Musa Ajak Liol (Abialang) Kakuma, Kenya. See also Hill, Frontiers, 7-8, 34-5. Egyptian troops throughout the colonial period were often paid in slaves and only some cash (p. 33). See also Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, 63 and Kaufmann "The White Nile Valley and its Inhabitants," Nile Basin, 154. In 1860 the northern Shilluk allied with Arab traders from Kaka in expeditions against the Dinka. See, G. Beltrame, Di un viaggio sul fiume bianco nell' Africa Centrale (Verona: [n.p.], 1861), 86.

security. Idris accepted the tribute however, he then handed the Dinka to the advancing Egyptian forces.⁽⁴²⁾ Arriving in the early 1880s governor of Bahr el-Ghazal Province, Frank Lupton noted that "the northern Dinka had at one time constituted a great kingdom."⁽⁴³⁾ However, the region was now desolate.

It appears that as early as 1840 many of the Abialang had begun to migrate into Ethiopia in the pursuit of security. As they were located in foreign territory, they preferred to remain as "slaves" (or serfs) and make spears and bracelets in the gold-mining town of Fazogli. In another part of Ethiopia in the early 1880s traveller Juan Maria Schuver noted two thousand Dinka residing in the Galla country at Lega. The Gallas offered the Dinka employment as herders and as mercenary troops in exchange for a reluctantly agreed peace.⁽⁴⁴⁾ At this lowpoint in Dinka history when many

⁽⁴²⁾ The fugitive Dinka were led off as slaves; the men enrolled in the Nubian regiments and the women and children sold. Lieut. Colonel Count Gleichen, ed., The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1905), I, 129-30; SIR (Cairo) No. 104, March, 1903. Personal interview: Musa Ajak Liol (Abialang) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁴³⁾ F. Lupton, "Mr. Frank Lupton's (Lupton Bey) Geographical Observations..." in Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography VI/5 (1884): 255-6.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Of interest in this Dinka colony is that because of the abnormal sex ratio (very few women) legal polyandry had taken the place of their normal polygamy. See, Wendy James, Gerd Baumann and Douglas H. Johnson, eds., Juan Maria Schuver's Travels in North East Africa 1880-1883 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1996), 68, 82, 99. Bartoli, "History," 34-5; Brun-Rollet, Nil Blanc, 90-91; Petherick Egypt, 348; Lejean Deux Nils, 60; Poncet, "Fleuve Blanc," 23; Lupton,

Abialang had been violently swept off their land those further south who still possessed resilience began to revolutionize militarily and politically. This period saw the beginning of a united Dinka resistance.

DINKA MILITARY UNIFICATION

It has been suggested that the Dinka lacked strong military organization to confront the advancing slave raiders in the early nineteenth century.⁽⁴⁵⁾ However, this perception is incorrect. In medieval times the Dinka had the capacity to militarily unite effectively as shown by the early powerful resistance of the Abialang throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the Gezira.

When Mohammed Ali's forces attacked the Abialang at Renk in the early 19th century (1821 and 1827) the Dinka responded with great force. Two years later in a surprise attack an army of two to three thousand Abialang under their leaders, Kak Abilang and Akonyo Deng attacked the Funj inhabitants at Hillet Sihha in the Gezira on the Blue Nile. Most inhabitants offered little resistance nevertheless they were "butchered."⁽⁴⁶⁾

"Observations," 255-6; Werne, Expedition, Vol. II, 307.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ M. A. Mohamed Salih "The Ideology of the Dinka and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement," Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa Katsuyoshi Fukui and John Karkakis, eds., (London: James Currey, 1994), 194.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Hartmann, Reise, 449; SAD 761/6/1 (J.C.N.Donald); Cailliaud, Voyage à Méroé, III, 73, 79. In 1821 Ibrahim's army captured five or six hundred Dinka and then returned to

Other Dinka groups demonstrated strong military resistance early in the century. Shortly after the Egyptian forces arrived in the Aliab Dinka territory on the White Nile in Southern Sudan, a major revolt ensued. Known today as the "Battle of Jallang" it was led by Chief Jallang Budai and then his son Jalueth Jalang of the Bulok section of the Aliab who are located adjacent to the Nile. Both leaders killed numbers of Egyptian military personnel.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Although they were eventually executed and ensuing Aliab battles put down it was the beginning of the Aliab-Bulok militarization that was to endure throughout the next century. From this point on many Aliab were enslaved and found their way into northern armies.⁽⁴⁸⁾

By the 1850s traveller Schweinfurth noted the organized military "commonwealth" of the Dinka "where entire districts unite and form an imposing warlike tribe." It had begun in 1827 when the Dunghol Dinka united with the Jikany Nuer to repel an Egyptian slave raid.⁽⁴⁹⁾ In the 1850s the Rek Dinka

Sinnar.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Personal interview: Edward Ngong Deng (Aliab-Bulok Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ A century later it was the Aliab subsection, the Bulok who fought the British. Dinka informants state that today, there are more Aliab Dinka in the northern city of Omdurman than any other Dinka group and that their arrival dates from the nineteenth century. Personal interviews: Edward Ngong Deng, Abraham Mayuom Mangok (Aliab) Kakuma, Kenya; Parmena Awerial Aluong (Aliab) London, England.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Douglas Johnson, Nuer Prophets (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 52.

abducted Khartoum traders, confiscated their firearms and then marched into the interior and sold each man for six beads each. In 1858 the Eastern Twic and Bor Dinka located east of the Nile waged a unified war against the merchants as well as killing the Egyptian administrator and his servants. In 1869 one of the largest military campaigns took place against the Egyptian administration when the Agar Dinka attacked and burned the zeriba of Anatjuai (Dar Ronga) killing the garrison of 128 men. This act permanently removed the slavers from their neighborhood.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Other Dinka groups had begun to incorporate military changes into their society as the region became more militarized. The Western Ngok had begun a process of mass militarization in response to the incursions of their northern neighbors, the Islamic Baggara. For the first time in remembered history age-sets played a greater role in Ngok warfare and within each village "war chiefs" were elected.⁽⁵¹⁾ These changes provided a more reliable "standing

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Schweinfurth, Heart of Africa Vol. 1 258. A party of Dinka with firearms attacked Petherick. Shortly thereafter Petherick discovered that six Dinka groups had allied and planned to attack his caravan led by Chief Meckwendit of the Neanglau. He only escaped with aid from the Bongo who claimed to despise the Dinka. See, Petherick, Egypt, 418-9; Beltrame, Africa Centrale, 17; Kaufmann, Schilderungen, 203. It was near the time of the year that the agents commenced their annual depredations into the districts of the Dinka to replenish their stock of cattle. Schweinfurth, "Dal Gianghe (Sennaar)," 126 and Heart of Africa Vol. I, 225.

⁽⁵¹⁾ Daniel Deng Farim Sorur, "A Dinka Priest Writing on his Own People," The Opening of the Nile Basin, 199; see also Francis Mading Deng, Africans of Two Worlds: The Dinka in Afro-Arab Sudan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 138;

army" against northern aggression. It is likely that many of the Dinka groups began a similar military transformation for superiority in numbers gave the Dinka the advantage over considerable bands of armed forces working for the Egyptians.

At first the Dinka operated at a military disadvantage; they lacked modern weapons or the knowledge of how to use them. After the Agar seized a sizeable quantity of firearms and ammunition however, they became a formidable military force. Many other Dinka groups now followed suit.⁽⁵²⁾ In the meantime, the Dinka adopted other tactics to discourage the execution of their chiefs.

THE EMERGENCE OF FEMALE POLITICAL AND MILITARY LEADERS

By all accounts until the Egyptian colonial period Dinka political, economic and military leadership was deemed to be exclusively the domain of men. In the mid-colonial period (1860s) many Dinka communities had been devastated by external invasions and the subsequent execution of many male chiefs who failed to deliver their tax quotas. At this juncture the Dinka adopted a new and virtually unprecedented political strategy of resistance; women were elected to take the place of male

Deng Majok, and "Property and Value Inter-play," 544; P. P. Howell, "The Ngok Dinka," Sudan Notes and Records 32, (1951): 258. A. Saeed, "The State and Socioeconomic Transformation in the Sudan: the Case of Social Conflict in Southwest Kordofan," Ph.D. University of Connecticut, 1982; 135. M. d'Escayrac de Lauture, "Notice Sur Le Kordofan," Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris 4 série, tome I, (1851): 357-373.

⁽⁵²⁾ Schweinfurth, Heart of Africa, Vol. I, 225, 372.

chiefs. Deemed a temporary measure by those who devised it, the tactic nevertheless provided a certain political coherence as well as security for Egyptian colonial administrators (many of whom were also slavers) were less likely to execute female leaders. Rather, native female administrators were perceived as more malleable than their male counterparts.⁽⁵³⁾

Thus for the first time in remembered Nilotic history women began to acquire limited political power. Spiritual powers, however, were a prerequisite for all prospective female chiefs among all Nilotic peoples. The grandson of an Agar female chief, Anyiwei, states:

During those days the qualifications necessary to be elected within the clans were charisma or special spiritual powers, strength of personality, courage, and wise and fair judgment. These female chiefs provided political coherence while simultaneously providing security.⁽⁵⁴⁾

As the Abialang formed the northern bulkwark of Dinka military resistance the first woman reported to have acquired this new form of political power was an Abialang. Traveller Hartmann noted the rise to power of an Abialang female rainmaker and daughter of Chief Porjiuk who became well known.⁽⁵⁵⁾ By the

⁽⁵³⁾ This argument has been suggested by Elizabeth A. Eldredge concerning her work in British colonial Lesotho. See The Negotiation of Power: The Basotho Under Colonial Rule, forthcoming. Personal interviews: Musa Adam, (Agar Dinka) Hamilton, Canada; Samuel Aru Bol (Agar-Rup-Yak Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya. See also, Stephanie F. Beswick, "Women, War, and Leadership in South Sudan (1700-1990)," White Nile Black Blood (Red Sea Press, forthcoming).

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Personal interview: Musa Adam, (Agar).

⁽⁵⁵⁾ He does not mention her name; Hartmann, Reise, 555-6.

1870s among the Rek Dinka a female executive chief named Achol (Shol) emerged. She became one of the most influential leaders at the colonial river port of Meshra el-Rek among the neighboring Lao Dinka.⁽⁵⁶⁾

In the Padang territory numbers of female leaders emerged. One female leader became the first Dinka to initiate a new section. In the early 1880s Ruweng Priestess Atiem led her people east across the Nile with six sections settling in their modern-day homeland, Atar. Today they are known as the Paweng (eastern Ruweng). She became a highly respected battle strategist as well as executive leader.⁽⁵⁷⁾

Eastern Twic informants today believe that a female leader, Athau Diar, performed magic to divert the Egyptian colonial military and slave campaigns from her area. They note: "our region was not hit hard by the slave trade and she may have been the reason our people remained unaffected."⁽⁵⁸⁾ Among the Bor Gok in the later Mahdist period a female, Abeny

⁽⁵⁶⁾ The present-day town of Wau in the Bahr el-Ghazal is reputed to have been named after this chief and is known to the Dinka as Wande Achol (town of Achol). Personal interviews: Victor Majok Amecrot and Matthew Mathem Daw, (Rek-Kuei Dinka) Nyabagok, South Sudan; Gabriel Awec Bol (Rek Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Lazarus Leek Mawut, (Nyarruweng Dinka) London, England; Schweinfurth, Heart of Africa, Vol. I, 131, 338.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ The six sections were the Bugo, Thiong, Tungdiak, Aniek, Jueng and Palei. Personal interviews, Chol Machar Dau (Eastern Paweng/Ruweng); Daniel Dok Manyang (Eastern Ruweng) Kakuma, Kenya. See also, SIR No. 153, April 1907.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Personal interviews: Tor Deng Lual and John Majok Deng (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

Lual, acquired the chieftainship from her brother.⁽⁵⁹⁾

Still others, as spiritual leaders now became more prominent for they could provide protective powers for their people. For example, among the Ciec Dinkas a female priest, Achol Awol, acquired fame because she possessed the spirit of protection for people going to the toic (grasslands), grazing and fishing lands. This entity, "mabior al wal", was the most popular deity of the Ciec Dinka in Yirrol after Deng.⁽⁶⁰⁾

The Emergence of Women in the Front Lines of the Military

This period marked the limited but important inclusion of women into the various Southern military forces. For example, a Padang priestess became a well known military strategist. Awut Ajal won a noted victorious battle against the Nuer during which she and another male commanded a unified force of Thoi, Rut, Eastern Ngok, Dunghol and Paweng Dinka against the Lak, Thiang and Gawaar Nuer.⁽⁶¹⁾ Among the Nuer Nyacan Ruea, a female Nuer prophet from the Diu clan challenged the leadership of Deng Lakka, a well known male prophet who led the Gaara people. However, after a struggle she joined forces with him organizing war and raids against

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Personal interviews: Johnson Kuol Kur, Deng Acuoth, Rebecca Amur Mac (Bor-Gok Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Personal interview, Isaiah Deng (Ciec). In 1928, among the Eastern Ngok Dinka of the Sobat inherited divinity from her parent. Honea, "The Deng Cult," 16.

⁽⁶¹⁾ Personal interview: Santino Malual Meet, (Rut-Pajut Dinka) and Philip Thon Marol (Thoi Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

the Twic Dinka and other neighboring peoples. Ten years later she met her death at the hands of the Twic in a war that now bears her name, the war of Mut Mandong.⁽⁶²⁾ At this battle when the Dinka finally caught Nyacan their spears could not pierce her clothing hence they killed her by hammering a cattle peg into her vagina.⁽⁶³⁾

In the Western Bahr al-Ghazal many non-Nilotic peoples, who were fewer in number, removed their taboos on tradition-sanctioned gender roles in response to the incessant violence and constant slave raids on their villages.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Female military commanders also emerged among the Zande.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Towards the end of the century the Bari also produced a noteworthy female military leader. A prophetess named Kiden inherited

⁽⁶²⁾ Personal interview, Wal Duany (Nuer).

⁽⁶³⁾ Johnson, Nuer Prophets, 155.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ For example, Fertit society now trained their women as warriors along with their menfolk. Both sexes were trained in the arts of making poisons, using bows and arrows, and hunting for large prey and small game. Many Fertit women became outstanding warriors and military training for women in their communities continued throughout the next century, creating a revolution in gender relations within this numerically small people. Many of these women maintained their chieftainships at the dawn of the British period. Personal interview: John Lueth Ukec (Luo).

⁽⁶⁵⁾ One Zande princess named Nalengbe, the daughter of Tikkiboh, the vassal Mangbetu King was described by Schweinfurth as a "veritable Amazon"; she wore full armor with shield and lance. Girded with the rokko apron of a man, she led the Mangbetu troops against the northern Sudanese slave lord Aboo Guroon in 1866. Although it was her first contact with firearms she and her warriors successfully repulsed her foes with considerable losses, forcing the enemy to retreat from the country altogether. Schweinfurth, Heart of Africa, 95.

spiritual power from her father which she then transformed into military and political power. She led the Bari against the Mahdists armies in 1893 during which other groups, including the Lokoyo, joined her military resistance.⁽⁶⁶⁾ As gender roles began to change in response to the rising rate of violence in the Southern Sudan new forms of Dinka military resistance emerged.

MASS SOUTHERN MILITARY CONSOLIDATION

Early in the 1880s a Muslim Northern Sudanese Dongolawi religious leader known as the Mahdi based himself just north of the Dinka territory in the Nuba mountains. He began to plan a means of ridding the country of its colonial oppressors. It is unlikely that Mohammed Ahmed, the Mahdi and leader of the Muslim religious sect the Ansar, would have made contact with the Dinka leaders had it not been for the Western Ngok Dinka/Baggara alliance. This pact had been reached just prior to 1880. In a skillful and timely political move the Ngok Dinka Chief, Arob Biong had established diplomatic relations with his old foes the Rizeiqat and Messiria-Humr Baggara in a bid to protect his people from ongoing slave raids.

This period marked the beginning of the Ngok's role as the diplomatic gateway to the Muslim Arab north and African non-Muslim south. Based at Jebel Gedir the Mahdi began to make extensive alliances with the neighboring Baggara, Shilluk and

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Personal interview: Damazo Dut Majak (Malwal) Los Angeles, USA.

Dinka peoples to the South. Many of the Baggara belonged to the Mahdi's Ansar sect and were encouraged to alert their newly acquired allies the Western Ngok and the Shilluk of his plans.⁽⁶⁷⁾ They passed the word to other Dinka groups urging them to support the Mahdi's aspirations of ridding the Sudan of its Egyptian colonial oppressors.

Numbers of Dinka leaders responded positively to offers of a truce and for the first time in history tentative Baggara/Dinka militarily alliances emerged. According to Malwal Dinka, Lawrence Lual Lual Akuey:

At an historical meeting in Darfur with the Mahdi many Dinka chiefs attended, among them Rek chiefs, Amet Nyok and Ayok Kwel (from Gogrial); Malwal-Paliet Chief Akol Kuot (Agak Ker); Chief Aturjuong Geernyang of the Malwal-Malwal; Chief Deng Dit, father of Deng Dit Awutiek Majak of the Malwal-Palyoupyin; Chief Yal Aker of the Malwal-Abiem and Western Ngok Chief, Arob Biong. All these chiefs represented their people among the Malwal, the Rek, and Western Ngok Dinka. At this time ex-governor of the Bahr el-Ghazal, Khasarawi, on behalf of the Mahdi presented the Dinka with holy war spears stating: 'when you fight the enemy with these spears they will be conquered.'⁽⁶⁸⁾

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Personal interview: Sadiq al-Mahdi, the spiritual head of the present-day Ansar religious sect and grandson of the Mahdi, Cairo, Egypt. See also, F. R. Wingate, Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan (London: Frank Cass, 1968), 17. Discovering that they had little to gain from uniting with traders such as Zubayr, the Baggara were the first to convert to the Mahdi's cause encouraged by his most trusted disciple and successor, Abd'allahi, a Ta'aisha Baggara. Schweinfurth et al., Emin Pasha, 433; Gray, History, 154; Deng, Deng Majok, 46 and Recollections of Babo Nimr (London: Ithaca Press, 1982), 59.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Today, numbers of these spears still exist among the families whose ancestors attended the meeting. Considered "sacred" among the Malwal they have become religious objects or totems. Khasarawi, the Dongolawai Bahr al-Ghazal governor joined the Mahdist cause soon after the Dinka/Mahdist alliance and then moved to Darfur to preside over the meeting. Personal

Around this time another powerful Malwal Chief Akot (Dengdit) offered his daughter, Aweng Duang in marriage to the Mahdi to cement the political alliance.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Dinka Chief Kwac of Aweil escorted this Malwal Dinka woman to the Mahdi's camp and she was re-named "Maqbula." Many Dinka today believe she is the mother of the Mahdi's son, famed holyman of the twentieth century Abdul Rahman.⁽⁷⁰⁾

interview: Lawrence Lual Lual Akuey, (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya. Also personal interview: Zacharia Chol Kot (Ciec Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Some years earlier, his brother Duang Tong had cemented a business alliance with a slaver, Zubayr by giving his daughter in marriage for five hundred cows. SIR No. 83, June 1901. See also, Majak, "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal," 128, 142.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Personal interviews: Athieng Deng Acier, Arek Akot Awutier and Ayuen Akot Awutier (Malwal-Palyoupiny Dinka) great-granddaughters of Deng Dit (who was also known as Awutiek Akot Tong). Controversy exists as to the actual origins of Maqbula (some claim she is of Fur descent, see Endre Stiansen, "Overture to Imperialism," 334.) However, ex-Anyanya commander John Lueth Ucec (Luo) interviewed the Dinka emissary shortly before his death in the 1970s. This Dinka Chief named Kwac claimed to have personally escorted the woman to the Mahdi's camp.

Many Dinka from all parts of Dinkaland support that Maqbula was Dinka. Personal interviews: Mom Kou Nhial Arou (Bor Dinka); Isiah Deng (Cic Dinka); Musa Adam (Agar Dinka); Martin Koshwal (Atuot Dinka) Hamilton, Canada; Lazarus Leek Mawut, (Nyarruweng Dinka) London, England; Kawac Makuei Mayar, (Malwal Dinka); Athieng Deng Acier (Malwal-Palyoupiny Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya. Dinka informants claim she did not marry the Mahdi but became one of the Mahdi's concubines. Of note it that among the twenty two women taken from the Mahdi's harem in Kordofan after the fall of El-Obeid is a concubine named Makbula (Maqbula). SIR (Cairo) No. 60, May-December, 1898.

In a personal interview with Sadiq Mahdi, the grandson of the Mahdi I was informed:

"For the sake of Sudan unity I hope it is true, but it is not. Maqbula was from the well known Darfur family of Nurein Mohammed al-Fadl; she was a daughter of this man and the Mahdi gave her the name of Maqbula (which was not her original name)

Although the Mahdi had encouraged the Dinka and Baggara to unite militarily to oust the Egyptians from the Bahr el-Ghazal, it was primarily the Dinka and other Southerners alone who accomplished the task. Nor was the signal to begin the war initiated by the Mahdi. Rather, the incident that triggered mass military Dinka rebellion was the command of Governor-General, Abd al-Qadir to the British governor of Bahr el-Ghazal Province Frank Lupton to immediately procure 7,000 new recruits for the Egyptian armies. Lupton advised his subordinates to seize large numbers of Dinka youths to fulfill this order.⁽⁷¹⁾

Among the Rek Dinka individual resistance campaigns began when Chief, Marial Kuol was captured and slowly tortured (his hands were cut off and then he was executed).⁽⁷²⁾ This event triggered mass Dinka military resistance against the Egyptian administration and marked a turning point in the history of the South. According to a Rek informant:

Our regions had become totally depopulated so Chief Mayen Deng, a Rek-Kuei Dinka and a prominent Beny Bith [priest], called together all the religious leaders of the Rek, Western Twic and Malwal. When

when he married her. He often gave his wives new names; however, I do not know her [Maqbula's] original name."

Personal interview, Sadiq al-Mahdi, Cairo, Egypt.

To demonstrate a commitment to the Mahdi the Ngok Dinka incorporated the holyman into their religion as a powerful spirit of the sky. See also Deng, Africans of Two Worlds, 130.

⁽⁷¹⁾ Richard Buchta, Der Sudan unter ägyptischer Herrschaft, (Leipzig: F. M. Brockhaus, 1888), 165.

⁽⁷²⁾ Personal interviews: Victor Majok Amecrot and Matthew Mathem Daw, (Rek Dinka) Nyabagok, South Sudan.

all the people had assembled he said, 'we have to help ourselves out of this situation.' After some discussion, it was agreed these Dinka should militarily confederate to fight the Turks. We had a meeting for seven days among all the Beny Biths of the areas during which one religious leader stated "I will be buried alive and take the message to God.' Then others also offered to be buried alive. Eventually it was decided that Chief Ajing Dit would sacrifice himself for the cause. Shortly after a Dinka military confederation came into being under the command of Malwal Chief Mayen Deng, (Mayendit) who commanded all big three sections along with various other sub-commanders. Every group chose a distinct sign for identification; for example, one group killed a white bull and wore its skin around their necks. Another did the same with the skin of a red bull. The idea was to unify all the groups in a bid for military resistance. When all these signs had been distributed to the Malwal, Twic and Rek we moved forcefully against the Turkish administrators within their home territories and ended Turkish administration and slavery in our areas.⁽⁷³⁾

From this point on the Dinka waged war as a united military force against the Egyptian colonial administration on a scale hitherto unknown. The Mahdist's nationalist aspirations could never have succeeded without Dinka cooperation for they represented the backbone of the colonial military resistance movement in the South. For the first time in documented history the Dinka and other groups from all parts of the South united to fight the first proto-nationalist Southern Sudanese military war of resistance.

⁽⁷³⁾ Personal interview: Mayar Mayar Mareng (Rek Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

**THE DINKA EXPLUSION OF THE EGYPTIAN
ADMINISTRATION FROM THE SOUTHERN SUDAN**

The following military data derived from European travellers' accounts, British intelligence in Cairo, letters from Governor Lupton and additional Dinka oral histories support the Dinka claim that they militarily forced an end to Egyptian rule in the Southern Sudan. In mid-1881 the Malwal Dinka, under Chief Adwin allied with Luo Chief Jango and defeated a force of 450 government troops.⁽⁷⁴⁾ The next year towards the east the Ciec Dinka attacked the station of Shambe on the Nile killing one hundred and fifty men. Further west the Rek Dinka massacred seventy five of Lupton's bazingers (locally recruited troops) who were transporting ivory to the port of Meshra el-Rek. At Jur Ghattas, southwest of the Rek Dinka territory the non-Dinka Bongo located to the south and southwest of the Rek Dinka joined the revolt killing seventy. Around this time the Agar Dinka, southeast of the Rek attacked the Rumbek garrison killing two hundred while a combined force of Nuer and Dinka attacked the station at Dembo in the Bahr el-Ghazal.

Lupton noted the leader in the united opposition in the northern Bahr el-Ghazal was the Malwal Dinka Chief

Mayendut, [Mayendeng] the great wakil of Mr. Ahmet the Mahdi who possessed a green flag sent by the

⁽⁷⁴⁾ "The people of Aweil, the Malwal Dinka came during this war and burned Dem Zubeir and liberated this area." Personal interview: Stephen Anyaak Chol (Agar-Pakam Dinka) Akot, South Sudan. Casati, Ten Years, Vol. I, 75-8; Robert O. Collins, The Southern Sudan, 1883-1899 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 25, 27; Wingate, Mahdism, 28.

nationalist leader to be carried before the men who fight.⁽⁷⁵⁾

This same chief had been elected by the Dinka chiefs to lead them militarily at the meeting of Dinka chiefs just prior to this event. Lupton mused " I hope the Dinka have killed enough of us to satisfy them."⁽⁷⁶⁾ However, the Dinka had only begun.

By August 1883 the Dinka were winning the war. Another united force of two thousand Dinka and Nuer attacked Lupton's forces killing five hundred. Towards the end of 1883 an allied Dinka front had closed the outlying stations within their territories and the road leading to the river port of Meshra al-Req. In September the Dinka murdered Dutch traveller Jan Maria Schuver at Meshra el-Rek while Rifa'i Agha, Lupton's lieutenant was later killed together with four hundred men.

Dinka successful military advances were due to large amounts of captured firearms. At this time Lupton appealed to the Zande leader Zemio for military support and the two united against a force of Atuot and Agar Dinka. To bolster his forces Lupton also assembled a force of Bongo however, by the end of

⁽⁷⁵⁾ Lupton, "Observations," 246, 250, 252.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ Lupton, "Observations," 246, 250, 252; The various Dinka military campaigns are noted by Buchta, Der Sudan, 147, 148; Wingate, Mahdism, 29, 100-104; Georg Schweitzer, (ed.) Emin Pasha His Life and Work (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1898), 147-8. Schweinfurth et al., Emin Pasha, 430, 451-453, 457; Junker, Travels 62-3; Schweinfurth, Heart of Africa, Vol. 1 337; Gray, History, 158-9; Waltraud Kronenberg and Andreas Kronenberg, Die Bongo (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1981), 44, 86. The Bongo today are located near the towns of Tonj and its southern environs as well as Wau.

the year the Dinka had also attacked and decimated Dem Genawi zeriba southwest of the Rek Dinka in the Bongo territory.⁽⁷⁷⁾

As time proceeded Governor Lupton increased his armed forces in a desperate bid to maintain control of Bahr el-Ghazal Province and in April 1883 he sent out 1,250 men on an expedition against the Dinka and Rizeiqat Baggara. Shortly thereafter he lost a thousand men in another battle with the Dinka and increased his forces to that of two thousand. In January 1884 however, he faced a mighty force of 50,000 Dinka warriors in battle. It was only his technological superiority in the form of Remington rifles which narrowly saved him from death.

Early in 1884 however, it was clear to most in the Bahr el-Ghazal that Lupton's efforts were in vain. Shortly thereafter this British governor employed by the Egyptian government surrendered to the Mahdist general, Karam Allah. The formal Egyptian administration of the Southern Sudanese Province of the Bahr el-Ghazal now collapsed.⁽⁷⁸⁾

The Egyptian colonial government however, still held onto power in Equatoria Province. Here too the Dinka represented the backbone of military resistance against the colonial forces. In 1884 an Agar Dinka/Mahdist force attacked the Amadi

⁽⁷⁷⁾ Buchta, Der Sudan, 149, 152; Gray, History, 158-9; Carlo Tappi, "Alla ricerca d'un popolo ben disposto," La Nigrizia September (1904): 127.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ Buchta, Der Sudan, 147, 148, 154, 165; Schweinfurth et al., Emin Pasha, 450; Junker, Travels, 64; Wingate, Mahdism, 158-161; Collins, The Southern Sudan, 36-40; Gray, History, 158-9.

station in Bariland routing the inhabitants. Towards the end of the year an allied force of Bor, Agar and Aliab Dinka and Nuer attacked the garrison of Bor killing 150 soldiers after which they absconded with all the ammunition. By March 1885 in Equatoria, little of the structure of Egyptian authority survived. The last gasp of Egyptian colonial control came in the fall of 1885. Now a united force of Aliab, Bor and Agar Dinka allied with Nuer, Bari, Mundari, Nyambara, Pajulu and Zande attacked the Egyptian station of Lado on all sides. They severed its communications with the other Egyptian stations at Gondokoro and Rejaf.⁽⁷⁹⁾

The Dinka support of the Northern Sudanese leader Mohammed Ahmed was a critical factor in the success of the Mahdist movement throughout the Sudan; without it his aspirations of nationalism would not have been realized. In addition, and of even more importance to this period is the emergence of the first Southern mass military unification. In early 1885 the Dinka had come to represent one of the most powerful of military presences throughout Southern Sudan. However, the war was far from over.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ Schweinfurth et al., Emin Pasha, 474, 490-5; Casati, Ten Years, Vol. I, 299, 318. Wingate, Mahdism, 264-5; Schweitzer, Emin Pasha, 184.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have argued that the nineteenth century Egyptian colonial era witnessed the beginnings of Southern people representing saleable commodities along with ivory which was shipped in large quantities into the Northern Sudan and beyond. Scholars estimate that slavers carried off two million Southerners from their homelands. Of all those peoples enslaved the Dinka were the most prized.

To expedite the transportation of Southern peoples to the slave auctions in the North slavers and Egyptian administrators perpetuated a level of violence and disruption which was new to the region. The Dinka oral histories that I have utilized in the text present a perception of intense violence and fear. They are supported by travellers accounts, European administrators' reports and missionaries.

Many captives were imprisoned in predatory enterprises called zeribas while young men were castrated and captives considered unredeemable were executed and their bodies disposed of in deep trenches or mass graves near the slaving stations. European travellers noted that human skulls littered the South as well as the caravan routes to the North. While the usage of the word "genocide" is controversial it must be noted that the government attempted to solve their Abialang Dinka problem in 1863 by means of "wiping out" these intractable Dinka who obstructed the slave traffic in the Southern Gezira.

Some scholarship of the region suggests that the Dinka

were too weak or too ignorant to defend their homeland. However, this perception is incorrect and at a certain point a Southern Sudanese military confederation was born under the leadership of a prominent Malwal Dinka chief. The idea of a militarily united front had been introduced by the Sudanese Holyman and leader of the Ansar brotherhood Muhammad Ahmed the Mahdi when he suggested a Dinka/Baggara alliance. However, it was a primarily Southern Sudanese military force which evolved and represented the dawning of a Southern proto-state. I argue that it was primarily an all Southern army which expunged the Egyptians from the Bahr el-Ghazal. Further, this historic military success represented the first time Southerners perceived they had a sovereign territory to defend. It was the dawning of early proto-nationalism.

CHAPTER SIX

THE EMERGENCE OF THE FIRST DINKA PROTO-STATES THE WESTERN NGOK AND THE PALYOUPI NY MALWAL (1860-1898)

During the nineteenth century Egyptian colonial period the Dinka became a powerful unified military force within the Southern Sudanese heartlands. Leading theorists suggest that the natural concomitant to military unification is political centralization. Elman Service argues that state formation is encouraged when, along with limited territoriality external pressures escalate and a chief is able to provide protection for the populace against enemy attacks. A century-deep tradition represented by Herbert Spencer, Keith Otterbein and F. O. Gearing suggests that the organizational capabilities demanded by warfare, its hierarchy and central command spread from the military to society; warriors become kings and bring military discipline to government.⁽¹⁾

Over the course of the nineteenth century all Dinka groups experienced a significant degree of political and military centralization but the Abialang, Malwal and Western Ngok who had been subjected the longest to external pressure pursued this tendency farther than did the others. The

⁽¹⁾ Gearing, "Priest and Warriors;" Otterbein, Evolution of Warfare, 23-28; Service, State and Civilization 259, 271, 299; Spencer, Principles of Sociology.

Abialang thrust towards unity collapsed in the wake of defeat in a four-front war. The Western Ngok and the Malwal Palyoupiny however, went on to establish viable proto-states.

THE WESTERN NGOK AND POLITICAL CENTRALIZATION

Prior to the Egyptian colonial period the Western Ngok had already begun a process of military centralization as a means of territorial survival. These people were situated in the far northern Dinka territory in Kordofan surrounded primarily by Baggara territory and within the environs of the increasingly powerful Islamic state of Darfur. While the Dinka have historically tended towards militarily flexible micro-adjustments producing minimal conflict among their own herdsmen and other Nilotic groups, under the circumstances the Ngok began to find it necessary to make changes. Initially age-sets came to play a far more significant role in Ngok warfare than in other contemporary Dinka groups and over time they altered their military institutions so as to create a standing army against northern aggression. The Ngok then introduced further military adjustments to increase their security by electing "war chiefs" for each village. By the dawn of the Egyptian colonial period they had already taken significant steps towards a limited but significant degree of political centralization.⁽²⁾

⁽²⁾ Francis Mading Deng, The Dinka and Their Songs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 68, "Property and Value Inter-play," 544; Deng Majok, and Africans of Two Worlds, 130-138. Howell, "The Ngok," 258. Daniel Sorur, "A Dinka Priest,"

Indirect Rule and Dinka Collaboration in the Egyptian Colonial Period

A more formally centralized rule among the Ngok developed during and in cooperation with Egyptian colonial administration in Dinkaland. Irma Taddia argues that administrative collaboration with colonialists paradoxically afforded a de facto form of resistance through the very occupation of the collaborative office itself, while from the imperialists' perspective virtually any ruler could be assured of a sizable sympathetic faction when he intervened to award leadership over rival groups.⁽³⁾ In much of the nineteenth-century Southern Sudan the first vestiges of formal centralized rule began when the colonial Egyptians initiated rudimentary administrator-chieftaincies. The intruders assigned to key chiefs the task of taxing the population and mobilizing manpower to create roads. Over time in some areas, colonial law became prominent.⁽⁴⁾ Those chiefs unwilling or

199.

⁽³⁾ Taddia, "Collaboration;" see also the discussion of provincial noblemen in Sinnar in Spaulding, Heroic Age, 95, 49-50.

⁽⁴⁾ As administration evolved Dinka law in some areas also began a process of change highlighting the colonial influence. As early as 1857 among the Ciec Dinka law was converted from one which embodied fines and offenses to that of crimes and bodily punishments. For example, a boy's hand was cut off for theft while certain people were now executed by the paramount chief. Punishments also included the severing of fingers and the burning of hands and toes with hot irons. This change in law signalled movement towards political centralization within this particular Ciec Dinka section for along with passing sentences, the paramount chief could also grant clemency. See G. Beltrame, Il Fiume Bianco e i Dénka (Verona: [n.p.], 1881),

unable to fulfill their assignments were replaced by a rival brother or chief of a rival clan.⁽⁵⁾

After a time the Egyptian colonial authorities encouraged further Dinka political centralization by consolidating power under one chief and decreeing that he rule over an extended assigned area. In this fashion Egyptian administrators acquired not only collaborators in the form of cooperative chiefs but restructured indigenous chieftainships. A key example of this process is the manipulation by colonial administrators of clan tensions within the Western Ngok Dinka. When the most prominent chief of all of the nine sections, Chief Alor Adjing of the Mannyuar clan,⁽⁶⁾ refused to collect taxes for administrators the Egyptian colonialists transferred power to his rival, Chief Arob Biong. This man was from the powerful Abyor clan formerly known as the Jok. The erstwhile eight clan chiefs of the Western Ngok were now subsumed as subchiefs under the leadership of Arob Biong.⁽⁷⁾ This chief

280-3.

⁽⁵⁾ Mire, "Al-Zubayr Pasha," 10-20.

⁽⁶⁾ He was an Alor-Ruweng Dinka in origin.

⁽⁷⁾ Personal interviews, Stephen Anyaak Chol (Agar-Pakam Dinka) Akot, South Sudan; Malwal Chan Gaac (E. Luaic Dinka); Maguith Deng Kuol and Agoth Alor Bulabek (W. Ngok-Abyor Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. British District Commissioner Howell noted the Pajok family had only acquired power recently (SAD GIIS1124/481; SAD 764/12/11;). See also, SIR 113, Dec. 1903; However, according to Francis Deng (Abyor-Western Ngok Dinka) the Pajok (Abyor clan) competed for power with those of the Mannyuar (Dhiendior) clan and won when Longar, spiritual leader of all the Dinka gave leadership rights to the former. See, Deng Majok, 43-5.

proved to be a good leader however, for in the next colonial administration imposed by the Mahdi he offered a safe haven to many who fled into his territory for protection.

The Mahdist Era and the Return of the Slave Raiders

The ravages of the Mahdist era served to further centralize the Western Ngok Dinka. In 1885, as soon as Mohammed Ahmed had overthrown the colonial Egyptian regime in Sudan's capital, Khartoum, Western Ngok Dinka Chief Arob Biong went north escorted by his Baggara friends to meet the Muslim leader and establish his allegiance. He complained of those Baggara factions still subjecting the Ngok to slave raids and robbery. At that time he was assured relief from future incursions.⁽⁸⁾ Unfortunately, the Mahdi did not keep his word.

Full-scale slavery returned to the Southern Sudan when the Mahdist general Karam Allah returned via the old slave trade route across the Bahr al-Arab river.⁽⁹⁾ The Muslim holyman's objective was to extend his frontier of control to the eastern Bahr el-Ghazal and Equatoria provinces. Thus, he ordered Governor Lupton's Dervish replacement, Karam Allah, to

⁽⁸⁾ See Ahmad Ibrahim Abu Shouk and Anders Bjørkelo, eds. introduction, The Public Treasury of the Muslims Monthly Budgets of the Mahdist State in the Sudan, 1897 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 20; Deng, Deng Majok, 46-7.

⁽⁹⁾ Personal interview: Lawrence Lual Lual Akuey (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya; See also, Buchta, Der Sudan, 154. Santandrea, The Luo, 50-55, 105, 197; Majak, "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal," 161.

intensify efforts to procure more slaves for military service, particularly from among the Malwal Dinka. To assist the governor the Dervish Emir Karam Allah ordered a rally of Southern chiefs at Dem Zubayr in the western Bahr el-Ghazal and demanded military recruits immediately. While the Dinka chiefs failed to arrive at the meeting many other Southern chiefs did attend including the foremost Luo leader whom the Northerners called "Wad-el-Mak." When he refused to comply with Karam Allah's demands for recruits he was beheaded, together with numbers of other Luo chiefs.⁽¹⁰⁾

As Karam Allah campaigned for forced recruitment the Mahdists reverted to the tactics of their former colonial masters. They burned all government files and papers, opened slave markets and sold women and children. One Dinka female remembers the oral testimony of grandmother:

Karam Allah came to our village to collect the tax, a container we call a gach, it takes about 2 kilos. Our gach was not filled to the brim as required and a child was seized. My grandfather offered himself and requested the child be released. He was then a young man about 25 years. They took my grandfather but then Karam Allah slaughtered the child before everyone's eyes. My grandfather, Maboc Mabor, was

⁽¹⁰⁾ Personal interviews: Lawrence Lual Lual Akuey (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya; Mom Kou Aru (Bor-Atoch Dinka), Isiah Deng (Ciec Dinka), Musa Adam (Agar Dinka), Martin Koshwal (Atuot) Hamilton, Canada. See also, Buchta, Der Sudan, 154. In the meantime, Ngok Dinka Chief Arob Biong's son, Kwol Arob, was despatched to Omdurman where he remained under house arrest for some years. Deng, Deng Majok, 46; Santandrea, The Luo, 50-55, 105, 197; Majak, "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal," 161.

taken and never came back.⁽¹¹⁾

The Mahdists reestablished colonial headquarters in all regions of the South during which they annihilated thousands. During this Dervish rule the Bahr el-Ghazal Province, for example, it is reliably estimated that 700,000 Southerners died in warfare while an additional 400,000 died of disease.⁽¹²⁾ The Mahdi died in July 1885 and was succeeded by his second-in-command, the Sudanese Baggara leader Abdullahi, often known as the Khalifa. In response to the Khalifa's summons to Omdurman the Dervish Emir Karam Allah marched north across the Bahr al-Arab river out of Bahr el-Ghazal Province with 3,000 troops and an immense number of slaves.⁽¹³⁾

Further Political Centralization Among the Ngok

Prior to the Mahdist period Arob Biong had gained political respect among the Dinka by providing protection for

⁽¹¹⁾ Personal interview: Aramthai Kur Deng (lady); Mayar Mayar Mareng (Rek Dinka); Phillip Thon Marol (Thoi Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. The Mahdist general, Karam Allah Muhammad Kurqusawi, was formerly an influential Bahr al-Ghazal merchant in the Turkish period and later appointed to the position of Emir of Bahr al-Ghazal province by the Mahdi. See Collins, Southern Sudan, 40-42.

⁽¹²⁾ Personal interviews: Samuel Aru Bol (Agar Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya; John Biem Ngok Bilkuai (Ruweng-Paneru Dinka); Santino Malual Meet (Rut-Pajut Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. See also Peter F. M. McLoughlin, "Economic Development and the Heritage of Slavery in the Sudan Republic," Africa Vol. XXXII (1962): 387.

⁽¹³⁾ Upon ascension to power the Khalifa rid himself of all the old government black troops for reasons of security. Hence he sought to replace them by new recruits from the Bahr el-Ghazal. SIR (Cairo) No. 9, Dec. 1892. Collins, Southern Sudan, 54;

his populace against Baggara attacks. Rather than resorting to a military solution, however, he preferred to rely on his diplomatic skills.⁽¹⁴⁾ Hence, Arob Biong made an alliance with the Humr-Messiria section of the Baggara in a bid to save all of the Ngok. Additionally, he consistently provided benevolent protection within his territory for many non-Dinka peoples.⁽¹⁵⁾

After the Egyptian colonizers had been militarily removed from the South trouble re-emerged in the form of a new colonial force, the Mahdists, and Arob Biong continued to offer safe haven to much of the surrounding populace. The Ngok's newly acquired Baggara allies, the Humr, were politically divided after the Mahdi died in 1885. The non-Mahdist Humr under the leadership of Hamadan Abu Ein refused the universal order of the new Dervish leader, the Khalifa, that all loyal subjects migrate to the new Mahdist capital of Omdurman at the Nile confluence in Northern Sudan. Hence, they were thrown out of their homeland, Dar Messiria; but they were taken in and accommodated by Ngok Chief Arob Biong.⁽¹⁶⁾ They remained in the refuge of Ngok territory until released by the coming of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium at the dawn of the

⁽¹⁴⁾ Deng, Babo Nimr, 59.

⁽¹⁵⁾ From this point onwards Dinka/Baggara alliances remained until recent times. See Deng, Babo Nimr, 59.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Francis Mading Deng, "Abyei: A Bridge or a Gulf? The Ngok Dinka on Sudan's North-South Border," in White Nile Black Blood, Jay Spaulding and Stephanie Beswick, eds. in press, Red Sea Press.

twentieth century.

Arob Biong also negotiated the release of slaves retained from caravans passing through his region. He ensured that they remained near the Ngok town of Abyei at the village of Mitrok, so that when the relatives of the slaves arrived he could repatriate them. This Ngok chief also befriended a frequently victimized Luel group, the Alei, and offered them safe haven within the Western Ngok territory.⁽¹⁷⁾

After a time the Ngok paramount chief acquired the title of Sultan or Mekk (king), and some say he converted to Islam and was given the name Abdel Rauf by the Mahdi. However, today this tale is not recorded in Dinka oral history.⁽¹⁸⁾ It is clear, however, that the Western Ngok were in a process of political centralization by the turn of the twentieth century. When a European traveller visited Arob Biong's son, Kwol Arob, who had just inherited power from his father, the new chief was seen to rule over a large multi-ethnic territory. He demonstrated the rare ability to gather, on command, hundreds of Dinka for manual labor.⁽¹⁹⁾ The Western Ngok were to

⁽¹⁷⁾ Personal interviews: Maguith Deng Kuol and Agoth Alor Bulabek (W. Ngok-Abyor Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; SAD 660/11/163; Henderson, "Migration of the Messiria," 69; Santandrea, The Luo, 190, 197.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Deng, "Abyei: A Bridge or a Gulf?" 20.

⁽¹⁹⁾ In 1902 when the British surveyed the Bahr el-Arab river, also known to them as the Kir/Bahr el-Jange, they referred to the leader of the Ngok Dinka as "Sultan Rob." See Gleichen, ed., The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Vol. II, 156. On a visit to Abyei Major Treatt noted that Arob Biong's successor and son ordered three to four hundred Dinka to clear the ground, collect wood and erect his tent. See Major Court

further centralize in the next century with the aid and support of the British. Further south in Malwal Dinka territory the Palyoupiny had also began a process of centralization which had its roots in early military centralization.

THE MALWAL DINKA COLLABORATION WITH NORTHERN SUDANESE TRADER ZUBAYR AND THE RISE OF MILITARY AND POLITICAL POWER

John Burton and Douglas Johnson argue that foreign contact in the Southern Sudan added further incentive to seek gain at the expense of one's neighbors.⁽²⁰⁾ As it became increasingly obvious that proximity to a trader could be lucrative the most ambitious example of collaboration between a Dinka chief and a trader gave rise to an incipient early state south of the homeland of the Ngok among the Malwal Palyoupiny Dinka. Residing in the territory of a prominent Malwal chief was the wealthiest and most powerful trader in the Bahr el-Ghazal, Zubayr Rahama. By the early 1870s Zubayr had risen to the position of a virtually independent potentate.⁽²¹⁾ When he sought the friendship and cooperation

Treath, "Out of the Beaten Track" in James Robertson (ed.), Transition in Africa: from Direct Rule to Independence: a Memoir (London: C. Hurst, 1974). See also S. F. Beswick, "The Ngok: Emergence and Destruction of a Nilotic Protostate in Southwest Kordofan," Kordofan Invaded Endre Stiansen and Michael Kevane, eds. (Leiden: Brill) in press.

⁽²⁰⁾ Johnson, "History and Prophecy," 210; John W. Burton, A Nilotic World (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 3.

⁽²¹⁾ J. C. Jackson, Black Ivory or The Story of El Zubeir Pasdha, Slaver and Sultan (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 59. Junker, Travels in Africa, 371.

of the Malwal leader Duang Marial (Duang Tong), the latter responded positively.⁽²²⁾

Much like the Western Ngok the Malwal had faced external military invasions prior to most other Dinka groups and had been among the first to be raided by Baggara slavers in the eighteenth century. It is possible the original prominence of this Palyoupiny Dinka chieftaincy grew out of military centralization coupled with the arrival of Takruri traders who arrived in the latter eighteenth century and skirted the iron-stone plateau to visit the Dinka regions as far east as the Nile to trade in beads.⁽²³⁾ In the mid-nineteenth century Kordofan traders were sighted travelling annually southward via Huftrat al-Nahas and the Bahr al-Ghazal to the market in Telgauna (Jebel Delgauna) on the Lol River. This market lay at the northern periphery of Duang Marial's region. The jallaba (traders) brought cotton cloth, glass beads, salt and copper to be exchanged for ivory and slaves.⁽²⁴⁾

At the height of the nineteenth century slave trade in the 1860s the slaver, Zubayr and Malwal chief Duang Marial established blood brotherhood; this alliance with the Parek clan of the large Malwal Dinka group later known as the

⁽²²⁾ This chief was also the brother of the Malwal Chief Akot (Dengdit) who gave his daughter to the Mahdi to seal the Dinka/Baggara alliance some years later.

⁽²³⁾ Werne, Expedition, Vol. I, 335, 338.

⁽²⁴⁾ Th. von Heuglin, "Die Tinne'sche Expedition im Westlichen Nil-Quellgebiet 1863 und 1864," Petermanns (1865): 2, cited in Stiansen, "Overture to Imperialism," 124.

Palyoupiny Malwal allowed Zubayr a monopoly over the ivory trade in the northern Bahr el-Ghazal. To maintain his alliance Zubayr married a female Dinka relative of Duang Marial for the princely sum of five hundred head of cattle. A chief now well established in the region, Duang Marial commanded even more respect and tribute from many of the neighboring Dinka and Luo who sent him enormous quantities of ivory.⁽²⁵⁾

As his wealth increased Duang Marial also became a trader and exchanged ivory with Zubayr for beads, clothes and soap. Because he was strategically placed between many of the outlying zeribas and Zubayr's headquarters Duang Marial also increased his military power; he acquired guns from central Africa and entered the slaving business for himself, selling those he captured to traders such as Zubayr. He subsequently acquired more guns from Zubayr enlarging his military and political power in the region.⁽²⁶⁾

When the Sudanese Mahdi encouraged the Dinka to join his campaign to evict the Egyptian colonial regime from Sudan a number of Malwal chiefs met him at an historic meeting in

⁽²⁵⁾ Duang Marial was an uncle of Awutiek and became "regent" when Awutiek lost his father at a young age. Majak, "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal," 128, 142. In 1901 a Malwal Chief approached a British administrator inquiring after his daughter who, he claimed, had married Zubayr. (SIR No. 83, June 1901).

⁽²⁶⁾ Majak, "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal," 128, 142. Personal interview: Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

Darfur.⁽²⁷⁾ Among those at the meeting was Duang Marial's brother, the Palyoupiny Malwal Chief Deng Dit. This prominent Malwal chief subsequently offered his daughter Aweng Duang in marriage to the Mahdi in order to cement the political alliance between the Dinka and the Mahdists.⁽²⁸⁾

The Egyptian Colonial Expulsion from the Bahr el-Ghazal

When the Dinka expelled the Egyptian colonial administration from Bahr el-Ghazal province it was under a prominent Malwal war leader, Chief Mayen Deng (Mayendit).⁽²⁹⁾ The connection between this famous war chief, Mayendit and Duang Marial's prominent brother Chief Dengdit is not clear. It is possible they were part of the same family however, for Dengdit's son Chief Awutiek inherited an increasingly centralized territory and became the new military defender of the Bahr el-Ghazal in the 1880s as war began with the Azande to the southwest and the Mahdists to the north.

⁽²⁷⁾ Personal interview: Lawrence Lual Lual Akuey, (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽²⁸⁾ Some years earlier his brother, Duang Tong, had cemented a business alliance with a slaver, Zubayr, by giving his daughter in marriage for 500 cows. SIR No. 83, June 1901. See also, Majak, "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal," 128, 142.

⁽²⁹⁾ Personal interview: Mayar Mayar Mareng (Rek Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. Buchta, Der Sudan, 147, 148, 154, 165; Schweinfurth et al., Emin Pasha in Central Africa, 450; Junker, Travels in Africa, 64; Wingate, Mahdism, 158-161; Gray, A History of the Southern Sudan, 158-9.

The Malwal and Continued Military Centralization

No sooner had the Egyptian administration been expelled than the Malwal faced a series of Azande conflicts. The Azande claim that Dinka/Azande tensions began during the Egyptian colonial period and escalated in the late Mahdist era. The first Azande/Dinka war did not initially involve the Malwal but rather the Agar to their southeast. The outcome of this war however, dictated that future Azande expansion would be directed in a northerly direction. This first conflict was initiated when a group of Azande aided by their clients the Balanda struck five hundred miles east to the White Nile. They aimed to cross the Nile to its eastern banks. Led by leaders Budwe and Bazinge, an Azande/Balanda force reached Rejaf and Mongalla, however, they found the river untraversable. Retracing their steps west they encountered the Agar Dinka and an enormous battle ensued during which the Azande were valiant. According to Dinka and Azande informants:

Although the Azande initially won the battle, the outcome was a defeat. Ignorant of pastoral skills, the agricultural Azande seized the Dinka cattle as war booty and tied the cows by means of cords to their legs. Within a short while the Dinka shouted the cows' names causing the cattle to erupt and charge. With that, the Dinka reacquired their cattle and the battle was now deemed by the Azande to have been lost.⁽³⁰⁾

Because they could not longer expand eastward the Azande

⁽³⁰⁾ All informants recounting this battle found the outcome very amusing. Personal interviews: Bishop Daniel Manase Zindo, Jeremiah Zingbondo, Oliver Kpakpuyo, Murangi Salatiel (Azande) Yambio, South Sudan; Samuel Aru Bol (Agar Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya; Bandindi Pascal Uru, Jerome Barikue and Romano Gasi (Balanda) Yambio, South Sudan.

temporarily retired to the southwest where they planned new invasions toward the Rek and Malwal Dinka territories along their northern borders.

In the early 1880s soon after the Mahdist general Karam Allah was summoned north out of the Bahr el-Ghazal a former Zande leader named Zemio, who had previously aided ex-governor Lupton against the Dinka and who had been a slave of the famous Northern Sudanese trader, Zubayr, now settled in Dem Suleiman, a zeriba in the western Bahr el-Ghazal. Located just west of Dinkaland, Zemio began to invade the surrounding regions. Concurrently the well known Malwal chief Duang Marial died and was succeeded by his nephew Awutiek, the most powerful of Malwal chiefs. In this strategic time in history this latest Malwal leader provided a safe haven for thousands of refugees fleeing the Azande advance from the west and southwest.⁽³¹⁾ Then pressures reappeared from the north.

Although the Mahdists had enlisted the aid of the Dinka to expel the Egyptian administration from the Sudan, when this task was accomplished they returned to the South as would-be conquerors and reverted to slave raiding. In 1889 in the northern Bahr el-Ghazal, Mahdist Emir Khor Mullah attempted to enslave the Shatt people, now under Malwal Chief Awutiek's protection. Awutiek's forces mortally wounded the emir and routed the Khalifa's Dervish forces from the province. Four

⁽³¹⁾ Although the son of a Zande Sultan, Zemio was captured and raised by Zubayr. SIR (Cairo) No. 27, June 1894. Santandrea, The Luo, 50-55, 105.

years later the Dervish Emir of Shakka, Abu Mariam, received orders to attack these Dinka to his south. The Emir appeared in Malwal Chief Yor Waal's country with a force of 1000 rifles and four hundred horsemen. However, the combined forces of Awutiek and Yor Waal annihilated the emir's army.⁽³²⁾ Although the region was now free of slavers and Dervishes a few years later the brief peace was shattered by yet another northward advance of the Azande.

The Further Azande Advance

In 1897 Zande Chief Tambura made major expeditions northward into the heartland of the Dinka territory as far as Tonj and Rumbek.⁽³³⁾ In response to this further destabilization more Southern peoples fled into Dinka territory including a Luo group, the Mananger, along with the

⁽³²⁾ The Dinka won the battle by driving a large herd of cattle towards Abu Mariam's zeriba however, preceding the herd were many beautiful girls who claimed they were a present from the Dinka. As they arrived at the zeriba the girls suddenly disappeared from view and were replaced by a mass of fully armed Dinka warriors, forcing before them their cattle whose tails they twisted to force the animals to crash into the camp. (SAD 465/3. H. C. Jackson) Of the 3,800 men who accompanied the expedition only 880 returned to Shakka. See, Collins, The Southern Sudan, 255. After the annihilation of Emir Mariam's army Mahmud, Emir-in-Chief of Kordofan sent orders to the Sultan of Darfur to meet him and discuss military tactics against the Dinka. However, the Darfur leader refused the order and joined the Dinka to oppose any further advance of the Mahdists. SIR (Cairo) No. 22, January 1894; Personal interview: Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽³³⁾ Chief Tambura waged war on the Dinka in the north and east and reached the White Nile region opposite the Bor territory. Personal interview: Vincent Zangabeyo Windio (Zande) Yambio, South Sudan; Santandrea, A Tribal History, 67.

Golos, the Ndogos, the Kreish and the Bongo from the southwest. In an act of self-preservation many Bongo forgot their enmity with the Dinka in exchange for protection. To the Dinka this time is known as the "Congalau" period when the Azande fought and militarily forced the Dinka up to Wau capturing many people for sale as slaves and seizing all the animals.⁽³⁴⁾

Simultaneously, while the Rek and Malwal Dinka fended off the Azande to their south the eastern Dinka routed the last of the Mahdists from Equatoria province. In 1897 the Bor Dinka harried the last remnants of the Mahdist forces under Arabi Dafa'Allah. In one engagement the Aliab Dinka ambushed and nearly annihilated a Mahdist force west of Bor. In the meantime Dinka chiefs reported the movements of the Mahdists to the Belgians based to their south at Rajaf. On learning of the approaching Anglo-Congolese force Mahdist general, Arabi Dafa'Alla, marched northwest into the Bahr el-Ghazal and then north to Darfur, where he was eventually beaten in battle by Sultan Ali Dinar of Dar Fur.⁽³⁵⁾ Beginning in the early Mahdist period the Malwal Chief Awutiek had amassed a multi-ethnic group of subjects under his sway in the western Dinka territory. Now he began a process of political centralization.

⁽³⁴⁾ Personal interviews: Bol Malek Jok (Rek Dinka) Nyabagok, South Sudan; Jok Ayom Majak (Gok Dinka) Akot, South Sudan; Andrew Mayak Maloksu (Gok Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya; See also Santandrea, Ethno-Geography, 130-132 and The Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal, 62-3; Gleichen, The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 159; Schweinfurth, Heart of Africa Vol. I, 238.

⁽³⁵⁾ Collins, The Southern Sudan, 174.

Chief Awutiek's Early Palyoupiny Malwal Proto-State

Claessen and Skalnik posit that inchoate early state formation is found where society is divided into two emergent social classes, the rulers and the ruled, but where kinship, family and community ties still dominate relations in the political field; where full time specialists are rare; where taxation systems are only primitive (ad hoc taxes being frequent) and where social differences are to a considerable degree still offset by the survival of institutions of reciprocity, redistribution, and close contacts between the rulers and the ruled. According to P. Resnick, of the five kinds of state polities that arise (aristocratic, republican, order-based, liberal and democratic) an aristocratic state represents rulership by an hereditary elite.⁽³⁶⁾

By the early 1890s the Palyoupiny Malwal led by Chief Awutiek fit Resnick's model of an early aristocratic state. Awutiek's uncle and predecessor, Duang Marial, had gained power by making collaborative contacts with slave traders such

⁽³⁶⁾ According to Resnick the other forms of state are "Republic" which looks to some balance in the state between social classes or political institutions. The "order based" state is the incarnation of a supreme temporal or moral authority, which forces potentially recalcitrant citizens or subjects to obey its higher commands; "liberal" theorists of the state emphasize the representative and limited character of state authority and the existence of a significant sphere of individual liberty - political, economic, and religious - for the citizens; "democratic" theorists of the state emphasize economic and political equality, significant citizen participation in the political sphere, and popular sovereignty as the source of state authority. See, P. Resnick, The Masks of Proteus (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 13-37. Marvin Harris, Our Kind (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 383, 388. Claessen and Skalnik, The Early State, 22-23.

as Zubayr and later with Abu Amuri, Ginawi and other officials of the Egyptian colonial government. These lessons were not lost on the young chief Awutiek who quickly realized the importance of firearms and purchased large quantities from Fertit middlemen, jallaba (traders) and Azande. He also acquired a large amount from Mahdists fallen in battle after the defeat of Abu Mariam. Along with firearms, Awutiek also appreciated the value of poisoned arrows, whose knowledge and skills he acquired from the Fertit resident to his west and northwest.⁽³⁷⁾

By this time Awutiek had built a standing army. He set his "troops" or warriors to regular military drills and maintained a strong well-trained force in the Bahr el-Ghazal. By 1892 after annihilating the last Mahdist force which ventured into his territory Awutiek extended his political and military influence down the Chell and Loll rivers as far as the Rek country in the eastern Bahr el-Ghazal. By the height

⁽³⁷⁾ Awutiek inherited the constituencies of his father, Akot (Dengdit and the man who bestowed his daughter on the Mahdi) and also that of his uncle, Duang Marial (Mayendit), well-known for his military campaigns against ex-governor Lupton during the Turkish period. Awutiek, later known as Sultan Chackchak, was a member of the "royal" clan of the Parek which originated from an alliance between the Rek Dinka and a Luel woman, Adut. Awutiek's mother was a Mananger (Luo) and through time and migrations north this powerful clan acquired the new name of the Palyoupiny Malwal. Administratively this Malwal chief established a loose administration over the region which included the population of all of the Parek Dinka as well as those multiple different ethnic groups who fled into his territory for protection. Majak, "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal," 174-79. Personal interviews with the direct descendants of Awutiek: Arek Akot Awutier and her sister of the same name (Malwal-Palyoupiny Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

of his power Awutiek controlled most of the peoples living across a large section of the Southern Sudan between the Tonj and Pongo rivers from northwest to southeast of Wau.⁽³⁸⁾

"Indirect Rule" and Awutiek's Administration

At this point Awutiek emulated much the same policies of his uncle, Duang Marial, who had gained in prominence after allying with the slaver, Zubayr. He formulated a structure of administration via "indirect rule" by dividing his chiefdoms into a number of subordinate headships. He yielded a measure of autonomous rule to each chief whose responsibility it was to collect and deliver tribute/tax in the form of livestock, food, ivory, honey, wax and labor. Maintaining his capital at Achamangu he promoted administered trade with neighboring Luo, Fertit and Baggara merchants. He exchanged slaves, livestock, fish, ivory, rhinoceros horns, leopard skins, elephant and giraffe tails, ostrich feathers, chillis, honey and wax to the Baggara and jallaba traders in return for clothes, horses, donkeys, soap and other items.⁽³⁹⁾

This administered trade allowed Chief Awutiek to acquire enormous wealth and power and to maintain military and political control over his many subjects.⁽⁴⁰⁾ As befit his status the chief acquired thirty wives, many of whom were Luo

⁽³⁸⁾ Ibid.

⁽³⁹⁾ Ibid.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Majak, "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal," 174-79.

while others comprised "gifts" from other Southern clients. Those women acquired in raids (usually against the Baggara) were distributed among his military subordinates.⁽⁴¹⁾

As Awutiek's rule became more centralized he restructured law in his territory. Rather than merely fining those members of his populace who committed offenses he now executed some for key crimes.⁽⁴²⁾ As the French began to penetrate the Southern Sudan from the Congo they sought Awutiek's approval and friendship for when they arrived in Wau they realized he held sway over much of the populace of the region. By the time of the next Azande invasion, Awutiek was recognized as the most powerful leader in the southern region and many refugees from all quarters fled to his territory for protection. At this point Awutiek and other Dinka groups represented the greatest military power in Equatoria and Bahr el-Ghazal Provinces. However, they were soon to encounter new foreigners and hostile forces.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Personal interviews: Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal Dinka), Arek Akot Awutier and her sister of the same name (Malwal-Palyoupiny Dinka) both great grand-daughters of Awutiek; Thieng Deng Acier (Malwal-Palyoupiny Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya; See also, Majak, "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal," 174-79; Santandrea, The Luo, 50-55. 103-5, 178.

⁽⁴²⁾ He passed death sentences on a witch and a pathological killer by tying their hands and feet together and throwing them into the river. Other forms of execution included forcing prisoners to stand on poisoned fish fins while still others were ordered to become his personal carriers. Personal interviews: Arek Akot Awutier, and Arek Akot Awutier, great grand-daughters of Awutiek (Malwal-Palyoupiny Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya; See also, Majak, "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal," 173; Monsignor Sav. Geyer, "Lettera," La Nigrizia September (1904): 106; Carlo Tappi, "Alla ricerca d'un popolo ben disposto," La Nigrizia September (1904): 127.

The Early French and British Penetration of the Southern Sudan

Soon after the French arrival in the northern Bahr el-Ghazal in 1897 Awutiek calculated he could increase his power in much the same way his father and uncle had done; he prepared to make alliances with these latest foreigners. When Colonel W. A. Boulnois arrived in Wau Chief Awutiek greeted him with a gun salute mounted by his bodyguard of sixty men armed with rifles. Much as in his previous business dealings conducted with foreigners, Awutiek now demanded weapons. As the only chief in the region willing to accept nominal French rule the wily Dinka leader acquired sixty rifles and ammunition, ostensibly to consolidate his position against further Mahdist attacks. He further requested that the French establish a government post in his territory at Achamangu. He aimed to continue administering and controlling trade and contacts between the territories to his west and towards the north up to Delgauna (Jebel Telgauna) as well as to the east as far as the river port of Meshra el-Rek.⁽⁴³⁾ The French, however, did not remain long in the Bahr el-Ghazal for in July 1898 they concluded an agreement with the British at Fashoda

⁽⁴³⁾ Many Chiefs objected to the French presence and when General Mangin settled in Jur-Ghattas three Dinka chiefs attacked the station. Awutiek however, signed an alliance with the French. Mangin stated: "Through Atektek [Awutiek]...chief of the Malual, it will be easy to maintain good relations with these tribes, who can supply us with food and horses, if not porters..." General Mangin, Souvenirs d'Afrique - 1. Mission Marchand (1895-99) (Paris 1936), 115-6; See, Stefano Santandrea, A Popular History of Wau (Bahr el Ghazal-Sudan) From its Foundation to About 1940 (Rome: 1977), 23-25; SIR #80, March 1901; Majak, "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal," 174-79, 210-15.

and evacuated the Southern Sudan.

The formal British entrance into the Sudan began with the overthrow of the Mahdist army at Kerrari in 1898; and a form of government called the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, dominated by the British, was established a year later. By the British period many peoples' identities in the South had changed. According to Samuel Aru Bol:

War shakes up everyone's identity. When the Agar and Rek Dinka went to Bor on the White Nile to fight the Mahdists they remained; now they are Bor Dinka. Those Dinka who went to Amadi-Moru near Mundri in Southern Equatoria to fight the Mahdists became Moru.⁽⁴⁴⁾

At this time many small groups in the Western Bahr el-Ghazal existed under the suzerainty of Chief Awutiek and had adopted Dinka culture.

In 1900 Awutiek's representatives met the British administrator in Equatoria. In 1902 this chief, now referred to as "Sultan" by the British arrived with a retinue of 45 followers at the British administrator's offices at Wau⁽⁴⁵⁾ prepared to make a new alliance. Unlike the foreigners and traders of the past however, the British newcomers were unwilling to support Awutiek's aspirations to power. Indeed, with the exception of the Western Ngok the British neutralized all Dinka military and political aspirations in the decades to

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Personal interview: Samuel Aru Bol (Agar Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ A. N. Tucker, "The Tribal Confusion Around Wau," Sudan Notes and Records Vol. 14 (1931): 51; SIR No. 69 April-May, 1900; SIR No. 101 January, 1903.

come.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have proposed that while scholars suggest that the Dinka have always been a stateless society, in the nineteenth century two early Dinka states emerged. Initial centralization took place when the Egyptian colonial regime implemented an indirect administration among some Dinka groups making one chief paramount above several others; in this way Arob Biong of the Western Ngok gained pre-eminence. On the other hand, the Palyoupiny Malwal Dinka leader, Duang Marial, saw a benefit in collaborating with the most notorious slave trader, Zubayr, in the Bahr el-Ghazal; for him the result of this alliance was an increasing amount of wealth and access to weapons and a concomitant increase in political and military power. The genesis of political centralization for both early Dinka states lay in the need to militarily defend boundaries in order to responsibly provide security for thousands of Southern peoples who fled into the Dinka territories. By the end of the Egyptian colonial period in the early 1880s the Dinka had become a powerful military force both within Equatoria and in Bahr el-Ghazal provinces. By the Mahdist period (1883-1898) both of these Dinka groups had created standing armies in response to the continued ravages of the Dervishes who had seized the Sudan from the Egyptian colonial regime.

Among the Malwal further militarization and hence

political centralization took place when the powerful Azande expanded from the southwest. This growing Malwal state under the guidance of Awutiek offered sanctuary (in exchange for tribute/taxes) to thousands of fleeing Southerners. By the dawn of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium both the Ngok and the Palyoupiny Malwal chieftaincies had come to represent early Dinka states. Throughout the South the Dinka now generally represented the most powerful military force in the Southern heartlands and during the British era they would take decades to "pacify."



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VIOLENCE, ETHNICITY AND POLITICAL CONSOLIDATION
IN SOUTH SUDAN: A HISTORY OF THE DINKA
AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THEIR NEIGHBORS

VOLUME II

By

Stephanie F. Beswick

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of History

1998

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN: BRITISH CONTROL AND THE CREATION OF SECULAR LEADERSHIP AND A NEW ELITE CLASS (1898-1947)

*"When the British came they made
borders; then they left!"*

Phillip Thon Marol, Thoi Dinka elder.⁽¹⁾

The second colonial power to rule Sudan began when the British overthrew the Mahdists at Karari in 1898. Known as the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium,⁽²⁾ this period in Southern Sudanese history has commanded the most attention. John Burton argues that the British colonial period was marked first by a general lack of administrative policy followed by "benign neglect." Douglas Johnson, writing about the Nuer, argues that the Sudan government undermined or deposed strong leaders and then followed with a progressive policy of secularization of leadership and justice. Robert Collins suggests that the British claimed to support the traditional authorities but had

⁽¹⁾ Personal interview: Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽²⁾ Paul Santi and Richard Hill, The Europeans in the Sudan 1834-1878 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 1. Although in theory the Sudan was ruled by a partnership of British and Egyptians in an Anglo-Egyptian Condominium the country, particularly the southern Sudan was administered by the British. The Egyptians had no influence in the administration of the south. Robert O. Collins, Land Beyond the Rivers The Southern Sudan, 1898-1918 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 78.

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to break the Southern leaders to establish control and decrease intertribal warfare.⁽³⁾

I agree with the above assertions but also propose that the British revolutionized Dinka society. The need to control these Nilotes after decades of military resistance, coupled by the onset of a world depression and the adoption of Indirect Rule, dictated that the British forcibly preserve the differentiation of Southern peoples along ethnic lines. To solidify their control they secularized Dinka leadership and justice while simultaneously encouraging the formation of a new elite class.

In the early Anglo-Egyptian period the Dinka represented a formidable military resistance to the British forces. When military options were no longer feasible the Dinka negotiated the level of British control in their homeland by resorting to the age-old practice of attempting to absorb them by marriage. Naming ceremonies further discouraged abusive district commissioners from remaining in their territory. To reassert control the British avoided the powerful and esteemed Dinka prophets and supported only those elements who derived their authority solely from the British government. This included ex-slaves, junior members of society, women and policemen. British policies were supported by the emergence of

⁽³⁾ John Burton, "Pastoral Nilotes and British Colonialism," Ethnohistory 28/2 (Spring 1981): 125-132; Douglas H. Johnson, "Judicial Regulation and Administrative Control: Customary Law and the Nuer," Journal of African History 27 (1986): 59. Robert O. Collins, Shadows in the Grass (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 3.

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a cash economy and the introduction of Western education, both of which complemented a rising secular class of chiefs along with a new elite class of Dinka society. To further secure control of the South as well as the North the British legally divided the Sudan in two reinforcing Dinka and Southern nationalism which was born in the latter nineteenth century. By 1947 and the beginnings of independence talks Dinka society no longer resembled that of the previous century; it had come to rely on the British largely as protectors, rather than rulers. When the British first forged into Southern Sudan however, the Dinka viewed them as yet another Egyptian invasion from the north. Bracing themselves for more pillaging and slave raids they took over two decades to conquer.

THE BRITISH ENTRANCE INTO SOUTHERN SUDAN **VIOLENCE AND RESISTANCE**

Kathryn Tidrick argues that in India the British made force morally acceptable by displaying it first and then demonstrating it next.⁽⁴⁾ The threat of future punitive British action won immediate military control of India. However, it took a quarter of a century to break the military back of the Dinka in Southern Sudan. In the process of enforcing pacification the British killed or politically

⁽⁴⁾ After the 1852 Sepoy military rebellion in India Henry Lawrence struck terror into the hearts of wrongdoers by hanging nearly a hundred while Herbert Edwards shot out of cannons 800 mutineers. See Kathryn Tidrick, Empire and the English Character (London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 1990), 26-7.

undermined potential Southern Sudanese leaders and revered authority figures throughout Dinkaland.

In December 1900 the British forces arrived at Meshra-er-Rek in the Rek Dinka territory of the Bahr el-Ghazal. There were five major Dinka military revolts against this foreign administration in the South over the next twenty years. The leaders of this resistance to the British embraced all of the Dinka speaking world including those communities in the Northern Sudan.

Still possessing weapons from the previous era of wars, along with military training as part of the black regiments of the Egyptian and the Khalifa's armies, the Agar Dinka in the eastern Bahr el-Ghazal made the first military stand. In April 1901 Chief Myang Mathiang openly defied the British and set up a rival government. Rapidly obtaining a large intra-Southern following of Nuer, Atuot and Aliab Dinka, the influential Chief Wuol of the Pakam Agar Dinka also joined him. In January 1902 the Agar under Myang Mathiang ambushed a camel convoy en-route from Shambe, killing Captain Scott-Barbour and all but four of his escort. The British responded by devastating the Agar territory, burning villages, confiscating enormous amounts of cattle and killing almost a hundred Dinka including Chief Mathiang. Whole families perished from hunger and the number of Agar who died of starvation exceeded those killed by

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arms. ⁽⁵⁾

There was no large scale invasions until 1913 when the unadministered Dinka territory west of the Pongo River in the Bahr el-Ghazal under the Rek Dinka leader, Ajaakir, burned three newly established government rest houses between Wau and Nyamlell. Invading the pro-government Luo on the road and waylaying government agents, they were joined by other Rek sections including those from Meshra and Tonj. The British responded once again by sending patrols to burn villages and confiscating 1100 cows as compensation for the destruction of government property. Many of these disgruntled Dinka resisters now joined a growing campaign in the neighboring Malwal territory further north that erupted a few years later. ⁽⁶⁾

In the meantime between 1916 and 1917 another Agar Dinka chief rose to power. A relative of the prominent Chief Mayang

⁽⁵⁾ In May 1901 in a Bahr el-Ghazal at Kossinger market there were 40 Remingtons, four Lebel rifle and a few muzzle-loaders. SIR (Cairo) No. 82 May 1901; SIR (Cairo) No. 81 April 1901; SIR (Cairo) No. 82 May 1901; SIR (Cairo) No. 91 February 1902; SIR (Cairo) No. 92 March 1902; SIR (Cairo) No. 93 April 1902; SIR (Cairo) No. 94 May 1902; SIR (Cairo) No. 96 July 1902; Sir (Cairo) No. 97 August 1902; SIR (Cairo) No. 99 October 1902; SIR (Cairo) No. 104 March 1903. Anonymous patrolman of the British Army, "On Patrol in Sudan," Unpublished monograph dated 1919 obtained from the Sudan Collection, Yale University Manuscripts and Archives, 32; C. E. C. G. Charlton, A Soldier's Story (London: Susan Tully, 1963), 54-55. Collins, Land Beyond the Rivers, 78--91; Gleichen, The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 276; Lazarus Leek Mawut, Dinka Resistance to Condominium Rule 1902-1932 (Khartoum: University of Khartoum, 1983).

⁽⁶⁾ Damazo Dut Majak, "Resistance and Cooperation in Bahr el-Ghazal," in Southern Sudan: Regionalism and Religion, ed. Mohamed Omer Beshir (Khartoum: University of Khartoum, 1984), 105-9; Collins, Land Beyond the Rivers, 215.

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Mathiang who had killed Lieutenant Scott-Barbour in 1902, Malwal Mathiang attracted other prominent leaders such as Agar Chief, Wol Attiam and Atuot Apak Chief Dhieu Alam. He prophesied that the British could be removed from the region if the Agar attacked the British headquarters of the eastern District of Bahr el Ghazal province. He gathered his forces in a bid to attack Rumbek. In 1918 the government moved quickly to crush the latest Agar Dinka rebellion killing sixty people and capturing 1400 cattle. Chief Mathiang escaped, however his prophecies appeared to have failed hence the British deemed that the Agar were temporarily "pacified."⁽⁷⁾

The Dinka had met in these new colonialists a military force far more technologically and militarily superior than either the Egyptian or Mahdist armies. Hence, other methods of resistance now emerged. In October 1920 Apak-Atuot Chief Dhieu Alam tried to drown Captain Fergusson during a ceremonial sacrifice of a goat in Lake Jur. However, he failed in the attempt and Fergusson arrested the chief who was organizing an Apak, Atuot and Agar Dinka uprising. The chief's nephew, David Deng Athorbei argues "The Atuot were reacting to forced labor to build roads."⁽⁸⁾

In the meantime in 1921 three thousand Aliab Dinka

⁽⁷⁾ Collins, Land Beyond the Rivers, 210.

⁽⁸⁾ Many Apak-Atuot today identify more as Dinka than as Atuot. Personal interview: nephew of Dhieu Alam, David Deng Athorbei (Atuot-Apak) Nairobi, Kenya and Martin Makur Beny (Ciec-Lou) Kakuma, Kenya. Santandrea, A Tribal History, 42; SAD 767/10/23; SAD 465.

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warriors on the west bank of the Nile attacked Major Stigand's column, killing him and several others. Known to the Aliab as the "the British War" or the "Ayila war" tensions between the British and the Aliab began in 1919 and ended in 1921. According to Aliab informants the trouble arose because of corrupt Sudanese and Egyptian officials and Dinka disgust with "the return of the Turks." Following British standard procedure Adiok was burned and all its grain destroyed, and six thousand Aliab cattle were seized along with 150 rifles. The Aliab claim that between five hundred and one thousand people died from battles with the British along with the famine which followed.⁽⁹⁾ This was the last time, however, that the Aliab made war on the British.

Around this time in the Northern Bahr el-Ghazal one of the most powerful Malwal Dinka priests, Ariendit, rose to prominence. Much as Malwal Chief Awutiek, he attempted to

⁽⁹⁾ The corrupt official was a northern Sudanese administrator working with the British, Abdel Aziz whom the Aliab derogatorily nicknamed "Dhor Gung," (a cow whose horns are forced forwards with tassels hanging in its face). Dinka informants claim that during this man's tenure the people were subjected to over-taxation, forced labor without pay, stolen sheep, goats and ivory and rape of their women by police (of northern Sudanese origin). The Ma'mur also outraged an influential Aliab, Makwaj Wat by taking his daughter without permission and later returning the girl to her father. Personal interviews: Edward Ngong Deng, Abraham Mayuom Mangok and Phillip Thokluel Kuol (Aliab) Kakuma, N.W. Kenya; and Parmena Awerial Aluong (Aliab) and Lazarus Leek Mawut (Nyarruweng) London, England. Sudan Monthly Intelligence Report (SMIR) August 1921; SAD 722/11/56; SAD 767/10/23; SAD 212/10-13. Robert O. Collins, "The Aliab Dinka Uprising and its Suppression," Sudan Notes and Records Vol. XLVIII (1967): 77-89; Douglas H. Johnson, "An Account of [the] Aliab Uprising," Heritage, Vol. One, No. 2/3 (December 1982): 80-82.

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begin a phase of political centralization. From 1915 to 1921 he rallied together almost all the Bahr el-Ghazal and Bahr el-Arab Dinka to unite under the banner of a Nilotic national government.

Considered to be possessed of great religious power and engendering intense fear in much of the populace, Ariendit acquired taxes and fines in the form of livestock and grain, which otherwise should have gone to the government. The next year his forces attacked government troops and stations in great numbers. He prophesied that the bullets of the government would be as harmless as water and when the first volley was fired into the air as a warning, it was supposed that the prophecy was fulfilled. Consequently Ariendit's followers charged the patrol ending in some loss of life. Fearing the entire Dinka nation would rise up against them, the British moved in with great force killing fifty and wounding many more. After some months and a series of battles however, Ariendit surrendered. Nevertheless his compound was burned, thousands of Dinka were dispersed with machine gun fire and much of their cattle seized. Soon after Ariendit was interred until 1936 in a military prison in Omdurman.⁽¹⁰⁾ This event marked the last Dinka military stand of any

⁽¹⁰⁾ Personal interviews: Kuol Lual Mou, Akot Ajuou Majok, Akec Macol Akec, Ater Bol Mayen, Piol Piol Adim, Ding Akuei Deng, Paulino Akon Ken (Malwal Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. A nephew of Ariendit, Piol Piol Adim states that the Malwal leader had little control over his military forces who were anxious to attack the British. SIR 161 February 1922; SAD 465/3; See also Lienhardt, Divinity and Experience, 48, 76-77; Majak, "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal," 223-45.

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consequence against the British. By the early 1920s the majority of powerful and innovative Dinka leadership in Southern Sudan had been destroyed. It did not however, end Dinka resistance in other parts of Sudan.

One year after the Aliab Dinka uprising of 1921 the British arrested and imprisoned an ex-army officer, Aliab Dinka Ali Abd al-Latif (his Aliab Dinka name was Tok Mac Miir) in Khartoum, Sudan's capital. Publically calling for Sudanese self determination, upon his release he founded the White Flag League with Egyptian financial support. Its membership comprised largely Muslim Aliab Dinka who were minor officials and ex-military officers. In 1924 Abd al-Latif and the White Flag League and other agitators demonstrated in the streets of Khartoum. Disturbed by the alarming frequency and increasing seriousness of these demonstrations the British once again arrested Ali Abd al-Latif. When Sudan's Governor General, Sir Lee Stack, was assassinated in Cairo, the British evacuated Egyptian military and civilian personnel from all parts of the Sudan. They then forcibly resettled many Aliab Dinka and other Southerners who resided in Khartoum and Omdurman back to the South for reasons of security.⁽¹¹⁾

While his fellow Dinka militarily fought the British and

⁽¹¹⁾ Personal interviews: Deng Malwal Abur Mahboub (Ghol Dinka); Edward Ngong Deng, Abraham Mayuom Mangok, (Aliab) Kakuma, Kenya; Parmena Awerial Aluong (Aliab) London, England. M. W. Daly, Empire on the Nile (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 259; Holt and Daly, A History of the Sudan, 130-135; Yushika Kurita, Ali Abd' al-Latif (Cairo, 1997) (in Arabic).

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were defeated, throughout the early years of the Condominium, the powerful Malwal "Sultan" Awutiek who rose to power in the last century, attempted different tactics than his countrymen. Returning to those methods successfully utilized by his forbears during the Egyptian colonial era he attempted to collaborate with the British. At the dawn of the British period this Malwal Dinka Chief had built a small but growing state. However, now that slave raids had drastically decreased and the Azande showed no signs of expanding north, Awutiek no longer offered sanctuary to his subjects. On the contrary many wished to escape the oppressive tribute demanded by the Malwal leader. As early as 1901 dissatisfied subjects of Awutiek had sought protection from the British government when fifty four men with thirty six rifles accompanied by numerous others arrived at British province headquarters at Wau.⁽¹²⁾

The Sultan sent and received several delegations to the British and presented the treaty he had signed with the French Captain Armentier stating that he was the representative of the Dinka in the region. He then requested arms so as to continue "administering the area." As the Malwal leader presented no military threat the British preferred to ignore the chief's requests and undermine his political and economic base. In 1902 the British arrested a convoy of messengers

⁽¹²⁾ In one of his first meetings with the British the Sultan met the Commandant dressed in a silk gellabiyya, turban, putties and ankle boots. SIR (Cairo) No. 82 May 1901; SIR (Cairo) No. 85 August 1901; Majak, "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal," 210-15.

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delivering slaves from Sultan Zemio to Awutiek.⁽¹³⁾ Shortly thereafter they cut off the chief's access to all trade goods by placing their administrative post, not in Awutiek's capital as the Sultan had requested, but further north in Aweil. This encouraged traffic to bypass the Sultan and over the decades his early state collapsed. By February 1921 Awutiek, now referred to as "chief" by the British had died of old age.⁽¹⁴⁾ Having broken the spirit of military resistance in the south as well as in the north the British now set about attempting to administer the Southern Sudan. This enormous region included one third of a million square miles as well as the world's largest swamp.

**BRITISH CONTROL, THE CREATION OF SEPARATE
IDENTITIES AND A SEPARATE SOUTHERN SUDAN**

Although the British had halted Dinka military resistance to their own forces, they now noted enormous intra-Southern strife. Unknown to them the economic systems of many southern pastoral peoples were supported by robbing and pillaging their neighbors for to continue long in a state of peace diminishes

⁽¹³⁾ The British informed Zemio that the traffic in slaves had ceased and future slavers would be shot. SIR (Cairo) No. 96 July 1902.

⁽¹⁴⁾ The British no longer referred to this Dinka leader as "Sultan" but simply as "chief." SIR (Cairo) No. 80 March 1901; No. 81 April 1901; No. 82 May 1901; No. 83 June 1901; Santandrea, A Popular History of Wau, 53; SMIR No. 321 May 1921.

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their wealth.⁽¹⁵⁾ Throughout their war with the British the agro-pastoral Dinka and their pastoral neighbors, the Nuer, the Murle and the Baggara continued to raid each other to acquire cows as well as women. As late as 1912 the Rizeiqat Baggara mounted on fast horses and well-equipped with firearms raided the Dinka territory for slaves.⁽¹⁶⁾

European administrators assumed that Africans were naturally "tribal" people and they wanted to prevent the emergence of "detrribalized Africans" of whom whites were deeply suspicious. This in turn, they reasoned, would slow the emergence of any potentially dangerous territory-wide political consciousness that might develop.⁽¹⁷⁾ Scholars Kamal Osman Salih and Douglas Johnson argue that in multi-ethnic colonies colonial oppressors succeeded in this task by preserving the differentiation of African peoples along

⁽¹⁵⁾ Sweet, "Camel Raiding of North Arabian Bedouin: A Mechanism of Ecological Adaptation," 1132-1150; Musil, The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins, 504.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Personal interview: Former District Commissioner, Jack Wilson, Budleigh Salterton, Devon, England; SIR No. 166 May 1908; SAD 104/16/1; Santandrea, The Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal, 52, 105; Robert O. Collins, "Patrols Against the Biers," Sudan Notes and Records Vol. XLI (1960): 35-58 and Land Beyond the Rivers, 187.

⁽¹⁷⁾ According to a British War Office official in 1917: "[The] spirit of nationalistic, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, of tribe, should be cultivated and nowhere can this be done with better chance of success than in British East Africa and Uganda, where there are numerous tribes ethnographically quite distinct from one another....a method may also be found whereby the efforts of missionaries may also assist in the cultivation of national spirit. Leroy Vail, ed. "Introduction: Ethnicity in Southern African History," in The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 1-19.

ethnic, linguistic and often religious lines. This is turn culminated in the strengthening of identification within each ethnic group and in the sharpening of cultural divisions between them.⁽¹⁸⁾ To initially administer the Southern Sudan the British needed peace hence they militarily enforced ethnic divisional boundaries between all of the pastoral groups. This included the Dinka, the Nuer, the Baggara, the Atuot and the Murle.⁽¹⁹⁾ Ciec Dinka, Zacharia Chol Kot states:

The British used soldiers to stop border raids. Anyone crossing the border got sentenced and would be fined cows if they raided their neighbors. As the Nuer were mostly the aggressors, these borders worked in our favor because we had cattle and the Nuer did not.⁽²⁰⁾

One of the most important boundaries was implemented in 1929 when Governor Willis of Upper Nile Province enforced a no-man's land between the Nuer (Lou and Gaawar) and the Dinka (Ghol and Nyarruweng). Ordering the Nuer to the north and the Dinka to the south and west of the line respectively, the aim was to "repatriate" each to their homelands; all those

⁽¹⁸⁾ Kamal Osman Salih, "The British Policy and the Accentuation of Inter-Ethnic Divisions; the Case of the Nuba Mountains Region of Sudan 1920-1940," African Affairs Vol. 89, #356 (July 1990): 417-436; Douglas H. Johnson, "Enforcing Separate Identities in the Southern Sudan; The Case of the Nilotes of the Upper Nile," in Les Éthnies ont une Histoire, eds. Jean-Pierre Chrétien et Gerard Prunier (Paris: Editions Karthala, 1989), 234-245.

⁽¹⁹⁾ "Everyone was told about these borders and where they could and could not go--this is the Dinka area, the Murle area, the Nuer area--do not go!" Personal interviews: Makuac Jok Deng and Makere Chol Adol (Bor-Gok Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽²⁰⁾ Personal interview: Zacharia Chol Kot (Ciec-Ador Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

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remaining outside were to be identified as rebels and attacked. Known as the "Nuer Settlement," it was a 'final solution' to the incessant Dinka/Nuer wars in eastern Dinka territory.⁽²¹⁾

Up to this point the Dinka and Nuer were an ethnically fluid mix. Deng Dau Deng, a Twic Dinka states: "genealogically speaking, most of the Lau and Gawaar Nuer are Dinka because one of their parents was an immigrant to Nuerland at one time." Aiden Southall argues that we do not accurately know how much objective cultural and linguistic unity the Dinka and Nuer comprehended historically nor how far they were aware of themselves as a differing ethnic group until the British colonial administration informed them.⁽²²⁾

An example of Southall's assertion can be seen today in that many known as southern Nuong Nuer used to be Ciec Dinka. Dinka

⁽²¹⁾ Douglas H. Johnson, "Tribal Boundaries and Border Wars: Nuer-Dinka Relations in the Sobat and Zeraf Valleys c. 1860-1976," Journal of African History 23 (1982): 183-203 and "Enforcing Separate Identities in the Southern Sudan; The Case of the Nilotes of the Upper Nile," 234-245 and Douglas H. Johnson, ed., The Upper Nile Province Handbook A Report on Peoples and Government in the Southern Sudan, 1931 (Compiled by C.A. Willis), (Oxford: The British Academy, 1995), 18. For a comprehensive study of the "Nuer Settlement" please see Douglas H. Johnson, "Colonial Policy and Prophets: the 'Nuer Settlement' 1929-1930," Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford (1979): 10/1; and Nuer Prophets. A History of Prophecy from the Upper Nile in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

⁽²²⁾ Personal interview: Deng Dau Deng (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. In 1923 District Commissioner Mayall also noted totemic divisions were more important than political divisions. SAD 767/10/46. Southall "Nuer and Dinka are People," 465; Evans-Pritchard, The Nuer, 122; Lienhardt "The Western Dinka," 102-3.

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informants claim that all Ador peoples were at one time Dinka; today within Nuer territory they are known as Ador-Nuer. Within both Nuer and Dinka groups there also exists the Lou subsections. In reality among the Dinka and Nuer it is the totemic rather than ethnic divisions which have a higher priority.⁽²³⁾

However, British attempts to categorize and reorganize southern populations were never as successful as they officially claimed. The Dinka and Nuer often thwarted enforced separation by pretending to be of a different ethnic group. Within the Nyarruweng Aborom Dinka there resides a large unintegrated Nuer group, the Kumac. When the Nuer were forcibly deported out of the Dinka areas the Kumac declared they were "Dinka." Today they remain unintegrated, speak Nuer and have their own chiefs.⁽²⁴⁾ Others migrated into different areas if they had committed a crime and feared retaliation.

⁽²³⁾ Personal interview: Gordon Matot Tut, (Ciec-Ador Dinka), Nairobi, Kenya. The southern Nuong were more closely intermarried with the Ciec Dinka. See Captain V. H. Fergusson, "The Nuong Nuer," Sudan Notes and Records Vol. No. 4, (1921): 146. Agar Dinka, Samuel Aru Bol states: "There is no clear line between Nuers and Dinkas...in the regions of Nasir and Waat Nuer and Dinka peoples are mixed and our systems of assimilating people are similar. In reality, we actually distinguish ourselves by totem; we always ask 'what is your clan'? If you say "fox" and our clan is also "fox" we know we are related, even if I am Dinka and you are Nuer." Personal interview, Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽²⁴⁾ Other Nuer groups also opted to remain as "Dinka." Personal interviews: Lazarus Leek Mawut (Nyarruweng Dinka) London, England; Barnaba Wuor and Samuel Majak Piok (Ghol Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

They merely changed their identity on relocation.⁽²⁵⁾ Others realized that British ethnic restructuring and compartmentalization made them easy targets for taxation. Voting with their feet numbers moved in small family groups into other areas. According to Apak Atuat, David Deng Athorbei:

"If you were Nuer and moved to the Apak Atuat area you didn't have to pay taxes as you were not listed as being part of a family in the neighborhood. Therefore, when the British came many families would move to avoid taxation."⁽²⁶⁾

If large scale Nilotic wars broke out the British redrew the boundaries and in one case an enormous amount of Ciec Dinka territory was turned over to the Atuat. In 1943 the Ciec killed numerous Apak Atuats in a feud over grazing rights. Fearing a decades-long bloodbath the British reassigned a large portion of Ciec Dinka grazing land to their Apak foes. Today the Apak's northern boundary is adjacent to that of the Nuer.⁽²⁷⁾

⁽²⁵⁾ "You settle among other people for protection." Personal interviews: Barnaba Wuor and Samuel Majak Piok (Ghol Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. "Many Nuer have migrated into Dinka territory and become Dinka in attempt to escape blood revenge, for if you murder someone you need to migrate. Many Nuer families came here for this reason." Personal interviews: Victor Majok Amecrot and Matthew Mathem Daw (Rek Dinka) Nyabagok, south Sudan.

⁽²⁶⁾ Personal interview: David Deng Athorbei, (Atuat-Apak) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽²⁷⁾ "When my family was defeated the British worried we would retaliate and kill all the Ciec because they killed fifty members of my family alone. So the British determined the Ciec would not pay compensation in cattle but in land." Personal interview, David Deng Athorbei, (Atuat-Apak) Nairobi, Kenya. Of interest is that in Lienhardt's map of the Dinka

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As the decades passed the Dinka increasingly identified with group land ownership, their regions became separate states and each militarily defended their boundaries. Hence, boundary maintenance eventually became the task of the Dinka themselves rather than that of the British.⁽²⁸⁾ The boundary which made a lasting impact on all Southerners and re-aroused an earlier southern proto-nationalism was that of "Southern Policy."

The Enforcement of National Identities

In 1930 the British legally divided the Arab Islamic north and African non-Islamic south in the Sudan. Known as the "Southern Policy of 1930" it aimed to follow up on the "Passports and Permits Ordinance of 1922" which classified the South as a 'closed district' and resulted in the progressive exclusion of Northern Islamic traders and the limitation of Southerners travelling to the North to find work.⁽²⁹⁾

Published in 1961 (Divinity and Experience, 8) the Atuot are not adjacent to the Nuer. However in Johnson's Nuer Prophets (p. 39) (based on SDIT 1954) the Apak Atuot are adjacent to the Nuer.

⁽²⁸⁾ Two decades after British rule Dinka sections represented territorial entities and the general rule in settlement was to respect section borders. If neighboring sections grew to an extent that border disputes arose, new settlers were asked to occupy land of their respective sections in another area. See, "The Social and Economic Setting of Rural Bor Dinka," Pengko Pilot Project Technical Note No. 9, Vol. 1 December 1979 ILACO, Arnhem, The Netherlands, 49-62.

⁽²⁹⁾ An east-west boundary represented by the Nyamlell-Safaha road formally divided the Western Ngok Dinka and Islamic Baggara in Kordofan. Confidential letter from R. C. C.

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The Southern Policy failed for the most part in many of its aims. For example, after 1930 the Sudan was plagued by the oncoming depression and while staff in the Southern region were further drastically reduced significant numbers of Northerners remained. By 1955 many of the merchants in the Dinka towns of Rumbek and Aweil were still Northerners while their agents with their small shops formed an immense network throughout much of Dinkaland.⁽³⁰⁾

Nevertheless, the idea of a "separate impenetrable South" became reified and gave birth to southern protonationalism at the dawn of independence. The populace came to understand it was their land and that Northerners had no right to pillage it. With these North/South frontiers and officially ethnically divided districts and provinces, the British now set about implementing "native administration." However, the decision to rule through African chiefs and the need to maintain empire as cheaply as possible dictated that a new policy of governance

Brock, Gov. Bahr el-Ghazal Province to Harold MacMichael, 30th April, 1930. Ref: No. 1 C/1 [Obtained from the archives of the Center for Development Studies, University of Bergen, Norway.]; SAD 586/1/55; Memorandum from the Civil Secretary's Office [MacMichael] Khartoum, dated 25th, January, 1930.

⁽³⁰⁾ Daly, Empire on the Nile, 412; Letter from the Governor of Bahr El Ghazal Province, R. O. C. Brock, to the Civil Secretary in Khartoum dated 22nd March, 1930, from Extracts of Confidential Documents of British Administrators in the Southern Sudan on British Southern Policy in the Southern Sudan from 1930 to 1954. Obtained from the Center for Development Studies, University of Bergen, Norway; Santandrea, A Popular History of Wau, 71.

was now needed.⁽³¹⁾ These policies gave the Dinka some discretion as to who should "rule" them.

ATTENUATED BRITISH CONTROL AND THE DINKA NEGOTIATION OF POWER

Kathryn Tidrick argues that throughout the twentieth century Britain experimented with increasingly attenuated forms of colonial control.⁽³²⁾ In 1922 in Sudan it was resolved to implement Indirect Rule paralleling that of the Nigerian model. To function, however, Indirect Rule required ethnic cohesion and strong African leadership. This was problematic as the British had removed or killed most of the effective Dinka leaders present in the early era of the Condominium.⁽³³⁾ In the meantime the oncoming world Depression affected British administration in the South where British officers were drastically reduced and after this time they were never more than a slender presence. Representatives were so few it was likely that no more than six European administrators would be in a province at any given time.⁽³⁴⁾

⁽³¹⁾ For empire and economy see P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion 1688-1914 and British Imperialism: Crisis and Deconstruction 1914-1990 (London: Longman, 1993).

⁽³²⁾ Tidrick, Empire, 26-30.

⁽³³⁾ The principal architects of Indirect Rule in the Sudan were Governor General Maffey (1926-1933) and Harold MacMichael, assistant civil secretary (1919-1925) and later civil secretary (1925-1934). See Holt and Daly, History, 137-9.

⁽³⁴⁾ Tidrick, Empire, 33-9, 279; Burton, "Nilotes and Colonialism," 125.

[The page contains faint, illegible markings.]

According to former District Commissioners, H. G. Balfour-Paul and W. Monteith, "You were a one-man district council; it was necessary to oversee every aspect of administration singlehandedly." ⁽³⁵⁾

The decision to rule indirectly coupled with financial limitations now dictated a totally new British officer must be found, one that was no longer militarily oriented but served more as an advisor. Former District Commissioner Hugh Malet notes "the British no longer wanted authoritarian dictatorial personalities." Former District Commissioner Peter Hogg who served in the Sudan from 1935 to 1955 notes that the British role now differed from the early colonial period; "We had authority as advisors; we were extremely carefully chosen." ⁽³⁶⁾ Yet the minimal British presence in the South now left administrators vulnerable. They became dependent for assistance and security on the very people they purported to rule.

The vulnerability of district commissioners gave the Dinka some leverage. In regard to relationships between ruler and ruled James Scott proposes the term "hidden transcripts" to cover the wide variety of low-profile forms of resistance typically employed by dominated peoples against their

⁽³⁵⁾ Personal interview: Former District Commissioners, H. G. Balfour-Paul and W. Monteith, Crediton, Devon, England.

⁽³⁶⁾ Personal interview: Hugh Malet, Minehead, Somerset, England and Peter Hogg, Seven Oaks, Kent, England.

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rulers.⁽³⁷⁾ Now the Dinka employed some low-profile forms of resistance and gained a modicum of control over their lives. They began by pursuing their age-old practice of ethnically absorbing these latest "foreigners" by marriage.

Marital Relations Between The Dinka and the British

Ronald Hyam argues that the existence of an empire provided ample opportunities for sexual indulgences by British officers throughout the nineteenth century, though it was more obvious in frontier situations. In twentieth century Africa, however, Britain issued a sexual directive. The Crewe Circular of 1904 warned officials against sexual relations with African women. Although this directive was taken more seriously in the Northern Islamic Sudan, it appears to have been totally ignored in the South largely because in Southern regions below a certain parallel no British wives were allowed to reside. This rule was implemented largely because of the lack of medical personnel resident in the South prior to the post-World War II period. Thus, many British males in the South acquired local "wives." According to former District Commissioner Dennis Vidler and his wife Peggy "Everyone knew about the District Commissioners in the South but no one talked about it!"⁽³⁸⁾

⁽³⁷⁾ Scott, Arts of Resistance, ix-16.

⁽³⁸⁾ Ronald Hyam, "Empire and Sexual Opportunity," Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History 14, 2 (1986): 79 and "Concubinage and the Colonial Service The Crewe Circular 1909," Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History XIV

Erving Goffman argues that among ruling elites, social distance is important and many societies have extensive and elaborate taboos against contact.⁽³⁹⁾ Most British administrators and other personnel in the Sudan were advised to keep a little measure of distance from the Sudanese.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In the South the act of "marrying" into the Dinka amalgam however, decreased the official distance between the British

(1986): 170-186. Within the Sudan Plantations Syndicate in the Gezira in northern Sudan, British officers were warned they would be dismissed if they "interfered with native women." Personal interviews: Guy and Pamela Elgar, Wellington, Somerset, England.

Among those British officers and personnel in the south District Commissioner Gordon Munro Ramsey was murdered by his cook (most likely a northerner) in the south in Kapoeta in 1942; it was rumored to be a lovers quarrel. Among the better known British/Sudanese marriages was that of Donald Calder, District Commissioner Upper Nile Province; Major Lionel Arthur Deane, who worked in the Nuba Mountains from 1918 to 1930. District Commissioner A. H. Alban who married a Nuer; Captain Poole, based in Tonj township married a Dinka girl for 40 cows. Today his son, Arthur Poole (or Agong in Dinka) is a rich businessman in Khartoum. Upon retirement two District Commissioners from Yei, Maynard and Davies settled in the south for three years. They and members of the Equatoria Corp also obtained native "wives." Personal interviews: Former District Commissioners, David Driver and his wife, Alton, Hampshire, England; Dennis and Peggy Vidler, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, England; Phillip Pawson and his wife Peggy, Tavistock, Devon, England; Major Leonard Humphreys formerly of the Sudan Department of Agriculture, Victoria, Canada; Victor Majok Amecrot and Matthew Mathem Daw (Rek Dinka) Akot, south Sudan; Mayar Mayar Mareng (Rek Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. According to former District Commissioner K. D. D. Henderson, native marriages were unofficially condoned by senior officers in 1924 but sometime later this policy was reversed; Set Under Authority (Somerset: Castle Cary Press, 1987), 26-29.

⁽³⁹⁾ Erving Goffman, "The Nature of Deference and Demeanor," American Anthropologist 58 June (1956): 481.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Personal interview: Graham Reid, formerly in the British army in Northeast Africa and later a crop-sprayer throughout the Sudan. Personal interview: Saltash, Cornwall, England.

and the Dinka and yielded to the latter an advantage. Most marriages were organized by Dinka elders and chiefs who charged the British high bridewealth payments.

One of the best examples of an arranged marriage in the South in which the District Commissioner lost a degree of control was that of John Cumming (known to the Dinka as "Kerkuei"). He acquired a "wife" through the Paramount Chief of the Bor District, Deng Malwal. The two had become friends and upon hearing that the District Commissioner missed female company the chief suggested "marry one of our girls." Cumming paid 30 head of cattle and acquired a wife. However, when he contracted gonorrhea he demanded a divorce and the return of the cows. At this point a dispute ensued where Deng Malwal and Cumming exchanged blows over the incident. Informants state that the woman had been the wife of the Paramount Chief prior to "marrying" the District Commissioner. In this instance Deng Malwal had recycled his wife and made a profit on the marriage for no Dinka man would pay cows for another man's wife. In the ensuing dispute Deng Malwal threatened to inform the Juba authorities about the District Commissioner's indiscretions. Thus, the matter was dropped.⁽⁴¹⁾

⁽⁴¹⁾ John Cumming served in the Bahr al Ghazal (1927-35) and Upper Nile Provinces (1942-54) of the south. Chief Deng Malwal was one of the two most prominent Paramount Chiefs in the Bor district during the colonial period. He administered the entire Bor area from north to south. Personal interviews: Deng Acuoth, Deng Yai Deng and Pac Deel Deng (Bor-Gok Dinka); Ayuel Parmena Bul (E. Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.

According to a Bor-Atoc Dinka Mom Kou Nhial Arou, the children of the British and the Dinka were called "Malwal Thit." A son of Major Cumming lives today and is named Mar Gor

According to Bor-Atoc Dinka Mom Kou Arou many of the women "given" to the British as "wives" more often than not were considered by the general community to be "loose women" or "nier rac." (a bad girl). Many had taken to visiting towns and were becoming partly urbanized and hence the community disapproved of them. Further, he suggests that these "wives" did not reside with the British but rather when the District Commissioner visited the court center of his district she would join him in the British rest house. Thus, Mom Kou Arou suggests that most of these women were therefore not really wives but concubines.⁽⁴²⁾

Reflecting on the effects of British/Southern Sudanese "marriages," Western Twic Dinka, Bona Malwal perceives it as nothing more than abuse:

The British left our women and children born of the union when they left the province or the country. We have some of these people; they are mulatto and we call them by a slang name, "painted people." All exploitation was acceptable while it lasted.⁽⁴³⁾

Although most District Commissioners left their Southern Sudanese wives and children behind when they left the Province, Richard Wyndham notes an unnamed Governor's (a

(Margor) and is presently part of the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army. Personal interview: Mom Kou Nhial Arou (Bor-Atoc) Hamilton, Canada.

⁽⁴²⁾ Personal interview: Mom Kou Nhial Arou (Bor-Atoc) Hamilton, Canada.

⁽⁴³⁾ Personal interview: Bona Malwal (W. Twic Dinka) Oxford, England.

pseudonym is used) marriage to a Dinka woman in which the former is described as being "very attached" to the latter. Periodically certain Dinka men would approach the governor and give him a friendly slap him on the back; it was usually one his several dozen brothers-in-law.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Another means by which the Dinka gained a cultural and political advantage was that of language; their British overlords were required to know the Dinka language to administer their areas.

Language and Naming Ceremonies as Resistance

English administrators differed from their French counterparts who imposed their language on the Africans they governed. Indirect Rule dictated that British administration in the Sudan be conducted in the vernacular. Yet, by 1927 only five Britons in the Southern Sudan were qualified in local languages, among a population of more than four million. In the meantime the Dinka and Nuer, much like the Masai of Kenya gave those District Commissioners deemed to be "fit" to govern them official Dinka names followed by a welcoming ceremony.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Informants state:

⁽⁴⁴⁾ The man did not leave but rather died of black water fever in southern Sudan but had talked of remaining after he retired; Wyndham, Gentle Savage, 61, 121, 161 and Henderson, Set Under Authority, 26-29.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Personal interviews: Alier Arok Akuein, Mayen Jok Majok, Kuc Manyang Kuany, Deng Dut, Dau Tor, Atem Ayiik (E. Twic Dinka). Michael Langley, No Woon's Country (London: Jarrolds Ltd. [n.d.]), 58; Burton, "Nilotes and Colonialism," 127.

During the naming ceremony, a bull was sacrificed and the new District Commissioner was given his new [Dinka] name. At this time he was introduced to the people who pledged their support. This ceremony was also an agreement between both parties that nothing bad would happen to the commissioner while he was here and that nothing malicious would happen to us.⁽⁴⁶⁾

Hence, with a contractual arrangement the Dinka negotiated with the British to allow only those who treated them with respect to remain.

Anyone not passing muster however, was denied the privilege of a Nilotic naming ceremony and in fact found it hostile and difficult to continue working in the region.⁽⁴⁷⁾ For example, District Commissioner Cyril Beer "was very rude; he wasn't given a name and he didn't stay very long." When the District Commissioner challenged the authority of a Malwal Court President in Aweil the latter grabbed the commissioner's book and tore it up. Cyril Beer was gone within the year.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Over the course of the British period the Dinka seemed,

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Personal interviews: Makuac Jok Deng, and Makere Chol Adol (Bor-Gok Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ "One man came and spent three months in the district and was withdrawn." Personal interviews: Abdulla Ayom Kuany (Bor-Atoch Dinka); Kuer Dut (E. Twic Dinka); Barnaba Wuor and Samuel Majak Piok (Ghol Dinka); John Biem Ngok Bilkuai (Ruweng-Paneru Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ The court president was later fined ten cows for rudeness, however a short time later the Dinka composed a rude song about D. C. Beer and today the words are still remembered. Personal interview: the son of the chief who tore up the book, Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya. Cyril William Beer arrived as Deputy Governor in Bahr al-Ghazal Province in 1948 and left the following year. Harold MacMichael, Sudan Political Service (Oxford: Oxonian Press n.d.), 53.

more often than not, to perceive the British as public service agents. For example informants noted that "if an administrator did his job well we named some children after him." District Commissioner "Tolual" was bestowed with this honor when he built a hospital while District Commissioner "Tokrial" was similarly honored when he built a hospital and a school."⁽⁴⁹⁾

In some instances Dinka chiefs treated British district Commissioners like underlings. District Commissioner Brian Carlisle who served in Eastern Bahr el-Ghazal district in the 1950s and also acquired a Dinka name, was often forced to sit for hours in the blinding sun while disinterested Dinka chiefs failed to emerge from their homes (yot) for a meeting.⁽⁵⁰⁾ By making the naming ceremony a prerequisite for allowing the British to govern them, the Dinka negotiated a middle ground between ruler and ruled. Those unwilling to treat them with respect found it difficult to administer. Because of Indirect Rule and the need to maintain control the British now determined they needed to distance themselves from powerful and highly revered chiefs, religious leaders and their families as well as those who had become overly familiar.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Personal interview: Daniel Dok Manyang (E. Ruweng) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Personal interview: former District Commissioner, Brian Carlisle, Hartley-Wintney, Hampshire, England.

THE SEARCH FOR "CHIEFS" AND THE SECULARIZATION
OF DINKA AUTHORITY

Earlier in the century, prior to Indirect Rule the British first attempted to acquire chiefs from among spiritual or military leaders of powerful families. They sweetened the job with concessions and offered special uniforms to "change their mentality." However, in the recent past during the Egyptian and Mahdist periods chiefs were executed for not fulfilling tax quotas, and in the early British period no Dinka elder wanted the job.⁽⁵¹⁾ Rather, in the early days they treated the offer of a chieftainship with great suspicion:

People feared the whites for two reasons: if you went to them and became acquainted, or even surrendered to them, they could demand you become a native administrator. Once in a position of "chief" they might demand that you procure or collect slaves for them from among your own population.⁽⁵²⁾

Prominent Dinka authority figures and chiefs therefore thrust the job of "chief" onto those who would never have acquired positions of authority in pre-colonial times. Hence, the British acquired those of less prominence to act as Chiefs whose mission was to be the "retainers" or "eyes and ears" for the Dinka elders. Ex-slaves had been used during the Egyptian era and many of these people in the British era now

⁽⁵¹⁾ Personal interviews: David Deng Athorbei (Atuot-Apak), Nairobi, Kenya; Paul Machuer Malok (Agar Dinka) and Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok Dinka), Akot, south Sudan.

⁽⁵²⁾ Personal interview: Paul Machuer Malok (Agar Dinka) Akot, South Sudan.

also acquired chieftainships.⁽⁵³⁾

On other occasions elders pressured junior members of their own families to take the job. Gok Dinka Joseph Lueth Ater states: "My father compelled his younger brother to be chief against his will even though he was the junior man."⁽⁵⁴⁾ When the prominent Western Twic prophet, Cyer Dit was offered the position of executive chief by the British he passed on the job to his son-in-law.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Hence those acquiring chieftainships in the early days were not always the key authority figures of Dinka society.

After a time however, it was deemed that the colonial ideal of a "chief" was one willing to base his authority solely on the power of the Sudan government.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Now the British began to approach members of society deemed more

⁽⁵³⁾ Personal interview, David Deng Athorbei, (Atuot-Apak) Nairobi, Kenya. In 1905 Gleichen et al. noted many Dinka sheikhs were slaves in Cairo and were repatriated either by Gordon or the present government. Gleichen, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Vol. I, 126. As early as 1904 this began in Dinkaland. See Fr. Tappi, Nigrizia October (1904): 147.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Eventually the unwilling chief became a paramount chief by election and ended as a member of the southern Parliament in the 1970s. Personal interview: Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok Dinka) Akot, south Sudan.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Cyer Dit commanded great respect and was known throughout much of the region as having the ability to perform "miracles," including bringing the dead back to life (he resuscitated a man who had been dead for six hours). Personal interviews: the grand-nephew of Cyer Dit, Archangelo Ayuel Mayen (W. Twic Dinka) Glendale, Maryland, USA; Joseph Agel Ring, Paul Mangok Maror, Deng Agak Duot, and Michael Angok Malong (W. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. See also, Lienhardt, Divinity and Experience, 74, 78-9, 208.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ SAD 212/14/168-70; SAD 762/9/69; SAD 762/11/15.

malleable, ex-slaves, policemen and women. In this fashion over the years, the British secularized chieftainships.⁽⁵⁷⁾ In terms of female chiefs however, the British were less concerned if they possessed religious power as long as they promoted peace.

Female Chiefs and Dinka Male Resistance

In Southern Sudan women's leadership had been critical to the war effort of the nineteenth century. Most twentieth century colonial African historiography argues that patriarchal power over women was upheld in the interests of colonial profits and thus, female leaders and their political and economic power in the community declined. Elizabeth Eldredge argues however, that in colonial Lesotho British administrators bestowed power on women because they were deemed more malleable and willing to follow orders.⁽⁵⁸⁾

The argument of Eldredge also prevails in Southern Sudan for British administrators supported female leadership and only demoted women when southern males threatened warfare and/or a disturbance of the peace.⁽⁵⁹⁾ For example, in the

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Personal interview: Gabriel Awec Bol (Rek Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Eldredge, Basotho, forthcoming. See also Jeanne K. Henn, "Women in the Rural Economy: Past, Present, and Future," in African Women South of the Sahara, eds. Margaret Jean Hay and Sharon Stichter (New York, Longman, 1984) and Jane L. Parpart and Kathleen A. Staudt, eds., Women and the State in Africa (Boulder: Lynne Rienner 1989), 1-23.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ For a history of Dinka women and leadership see Beswick, "Women, War and Leadership," in press.

[illegible]

early British period the Sirdar and Lord Allenby presented an old Dinka female chief with a golden sword for maintaining good order among her people for many years. This same chief, a Gok Dinka named Aneka Lang Makol later insulted a militant leader of the Pakam Agar named Wuol Awol at an annual meeting of the chiefs held by the British District Commissioners. As she argued with her male colleague she slapped him on the buttocks. In response to what he perceived as a grave insult, he declared war on Aneka's section of the Gok. To keep the peace the District Commissioners, at the behest of Wuol and other male chiefs, removed Aneka from leadership.⁽⁶⁰⁾

During the early years of the Condominium the government reacted violently to the religious-political activities of prophets, particularly among the Nuer. However, they tended to ignore those who were female. In 1925 a female Jagei Nuer prophet, Nyaruac Kolang, emerged and continued undeterred by the British in the same capacity.⁽⁶¹⁾ A few years later another Nuer female, Nyakong Bar of the Gaajak, directly challenged the famous Nuer prophet Ngundeng's claim to centralized leadership over all the Nuer. Ngundeng, however,

⁽⁶⁰⁾ A complaint was officially lodged with the District Commissioner from Rumbek early in the 1920s and she was officially discredited in a law court shortly thereafter. Personal interviews: Musa Adam (Agar Dinka), Isaiah Deng (Ciec Dinka) Mom Kou Nhial Arou (Bor Dinka) Hamilton, Canada; Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok Dinka) and Simon Adel Yak (Agar Dinka) Akot, South Sudan; Lual Wuol Nhial and Deng Nhial Diek, (Gok Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁶¹⁾ Johnson, Nuer Prophets, 279-80. Personal interview: Abraham Riek Abum (Nuer) Kakuma, Kenya; Wal Duany (Nuer) Bloomington, Indiana, USA.

challenged the woman to prove her divine powers and when she failed he humiliated her by setting her to grind grain like other Nuer women and giving her to one of his dayiemni (disciples) as a wife. ⁽⁶²⁾

Yet as independence approached and southern leaders vied for power the aspirations of certain female religious leaders were curtailed by their menfolk. In 1947 an American missionary reported that a whole family of recently baptized Abwong Dinka (who most likely hoped to qualify for the much sought after government jobs) publicly burned the fetishes and paraphernalia of their mother, the leading religious leader of the village because they were embarrassed by her "pagan practices." ⁽⁶³⁾

Around the same period in the late 1940s British administrators appointed a capable and influential female Luo, Awit Dit as chairperson to the town bench of Aweil in Bahr el Ghazal province. By 1952 however, the men of the town annouced "we can't be ruled by women." For the sake of peace the British found a male replacement. Among the Latuka however, the British elected female chiefs/queens throughout the Condominium and these females have continued in this position

⁽⁶²⁾ Johnson, Nuer Prophets, 98-9. Another oral history notes she compromised her power by agreeing to become one of Ngundeng's disciples, and was left in control of her own territory. Personal interview: Wal Duany (Nuer) East Lansing, Michigan, USA.

⁽⁶³⁾ Letter written by R. Trudinger, to a friend dated 3/12/47 from Abaiyath, Presbyterian Historical Society, American Mission Southern Sudan. Presbyterian Archives Philadelphia, 209/14/21.

to the present day.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Another stratum of society deemed appropriate for obtaining chiefs was that of the police force.

The Police and the Route to Chieftaincies

Of use to the British was that trained police derived their authority solely from the British government. Their training made them good candidates for promotion to positions of chiefs as they already occupied the role of indigenous authority figures. Chosen and paid by the District Commissioner,⁽⁶⁵⁾ they trained and channeled office-seekers into the hierarchy of chiefs' courts and if labor was needed and Dinka refused, the police confiscated cattle, often without a hostile act or protest.⁽⁶⁶⁾

According to Douglas Johnson of those who filled the

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Personal interview: Lawrence Lual Lual Akuey (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya. Massimino Allam (Latuka) Kakuma, Kenya and Abannik Hino (Latuka) East Lansing, Michigan, USA.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ The first tribal police were paid in dura and 50 piastres in cash a month. SAD 212/13/29-35; SMIR Feb. 1921, Nos. 306, 317, 318. Personal interviews: Stephen Anyaak Chol (Agar-Pakam Dinka) Akot, south Sudan; Gordon Muortat Mayen (Agar Dinka), London, England.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, "The Thin White Line: The Size of the British Colonial Service in Africa," African Affairs Vol. 79, No. 314 January (1980): 25-44; Douglas H. Johnson, "From Military to Tribal Police: Policing the Upper Nile Province of the Sudan," in Policing the Empire, eds. David M. Anderson and David Killingray (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 164-5; SAD 762/11/9; John G. Millais, Far Away Up the Nile (London: Longmans, Greene and Co., 1924), 161.

ranks of the police force many were deculturated peoples⁽⁶⁷⁾ such as ex-slaves who had lived in the North at one time and now possessed no cattle. They were more hireable if they possessed a knowledge of Arabic.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Many resided in multi-ethnic communities throughout the South called "Malakiyas." One example is that of an Agar Dinka, Manyiel Dut, who had been enslaved as a small boy in the Egyptian colonial period by Karam Allah. When he returned to the South in the British period he was soon hired as an Arabic translator and then became a policeman. He reached the rank of sergeant major and then the citizens nominated him for the chieftaincy.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Of importance is that as these police had been trained in the intricacies of British law they made more effective chiefs.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ The term "deculturated" suggests that these people had not grown up in their indigenous culture as they were most likely taken as children to be slaves in the North and repatriated by the British at the beginning of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. Hence, upon return to their "homeland" they would now Muslim in religion, culture and language although still knowing themselves as "Dinka." A person could also become "deculturated" by having been abducted by the Baggara and being forced to reside in their agricultural communities north of the Bahr el-Arab river in Kordofan and Darfur provinces. At the beginning of the Anglo-Egyptian period the British asked many of these people if they wished to return home. However, they replied in the negative because they no longer owned cattle and in Dinka society it is difficult to exist without this form of currency. Personal communication, Dr. David Decker who conducted research on the Bahr el-Arab.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Johnson, "Military to Tribal Police," 164-5.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ However, a rival competitor won the election. Personal interview: Michael Manyiel Chol (Agar Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. See also Kirk-Greene, "The Thin White Line," 25-44; Johnson, "Military to Tribal Police," 164-5; SAD 762/11/9; Millais, Far Away Up the Nile, 161.

**THE IMPLEMENTATION OF BRITISH LAW AND THE
SECULARIZATION OF CHIEFTAINCIES**

Douglas Johnson argues the regulation of judicial procedure and structures was introduced as a strategy to establish and maintain administrative control over the Nuer in Southern Sudan; eventually it became the main function of local government.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Much the same can be said for the Dinka. Initially, the British imposed a judicial structure which embodied "crimes" instead of "offenses" payable by fines, and involved a prison sentence, flogging and/or execution.⁽⁷¹⁾

It was not the first time the Dinka had been exposed to a law of "crimes" rather than "offenses." This form of law had begun to be implemented during the Turco-Egyptian period and in 1857 Italian missionary Father Beltrame noted it within the a Ciec Dinka community.⁽⁷²⁾ During the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium the British created five units; regional courts, executive chiefs' courts, subchiefs' courts, district courts and provincial courts. There were three codes of law, the

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Johnson, "Customary Law and the Nuer," 59.

⁽⁷¹⁾ Personal interview with a Court President who served during the British period, Bol Malek Jok (Rek Dinka) Nyabagok, South Sudan; former District Commissioners: Donald Hawley, Devises, Wiltshire, England; and Phillip Pawson, Tavistock, Devon, England. For the transition from civil offenses to crimes see Diamond, Primitive Law; Sally Falk Moore, Law as Process An Anthropological Approach (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978) and June Starr and Jane F. Collier, eds., History and Power in the Study of Law (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

⁽⁷²⁾ Beltrame, Il Fiume Bianco e i Dénka, 280-3.

"Sudan Penal Code" taken from India, the "Tribal Code" and the "Muslim Code." The British District Commissioners only presided over those cases requiring the Sudan Penal Code; normally cases of murder or death. District Commissioner Hogg notes: "We interfered as little as we could; we provided security and justice...however, the Sudanese needed the District Commissioners to hold the balance between the tribes." When complicated cases arose the British selected chiefs from different sections to judge cases in neighboring areas.⁽⁷³⁾

As British law became entrenched it atomized Dinka society. The British enforced a legal system whereby the individual rather than the group paid for his or her criminal offenses while the court's insistence on a precise and punctual repayment of obligations by the offender further emphasized the individual over the community. Hence, the new legal system broke intricate alliances between communities isolating the offending individual from the rest of society.⁽⁷⁴⁾

British corporate punishment was not always effective

⁽⁷³⁾ Within a court center there may have been four to seven clans each with a chief. Personal interviews: Paul Machuer Malok (Agar Dinka) Akot, south Sudan; Diing Akol Diing (E. Twic Dinka); Mayar Mayar Mareng, (Rek Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. Former District Commissioner, Peter Hogg, Seven Oaks, Kent, England.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ R. G. Lienhardt, "Getting your own back: themes in Nilotic myth," in Studies in Social Anthropology, eds. J. H. M. Beattie and R. G. Lienhardt (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1975), 218-20; Johnson, "Customary Law and the Nuer," 74.

however, and group responsibility of offenses in some instances continued to prevail for many Dinka deemed British law too strict and took matters into their own hands.⁽⁷⁵⁾ When Chief Joseph Maciek was mortally speared, District Commissioner Cumming hanged the two people he believed were responsible for the crime. In reality the two perpetrators went free because the elders elected to hang in the place of these two men by "taking the crime upon themselves as the boys had lives ahead of them."⁽⁷⁶⁾

With progressive secularization the British increasingly preferred to avoid Dinka prophets (priests).⁽⁷⁷⁾ By the 1940s as the legal system began to take hold chiefs acquired different titles in Dinka society, largely because the responsibilities of chiefs had diverged in many directions and now radically differed from that of precolonial times. For example, a government chief in the Padang Area was termed a "Beny de Thep."⁽⁷⁸⁾ He could award up to six months in jail

⁽⁷⁵⁾ Personal interview: present-day chief of Akot, Dut Malual Arop (Agar Dinka) Akot, south Sudan.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ The two who murdered the chief were Alier Jok Alier and Alier Kur Ajak. Personal interviews: Deng Yai Deng and Pac Deel Deng (Bor-Gok Dinka) and the daughter of one of the men above: Roda Yar Alier (Bor-Gok Dinka), Kakuma Kenya.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ For example, among the Nuer one chief, Cany Reth was appointed while his neighbor acquired the position by heredity. The former had been an officer in the Egyptian army and was literate in Arabic. Johnson, "Customary Law and the Nuer," 67.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ Literal translation: Chief of the Sword or War Leader. In the British period he was recognized by the people as the Paramount Chief. Thep is an Arabic derivative and not Dinka. Personal interview: Mom Kou Nhial Arou (Bor-Atoc Dinka)

terms while his subordinate chief, the "Beny de Cirit-Ker"⁽⁷⁹⁾ could award up to two months. Those that collected taxes, the "Beny de Athulba"⁽⁸⁰⁾ were appointed by the government and the higher chiefs could also hear cases and award minor fines. Although the new British administrative apparatus in the South created a whole series of new African administrators pre-colonial prophets, the "Beny de Rem"⁽⁸¹⁾ remained. They fulfilled some of those tasks of the pre-colonial period for example, they continued to preside primarily over the religious realm and African courts. They were chosen by the people, always of the ruling class and acquired their position by heredity. Another category of chief, the "Run Deng"⁽⁸²⁾ doubled both in the pre-colonial religious role of a "Beny de Rem" as well as that of a

Hamilton, Canada.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ The literal translation is the Chief of the Rope of Blue Cloth or a subordinate chief. Personal interview: Mom Kou Nhial Arou (Bor-Atoc Dinka) Hamilton, Canada.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ The correct translation is Chief of the Workers (Athulba [Arabic: al-tulba, "the tribute"] is a Turkish-period administrative word; in this case, it refers to tribute extracted in the form of labor services.) This chief oversaw roadworkers and other community activities. Personal interview: Mom Kou Nhail Arou (Bor-Atoc Dinka) Hamilton, Canada.

⁽⁸¹⁾ The literal translation is "Chief of the blood." This man was a ceremonial priest, peace maker and mediating chief. He acquired his job only by heredity. Personal interview: Mom Kou Nhial Arou (Bor-Atoc Dinka) Hamilton, Canada.

⁽⁸²⁾ The literal meaning is the Chief of Rain. This term would denote a rainmaker in pre-colonial times. In the British period it included administrative activities.

government chief.⁽⁸³⁾ As the process of secularization of law and chieftainships took hold it was the controversial field of Western education which determined who would be the new leaders of the emerging Dinka confederation as well as the Southern Sudan.

THE INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN EDUCATION AND THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW ELITE

Leroy Vail argues that the role of missionaries was crucial for they were instrumental in providing the cultural symbols that could be organized into a cultural identity. This was especially true regarding written languages and researched written histories. Further, language stands as the central item in the assemblage of a cultural package. In Africa it was the missionaries who chose what the "proper" form of the language would be, thus serving both to further unify and to produce divisions by establishing firm linguistic boundaries.⁽⁸⁴⁾

Today the Bor Dinka dominate the Southern Sudan politically. Informants assert that this predominance was born from a twenty year educational jump on on all others in

⁽⁸³⁾ The Beny de Thep wore a long red cloth to wrap around his waist and a badge of office; the Beny de Cirit-Ker wore a tripe of red and white material. Uncatalogued document of the Sudan Interior Mission, (no date, no name, probably dating to the 1940s). Obtained from the SIM Archives, Charlotte, North Carolina, USA.

⁽⁸⁴⁾ Vail, "Introduction: Ethnicity in Southern African History," 1-19.

Dinkaland who rejected Western education for decades.⁽⁸⁵⁾ The British "pacified" the Bor region first hence the Church Missionary Society (CMS) founded the first school at Malek from 1905-8. Such post-independence leaders as Abel Alier and Joseph Lagu later attended this school and from 1909 the school remained under the guidance of the prominent and much respected Archdeacon Shaw. He is remembered by the Bor Dinka with great affection.⁽⁸⁶⁾ He guided the curriculum for over twenty years and by 1930 Malek school had 77 students.⁽⁸⁷⁾ However, other factors encouraged a quicker acceptance of Western education in the Bor territories. In this region the close relationship between Paramount Chiefs, including Deng Malwal and succeeding District Commissioners gave rise to relations whereby the "Bor chiefs were willing to send their best children to school." Hence, the Bor Dinka region supported Western education much earlier than their Dinka

⁽⁸⁵⁾ Personal interview: Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok Dinka) Akot, south Sudan.

⁽⁸⁶⁾ During my field research all the Bor informants talked of him with humor and affection.

⁽⁸⁷⁾ Informants state all educated Bor Dinka today are products of this man. Personal interviews: Deng Dau Deng (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok Dinka) Akot, south Sudan; Collins, Land Beyond the Rivers, 304-5; Johnson, The Upper Nile Province Handbook, 105-8. By 1939 Archdeacon Shaw had been at Malek Mission and school for twenty years. He was noted to be a considerable thorn in the Sudan government body and much disliked. Letter to Jock at St. Josephs, from J. A. Wau, Mill Hill Missionary at Malakal, dated 2/2/1939. Mill Hill Archives, London. L. S. Passmore Sanderson and G. N. Sanderson, Education, Religion and Politics in Southern Sudan 1899-1964 (London: Ithaca Press, 1981), 98.

counterparts in the North and west.⁽⁸⁸⁾

The history of Western education in other parts of the South, however, is far different. Those in the western Dinka regions preferred to join Ariendit's early 1920s campaign against the British. When they were finally "pacified" they acquired Italian-speaking Catholics as their educators whose emphasis lay, not in literacy but in arts and crafts. Thus, the Western Dinka speaking population was exposed to an Italian form of Christianity while the eastern and other Dinka acquired an Anglican derivative.⁽⁸⁹⁾

Further, those in the west as well as in the North were strongly discouraged by their parents from attending Western schools for they wanted to groom their sons as chiefs of the cattle camps. Hence, they sent their laziest and most troublesome nephews or younger sons or "the rejects of Dinka Society" to school as a way to "be rid of them."⁽⁹⁰⁾ Mayar Mayar Mareng, a Rek Dinka states:

There was pressure to keep the children at home so

⁽⁸⁸⁾ Personal interview: Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok Dinka) Akot, south Sudan; Deng Dau Deng, (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁸⁹⁾ Personal interviews: Parmena Awerial Aluong (Aliab Dinka) London, England, Deng Dau Deng (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma Kenya. "The first generation of educated Dinka came from Malek School, for example Abel Alier." Personal interviews: Bul Awuol Ayuel (E. Twic Dinka) Abdulla Ayom Kuany (Bor-Atoch Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; John W. Burton, "Christians, Colonists and Conversion: a View from the Nilotic Sudan," The Journal of Modern African Studies 23, 2 (1985): 349-69; Collins, Shadows in the Grass, 223-7.

⁽⁹⁰⁾ Personal interview: Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok Dinka) Akot, south Sudan.

that they could become pastoralists because cattle were more important. Chiefs and elders feared their children would become deculturated when learning English and worse, if their children were sent to boarding schools they may disappear, as in the Turkish period.⁽⁹¹⁾

Many asked the important question "get educated to become what?" Hence, early schools were very unpopular in many Dinka areas,⁽⁹²⁾ and Joseph Lueth Ater, a Gok Dinka notes:

I grew up believing I was useless because I was sent to school. My parents disliked me and wanted to be rid of me. I was told 'those that are taken to school are thieves and reckless foolish boys.' At that early time I was very angry with my uncle who forced me to go instead of his own son. In 1954 my uncle confessed to me that he sent me to school as revenge for my father forcing him to become a chief.⁽⁹³⁾

However, sometimes the sons of prominent chiefs went to school if a District Commissioner was very persuasive: Western Twic Dinka, Bona Malwal notes:

My father, a chief, was against it and tried to get a nephew of his to go. My younger brothers were too young and I was seven. My mother came every morning and took me away from school and eventually I was sent to a school ninety miles away. However my mother threatened to commit suicide if I didn't return to get initiated. I was looking forward to becoming a chief.⁽⁹⁴⁾

⁽⁹¹⁾ Personal interview: Mayar Mayar Mareng (Rek Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁹²⁾ Personal interview, Paul Manhom Mading, Isaac Makoi Majur, Kana Achol Dak (female), Mabor Morwel Lok, Manasseh Keluel Cindut, Joseph Mathiang Dhalbeng, (Agar Dinka), Martin Makur Beny (Ciec Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Stephen Anyaak Chol (Agar-Pakam Dinka) Akot, south Sudan.

⁽⁹³⁾ Personal interview: Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok Dinka) Akot, south Sudan.

⁽⁹⁴⁾ Personal interview: Bona Malwal (W. Twic Dinka) Oxford, England.

Today, Bona Malwal is a well known statesman and journalist.

However, in the Northern Dinka territory among the Abialang Dinka boys were given little incentive to pursue Western education. A Paloic Dinka attending the Sudan Interior Mission school in Northern Dinka territory who professed the Christian faith was beaten and then sent to another village.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Unsurprisingly, few Northern Dinka acquired a Western education.

In 1929 the Agar Dinka region of Rumbek acquired a Church Missionary Society School. Thus, today the Bor Dinka followed by the Agar are the best Western-educated of Dinka peoples. The present-day Southern Sudan Dinka leader, John Garang de Mabior, an Eastern Twic from the Bor territory attended Rumbek secondary school.⁽⁹⁶⁾ However, there was no separate

⁽⁹⁵⁾ The following Sunday there was a great sacrifice to the rain god when a number of youngsters refused to take part hence, the Paloic children were forbidden to go to mission classes. Letter from Mr. and Mrs. Eck and Christine Scott dated July-Sept. 1948 to the Mission in the United States KB-3/24/1.; letter dated Sept. 30, 1948 from Joan and Eddie Holman. KB/3/21/1. Archives of the Sudan Interior Mission, Charlotte, North Carolina, USA

⁽⁹⁶⁾ Personal interview: Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok Dinka) Akot, south Sudan; Collins, Land Beyond the Rivers, 304-5; Johnson, The Upper Nile Province Handbook, 105-8. Even though he is an Eastern Twic from the Bor territory John Garang attended an elementary school in southern Tonj in Bahr el-Ghazal Province. Personal interview: Yongo Bure Jame (Kuku) Flint, Michigan, USA. By 1950 there were five intermediate schools in the south; three mission schools in Equatoria, including one at Loka and Okaru and another at Busseri in Bahr el-Ghazal; there were two government schools at Atar (Upper Nile Province) and Rumbek (Bahr el-Ghazal Province) and new intermediate schools opened at Malakal, Juba, Maridi, Nzara and Wau bringing the number of such schools in the south up to ten. FO/371/90107.

government secondary school for girls in the whole country until 1949.⁽⁹⁷⁾

Those Dinka regions in which schools emerged now dominated linguistically and printed texts appeared only in their particular dialects. Hence, there evolved a Bor dialect for the entire Bor region, an Agar dialect for the entire Lakes district (eastern Bahr el-Ghazal), a Dunghol dialect for the Padang (Northern Dinka) and a Rek dialect for the Western Dinka. In all mission schools in the South all other Dinka dialects were subsumed under these four. Additionally, the British declared English as the official language of the South with a cessation in the usage of Arabic.⁽⁹⁸⁾ However, it was

⁽⁹⁷⁾ See Lilian [Passmore] Sanderson, "Education and Administrative Control in Colonial Sudan and Northern Nigeria," African Affairs Vol. 74 No. 297 October (1975): 430-440; Ina Beasley, Before the Wind Changed, ed. Janet Starkey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 139 and personal interview: Ina Beasley and her sister Sheila Connolly, Margate, Kent, England.

⁽⁹⁸⁾ They were consolidated at the Rejaf Language Conference of 1928 and evolved along with translations of the bible by missionaries which in turn coincided with the sphere system. Job Malou, Dinka Vowel System (Arlington, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1988), 1; A. N. Tucker, Dinka Orthography (Khartoum: Institute of African & Asian Studies, 1978). For details on the sphere system see Collins, Shadows in the Grass, 198-201, 221-7. Ciec Dinka was remodelled into Bor while Malwal, Western Twic and Gok were remodelled into Rek. Personal interviews: Martin Makur Beny (Ciec Dinka); Paul Manhom Mading, Isaac Makoi Majur, Kana Achol Dak (female), Mabor Morwel Lok, Manasseh Keluel Cindut, Joseph Mathiang Dhalbeng, (Agar Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok Dinka) Akot, south Sudan; Isaac Cuir Riak (Ciec Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

While other groups had access to education, the Aliab believed that the British punished them for their uprising in 1921: "We were left behind by the British. We had no schools in the Aliab areas; no one was educated. There were no District Commissioners and no missionaries. Everyone was

the emerging money economy and its connection to new forms of wealth and concomitant acquisition of political power which further attracted non-elites to seek positions as chiefs. While Southern Sudan was not integrated into the cash economy at the turn of the century, by the later British period more than a few in the South had been exposed to it and some had come to appreciate its importance.

THE MONEY ECONOMY AND THE BEGINNINGS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

In Dinka society wealth and power are synonymous⁽⁹⁹⁾ and hence the accumulation of wealth concomitant with or by means other than ownership of cattle allowed the poorer non-elite members of society to rise in the hierarchy of Dinka society. The secularization of chieftainships in the South would have been difficult without the introduction of the money economy which in turn encouraged an individual over a group economy. Sharon Hutchinson argues that the emergence of the cash economy among the Nuer between the British period and the present encouraged major socioeconomic transformation. All parts of society were affected including the relative autonomy and independence of senior men versus that of junior men, of cattle owners versus those without, wage earners versus non-

scared to go into the Aliab area." Personal interviews: Edward Ngong Deng, Abraham Mayuom Mangok, Phillip Thokluel Kuol (Aliab) Kakuma, Kenya and Parmena Awerial Aluong (Aliab) London, England.

⁽⁹⁹⁾ Deng, "Torts," 567.

wage earners, men versus women, husbands versus wives, married women versus unmarried women and merchants versus nonmerchants.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Much the same can be said for the Dinka.

Throughout the colonial period in the South the British encouraged new ways of integrating the cash economy into society.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ In 1922 the British issued cotton seed for cultivation which met with success among the Dinka and Shilluk. Other cash crops were introduced including cotton and coffee and a tanning industry was developed to produce hides. These modest successes in industry and cultivation resulted in the creation and stimulation of a primitive economy but because of insurmountable exporting difficulties it tended to be primarily local and regional. The world depression however, brought these schemes to a halt.⁽¹⁰²⁾

The existence of currency in Southern Sudan was not entirely new for in 1904 the White Nile Dinka paid their

⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Sharon Hutchinson, "The Cattle of Money and the Cattle of Girls Among the Nuer 1930-1983," American Ethnologist 19 (1992): 294-316. See also her Nuer Dilemmas (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ John Tosh argues that the major obstacle to Southern Sudanese economic development lay in the intractability of its environment and human geography. The problems could only have been tackled by long-term capital investment on a scale which was far beyond the means of any colonial administration in Africa. John Tosh "The Economy of the Southern Sudan under the British, 1898-1955," Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History 9, 3 (1982): 275-288.

⁽¹⁰²⁾ Candida Elizabeth Sevier, "The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in the Southern Sudan 1918-1936," Ph. D. Dissertation October 1974, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A., 125-135.

tribute partly in kind and partly in cash.⁽¹⁰³⁾ Administrators increasingly demanded cash for poll taxes rather than tribute and numbers of small markets were established in the south at which cultivators and herdsmen could obtain ready cash for their goods.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ By the 1930s certain Dinka groups (the Paweng) paid all their taxes in cash.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

For example, when the British introduced currency some began to kill elephants to sell the ivory for cash to purchase cows. Taxes taken from the Dinka in the form of cattle would be auctioned for cash at the town of Juba in Equatoria Province (as well as Omdurman in the North). After the war most court houses auctioned their "fines herds" (cattle obtained from fines) for cash. Eventually some Dinka groups paid all court fines in cash instead of cattle, such as the Western Luaic.

By the 1940s the Dinka attempted to buy cattle for cash. In 1946 the British encouraged and to some extent succeeded in making these Nilotes buy vaccines and trade goods. Missionaries at the American Mission at Nasir introduced wage labor for patients coming from long distance. They could pay their fees in kind or by labor during which they earned \$2.50

⁽¹⁰³⁾ Gleichen, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Vol. I, 128.

⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Sevier, "The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in the Southern Sudan," 125-135.

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ SAD 212/10/7.

a month and 75 cents worth of food.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ In time the presence of administrative centers became the central focus of each Dinka territory.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

Multi-Ethnic Communities in the South: Malakiyas

Prior to the British period large towns inhabited by the Dinka did not exist with the exception of those which were staging posts in the days of the slave trade.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ One of the most important developments in the South associated with the emerging cash economy were multi-ethnic communities called "Malakiyas." They came into existence behind shops in every southern town and became important labor reserves providing a pool from which police, wage laborers and translators could be obtained. They were especially important because they provided a center from which considerable numbers of soldiers of the

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ SAD 693/2/8; SAD 212/10/7; personal letter from J. M. Hunter to family, 3/3/43 and 18/5/43. Personal interviews: Lual Wuol Nhiak and Deng Nhial Diek (Gok Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. United Presbyterian Church Archives, Board of Missions, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania RG209/12/01 Papers of William J. Adair; Sevier, "The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in the Southern Sudan," 125-135.

⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Personal interview: Andrew Anhiem Alit, (Atuot) Akot, South Sudan.

⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ John W. Burton, "Christians in Nilotic Sudan," The Journal of Modern African Studies 23, 2 (1985): 364; and, "When the North Winds Blow: A Note on Small Towns and Social Transformation in the Nilotic Sudan," African Studies Review Vol. 31 No. 3 (1988): 49-60. A fair number of Dinka were in the Khalifa's army and after the defeat by the British at the battle of Karrari many escaped south to their homeland. Personal interviews: Barnaba Wuor and Samuel Majak Piok (Ghol Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Paul Machuer Malok (Agar Dinka) Akot, South Sudan.

Equatorial Battalion would be recruited.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

Malakiyas sprang up all over the South adjacent to numerous towns including Renk,⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Melut, Bor, Rumbek, Shambe, Juba, Dem Zubayr, Raga and Wau which was a large one.⁽¹¹¹⁾ The inhabitants included those who had been connected with the political agitator Aliab Dinka Ali Abd al-Latif's 1924 revolutionary organization, the White Flag League of Khartoum. The members of this organization were mainly Aliab Dinka and they were evicted from the North and forcibly "repatriated" to the South. They were joined by former slaves who had acquired their freedom but who were now deculturated, no longer had familial ties and therefore had no access to cattle.⁽¹¹²⁾ Retiring policemen also preferred to live in the Malakiya. Most inhabitants were Muslim while informants state

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ SAD 212/13/29-35; SMIR Feb. 1921, Nos. 306, 317, 318. Malakiyas were also initiated in northern Sudan to serve as labor reserves. See Ahmad Alawad Sikainga, Slaves Into Workers Emancipation and Labor in Colonial Sudan (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996).

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Sikainga, Slaves into Workers, 53.

⁽¹¹¹⁾ Personal interview: Gordon Muortat Mayen (Agar Dinka) London, England.

⁽¹¹²⁾ One Aliab informant who lost all his extended family, with the exception of his mother was taken to the khalwa (Islamic school) in the Bor district. In the course of his education he adopted Islam. Personal interview: Anonymous Muslim Dinka informant of Aliab extraction, USA.

"Malakiyas" were termed as such to distinguish these settlements from those military ones in which ex-service people of slave ancestry retired. The term "Malakiya" means "civilian." See Susan M. Kenyon, "Who are the Malakiya? Historical Antecedents of a "New" Social Group in Contemporary Sudan," unpublished paper obtained from the personal library of Dr. Rex O'Fahey, Bergen, Norway, 2, 12, 21-24.

those "low-class" Dinka who had no cattle and were forced to marry from other ethnic groups also chose to reside in these settlements.⁽¹¹³⁾

Another important element of society residing in these settlements included numbers who had arrived from the North with money, opened shops and had become traders. Many others had become teachers. In the Northern Dinka region Muslim Dunghol ex-slaves and soldiers returned making their new home in a Malakiya district which they called "Riapa" near the region of Melut. Initially perceiving themselves as "civilized" townspeople they refused to reintegrate into their original ethnic communities.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Another Malakiya at Renk was founded by survivors of the Khalifa's army after the battle of Um Duwaykrat in 1899 and numbered about 5,000 people.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

Trading and Bush Shops

In 1928 British administrators noted that settlements of West Africans in Rumbek had conducted illicit excursions into

⁽¹¹³⁾ Personal interview: Gordon Muortat Mayen (Agar Dinka) London, England. In 1901 Catholic Father Tappi noted a military colony just being formed in the Northern District called Ayan. See Nigrizia column of Fr. Tappi, March 1901, 141 and Millais, Far Away Up the Nile, 97.

⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Initially they married among themselves. All were Muslim and teaching the Koran however, decades later they integrated into the general Dinka population. Personal interviews: Cok Kuek Ywai and Majak Chol Mayiik (Dunghol Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Sikainga, Slaves into Workers, 53.

the Dinka country to trade occult charms.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ However, most Dinka communities did not embrace the philosophy of trading or shop-keeping throughout the Condominium period. Nevertheless, beyond the Malakiyas the British encouraged those Dinka residing in the rural areas to open cooperative shops throughout the South. They sold limited items such as salt, dhurra, sugar and soap. These bush shops increased with the emergence of "Malakiyas."⁽¹¹⁷⁾

Of all the Dinka the Bor emerged as the preeminent traders largely because numbers of returning slaves and ex-military personnel moved to the Bor district and opened shops.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Many of the returnees were Aliab Dinka from Omdurman and spoke Arabic. In Bor the surrounding population was more supportive of traders and over time many of the chiefs came to wear shirts, shorts and a helmet when they

⁽¹¹⁶⁾ SMR #410, September 1928.

⁽¹¹⁷⁾ By the end of the Condominium the Dinka still showed little interest in commerce although native shops increased. Southern Sudan Disturbances August 1955: Report of the Commission of Enquiry (London: McCorquedale (Sudan), 1956), 123. As late as the 1970s Dinka who went into the shop-keeping and trading business were referred to as jellaba and had derogatory songs sung about them by their Dinka colleagues. Personal interview: Stephen Anyaak Chol, (Agar Dinka) Akot, south Sudan. Some Malakiyas incorporated ex-military people while in other places the military settlements evolved separately, for example in Wau. Personal interview: Gordon Muortat Mayen (Agar Dinka) London, England.

⁽¹¹⁸⁾ In 1996 during my field research near the Agar Dinka territory of Bar Pakeny I noted a market. All the traders were Bor Dinka who obtained dressed from Uganda in exchange for cows. Their markets were located in many places of the Bahr el-Ghazal. I also saw Bor Dinka traders in the Azande town of Yambio.

could get one. In 1931 five out of 12 traders in Bor were Southerners; they sold elephant tusks for grain as well as hoes, beads and scanty clothing.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

In other regions of the South, however, trading has always been considered a low class activity.⁽¹²⁰⁾ At Yirrol which lies at the center of Atuot, Ciec and Aliab Dinka territory there were only three to four Dinka merchants although one at Wuanbou dealt directly with Omdurman. To encourage Dinka traders District Commissioner Douglas Penn formed a local chamber of commerce of six merchants

⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Of the southern traders in Bor, Guma Morgan was born in the north, a son of a soldier who brought him to Bor in 1910. Billal Abdalla, (Bor Dinka) was a son of a Bor woman and a policeman and repatriated from Khartoum. Abdel Tam Musa (an Aliab Dinka and freed slave) had a long established shop in Bor since 1908. Doka Fadel Mulla, a son of a freed slave and also an Aliab owned a shop in Bor since 1923. Faragalla Allagabu, son of a Sudanese soldier from Mongalla owned a shop in Bor since 1924. In modern times the Bor are still the predominant Dinka traders. Personal interviews: Mum Kou Arou (Bor Atoch Dinka) Hamilton, Canada; Paul Machuer Malok (Agar Dinka) Akot, south Sudan.

The Aliab form one of, if not the largest Dinka communities in Omdurman today. One of the first to be relocated was Doka Fadul Mulla, a former Aliab who upon his relocation maintained his Muslim faith and became a trader in Bor. Personal interview: Deng Malwal Abur Mahboub (Ghol Dinka); Abraham Mayuom Mangok (Aliab Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. The father of Majong Makom Wol, a soldier involved in Latif's revolution along with his family was "repatriated" along with numerous others to the south in 1924. Personal interviews: Victor Majok Amecrot and Matthew Mathem Daw, (Rek Dinka) Nyabagok, south Sudan; SAD 212/10/4; SAD 639/12/58-60.

⁽¹²⁰⁾ Until recently it was shameful for a Dinka man to go into the trading business. When Stephen Anyaak Chol attempted to open a shop in the Gok Dinka region in the late 1960s the "Dinka sang songs about me calling me a "jellaba". Today, however, it is not considered shameful to be a trader. Personal interview: Stephen Anyaak Chol (Agar Dinka) Akot, south Sudan.

collectively representing the Ciec Dinka at Yirrol and the Agar Dinka at Rumbek. At this time there was an export of bulls to the Azande area and the local Dinka shop-keepers agreed to embark on a new deal with merchants at Amadi, Meridi and Yambio.⁽¹²¹⁾ In Agar territory at Akot which lies mid-way between Yirrol and Rumbek District Commissioner Penn aimed to create a Dinka shop-keeping class however, the percentage of Dinka shop-keepers was smaller than that of Bor and Yirrol.⁽¹²²⁾

Nevertheless, it was in Akot that one marginalized, cattleless Nuer became a very wealthy merchant and a prominent member of the community. As a child Benjamin Bil Lual a Nuer, suffered a Murle attack in his town of Waat during which his father was killed. He was then sent to his uncle in Duk Fadiet who sent him to school. Reverend Arnold of the Episcopal Church brought him to the Ciec Dinka territory at Yirrol where he eventually became a teacher. However he was later excommunicated. At that point he joined his wife Roda Atiel, an Agar Dinka from Akot who had begun bartering grain for clothes, salt and tobacco. She then bought cattle. In the 1940s with the emerging cash economy of the South Roda Atiel was joined by her husband Benjamin Bil Lual who reinvested in

⁽¹²¹⁾ SAD 722/11/72. During my field research in 1996 I saw Agar Dinka escorting their cattle to the Azande town of Yambio to sell them in the markets for meat.

⁽¹²²⁾ By 1941 bushshop stations had increased in Rumbek but only eight percent of the 70 shops were Dinka-run. SMR #410, September 1928.

her business which was growing rapidly by buying iron doors and corrugated iron. Later they bought trucks (lorries) to transfer goods west to Wau. By 1955 the couple had built a brick shop and had both become so rich that Benjamin had to "give up the Dinka life of raiding" as his business was encompassing so much of his time.⁽¹²³⁾ Aside from bush shops the growing wage labor economy particularly in Wau introduced other means of acquiring wealth.

The Wage Labor Economy in Wau

During the second world war the economy of the South received another boost and a great increase of wage earning presented the beginnings of what the British perceived to be "a grave social problem; that of the transition from a family to an individual economy." It was deemed disruptive yet unavoidable however, because many artisans and motor car drivers needed to be engaged for various tasks in connection with the second world war. Labor shortages meant that Luo and Dinka contingents had to be obtained for the administrative Province headquarters at Wau, which also contained one of the largest Malakiyas.⁽¹²⁴⁾ Other poor cattleless Dinka were

⁽¹²³⁾ He later opened a school. Today his children are identified as Agar "Dinka." He acquired another eight wives and ended his life with 58 children. Personal interviews: with the daughter and son of Benjamin Bil Lual, Julia Benjamin Bloomington, Indiana, USA and Lual Benjamin Bil, Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽¹²⁴⁾ SAD 710/10/20-1. While up to the early 1950s the Rek country supplied enormous amounts of cattle and dhurra along with ground nuts, simsim and hydes. During World War II the

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drawn to Wau settling with Arab traders (jallaba) or becoming wage laborers for West Africans growing produce. According to Stefano Santandrea the Dinka formed the bulk of the population of Wau, although the town was not officially in Dinka territory.⁽¹²⁵⁾ In the meantime throughout Dinkaland, unlike the beginning of the century potential chiefs and leaders now struggled to acquire chieftainships. They noted these positions offered new avenues of wealth, particularly as the British began to create Dinka "states" throughout the South.

THE CREATION OF THE DINKA CONFEDERATION AND THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW ELITE

As the British continued to implement Indirect Rule they administratively consolidated the power of the larger Dinka groups over that of the smaller ones resulting in the creation of a series of Dinka "states." These territorial entities were presided over by "governors" or paramount chiefs. For example, prior to 1930 the Alor, Ruweng, Kwil, Awet and Western Ngok Dinka were all consolidated into one unit under Chief Kwol Arob of the Western Ngok. In the Bor district Chief Deng Malwal was one of the two most prominent Paramount Chiefs to

Rek Dinka also supplied the army with meat. Personal interviews: Victor Majok Amecrot and Matthew Mathem Daw, (Rek Dinka) Nyabagok, south Sudan.

⁽¹²⁵⁾ Santandrea also contradicts himself later in the book by stating the Dinka did not form a large population of Wau. Santandrea, A Popular History of Wau, 23, 45, 53-56, 68. Mrs. O. MacGill, wife of former District Commissioner R. C. S. MacGill notes there were several Dinka prisoners in Wau. Personal interview: Bath, England.

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administer the entire Bor area as one unit from north to south. It encompassed the Ghol, Nyarruweng, Twic and Bor Dinka groups.⁽¹²⁶⁾ In the 1930s the Gok Dinka comprised four sections. At that time they acquired one paramount chief to oversee the entire group and hence became politically consolidated into one large unit. Over time, instead of identifying themselves by ethnic section names (the two major sections of the Gok are the Toc and Lietnhom) the residents now reidentified themselves as "Gok Dinka." In 1942 the eastern Ngok, Dunghol, Paloc and Abialang Dinka groups became one administrative entity.⁽¹²⁷⁾ Thus, by the 1940s the British reduced the number of "redundant sub-chiefs."⁽¹²⁸⁾

As chieftaincies became more secularized the acquisition of a chieftainship was viewed as a means to acquire wealth and political power. Earlier in the century most prophets possessed "divine authority" which they had acquired by inheritance. Now those willing to derive their authority from the British government acquired infinitely more wealth and power. Further, they could acquire wealth independently of

⁽¹²⁶⁾ Personal interviews: Deng Yai Deng and Pac Deel Deng (Bor-Gok Dinka), Ayuel Parmena Bul (E. Twic Dinka), Deng Acuoth (Bor-Gok Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽¹²⁷⁾ Personal interview: Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok Dinka) Akot, south Sudan. SAD 722/11/54 (A. E. D. Penn); SAD 212/14/198 (C. A. Willis).

⁽¹²⁸⁾ In the early 1930s Willis noted of the Ballak Dinka of Upper Nile Province, "These people have five chiefs, all useless except one whom I intend to put the others under." SAD 212/13/12-16; SAD 722/11/54 (A. E. D. Penn); SAD 212/14/198 (C. A. Willis). Personal interviews: Paul Machuer Malok (Agar Dinka), Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok Dinka) Akot, south Sudan.

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their families. Chiefs were paid in coins and salt. In 1929 when Capt. A. H. Alban took over the Lau Nuer/Ngok Dinka in 1929 he gave one third of the tribute collected to the Paramount Chief, Riak Deng. During the colonial period cows cost one penny and many chiefs were paid a half pence per month as well as being issued weapons.⁽¹²⁹⁾ Hence, chiefs could now acquire wealth by earning salaries and then buying cattle at markets which concomitantly increased their political base.⁽¹³⁰⁾ Those "retainers" or lackies placed in power by reticent and/or disinterested elders in the early Condominium period now established themselves in the system and grew in prominence. Many had an advantage because, as ex-slaves they spoke Arabic and some broken English and could manipulate those situations where neither the District Commissioner nor the Dinka he represented could understand the proceedings.⁽¹³¹⁾

The most prominent of chiefs were the court presidents. They were appointed by the district commissioners and accompanied the executive chief. The two were supposed to work together however, they were often in conflict as the latter

⁽¹²⁹⁾ A Remington rifle was issued to the Ciec, Atwot and Gok chiefs. None, however were issued to the Agar. SAD 722/11/52-81.

⁽¹³⁰⁾ Personal interview: Paul Machuer Malok (Agar Dinka) Akot, south Sudan; SAD 762/11/9.

⁽¹³¹⁾ Personal interview, David Deng Athorbei (Atuot-Apak) Nairobi, Kenya.

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aspired to become the former.⁽¹³²⁾ Perhaps the final step by which the British consolidated secular authority was the removal of chiefs who were inefficient, uncooperative or corrupt.

The Sacking or Removal of Inefficient or Uncooperative Chiefs

Executive ability rather than divine power was the key factor in maintaining the position of a chief during the later British period. Notwithstanding these requirements, numbers of corrupt leaders emerged. In the 1930s an Agar chief, Aduer Aguouc became notorious for acquiring wealth in the form of taxes which should have been passed on to the District Commissioner. Of interest is that it was his Dinka constituents who first petitioned to have him removed for corruption after which the British replaced him.⁽¹³³⁾

Beginning in the 1930s some chiefs resorted to murder if they thought that the British were about to replace them. In 1934 among the Ruweng Dinka a struggle for leadership led to murder when a Kwil Ruweng Chief Coc de Mabior was sacked and replaced by a new candidate. The former secretly murdered the

⁽¹³²⁾ The executive chief in turn had a sub-chief and at the bottom of the hierarchy was the clan or ghol chief. Personal interviews: a court president, Bol Malek Jok (Rek Dinka) Nyabagok, south Sudan; Diing Akol Diing (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. SAD 212/14/3; Johnson, "Customary Law and the Nuer," 72.

⁽¹³³⁾ Personal interview: Michael Manyiel Chol and Paul Machuer Malok (Agar Dinka) south Sudan.

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latter, however the act was discovered.⁽¹³⁴⁾ In another instance in 1942 a Ruweng woman, Nyankur de Moinkoktoich^Ospeared District Commissioner Jack Wilson at the urging of a corrupt and ambitious chief of the Awet Ruweng, Agwer Deng. When the British had earlier discovered he was planning a coup of the neighboring Alor Dinka section, they planned to arrest him. Hence, the chief plotted to kill District Commissioner Wilson in order to maintain his position. Like other corrupt chiefs he was removed.⁽¹³⁵⁾

The means by which taxes were collected however, suggests that the system was vulnerable to corruption. For example, one former chief who became a court president notes that money passed through many hands:

I was told to collected taxes so roads could be built. The tax was yearly and it was 20 piastres on up to 50 per person. The ghol leader would collect the tax from people, he then passed on the money to the sub-chief, who passed it on to the executive chief who then reported to me. I collected taxes from 1000 people and then I turned the money over to the District Commissioner.⁽¹³⁶⁾

Hence, it was not surprising that some chiefs were tempted to

⁽¹³⁴⁾ Among the Kwil, a section of the Ruweng Dinka group, Coc de Mabior (aged twenty one) was made chief in 1933 instead of his uncle (considered more suitable). In three months he had alienated all his subchiefs; he imposed fines on all who opposed him. However, the people opposed him because he was Awet and not a Kwil Ruweng. Coc de Mabior and his uncle murdered the newly elected chief, Kwoigur de Lual. SAD 767/10/89-90 (Reported by Capt. Kidd).

⁽¹³⁵⁾ Personal interview: Former District Commissioner Jack Wilson, Budleigh Salterton, Devon, England.

⁽¹³⁶⁾ Personal interview: Bol Malek Jok (Rek Dinka) Nyabagok, south Sudan who worked in this position from 1940 to 1962.

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skim some tax monies for themselves. In revolutionizing chieftainships the British in one instance were party to a coup among the Western Ngok Dinka of Kordofan when its chief appeared uncooperative.

The Western Ngok and the Coup of Deng Majok:⁽¹³⁷⁾

Although two groups had become politically centralized by the dawn of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (the Western Ngok and Palyoupiny Malwal) towards the latter Condominium period only the Western Ngok survived. Their process of centralization had begun in previous centuries largely because of their geographic isolation in Northern Sudanese Islamic territory in Kordofan. Throughout the Egyptian colonial period they faced intermittent threats of warfare as they resided on the Islamic periphery with the Islamic Baggara to their north. They also had a series of capable and ambitious leaders.⁽¹³⁸⁾

As in the Egyptian colonial period, twentieth century Western Ngok leaders cooperated with the new ruling elite in Khartoum, the British. During this era the Ngok saw the end of "traditional" leadership and the adoption of modern politics under the leadership of the prominent Abyor Chief Kwol Arob. Assuming unprecedented political power Kwol, supported and protected by succeeding British administrators, began a phase

⁽¹³⁷⁾ I use the word "coup" in this instance to argue Deng Majok engineered a sudden decisive exercise of force in politics.

⁽¹³⁸⁾ See Beswick "The Ngok," in press).

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of quick political centralization. He inherited administrative power over the Ngok as well as several neighboring Dinka sections, including the Ruweng and Western Twic.⁽¹³⁹⁾ In 1929, to maintain and consolidate his political power Kwol Arob elected to keep the Western Ngok Dinka in Kordofan isolated within northern Islamic territory rather than joining the rest of his Dinka nation to his south. Now he came to represent the position of "nazir" (the Northern Sudanese equivalent of the peoples' representative).⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

Early in the Condominium era the Western Ngok town Abyei had been developing into an important cattle trading center because of its strategic geographical position at the crossroads of the Islamic North and non-Islamic African South. Taking advantage of this economic and political opportunity Kwol Arob encouraged and increased trade in Abyei⁽¹⁴¹⁾ and by 1942 this town had increased in importance. A natural concomitant to the increase in trade was increased centralization in political power. This factor, in turn made the leadership of the Ngok a matter of great importance within southwest Kordofan and in 1942 a new leader seized power from

⁽¹³⁹⁾ Guiding the Western Ngok through the late nineteenth century his father, Chief Arob Biong had died in 1905. Deng, Deng Majok, 48.

⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ By politically subsuming the Ngok under the Messiria Baggara, Chief Kwol would preserve his position as Paramount Chief of the Ngok, under a British controlled government. SIR #135, May 1929; Deng, Deng Majok, 48. SAD GIIS1124 P. P. Howell, uncatalogued. pp. 471-472.

⁽¹⁴¹⁾ The currency of exchange at that time was still the colonial Egyptian Mejidi dollar; Lloyd, "Dar Homr," 654.

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Timothy Pauketat argues that the legitimation of authority in chiefly politics occurs when a ruling class comes to monopolize strategic goods produced or controlled outside the village economy.⁽¹⁴²⁾ In the case of the Ngok Dinka the strategic necessity was British military and governmental support; now a key factor in the Ngok leadership. However, at this time Kwol Arob made a mistake. In 1942 a son of Kwol Arob, Deng Majok, staged a political coup and grasped power from his father. Knowing his father did not favor him as a successor to the Ngok leadership but preferred another son who supported his desires for administrative distance from the Humr-Messiria Baggara, Deng Majok resolved to collaborate with the British. Knowing the British wanted the Ngok leadership to be allied with the Baggara, he offered to support this arrangement in exchange for the position of paramount chief. British administrators and the Humr-Messiria leader, Babo Nimr, shortly thereafter "elected" Deng Majok over the violent objections of his less politically astute father. Much like other chiefs who failed to fulfill the British expectation of their positions, Kwol Arob suffered the indignity of being removed from power in his lifetime.⁽¹⁴³⁾ As British policies

⁽¹⁴²⁾ Timothy R. Pauketat, The Ascent of Chiefs: Cahokia and Mississippian Politics in Native North America (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994), 12.

⁽¹⁴³⁾ Prior to this period the Ngok had been under the administrative authority of the Messiria leader, Babo Nimr whom the British appointed paramount over all the chiefs of the area. See Deng, Babo Nimr, 54-5.

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of leadership, law, economics and education were slowly adopted by the Dinka there arose a new elite within Dinka society.

THE NEW SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP

Towards the latter part of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Dinka society had been revolutionized and members of its new elite class were to become the rulers of the Southern Sudan in the post-colonial period. Secular chiefs began lines of leadership and modern-day Agar Dinka Chief Dut of Akot notes of his father:

In 1912 my father Malual Arob worked hard in the development programs like road building in Rumbek. My father cooperated with the British; he understood the system and the benefits he could give to his people. He managed to understand the different type of administration of that time and became well known because of it.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾

When education came to his area Chief Malual made an example of his children by sending them to school.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ In the same Agar territory modernizing chiefs such as Manyiel Cin Dut gained his post democratically by embracing British policies. Remembered for being "honest" he became highly popular by being the first to open a voluntary self-help community school in the 1940s. By the 1970s Western Ngok Dinka scholar Francis Deng noted with surprise that in his region of Abyei a Chief Yusuf Deng was neither from a chiefly family nor even of a

⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ Personal interview: present-day Akot Chief Dut Malual Arop (Agar Dinka) Akot, south Sudan.

⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ Ibid.

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Towards the end of the British period those who acquired Western education viewed themselves in a different class than those who were illiterate. As early as 1930 a Bor Dinka chief complained that boys educated at the mission, including his own son, believed themselves too superior to share work with their fellow countrymen. Joseph Lueth Ater who was sent to school under protest and who frequently ran away changed his attitude in 1947 after the Juba Conference. At this meeting the British initiated independence talks and it now became clear that the new rulers of the South would require Western education. Joseph Lueth Ater resolved to finish his education.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

Today, many of Southern Sudan's modern leaders and new elite class are those few who attended Malek and Rumbek schools or were policemen. Ruben Macier who later became a bishop of the Anglican church endured lashings to remain in school at Rumbek.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ Another extremely ambitious young Agar

⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ Personal interview: Michael Manyiel Chol (Agar Dinka) Akot, south Sudan. District Commissioners always had the final say as to whether a chief was to remain or be removed. Letter, from J. M. Hunter to his mother, 5 April 1945 mailed to me by J. M. Hunter. See also Deng, Africans of Two Worlds, 22.

⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ SAD 212/13/6; During the British period, certain boys dropped out of school because the corporate punishment made them "loose face." Personal interviews: Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok Dinka), Stephen Anyaak Chol (Agar-Pakam Dinka) Akot, south Sudan; Collins, Shadows in the Grass, 215.

⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ The Yibel are the southern neighbors of the Agar Dinka. Today he is a Bishop with a large Dinka congregation. "I was fascinated by writing; before learning to write one could only communicate when sitting with people." Personal

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Dinka boy of four years lined up hoping to get to school and refused to leave when told he was too young. The missionaries at Rumbek noted "if this young man wants education that badly let him have it!" Today Steven Anyaak Chol is a medical doctor.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾

One of the most prominent leaders of the post independent era, Gordon Muortat Mayen, as a child failed miserably as a pastoralist (he was nearly drowned chasing cattle and then later beaten for allowing goats into his neighbor's yard). Disgusted with his future prospects as a cattle herder he grasped the first opportunity for a career change. Although his father adamantly refused to allow it Gordon Mayen also attended the C.M.S. school in Rumbek in 1936. Towards independence he ranked among one of the most educated Dinka in the whole of Southern Sudan and was the first Dinka to enter Police College.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ In later years he became one of the most prominent leaders in Southern Sudan's post colonial history.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have argued that the need to control the Dinka, after decades of military resistance coupled by the onset of a world depression and the decision to follow

interview: Bishop Ruben Macier Makoi (Yibel) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ Personal interview: Stephen Anyaak Chol (Agar-Pakam Dinka) Akot, south Sudan.

⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ Personal interview, Gordon Muortat Mayen (Agar Dinka) London, England.

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policies of Indirect Rule, dictated that the British needed to secularize Dinka leadership and justice while simultaneously encouraging the formation of a new elite class in the South. In the early part of the century the long term effect of British military resistance strengthened intra-Dinka alliances and increased tendencies towards political centralization. However, after pacifying the Dinka during which many lost their lives and thousands of head of cattle the British introduced militarily enforced ethnic divisions. These official boundaries destroyed intra-ethnic alliances while simultaneously halting intra-ethnic wars. In the process there evolved Dinka states headed by governors (paramount chiefs). The process of dividing the South from the North with "the Southern Policy of 1930" reintroduced southern proto-nationalism. In the meantime the Dinka, as one means of resistance attempted to absorb the British by marriage into their amalgam while naming ceremonies encouraged a mutual respect by both parties.

In a bid to maintain control after the decision to adopt "Indirect Rule" in 1922 the British sought chiefs who were willing to base their authority solely on the power of the British government rather than on divine knowledge acquired by heredity. Female leaders, ex-policeman and ex-slaves now came to the fore. The police force, those enforcers of the new British law codes held up the superstructure of colonial authority in the South and also began to acquire chieftaincies.

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With the implementation of secular official law courts the British further enforced a legal system whereby the individual rather than the group paid for his/her criminal activities by fines and prison terms. By further individualizing crimes the British halted intra-Southern strife while simultaneously destroying concomitant ethnic alliances during which fines (by a series of payments) would have been paid. When the first semi-independent government of the South came into being in 1972 Southern newspapers advertised for five chiefs in the "employment" section. The qualifications for employment now included literacy, honesty and that they should be staunch supporters of government policy.⁽¹⁵¹⁾

The secularization of chieftainship would never have succeeded if there had been no introduction of the money economy for in Dinka society wealth translates into political power. Thus non-elites could become upwardly mobile by acquiring wealth in the form of cash and then purchasing cattle. Many initially poor members of society rose up the social scale and acquired opportunities that would not have been available in the nineteenth century. The existence of towns encouraged an increasing wage labor economy and some could afford education for their children and encouraged it. During the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, the Bor Dinka region

⁽¹⁵¹⁾ Advertised from the Office of the Local Government Inspector, Juba District in The Equator Thursday, 8 April (1976) 3. Obtained from Yale University Research Library, 605/71/1365.

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acquired an advantage of twenty years of Western education over their western and northern contemporaries. Today the Bor Dinka represent much of the leadership in the South. However, the introduction of the cash economy also encouraged an individual rather than a group economy.

The effects of the secularization of Dinka chieftaincies can be seen twenty years after British rule. The twenty three various Dinka groups encompassing all of the Dinka territory which were formalized during colonial rule now represented territorial political entities or states and each was represented in the Parliament of the Southern region. As independence talks neared in 1947, it was this new Western educated class who stood poised to inherit power in the Southern Sudan.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

"We got sold to the North!"⁽¹⁾

THE FIRST CIVIL WAR AND EARLY SOUTHERN NATIONALISM (1947-1983)

After the Juba Conference four prominent chiefs said to me 'My son, we have planted a tree with the roots up and put the head of the tree deep into the ground.' I was confused; later I understood.

(A prophecy relayed to Gok Dinka, Joseph Lueth Ater by four Dinka chiefs).⁽²⁾

Could we ever one day become equal with the Arab? They don't respect us and it will never happen! It is clear that the heart of the matter is that Southern Sudanese will be second class citizens forever.

(Agar Dinka, Gordon Muortat Mayen.)⁽³⁾

Since 1948 the Southern Sudanese have been developing into a unified entity against the North...all the differing Southern groups found their interests lay together. During this time micro-nationalism emerged.

(Pagan Amun, a Shilluk and Secretary for Culture and Information, SPLM/A).⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ Personal interview: Samuel Aru Bol (Agar Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽²⁾ The names of the chiefs were: Giir Thik, Malual Arop, Lual Awol and Ariath Akon. Personal interview: Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok Dinka) Akot, South Sudan.

⁽³⁾ Personal interview: Gordon Muortat Mayen (Agar Dinka) London, England.

⁽⁴⁾ Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement/Army. Personal interview: Pagan Amun (Shilluk) Nairobi, Kenya.

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Two key themes mark the post independence period in Southern Sudan; nationalism and intra-Southern ethnic strife. On the theme of nationalism Anthony D. Smith argues that where the politization of culture is linked to a living ethnic past and combines well with an ethnohistorical tradition there exists an extremely potent and explosive ethnonational energy. Supporting this assertion Benedict Anderson argues that the definition of a nation is one in which there exists an "imagined political community;" imagined both as internally limited as well as sovereign.⁽⁵⁾

In Southern Sudan an "imagined political community" had evolved from the devastation of the nineteenth century atrocities of the slave trade and subsequent wars with the Turks and the Mahdists. In 1930 the British had formally divided Northern and Southern Sudan and reintroduced the notion of a sovereign Southern nation. By independence talks in 1947, it was the new Western educated class who aimed to inherit the reins of leadership in the South. Neither Britain nor powerful nationalist elements in Sudan's capital, Khartoum, however, comprehended that the effects of forced unification of Northern and Southern Sudan would augur decades of civil war and the death of millions.

The post-independence civil war era, however, saw the

⁽⁵⁾ Anthony D. Smith, "The Ethnic Sources of Nationalism," in Ethnic Conflict and International Security Michael E. Brown, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 29, 36. Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities (London: Verso, 1995), 6.

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rise of the most ethnically divisive period in Southern history. Robert Collins suggests that Southern infighting in the 1960s represented little more than "traditional" or primordial ethnic rivalry during which political leaders undermined the Southern war effort.⁽⁶⁾ I do not believe this primordialist argument holds. Rather, numerous theories suggest that when nationalists begin to adopt modern Western political structures it encourages ethnic divisiveness.⁽⁷⁾ Similarly, I propose that in the South the post-independence ethnic tension was never a factor of primordial tensions but connected to the birth, struggle and competition of an emerging Southern nation-state. The two competing parties for power in the South in the post-independence period were the pastoral Nilotes (the Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk) and the agricultural Equatorians (those peoples south and west of the Nilotes). From the late 1960s to the early 1980s these groups competed fiercely for political power.

Yet, twenty-five years earlier and in the early years of independence major ethnic stresses between political

⁽⁶⁾ For example, see Robert O. Collins, The Southern Sudan in Historical Perspective (Tel Aviv: Israel Press, 1975), 90.

⁽⁷⁾ Samuel P. Huntington, "Political Development and Political Decay," World Politics Vol. XVII No. 3 (1965): 388. Robert H. Bates, "Modernization, Ethnic Competition, and Politics," in State Versus Ethnic Claims: African Policy Dilemmas, Donald Rothchild and Victor A. Olorunsola eds. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1983), 163. John and Jean Comaroff, Ethnography and the Historical Imagination (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), 63; Nelson Kasfir, "Peacemaking and Social Cleavages in Sudan," in Conflict and Peace-Making in Multiethnic Societies, Joseph V. Montville ed. (Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1990), 15.

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parties and ethnic groups had not been a serious factor. The only issue on the minds of most Southerners in 1947 was that the Northern Sudanese government should not dominate over their collective territory. To this end they were willing to return to war to defend their "sovereign" rights.

THE BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM SUDAN AND THE BACKGROUND TO THE CIVIL WAR

The question of a separate Southern Sudan had been debated by Britain since the early Condominium era. From 1919 there had been a design for the eventual political independence of the South from the North with its reattachment to Kenya or Uganda. The plan however, was never implemented.⁽⁸⁾

The Juba Conference of 1947

In 1947 Britain made the decision to reunify Sudan and Southerners from all regions were invited to discuss their future at a conference in Juba. It brought together numbers of Southern chiefs, a few of whom had received Western education, a group of well educated Northern elites and British officials. One of the most prominent Western educated Dinka of the period notes that:

We didn't want to be handed over to the Arabs. But Governor General Robertson made it clear he hadn't come to ask the chiefs but rather to tell the Southern Sudanese that the decision had already been made. We were to select those to go to the

⁽⁸⁾ See Holt and Daly, A History of the Sudan, 137-9.

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legislative assembly in Khartoum. In the Southern Sudan there was discontent from then on.⁽⁹⁾

In this dawning era of Sudanese independence differing ideologies evolved in the South. Numbers wanted total independence from the beginning; others were willing to compromise with partial Southern autonomy. Nevertheless, Southern leaders attempted to implement political safeguards for the South and during the 1947 conference Nuer leader Buth Diu demanded an immediate semi-autonomous protection. He insisted that the new government should not interfere in local government, that there should be no settlement of Northerners in the South, and that it should be illegal to call Southerners "abid" (slaves). The other Southern representatives however, were tentatively willing to follow a political line of diversity, on condition that federation for the South would come after independence.⁽¹⁰⁾

At the 1947 conference Northerners promised to fulfill Southern demands for federation. However, after independence in 1956 these promises were forgotten.⁽¹¹⁾ In the meantime in 1948 Northern elites hurriedly impressed on the world that the

⁽⁹⁾ Personal interview: Gordon Muortat Mayen (Agar Dinka) London, England.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Proceedings of the Juba Conference on the Political Development of the Southern Sudan June 1947, obtained from the Center for Development Studies, University of Bergen, Norway, 10; SAD 725/10/1-22. Memoir of former District Commissioner, B. A. Carlisle (Bahr el-Ghazal, 1953-55); Bona Malwal, "National Unity: Routes and Dimensions of Current Issues of Contention," unpublished paper in the private library of S. Beswick.

⁽¹¹⁾ Ibid.

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South and North were one. Yet, outside the Assembly in Khartoum Northerners appeared "only tautly willing to accept Southerners as their equals." ⁽¹²⁾

Southerners were cognizant of this Northern attitude and in the late 1940s a British medical doctor, Peter Abbott, and his wife Mary, noticed guns throughout the South. ⁽¹³⁾ By the early 1950s Southerners made concerted attempts to violently remove Northern administrators from their territory. In 1954 a Shilluk attempted to assassinate the new leader of Sudan a Northerner named Ismail Azhari, in the Southern town of Malakal. That same year a Dinka stabbed the new Northern District Commissioner at the Southern town of Renk. When another Northern administrator arrived in the Nuer territory at Nasir, the populace refused to recognize him. ⁽¹⁴⁾

On the other hand, those British still resident on the periphery of the South continued to represent the voice of authority. Douglas Beswick, manager of the twenty thousand acre White Nile Goda Scheme adjacent to the Abialang Dinka, "arrested" four Nuer men who had mortally speared a fifth a few feet from his house. Placidly following instructions to

⁽¹²⁾ J. W. Robertson, "Report on Southern Provinces 1948 and 1949," Office of the Secretariat, Khartoum Civ. Sec., FO371/80358.

⁽¹³⁾ Personal interview: Dr. Peter Abbott and his wife Mary, Hindhead, Surrey, England. In 1950 Governor General Sir Robert Howe expressed anxiety as to the fate of Southerners under control of the Sudan government. FO371/80360 Robert Howe to the Files 29/11/50.

⁽¹⁴⁾ SAD 696/12/42; SAD 78/7/65.

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give up their spears and to get into the back of his Landrover he delivered them to District Headquarters at Renk.⁽¹⁵⁾

Southern fears were fully realized soon after 1955 when the British evacuated the country and Ismail Azhari appointed a Sudanization Committee. During this period eight hundred British jobs were vacated in both Northern and Southern Sudan. Southerners acquired only six administrative positions; the remainder went to Northerners. On the 25th July 1955, after a dubious trial a Southern member of the National Assembly was imprisoned leading to demonstrations at Nazara in Equatoria the following day. Shortly thereafter, the government promptly replaced three hundred demonstrators of the Azande Development Scheme with Northerners. In the demonstrations that followed soldiers and police fired upon the crowd killing eight and wounding several.⁽¹⁶⁾ It is unsurprising that Southerners now returned to the one option successfully utilized in the previous century; war.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Personal interview: Douglas Beswick and Stella Beswick Boyd, Raleigh, North Carolina, USA. Today the Goda cotton plantation is called "Gospami." Personal interview: Grace Isaiah Piel (female) (Bor-Gok Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Personal interview: Ephraim Sunguzagi (Zande) Yambio, South Sudan; O'Ballance, The Secret War in the Sudan, 37.

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THE 1955 TORIT MUTINY AND
THE BEGINNING OF CIVIL WAR

Historically, the Southern Sudan's greatest defense has been its powerful military; in the nineteenth century a unified Southern force expunged the Egyptian colonial and Mahdist armies from their land. In the British period the only region to acquire a separate military was the South. Formed in 1917 the British-trained Equatorial battalion was created as a counterweight to the Sudan Defense Force in the North. By independence however, both the army and the police in the South were heavily officered by Northerners.⁽¹⁷⁾

Nevertheless, the well-trained junior Southern ranks spearheaded the beginning of civil war giving rise to a unified Southern revolt. Exploding on the 7th August 1955, Southern dissension began in Torit and spread to the towns of Juba, Yei, Yambio and Maridi. The government responded by dispatching eight thousand soldiers to the South while anyone else suspected of being a military sympathizer was arrested. Led by Lieutenant Reynaldo Loyela, the mutineers expected support and encouragement from the British, however, they were rebuffed. Surprised at the lack of external support the mutineers disbanded and many fled with their weapons into the bush or out of the country. In the meantime the government disbanded the Equatorial Corps, stationed Muslim troops in the

⁽¹⁷⁾ Of its 33 officers in the Southern Equatoria Corps, the 24 seniors were Northerners, leaving only 9 Southern juniors. The proportion was much the same in the police. O'Ballance, The Secret War in the Sudan, 40.

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South on a rotation basis and executed Lieutenant Reynaldo Loyela along with three hundred conspirators.⁽¹⁸⁾

While the mutiny was officially short lived in reality it represented the beginning of decades of civil war in Sudan. A few years later in the early 1960s some five hundred soldiers of the former Equatorial Corps, both the original "1955 mutineers" of Torit and other deserters from the former British trained Southern military had reconvened. Soon thereafter, the forest army grew by eight hundred recently released former mutineers, among them a Dinka named Makuac. He, much like other Southerners of the Torit mutiny, had been imprisoned in Port Sudan for three and a half years.⁽¹⁹⁾ This emerging guerrilla movement made Northern administration of the South increasingly impossible while allowing Southern politicians to vie for power over their own territory.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SOUTHERN POLITICAL AUTONOMY

The initial challenge facing Southerners as early as 1947 was that British policy had effectively neutralized the older forms of Dinka leadership and simultaneously limited the rise of the new Western-educated elite. Few if any had risen beyond nominal positions in the civil and political service.

⁽¹⁸⁾ WO/276/116 Report from J. Johnson, DSO, 3 Sept. 1955. Personal interview: Ayuel Parmena Bul (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; O'Ballance, The Secret War in the Sudan, 41.

⁽¹⁹⁾ When he was released he "came straight back and joined the Southern guerrillas!" Personal interview: Makuac (place of interview anonymous).

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Educated Southerners such as Gordon Muortat Mayen who aspired to a political service position were redirected into the police force. On the other hand in the North when District Commissioner Ted Bickersteth served in Darfur from 1946 to 1951 his Assistant District Commissioner was a Northern Sudanese.⁽²⁰⁾ It was not until 1942 that the first Southerners were allowed to sit for the civil service examination. Only one Southerner was selected for a post in 1944, two in 1946 and twelve in 1948.⁽²¹⁾

In 1947 a small educated Southern class had begun to organize politically and groups of friends formed informal political societies such as Faustino Roro's Southern Sudan Social and Political Association based in Juba. Nuer leader Buth Diu formed the Upper Nile Political Association in Malakal. While Southern civil servants and policemen, drawing on career resentments going back to the 1930s, organized the "Southern Officials Welfare Committee" which struck

⁽²⁰⁾ In keeping with Southern Policy Dinka policemen served only in their own ethnic districts. In 1949 Gordon Muortat Mayen was the first Dinka to enter police college in Omdurman. He was the first police chief in the Southern town of Rumbek and opened the first police office in another Southern Dinka town of Tonj in 1952-4. In 1954 he was sent to the province headquarters of the Bahr el-Ghazal, Wau and promoted to Chief Inspector of Police. Personal interview: Gordon Muortat Mayen (Agar Dinka) London, England. Also personal interview: former District Commissioner, Ted Bickersteth and his wife Elspeth, Oxford, England.

⁽²¹⁾ Oliver Albino, The Sudan: A Southero Viewpoint (London: Oxford University Press, 1970) quoted in O'Ballance, The Secret War, 35.

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By 1951 a small but inexperienced Southern political party emerged. Formed by Nuer leader Buth Diu, Dinka leader Stanislaus Paysama and a Southern Muslim Abdul Rahman Sale this party rapidly grew and by 1953 became known as the "Southern Party." As national elections drew near, this party aimed to campaign but it was generally inexperienced and unsuccessful and was disbanded by 1955.⁽²³⁾

For a brief period a Southern multi-ethnic provincial government emerged after the Torit mutiny of 1955. Now based in Wau the province headquarters of the Bahr el-Ghazal, Gordon Muortat Mayen was the commandant of police. He and another Southerner, Assistant District Commissioner Lewis Bey (an Ndogo) became responsible for the administration of the entire region after all the Northerners in the province fled, including the governor of the province David Abd al-Latif (a Coptic Northern Sudanese). In the meantime a mutineer from the Torit uprising Dinka officer Nyang Dhieu fled to Wau and took control of Number 3 Company of the Sudan Defense Force. Comprising Fertit and Equatorian Southerners, Nyang Dhieu's

⁽²²⁾ John Howell, "Political Leaders in the Southern Sudan," Paper No. 28, unpublished paper, 8th Annual Conference of the Social Science Council of East African University, Nairobi, 1972, 3. (Obtained from the Center for Development Studies, University of Bergen, Norway.)

⁽²³⁾ The Southern Party became the Liberal party in 1954 in an attempt to gain northern members, however, it was unsuccessful. It then changed its name to Southern Liberal Party and then reverted back to "Southern Party." O'Ballance, The Secret War in the Sudan, 36.

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company awaited the mutiny's expansion. Gordon Muortat telegraphed Khartoum announcing that peace would prevail only if Northern troops did not arrive:

Azhari complied with this suggestion for three months. We called a meeting and invited the chiefs to be members of the council and we set up a Bahr el-Ghazal government. In the meantime we put troops at the airport under Nyang. We expected the mutiny to spread but because of lack of Southern Sudanese organization politically, it died.⁽²⁴⁾

Wau received no communications from Torit, hence Number 3 Company failed to revolt. In November when Northern troops arrived in Wau, the entire mutiny in the South had collapsed. To Gordon Muortat, however, this period of brief provincial autonomy was significant for it represented the first all-Southern government in the twentieth century.⁽²⁵⁾

In December 1960 the government began to detain many Southern political leaders in an attempt to crush the growing political movement. Nevertheless throughout the decade multiple Southern parties formed; many going through processes of fission and then fusion. The bone of contention among the proliferating Southern factions was one that proved contentious for decades to come; that of separation versus unification with the North. In this era it was exemplified by the arguments of Dinka leader William Deng who urged "the

⁽²⁴⁾ One steamer carried so many fleeing Northerners it nearly sank. When Southerners attacked Northern merchants however, Gordon Muortat, as a well-trained policeman, stopped the violence, "In my heart I supported the mutiny but kept doing my job." Personal interview: Gordon Muortat Mayen (Agar Dinka) London, England.

⁽²⁵⁾ Ibid.

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North will not suppress us" and Nuer leader Buth Diu who demanded "we need separation from the North!"

Two major Southern parties evolved after 1962 when prominent leaders in exile formed the Sudan African Closed Districts National Union (SACDNU) (later renamed Sudan African National Union (SANU) at Kinshasa in Zaire. Headed by a Latuka, Joseph Oduho, its aims were to obtain full independence for the South.⁽²⁶⁾ Its organization lacked money, weapons and foreign support and unsurprisingly, considering Britain's policy of "self contained ethnic units" for the last century, its members constantly bickered, were disunified and lacked common ground.⁽²⁷⁾

Two years later in 1964 another party, the Southern Front (SF), emerged. Its distinction was that it was formed within the boundaries of Sudan and cells were formed throughout the country. Led by Clement Mboro, it differed from SANU in that it was willing to accept a compromise of federation provided that self-determination for the South was recognized. Shortly thereafter the Southern Front came increasingly under the influence of a powerful Bor Dinka magistrate, Abel Alier.⁽²⁸⁾

The struggle for political leadership of the entire

⁽²⁶⁾ Gerard Prunier, "From Peace to War The Southern Sudan 1972-1984," Occasional Papers No. 3, Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, University of Hull, Hull, England, 1986, 2.

⁽²⁷⁾ Personal interview: Gordon Muortat Mayen (Agar Dinka) London, England.

⁽²⁸⁾ Prunier, "From Peace to War The Southern Sudan," 2.

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Southern Sudan region had not as yet begun, hence ethnicity was not a factor in politics. The two major Southern parties were ethnically mixed. SANU had Nuer, Eastern and Western Bahr el-Ghazal Dinka and other Southerners as well as Equatorian members. The SF party had Bor Dinka and Equatorians.⁽²⁹⁾ At the northern limits of the South the Ngok Dinka of Kordofan were the first to self-destruct in a series of clan struggles over political control of the region. In microcosm, their demise augured future stress within a larger political Southern Sudan as centralization and elite struggles for power took hold.

The Ngok: Destruction of a Nilotic Proto-state

John and Jean Comaroff argue that once upward mobility is seen as a possibility and energies are expended to achieve it, ethnic groups must inevitably become internally stratified. Similarly, Immanuel Wallerstein argues ethnic consciousness becomes a reality when groups feel it is an opportune moment politically, to overcome long-standing denial of

⁽²⁹⁾ Personal interviews: Gordon Muortat Mayen (Agar Dinka) London, England; Peter Malwal (Nuer) Kakuma, Kenya; Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya. In 1965 Southerners questioned the validity of William Deng's suggested non-violent relations with the north. By 1968 William Deng had politically allied himself with the northern Islamic holy man and Mahdist leader, Sadiq al Mahdi and his political party, Umma-Sadik. The two had won 15 seats in parliament; shortly thereafter William Deng was murdered. Africa Confidential No. 10 May 17, (1968): 8.

privilege.⁽³⁰⁾ These theories explain why war erupted within the emerging Ngok Dinka proto-state of Kordofan, for no sooner had the British departed in 1955 than the Ngok political leadership was torn apart by internal clan rivalries.

Historically, the British supported the Pajok (Abyor) political clan of Paramount Chiefs Arob Biong, Kwol Arob and later Deng Majok over the other eight Ngok sections including their political rival, the Dhiendior clan. The latter's population, however, was greater than the former. Smoldering for decades during the British period, at independence the Dhiendior chiefs forged alliances with the Northern government in an attempt to alter the balance of power within the Ngok leadership.⁽³¹⁾

In 1965 Deng Majok's controversial involvement in Messiria Baggara politics increased clan rivalry when the Ngok leader was elected President of the Messiria Council of Chiefs. This political move increased the power of the Ngok Dinka in Kordofan but led to eruptions of violence between the two major political clans. Strongly objecting to Deng Majok's politics many rebelled, resulting in a civil war where thousands of Ngok citizens died.⁽³²⁾

⁽³⁰⁾ See John and Jean Comaroff, Ethnography and the Historical Imagination, 63; and Immanuel Wallerstein, The Capitalist World Economy (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979), 184.

⁽³¹⁾ Cole and Huntington, African Rural Development, Chapter 6, 2, 12; Deng, Deng Majok, 23-4, 43-5; SAD 768/2/28-9.

⁽³²⁾ Ibid.

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After this time, however, Abyei came under Northern military occupation and Baggara raids on the Dinka resumed, frequently underwritten by Northern merchants, police, and army personnel. The Muslim security forces treated all members of the Ngok chiefly family as rebel Southern sympathizers. In a continued attempt to end the old system implemented by two former colonial powers, members of other rival Ngok clan families continued to undermine the Abyor/(Pajok) political leadership by cooperating with the Khartoum government.⁽³³⁾

The death of the powerful Ngok leader Deng Majok, in 1969 and subsequent events during that year signalled the demise of the emerging proto-state power and centralization in Abyei and its Ngok-Pajok chieftaincy. Deng Majok's son, Abdalla Monyak Deng succeeded his father but he neither held the legal nor the personal authority to be effective. Suspected of cooperating with the Southern rebels by the Northern security forces, the latter shot the chief one evening along with numbers of his brothers and uncles as they strolled in Abyei.⁽³⁴⁾

This event marked the end of the Ngok political power in Southwest Kordofan. Now Ngok politicians and their

⁽³³⁾ The Vigilant July 8, (1965): 38, 220; and F. M. Deng, The Dinka of the Sudan (New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 1972), 151; A. Saeed, "The State and Socioeconomic Transformation in the Sudan: the Case of Social Conflict in Southwest Kordofan," Ph.D. University of Connecticut, 1982, 221.

⁽³⁴⁾ Deng, The Dinka of the Sudan, 152; Cole and Huntington, African Rural Development, Chapter 6, 2, 13.

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constituents looked to their Southern Dinka countrymen for political and military support. Numbers relocated themselves in the Bul Nuer country south of Abyei due to continued Baggara raids throughout the next decade.⁽³⁵⁾ By the late 1960s Northern troops had no chance of establishing an administration in the enormous tracts of the heartlands of the South; at best they only controlled the towns.⁽³⁶⁾ As most Southerners were still rural, the guerrilla movement gained increasing military and political control.

THE ANYA NYA: A MILITARY AND POLITICAL MOVEMENT

The history of Southern Sudanese resistance to Northern control in the twentieth century is highlighted by two successful military movements; one which began in the 1960s and another two decades later. R. Brian Ferguson argues that alliances are crucial for success in war. Allies can provide combat, assistance, intelligence, material support, places of refuge and secure flanks. Alliances can also affect the balance of power between opposed groups, while the structure of alliances not only affects who wins the war but also the initiation, spread and cessation of hostilities.⁽³⁷⁾

⁽³⁵⁾ Personal correspondence, Rev. J. Roger Schrock, former Executive Secretary of the New Sudan Council of Churches, Nairobi, Kenya, Nov. 1995. In early 1980 he was based among the Bul Nuer of South Sudan.

⁽³⁶⁾ Africa Confidential, No. 5 March 4 (1966): 7.

⁽³⁷⁾ R. Brian Ferguson, "Explaining War," in The Anthropology of War, Jonathan Haas ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 43.

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In the Southern Sudan the first military movement began in the mid-1960s and gained power upon acquiring external military and financial aid. Critical to the Southern war effort, it dictated who rose to power as overall leader of the South. This new Southern military force had been recreated along the lines of the former British model and grew out of the forest army which reformed after the Torit mutiny of 1955. Eventually it acquired the name of the "Anyanya" which translated from the Southern languages of Madi, Moru and Latuka as "Snake Poison."

As leadership of the entire Southern region gained in importance, historical ethnic rivalries created during the British period which were dormant in the early independence era now sharply intensified. In the British period economic and educational development was concentrated mainly in the Southernmost region of the Sudan, Equatoria, and the British used these Southerners to control the Nilotic pastoralists (Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk). In the mid-1960s competition erupted between the Equatorians (a term for those who reside in Eastern and Western Equatoria provinces) and the Nilotes.⁽³⁸⁾ Initially, military and political control of the Anyanya was held by an Equatorian group, the Latuka. Many in Southern Sudan resented them and according to present-day Latuka leader, Massimino Allam:

⁽³⁸⁾ Douglas Johnson, "The Southern Sudan," The Minority Rights Group Report No. 78 (1982): 4-5; Africa Confidential No. 8 April 12 (1968): 3.

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We were perceived as grasping all the power. Many pamphlets were printed by other Southerners against us; it was mere leadership hatred. When you are the majority in power people hate you! ⁽³⁹⁾

Tafeng el Lodongi, the Anya Nya Latuka leader, was illiterate. Nevertheless, he was Latuka politician Joseph Oduho's candidate for overall commander of this new Southern military force. ⁽⁴⁰⁾ The Latuka leadership was short-lived however, for another Equatorian seized control of the guerrilla force.

As the civil war continued a Catholic Southern Sudanese Madi from Equatoria and a former captain of the Sudanese army, Joseph Lagu, rose to the military fore of the Anya Nya. His strength lay in his powerful foreign connections including Israel which was willing to give him arms if he could attract other experienced Southern military and political supporters. ⁽⁴¹⁾ At this time Lagu set about building a multi-ethnic force, the first of its kind in 20th century Southern history. One of the first to convert to Lagu's cause was the esteemed Zande commander, Samuel Abujohn, who headed the Sue River Government, soon followed by the Dinka leader, Gordon Muortat Mayen, who headed the ten thousand-strong Nile Provisional Government. As many potential Southern leaders had

⁽³⁹⁾ Personal interview: Massimino Allam (Latuka) Kakuma, Kenya.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Africa Confidential No. 3 February 5 (1965): 5.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Over a brief period he attracted many using the strategy of approaching the mid and lower level echelons of rival movements and offering them concessions if they joined him. Personal interviews: Commander Samuel Abujohn Khashi (Zande), Governor of Equatoria, Yambio, South Sudan.

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vied for foreign support and only Lagu succeeded, they were willing to follow him. Promising that he aimed to pursue full independence for the South, Lagu temporarily welded much of the region into a loosely unified front. Now the Southern resistance army emerged into an efficient force of two thousand.⁽⁴²⁾

The Return of Women to the Front Lines and a Nascent Gender Revolution

In the nineteenth century isolated Southern women had militarily fought in the front lines with their menfolk and a number of female chiefs had been battle strategists behind the front lines. The Anya Nya era and its guerilla movement however, saw the nascent beginnings of a gender revolution in the South. During the 1960s military tactics changed: spears were exchanged for guns and soldiers of either gender no longer needed superior upper body strength to join the Southern guerilla force. Within the Anya Nya movement women began to enter the military forces on the front lines. Some

⁽⁴²⁾ Abujohn joined Lagu's movement because the latter had access to weapons. Nevertheless the two argued constantly and more than once, Lagu, who is described by Abujohn as "a dictator" threatened to dismiss him. In 1969 Gordon Muortat had appealed for external assistance and failed in his bid. Personal interviews: Commander Samuel Abujohn Khashi (Zande), Governor of Equatoria, Yambio, South Sudan; and Gordon Muortat Mayen (Agar Dinka) London, England. Prior to acquiring weapons from the Simba rebels in the Congo Anya Nya rebels made do with those acquired from chiefs who still had their hand guns and licensed rifles from the Sudan government. Personal interview: Anya Nya Commander Gideon Gai Deng (Bor-Athoc Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. See also, Prunier, "From Peace to War The Southern Sudan 1972-1984," 3-4.

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achieved the rank of officer; among the better known was a Nilotic woman Awit Dit and a Balanda-Fertit from the western Bahr-el Ghazal named Lucia Hilal. Lucia had been trained as a young girl in the Fertit warrior fashion of the last century and during the war became known as a brilliant markswoman. As a military officer she led her Fertit countrymen into battle, many of whom were Muslim Southern men.⁽⁴³⁾ Among others who are remembered to have been in the combat forces of the Anya Nya were an Agar, Achol Awuou and a Nuer, Nyakang.

The Dinka woman who was soon to distinguish herself as the most prominent female military leader as well as one of the first feminists in the South was Ager Gum. Her experiences highlight a feminist perspective on the early revolution of gender roles within Dinka society during this historical period. An Agar Dinka born of an Yibel mother she is described as over six feet tall and "big." She began her military career when a series of her children died leaving her with only one small boy. At that time her husband divorced her. According to her close friend, Mary Acuoth Dhel:

⁽⁴³⁾ One such lady was the wife of Paul Ali Battala. Prominent markswomen also emerged from among the Mundo. During the 19th century many in the Western Bahr al Ghazal removed the taboos on tradition-sanctioned gender roles in response to the incessant violence and constant slave raids on their villages. For example, Fertit society now trained their women as warriors along with their menfolk. Both sexes were trained in the arts of making poisons, using bows and arrows, and hunting for large prey and small game. Many Fertit women became outstanding warriors and military training for women in their communities continued throughout the next century, creating a revolution in gender relations within this numerically small people. Personal interview: John Lueth Akec (Luo) who fought in the Anya Nya, Ames, Iowa, USA.

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In Dinka culture [to lose a child] is bad. Her babies died because of lack of medicines and no vaccinations and after she lost three children her husband divorced her and gave back all the cows. She remained with her only son called Chol. She said "I will do something great so my husband will see that he has not made me miserable." But she did not know what to do with her life because she never wanted to marry again. Then she decided to join the men in the bush and fought alongside them. She was about twenty-seven years. If there was a battle she fought and...when the men were killed she collected their weapons and carried them back to the army camp.⁽⁴⁴⁾

The above suggests two events which were to become more pronounced in the second civil war. The first was that during the war women and children were victimized both by the conflict itself as well as by their menfolk who abandoned them if their children died under stressful conditions. Equally important was that women found opportunities in this war to survive as individuals exclusive of the marriage circuit.

Ager Gum built a reputation in the military as one of the few women who was not killed during combat and eventually became the only female to be given a command position in the upper level ranks of the Anya Nya reaching the position of captain.⁽⁴⁵⁾ She was often seen carrying boxes of ammunition

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Personal interview: Mary Acuoth Dhel (Agar Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Ager Gum was also in charge of women's military intelligence and many women performed vital services away from the front lines. Entering towns such as Wau, they pretended to carry babies in baskets while smuggling weapons and food out of the towns for the guerilla troops. Others acquired intelligence information from officers with whom they slept. Personal interviews: Lueth Ukec (Luo), Ames Iowa, USA; Damazo Dut Majak (Malwal/Luo) Los Angeles, California, USA; Simon Malual Deng (Yibel) Nairobi, Kenya; Julia Benjamin Duany (Agar) Bloomington, Indiana; Mary Acuoth Dhel (Agar) Fatna Kok

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on her head and a gun on her back.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The example of Ager Gum suggests that the emergence of a modern military organization represented the first time in Dinka and Southern history that careers in the public sphere became available to women. This event represented the nascent beginnings of the decreased power of men over women. At the same time the entrance of women on the front lines made an enormous difference in the outcome of the civil war. According to Lueth Ukec, a high ranking military officer in the Anya Nya, their contribution to the war effort was considerable.⁽⁴⁷⁾

The First "Government" of the South

As Lagu gained power with external military aid he attempted to create a centralized government in the South. Yet, in this endeavor his forces also terrorized many Southern communities. Max Weber defines a state as that agency within society which possesses the monopoly of legitimate violence.⁽⁴⁸⁾ In the South those not yet fully integrated into Lagu's campaign and emerging state apparatus were

Macok (Agar) Rebecca Nyar Acien (Gok) and Ager Gum's cousin Nairobi, Kenya; Lazarus Leek Mawut (Nyarruweng Dinka) Boston, USA; Martin Makur Beny (Ciec Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. Khamisa Doron Acien (Agar) Akot, South Sudan. Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Personal interviews: Julia Benjamin Duany (Agar); Mary Acuoth Dhel (Agar) Fatna Kok Macok (Agar) Rebecca Nyar Acien (Gok) and Ager Gum's cousin Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Personal interviews: Lueth Ukec (Luo) Ames, Iowa, USA.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Quoted in Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 3.

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subjected to Anya Nya atrocities. In the 1960s the guerrillas claimed they collected taxes, performed administrative duties, appointed headmen for each province, set up two hundred elementary schools in Juba and Yei, and established cotton industries.⁽⁴⁹⁾ But those Nilotes on the Northern borders of the South who had not yet joined the movement were forcibly targeted for food and supplies and consequently fled north in droves to Islamic territory. For example, thousands of Ruweng Dinka of Upper Nile Province applied to the Northern Sudanese Commissioner of Kordofan for immigration to the province because they feared forced taxation, cattle expropriation and the threat of famine. Seventeen thousand Malwal Dinka from Bahr el Ghazal Province requested that the Sultan of the Rizeiqat Baggara, Musa Madibo, give them shelter in the Northern province of Darfur against the Anya Nya troops.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Further south Dinka men who did not join the Anya Nya were executed by the southern military forces. According to Agar Dinka Deborah Aluel Abol: "We lived in the town and the Anya Nya would to into the towns at night and select educated southerners and kill them for not joining the war."⁽⁵¹⁾

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Africa Confidential No. 3 Feb 5 (1965): 5; Africa Confidential No. 3 February 4 (1966): 5; Africa Confidential, No. 5, March 4 (1966): 6; Grass Curtain Vol. 2, No. 1 (June 1971): 6.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Chief Riiny Lual was given twelve lorries by Northern Sudanese traders (jellabas) to transport his people for twenty days. "Darfur and Kordofan: New Homes for the Dinka," The Vigilant (1965): 24.

⁽⁵¹⁾ Personal interview: Deborah Aluel Abol (Agar Dinka) Akot, south Sudan.

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The turning point in Sudan's civil war took place soon after the mid-1960s when the war expanded into the swamplands of the Nilotic peoples, bringing Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk into the guerrilla forces. By the end of war the Nilotes contributed many more numbers to the Southern guerrilla campaign.⁽⁵²⁾ By 1970, as the Anya Nya political-military movement grew it acquired a new name, the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM). Further South, however, atrocities committed by Northern Government troops gave rise to a new religious faith.

NORTHERN VIOLENCE AND CHRISTIANITY AS RESISTANCE

The levels of Northern violence in Southern Sudan encouraged many to convert to Christianity as a means of resistance. From 1955 to the early 1970s it has been estimated that between five hundred thousand to one and a half million Southerners died of war, epidemics and intra-ethnic fighting.⁽⁵³⁾ In November 1958, the Northern Sudanese army took control in Khartoum and the commander-in-chief who headed the coup, Major General Ibrahim Abboud, announced the military's assumption of power.⁽⁵⁴⁾ That very year the dictatorship launched a crude attempt at forced Islamization

⁽⁵²⁾ Johnson, "The Southern Sudan," 4-5.

⁽⁵³⁾ Alier, Southern Sudan Too Many Agreements Dishonoured, 261.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ In a radio address he claimed that the army had no alternative but to save the country from the chaotic regime of the politicians. Holt and Daly, A History of the Sudan, 171.

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in Equatoria and Bahr el Ghazal provinces. Islamic training centers, khalwas and mosques suddenly appeared everywhere, particularly in Azandeland. Abboud was convinced that English language and culture were increasing because of the separatist influences of Christian European missionaries. However, it was in fact the Anya Nya guerrilla force which was the most influential in spreading English usage. All commands were given in English and many Dinka who did not speak the language now learned to do so.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Nevertheless Abboud passed the Missionaries Act of 1964 which expelled all European missionaries from the South; then he executed all Southern Christian pastors and, when possible, their congregations. For example, during a Sunday service in Rumbek Reverend Saturlino was dragged out of his church, shot, and then thrown back in, during which time the church was burned to the ground; the congregation was then beaten. The same year in the nearby Agar Dinka town of Akot, government troops attacked and burned Reverend Ruben Macier's church which was filled with his Dinka congregation. Although he was on a list of people to be executed he narrowly escaped.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Then the government targeted all Southern intellectuals including teachers, clerks and prominent chiefs suspected of collaborating with the Southern rebels. In the Malwal Dinka

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Personal interview: Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Personal interview: Bishop Ruben Macier Makoi (Yibel) Nairobi, Kenya. Ephraim Sunguzagi (Zande) Yambio, South Sudan. Prunier, "From Peace to War The Southern Sudan," 2.

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territory Chief Aturjong Anyuon was arrested, shot, and killed, while in the Padang Dinka territory numbers of Dunghol chiefs met the same fate. In July 1965 the government massacred two hundred at a wedding party in Wau and two thousand people in Juba. In 1967 in Bor Dinka territory at Paliau thirty-two prominent chiefs were shot and then thrown into a pile and burned.⁽⁵⁷⁾

The Southern reaction to the violent prohibition of Christianity was to embrace it, for it now represented the religion of resistance. Taking the place of European missionaries Southern Sudanese pastors spread the word of God, among them, Bor Dinka Nathaniel Garang, Ruben Macier, (an Yibel) and Daniel Manase (Zindo) a Zande and gained many adherents. All three were later ordained as bishops.⁽⁵⁸⁾ In the meantime atrocities committed by Northern government troops in the name of "unifying the Sudan" now intensified the

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Personal interviews: the son of murdered Chief Parmena, Ayuel Parmena Bul. Also, Dau Atem Yong, Tor Deng Lual and John Majok Deng, (E. Twic Dinka); Deng Malwal Abur Mahboub (Ghol Dinka) Cok Kuek Ywai and Majok Chol Mayiik (Dunghol Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Paul Machuer Malok (Agar Dinka) Akot, South Sudan; Gordon Muortat Mayen (Agar Dinka) London, England.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Personal interviews: Gordon Muortat Mayen (Agar Dinka) London, England; Reverend Steven Ter (Nuer), Dau Atem Yong, Tor Deng Lual and John Majok Deng, (E. Twic Dinka); Deng Malwal Abur Mahboub (Ghol Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Paul Machuer Malok (Agar Dinka) Akot, South Sudan; Bishop Ruben Macier Makoi (Yibel), Nairobi, Kenya; Bishop Daniel Manase Zindo (Zande) and Ephraim Sunguzagi (Zande) Yambio, South Sudan. Bor Dinka Reverend Nathaniel Garang returned to the south in 1975 and ordained large numbers of Christian pastors in the Bor territory and was ordained a Bishop by the Anglican church shortly after the second civil war. Personal interview: Bishop Nathaniel Garang, Nairobi, Kenya.

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desire for total separation from the North. As anti-northern sentiment increased Joseph Lagu's military and political movement gained power.

The Northern Compromise

In May 1969 Northern Sudanese Major General Jaa'far Nimeiri's coup brought him to power in Khartoum. Much like Lagu in the South, he had powerful foreign connections, specifically with the Soviet Union and Egypt. As a result Israel had become interested in the Southern Sudanese cause. In the meantime Nimeiri announced a new policy towards the South and appointed a Minister for Southern Affairs, the leading Southern communist and a Dinka, Joseph Garang.⁽⁵⁹⁾ When a Communist coup took place in 1971, however, Nimeiri lost interest in his Soviet connections and appointed another Dinka, Abel Alier, a former prominent member of the "Southern Front" and considered a "pacifist."⁽⁶⁰⁾

Lacking Soviet military aid after the failed communist coup in Khartoum, Nimeiri noted his vulnerability as he faced an increasingly unified political-military movement in the South. To increase his support nationally he now attempted to end the civil war with a peace proposal which was later coined

⁽⁵⁹⁾ At this time there appeared an Israeli commander in Azandeland, Israel Stein east of Yambio who brought others to train Southern military personnel. Personal interview: Ephraim Sunguzagi (Zande) Yambio, South Sudan; O'Ballance, The Secret War in the Sudan, 104-5.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Francis Mading Deng, War of Visions (Washington D.C., The Brookings Institute, 1995), 162.

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"The Addis Ababa Agreement."⁽⁶¹⁾ This proposal yielded to the South a limited political autonomy.

**THE ADDIS ABABA PEACE AGREEMENT: HARBINGER
OF THE SECOND CIVIL WAR**⁽⁶²⁾

In 1972 President Nimeiri of Northern Sudan made a peace settlement with Joseph Lagu in the South, agreeing in principal to an autonomous Southern government under a new political system of liberal democracy.⁽⁶³⁾ The decade of the 1970s however, gave rise to the most ethnically divisive period in Southern history as ambitious leaders vied for political control of the entire Southern region. Numerous theories suggest that modern Western political structures encourage ethnic divisiveness. Samuel Huntington, Robert Bates and Nelson Kasfir each argue that within post-independence Western democratic African governments ethnic group formation is promoted because it is a means of organizing so as to attain the benefits of development, hence there develops ethnic competition rather than cooperation and cohesion. Bates further adds that even if people acquire higher education,

⁽⁶¹⁾ Ibid.

⁽⁶²⁾ See also Stephanie F. Beswick, "The Addis Ababa Agreement, 1972-1983: Harbinger of the Second Civil War in the Sudan," Northeast African Studies Vol. 13 No. 2 (1991): 191-215.

⁽⁶³⁾ The Addis Ababa Agreement on The Problem of South Sudan - Draft Organic Law to Organise Regional Self Government in the Southern Provinces of the D.R.S., 27th February 1972 (Indiana University Library African Studies Pamphlet Collection).

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ethnic stress still continues if benefits are unavailable.⁽⁶⁴⁾ As the theories above suggest the struggle to acquire political power over the entire South along with the adoption of a Western political government structure dictated that Southern elites appeal to their ethnic constituents.

As in the previous decade in the South the struggle for leadership during the 1970s initially resulted in a competition between the "Nilotes" (Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk) and the "Equatorians" (those who reside in Eastern and Western Equatoria provinces). When Nimeiri appointed Abel Alier, a Bor Dinka and the head of his Southern Affairs desk in Khartoum, as the first president of the Southern High Executive Committee (HEC)⁽⁶⁵⁾ the Dinka came to represent the new political power in the South. Now large numbers of Bor Dinka moved with their cattle to Juba, the Southern Sudanese regional headquarters in Equatoria, causing much resentment.⁽⁶⁶⁾ A few years later in 1977 ethnic tensions increased when control over the government developed into a bitter battle between Alier, whose factional party was almost solely Dinka, and Lagu who represented many of the non-Dinka,

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Huntington, "Political Development and Political Decay," 388. Bates, "Modernization, Ethnic Competition," 163. Kasfir, "Peacemaking and Social Cleavages in Sudan," 15.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Somewhat disappointed Joseph Lagu, a Madi acquired the presidency some years later. Sudanow December (1977): 15; Africa Confidential March 2 (1973): 2.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Ibid.

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primarily Equatorial faction.⁽⁶⁷⁾

As the increasingly powerful new leaders of the South the Dinka came to be viewed as "colonialists" when they were perceived as dominating many of the Southern civil and administrative posts. Acholi and Azande peoples believed they were overlooked for jobs in the various ministries in favor of "less qualified Dinka" because of "nepotism and patronage."⁽⁶⁸⁾ Tensions further increased with the fall of Ugandan leader Idi Amin in 1979. Equatorians returned to the Southern Sudan from Uganda and felt their opportunities for public employment were being blocked by Nilotes who, taken together, formed the majority of the region.⁽⁶⁹⁾

In this ethnically-divisive era Southern secessionist tendencies re-emerged, this time solely among Equatorians. The Azande had entertained the notion of a separate Sue Republic in the 1960s and now reconsidered the option of separation from Southern Sudan.⁽⁷⁰⁾ In 1980, however, Joseph Lagu called for a re-division of the Southern provinces into three regions as it had been prior to the Addis Ababa Agreement. Lagu's call

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Francis Mading Deng, "Diversity: A Source of Enrichment or Disunity," in "The Role of the Intellectual in Nation-Building," Brookings Institute Meeting, Washington, D.C. unpublished paper in the personal library of S. Beswick, 8. Johnson, "The Southern Sudan," 444-5.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Personal interviews: Anonymous informants.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Africa Confidential, Vol. 20 No. 6 (March 14 1979): 5; Johnson, "The Southern Sudan," 5-6.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Personal interview: Dr. and Fr. Michael Katawa (Zande) Yambio, South Sudan; Africa Confidential, Vol. 20 No. 6 March 14 (1979): 5.

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for "Kokora," as decentralization was known in Equatoria, caught the imagination of the many non-Dinka including the Azande, and towards the end of 1981 it built into a crescendo of fervent "Dinkaphobia."⁽⁷¹⁾ Equatorian and Nilotic turbulence peaked in 1981 when a Dinka minister left this passionate and unforgettable remark on the records of the Regional Assembly body:

It took the Sudan fifty years to get rid of the British; it took the Southerners seventeen years to get rid of the Arabs; it will take you (Southerners) one hundred years to get rid of the Dinka."⁽⁷²⁾

This indelible "threat" however, generated more fear and suspicion against the Dinka than was warranted. Intra-Dinka factionalism was even more intense, as witnessed by the bitter clan violence of the Western Ngok Dinka of Kordofan in the 1960s.

While many struggled to acquire ministerial positions in the semi-autonomous Southern government, other military and political leaders who had never supported the Addis Ababa "peace agreement" rallied for a return to civil war. Early in the 1970s most Southern field commanders and political leaders only learned of the Addis negotiations when the Agreement was

⁽⁷¹⁾ Personal interview: Jeremiah Zingbondo (Zande) Yambio, South Sudan. Kasfir, "Peacemaking and Social Cleavages," 31; Othwonh Dak, "Southern Region: Decentralisation or Recentralisation?," Paper presented at the "Conference on the North-South Relations Since the Addis Ababa Agreement," Khartoum 6-9, March 1985, 3.

⁽⁷²⁾ Dak, "Southern Region: Decentralisation or Recentralisation?," 3.

announced over international radio. They were outraged at the terms of the document. Rather than pressing for full autonomy, an objective for which many were fighting, Joseph Lagu compromised with Nimeiri and accepted a limited regional autonomy.⁽⁷³⁾ Only one segment of the population made real advances during the 1970s era; women.

Women's Political Consolidation:

While intra-ethnic strife marked the Southern autonomous period, women's political roles revolutionized. During the decade of the 1970s women's issues entered the forefront of southern politics. The Addis Ababa [Peace] Agreement contained the principle that all citizens should have equal rights and duties before the law without discrimination based on race, national origin, birth, language, sex or economic and social status.⁽⁷⁴⁾

Now democratic elections allowed women to acquire new

⁽⁷³⁾ Dinka leader Gordon Muortat notes: "In 1972 I and several others denounced Lagu as a sell out." While Lagu's Zande deputy, Samuel Abujohn Khashi, demanded that Lagu integrate new conditions into the Agreement. Personal interviews: Gordon Muortat Mayen (Agar Dinka) London, England; Samuel Abujohn Khashi (Zande) Yambio, South Sudan; Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya. Kasimoro Ohisa Odongi (Latuka) Kakuma, Kenya. John Garang, the Dinka leader of the 1980s and 1990s and an Anya Nya captain in 1972 based in Bor, upon hearing of the negotiations, strongly urged his peers to ignore the peace agreement altogether. Everyone's demands were ignored. Alier, Southern Sudan Too Many Agreements Dishonoured, 241. See also, Bona Malwal, "National Unity: Routes and Dimensions of Current Issues of Contention," Unpublished paper, in the personal library of S. Beswick.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ Addis Ababa Agreement, Appendix (A), 2 (i).

leadership positions controlled by a majority vote of the entire southern populace. For example, approximately 25 female government officials were elected democratically to the southern parliament, among them Mary Sireesio, Deborah Agok Deng and Angelina Bol.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Another Equatorian, Mary Bassiouni, a school teacher from Juba distinguished herself by becoming a political activist. Elected to the regional parliament she represented women's constituencies.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Concomitantly, a Bari named Victoria Yar Arol also became a distinguished female politician. As the first Southern Sudanese woman to enter the University of Khartoum she became active in student politics and later became a member of parliament in the first regional assembly as head of the Sudanese Women's Union.⁽⁷⁷⁾

In 1974 in Bahr al-Ghazal Province there were 11,531 female members of the Southern government, including members officially inducted into the single, government-sponsored political organization, the Sudan Socialist Union (SSU). As party members women now had the right to contribute to the election of the Bahr al-Ghazal Province Executive Committee

⁽⁷⁵⁾ Personal interview: Mom Kou Nhial Arou (Bor-Atoc Dinka), Hamilton, Canada.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ Personal interview: Abannik Hino (Latuka) E. Lansing, Michigan, USA; Damazo Dut Majak (Malwal Dinka/Luo) Los Angeles, California, USA. See also Gerard Prunier, "From Peace to War The Southern Sudan 1972-1984," unpublished paper, Dept. Sociology, University of Hull, England, 58.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ Personal interview: Lual Deng and Manachol Deng (E. Twic Dinka) Fairfax, Virginia, USA.

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and to become delegates of the National Congress of the SSU in Khartoum. Among these women there were also candidates for the southern regional elections, and many women conducted successful campaigns.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Women were also promoted to ministerial positions and the famed female military leader Ager Gum was promoted to the Minister of Prisons in the Southern towns of Wau and Rumbek.⁽⁷⁹⁾

In other parts of the South forms of leadership rooted in the past adjusted to the more liberal temper of the times. In 1976-8 two elder Zande women, Sakina and Buthena, inherited political power over their districts after their husbands died. Although they were daughters of male chiefs and acquired leadership through their husbands, their right to rule among the Azande was ultimately dependent upon confirmation by the oracle. When the elders consulted the oracle both women were confirmed as good choices as leaders.⁽⁸⁰⁾

Nevertheless, much as during the British period certain Southern men resisted the proposition of female political leaders. In the Malwal Dinka town of Aweil in Bahr el-Ghazal province one woman elected head of the administrative village

⁽⁷⁸⁾ S.S.U. General Secretariat, January 25, 1974, Report of the Secretary of Bahr al Ghazal Province Committee, (Yale University Library, Manuscripts and Archives 605/20/357, 9). Personal interviews: Musa Adam (Agar Dinka) Isaiah Deng (Ciec Dinka) Mom Kou Arou (Bor-Atoc Dinka) Martin Koshwal (Atuot) Hamilton, Canada.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ Personal interview: Mary Acuoth Dhel (Agar Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ Personal interview: Isaiah Deng (Ciec Dinka) Hamilton, Canada.

council faced an enraged husband. He declared: "I have paid cattle for you!" and loudly and bitterly objected that politics would take her away from her wifely duties and that she had no right to accept the post. Her response to his "disturbance of the peace" was to have him arrested and held in jail for contempt of court. At the end of the day he was released. The next day he announced to his family and neighbors, "I'm leaving my wife!"⁽⁸¹⁾ While many women revelled in the new liberalism of the 1970s disgruntled political and military leaders in exile believed the Southern autonomy was nothing more than a farce and pursued the option of reviving the civil war against the North.

The Anya Nya Patriotic Front in Ethiopia

In the mid-1970s a growing Sudanese movement in Ethiopia emerged called the Anya Nya Patriotic Front. It was created by those who opposed the terms of the Addis Ababa Agreement who

⁽⁸¹⁾ Personal interview with the former Vice President of the High Executive Council of the Southern Sudan in the early 1970s, Samuel Aru Bol (Agar-Rup) Nairobi, Kenya. This case was reported to Mr. Aru Bol while in office however, he was unable to recall the woman's name.

Similar tensions had existed in the Latuka community and in the early 1960s a male political figure named Furuta challenged the leadership of female Chief Ijura of the Eastern Latuka charging her with lacking the necessary "charisma" and "spiritual power" necessary to invoke rains. As the two vied for power the eastern Latuka of the Loronyo Kingdom split into two factions over the issue. Ijura continued to rule the eastern section while Furuta gained power over the west. However, by the 1980s among the Eastern Latuka Furuta had failed in his task as leader and rain maker and fallen from power. Personal interviews: Massimino Allam, (Latuka) Kakuma, Kenya; Abannik Hino (Latuka) E. Lansing, Michigan, USA.

voted to pursue war in a bid for complete autonomy of the South. The movement evolved after the signing of the peace agreement and the explosive issue of North-South army integration. Several mutinies erupted culminating in 1975 in Akobo when Southern ex-Anya Nya troops defied the instructions of their commander and fled across the nearby border to Ethiopia.⁽⁸²⁾ According to Deng Awur Wenyin the Akobo incident sparked the beginning of the second civil war.⁽⁸³⁾

The mutineers, including Lieutenant Benson Kur and Corporal James Bol, now contacted the prominent Dinka leader Gordon Muortat Mayen who had moved to London. Offering him the chairmanship of a new military and political movement entitled "The Anya Nya Patriotic Front" (ANPF) they elected Elia Duany as secretary general. According to Gordon Muortat Mayen the Ethiopian government promised military support: "they intended to use us as a pressure group against the Sudan government."⁽⁸⁴⁾ In the meantime, five thousand ex-Anya Nya troops joined the growing Southern force at Bilfam. Ethiopia's leader, Mengistu Haile Maryam, however, kept Gordon Muortat Mayen and his Anya Nya Patriotic Front at bay, never supplying

⁽⁸²⁾ Deng Awur Wenyin, "North-South Relations Since The Addis-Ababa Agreement. Integration of the Anya-Nya Into The National Army," Conference on North-South Relations Since the Addis Ababa Agreement, Khartoum, 6-9 March 1985, 7, 17-18. Alier, Southern Sudan Too Many Agreements Dishonoured, 154.

⁽⁸³⁾ Wenyin, "North-South Relations Since The Addis-Ababa Agreement," 18.

⁽⁸⁴⁾ Personal interview: Gordon Muortat Mayen (Agar Dinka) London, England. Alier, Southern Sudan Too Many Agreements Dishonoured, 148-163.

quite enough military support for a siege. In the meantime the ANPF set up an executive branch for the movement and the military units were prepared. By 1979, however, it was apparent the Ethiopian government no longer wished to support the ANPF as Ethiopia had allied with the Northern Sudan government in Khartoum. Gordon Muortat Mayen returned to England, but the Bilfam mutineers later evolved into another controversial group, the Anya Nya II. These guerrilla fighters continued to agitate for another civil war and when it became apparent that the Addis Ababa peace agreement was illusory rather than real they gained adherents.⁽⁸⁵⁾

THE MYTH OF SOUTHERN AUTONOMY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND CIVIL WAR

Towards the end of the 1970s it became clear to many that the Addis Ababa Agreement represented nothing more than a device for the maintenance of Northern control under the guise of Southern autonomy. In the Permanent Constitution of 1973 which incorporated the Agreement, Northern leader Ja'far Nimeiri gave himself powers not fully anticipated by the Southerners in 1972. He claimed the right to appoint key Southern leaders as well as to dissolve Southern governments and he executed this privilege in 1980, 1981 and 1983.⁽⁸⁶⁾ In 1980, Nimeiri removed Joseph Lagu and again put Abel Alier in

⁽⁸⁵⁾ Ibid.

⁽⁸⁶⁾ Africa Confidential Vol. 14 No. 5, March 2 (1973): 2; Africa Confidential July 28 (1972): 6; Africa Confidential March 19 (1976): 6.

power. When the latter pursued a more aggressive stance with Khartoum, however, Nimeiri came to regard this increasingly assertive Southern regional government as a threat and attempted to neutralize it as he had all others.⁽⁸⁷⁾

In the early 1980s a series of events triggered the process of Southern re-militarization on a grand scale. Nimeiri was under severe political pressure after surviving his fifteenth coup attempt from pro-Muslim factions in Khartoum. Then in 1982 oil was discovered in the South. At this juncture Nimeiri realigned himself with those who had hitherto opposed him the most, the political-religious forces in the North. Yielding to pressures from the Arab states, he elected to build the refinery for his newly-discovered oil in Southern Kordofan, a Northern province. Any Southerners objecting to this decision were arrested.⁽⁸⁸⁾

In 1983 Nimeiri devised a final solution for controlling Southern wealth while simultaneously disenfranchising Southern peoples; he unilaterally abrogated the Addis Ababa Agreement by dividing the South into three regions. The dictator then promulgated the infamous "September Laws" of 1983 making

⁽⁸⁷⁾ Johnson, "The Southern Sudan," 4-5.

⁽⁸⁸⁾ Confidential letter from Abdel Rahim el Haj Ahmed, State Security Bureau, Malakal dated 4/12/78 stating "The final agreement between [the] Sudanese President and all [the] Arab States was that the oil will be refined in the Northern Sudan," 1-2. Obtained from the Center for Development Studies, University of Bergen, Norway. Africa Confidential April 8 (1981): 1; Alier, Southern Sudan Too Many Agreements Dishonored, 215-224; Kasfir, "Peacemaking and Social Cleavages in Sudan," 22; Sudanow September (1981): 14.

Islamic law, the Shari'a, the law of the land. Sudanese law now prohibited non-Muslims from holding political office even in Southern Sudan. The imposition of Shari'a law in the justice system led most conspicuously to floggings and amputations of limbs with most of the victims of these new holy punishments being poor Muslims from the west and non-Muslim destitute Southerners.⁽⁸⁹⁾ By aligning himself with the radical Muslim Brothers in Khartoum and adopting the Islamic law of Shari'a Nimeiri benefitted from the Muslim Brothers' close alignment with Saudi Arabia which ensured a constant cash flow into the now impoverished Sudan government.⁽⁹⁰⁾

To the many Southerners who had fought in the war and the others who had lived in exile and then returned, the reality of the false "autonomy" of the Addis Ababa Agreement perpetuated a deep and bitter resentment. The new Shari'a laws represented nothing less than Southern disenfranchisement.

⁽⁸⁹⁾ Africa Confidential Vol. 14 No. 5, March 2 (1973): 2; Africa Confidential July 28 (1972): 6. Africa Confidential March 19 (1976): 6; Andrew W. R. Wieu, "Southern Sudan Institutional Structure, Power and Intergovernmental Relations," presented at the 'Conference on North-South Relations Since the Addis Ababa Agreement,' Khartoum, 6-9 March, 1985, 9-10; Personal interview: Ayuel Parmena Bul (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. Alier, Southern Sudan Too Many Agreements Dishonored, 145.

⁽⁹⁰⁾ Elias Nyamlell Wakoson, "The Dilemmas of South-North Conflict," in The Search for Peace and Unity in the Sudan, eds. Francis Deng, Prosser Gifford (Washington D.C., Wilson Center Press, 1987), 92; Francis M. Deng and M. W. Daly, eds., Bonds of Silk (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1989), 5. Ahmed Ibrahim Diraige, "New Political Structure for the Sudan," in The Search for Peace and Unity in the Sudan, 142. Deng, War of Visions, 171-5; Holt and Daly, A History of the Sudan, 204.

Frustration and anger brewed in the hearts of many who saw no alternative but a return to civil war.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I suggest that two key themes dominated the post-independence period in Southern Sudan. The first was nationalism and the second was the struggle for leadership of the South which led to intense ethnic competition and rivalry. Nationalist sentiment had been a factor born from the atrocities of the nineteenth century and the Southern military's expulsion of the Turks and Mahdists. When Britain divided the Sudan into two in 1930 it reintroduced the belief in a sovereign Southern state. When in 1947 Britain unified the country in preparation for independence and bestowed political power of the whole country on Northern Sudanese elites in 1956 it augured decades of civil war.

Although ethnic rivalry was not a factor in the early independence period, witnessed by the multi-ethnic political parties of the era, as the Southern Sudanese rebel group the Anya Nya gained power and began to resemble a legitimate Southern military and political movement Nilotic and Equatorian competition emerged. This increasingly fierce struggle was amplified in the 1970s when the South won a limited political autonomy under the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972. Now fierce political infighting erupted between Nilotic and Equatorian elites who vied for political control of the

Southern Sudan.

Less prominent but extremely important was that this era marked the beginnings of a gender revolution in the South for only Southern women benefitted from the liberal decade of the 1970s. In the 1960s they had joined the military on the front lines. This opportunity for some allowed them to remain unmarried and represented the first time women entered the public sphere of employment. In the next decade they acquired political roles in the new Western political democratic government not open to them in previous times. These events began a nascent if limited but important revolution in gender relations.

It was the threat of a second civil war in 1982 that brought the more prominent intra-ethnic Southern strife to a halt. In that year oil was discovered in the South. To gain financially, Northern President Nimeiri realigned himself with those who pressured him the most, the political-religious forces in the North as well as the Arab oil states.

In 1983 Nimeiri devised a method for disenfranchising Southern peoples while controlling their wealth. He promulgated the infamous "September Laws" that made the Islamic law of Shari'a the law of all of the Sudan. Sudanese law now prohibited Sudanese non-Muslims from holding Sudanese political office even in the non-Muslim Southern Sudan. Most of the excluded communities now returned to the notion of another civil war in an attempt to wrestle complete autonomy for the South. Yet the new era was to see even more Southern

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ethnic divisiveness as the stakes for leadership were raised, and as foreign powers attracted by the newly discovered wealth of the South attempted to reassert alien control.

CHAPTER NINE

VIOLENCE, ETHNICITY AND THE BIRTH OF A NEW NATION: "NEW SUDAN" (1983-1994) ⁽¹⁾

"We wish we could have our own country!" ⁽²⁾

(Kuer Dut, an Eastern Twic Dinka elder)

Nationalism and ethnic divisiveness shaped Southern interests in the first civil war era. These issues have also dominated the era of the second civil war however, the latest conflict differs greatly from the first in the number of external forces manipulating the war effort. The popular press and the Sudan government have described this latest conflict as primarily religious in nature: pitting a Christian South against a fundamentalist Islamic North. In reality the conflict has economic origins. The poorer politically dominant North is compelled to control militarily its richer Southern counterpart.

Mindful of the military difficulties of defeating a Southern army in the first civil war of the 1960s the Sudan

⁽¹⁾ Southern people today use "South Sudan" or "New Sudan" to identify their region after the Chukudum Conference of 1994 and its new democratically elected "Southern" government; I use "Southern Sudan" where appropriate to identify the historically accepted name of the region.

⁽²⁾ Personal interview: Kakuma, Kenya.

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government has devised new methods for winning the war on the battlefield. Dinka informants state that the government has a long-term agenda to "use the slaves to kill the slaves" by "dividing and ruling" Southern elites. This agenda has been highly successful and intra-Southern wars have wrought more military damage within the South than has the wider national conflict. The government has achieved their goal by sponsoring multiple Southern militias among all of the neighbors of the Dinka in a bid to cripple the south militarily.

Although the Northern Sudanese government is the most prominent "outsider" involved in this conflict, Dinka informants and the foreign press note numerous other interested parties. These have included former Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam, former Ugandan leader Idi Amin, the British businessman Tiny Rowland, the countries of Libya, the Arab States, International aid organizations as well as British and American interests. It is likely there are also many others involved.

These multiple foreign interests in Sudan's latest civil war have generated an intense struggle for leadership and access to foreign aid and goods in the South. Whereas the 1970s was marked by political infighting between the Nilotes and the Equatorians, the decades of the 1980s and 1990s have witnessed intense intra-Nilotic divisiveness primarily between the Dinka and the Nuer. Yet at the village levels of society these ethnic conflicts are virtually unknown. In reality much of this "ethnic strife" is merely political in nature.

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Nevertheless, this politically-generated "ethnic" factor in turn has introduced a hitherto unknown level of brutality in the war suggesting a drastic deculturation of key members of Southern society; many of its young people. It is estimated that more people have died by Southern hands alone than in the general North/South conflict. On the one hand this latest conflict has introduced a new revolution of thought as well as opportunities for women in some cases while also leaving them the most vulnerable of citizens. At the beginning of the second civil war, however, no Southerner imagined that they could be so easily manipulated by external forces as to almost lose the war.

**THE SECOND CIVIL WAR AND THE CREATION OF THE
SUDAN PEOPLES LIBERATION MOVEMENT/ARMY (SPLM/A)**

Prior to the civil war various autonomous Southern guerrilla groups had reformed.⁽³⁾ The most powerful was Gordon Muortat's Anya Nya Patriotic Front which had re-emerged into the Anya Nya II. It operated in a number of Dinka regions including Tonj and Rumbek and when confrontations between the President and students of Rumbek Secondary School erupted over the issue of redivision of the South, Jaafar Nimeiri closed the school. Many then left for the Anya Nya II training

⁽³⁾ In 1982 there were various Southern resistance groups in the Dinka towns of Abyei, Aweil and Gogrial. These groups had little in common, were not unified and began to fight Khartoum individually. Personal interview: Pagan Amun (Shilluk) Nairobi, Kenya.

centers in Ethiopia.⁽⁴⁾

The second civil war officially erupted in May of 1983 when President Nimeiri ordered the integration of Northern and Southern troops in the Dinka towns of Bor and Ayod. Refusing the order, Southern Battalions 104 and 105 staged the largest rebellion after which Southerners fled to a camp in Ethiopia called Itang. Reminiscent of the beginning of the first civil war in 1955 when a similar order caused the insubordination of the Equatorial Corps, now many other Southern forces mutinied including those at Pibor and Pochalla. At Bor, when ex-Anyanya officer Lieutenant Colonel John Garang de Mabior had attempted to mediate in the conflict he was encouraged to join the mutineers. Shortly thereafter Kerubino Kuanyin Bol a Dinka and William Nyuon a Nuer joined him.⁽⁵⁾

In July 1983 the leaders of the disparate Southern rebel groups, including the Anya Nya II guerrilla force and other Southern mutineers, joined forces in Ethiopia. In August they

⁽⁴⁾ Personal interview: Gordon Muortat Mayen, (Agar Dinka) London, England; Douglas H. Johnson and Jane MacAskill, Report prepared for Oxfam-UK/I May 1995, 1.

⁽⁵⁾ Personal interview: Pagan Amun (Shilluk) Nairobi, Kenya; Johnson, "The Southern Sudan," 6-10; Peter Woodward, Sudan, 1898-1989: The Unstable State (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1990), 162; Alier, Southern Sudan, 241; Deng, War of Visions, 173. John Garang de Mabior was born in Southern Sudan in June 1945. He obtained a Ph.D. from Iowa State in 1981 in the United States. He was a captain in 1970 when he joined the Anya Nya and he and his two Nuer colleagues, Major Samuel Gai Tut and Lieutenant William Abdullah Chuol opposed the Addis Ababa Agreement and the cease fire in 1972. He was later appointed Deputy Director of the Military Research Branch of the Sudan Army General Headquarters in Khartoum. John Garang, John Garang Speaks (London: KPI Limited, 1987), i; and The Call for Democracy in Sudan (London: KPI Limited, 1992) i.

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formed a united Southern resistance movement later named the Sudan Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA); its political wing was the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). John Garang was democratically elected both as commander of the SPLA and chairman of the SPLM over his Anya Nya II colleagues, Samuel Gai Tut (Nuer) and Akuot Atem (Dinka), who militarily outranked him. They withdrew their support in protest and reformed the Anya Nya II in opposition to Garang and the SPLA.⁽⁶⁾ The SPLA now received arms from Ethiopia and hundreds of Southern police, prison officers, game wardens and others joined the mutineers.⁽⁷⁾ One of the most significant aspects of the second civil war was the military participation of women.

The Return of Women to the Frontlines

At this time it became obvious to many in the South that "women not only have to bear children, but they have to fight"

⁽⁶⁾ Personal interview: Pagan Amun (Shilluk) Nairobi, Kenya; Abel Alier argues that Lieutenant Colonel Gai Tut was dismissed from the army in 1974 for insubordination and threatening Joseph Lagu's life. In support of his colleague, Major William Abdullah Chuol also resigned. See Alier, Southern Sudan, 246. The Sudan People's Liberation Movement was initially called the Sudan Popular Liberation Movement (SPLM). It included Northerners as well as Southerners living outside of Sudan. Johnson, "The Southern Sudan," 6-10; Woodward, Unstable State, 162.

⁽⁷⁾ Personal interview: Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal Dinka) and Isaac Cuir Riak (Ciec Dinka), Nairobi, Kenya. Woodward, Unstable State, 162.

and over the next two decades many entered the SPLA.⁽⁸⁾ Among the first to rejoin the military was the Agar Dinka female who had fought in the first civil war, Ager Gum. She became the most notable female military commander in Southern Sudanese history commanding both male and female troops in Rumbek.⁽⁹⁾

The SPLA incorporated far larger numbers of women than had the Anya Nya guerilla army in the first civil war and women's entrance into the combat zones began when female members of the student unions at the University of Juba joined the SPLA after its inception in 1983. Many new female military recruits had received some formal education and demonstrated an assertiveness which differed from previous eras in the South. The following anonymous female officers state:

I was free to join the movement because I was a girl and able to do what men were doing. My father had been killed in the 1960s. When we arrived at SPLA headquarters we expressed a willingness to join the military. It was in their interests and we believed we could do what the men could do.

Others joined the Southern forces without their parents knowledge let alone consent:

⁽⁸⁾ Personal interviews: Damazo Dut Majak (Malwal/Luo) Los Angeles, California; anonymous female informants. See also, S. Beswick, "Women, War and Leadership," 20.

⁽⁹⁾ Before she joined the second civil war she had been the only woman to be given a command position in the upper level ranks of the Anya Nya. Personal interviews: Lueth Ukec (Luo) Ames, Iowa, USA; Simon Malual Deng (Yibel) Nairobi, Kenya; Mary Acuothe Dhel (Agar) Fatna Kok Macok (Agar) Nairobi, Kenya; Julia Benjamin (Agar Dinka) Bloomington, Indiana, USA.

Also personal interviews with her relatives: her nephew, Musa Adam (Agar) Hamilton, Canada; her cousins Deborah Aluel Abol (Agar) Akot, south Sudan and Rebecca Nyar Acien (Gok) Nairobi, Kenya.

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We could not inform our parents. We left in the night. They trained us with the men and taught us to hold guns. We were trained for three months and in that time no one could drop out. We all stuck with it and one hundred and forty women were trained at the beginning. All of us were Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk.

Another female Bor Dinka university student joined the SPLA and as she gained rank she trained others in military tactics including some of her former professors.⁽¹⁰⁾

Another daughter of a Rumbek administrator ran away three times to join the Movement before being accepted as a recruit. Each time she arrived behind SPLA lines a letter was sent to her father by SPLM authorities assuring him she had arrived safely and would be returned. On her third appearance at the front lines however, her father gave up. She is currently serving as a member of the women's battalion.⁽¹¹⁾

In the first major battle with the Northern Sudanese forces at Jokou near Nasir many females lost their lives:

There were a lot of casualties. It was the first battle and many died on both sides. Many women on the front lines got wounded; they were in charge of taking ammunition, guerilla warfare and fighting in the flanks. After that some of us joined the officers training school. We were taught leadership skills and then we graduated.

Casualties aside, by 1985 large numbers of female military officers had been trained and many women, much as their male

⁽¹⁰⁾ At this time she had reached the rank of either a captain or a major. Personal interview: Archangelo Ayuel Mayen (Western Twic) Washington, D.C.; and "The role of Women in the SPLM/SPLA in Newsudan, October 1986 (Organ of the Sudanese Peoples' Liberation Movement), 16.

⁽¹¹⁾ Ibid.

counterparts, have had their share of amputations.⁽¹²⁾

A closer look at women in the SPLA may reveal why some would be attracted to military life. Those within the military have advantages not available to their counterparts in the villages. They often further their education, while simultaneously obtaining job skills on an equal basis with men. Within SPLA ranks those who are literate become the elites of the organization while others join the rank and file. However, many who arrive only nominally educated receive additional schooling by others in the organization. Those not destined for the military become teachers in makeshift schools where they teach younger recruits. Others train for such duties as armed patrol, handling anti-aircraft weaponry, radio communications and lecturing in political education, the fields of education, health, administration, publications and refugee relief and rehabilitation. They also assist in services such as the medical corps, intelligence, as well as aiding their men-folk at the front. Women play a major role in the Secretariat, documentation and support staff in liberated areas.⁽¹³⁾

The Increasing Power of the SPLA and External Support

Within a brief period the new rebel movement was swiftly

⁽¹²⁾ Newsudan, October 1986, 16.

⁽¹³⁾ Personal interview: Archangelo Ayuel Mayen (Western Twic) Glendale, Maryland, USA; "The role of Women in SPLM/SPLA in Newsudan October 1986, 16.

turned into a well-equipped, disciplined and capable guerrilla army. It received military aid and advice from Ethiopia, Libya and Cuba. Additionally, longtime British investor in the region Tiny Rowland became a founding member of the SPLM when he made a donation of over twenty to thirty million pounds.⁽¹⁴⁾ This new powerful Southern force gained international attention when it seized German hostages in late 1983.⁽¹⁵⁾ By the end of 1984 SPLA attacks had forced the cessation of work by a French organization constructing the Jonglei Canal in the Upper Nile region. Simultaneously the rebels halted the drilling of an oil field by Chevron at Bentiu. The national army struggled in vain to contain the Southern guerrillas, but the cost of the war took a heavy toll on an already impoverished treasury.⁽¹⁶⁾

As the Southern rebels fought the Northern Sudanese government the forthcoming decade was to witness the most intensified and violent competition for leadership of the South and access to vital resources from external supporters. Whereas the ethnic divide of the 1970s had been that of the Nilotes versus the Equatorians, now the new contenders for

⁽¹⁴⁾ Tiny Roland is president of Lonrho Corporation, owner of the London Observer and a career meddler in African politics. Scroggins, "Emma," 109.

⁽¹⁵⁾ They were subsequently exchanged by the German government for a ransom. Personal interview with the anonymous informant who arrested the hostages; Kasfir, "Peacemaking and Social Cleavages in Sudan," 32; Woodward, Unstable State, 162.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Personal interview: Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal Dinka) and Isaac Cuir Riak (Ciec Dinka), Nairobi, Kenya. Woodward, Unstable State, 162.

leadership of the South were the Dinka who formed the bulk of the SPLA forces and their close neighbors, the Nuer. The government of Sudan noted these new "ethnic" struggles and grasped this opportunity to manipulate Southern tensions.

EXTERNAL FORCES AND THE NILOTIC STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF THE SOUTH

The Anya Nya II Versus the SPLA

R. Brian Ferguson suggests that alliances are of key importance for success in war for they not only determine who wins the conflict but can affect the balance of power between competing groups fighting the war.⁽¹⁷⁾ The creation and support of the various Southern rebel movements was to become almost totally dependent on the patronage and advice of external leaders and financiers. This factor in turn has also had a devastating impact on intra-Southern relations as multiple different leaders have vied for power.

Shortly after splitting with the SPLA and reforming back into the Anya Nya II, Colonel Samuel Gai Tut, Major William Abdullah Chuol, and Akwot Atem, who were determined to beat Garang and the SPLA, allied with the Sudan government and Libya. From this time onwards they received substantial aid in hardware, ammunition and finance. By 1986-87 there was intense fighting between the forces of the SPLA and the Anya Nya II. Among those first attacked by the latter were new Malwal Dinka recruits en route to Ethiopia through the Upper Nile

⁽¹⁷⁾ Ferguson, "Explaining War," 43.

territory.⁽¹⁸⁾

Crawford Young argues that aspiring politicians learn that a personal clientele is most easily built upon cultural affinities. Those whose ascension is blocked within one political organization are sorely tempted to launch another with the cry of ethnic solidarity.⁽¹⁹⁾ As the stakes of acquiring leadership increased along with the concomitant necessity to prove to outsiders that one had a following in order to acquire foreign finance, Southern elites amplified and even created "ethnic divisiveness." Abel Alier suggests that many of those opposing SPLA leader Garang were former Dinka who later reidentified themselves as Nuer for the purposes of acquiring new recruits. For example, Anya Nya II leader, William Abdulla Chuol was originally "Dinka" but became "Nuer" by residence and naturalization. Then to gain legitimacy he claimed spiritual powers to maintain a hold over his "Nuer" followers and to attract other constituents to his campaign.⁽²⁰⁾ Thus, to acquire support and military hardware

⁽¹⁸⁾ Personal interview: Andria Acin-Nyin Maketh (Atuot-Apak) and Gordon Matot Tut (Ciec Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya; See also John Prendergast, Crisis Response Humanitarian Band-Aids in Sudan and Somalia (London: Pluto Press, 1997), 26; Alier, Southern Sudan, 252. Johnson, "The Southern Sudan," 6-10; Kasfir, "Peacemaking," 32.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Crawford Young, "Ethnicity and the Colonial and Post-Colonial State in Africa," in Ethnic Groups and the State ed. Paul Brass (London: Croon Helm, 1985), 84.

⁽²⁰⁾ He went barefoot and wore the more "traditional" Nilotic 'lau' through he did not wear the leopard skin associated with Nuer prophets. In this way he attempted to emulate earlier Nuer leaders and prophets. Alier, Southern Sudan, 253. Johnson states that the Anya Nya II was never

from Khartoum and elsewhere these Southern military leaders needed to resuscitate popular support by any means necessary. These intra-Southern political struggles were perceived by international observers as intra-Southern ethnic stress of a primordialist nature.

In 1987 to ameliorate intra-Southern tensions the SPLA undertook a policy of winning over Anya Nya II members by attracting Commander Gordon Kuong Cuol and his allies. Nevertheless a few Anya Nya II remained and continued to be supported by the Sudan government.⁽²¹⁾ Because of intense Southern political rivalry and the scramble for international funds however, John Garang became suspicious of many Southerners including those within his own organization. In the early 1980s while he battled the Anya Nya II he perceived that the Malwal Dinka under their leader, Kawac Makuei Mayar were ready to strike.

The Perceived Malwal Militia

Noting that Southern leaders tended to fission from his movement and soon thereafter were easily "bought" by the Northern Sudanese government, John Garang began a campaign of arresting and incarcerating anyone deemed suspicious. The beginnings of serious intra-Dinka tensions began when John

completely Nuer, although its recruits were primarily from the Nuer and Anuak regions of Nasir and Akobo. Johnson, "The Southern Sudan," 6-10.

⁽²¹⁾ Human Rights Watch/Africa, Civilian Devastation and Abuses by All Parties in the War in Southern Sudan, 20-1.

Garang and Malwal leader Kawac Makuei Mayar clashed over the meaning of military discipline. While I did not interview John Garang the Malwal side of this episode has been relayed to me by Kawac Makuei and the following represents his views and perceptions.⁽²²⁾

The initial problem between Garang and Kawac arose because of fears of the large numbers of Malwal who joined the SPLA campaigns in Ethiopia. In modern times eighty percent of the ethnic composition of the SPLA is Dinka, of this percentage however, forty five percent comprises Malwal alone.⁽²³⁾ To complicate matters numbers of Malwal remained part of the Anya Nya II forces in the Bahr el-Ghazal. Initially the Malwal leader Kawac Makuei, a Lieutenant Colonel, was appointed fifth in line of succession to the SPLA leadership and made a commander of the Bahr el-Ghazal whose battalion was named "Jamuse" (buffalo).

Serious tensions erupted however, when Garang tested Kawac Makuei's loyalty. The SPLA leader ordered his Malwal commander to eliminate numbers of Anya Nya II generals still based in the Malwal territory in the Bahr el-Ghazal. This order posed a dilemma for Kawac Makuei whose father had been a prominent paramount religious chief. Further, Kawac Makuei had been a Southern politician of the 1970s and a Dinka elder

⁽²²⁾ I thank Mr. Kawac Makuei Mayar who gave me permission to use his name in order to present his viewpoint of Malwal/Dinka tensions. Personal interview: Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽²³⁾ Personal interview: Isaac Ciur Riak (Ciec Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

who felt responsible for his former Malwal constituents in the Bahr el-Ghazal. He refused the order. He states "I was a parliamentarian and wouldn't consider such a thing!" When he arrived in Ethiopia accompanied by thousands of former Anya Nya II troops who had recently agreed to join the SPLA under Kawac, Garang arrested the Malwal leader. He became one of John Garang's longest prisoners-of-war remaining in various SPLA camps for ten years.⁽²⁴⁾ Kawac Makuei however, believes the real offending party was Mengistu Haile Mariam. As a major patron of the SPLA the Ethiopian leader had an enormous control over Garang and his Southern forces.

The Powerful Influence of Mengistu Haile Mariam and the Decreasing Popularity of Garang

Shortly after the formation of the SPLA Haile Mengistu Mariam became SPLA leader John Garang's military mentor. According to Kawac Makuei, Mengistu advised the SPLA leader to "remove all those who posed a threat" and "Garang followed

⁽²⁴⁾ "These men had served with me during the Anya Nya period of the 1960s. Further, I was a parliamentarian and wouldn't consider an order to kill colleagues of a previous military era. Instead I convinced these four Anya Nya II generals (Michael Deng Majok, a Ngok Dinka, Malong Awal and Lual Rieny, Malwal Dinka, and Anthony Bol Madut, Rek Dinka) who had troops numbering 35,000 to join the SPLA. As they respected me they agreed."

It appears that Kawac Makuei could have escaped his detention on several occasions but refused "because it would have been too 'humiliating'" and because he maintains that John Garang misinterpreted the events. Eventually SPLA Malwal Dinka troops feared the Malwal leader would be executed and broke him out of prison and escorted him outside of the South to freedom. Personal interview: Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

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Mengistu's instructions to incarcerate anyone who refused orders." From the point of view of John Garang it is possible to make a case that by refusing to follow the SPLA leader's military orders the Malwal leader had broken the Western military codes of law. This explanation would be plausible if the SPLA, as Kawac asserts, had become bound under the tutelage of Ethiopian leader, Mengistu and was operating under Western codes of military discipline. For example, under the U.S. military code of justice in wartime conditions an order refused under fire warrants the immediate execution of the officer; if not under fire it warrants a court martial and probable imprisonment.⁽²⁵⁾

Nevertheless, many Southerners during this period believed that Mengistu's military policies and justice were too harsh for Garang's SPLA troops who had only acquired limited military training. The Ethiopian leader even took it upon himself to arrest key Dinka military leaders that he deemed suspicious. For example, he arrested and incarcerated one of the founding members of the SPLA, Western Twic Dinka Commander Kerubino Kuanyin Bol, on suspicion of organizing a coup against John Garang.⁽²⁶⁾ Although it becomes

⁽²⁵⁾ Personal interviews: with a former U.S. veteran of the Vietnam war: James Jandrowitz, Elizabeth, New Jersey; Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya who believes that Mengistu encouraged Garang to incarcerate many Southerners.

⁽²⁶⁾ Ironically, SPLA founder Kerubino Kuanyin Bol had arrested Kawac Makuei Mayar previously and was then later incarcerated with the Malwal leader who states: "I later forgave him." Mengistu also arrested forty of Kerubino's

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increasingly clear that Garang may have had cause to be suspicious of numbers who surrounded him, the imprisonment of Kawac Makuei and Kerubino Kuanyin Bol, whether justified or not, marked a growing policy of imprisoning all those who were deemed questionable.⁽²⁷⁾ Eventually large numbers of Southerners were languishing in SPLA prisons.⁽²⁸⁾

As the civil war continued John Garang faced a tidal wave of criticism both within the South as well as from the international community. Human rights agencies claimed that the large number of peoples incarcerated in camps was a violation of international law codes.⁽²⁹⁾ In the Southern Sudan Garang quickly began to lose popularity. By 1991 a series of international forces now became party to an attempted coup against the SPLA leader.

Officers. When Kerubino discovered a means of escape he offered to aid Kawac however, the Malwal leader refused because he believed he deserved an honorable release. Personal interview: Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya; Human Rights Watch/Africa, Civilian Devastation, 230.

As late as 1996, one Malwal soldier who had gone "away on leave" permanently stated to me: "I left the SPLA because I was accused wrongly of being part of a separate Malwal militia. I was afraid they would arrest me and put me in prison so I left." Personal interview, anonymous informant.

⁽²⁷⁾ Personal interview: Anonymous Bor Dinka informants.

⁽²⁸⁾ Personal interview: Anonymous informants.

⁽²⁹⁾ Personal interview: Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya;

International Power Brokers and the SPLA Coup

In 1991 a combination of certain members of international relief agencies, British investor Tiny Rowland and U.S. and British representatives pressed for a change in the SPLA leadership. Until this time John Garang and the SPLA had quelled several internal efforts at dissent with the help of Ethiopian leader Mengistu's army along with his internal security apparatus. With the Ethiopian leader's fall in 1991 the SPLA leadership became instantly vulnerable to more division.⁽³⁰⁾

In June of that year two of Garang's senior commanders, Riek Machar, a Nuer, and Lam Akol, a Shilluk, were offered international support if they would be willing to take over the leadership of the SPLA. Hence, the two plotted a coup. Declaring much the same as the Anya Nya II leaders some years earlier, they announced to the international press that they had taken over as the new leaders of the SPLA and that the new movement would be democratic and aim for total independence of the South. Scholars suggest this international support was offered only with a keen eye on the oil reserves of the South, however, the "coup" never took place because no senior Dinka commander joined Riek Machar and Lam Akol.⁽³¹⁾ Garang now

⁽³⁰⁾ Human Rights Watch/Africa, Civilian Devastation Abuses by All Parties in the War in Southern Sudan, 25; Personal interviews: Anonymous informants.

⁽³¹⁾ Deng, War of Visions, 233-4. Riek Machar obtained a Ph.D. from Bradford University in England and was the best educated Nuer in the SPLA. The British wife of Riak Machar, Emma McCune was also accused of being a British spy and having

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renamed his force SPLA-Torit or SPLA-Mainstream and the two rebel commanders gathered up their adherents and renamed themselves SPLA-Nasir.

Prior to the attempted coup the Sudan government had offered John Garang a position as First Vice President of the Sudan, however, he refused.⁽³²⁾ Now they approached the two rebel SPLA commanders. The meeting was rumored to be facilitated by the British investor, Tiny Rowland. At this time the government sought short-term advantages in this rift between the Southern rebel forces and shortly thereafter, much as with the Anya Nya II, Riek Machar received unmarked shipments of food and weapons to fight John Garang and the SPLA.⁽³³⁾ Throughout the war the Sudan government had also succeeded in manipulating older Southern Sudanese rivalries which dated from the 1960s and 1970s.

influenced her husband in the "creeping coup" against the SPLA. Personal interviews: Anonymous Dinka informants and Sudan Update Vol. 3 No. 9 (16th December 1991): 6; Deborah Scroggins, "Emma," Granta 60 (Winter 1997): 103, 109, 119. Deng, War of Visions, 230-3. Bona Malwal argues the "coup" was an open house affair in which most of the international humanitarian relief officials, Western journalists and circles in Europe and the United States were aware weeks before. They had openly suggested that a change in the movement's leadership would lead to greater amounts of aid from Europe and America. See Sudan Democratic Gazette (October 1991): 3.

⁽³²⁾ Personal interview: Samuel Abujohn Khashi (Zande) Yambio, South Sudan.

⁽³³⁾ Scroggins notes that Rowland was impatient with the Southern leader's consistent philosophy of unionism with the North and desired to exploit the oil reserves of the South. Scroggins, "Emma," 126. Dinka informants stated that "we feared the British were now trying to reassert control." Personal interviews: Anonymous Dinka informants. Deng, War of Visions, 233-4.

"ISTA'MIL AL-ABID AN YAQTALU AL ABID!" ⁽³⁴⁾
THE SUDAN GOVERNMENT'S POLICY OF
"USE THE SLAVES TO KILL THE SLAVES"

In the second civil war the Khartoum government has not only driven a wedge into the leadership of the SPLA rebel movement but it has also revived the earlier Nilotic/Equatorian divide. Capitalizing on rivalries born from the era of the first civil war and the 1970s period the Northern government has created and financed a series of Southern militias in a bid to destroy the power of the Dinka and the SPLA. Southern informants state that the Sudan government has an agenda: "Ista'mil al-abid an yaqtalu al-abid" which means in Arabic, "use the slaves to kill the slaves!" (or, use Southerners to kill Southerners).⁽³⁵⁾ To this end they have successfully financed a war and sat back while Southerners have done exactly as planned.

In 1983 the Khartoum government, much as the Khalifa of the previous century, armed Baggara militias against the Dinka and the SPLA. Known as "Murahallin" they were initially consolidated by Prime Minister Sadiq Al Mahdi, who utilized his historical politico-religious connections with these Islamic pastoralists.⁽³⁶⁾ He recruited from among those on the Kir/Bahr el-Arab river in southern Kordofan and southern

⁽³⁴⁾ Personal interview: Gordon Muortat Mayen (Agar Dinka) London, England.

⁽³⁵⁾ Personal interview: Gordon Muortat Mayen (Agar Dinka) London, England.

⁽³⁶⁾ G. Obat, "The Jebellein Massacre," Information Africa Faith and Justice Network, Washington, D.C., January, 1990, 2.

Darfur as well as those in the western and southern Gezira, the northern Upper Nile and the northern and northwestern Bahr el-Ghazal.⁽³⁷⁾

In 1988 the Sudan government extended its operations by creating and supporting Southern militias among those who neighbored the Dinka including the Mundari, Murle, Toposa, Acholi, Latuka, Madi, Azande and Fertit.⁽³⁸⁾ A combined organization of Acholi, Latuka and Madi peoples emerged when Latuka leader Joseph Oduho, who had joined Nuer leader Riek Machar in opposition to John Garang, was killed in an SPLA raid. It later adopted the name of the Southern Sudan Front.⁽³⁹⁾

⁽³⁷⁾ They included the Rizeiqat, Messiria and a considerable number of retired officers and NCOs. Alier, Southern Sudan, 255-7.

⁽³⁸⁾ Much like the Acholi the Balanda and Fertit, many of whom are Muslim and comprise a series of smaller ethnic groups, have maintained grievances of political under-representation dating back to the 1960s Anya Nya period. Hence, they did not join the SPLA in any great numbers and were subsequently victims of SPLA atrocities. In response the Fertit evolved into defensive units called "the Peace Force" and received support from the Khartoum government to fight the Dinka and their close allies the Luo. After a time the Peace Force split into two; one joined the SPLA and the other continued receiving weapons from the Sudan Government. "They are lured by money and are modern day collaborators. Those in Wau are the People's Defense Force of the Government and those south of Wau joined the SPLA." Personal interviews: Bandindi Pascal Uru, Jerome Barikue, Romano Gasi (Balanda) Yambio, south Sudan and Abdul Monheim Younis (Fertit) Boston, USA. See also, Alier, Southern Sudan, 247, 255. These militias and the Baggara Murahallin were organized on the same basis as Anya-Nya II. Sudan Times January 10, 1988. [n.p.]. Human Rights Watch/Africa, Civilian Devastation, 25.

⁽³⁹⁾ Personal interview: Anonymous Latuka informant. When Faustino Gauldit, Kerubino Kuanyin Bol, Arok Thon Arok (all Dinka) and Joseph Oduho (Latuka) escaped from John Garang's

In the far Southern region on the Ugandan border the Acholi were easily manipulated by the Sudan government because of ignorance. At the beginning of the war few clearly understood the reasons for the North/South conflict. Hence when the SPLA recruited too forcefully they resisted. The simultaneous propaganda campaign of the Sudan government was then highly effective. According to an Acholi informant:

They built on the pre-existing Acholi discomfort with the Dinka from the 1970s period. Then the government argued that the Dinka were moving into all parts of the South and were going to take jobs away from Acholi people. When they offered us weapons and training to defend ourselves, the Acholi accepted and we formed a militia against the Dinka in 1983.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Eventually one of the most blood-thirsty of organizations was created among the Acholi. Christened the "Lords' Resistance Army" it was stated to be a "Christian fundamentalist militia" led by a 29-year-old, Joseph Kony. It was sponsored and financed by the Sudan government in the context of a "jihad recruitment drive." It was also rumored to be supported by Idi Amin. Based in Northern Uganda its objective was (and continues to be) to attack all SPLA convoys from the Ugandan border town of Nimuli. This movement has terrorized much of the Acholi populace who prefer to flee from Joseph Kony. According to one Acholi informant:

SPLA-Mainstream prisons they later joined the Nuer organization of Riek Machar, SPLA-Nasir and formed into a new group named SPLA-United. See, Prendergast, Crisis Response, 52.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Personal interview: Anonymous Acholi informant.

The movement grew out of enforced violence. If you did not kill a relative of yours (by using a machete) you would be killed yourself in the same fashion. Having killed a relative you were now welded to the LRA forever for your relatives would disown you.⁽⁴¹⁾

To the Azande the Dinka appeared as an alien race and one informant noted:

All Nilotics suffer from a "raiding complex." They gather together in herds and are defensive towards outsiders. Others find them clickish. Because they are cattle owners they do not mix with social centers of dancing. They lack the sensitivity of other cultures because they do not mix with others. If a non-Dinka man talks to a Dinka girl he will be speared but a Dinka man can touch any Azande girl without a problem.⁽⁴²⁾

Other Azande informants noted that the Sudan government, who was present in the Azande territories until 1991, propagandized the Azande people by building on their fear of Dinka domination during the 1970s. Northern officials reminded the Azande that the Dinka did not know how to interact with other peoples. Because there had been isolated cases of rape and the stealing of property by SPLA troops when the latter took the Azande area of Yambio in 1991 many Azande, believing Northern propaganda, fled into the Congo or Central African Republic.⁽⁴³⁾

⁽⁴¹⁾ Personal interview: Anonymous Acholi informant. See also, John Prendergast, "Testimony on Sudan," House Committee on International Relations Subcommittee on Africa, "March 22, 1995, 6.

⁽⁴²⁾ Personal interview: Anonymous Zande informant.

⁽⁴³⁾ Personal interview: Anonymous Azande informants. To the surprise of many little looting took place and John Garang ameliorated the situation by giving a speech on the objectives of the SPLM/A and requesting that everyone return to their

The Sudan government also sponsored Dinka mercenaries who opposed John Garang, among them the renegade SPLA commander Kerubino Kuanyin Bol. He had been incarcerated for years in one of the SPLA prison camps with the Malwal leader, Kawac Makuei, and eventually escaped. A Western Twic Dinka from Gogrial, he is considered the best Southern military commander. Since the government of Sudan offered him military support he has wrought havoc and seriously disrupted international aid operations in the Bahr el-Ghazal.⁽⁴⁴⁾

The Northern Sudanese Army--A Force of Southerners

Although Islamic government officials persist in characterizing the current civil war as an "Islamic holy war" or "jihad" the vast majority of young men drafted into the Northern forces are non-Islamic Southerners or those who have professed adherence to Islam under duress. Kashas or forced military recruitment began with the creation of the Southern militias and many children captured or abducted from the South have been brought North and forced into military service. In Khartoum within the marginalized Southern refugee communities teenagers are rounded up, abducted and put in camps and trained for the army. Some comply for they can acquire a

homes. Most complied.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Personal interview: Anonymous informant; Prendergast, Crisis Response, 52. In the spring of 1998 he rejoined the SPLA; Guardian Weekly May 10, 1998, 12; New York Review May 14, 1998, 63.

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salary; they are hungry and it is a means of survival.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Although the government has successfully sponsored numerous intra-Southern ethnic wars they have never been able to completely manipulate relations on the Kir/Bahr el-Arab river where the Islamic Baggara and Dinka reside.

Alliances Within the War Zone:

Ferguson argues that it is quite common for a mutual interest in trade to lead to a special relationship of peace within an environment of war.⁽⁴⁶⁾ During the first civil war in the 1960s alliances had been created between the Islamic Baggara and African Dinka who resided in the region of the Kir/Bahr el-Arab river. Long recognized as an African/Arab frontier, the region in reality is an ethnic kaleidoscope. Hence relations are not so much been dictated by external events as by local necessity.⁽⁴⁷⁾

In 1991 a substantial number of Messiria Baggara allied with the Dinka to gain access to pasture during the dry seasons. The Rizeiqat Baggara militia split in two and one

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Personal interview: Father Eppink, Mill Hill Fathers, London, England. Human Rights Watch/Africa, Children in Sudan, 54-61. John Prendergast, Sudanese Rebels at a Crossroads (Washington, D.C.: Center of Concern, 1994), 10.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Ferguson, "Explaining War," 39.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ The Bahr el-Arab/Kir river region represents an ethnic and political kaleidoscope. See S. F. Beswick, "A Religious and Ethnic Kaleidoscope or a North/South Frontier? Dinka/Baggara Relations Across the Kir/Bahr el-Arab River," in Personality and Political Culture; Alier, Southern Sudan, 255-7.

signed an agreement with the SPLA Dinka Commander Aleu Akacak. This agreement created a "buffer zone" on the Kir/Bahr el-Arab river so that all parties could graze their cattle. As it is a hunger area the Baggara frequently bought dhurra (grain) from the Dinka and because of a series of centuries-long Rizeiqat and Malwal marriage alliances the agreement continues to the present time. Other agreements between the Abiem Malwal and the Messiria Baggara in 1991 and 1993 however, were created but did not last. Nevertheless, for a brief period a Messiria leader, Buryi Bushara, joined the SPLA and became a Commander.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Thus on the Arab/African frontier key historical alliances have prevailed within the larger civil war. However, a testament to the government of Sudan's successful tactics of sponsoring Southern ethnic strife can be seen by the numbers of estimated Southern deaths.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ While it hardly constitutes an alliance, some Baggara have made a living in the Bahr el-Ghazal by providing a safe haven for Dinka slaves and selling them back to their relatives. Personal interviews: Lawrence Lual Lual Akuey; Simon Ngor Ngor and Bol Akok Akok (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya; Prendergast, Crisis Response, 82; Alier, Southern Sudan, 255-7.

Malwal informants state that relations with the Messiria are worse than that of the Rizeiqat largely because of alliances. The Malwal and Rizeiqat trade items; the latter bring sugar, clothes, salt and oil in exchange for dhurra and cows. The Malwal state their cows are more hardy than the Rizeiqat but the latter have more milk. Personal interview Monica Nyibol Aleu (female) and Simon Ngor Ngor (Malwal) Nairobi, Kenya.

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**DISEMBOWELMENT, TORTURE AND
BURNING PEOPLE ALIVE: INTRA SOUTHERN VIOLENCE**

Approximately 1.3 million people died in the first ten years of the second civil war.⁽⁴⁹⁾ With the increasing number of deaths there has developed, according to Dinka informants, a disturbing new trend of brutality. For example, it is commonplace for the "the Nuer and Dinka to cut off women's breasts with pangas and slit old women's throats."⁽⁵⁰⁾

In 1991 one of the worst massacres of the civil war took place between the Dinka and the Nuer. Shortly after his failed coup attempt of the SPLA Nuer leader Riek Machar went on a rampage. The Dinka town of Bor was bigger than that of Riek Machar's base in Nasir with a good airstrip. Thus the United Nations delivered much food there and nearby villages were rich in long horned cattle. On the other hand, heavy rains had destroyed crops in much of Riek's territory of eastern Upper Nile.⁽⁵¹⁾ Aided and encouraged by the Sudan government, Riek Machar's forces attacked the Dinka areas of Panaru, Bor and Kongor, the latter being SPLA leader John Garang's home

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Human Rights Watch/Africa, Civilian Devastation, 11; Scroggins, "Emma," 99.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Personal interviews: Ayuel Parmena Bul (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Catholic Father Mattia, Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽⁵¹⁾ Adwok, "Rights of Vulnerable Groups in Conditions of Conflict," 8-9. Deng, War of Visions, 232-3. Sudan Democratic Gazette (December 1991): 6. Accompanying those who attacked the area was a Nuer prophet, Wut Nyang and hundreds of his ashen covered white robed followers who it is said, stoked the Nuer envy of the United Nations aid supplies that Bor had been receiving. Scroggins, "Emma," 129.

region.⁽⁵²⁾ What transpired was an event of unprecedented brutality: raping, burning, and looting cattle and other property. In some instances Dinka children were roasted alive on open fires in front of their parents. Women and children were abducted and later divided as war booty. Observers later noted disembowelled women, children tied and shot through the head, and people hanging from trees. Amnesty International estimated that two thousand were murdered over a period of two weeks but other informants suggest the number was closer to five thousand.

One of those who accompanied Riek's attack on the Dinka asserts:

...we were mobilized to help ourselves to Bor property. It was also Khartoum's idea to undermine ethnic alliances and therefore the attack was made to look like a Nuer/Dinka conflict. In reality the brutality was about acquiring aid supplies and land. The irony is that the war has contributed to more ethnic violence.⁽⁵³⁾

This raid came to be known as the "Bor Massacre" and in a matter of days Southerners had wreaked greater havoc on each other than they had jointly against their common enemy in the North. One Eastern Twic whose mother was murdered by having her throat cut by the Nuer in 1991 asked: "why did they need

⁽⁵²⁾ He was accompanied by Anya Nya commander John Both and the Nuer sections of the Gaajak, the Lou and the Gawar. Sudan Update Vol. 3 No. 9 (16th December 1991): 1.

⁽⁵³⁾ Personal interview: Anonymous Shilluk informant. Shortly thereafter Garang's SPLA Mainstream retook the town accusing aid workers who had just arrived on the scene, "this is what you lot have caused!" Prendergast, Crisis Response, 26-8, 51.

to kill an old woman in such a manner?"⁽⁵⁴⁾

It transpired that the real issue centered around Nuer perceptions that Dinka SPLA commanders redirected clothes, medicines, vaccines, hooks, equipment and supplies away from Nuer areas of the Upper Nile towards the Dinka populations of Bor and Kongor districts. Hence, many Nuer were willing to redress this imbalance.⁽⁵⁵⁾ However, the levels of atrocities were incomprehensible to the many Bor Dinka peoples who lost relatives in this massacre for in the past society has had checks on these forms of violence.

Factors Encouraging the Increased Brutality

Historically the Nilotic peoples, including the Dinka, have always been perceived as fierce fighters and in war they have killed women and children as well as men.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Thus

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Personal interview: Anonymous informant. See also Sudan Democratic Gazette (January 1992): 2. According to one Shilluk present at the battle:

"...the Nuer soldiers were ruthless...At one place, they killed a suckling mother and left her eight months old child crawling over her corpse. The Nuer attitude was 'Well that was war, the vultures will find that child alive and they will feed on both.'"

The Nuer explained themselves by arguing that the Dinka had been just as violent with the Nuer civilian population. See Peter Adwok, "Rights of Vulnerable Groups in Conditions of Conflict: the Link Between Traditional Values and International Humanitarian Principles in South Sudan in Respect to Rights of Children," Unpublished paper acquired from UNICEF, Nairobi; 7-9; Deng, War of Visions, 232-3.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Prendergast, Crisis Response, 26-8, 51; Scroggins, "Emma," 129.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ According to traveller Schweinfurth: "It is affirmed that they are pitiless and unrelenting in fight, that they are never known to give quarter, and revel in wild dances around

indiscriminate killing is not unknown in Nilotic warfare. However, the modern-day intra-Southern torture and brutality marks a turning point in Southern history.

Many explain the new violence as a result of the adoption of modern weapons and of the population explosion: "people move today looking for wealth; minds are open commercially and the Nuer want to settle in Dinka land because they are increasing in size."⁽⁵⁷⁾ Furthermore they argue that "traditional warfare is gone for with spears and sticks you could not have mass killings while with modern weapons one can kill many."⁽⁵⁸⁾ However, these arguments still do not explain the levels of brutality for disembowelment and chopping people into pieces is a highly personal act and does not require modern weapons.

Some scholars and informants believe that in the past brutality was limited by religious taboos and informants state that the Dinka did not kill anyone in cold blood because "god would punish you." Hence, a certain protocol of war existed in which one made sure the opponent was prepared and warned. Young men did kill each other but no one killed women and

the bodies of their slaughtered foes; a whole village will take their share in the orgies which one of the community will start..." Schweinfurth, Heart of Africa, Vol. I, 168. In the early 19th century an army of two to three thousand Dinka under Abialang leaders, Kak Abialang and Akonyo Deng attacked the Funj inhabitants at Hillet Sihha in the Gezira on the Blue Nile. Most inhabitants offered little resistance nevertheless they were all "butchered." Hartmann, Reise, 449.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Personal interviews: Anonymous informants.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Ibid.

children.⁽⁵⁹⁾ In the case of the Nilotic Shilluk, Peter Adwok argues that soldiers are still restrained from undue violence for religious reasons:

We (Shilluk soldiers) were more humane...We were restrained by 'cyen', that is why we did not kill innocent people." "Cyen" is the general religious belief among Nilotic peoples that if one kills the disabled, women or children, especially in a non-combat situation, one will be haunted by the entity "Cyen."⁽⁶⁰⁾

Regarding the Nuer and religious taboos, Sharon Hutchinson notes that many have seized upon changing circumstances arising from the widespread dissemination of guns, the declining prestige of earth priests, and the introduction of Christian doctrines. Furthermore, she argues, the relationship between the blood curse of the deceased and the ban on commensalism (payment made to the family of the deceased by the offender) between the families of slayer and slain became increasingly frayed and loose.⁽⁶¹⁾ Yet this still does not fully explain the intense barbarity and bloodlust of the Bor Dinka attack.

I suggest that this phenomenon is connected to a factor that is new to the second civil war, that of the recruitment of thousands of young Southern boys into combat. These children are not initiated from boyhood into manhood (a process by which they stop milking cows and no longer have to

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Personal interview: Andria Acin-Nyin Maketh (Atuot-Apak) and Gordon Matot Tut (Ciec Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Adwok, "Rights of Vulnerable Groups," 8.

⁽⁶¹⁾ See, Hutchinson, Nuer Dilemmas, 155.

take orders from their superiors). Hence, they are forced by the custom of their own culture to follow the instructions of their "elders" (in this case military elders) indefinitely and to remain in a permanent state of cultural adolescence. In the meantime they are no longer taught to fear the wrath of the spirits of those they kill. Thus, they have undergone social and religious deculturation.⁽⁶²⁾ Inculcated with the values of brutality during military training these "children" wreak havoc on the general population.

Further, scholars suggest that adolescent brutality is far more lethal. This argument is proposed by Jacques Lacan who notes that just as improvements in weapons technology have opened new military careers to women in our time, so they have also rendered possible the child soldier. Lacan challenges the accepted belief that children are gentle and innocent and suggests that if society does not socialize them into non-violent social behavior by adulthood, they continue to remain in the adolescent faze of non-conscious violence. This deculturation (or limited acculturation), according to the Dinka, has made these adolescents effective and ruthless killers:⁽⁶³⁾

⁽⁶²⁾ Person interviews: Anonymous informants. In Dinka culture the drinking of alcohol is normally the domain of elders however young males no longer subscribing to pre-war culture regularly imbibe alcohol. See also Lienhardt, Divinity and Experience 7, 13, 19.

⁽⁶³⁾ See Jacques Lacan, "Aggressivity in Psychoanalysis," in Ecrits: A Selection Translated from the French by Alan Sheridan (New York: Norton, 1977), 11.

"...the images of castration, mutilation,

Now the center of their culture is guns... they are perfect killing machines and follow orders to kill indiscriminately. Today they sing fighting songs that state 'I can kill even my own mother and father.' These young soldiers don't respect the elders or god.⁽⁶⁴⁾

As many Southern recruits acquired their military training in Ethiopia it is likely this philosophy began as a byproduct of Ethiopian training under Mengistu. According to one ex-soldier: "we were told that our AK47 (gun) is our wife, bed and food and as SPLA soldiers we were encouraged to take from the populace what we wanted."⁽⁶⁵⁾

In the present national conflict armies of child-soldiers are trained and utilized by the Government of Sudan, the SPLA, and other Southern rebel factions including Riek Machar's most recent rebel force, the Southern Sudan Independence Movement (SSIM). Military leaders claim these young children are

dismemberment, dislocation, evisceration devouring bursting open of the body..." He notes that one only has to listen to children aged between two and five playing, alone or together to know that the pulling off of the head and the ripping open of the belly are themes that occur spontaneously to their imagination and that this is corroborated by the experience of the doll torn to pieces."

For the importance of psychology to historical interpretation, see Lloyd de Mause, "The Psychogenic Theory of History," The Journal of Psychohistory 25 No. 2 (1997): 112-183. For background information about the stages of child development see John A. Talbott, "Development," in Sander L. Gilman, ed. Introducing Psychoanalytic Theory (New York: Brunner-Mazel, 1982), 16-34.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Personal interview: Andria Acin-Nyin Maketh (Atuot-Apak) and Gordon Matot Tut (Ciec Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya; See also John Prendergast, Crossroads, 10; Human Rights Watch/Africa, Children of Sudan, 85.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Personal interview: Anonymous informant.

malleable and obedient and that they are more susceptible to propaganda while their youth and strength are desirable.⁽⁶⁶⁾

By all accounts it became necessary to take adolescent uninitiated recruits when adults were unwilling to contribute to the cause. In 1983 tens of thousands volunteered for the SPLA but many lost their lives. Some left for the army at seven to eight years old and never returned. By 1989 no one volunteered and the SPLA needed to recruit its members by means of force. Further, and more ironically, the violent policy of forced recruitment necessary to fight the war against the North alienated so many that they willingly joined the Sudan government's anti-Dinka militia campaigns.⁽⁶⁷⁾

When the Ethiopian army began to collapse in late 1990

⁽⁶⁶⁾ For example an SPLA attack on Southern Darfur was rebuffed during which the Government arrested over 200 rebels the majority of whom were 12 years of age. Sudan Update Vol. 3 No. 9 (16th December 1991): 2. See also Human Rights Watch/Africa, Children of Sudan, 85. Personal interview: Anonymous informants.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ The modern-day problem began when those wishing to become an executive chief claimed to have the required 6,000 member constituency. Having acquired the post, each executive chief was required each year to recruit 50 people from his constituency. The problem lay in that many in reality, exaggerated about the size of their constituency to acquire the post. They then faced problems filling their recruitment quotas and so forcibly recruited children of the poor, troublemakers and orphans into the military. In the meantime powerful families were not approached leaving many resentful and viewing the SPLA as "looting the population." Personal interview: Anonymous informant. Johnson, "The Southern Sudan," 6-10. According to Father Mattia: "In 1986 in the Juba seminary the SPLA came to our school to take the boys [to military training]...the priest in charge threatened 'you'll have to kill me first before you take these boys!' The boys were not taken. Personal interview: Comboni Father Mattia, Nairobi, Kenya.

and early 1991 the Mengistu regime turned to the SPLA for reinforcements and acquired Southern troops to bolster its army. Between nine hundred and two thousand minors of eleven years and older were sent from the Ethiopian refugee camps for training. They were then sent to battle against the Ethiopian rebels in Dembidolo and Gore. Many of these child soldiers were killed.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Although much intra-Southern strife is perceived ethnically primordial in origin at the village level Dinka and Nuer relations function very differently.

Dinka and Nuer Alliances at the Village Level

Dinka and Nuer "ethnic" tensions have existed more often at the level of elite politicians and military leaders. At the village level on many occasions the two groups have united in a common cause. In the early 1980s numbers of Ngok Dinka came to base themselves with the Bul Nuer south of Abyei. During this time the chiefs frequently met to talk about how they could protect themselves and present a united front against the Baggara.⁽⁶⁹⁾

In the 1990s large numbers of Nuong Nuer moved into Pakam Dinka country at Ganyiel because of flooding in their land. As

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Human Rights Watch/Africa, Civilian Devastation (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1994), 208.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ During this period, the Khartoum government's plainclothes' police armed with Kalaznikovs were ordered to ensure the Baggara obtained water and grass for their cattle. Personal correspondence, Rev. J. Roger Schrock, former Executive Secretary of the New Sudan Council of Churches, Nairobi, Kenya, Nov. 1995. In early 1980 he was based among the Bul Nuer of South Sudan.

the Pakam identified themselves as "Nuer" some generations ago they welcomed the former. However, SPLA leaders in the neighborhood arrested the Pakam Chief, Kulong Marial, who was also the grandson of the historically prominent Chief Wuol Athian, and confiscated all the Nuer cattle. They feared another Nuer raid and believed the Pakam chief was collaborating with the Nuer. The response of the Pakam Dinka was militant but after the mediation of key Pakam elites the chief was released. Nevertheless, this misunderstanding by the SPLA left many Pakam Dinka stating that future pressures on their "highly esteemed chief" would warrant precisely what SPLA leaders feared: an alliance with the Nuer leader, Riek Machar.⁽⁷⁰⁾

Although intra-Southern violence has been prominent in the second civil war the Bahr el-Ghazal region has simultaneously also suffered intense devastation from Northern forces. Along with exploiting ethnic relations among Southern Sudanese the Sudan government has returned to the centuries-old practice of enslaving Southern peoples. Once more those Dinka in the northern Bahr el-Ghazal, the Malwal, Twic and Ngok have suffered the brunt of these invasions.

The Return of Slavery to the South

One of the South's greatest resources is its people. For centuries slave raiders have made their living raiding the

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Personal interview: Stephen Anyaak Chol (Pakam Agar Dinka) Akot, South Sudan.

South and selling its peoples into points North of the Southern Sudan including the Middle East and North Africa.⁽⁷¹⁾ Widespread and systematic enslavement of men, women and children reemerged during the second civil war. Government troops and the government-backed "Popular Defense Forces" (PDF) have regularly raided African communities for slaves and other forms of booty. In most cases the victims are children and young women who are taken North where they are forced to provide domestic and agricultural labor and sexual services against their will. They are given nothing other than minimum food for survival.⁽⁷²⁾

War and the Victimization of Women

The levels of violence in the second civil war have far exceeded that of the 1960s and women and children have been especially victimized. Rape has become commonplace along with the abuse of children. For example, many Malwal Dinka women and children have suffered the brunt of Murahallin attacks and informants note their husbands and other male family members in the vicinity are killed, their babies are seized and their

⁽⁷¹⁾ Many informants that I talked to stated that relatives returned to the South in the British period from regions in the North. One had been taken to Cairo, had ended up in the French military which then went to the Congo. When the French entered the Sudan in 1898 this man escaped at Fashoda. Another informant noted ex-Dinka slaves in Libya during his tenure as a medical doctor.

⁽⁷²⁾ Baroness Cox, Slavery in Sudan (Christian Solidarity International U.S. Congress House Committee on International Relations, Wednesday March 13, 1996), 1; All Africa Press Service APS Bulletin 15/96 (April 15, 1996): 8.

young female children violently raped.⁽⁷³⁾ One anonymous informant notes:

If you are a young woman or girl the Baggara Rizeiqat take you and rape you. If you are old they shoot you. The Rizeiqat take leaves and cover the genitals to conceal the rape of young children. I remember two young girls of age eight and ten years. The Rizeiqat came to our area and seized the small girls and raped them. After that the eight year old died. They took leaves and put them in the vagina of the child that died. The other was still alive and they took her but my relatives rescued her the same day. After some years she still has not given birth.

Many mothers suffer the trauma of having their children seized by Northern Sudanese troops and an anonymous Malwal states:

One Northern Sudanese soldier tried to take my child and run away with it so I left town and went to the village at Adon. The soldiers (Murahallin) caught up with me and attacked. They were Rizeiqat Baggara and they took my son. I have no information of my child up to now. I have not recovered. After that I ran to Ethiopia and then eventually into Kakuma in Kenya.

Another anonymous Malwal informant discusses the death of most of her family members:

The daughter of my aunt was taken by the Murahallin. Then they took my brother by force to put into the Khartoum army. My sister was killed after chasing after her stolen child. They killed my husband also. I was left with five children and ran to Itang in Ethiopia.

Prior to 1991 many female informants had to flee to refugee camps in Ethiopia carrying all their possessions as well as their children. Over the course of hiking hundreds of miles many died en-route. Another female Malwal states:

⁽⁷³⁾ Anonymous Malwal female informants.

We fled to Ethiopia by foot. It took three months and we had six children. My husband came too. When the food was finished we ate groundnuts and grass in the road like animals. Then we ate the leaves off the trees and many people died. But we kept going. The lions came up to us but we had no energy to run or protect ourselves and the lions ate us. When the people slept under the trees they died. About four thousand of us left and two thousand made it to Ethiopia. When my child died in my arms I had to throw it away.

Many women that I interviewed recounted the horrors of escaping Ethiopia after the fall of Mengistu and struggling with their children to flee aerial bombings and attacks by Ethiopian troops to safe-havens in the far Southern Sudan and Kenya. Many arrived without clothes or shoes or other possessions for they were forced to exchange them for food to keep their children alive. Thousands of others died of thirst en-route.⁽⁷⁴⁾ By the time many women reached Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya on the borders of the South they showed serious signs of stress. According to the Catholic sisters working in the camp: "they have been through so much trauma they can no longer express their emotions by singing."⁽⁷⁵⁾ Among the Dinka songs and singing have a socio-cultural, religious and political place in society, particularly for women. It is one of the few socially acceptable means by which a woman can vent her emotions. According to female Agar elder Mary Acuoth who is a famous song composer:

⁽⁷⁴⁾ Anonymous Bari and Bor-Atoc informants.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ Personal interviews: Catholic Sister Nikki, Catholic Sister Mary Ellen, and Catholic Sister Carolyn Buhs, Kakuma, Kenya.

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"We advertise loudly when we feel we have been or that society has been wronged. Singing is a means by which to channel one's emotions constructively and also to make sure a wrong is remembered throughout time. It is a means of social protest." ⁽⁷⁶⁾

However, at this juncture many Dinka women can no longer even sing.

Other women who have arrived in Kakuma refugee camp have lost so many family members they have virtually become abandoned and hence are left with no support networks. Many Dinka widows complained of abandonment by their brothers-in-law who were supposed, under the Dinka levirate marriage system, to take responsibility for their sisters-in-law and their children. ⁽⁷⁷⁾ One informant stated:

The system is breaking down. My brother in law is supposed to give us shelter. In 1993 I alerted my brother-in-law that I had lost my husband. He sent me to Kakuma and said 'I will come after you.' I have not seen him since and I do not know where he is now. In the old days the parents solved these problems and forced the brother-in-law to take responsibility. Now they do not. It is chaos and the system no longer benefits us. ⁽⁷⁸⁾

In the Southern Sudan however, much the same situation exists for women and another informant states:

⁽⁷⁶⁾ Personal interview: Mary Acuoth Dhel (Agar Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ In Dinka society levirate marriage makes it customary that when a woman's husband dies, a brother-in-law chosen by her mother and father-in-law takes the place of the dead man sexually in order to continue having children in the dead man's name. However, woman now considered too (thirty-five) to be "adopted" by their brothers-in-law as another wife and therefore often abandoned along with their children.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ Anonymous Bor-Atoc and Bor Gok informants.

In April 1986 the Nuer killed my husband. When my husband died my father-in-law assigned a brother-in-law to me. He stayed for six years but I had no children. After this I was assigned to another brother-in-law. But I still had no more children. Now my brother-in-law will not take care of me and my children. The system is breaking down. In the rainy season I will cultivate as best as I can.

Many expressed anger at the prevailing socio-cultural system which forces women to be locked into endless marriage (to their brothers-in-law) on the one hand and yet offers little in financial or emotional support on the other. One anonymous informant who recently lost her husband stated:

You cannot divorce in our culture and if I meet another man he would be killed by my brother-in-law. We are bought like clothes. If your husband dies you go to another male relative. The woman does not choose but is informed. Women are often forced to be with their brothers-in law. Ladies get beaten if they are disobedient because bridewealth has been paid for you.

The hardship many women are now enduring is galvanizing the Dinka community at large. It is encouraging changes in gender relations as serious questions are posed concerning the strengths and weaknesses of the present-day Dinka system of levirate marriage. When another anonymous informant found her husband had been killed she refused to go to her brother-in-law. At this juncture her inlaws cut her off completely. She notes:

If I take my husband's brother I will have more children but my husband's family will not take care of me. So I refused him because of finance. In the future the advice I will give to my daughter is to get educated and get a future for yourself.

Much as Dinka marital customs are becoming fractured under the stress of war many women who are abandoned with no

support networks are beginning to move away from the corporate culture typical of older Dinka society towards one that is more individualistic in nature.⁽⁷⁹⁾ The continued violence in the South fostered intense nationalist feelings and many began to increasingly demand a formal "separation" from the North.

**THE NEED TO CREATE AN INDEPENDENT SOUTHERN GOVERNMENT
AND THE BIRTH OF A "NEW NATION"**

The desire for a separate Southern Sudanese nation is the one goal which has driven many Southern peoples. Benedict Anderson argues that "nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time" and that it is inseparable from political consciousness."⁽⁸⁰⁾ After the Southern proto-nationalist sentiments of the early independence period, the disillusionment of the broken promise of Southern autonomy of the 1970s, and the violence of the 1980s and 1990s, many Southerners were more insistent that an official state structure within Southern Sudan should be implemented.

SPLM/A leader John Garang, however, has never officially embraced the notion of a separate Southern Sudan but rather repeatedly argues that both those fighting to liberate the

⁽⁷⁹⁾ The Dinka are viewed as more corporate in nature than other Southern groups such as the Azande. Personal interview: Catholic Comboni Sister Eugenia, (Italian) Nazara, south Sudan.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ Anderson, Imagined Communities, 3, 135.

South as well as the whole country have a common cause.⁽⁸¹⁾
But although the SPLA has tried to project itself as a national movement by appealing directly to the deprived Muslims of eastern and western Sudan, so far that ideological appeal has not been well received and has gone unheeded. Hence the capacity of the Southern movement to become a national revolutionary force has been unsuccessful.⁽⁸²⁾

Nevertheless, the issues concerning Southerners in relation to those in the North remain factors of racism, class and civil rights. Non-Sudanese observers predict that these issues will eternally divide the country and Italian Catholic Father Mattia states:

I was going to Juba from a leper colony and two Northern Sudanese asked me for a lift in my Toyota. I told them 'yes' and said 'get into the back.' In the front I had two African teachers. The Northerners said 'those slaves must be in the front and we the lords must go in the back? The year was 1987. Then in 1994 in Khartoum I was sitting next to an African sister in a bus and a small Northern Sudanese boy behind kept playing with the strap on her shoulder. After the fourth time she asked the boy to stop the boy tore her bag off her shoulders and bellowed 'you slave of the south go back to your country.' The boy was no more than twelve years but in Northern Sudanese families this is the mentality! These ideas will not change!⁽⁸³⁾

In 1994 the ongoing intra-Southern strife and rebellion raised issues of internal Southern organization within the

⁽⁸¹⁾ Garang, Call for Democracy, 202-211; Deng, War of Visions, 505.

⁽⁸²⁾ Woodward, The Unstable State, 236.

⁽⁸³⁾ Personal interview: Comboni Father Mattia, Nairobi, Kenya.

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larger civil war. Many demanded broader-based participation in decision-making along with a greater respect for human rights.⁽⁸⁴⁾ At this juncture a key event took place.

The Chukudum Convention of April 1994

In April 2, 1994, under intense pressure from much of the populace, a new Southern Sudanese nation was conceived in Chukudum in Equatoria. At the first SPLM/A national convention this new proto-nationalist entity was called "New Sudan." Its flag was represented by one star and five stripes, representing a united nation under five "states" or regions: Bahr el-Ghazal, Equatoria, Upper Nile, Southern Kordofan and Southern Blue Nile provinces. Delegates came from all regions including the Nuba Mountains, the country of the Messiria, the Bahr el-Ghazal, the Ingessena, the Upper Nile and Western Equatoria.⁽⁸⁵⁾

The convention created two new legislative bodies known as the National Liberation Council (NLC) and the National Executive Council (NEC). Civil authorities were therefore separated from the military. The new state was based loosely on the Eritrean and Ethiopian models and the Chairman and Commander of the SPLM/SPLA John Garang was elected by the

⁽⁸⁴⁾ Deng, War of Visions, 233-4.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ "This Convention is Sovereign," Opening and Closing speeches by Dr. John Garang de Mabior to the first SPLM/A National Convention, April 2, 1994 (SPLM Secretariat of Information and Culture (n.d.), 1. Obtained from the UNICEF library at Lokichoggio, Kenya.

Convention to head both the NLC and the NEC. The SPLA Chief of Staff Commander and Rek Dinka Salva Kiir Mayardit was elected as his deputy. After the convention those incarcerated in SPLA prison camps were released.⁽⁸⁶⁾

This new Southern government now recognized the importance of building democratic structures and deliberately gave more authority to the Southern populace.⁽⁸⁷⁾ For example, in 1994 County Commissioner Paul Mayom Akec, an Agar Dinka was elected to the Eastern Rumbek constituency. He formed village liberation councils to ensure civil administration was devoid of military influence:

I am the coordinating mechanism between whatever goes on between civil structures and the army. If the SPLA desires a service from the community, they must first come to me and see if it is possible. The principle is to pull resources together to support the war effort and to effect developmental projects within local limits.⁽⁸⁸⁾

Paul Mayom Akec also oversees the police, the prisons, wild

⁽⁸⁶⁾ There was a pledge to uphold the principle of respect for human rights and to grant a general Amnesty to all persons who had rebelled against the Movement or committed crimes before the first National Convention. The National Liberation Council has a membership of 182 persons. SPLM/SPLA Update Issue No: 14 Vol. III/94 18th April 1994: 1.

⁽⁸⁷⁾ The NLC drafted legislation to define the function, composition, and basis of representation for the liberation councils which now exist from the village level on up to the regional level. Gordon Wagner, "Project Proposal," unpublished USAID trip report, February 1993, 7, cited in John Prendergast, Frontline Diplomacy: Humanitarian Aid and Conflict in Africa (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1996), 103.

⁽⁸⁸⁾ Structures start from the village level and there is a village executive council administered by village executive chiefs who are elected by the community to represent them. Personal interview: Paul Mayom Akec (Agar Dinka) Bar Pakeny, South Sudan.

life, departments of fire, fisheries, health, veterinary and agriculture. For its legal system the "New Sudan" government has adopted the British legal code.⁽⁸⁹⁾

Unsurprisingly, the implementation of a civil structure over that of military authority has not been easy and there have been tensions noted in this regard. According to a Zande informant the Azande in Equatoria have been administered by outsiders throughout the independence period. It was only in 1994 that the Azande acquired their own representation. However, some military commanders sabotaged the work of the country commissioner. According to Bangasi Joseph Bakosoro "when the commissioners were appointed they were new and did not completely appreciate their official position."⁽⁹⁰⁾ However, over time certain tensions have been ironed out. Although the new administrative apparatus gives more authority to the populace, the mediators between the older society and the new have continued to be the chiefs.

The Continued Importance of Chiefs to Dinka Society

Although in modern times the power and the size of chiefs' constituencies has sharply decreased in Southern

⁽⁸⁹⁾ Personal interview, Paul Mayom Akec (Agar Dinka) Bar Pakeny, South Sudan, who obtained a law degree from the University of Khartoum in 1981 and in 1986 he became a sitting judge in 1986. After that time he became a judge within the forces of the SPLA and after military training reached the rank of Alternate Commander before being elected to be the County Commissioner.

⁽⁹⁰⁾ Personal interview: Bangasi Joseph Bakosoro (Zande) Yambio, South Sudan.

Sudan, today the chiefs are viewed as critical to the new administration. They have facilitated the implementation of a Western democratic structure in the South and they are viewed as a bridge between a new society and the old. Dinka informants note that "if we lost our chiefs society would be like Somalia" and "chiefs are critical; without them society would come apart." Others note that "at times they are the only ones whom the community trusts."⁽⁹¹⁾ According to Agar Dinka Chief Dut Malual Arop of Akot:

It is the Paramount Chief's job to keep society together, maintain its social values and to stop society from disintegrating. We are the bridge between the village life and the modern elites. The chief is also the intellectual and psychological glue in the community; we encourage modernization among the older elements of society.⁽⁹²⁾

After the 1994 Convention the "New Sudan" government had come to resemble Claessen and Skalnik's model of a

⁽⁹¹⁾ Personal interview: Michael Manyiel Chol (Agar Dinka) Akot, South Sudan; Simon Ngor Ngor and Bol Akok Akok (Malwal Dinka) Nairobi, Kenya; Paul Mayom Akec (Agar Dinka) Bar Pakeny, South Sudan.

In 1986 their constituencies were further subdivided, largely because a chief's duties diversified. Now they collected rations for troops and recruited soldiers for the Southern military. Nevertheless, they continue to adjudicate for in war the numbers of cases have risen sharply. Personal interview: Chief Dut Malual Arop (Agar Dinka) Akot, South Sudan.

Since the Chukudum Convention in some places the chiefs have reasserted their authority, in others civilian structures now play a greater role in societies' decisions. In Bahr el-Ghazal the implementation of a civil authority has made the chiefs the principal beneficiary of the new policy. See, Prendergast, Crisis Response, 26-8 and Frontline Diplomacy, 88.

⁽⁹²⁾ Personal interview: Chief Dut Malual Arop (Agar Dinka) Akot, South Sudan.

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transitional early state in which the administrative apparatus is dominated by appointed officials, where kinship influences are counterbalanced by territorial ones, and competition and appointment to office counterbalance the principle of heredity of office. Non-kin officials and title-holders have begun to play a leading role in government administration, and ties of redistribution and reciprocity still dominate relations between the social strata.⁽⁹³⁾ With this new political development in the South it has been harder for the Sudan government to "divide and rule" the Southern populace. Hence in recent times it has been necessary to intensify the North/South conflict more directly. More importantly this era has finally delivered what Southerners have demanded for decades: the official semblance of a new independent nation.

Democracy and the Decrease of Intra Southern Violence

The immediate effect of the implementation of a new democratic Southern administrative apparatus has been a decrease in intra-Southern violence. Over the past decade John Garang and the SPLA have faced a tidal wave of accusations and condemnation from international human rights organizations and local churches concerning their human rights record. Part of the rationale for the SPLA Convention in April 1994 was to respond institutionally to these grievances. Soon after, workshops discussed the quest to imbue military personnel with

⁽⁹³⁾ Claessen and Skalnik, Early State, 23.

principles of respect towards Southern citizens. It was also determined to make them law in the military command structure.⁽⁹⁴⁾

By 1996 violence had decreased in comparison to past times when Commanders entered villages and under threat of violence demanded food and other supplies. Military leaders in search of food are now required to approach the County Commissioner. Any soldier caught breaking and entering an international aid agency compound is executed. New laws prohibiting the imbibing of alcohol when on duty have contributed to the decline of violent SPLA attacks on civilian communities.⁽⁹⁵⁾

In the midst of all the violence African and European Church leaders have played a large role in peace-keeping. For example, after the Chukudum Conference Kakwa church leaders distressed by the level of SPLA atrocities against the general population appealed to John Garang to "please put chaplains in the army." Garang complied and in recent times violence against local citizens has decreased.⁽⁹⁶⁾

Church leaders argue that their Christian institutions

⁽⁹⁴⁾ At military meetings they discussed values inherent to military life, specifically the slogan "my food comes from the barrel of a gun." Personal interview: Catholic Father Mattia, Nairobi, Kenya; Deng Dau Deng (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Bangasi Joseph Bakosoro (Zande) Yambio, South Sudan; and anonymous informants. See also, Prendergast, Crisis Response, 72 and Frontline Diplomacy, 88.

⁽⁹⁵⁾ Ibid.

⁽⁹⁶⁾ Personal interview: Abe Enosa (Kakwa) Cairo, Egypt.

can maintain peace and that the church is one of the most important instruments for reunification of the South. Throughout the war church leaders have mediated between all the rival ethnic parties both in Sudan and in Kenya. To a great degree they claim they have been successful.⁽⁹⁷⁾

Italian Catholic Father Mattia, who has served in Sudan for seventeen years and is based in the Rek Dinka country of the Bahr el-Ghazal, reviews the past and comments on the present:

I asked one soldier who came from Gogrial to Marial 'why don't you become a Christian? He said "Father, how can I become a Christian; we must steal, we must use and take women, we must help ourselves!" He knew that Christianity asked of him something he could not give. I know John Garang will discipline those that misbehave but the Southern Sudan is so big and there are many atrocities against civilians. Now Garang has started to clean up the SPLA. He is better prepared than anyone else; it is tough work and what he has done is good...He has called civilian and military meetings and the legislation up to now is good. He is a good leader and politician. He has learned by making a lot of mistakes along the way. But he has improved the army and civil administration and is taking note of what is needed by the people.⁽⁹⁸⁾

Although in 1996 there were still incidences of SPLA atrocities against civilians, in Azandeland there is a Dinka

⁽⁹⁷⁾ Personal interviews: Reverend Stephen Ter and Reverend John Gatwech Turial (Nuer) Kakuma, Kenya; Bishop Nathaniel Garang (Bor Dinka) and Bishop Ruben Macier Makoi (Yibel) Nairobi, Kenya; Bishop Daniel Manase Zindo (Zande), Yambio, South Sudan. This notion was also suggested by other Christian pastors, reverends and fathers: Personal interviews: Catholic Fr. and Dr. Michael Katawa, Murangi Salatiel, and Reverend Botrus Bandaka (Azande) Yambio, South Sudan.

⁽⁹⁸⁾ Personal interview: Comboni Father Mattia, Nairobi, Kenya.

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Judge, Joseph Mony Luak who serves the Yambio and Western Equatoria regions. His task is to attempt to limit SPLA Dinka crimes against the Azande people and in recent times he has sentenced numbers of Dinka to death for atrocities. The Azande note he applies the law fairly and since his appointment Dinka/Azande tensions have ameliorated.⁽⁹⁹⁾

According to an ex-SPLA Dinka soldier:

In the old days we were a mess. Prior to the convention in the south we had a "jungle law operation... Before 1994 you could get thrown in jail for trivial reasons... There was no judicial process and Garang just kept quiet. It was Human Rights Watch [and other agencies] who insisted Garang release those in detention. Now we have a much firmer administrative structure and Garang has united the South. He has the intellect to rule. To his credit he's running a movement in the bush which now has discipline.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

Thus, concerted efforts to decrease intra-Southern strife appear tentatively successful.

⁽⁹⁹⁾ Personal interview: Said Mohammed Arthur (Zande), Nazara, South Sudan who notes "at the Chukudum Convention I stood up and addressed the issue of mistreatment of the Azande people." Also personal interview: Governor of Equatoria, Samuel Abujohn Khashi (Zande) Yambio, South Sudan. During my field research in Yambio in 1996 there had been military atrocities committed by the SPLA associated with soldiers that had gone away on leave with their weapons. As the Azande populace was suspected of hiding these soldiers, violence between the military and the civilian population erupted. The governor of Equatoria, Samuel Abujohn mediated and brought hostilities to a close. While in 1996 in the Agar Dinka town of Akot, a small child was raped by a Dinka soldier who came from the same area. Personal interviews: Anonymous informants.

⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Personal interview: Anonymous informant.

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Women, Power and Individualism in the South

Harvey Williams argues that during and after the Nicaraguan civil war, where the Somoza regime was overthrown by the Sandinistas, women gained more through the revolutionary process than their male counterparts, politically, socially and economically.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ To some degree much the same can be said of southern women although their positions in society are in transition. The length of the second civil war and the creation of a new nation in the South has yielded to women a degree of liberation beyond that which began in the decade of the 1970s. Individualism has increased while corporate societal control has decreased. The meaning of being a woman has undergone change and Southern women are more bold in challenging societal givens.

The most outstanding break with older society is the choice of marital partners by the younger generation. Prior to the war, Dinka women were customarily married only to those men willing to pay the highest brideprice. However, as more women have joined the SPLA (many against the wishes of their parents) it has encouraged a break with the accepted customary authority of the elderly over the young. Now unmarried female officers find husbands of their choosing within the military and then alert the parents who notify the prospective husband

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Harvey Williams Women and Revolution: Women's Changing Role in Nicaragua (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1986) No. 133.

of the required brideprice.⁽¹⁰²⁾ Other educated females are militantly challenging the customary Dinka levirate marriage laws:

Women hate it when their husbands get another wife. There is a class system here. If you want to marry never marry a lower class person (as he will take many wives). Upper class women will never accept this because it is difficult to divide our love equally. Today educated girls do not accept polygyny. Love is too difficult to divide.⁽¹⁰³⁾

The war has also found a niche for older women and widows, no longer able to qualify for the marriage circuit. Many, having raised their children, are welcomed to contribute to the cause. One Twic Dinka grandmother joined the SPLA and became an officer after her husband was killed. Another anonymous female, a widow with several children, thirty-five years old and considered too old to remarry, has stated she feels useless sitting in a refugee camp and that she has at least one mission for which she is not too old: "I'm going to find someone to take care of my children and join the SPLA!"

Much as during the 1970s, many women have acquired political power. In 1994 at the SPLA democratic convention held in Chukudum many females were elected to positions within the new administration. In the published list of those nominated to the National Liberation Council, I noted

⁽¹⁰²⁾ During the course of my field research in Kenya and Sudan I met numbers of female military officers, all of whom had personally chosen their husbands while in the SPLA.

⁽¹⁰³⁾ Anonymous informant.

eighteen women.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

The meaning of "womanhood" has undergone a revolution. One Southern female who recently obtained a doctorate in the United States and has returned to the Southern Sudan states: "I worked myself out of this femaleness. No matter what anyone thinks I am special to my mother and she did not press gender on me." Another women who is a professional bodyguard in the Southern Sudan argues:

"There is a difference between me and the women that have not been trained in the field; I do not fear men, I am free, I move with men, stay with men, I can do anything!"

Perhaps the female who began the revolution among Southern women is the Dinka Agar Ager Gum. Although she is a well known military commander in the SPLA she is also widely known for another attribute: that of composing songs. These talents she has used to support military leadership as well as women's rights. Historically, song composing is socially split between the sexes; Dinka women compose marriage and social songs while men composed war songs. In the 1960s Agar Gum had composed songs after the failure of her marriage as "a weapon of resistance" against what she considered to be "bad marriages," usually with the theme that "men want sex rather than real relationships." As a military commander, however, Agar Gum broke from this established socio-cultural practice by translating her military and personal experiences into

⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Document reviewed by the author at Lokichoggio, Kenya.

songs which have subsequently become well known throughout the south. Many of her lyrics have motivated military leadership, for in composing "warrior songs" she aimed to inspire her troops psychologically. Subsequently her words and music resounded on SPLA radio.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

However, Ager Gum also composes songs of social protest and on one occasion she sang a derogatory marriage song when a Southern woman married a jellaba (northern Sudanese Muslim merchant). This particular song was later sung in several Southern districts. On another occasion she killed a bull and was publically criticized by the men of the village who demanded: "Why you do this? It is only for men to do this!" Her response was a protest song which she loudly and publically sang in the middle of her village bellowing in recurring lyrics: "I can do what I want! The bull belongs to me! I have the right!".⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Ager Gum's songs have thus become well known and well sung and her lyrics so respected that should anyone get on the wrong side of her they may find themselves insulted in a song heard from one end of the South to the other. Although women are demanding change in their

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Personal interview with her nephew, a Dinka Agar, Musa Adam, (Hamilton, Canada) Aker Duany (Julia Benjamin) (Agar) within whose family Ager Gum resided for two years, and Anya Nya Luo Commander, John Lueth Ukec, who knew her personally during the Anya Nya period. Also, personal interview, Deborah Aluel Abol (Agar-Athoi), cousin of Ager Gum, Akot, south Sudan.

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Personal interviews: Mary Acuoth Dhel (Agar) Fatna Kok Macok (Agar) Rebecca Nyar Acien (Gok) and Ager Gum's cousin; Simon Malual Deng (Yibel) Nairobi, Kenya; Julia Benjamin Duany (Agar) Bloomington, Indiana.

lives and communities some problems may continue to be endemic to the South.

The Future of Southern Ethnicity

Leroy Vail argues that ethnicity and parochial loyalties within the borders of nation states are likely to continue and that condemning them as "reactionary" or "divisive" will accomplish little. Rather, it is necessary for politicians and scholars to work towards accommodating "ethnicity" within these nation states for it will continue as a potent force. Hence, Africans will have to produce political solutions derived from African experience in order to solve African problems.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

To some degree the 1994 SPLA Convention has ameliorated ethnic and political tensions. The Equatorian fear and distrust of the Dinka has begun to decline. In 1996 numbers still noted that the Dinka dominated the South politically. However, there appeared to be an increased respect for the SPLA leader, John Garang. Azande leader Samuel Abujohn Kbashi, the 1960s Anya Nya commander and present-day Governor of Equatoria Province states: "Garang works tirelessly, he works throughout the night. He's had breakaways but he has held on. He's a true nationalist."⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Leroy Vail, "Introduction: Ethnicity in Southern African History," in The Creation of Tribalism, 1-19.

⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Personal interview: Samuel Abujohn Kbashi (Zande) Yambio, South Sudan.

"At the Chukudum Convention I stood up and addressed this

Other non-Dinka informants that I interviewed claimed they were less critical of the SPLA than in the past. Residents of the Azande and Balanda town of Yambio in Equatoria note: "First the SPLA was known only as a Dinka movement; today we know it as a national movement."⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The Balanda view the SPLA as having given them a measure of liberation:

In the early 1990s John Garang allowed the Balanda to separate politically from the Azande...and Garang established Balanda chieftainships. We wanted to be politically represented by our own people.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

Equatorian scholar Yongo Bure Jame, a Kuku states:

The South needs the Dinka: we cannot do without their numbers, and Garang is the Dinka that can attract the other groups. He has had so much exposure and he has become enlightened. He has an international appeal.⁽¹¹¹⁾

Towards the end of 1994 and early 1995 there was a cessation of hostilities throughout the South particularly between John Garang's SPLA and Nuer leader Riek Machar's organization, the Southern Sudan Independence Movement and

issue of mistreatment of Azande people." Personal interview: Said Mohammed Arthur, (Zande) Nazara, South Sudan.

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Personal interview: Ephraim Sunguzagi (Zande) and Pascal Bandindi (Balanda) Yambio, South Sudan.

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Personal interviews: Bandindi Pascal Uru, Jerome Barikue, Romano Gasi (Balanda) Yambio, South Sudan.

⁽¹¹¹⁾ Personal interview: Yongo Bure Jame (Kuku) Flint, Michigan, USA.

Army.⁽¹¹²⁾ An anonymous Acholi stated: "after the SPLA took over our territory John Garang de-propagandized things and after this time a lot of people joined the movement."

Although ethnicity has affected Southern Sudanese relations the religion of Islam, professed by the Northern government to be the reason for the war, has caused little tension in the South. Ironically, Muslim Dinka claim a closer alliance with their non-Muslim Southern brothers. According to one Muslim Aliab:

"The Southerners, they are my people! And I am pro-Dinka over any other ethnic group. If Southerners want to achieve anything in Sudan they should stay together."⁽¹¹³⁾

Since the inception of the second civil war there have been Islamic gadi's (Muslim holy men) within the ranks of the SPLA, and in 1992 Tahier Bior Ajak was the spokesman and head of the Muslim faction within the Southern military. Thus gadi's administer to those who are Muslim while Protestant and Catholic pastors and fathers administer to those who are Christian.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ A staunch supporter of John Garang and the SPLA since 1983 has been the Muslim leader and Commander of

⁽¹¹²⁾ Prendergast, Frontline Diplomacy, 127 and Crisis Response, 70. By January 1994 Riek Machar had lost the patronage of Tiny Rowland. However, in April 1997 he signed a peace agreement with the Islamic regime in the North; many Southerners branded him a traitor. See, Scroggins, "Emma," 137.

⁽¹¹³⁾ Personal interview with anonymous Dinka Muslim, U.S.A. Other Southern Muslims I interviewed, both born into Islam as well as those who converted reiterate this viewpoint.

⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Personal interviews: anonymous Aliab Muslim Dinka, and a Fertit Southern Sudanese, USA.

the Nuba Mountains, Yusuf Kuwa. Hence from the Southern Sudanese viewpoint the second civil war is less a product of religious disagreement with the North but rather a factor of civil and political rights and racism. As the South wends its way towards its independent-nation status the two foremost Dinka leaders of the post-independence period give their views on the future.

THE FUTURE OF THE SOUTH

When I asked the Southern Sudanese president of the 1970s Bor-Atoc Dinka Abel Alier, what message he would pass on to future Southern leaders he stated:

In a post war situation we have now seen we can work together much like other African countries. I have two visions. One, grass root development; we should go the long way towards helping people help themselves. We need to be sensitive about the division of limited resources; between urban and rural and between one rural area to another because there are some areas in the south which are more undeveloped than others. We must maintain workable decentralization of authority and give the responsibility to the people for their local government and services. Civil associations should be encouraged to do things, such as women's associations, non-governmental organizations, etc. In other words, we must make use of human resources and let the people be busy and do things for themselves. The Southern Sudan has resources such as tourism and we need to develop our folklore. We need to develop physical athletics and put our people on the map quickly. We need a conscious exchange of visits between the different ethnic groups so that we can learn about each other and the limitations of others. Leaders must have a sense of justice. We have to weld our society into a neutral body and the people have to feel we are being just.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Personal interview: Abel Alier Wal Kwai (Bor-Athoc Dinka) Cairo, Egypt. He is known in his home village as Alier Kwai.

John Garang, the longest surviving leader of the entire post-independence Sudan, the Chairman of the rebel movement, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Army and head of the New Sudan Southern government states:

At the end of the day, when the necessary conditions are created by the struggle, it is the people who will freely decide their destiny in an internationally monitored referendum.⁽¹¹⁶⁾

The words of an old Dinka cattle song may represent the spirit of a new proto-nation in the South:

"Acin ke leu bi mar ke kuany wun cook"

"You can't loose what's yours if you follow it!"⁽¹¹⁷⁾

CONCLUSION

There is a popular conception that the latest civil war in Sudan is one which is religious in nature involving a Christian South versus a fundamentalist Islamic North. However, I argue that this conceptualization is incorrect for Southern peoples have never viewed this war in religious terms. The two major issues of the civil war concern civil and

⁽¹¹⁶⁾ "This Convention is Sovereign," Opening and Closing speeches by Dr. John Garang de Mabior to the First SPLM/SPLA National Convention, April 2nd 1994 (SPLM Secretariat of Information and Culture n.d. or place of publication), 43.

⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Or "nothing can be lost if the owner follows it." Today these words are sung by the SPLA to mean "you can't loose the South if you follow it!" Personal interviews: Ayuel Parmena Bul (E. Twic Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya; Mum Kou Arou (Bor-Atoc Dinka) Hamilton, Canada.

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political rights. The reality is that the Northern Sudan, which has fewer resources compared to the far richer South has been compelled to control militarily its intractable Southern inhabitants by force. To acquire legitimacy and financing the war is sold to the international public as an "Islamic Holy War." Yet it appears the Sudan government's aim is not to save souls but to seize the Southern territories and their wealth.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

Dinka informants state that the North wants to "use the slaves to kill the slaves" by dividing and ruling Southern elites in a bid to win the war. It has been successful and set competing Southern leaders against each other with devastating results. It has also sponsored an enormous number of Southern militias whose sole aim is to attack the Dinka-led Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Army.

Numerous prominent "outsiders" have been involved in this conflict, some of whom are intensely attracted by the South's new-found oil wealth. Interested parties have included Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam, former Ugandan leader Idi Amin, the countries of Libya, the Arab States, British businessman Tiny Rowland, International aid and church organizations as well as British and American interests.

The effect of this increased international involvement in the second civil war has been to generate intense struggles for leadership of the South. While the 1970s era was marked by

⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Press accounts are now finally noting this fact. The Guardian Weekly (Britain) April 12 1998, 3.

Nilotic/Equatorian stresses, in the last two decades the competing Southern struggles have involved primarily the Nilotic Dinka and Nuer alone. As the stakes in the war have increased so have the violence and brutality. In recent years more people have died by Southern hands alone than in the two post-independence civil war eras.

Concomitantly there has been a resurgence of slave raids, for one of the South's greatest resources has always been its people. Two centuries ago slave raiders forged South into Malwal Dinka territory to seize people and cows. Today, much the same continues and the Malwal Dinka continue to take the brunt of the slave raiders who seize their young children and women. Many of these peoples end up in the Northern Sudan and informants state they are also being "sold" abroad.

Then a critically important event occurred in the South, changing its entire dynamic. On April 2, 1994 under intense pressure from much of the populace, a new Southern Sudanese nation was conceived. Known today as the "New Sudan" it has implemented a new administrative structure which formally separates it from the military. With the dawning of this "nation within a nation" the divide and rule policies of the North have been severely curtailed and intra-Southern strife is on the decline.

Slowly Southerners are starting to realize they have been manipulated by the Sudan government and some are rejoining the SPLA. Others such as Kerubino Kuanyin Bol in recent times (1998) have returned to join John Garang in the fight against

the North. Riek Machar is still vacillating between accepting aid and financing from the North and dallying with joining his countrymen in the South; some say he is going to come back to the Southern fold. By 1998 the South had effectively removed much of the Northern presence in their homeland although fierce fighting continues in isolated regions of the Bahr el-Ghazal.

Although women and children have born the brunt of much of the violence of the war the conflict has created avenues of opportunity for change. In recent times there has been an increased number of leadership roles available for women at the positions of the military as well as in the New Sudan government. Radical changes in gender relations have restructured relations of dominance of the old over the young as well as that of men over women.

After centuries of plunder and violence the Southern Sudanese people have militarily won for themselves a new unofficial country "New Sudan." Of all the informants I interviewed (over three hundred) not one expressed a wish to be part of a unified Sudan. The creation of the present-day New Sudan administrative structure has carried a heavy price: violent wars which have spanned three centuries and the death of millions.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

This dissertation presents the first history over a large expanse of time of the Dinka, a large pre-literate society understood by previous scholars to have been a people "without history." Today the Dinka are among one of the most important and enduring peoples in Eastern Africa. As the largest ethnic group in Southern Sudan they have spearheaded Africa's longest civil war in a bid to create a separate nation within Sudan called New Sudan.

Looking at this culture over the expanse of several centuries it appears that the forefathers of the Dinka were a people who resided in Northern Sudan and were exposed over a long period of time to those societies of the Nile valley kingdoms of Meroe and Nubia. As they migrated and expanded into the heartlands of the Southern Sudan out of the Gezira because of drought and Nubian slave raiders they carried elements of this culture with them as they simultaneously incorporated many non-Dinka peoples. Much expansion into the South was non-violent, however their violent expulsion of the Luel peoples encouraged slave raiders accompanied by the Luel to return to the newly acquired Dinka territories in the Northern Bahr el-Ghazal. The rise of the Sultanate of Darfur

directly correlated to increased slave raids into various parts of the Southern Sudan.

Before long the Dinka were at war with Baggara slave raiders who penetrated their territories. This event which began in the eighteenth century marked the beginnings of three centuries of slave raids which have continued intermittently to the present time. Throughout the nineteenth-century Egyptian colonial era slave raids increased. The semblance of a Southern Sudanese nation emerged, both psychologically as well as militarily when an all Southern army forcibly evicted external colonial Egyptian and Mahdist marauders from their lands.

By the twentieth century and two post-independence civil wars and the resurgence of slave raiding the Southern Sudanese people, led by their largest ethnic group, the Dinka began to emerge into a discrete political entity distinct from that of its cultural and socially different but more politically powerful Northern Sudanese counterpart. In 1994, in the midst of Sudan's second civil war, a new Southern nation was born called New Sudan. Internationally it is not recognized as a separate African state however, it represents the nascent and psychological rebirth, after three centuries of war and the deaths of millions, of formal borders of security against ongoing ravages of their land and people.

This study of the Dinka challenges to some degree Leroy Vail's argument concerning gender and ethnicity in Southern Africa where he states that ethnicity's appeal has been

stronger for men than for women.⁽¹⁾ Dinka society is ranked and a woman's ethnic identification is critical to the structure of society. The ethnic expansion of the Dinka was due in part to the lower bridewealth payments for non-Dinka women on the Dinka periphery. Conversely without marrying a Dinka woman a non-Dinka man could not become socio-economically attached to the Dinka nation and increase his wealth. In modern times Dinka males wishing to run for political office were often denied this post if their mothers were non-Dinka. Further, women have needed to identify themselves ethnically to run for political office. Lastly, until modern times the value a woman placed on herself as a human being was directly concomitant to that paid for her in bridewealth payments. Those that brought fewer cattle to the marital compound (for example non-Dinka women) were held in lower esteem than those who were "worth" more cattle and whose concomitant place in society was more prominent. Thus, the appeal of ethnicity has been strong for women as well as for men in Dinka society.

The study of women throughout centuries of war has also shown that ongoing conflict has encouraged the promotion of women to leadership roles and simultaneously altered gender relations. Conflict has resulted in the restructuring of the previous Dinka societal dominance of the old over the young and as well as those of men over women. Hence, centuries of

⁽¹⁾ Vail, "Introduction," in The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa, 15.

war have torn apart the customary structures and limitations of older society. During the decade of southern regional government autonomy that began in 1972 women acquired political power on an unprecedented scale and by the dawning of the second civil war in 1983 women's place in southern society had permanently changed. As many women hastened to join the military it became clear that personal choice had become a part of their lifestyle as Dinka society moved away from a corporate to a more individual culture.

The three themes of this dissertation, violence, ethnicity and political consolidation have been key markers in Dinka history. I propose that violence has been the most enduring theme over the last three centuries in the lives of these people and that this factor has encouraged political consolidation by forcing continued Southern boundary maintenance. Over time it has encouraged an increasing perception of nationhood among a series of disparate clan groups.

Ethnicity is also of key importance for although intra-ethnic Southern violence has been a major theme in recent decades, it appears that the ethnic admix of the Dinka comprises a multi-cultural entity born from all of the nations of the heartlands of the Southern Sudan. Thus, all Dinka comprise all peoples and many cultures are extant within the Dinka amalgam. Political consolidation has been the end result of the violence and intra-ethnic stress as shown by the birth and creation of a new nation within a nation called New Sudan.

In the future the Southern Sudanese, and particularly the Dinka will play a major role in either a separate Southern Sudanese nation state or within a more equitable Sudanese nation in Eastern Africa.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

AN ORAL HISTORY OF DINKA MIGRATIONS (THE PADANG, THE BOR, AND THE BAHR EL-GHAZAL)

The Luo of East Africa

Of importance to Dinka histories are Kenyan and Ugandan Luo migration myths recounting movement out of the modern-day Sudan region from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Some oral histories of these southern Nilotes recount their migrations were mirrored by events further north.⁽¹⁾ Research conducted by J. Webster postulates that the Luo southward migrations to Kenya and Uganda came at the time of a series of famines, the largest being the Nyarubanga famine of 1436-1463. Another drought occurred a century later between 1587-1623 during which the rainfall in east Africa was still below average with the nadir in 1620-1.⁽²⁾ A Kenyan Luo informant notes his ancestors were pushed south by Dinka migrating from the north:

We never talk of our history without referring to the Dinka. We came from the Sudan and the Dinka pushed us south although some remained behind. A Chief Ramogi led our section of the Luo and today we call ourselves Nyakwar Ramogi, that is, grandchildren of Ramogi. Of the Luo that moved south, the group that got to Kenya were the last to arrive after going through Uganda. We were cattle people but became fisherman and we grew millet and maize.⁽³⁾

A Sudanese Luo argues that all the Nilotes originated from the southern Gezira region:

We Shilluk Luo came from the far east in southern Blue Nile at a place called "Tindil" close to the Ethiopian border. It's believed that this is where

all mankind came from and dispersed and a man called "Chai" moved with his people west and settled on the east of the Nile.⁽⁴⁾

The Dinka of Sudan

Today, the Dinka of the South Sudan can be divided into three geographical regions: the "Padang" in the north, the "Bor" on the east bank of the Nile in southeast Dinka territory, and the "Bahr el-Ghazal" Dinka resident on the west bank of the Nile stretching in an arc three hundred miles northwest to the Bahr el-Arab river. The oral histories of the Dinka that I collected mirror those of the Luo above and the following represents the individual migration stories of major and minor clans collected from all of the major Dinka groupings today.

THE PADANG DINKA (ABIALANG, DUNGHOL, NGOK, LUAIC, THOI, RUT, PANERU, RUWENG, ALOR, WESTERN NGOK)

Today, the Padang Dinka include collectively the Abialang, the Dunghol-Aiwei (which comprise Dunghol-Aghol, Ager, Nyiel),⁽⁵⁾ the Eastern Ngok, Eastern Luaic, Rut, Thoi, the eastern Ruweng or Paweng (Paneru) and to the west the Ruweng group (Awet and Kwil). To their southwest are another group closely connected to the Ruweng, the Alor. Also included in the category of Padang is the Western Ngok, claimed to be connected to the Eastern Ngok but also incorporating many Alor/Ruweng peoples. Dinka informants claim that the Padang region, east and then west of the Nile, was the first to be

settled,⁽⁶⁾ and that all the Padang resided further south of their present-day position during a time when the "Bor" group originally connected with the Eastern Ngok. However, the eastern expansion of the Nuer during the eighteenth and nineteenth century split these groups, forcing some north and others south (to be covered in Chapter Four). Hence, the Ghol and Nyarruweng, who used to be part of the Padang group, became part of today's "Bor" Dinka residents.⁽⁷⁾ Presently, the Padang Dinka group reside on the east bank of the Nile north and south of the Sobat, as well as extending west across the Nile south of the Nuba mountains as far west as Abyei in southwest Kordofan province.⁽⁸⁾ The following is an oral history of the clan groups residing in the present-day Padang Dinka territory.

THE ABIALANG⁽⁹⁾

Today, there are four main subsections of the Abialang, the Kwac, Banweng, Togmac and Abweng all of which are referred to as the Giel clan, the original four sections of Chief Lul Dengkak. The Abialang claim they migrated from further north of their present-day country on the right bank of the Nile north of the Sobat, and numbers of clans settled in Renk under a chief named Areng, for whom the area is named today. Shortly thereafter, another part of the clan moved further south to Wunkur (Wunapur) under Chief Ager settling in Melut giving birth to the section today known as "Ager" while other clans accompanied Chief Ager's sons migrating further southwards.

Informants state that Areng's father, Aiwel, was also the father of Kak. While Areng remained in Renk, Chief Aiwel moved with his son Kak and grandson, Dengkak. When Aiwel died Dengkak became chief and within the Abialang chieftainship this family ruled until 1963.⁽¹⁰⁾

The name "Abialang" is derived from a tree called "long" and the Dinka word for following "abia." As the people migrated southwards up the White Nile they followed this tree which had eatable fruits to sustain them during their journey south. In time the people came to be known as the people following the long tree or "Abialang."⁽¹¹⁾

The Dinka claim that drought and war encouraged southerly migrations and climactic data supports this assertion. Herring suggests that the period 1587-1623 was one of almost continuous low rainfall punctuated by total crop failures. Additionally, during this period Sultan Dekin was expanding the Funj Sultanate throughout the Gezira.⁽¹²⁾

It is not unreasonable to assume that small numbers of Dinka clans had been slowly moving southwards into southern Sudan for centuries, some of whom came to reside in the Sobat region while others migrated westwards across the Nile. According to Shilluk oral histories around the early to mid 17th century large numbers of Dinka arrived at the Nile, north of the Sobat river, encouraging violent wars with the Shilluk. It is estimated that the Shilluk reached their present position sometime in the early 15th century.⁽¹³⁾ Paralleling that of Shilluk history, the Dinka claim to have displaced and

absorbed Funj peoples as they migrated into the territory of the Sobat.⁽¹⁴⁾ They also fought among themselves and clashed with their neighbors, some going west, and some east. Dunghol-Ager informants state:

When we came, the Burun were already there. We think they were part of the Funj at one time. When the Dunghol people fought with the Funj, the Burun didn't take sides, so when we chased the Funj from the area and the Burun remained our neighbors.⁽¹⁵⁾

Some, after fighting with the Funj pushed east of the Maban (the Burun).⁽¹⁶⁾ However, the Burun country which is located southeast of the Ethiopian highlands is a dry region with little dry weather toiclands [grasslands] and is heavily infested with tsetse fly. This factor discouraged the further penetration of the Dinka.⁽¹⁷⁾ Hence, they continued migrating in a southwesterly direction. To the south of the modern-day Abialang Dinka are the Dunghol.

THE DUNGHOL

According to informants there are four sections of the Dunghol, the Abialang, (noted above) the Ager, the Nyiel and the Dunghol Aghol. Much information regarding the Abialang is also considered to be the history of the Dunghol.⁽¹⁸⁾ Dunghol informants claim the Abialang are also part of the Dunghol grouping and that the formal name of all these peoples are Dunghol-Aiwel. The Abialang settled in modern-day Renk, the Ager and Nyiel in modern-day Melut and the Dunghol-Aghol now locate themselves further south in Akoko town. All are contiguous to each other.⁽¹⁹⁾ To the south west of the

Dunghol are the Eastern Ngok.

THE EASTERN NGOK

Today the Eastern Ngok have eleven sections: the Ajuba, Baileit, Ngar, Duot, Achak, Balak, Awueir, Adong, Deng, Abiei and Dhiak.⁽²⁰⁾ They are located today living along the River Sobat south of the Abialang and centered at Abwong (Latitude 9 Longitude 32) is the Eastern Ngok. These informants, much like the Abialang above, also claim that when they arrived east of the Nile they found Funj peoples and fought with them:

We overtook this place and took their land and came and settled in our present location. We pushed the Funj to the Blue Nile. "Our name 'Ngok' comes from all Dinka who come from the east. We came from the north, moved westwards and then returned to the east bank of the Nile."⁽²¹⁾

At one time the Eastern Ngok formed one group with the Western Ngok now located almost two hundred and fifty miles to their west in Abyei, Kordofan Province. Although they still refer to the Western Ngok as their own people there has been no contact between the two for many generations since, according to their history, a dispute occurred when all the Ngok were located across the river in the west in the area occupied by the present-day town of Malakal. According to the Eastern Ngok, in the past the Malakal region was part of Padang Dinka territory and stretched south east to Nasir and eastwards up to the borders of Ethiopia. Ayuel Longar, leader of all the Abialang led the Dinka from west to east. However, Chief Lual Ayak decided to lead the Ngok in a separate

migration eastwards.⁽²²⁾ At the Nile the Shilluks barred them from crossing the river so to appease them, Chief Lual selected a girl to give as a "gift" to acquire permission to cross the river. However, at this juncture, Chief Deng Kuol (presumably a junior chief of Lual Ayak) said "what you have done is not good because the leader of the Shilluk is going to put the girl in the water" [as a sacrifice to the river]. The girl belonged to Kuol and the two chiefs argued over this female leading to a major split within the Ngok group. One section, under Chief Lual Ayak moved eastwards locating itself near the Sobat eventually becoming the modern-day Eastern Ngok. The other migrated westwards into Kordofan becoming the Western Ngok.⁽²³⁾ The oral history of crossing a river and giving a girl as sacrifice also exists in Western Ngok oral traditions and will be recounted later in this appendix.

As the Eastern Ngok continued to migrate eastwards they apparently encountered other peoples and absorbed some of them. One informant states: "originally we were Anuak and then the Dinka came from the west." This phrase suggests the Dinka moved into what was then Anuak territory eventually incorporating a number of residents into the Dinka amalgam.⁽²⁴⁾ To the west and southwest of the Ngok are the Eastern Luaic.

THE EASTERN LUAIC

Today, there are six major sections of the Eastern Luaic, the Kuaac, Acuil, Koko, Mud, Alier and Raac.⁽²⁵⁾ These Dinka

are located west of the present-day Eastern Ngok country. They claim they are connected to those of the same name who migrated into the Bahr el-Ghazal and who are presently located east of the Rek Dinka. An Apak-Atuot notes that the Luaic Atuot located south of the Agar Dinka also talk of relations to those Luaic peoples of the Bahr el-Ghazal.⁽²⁶⁾

Luaic oral history parallels that of the Ngok Dinka: "We came with the rest of the Dinka from the north, beginning from Khartoum, then up to Kost. We were led by Chief Adel Aguer." Originally all the Luaic had migrated to the west bank of the Nile but some people released their cattle into the bush for grazing and discovered their cattle had crossed to the east. Under Chief Guat Lung Jook, certain people followed their cattle eastwards again. "When we found our cattle in the east we discovered very good pastures so we came as far as Ayut."⁽²⁷⁾

That the Eastern Luaic found better land than those west of the Nile is confirmed by a British administrator during the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium period who reported the Eastern Luaic region is a rich cattle district, although, "Like all the Khor Atar Dinka, no one takes any interest in cultivations."⁽²⁸⁾ To the west of the Eastern Luaic are the Thoi and the Rut.

THE THOI AND RUT

Today the subsections of the Rut are the Pajut, Cuei, Wau, Akok, Bior, and Palom. (Pajut used to be Panajuot but was

corrupted to the shorter name.)⁽²⁹⁾ The present-day Thoi and Rut Dinka, who used to be one group, reside west and northwest of the Eastern Luaic and west of the Khor Fulus. According to oral sources:

The name "Thoi" comes from our great ancestor Athoi, eldest son of Mabek. Majak, the youngest son of Mabek, was a trouble-maker so the father said "leave us, you are too much like a winter wind ("rut"). So the youngest son left and took the people with him, eventually calling the clan the "Rut." This split took place around ten generations ago.⁽³⁰⁾

Another oral history of the Rut maintains that Palom is the name of the great grandfather of one of the major sections today and in turn his son Ajuot gave birth to daughters who were impregnated by spiritual power. The Rut were apparently forced northwards from their original home some generations later: "We settled in Ayut (today's Gawar territory) and the Nuer came in big numbers. We fought them and were pushed north to our present position at Khor Fulus."⁽³¹⁾ Today the Rut and Thoi are not contiguous to their western Dinka neighbors, the Ruweng, for Nuer and Shilluk peoples now separate them.

THE RUWENG

Today the Ruweng have three major subdivisions, the Kwil, (which has ten sub-sections) the Awet (which has three subsections) and the Alor (which has six subsections). There is a fourth Ruweng group east of the Nile called the Paweng. Among the subdivisions of the Kwil are the Biok, Kuocgoor, Agaly, Angaar and the Buka. The Buka are also within Paweng

east of the Nile (hence one is Buka of Bul and a Buka of Angau).⁽³²⁾ Additionally, today the Alor no longer consider themselves as part of the Ruweng.

As the Dinka west of the Nile arrived prior to the Shilluk migration across the Sobat river it is likely that the present-day region of today's Ruweng and the regions to its south were occupied by Dinka peoples prior to the sixteenth century. What is probable is that various Dinka clans, having initially arrived north of the Sobat from the White Nile and southern Gezira regions, found migrations to the south limited by the Sudd swamps and so forged west. However, much of the Ruweng territory is not as fertile for dhurra growing as the Sobat river territory or the southern Gezira,⁽³³⁾ and this situation would have been exacerbated by droughts from 1587-1623 when the rainfall in eastern Africa was below average. Drought conditions have always necessitated movement by the cattle keepers in search of pasturage.⁽³⁴⁾ Hence, it appears many Dinka attempted to return to the moister regions at the junction of the Nile and Sobat rivers.

The above migrations can be dated approximately because the Nilotic Shilluk are centralized with a king list, and each Reth is remembered for certain wars with the Dinka. The Eastern Ngok, Eastern Luaic and Ruweng all claim they attempted to migrate eastwards across the Nile river because of drought, and that they were halted by the Shilluk. The latter describe these Dinka as "hordes" moving from west to east, southwest of their nation. Around the same time period

the Shilluk record that the Dinka moved westwards out of the Gezira encouraging the first in a number of bitter Dinka/Shilluk wars. Using the Shilluk King list as an approximate dating system, one scholar postulates the Shilluk arrived at their present homeland sometime after 1540⁽³⁵⁾ and began to centralize during the first set of Dinka/Shilluk wars under Reth Ocolo (Odak Ocwalo) during the years 1600-1635. War intensified during the reign of Ocolo's son, Duwar.⁽³⁶⁾ It is during King Tokot's reign (1680) however, that the Dinka are also remembered as moving east (southwest of the Shilluk territory) in "large hordes" from the Lake No area where they were soundly defeated by their fellow Nilotes. Nevertheless, most likely because of drought, the Dinka continued to retrace their steps across the southern Shilluk kingdom for the next hundred years.⁽³⁷⁾

In sum, as the Shilluk are believed to have reached the Sobat by the early 1500s. Their oral histories note an awareness of the Dinka (either as one individual or at least a few). Hence, at or near this date, at least some Dinka were in the Sobat river region and it is likely small clans were slowly moving into Ruweng territory either prior to or during this period. However, to account for the "hordes" returning east a century later, Dinka clans would therefore have been migrating into this region for at least a century or more prior to this period.

By the mid to latter eighteenth century (1730-1780) a substantial population of Ruweng occupied the entire northern

rim of present-day Nuer territory. However, the eighteenth and nineteenth century Nuer migrations east and north forced these Dinka northwards. The name "Ruweng" means "to remain by night" and may have been associated with pastoral practices of these Dinka.⁽³⁸⁾

Today, the Ruweng (proper) comprise two main sections, the Kwil and Awet, who remain in the far west. The Alor-Ruweng to their southwest claim today to be a separate Dinka group. A closely related group, the eastern Ruweng succeeded in crossing the Nile to its eastern banks.⁽³⁹⁾

THE PAWENG OR PANERU (Eastern Ruweng)

Today these eastern Ruweng claim their real name is "Ajuba," there being an eastern Ajuba and a western Ajuba. Today they are generally located between the Khor Fulus and Bahr el Zeraf contiguous to and north of the Rut and Thoi Dinka.⁽⁴⁰⁾ More specifically, the western subsection is located in the Paneru region in the Fanjak district while the eastern subsection now locates itself within the Eastern Ngok territory calling themselves the "Weny."⁽⁴¹⁾

These eastern Ruweng have also been known as "Paneru," or "Paweng" (the original name of their homeland) and they were once part of the greater Ruweng Dinka group located farther to their west. According to one oral history when these Dinka moved east to Fanjak they were on a raiding expedition and the name "Paneru" has come to mean "people leaving that got delayed."

We left and came to Panthiang and from there crossed the Nile to where we are now. Then we moved to a place between Khor Fulus and the Sobat. We settled temporarily then moved to Atar near the Sobat and the Nile. We are south of Malakal and neighbors of the Shilluk, Thoi, Luaic and Rut. Today we have clear borders between east and west Ruweng: it is Alela.⁽⁴²⁾

Another oral history notes that a female priest called Atiam led her people from west to east during the Mahdist period (1883-1898) and crossed the Nile with six sections, the Bugo of Bol Piok, the Thiong, the Tungdiak, the Aniek the Jueng and the Palei. They settled in a place called Atar. At the time Atiam was around forty years old and ruled as a priest and leader into the British period (1898) and at her death a member of her family continued as priest and leader.⁽⁴³⁾ To the west of the Ruweng is another Dinka group, the Alor.

THE ALOR

Today the Alor have six sub-sections, the Mijuan, Amal, Abang, Ngokciel, Thingyier and Mandeng.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Today, the Alor state they are separate from the main body of the Ruweng⁽⁴⁵⁾ however, some informants still consider them as part of the Kwil section of the Ruweng.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Alor history recounts western migrations from the Paneru region east of the Nile because of a fight between two sub-clans, the Mijuan and Diar. The Mijuan left Paneru settling in present-day Bim-nohm but the need for better land and pasture was also a major reason for migration. They acquired their name after migration:

We are generally called Ruweng but when we left Paneru, our name came from when the remaining Ruweng used to call us "Alor Piny" meaning people who have left or gone away. Later it was reduced to "Alor."⁽⁴⁷⁾

Kur Kuol was the original leader of the Alor who was succeeded by his son, Chol Kuot who, in turn was succeeded by Aujiang Chol Kuot. They are all ruling family members of the Mijuan sub clan of the Alor.⁽⁴⁸⁾ However, informants also claim that the Western Ngok while partly emerging from the original Eastern Ngok of the Sobat, are also composed of Alor members. This is feasible considering the two are contiguous to each other.

THE WESTERN NGOK

Today the Western Ngok have nine sections, the Abyor, Bongo, Anyiel, Diel, Mannyuar, Marreng, Acueng, Alei and Acak.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The Western Ngok were part of a larger section of Ngok peoples now known as the Eastern Ngok and located east of the Nile in the modern-day Upper Nile Province.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The Ngok split in two over a dispute over a woman when the group was attempting to retrace its steps back to the eastern banks of the Nile. When the split occurred the peoples who became the Western Ngok moved westwards. One Ruweng informant claims:

We are related to the Ngok of Abyei. In the old days the Ngok were called Jok and were part of the Ruweng. They eventually came to be called Ngok. In the past we had the same totem, that is, the Ngok and Ruweng shared the Lion, Cobra and the Python.⁽⁵¹⁾

One oral history recounts that when these Ngok peoples

moved from the east, the region from which all the Padang migrated, the Ruweng and Western Ngok were all originally Ngok peoples. Today within the Ruweng and Paweng there are also Ngok peoples. When certain Ngok clans migrated west they found a river in front of them:

"a river so big we could not cross it. There was a chief called Longar Jiel who was a chief priest. The Chief suggested a girl, Acai, be sacrificed. She was decorated (laden down with stones) and sacrificed to the Nile so that the people could cross the Nile." ⁽⁵²⁾

This Ngok clan moved westwards as one group and for a time located themselves with the Ruweng. They proceeded westwards with some members of the Ruweng group called the Alor and the Ngok now called themselves the the Jok while the Alor maintained their own name. The Jok acquired the clan name of "Abyor" which means steam coming from hot water and an informant notes:

We acquired the territory because of wars and then acquired the name. Our totem is Acai which is the name of the girl who was sacrificed to the river." ⁽⁵³⁾

Other oral histories and scholarship estimate that around 1740 the first of a number of sections of the Western Ngok under Chief Kwoldit of the Abyor section moved north across the Bahr el-Arab river in search of wider grazing areas. As the firstcomers to the area, the Abyor clan settled on the better grazing and farming lands of the region.⁽⁵⁴⁾ By the early nineteenth century nine Ngok subsections now resided in southwest Kordofan.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Located three miles north of the Bahr el-Arab/Kir river, this region came to be known as

"Abyei." ⁽⁵⁶⁾

When the Western Ngok initially thrust their way northwest they found Begi peoples, believed to be related to the Luel. As they warred with them some Begi moved further north and west integrating with the Nuba and Baggara while those that remained were absorbed into Ngok society.⁽⁵⁷⁾ The actual date of the Begi migration to Kadugli can be assigned fairly certainly to the end of the eighteenth century,⁽⁵⁸⁾ and thus, it can be determined that around this period various sections of what became the Western Ngok migrated into the region.

However, certain clans also migrated south into [Western] Twic territory, for the Ngok claim that the Twic section, Twic Kwac, are of Ngok extraction. P. P. Howell notes that those sections calling themselves Akok among these Twic, (who are located south of the Ngok) should also be regarded as Ngok proper and as such a primary Dinka segment. Additionally an Akok counterpart may be found among the Ruweng Alor.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Oral history also notes that Ngok peoples reside in Western Twic and Rek territories today.⁽⁶⁰⁾ This evidence also supports Alor oral history that claims many Ngok today used to be "Alor." Below is a discussion of the migrations of all the "Bor" group which is located today in southwest Dinkaland and separated from the Padang by the Nuer.

THE BOR DINKA GROUP
(GHOL, NYARRUWENG, EASTERN TWIC, BOR-ATOC, BOR-GOK, THAIN)

Today, what is commonly recognized as "the Bor" also includes the Ghol, Nyarruweng, Eastern Twic, Bok-Gok, Bor-Atoc and the Thain. However, the Ghol and Nyarruweng are also considered to be original members of the Padang group who were, until the 19th century Nuer expansion eastwards, connected to the Eastern Ngok. Those Dinka who migrated south eventually residing in the present-day Bor territory in all likelihood migrated during the famines of the 17th century. Today the far northernmost of the "Bor" group are the Ghol.

THE GHOL

Today, there are four major sections among the Ghol, the Nyiel, Pathal (Patel), Angac and Duor.⁽⁶¹⁾ Oral histories of those resident in the modern-day Ghol Dinka region claim that after they left the region of modern-day Khartoum some Dinka remained in Renk while others filtered further south. Ghol recent history claims they are related to the Ciec Dinka and were originally part of the Ador, one of the two big sections of the Ciec:

We fought with the Ciec and then we crossed back towards the eastern bank of the Nile. This split among the Ador came about because we quarrelled over grazing land. So we left under the leadership of Chief Thorcok Ring who was a powerful magician. Before we left we killed a bull and we were given a thigh bone, "ghol." After we left we maintained this name "Ghol" for our people and we are the Ghol-Ador people.⁽⁶²⁾

During this period the Dinka used two major crossing

points across the Nile (see the Ciec oral histories) and the Ghol migrated across the river settling in a region adjacent to what was then Thoi territory.⁽⁶³⁾ This movement must have taken place after 1857 for in that year missionary Beltrame noted these Dinka were still west of the Nile (west north west of the Ciec).⁽⁶⁴⁾ Missionary Kaufmann, who also worked among the Ciec during the same time period drew the first map (to my knowledge) of all the Dinka within the southern Sudan and notes a Dinka group, "Arol" northwest of the Ciec. Each White Nile Dinka group is clearly marked however, those of the Bahr el-Ghazal are only vaguely located.⁽⁶⁵⁾

However, the Ghol territory does not comprise Ador people alone for other sections are also today included under this group. For example, the Nyiel who are part Angac exist in the area up to Khor Fulus as well as the Ciec area across the river. These Angac peoples, much like the Ghol, originally occupied the area around Lake Jur west of the Nile river and migrated east across the Bahr el Jebel out of Ciec-Ador territory sometime before 1800, apparently settling prior to the Ghol arrival. Oral histories recount they were displaced by the Ciec when they were pushed south by the Nuer.⁽⁶⁶⁾ While some of these people migrated into the present-day Ghol Dinka country east of the Nile, others migrated in a northwesterly direction as far as modern-day Gogrial. On the other hand some Ghol now calling themselves Ador were direct relatives of the Nyarruweng⁽⁶⁷⁾ who reside today directly south of the Ghol.

Another variation of the Ghol migration across the river from Bahr el-Ghazal to the eastern banks of the Nile notes that the Duor peoples of present-day Duk Fadiet migrated across the Nile and soon thereafter were at war with the Murle. They were soundly defeated and all but one Duor clansman, Fadiet Agoth, lived. Today the place name, Duk Fadiet, is taken from this one Duor survivor of the Murle war.

In the meantime, other Duor clansmen still located in the Bahr el-Ghazal and who heard of the war crossed the Nile from the west to aid their clans people in the east. They were aided by three other Dinka clans, among them the Nyiel, Patel and Angac. In the meantime the Nile was very wide and it was difficult to cross. Oral histories note the people decided to cross the river near the modern-day town of Yirrol and to ensure the men crossed safely the daughter of a priest, Aluo, was sacrificed to the river. When her body appeared in the Shilluk territory of Panikany (near Fanjak) on the Zaraf river the latter believed she was sacred and called her "Nyikang" because of her "near perfect condition." (To cross rivers Dinka typically put reeds together and float along with them while others hold onto the tails of their cows who can swim.)

Upon arrival in the region now known as Duk Fadiet the three groups combined with the Duor clan members and agreed to unify by making a pact that they would not separate for any reason. To seal the agreement they killed a cow and did not break the thighbone, the Ghol, taking this word as their group name. "Today when we eat cows we never break the thigh bone or

we will die." (68)

NYARRUWENG

Today the Nyarruweng are divided into two broad divisions, the Ager and the Athon (also known as the Aborom). Both have two sub-divisions. The Ager comprise the Bikar and the Abiok. The Athon have the Nyaying and the Kumas subdivisions. (The Kumas subdivision was originally a Nuer group who remained when the British expelled the Nuer from the region.) (69)

Informants state that historically the Nyarruweng clans came from the north passing from the region of Khartoum and settling in present-day Duk Fadiet. (70) Another states that all Nyarruweng came and settled between Bor and Pibor at a place called Macdol. (71) All informants agree they are related to the Ruweng Dinka, further to their northwest across the Nile:

We are still related to the Ruweng but because of grazing we separated. We were all along the Nile from Renk down to Bor and this was our area but when the Nuer came they fought and cut us in two. Now the regions around Waat, Ayot and Fanjak are Nuer territory. When the Ruweng and the Nyarruweng split we were each looking for our own totems. (72)

Although the oral histories do not seem to record this fact the soils of the Ghol, Nyarruweng and Twic areas are better than those in the modern-day Ruweng region, composing a mixture of deeper clay and sand. (73) The Nyarruweng settled on the highest ground while the Twic and Bor who most likely arrived later settled further south at lower elevations which

periodically become flooded. East of these Dinka territories the soils increase in quality, however the eastern residence of the Dinka was halted by the arrival of the Murle around 1780.⁽⁷⁴⁾ These martial peoples advanced from the south and east and over time fought bitter wars with the Dinka over cattle and land and forced the latter westwards towards the Nile. The Dinka claim that their former more easterly residence possessed better soils for dhurra cultivation.⁽⁷⁵⁾ This factor also partially explains why these Dinka split from their parent group in the northwest Ruweng territory of today.

It is said that after migrating to the region, Luo groups who were previously resident in the region became assimilated into the Nyarruweng.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Additionally, clans from other sections also joined them for example, certain Luaic groups who accompanied them south became integrated. The Nyarruweng claim they are not a single group of people and that some clans of Nuer have been there a long time, possibly around the period of Nuer expansion, or even before [they are not sure when].⁽⁷⁷⁾

The Nyarruweng acquired their name from the saying, "other Dinka milking cows in the early morning" that is "weng acinyar," which was later modified to Nyarruweng.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Today these Dinka are divided into two broad divisions: Ager and Athon (Aborom). They claim the same lineage as Ayuel Longar, the legendary leader of the Dinka, "we are brothers of Ayuel."⁽⁷⁹⁾ To the south of the Nyarruweng are the Eastern Twic.

THE EASTERN TWIC

There are four major sub-sections among the eastern Twic, the Lieth (Liet) located in the north (the Lieth have three clans each of whom were brothers); the Nyuak and Aduong who are now located in the center of Eastern Twic territory and the Paker (Faker) located in the far south bordering the Bor Dinka.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Historically, informants claim that the Twic are a combination of many clans the majority of which arrived ten or eleven generations ago.⁽⁸¹⁾ However, one Dinka scholar claims his informants stated that only the chiefly clans were immigrants.⁽⁸²⁾ Oral histories of the Eastern Twic that I collected claim that part of this grouping migrated southwards out of the region of the Eastern Ngok territory near the Sobat eventually arriving after the Murle wars to their present position.⁽⁸³⁾ "My family came from the Padang region nine generations ago and Chief Padol led us out of the Ngok region as we migrated south."⁽⁸⁴⁾

Another history recounts that certain Twic clans had been west of the Nile (in modern day Ruweng territory) and a Chief Ajak Amot and another man, Chief Ngok Keny, led the Dinka from the western Nile region eastwards and then southwards to their present territory. They arrived finding Leek Dinka and settled with them in the present-day Kongor area.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Other informants have similar stories:

We were in Khartoum but we are cattle people and the area was too dry for cows, so we moved south looking for pastures and cultivatable areas. Then we migrated across the Nile from the west back to the east under the leader Ayuel. We left part of

the Dinka west of the Nile.⁽⁸⁶⁾

Another history recounts that the Leit (Leith) section of the Twic who, it is claimed, were originally a "foreign element" migrated across the Bahr el Jebel from the west bank of the Nile near Shambe, about twenty miles south of Lake Jur into Eastern Twic territory.⁽⁸⁷⁾

Informants claim all these Dinka are immigrants and that the original inhabitants had different languages:

My clan is composed of ancestors who have been in the region only seven or eight generations. When my great-great grandfather came, the Dinka told stories of other non-Dinka who had been here originally and disappeared.⁽⁸⁸⁾

Hence, when the Dinka arrived they apparently displaced a number of people and also absorbed others. Non-Dinka place names such as Dorkolong and Kolmerak are believed to be Bari.⁽⁸⁹⁾ Other Dinka histories note that just to the east of the original Dinka settlement there was a pastoral group called the Lok (or Lau), and believe they may have been Luo. These Lok (Lau) people knew how to preserve water, a skill unknown to the Dinka. Another informant states:

Our fathers told us this area belongs to the Luo people. There is a place near our home of Paliou called Loki and this is a Luo name. Today we still know it as the home of the Loki. These Loki(o) people are now part of the Nyarruweng.⁽⁹⁰⁾

It is said that the Murle displaced some of these people who then migrated south while others were absorbed into the Twic. Still others may have joined the Nyarruweng further north. They note the Lau Nuer are newcomers to area but that they may also have been Luo.⁽⁹¹⁾

When the differing sections of what became the "Twic" arrived in their present territory two Chiefs, who were brothers came to predominate, Atwic Ariem and Yiep. It was Yiep who assigned all the clans to various locations and determined that the whole group should take his name. However, Atwic, who was the senior brother insisted the people be called "Twic" after him.⁽⁹²⁾ Ultimately, it seems that Yiep gave the various sub-sections their names dispersing all the groups at Patundur. He brought cows with the color "Lieth" assigning the people this name and sending them north (the present-day Kongor area). The "Paker" were sent southwards and those remaining acquired the name "Adjuong" because they remained.⁽⁹³⁾

At some point a large group of Twic split away from the main group and crossed the Nile and migrated in a northwesterly direction. The place where both groups divided is Patundur and many clans migrated as far as three hundred miles northwest to the Bahr el-Arab river in today's northern Bahr el-Ghazal province.⁽⁹⁴⁾ The Eastern Twic claim these [Western] Twic (hereafter called the Western Twic) use a similar nomenclature including Twic Mayardit and both Eastern and Western Twic peoples share the same totems.⁽⁹⁵⁾ According to the Eastern Twic no battle marked the split of this group but rather many left because of the need for new pastures and grazing lands.⁽⁹⁶⁾ This belief is confirmed by the oral histories of the Western Twic later in this appendix. South of the Twic are the Bor groups.

THE BOR (ATOC AND GOK)

The Bor are divided into two main sections, the Bor Gok in the north and the Bor Athoc in the south. Both groups comprise four sections. The Bor Gok divide into the Abiei, Hol, Palek and Koc. The Bor-Atoc are represented by the Angakuei, Pathuyiei, Juet and Abuoudit Alian.⁽⁹⁷⁾

Dinka history recounts that certain Bor clans were originally part of the Padang group who migrated south, first to the modern-day Shambe area on the west of Nile and then crossing the river to its eastern banks settling in their present day position.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Ancient chiefs remembered to have lead the Dinka south into the Bor country are Ayuel Pagangdier and Alier Ngeth.⁽⁹⁹⁾ However, many people today calling themselves "Dinka" or "Bor" are descended from peoples of different ethnic origin including the Mundari⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ and others who later migrated into the region.

The origin of a sacred spear called "Lierpiou" ("Lirpiou") goes back to the migration of these Dinka peoples. One history recounts that a non-Dinka people called the Gulla migrated up to the west of Terkaka in the modern-day Mundari area south of the present-day Aliab on the Nile's western banks. Here the people settled for a while and then continued to move north and crossed the Nile to its eastern banks. Deng Acuoth, the ancestor of a man called Ajak notes that his great-great great grandfather migrated with this spear, later called "Lirpiou," to the present-day Bor-Gok Dinka homeland and settled in Karcum. He married two wives. Ajak's first

wife, a woman from the Rith clan, gave birth to children who died. She believed the spear was responsible for the deaths of her children and thus, took the spear and threw it into a nearby lake or pool. Her co-wife, Adic, who had given birth to a son, Kut (who later gave birth to a son, Angakuei) retrieved the spear from the lake and left the marriage compound with what she believed was a sacred object.

From this time on the two Dinka groups divided. The second wife, Adic, moved to the eastern side of the village at Angakuei area and bought a bull. Ajak, the husband, remained with the first wife. Today Adic is known as the mother of the Gualla-Abuor Dinka of Angakuei. When Adic initially went to Angakuei to buy a bull she stayed in the bush and had no water. When inhabitants approached she asked for water and told her story. She never remarried. Her son, Kut, married a Murle girl, Nyariang, and gave birth to children who were recognized as Dinka. As time passed Adic became very rich and it was believed her good fortune was due to the spear. Over time people appealed to the spear when they had health problems. It was noted that when called for, the spear produced rain. At times it "spoke" through special people. At one time it spoke unassisted. Those who appealed to it acquired more cows and goats. At this juncture, the husband of Adic, Ajak and the original owner of the spear received word that the owner of the spear bestowed enormous wealth on its proprietor. Ajak and his Gualla people who resided in Abuor determined to reacquire the spear.

They approached Ajak's first wife's house in an attempt to steal the spear by cutting a hole behind the house. They absconded with the spear and returned by the western route to their town at Karcum. Then they sent word to Adic that she could attempt to retake the spear, in which case they would not obstruct her, but that it would perhaps be more advisable that both groups shared the spear every four years. Four years later Adic and her people stole the spear. Over time a ritual developed where by each group stole the spear from the other every four years and "when the Angakuei people want it they go east; when the Gualla people want it they go west." Over the centuries the ritual continued. This ritual began about ten generations ago (although other informants suggest it was twelve to thirteen) suggesting these peoples arrived in the region between two to three hundred years ago.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

There are other migration stories of those who crossed the Nile from west to east. One recounts that the Bor Dinka clan, the Palek, trace their descent to an Aliab man called Agwer who married a Bor woman, Gop:

Numbers of people who migrated north with us settled in Kapoeta today and were assimilated into the Toposa, because smaller groups get absorbed into larger ones. My section migrated [further] north into Bor to our present-day location.⁽¹⁰²⁾

The approximate date many Dinka clans of the Bor region reached their present position can be cross checked with Bari oral histories. These Southern peoples reside farther to the south of the Dinka. In 1857 they informed missionary Kaufmann that they migrated from south of their present position six

generations ago.⁽¹⁰³⁾ Counting thirty years for each generation, it is probable that the Bari arrived in their present-day territory around the mid 1600s or early 1700s. Presumably they were halted from migrating into lands with better soils because of large and more powerful populations further north. It is therefore likely that the Dinka people later known as the Bor were already occupying their present position by the mid 17th century at the very latest.

The above histories support that Bor history is very diverse and Dinka informants state that today the larger admix of different cultures is most pronounced in the southern section of the Bor among the Bor-Gok.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ It is said that the Bor have a large Mundari admix and that their language is sometimes not understood by other Dinka.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ It is also believed that the Adul subsection has assimilated Luo groups.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Wendy James suggests that the Mundari are marginal to the more powerful northern Nilotes and have, like the Uduk of the southern Gezira, absorbed and transformed elements of Nilotic culture in the process of reconstructing their own communities after repeated disruptions.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

There are many accounts of Bor-Murle wars, (the pastoral Murle are located east of the Dinka) and Murle oral histories note they arrived in the mid to latter eighteenth century and conquered their present-day territory from the Dinka and Anuak.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ A variation of Dinka/Murle history suggests there was much intra-ethnic marriage:

The Murle were our friends towards the Bor south area and a number of Bor Dinka were originally Murle people. Both groups kept their cattle together and intermarried although there was also minor raiding between both groups. Some Murle emigrated into our territory; they intermarried and adopted the culture and got assimilated. This situation can happen for a number of reasons: if you commit a crime you have to flee to another area and also hunger drives people into foreign lands, if their crops fail.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

Another example of Murle/Dinka integration is when both were obliged to flee during an apparent earthquake that is reputed to have taken place prior to the Turkish period. A Bor-Gok informant states this disaster took place on the borders of the Murle/Bor region at the end of the mountains in a place called Macbol. "People were dancing and then the earth opened and swallowed them up. The people in this place were Duor Dinka." Fearing the place was cursed, the Duor migrated further into the Murle area and eventually became "Murle" while those Murle closer to the Bor area migrated into Anyidi (Dinka territory) becoming "Dinka."⁽¹¹⁰⁾ What is clear with the oral histories above is that many diverse peoples migrated into the Bor region and over time the Dinka socio-economic and political culture prevailed.

The modern-day Bor Dinka area is not one of the best agriculturally and is subjected to much flooding. Over a period of time the Bor people divided into two major Dinka sections, the Bor-Gok and Bor Athoc. Most people believe the Bor Gok acquired their name from a forest of trees in their region which the Dinka call "Gok." Likewise, the Athoc settled in a region of trees called in Dinka "Athony" also giving rise

to the section name. Most Bor Dinka believe the origin of their major section and region name "Bor" was derived from the word flood [in Dinka, "Abor"] which plagues the region frequently and surrounding Dinka eventually called these Dinka the "people of the flooded area" the Bor.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Another group of people located on the Nile, claiming to be "Dinka" are the Thain. These non-pastoralists may well be of non-Dinka origin.

THE THAIN

In 1857 missionary Kaufmann noted that between the Ciec, Twic, Bor and Aliab Dinka small settlements of poor nations supported themselves by fishing and blacksmithing. They did not make their living by pastoralism although some owned cattle which they left with their Dinka neighbors who pastured them. Kaufmann wrote that "Because they are poor they are regarded with contempt by their neighbors although they live more pleasurably than the herdsmen."⁽¹¹²⁾ Whether these fisherman were always Dinka is debatable and it is probable they were originally of Luo or Mundari origin.

In 1934 the Thain numbered approximately 1,164 and were located on the river banks between the Mongalla boundary and Jonglei under seven chiefs. British administrators presumed them to be of common origin with the Bor and Aliab Dinka, the various clans of which claimed overlordship over them. Thus, the Pariak Thain belonged to the Abiiy clan, the Malek and Malwal Ayuit to the Ghol, the Malwal Chat and Gweleik to the Paleik, the Mading to the Koic, the Malith to Baidit

(Angakwei), the Anganya to the Juet and the Jonglei to the clan of Chief Majok Ajak.

British administrator Johnson also noted that although they were "despised" by the cattle owning Dinka, they also provided "cheap women" for marriage. These fisherfolk also departed from the usual Dinka philosophy of not becoming blacksmiths for within their polity there were many who practiced this skill.⁽¹¹³⁾ Those Dinka residing west of the Nile are today referred to as the "Bahr el-Ghazal Dinka and they form the third category of oral histories to follow.

THE BAHR EL-GHAZAL DINKA
CIEC, ALIAB, AGAR, PAKAM, GOK,
WESTERN LUAIC, REK, MALWAL, WESTERN TWIC AND
APAK-ATUOT, ATUOT (CONNECTED TO THE DINKA)

THE CIEC

Today the Ciec comprise two major sections, the Ciec-Lou and the Ciec-Ador both with subsections and of note is that the Nuer also have Lou and Ador sections. The Lou are located in the west and north of Yirrol and the Ador are in the east, north of the Atuot and adjacent to the Nile south of Shambe. The Ciec-Lou comprise six sections, the Kuacdit, Kuacchi, Ajak (or Ajiek), Pajook, Padiet Anion and Padongluel. The Ciec-Ador have two subdivisions, the Gok and Ajaak.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

British administrators recorded that the Ciec Dinka were formerly much further north and were pushed south by the Nuer to Lake Jur sometime before 1800,⁽¹¹⁵⁾ and still further south to their present location in the latter half of the

nineteenth century.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Ciec informants believe they initially arrived west of the Nile around the latter seventeenth century.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ According to Ciec oral history they migrated under the leadership of two chiefs crossing the Nile at two points. One group led by Chief Jokom crossed at Paneka which is north of the modern-day town of Bor. The other, under Chief Juet, crossed at Cui which is located at the modern-day town of Shambe. No oral histories that I collected mention the Dinka were pushed south by the Nuer although the land was contested by various peoples.

It is noted that Chief Juet settled in today's Ciec area and Chief Jokom migrated into today's Aliab region. When the Ciec crossed the Nile they named the crossing after their Chief and today it is known as Cui Malwal Juet. Chiefs Jokom and Juet were both spiritual leaders and the latter established himself in Palual, his progeny remaining there until the present day.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

In 1857 missionary Beltrame noted that the Dinka living between six and eight degrees latitude on the Nile produced a lot of dhurra (grain) without cultivating much land.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Germany Missionary Kaufmann, on the other hand noted this same region on which the Holy Cross Mission was built was on bad swampy sandy land.⁽¹²⁰⁾ By Ciec accounts however, they had settled on excellent land for cultivating dhurra and they claim the modern-day town of Shambe within the Ciec region is an important area with rich toic (grasslands) extending to Aliab territory. During the winter (dry season) one can go to

the toic and during the rainy season go to the woodlands.

Generations ago the Ciec fought over the region with various different groups. The land was hotly contested when the Dinka arrived because it had sod and natural salt (in Dinka, "Bar") for the animals. The Ciec found they could grow more crops than the Aliab because the soil was superior and they became richer than the latter "because people acquire cattle by bartering their dhurra crops." Initially the Paliau section of the Ciec occupied it alone defending it against the Luo and later the Nuer.⁽¹²¹⁾ It is said the Atuot also south of the Ciec have similar soils for cultivation however, Mundari land even further south comprises a lesser quality soil. Here dhurra is only grown on a small scale and hence the Mundari have less cattle.⁽¹²²⁾

Both the Ciec and Atuot grow the most favored of all the dhurra varieties, kec. This form of grain can only be cultivated in certain soils from the Ciec territory northwest to the Agar and Gok Dinka homelands around the Rumbek region of the Bahr el-Ghazal. From then on, kec does not grow.⁽¹²³⁾ It thus appears that those Dinka residing in the regions in which kec grows are the most wealthy as grain is often exchanged for cattle.

We know from the oral histories of other southern peoples that the Ciec displaced groups already living in this territory. Dinka informants state the Yirrol region was originally inhabited by the Luo for it is recorded that Chief Juet fought a people who later migrated southwards towards the

Nile.⁽¹²⁴⁾ Additionally, Yibel (Jurbel) elders (now presently located south of Agar Dinka territory) claim that at one time large densities of their people resided in the present-day Ciec Dinka territory of Shambe. They note they were displaced by the Dinka who came from the north. They claim that Yibel names continue to exist in the Ciec area; this assertion is supported by Dinka informants who note non-Dinka place names such as "Paneka."⁽¹²⁵⁾

Because of the land's wealth prior to the Egyptian colonial period in 1821 other Dinka peoples tried to evict Chief Juet's people from the land. Oral histories recall the Murle, the Nuer, the Atuot and other Ciec groups fighting for the territory however, they were all repulsed. Chief Juet, in protecting this rich red soil area (Lual in Dinka) named the region Palual Juet which retains this name to the present day.⁽¹²⁶⁾

In the meantime, Chief Jokom's group which had migrated further south into present-day Aliab Dinka territory, divided. Those that stayed became "Aliab Dinka" while other clans migrated into the modern-day Rumbek area becoming "Agar" Dinka while a third group became "Atuot." The split of Jokom's people is estimated to have taken place somewhere between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Further, according to oral histories, among those who crossed the Nile at Cui, some also moved to the present-day Tonj and Gogrial areas eventually becoming Malwal Dinka. This assertion is supported by Ciec informants who state their clans family members can be

found hundreds of miles to their northeast in Rek Dinka territory:

I'm from the Paleu subsection of the [Ciec] Ador and about five generations ago because of tribal fighting the Paleu split into different directions. We have little sections of Paleu people as far north as Tonj town. We also have Paleu people in the Atuot area among the Ror-Kech.⁽¹²⁷⁾

Within the heart of Ciec territory today there are still unintegrated groups of Mundari who reside with their own chiefs around the Yirrol area. These non-Dinka have intermarried with some Aliab and Atuot and only to a lesser degree with the Ciec Dinka. It is claimed that originally they were farmers but now they have acquired cattle and it is most likely they occupied the territory before the Dinka and rather than migrating remained. Of interest is that within the modern-day Nuer territory bordering the Ciec are people who also claim their ancestors were part of the "Cuei" group supporting the idea that the Nuer and Dinka in this region share the same ancestors.⁽¹²⁸⁾

The Ciec claim that, en-masse, they acquired their name from the Dinka word for "bee" for in the region of the Lou (Pagarou) there were many bees. Ciec informants note that they resembled bees for they "were unified in searching for their own food." The Dinka claim that the father of the Ciec was Manyiel Tiop ("Tiop" means the land where one is buried) however, at that time there was also another influential chief, Kuer Dhuor.⁽¹²⁹⁾ Directly to the south and contiguous to the Ciec are the Aliab Dinka.

ALIAB

The Aliab comprise four major sections: the Akuei in the west, the Apuk in the northwest, the Bulok in the southeast and the Akeer in the north.⁽¹³⁰⁾ According to oral history Aliab clans migrated from the Padang region of the present-day Eastern Ngok Dinka proceeding southwards largely because of the need for "good toic" (grasslands). They found Bor Dinka already residing on the east bank of the Nile in their present position. Crossing the Nile westwards four different sections of Aliab (Akuei, Apuk, Bulok, Akeer) arrived in their present territories each named after those who led them. The Bulok section arrived first in the southeast after Chief Bulok had a disagreement with his father, Chief Apuk. He was followed shortly thereafter by another brother. The Akeer Aliab section was led by Chief Achol Bohn [Boon] but acquired the title Akeer because in Dinka, "Akeer" means "behind" other peoples. They settled in the present-day northeast Aliab territory and oral histories recount that they were following the clans of the Ciec and Atuot.⁽¹³¹⁾

The third Aliab section, the Akuei crossed the Nile westwards from Bor under Chief Nyinger Apach Adier. They were following the Atuot who had left earlier and migrated into the present-day Aliab country. They met the fourth Aliab section, the Apuk under Chief Apuk who was also migrating from the north. They crossed the Nile at different places and upon reaching the western banks of the Nile Chief Apuk temporarily chose to join the Akuei people under Chief Nyinger. Nyinger is

remembered as a "terrible priest/magician" whose prophecies never failed (good or bad) and the people greatly feared him.

When both groups arrived in the Aliab country they found a number of peoples there, the most threatening of which were the Agar Dinka. The latter had migrated before the Aliab and occupied the land. Under Chief Nyinger who acted both as spiritual and military leader and Chief Reng Apuk the Aliab went to war to evict the Agar from the area. They were forced west and Aliab oral histories recount:

We had one big battle and the Agar rushed in a horde westwards creating a pass as they fled for their lives. In later years it became a river bed and we remember this trench today as "Digar" that is: the Digar river bed where our great great grandfathers pushed the Agar west.⁽¹³²⁾

Over time the four Aliab sections settled along the toic and the Apuk and Akuei moved together to an area today called "Pap." Nyinger's son, Anok, eventually led the Akuei peoples to their present-day position in the Digar region.

Aside from the Agar there were also other groups living in the region before the various Aliab clans arrived. Among them were Mundari who were eventually pushed southwards or absorbed by intermarriage. However, it is remembered that the Aliab raided the Mundari because they had better grazing areas.

The Aliab soils were not as rich as those of the Ciec and Atuot, who grow the favorite Dinka dhurra, kec. However, they were able to grow more than enough to survive and prosper. While kec prefers sandy soils the Apuk Aliab found they could

grow another type of dhurra, rapjiang. Those Aliab in the far south were forced to settle in soils that grow an inferior crop, calla, which grows in muddy regions. It is also grown by their neighbors, the Mundari.⁽¹³³⁾ As the soils improved in a northwesterly direction of the Aliab and decreased in quality to their south further southern migrations came to a halt.

From this point on the Aliab controlled the region, raiding the Mundari and sealing off the area from migrating Bor-Gok Dinka who attempted to cross the Nile westwards.⁽¹³⁴⁾ Today the Dinka claim the collective name "Aliab" is derived from the Dinka word "mixed" because in reality the Aliab are recognized as being composed of a number of different ethnic peoples, both Dinka and Mundari. Much like the history of many other Dinka clans and sections migrations continued and some Apuk-Aliab Dinka today can be found as far northwest as Gogrial in the Rek Dinka country.⁽¹³⁵⁾ West of the Aliab and southwest of the Ciec are the Atuot.

THE ATUOT

Today there are three major groupings around the modern-day town of Yirrol, the Ciec and Aliab Dinka and the Atuot (some of whom claim to be Dinka and others do not). This town represents the northern limits of the Atuot. The major sections of the Atuot are the Apak, Ror-kec, Akot, Jilek, Luaic and Kuek.⁽¹³⁶⁾

Certain Atuot claim to have Nuer ancestry:⁽¹³⁷⁾

The people came from the east. We are connected with the Nuer who were our brothers and the Nuer went east and the Atuat came south. This is remembered because my family goes back 16 generations and Ror-Kec is the name of my grandfather. ⁽¹³⁸⁾

It is remembered they quarrelled over cows:

We really call ourselves the Reel people. The other Nuer colluded against us. The name Akot was our great great grandfather and when we arrived here we settled peacefully, although we had sectional fights with the Agars. ⁽¹³⁹⁾

John Burton's research among the Atuat suggests the Atwat migrated into their modern-day homeland more than 360 years ago. ⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ A Chief Reel is claimed to be the ancestral figure who led the migration of the Atuat into their present country after parting company with the Nuer. ⁽¹⁴¹⁾

The Dinka histories that I collected note certain similar migration histories as those presented above with the exception that many Dinka informants claim to have been with the Atuat during their migrations. They claim that they all migrated across the Nile at two places; one between Ganyliel and Shambe at Khor Liel and the other at Panhom. ⁽¹⁴²⁾ They note: "The Atuat, Ciec and Aliab...are small groups and we arrived at the same time and settled peacefully becoming reasonably unified." ⁽¹⁴³⁾ Noted above are oral histories of the Aliab which claim that they were following the Atuat when they migrated into the Bahr el-Ghazal. Other Atuat histories that I collected claim they found Agar people in their territory: "We settled in our present location and came together with the Aliab, Agar and Atuat people." ⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ An Atuat

from the Agar town of Akot states his ancestors found Luaic Dinka and Kuek Atuot residing in the territory when they arrived and that the Luaic gave them a daughter to marry so that they became in-laws. It is probable that clan groups of the Luaic, many of whom reside in the Bahr el-Ghazal as well as the Eastern Luaic of the Padang, area are related to those now found in Atuot society for they claim an ancient connection.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ Hence, oral histories of the six Atuot clans convey the impression that the Atuot are composed of many different peoples.

Much like the Dinka the Atuot did not move into empty space but displaced and or absorbed the previous residents. A Ror-Kec Atuot informant claims that when they arrived in their present territory they found non-Nilotic pottery. Another Atuot account states: "We found fisherman when we moved to Atuot territory as well as Mundari where, at certain places they were together with Bor Dinka people."⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ The soil in most of the Atuot region is a mixed sandy and clay soil and kec dhurra does not grow as well in the region as it does in the Ciec territory.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ It is remembered that people originally residing in the region were pushed south to the Mvolo area the modern-day home of the Yibel (Jurbel). However, some Atuot cattle camps also have Bari names indicating that at one time this territory may have also been home to these southern neighbors.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ Burton notes that Atuot oral histories claim those resident in the environment where the Atuot settled were hunters, trappers, fisherman and iron

workers. However, families who continue these practices continue to reside within numerous lineages of contemporary Atuat society suggesting the Atuat migration, which was partially violent, also involved a process of incorporation.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾

Some Atuat do not adhere to the belief that they were of original Nuer stock. Rather they believe they were of Luo origin. They note that some Luo previously living in the Yirrol region were pushed southwards towards the Nile and believe:

"The Atuat language is closer to the Luo than any other language and we speak a dialect of Nuer only because we were adjacent to these people for a period. But we were a people of separate identity."⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

Other informants argue that today the Atuat-Kuei, who have absorbed many Mundari, now speak the latter language.⁽¹⁵¹⁾

The Atuat do not know the origin of their name however, their Dinka neighbors surmise they acquired it from Lake Atuat near Yirrol.⁽¹⁵²⁾

To be covered in the next section is a separate history of the Atuat-Apak whose oral histories differ radically from that of the mainstream Atuat and who today identify themselves as Dinka. Although the Atuat claim they reached their territory before the Apak, this assertion does not comply with Apak history.⁽¹⁵³⁾

THE APAK-ATUOT

Today the Apak are often thought of as more Dinka than Atuot and informants claim their subsections are composed of people from many places. The Apak reside between the Atuot (proper) and the Ciec Dinka and they comprise eight subsections, the Apar, Aciek, Pakuac, Palual, Aparer, Rir, Guer and Awan.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ They include clans claiming agnatic heredity from the ancestral figure Reel (of the Atuot) as well as from peoples who migrated into Apak country from Bor Dinka as well as the Yibel country to the south.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ For example, the Aper comprise those who migrated from the Aliab territory (historical songs of these migrations still exist)⁽¹⁵⁶⁾, the Aciek and Pakuac comprise those who migrated from the Ciec territory and the Palual comprise those who migrated from the Agar territory.

Some oral histories note that the non-Dinka clans the Aparer, Rir and Guer were in place before the arrival of the Awan clan who migrated from the south.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ An Apak informant, David Deng Athorbei, is a descendant of the originator of the Awan section of the Apak. His great-great grandfather Guaji (Kwaji) was a Kakwa who migrated north from Yei near the borders of Uganda and founded the Awan section of the Apak. Today it is the largest section:

My great great grandfather in the 17th century followed the Yei (Payii) river (ten generations ago) after he left his home village at Yei. He was a Kakwa and migrated north after a dispute as to who should inherit spiritual leadership within the clan. My ancestor was the youngest in a chiefly family and thus had to leave and establish his own

chieftaincy. He left Yei alone going from place to place performing magic until he reached Payii opposite the modern-day Apak area. He was a powerful spirit-healer and as he moved he gathered many people to him during which he acquired a wife. He was received by the Guer people who were already resident in the region.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾

Much like many other Dinka migrating into southern Sudan they found others on the land as they arrived:

One "Apak" group, the Guer, although speaking Dinka today do not practice Dinka pastoralism but rather are blacksmiths and animal trappers and work for other Atuat. It was these Guer people already resident in Apak country who received and accommodated the Chief from Yei, Guaji, whose family began to multiply and expand very quickly. Eventually they chased other Atuat to the east and pushed the Ciec northwards. Guaji remained with the Guer and at his death he was succeeded by four sons. Mel (someone who never goes back on his word), Akot, and Kuc (later known as Kacker). Mel acquired the chieftaincy and shortly thereafter amalgamated what had become eight sections in the region into the modern-day Apak. At a ceremony, he killed a bull which was colored "Mapuor" and pronounced 'from now on you will all be called Apak meaning "to get together."' After this point he began fighting the other Atuat in the region expanding in all directions. Initially we were in the center but then we fought the Agar, Ciec (Ajak section), Atuat and especially the Luaic section which, among the Atuat, were the majority. The Luaic were annihilated and now they are a smaller section within the Apak-Awan. Now Kuc took over because he was the youngest and had many children, and introduced arrows, a skill brought from Equatoria. This made us powerful because my family had an intimate knowledge of poisons which contributed to our technological superiority allowing us to expand against the other Atuat. Today we have songs which document our history. All of these events took place before the Turkish period.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

As the above account suggests certain "Atuat" were originally from differing ethnic groups that became integrated. Burton suggests that having established some

number of cattle camps in what is now Atuat country indigenous blacksmiths and trappers became Atuat through intermarriage.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ In the meantime the region also became home to numbers of migrating Dinka clans.

Some informants claim that the Dinka Apak dialect today is an admix of Mundari, Moru, Dinka and Atuat combined while others state the Apak-Atuat speak Dinka and other Atuat do not.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ An Apak Atuat suggests that the Luo did not leave the Atuat territory but rather were absorbed by people who migrated into the region:

The legend is that the Luo left Atuatland or that the Atuat left the Nuer territory settling in this area. We ourselves believe the vast majority of Atuat today are descended from people who were always here and that many of us are of Luo origins.⁽¹⁶²⁾

The historical migrations of the Atuat-Apak have left a legacy of closeness with their northern neighbors the Ciec. It is said the Ciec and Atuat are one family and the boundary between the two is less defined than with other major Dinka groups. For example, the Agar and Atuat have a "strong border," leaving an empty area between the two. The Agar fought battles with the Apak in the past and are considered more foreign.⁽¹⁶³⁾

Although the Apak identify more with the Dinka than the Atuat (they speak Dinka) during the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium period they were subsumed administratively under the latter, hence today they are viewed as Atuat. One informant explained that Dinka major groupings today resemble the United States.

"If you move into an area of a major grouping, that is what you become. Now we are all Apak."⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ To the northwest of the Atuat and west of the Ciec are the Agar.

THE AGAR

The Agar today have four sections comprising the Pakam, Rup; Kuei and Aliam Toc.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ Agar informants claim that centuries ago they migrated across the Nile from the east (Western Ethiopia) as a large group and then separated when they reached the western side of the river.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ That the Dinka are recent migrants to the Bahr el-Ghazal is supported by Nicholas David who concurs with Agar oral history. He argues that archeological evidence supports the Dinka migrated to their present territory of Rumbek only within the last five hundred years.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ It is remembered that two chiefs led the people to the present area in the Bahr el-Ghazal, Rok Korec and Malwal Arop.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ That the Dinka-Agar chose to remain in this area is not surprising as it is rich sandy loam soil (dark clay soil) and excellent for the growth of kec sorghum. Their own histories note that they pushed into this territory to the limits of kec yielding soil. Their southern neighbors of today, the Yibel, grow only "nyandok," a less popular form of dhurra.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾

According to Agar history, the heart of this Dinka territory (Rumbek) was at one time inhabited by the Yibel (Jurbel). These non-Nilotic ironmakers made bows and arrows⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ and possessed a knowledge of poisons which even

today makes the Dinka fear them.⁽¹⁷¹⁾ Yibel oral histories claim they originally migrated from west Africa settling as far north as Yirrol, Tonj and Rumbek. Approximately three to four hundred years ago they were pushed south and west by the Dinka and today reside in Cuebet and Mvolo. Yibel elders claim that their population used to be far larger but that many died of disease:⁽¹⁷²⁾

The Dinka call us "Jur-Bel" but we call ourselves "Yibel". We have a similar language to the Bongo people, the Mavolo and Mavocodor people of Madi and also the Beridi Baka people to our south and west. We comprise one section with own language and our most famous warrior chief was Awat who led us against the Bongo as well as other Yibel groups.⁽¹⁷³⁾

A Sudanese Luo states:

We know the Jurbel as "Wira" after the name of one of their leaders. The people were called "Wir" all the way up to Uganda and their country was known as Pawir. As people moved they carried the name. Bel is the name of millet.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾

What is important about the Agar and Yibel people is that oral histories, for the most part, do not recount much warfare between these groups. Rather there was a peaceful, partial integration and Yibel informants that I interviewed believe that the Agar have helped them: "We are in the same area, Rumbek, and our people used to produce honey to sell to the Dinka."⁽¹⁷⁵⁾

Today in Rumbek, some families of the Agar or Gok Dinka are Jurbel in origin while the same is true for some Yibel families.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ Likewise in present-day Yibel country in the Amadi district south of Malou (Billing) and between the river

Naam and Toinya road, it seems that Dinka residing in the area have become ethnically mixed with their non-Dinka neighbors.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ The Yibel have a tradition that the creator produced two sons, the elder of which was the ancestor of the Jur and the younger that of the Agar.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ Agar histories note:

This land belonged to the Jurbel people and when we came here there was no land for grazing and cultivation. The Jurbel [Yibel] were powerful so our ancestor Kuei, took a girl named Akon Buol and offered her as a bride to the chief of the Jurbel in exchange for this land. The chief took the girl and told his people to move leaving the land for the Agar. So today Rumbek and the surrounding territories are called the "land of Buol" in memory of this girl. After this time a lot of assimilation began between the Jurbel and Agar, with Akon Buol representing the first to intermarry. We arrived before the Turkish period, sometime between the 13th and 15th centuries. However, today there is less intermarriage because the Jurbel have no cows to marry a Dinka girl (brideprice is around 30 to 40 cows); they only have honey, goats and hoes.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾

An Agar-Akuei states that the people of Kuei (eagle) founded the region that became modern-day Rumbek. "We were very martial and we defended our land."⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ Another informant remembers a history of tensions between the Dinka and the Jur-Bel [Yibel] highlighting that the Dinka arrival was not completely peaceful:

When we came we fought the Jur-Bel because they are not cattle owners and Dinka animals would go into their farms and eat their crops. So they moved away from us and today they are about twenty miles to the south.⁽¹⁸¹⁾

Informants state "Agar is the original name of the father of the people. He was called Agar Marol: "Marol was the chief's

name while the Agar were his people."⁽¹⁸²⁾ Another argues that the major Dinka groupings, Luaic, Rek, and Gok as well the Nuer (who are not Dinka) are derived from daughters of Chief Marol (Agar):

Marol is the grandfather of our grandfathers. These various daughters gave birth to four groups. Amou Marol gave birth to the Rek people, Nyantoc gave birth to the Nuer, Achuei gave birth to two sons, one of which gave birth to the Gok and the other to the Luaic.

The literal meaning of the word Agar is "someone left by his people" because Marol was powerful but not a magician and his family abandoned him:

Today we are called 'Agar Marol' and this is how the word 'Agar' was born. We also believe the Malwal and Western Twic also originated from Agar territory.⁽¹⁸³⁾

That this region gave rise to a burgeoning population is not surprising because the soil is very rich. It is recounted that there was plenty of food and that, in the old days, women gave birth to up to fifteen children.⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ Today, the Agar are considered to occupy the center of kec dhurra territory and when they have good harvests. They sell their grain to surrounding Dinka and acquire more cattle. To the far north of the Agar territory are the Pakam Dinka.⁽¹⁸⁵⁾

THE PAKAM AGAR

Today the Pakam number approximately one quarter of a million with five subsections, the Gak, Lith, Manuer, Akok and Niel-Niel.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ The Pakam are located in Agar territory today and recognized as a section of this Dinka grouping, however,

the history of their migration is completely different from other Agar of the region. Originally they were Nuer. According to one Pakam informant:

Five generations ago, two brothers, (one of them called Thian) killed another man, and to escape revenge hid in the garden while their houses were burned. The attack took place in Nicong Ganylul in Nuerland. Their mother advised them to go to the Djiang area, and so they moved into the Dinka region that is north of present-day Agar territory and camped. Eventually the two brothers split. Moving near to Rumbek, numbers of other followers chose to remain near the border of Nuerland further north. Eventually Thian was given a Dinka girl, Aruai, in marriage and so they produced a son, Wuol, who later became a famous Dinka chief and war leader.

Hence, the Pakam migrated by accident and not design. They intermarried with their Dinka neighbors and because the land was rich they acquired cattle becoming very wealthy. Although the Pakam are still thought of as "Nuer" by some Dinka they are located in Dinka territory and have become socio-politically and economically incorporated into the Agar Dinka amalgam. According to Stephen Anyaak Chol, a Pakam:

If you migrate to Dinka territory, you become Dinka. But when I'm with my paternal uncle I'm a Nuer. Even today, some Dinka call me "Nuer" even though I am Dinka. I am a doctor and one day I visited a lady and she claimed 'You Nuer, you don't treat wives well.' When I go to the Nuer country, people recognize me and I attend funerals. However, I was raised by my maternal Dinka uncles so I identify with being Dinka.

Pakam Chief, Wuol, eventually became one of the best known Agar Dinka leaders of the last and present century, becoming a paramount chief during the British period. After having established himself in Agar territory, he fought wars

with his Dinka neighbors to his east and west establishing a sovereign territory for the Pakam. He and his progeny are considered great heroes to the Pakam people and his divine powers were said to increase as he got older. His ancestors continue the chiefly line in modern times.⁽¹⁸⁷⁾

THE GOK

Initially the Gok had two major sections the Langdiing and Machar. The Landiing comprise the Ayiel, Joth, Pathiong, Pagor and Kongor subsections. The Machar comprise the Waat, Akony and Panyar subsections. Further, under the latter Panyar, there are a further four sub-sections, the Kongor, Amal, Yiep and Amel.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾

Certain Dinka informants claim that although the Gok Dinka are today administratively part of Agar territory, their ascent and naming of trees is different and that they are a separate group. Rather, it is argued the Gok originally migrated from the Ciec territory.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ On the other hand other Gok informants claim they are related to the Agar.⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ Today the Gok are located between the Western Luaic Dinka to their north, the Pakam-Agar to their north east, the town of Rumbek thirty miles directly east and the Yibel (Jurbel) people to their south.⁽¹⁹¹⁾ It appears that, for the most part rivers demarcate most of the Gok sections⁽¹⁹²⁾ as they do for most other Dinka groups.

Gok informants state their first chief in early times was Ater Malwal from the Kabek clan and that he led the Gok people

to their present position. He is remembered as being very courageous and having special spiritual powers.⁽¹⁹³⁾

Initially there were two Gok groups, Landiing and Machar. Before the Landiing split into its various sections the people were living in Waat, north of their present position in the toic (grasslands) area. Because of drought the sections started to fission and the people began moving south.⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ These new clans evolved into the Panyar who moved to present-day northern Gok territory. The Wat followed them. The Akony moved west, the Ayiel to the center (Chuibet town) and the Joth and Pagok clans moved east along with the Pathiang who border the Agar.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾

In the meantime wars took place between the Agar and Gok Dinka peoples to the east because a certain Chief Dut Raac fought the Agar and the Rek Dinka northwest of Gok territory.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ Oral histories remember that the Pathiang were in a place called Aguguang, however, everyone was hungry so they moved south until they reached Aluai and this was the area of the Yibel (Jurbel). When the Gok moved into this territory the Yibel (Jurbel) Chief Dier Yai⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ welcomed them and said "you will be our people." He bestowed on the Gok Dinka their name saying "you will be called Pathiang Dier."⁽¹⁹⁸⁾

Other Gok histories recount that when the Gok migrated into the territory they fought very hard wars with the Yibel pushing them south.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ One section of the Gok, the Ayiel, derived its name from the Yibel (Jurbel) word for "dirt

surrounding dhurra which is stored" ("Ayiel"). Apparently the Yibel initially named the Gok as such and the latter adopted it.⁽²⁰⁰⁾ Some Yibel (Jurbel) became cattle owners and began to marry Dinka women and a Gok informant states that today many Yibel have adopted Gok Dinka culture. For example, their age sets now mark their foreheads in the Dinka fashion and Dinka men marrying Yibel women pay a brideprice of ten cows. Yibel informants claim however, that they still maintain a strong independent culture and separate ethnic identity.⁽²⁰¹⁾

Relations with the Bongo to their south and west, on the other hand, are very different from that of the Yibel. The Bongo were once a large nation and located some distance away from the Gok near the modern-day town of Tonj. The Gok met them however, during hunting expeditions in the forest.⁽²⁰²⁾ While the Bongo could not afford to marry Gok women, the Dinka presently pay a brideprice of approximately 10 goats to acquire Bongo wives. However, the Bongo are primarily hunters and historically sold dried meat to the Gok and seldom cultivated the land.⁽²⁰³⁾ Recently Yibel and Bongo men have begun acquiring cattle and marrying Dinka women, paying a brideprice of twenty to thirty cows. However the Bongo, unlike the Yibel, have not acquired the Dinka practice of facial markings.⁽²⁰⁴⁾

Agriculturally, the Gok region is richer than many other Dinka territories and these Dinka cultivate a variety of vegetables as well as kec which is grown more than any other crop. Because their land is wealthy, the Gok people possess

more cattle than their neighbors.⁽²⁰⁵⁾ To the north of the Gok are the [Western] Luaic.

THE WESTERN LUAIC

The Western Luaic have six sections with subdivisions, the Abuong, Kuok, Pariak, Rubar, Wunthuc and Kongor.⁽²⁰⁶⁾ The Luaic people are split into two widely separated groups today, one in Upper Nile and the other residing in the Bahr el-Ghazal known as the Western Luaic.⁽²⁰⁷⁾ There are also Luaic peoples within the Atuot. It is also likely that the Luaic within the Atuot territory are derived from the same people. A Western Luaic informant claims that people crossed the Nile from the region of Bor migrating into the Bahr el-Ghazal and, finding Ciec already in the area proceeded westwards. Although the Atuot preceded them and settled, most Luaic continued, (apparently leaving some clans behind) moving with the Agar. When the Agar found a region in which to settle, the Luaic continued to forge northwest:

We were moving with our cattle and goats and then eventually the Gok people settled. Sometime after that the Rek also found a region, and then the Luaic came to reside in the land they are today. Meanwhile, the Malwal proceeded northwards and eventually they reached Aweil.⁽²⁰⁸⁾

Chief Makol Thokeor, a priest led the Luaic to their present location however, it seems these people may have been migrating along with certain groups of Twic Dinka for within Luaic territory today a pyramid of stones exists known as "Alel" in which a great Western Twic Chief, Kuol, is

buried.⁽²⁰⁹⁾

Although it is probable that the origin of the word "Luaic" was carried by those who migrated away the parent body east of the Nile, a Western Luaic informant believes the name was acquired after the original peoples' long trek northwestwards through the Bahr el-Ghazal. Having reached their modern-day territory these Dinka told their fellow clanspeople "you can go ahead we are exhausted." In Dinka, the word for tired or exhausted is 'Luaic.' People made fun of them and thus, they acquired the name.⁽²¹⁰⁾ Today the boundary between the Luaic and their neighbors to the west, the Rek-Tek, is Loupaher and Ador Bac. On their eastern border are the Nuer and to their south are the Agar-Pakam.⁽²¹¹⁾

Parallelling Agar oral history the Luaic believe the Rek are their brothers, and hence they quarrel rarely. The same is said of the Gok Dinka, referred to as an "Agar" brother. Therefore their relations are cordial because: "Gok is the son of our aunt (Gok Acuei) and the Luaic are also called Luaic Acuei." However, with the Agar, there are sometimes more serious wars because there is deemed to be no family relations between the two.

The Western Luaic believe their land is quite rich, (although kec does not grow there). In the past they mobilized all family members to acquire enough dhurra for food selling it to buy more cattle. They sell food to anyone whose crop has failed: Agar, Nuer, Gok, Western Twic and Rek.⁽²¹²⁾ To the east and contiguous to the Western Luaic are the Rek.

THE REK

The Rek are the largest of all Dinka groups and they are represented by three main sections, the Kuei which reside from the modern-day towns of Tonj to western Gogrial, the Apuk who reside from Tonj to east of Gogrial and the Ngok who reside in the town of Gogrial. These main sections are further subdivided and the Apuk have three divisions, the Gier, Joweer and Padoic. The Kuei have four major divisions, the Kuac Thiei, Akop, Aguok and Anaiatak. The Ngok have two divisions, the Awan and Ngok.⁽²¹³⁾ The Rek claimed the Ngok of Abyei are not related the Ngok of the Rek.⁽²¹⁴⁾ However, Ngok oral history notes that Ngok peoples migrated as far as the Rek territories.⁽²¹⁵⁾ Hence, it is possible the latter are migrants from the Western Ngok Dinka of Kordofan who migrated in small groups after the Rek arrival.

There are many clan histories regarding the Rek migrations to their present homeland in the Bahr el-Ghazal. Rek informants claim:

Many generations ago we migrated to Aliab country after crossing the Nile from the east settling at a place called Angac in Yirrol country. From there we moved west. We left the Agar, the Ciec and the Atuot. (There are Ciec in Angai and in Rumbek.) However the Rek continued migrating northwest settling in Thiet along the river Tonj up to a place called Payuel as well as up to the river Gogrial. However, the water was not sufficient so the Rek moved again.⁽²¹⁶⁾

Another informant states:

Our great great grandfather, Parek, gave birth to the present Rek. We came from the east and passed through Ethiopia to Pibor and then we crossed to the west of the Nile to Shambe then to Meshra and

from there some proceeded onwards and the Rek settled around the Tonj and Gogrial areas.⁽²¹⁷⁾

However, somewhat contrary to the above accounts, the Agar Dinka claim that the major Dinka groupings, the Luaic, Rek, Gok as well the Nuer (who are not Dinka) are derived from daughters of Agar Chief Marol and hence all were born from the Agar Dinka.⁽²¹⁸⁾

During the Anglo Egyptian Condominium other information collected about "Rek" history supports to some degree some of the above. A British administrator noted that the Dinka of Northern District stated they were descended from a female, Areik, who migrated from east of Rumbek.⁽²¹⁹⁾ Missionary Santandrea noted that the grandfather of Chief Mon Ariik lived northeast 30-40 kilometers from Meshra and migrated with his people in search of wider and better land, reaching their present homeland.⁽²²⁰⁾ A female priest of the Rek, Achol, settled in Gogrial (also east of Meshra). As an executive chief she had the power to decide on the direction of migrations and came to command the area of present-day Wau. It is claimed she is the one who chose this position for settlement and that the name of Wau today is derived from the Dinka name, Wauachol. The present road today was also initiated by Achol and her people.⁽²²¹⁾ The informant claimed he believed it happened before the Turkish period, however, Schweinfurth notes a Rek Chieftainess also called Chol, at Meshra in the 1860s who was later murdered by slavers.⁽²²²⁾

Another oral history of one of the Rek clan sections

supports some of the history above. A smaller section known as the Riny Tiik (Tek) proceeded under a war chief Makol Thogor settling in Gogrial. For a time this section was with the female Chief Achol in Meshra er-Rek.⁽²²³⁾

Informants claim that of the three major sections of the Rek (Apuk, Akuei and Ngok) the Rek sub-section Apuk was formed when other Dinka sections began war with this section. All but one Apuk warrior was killed and hence, the victors decided by consensus that he should be allowed to survive to compensate for all the others killed (Apuk means "compensation".) Informants claim this surviving man took the name of Apuk and married and eventually gave birth to this section.⁽²²⁴⁾

The subsection Kuei is derived from a bird of the same name for it was in the area of these birds that this particular section of the Rek people settled. Thus, they are known today as the "people of Kuei." The Ngok subsection of the Rek acquired its name from a deadly fish of the same name. (It is claimed the Ngok of Abyei are not related).⁽²²⁵⁾

According to oral histories of the Shilluk Luo collected by British administrator H. C. Jackson and my own Dinka informants the former preceded the latter into the Bahr el-Ghazal arriving approximately between 1650 and 1700 a.d. These Shilluk Luo arrived from Fashoda on the Nile via Meshra and met the Luel, who defended their land successfully.⁽²²⁶⁾ Settling along the edge of the iron-stone belt the Shilluk Luo eventually became agriculturalists and blacksmiths because thick bush and tsetse flies discouraged pastoralism. To their

west was the powerful and numerous nation of the Bongo who halted their further westward advancement.⁽²²⁷⁾

Following in the unsuccessful attempts of the Shilluk, the Areik (Rek Dinka) arrived, originating from far in the southeast (east of Rumbek.) Much like the Shilluk Luo, the Dinka were repulsed by the Luel after much heavy fighting (largely because the Dinka and Shilluk spears were no match for the Luel's poisoned arrows, darts spears and clubs.) While the Shilluk Luo accepted defeat and began to move westwards the Dinka made ox and buffalo hide shields and attacked the Luel again this time successfully. Driving them from the River Loll, the Dinka captured sheep, cattle, women and children, and forcing many to the Bahr el-Arab. As the Dinka pushed along the river Loll they were joined by the Shilluk Luo (Nirdimo) who now found the country to their west evacuated by the enemy.⁽²²⁸⁾

Throughout the centuries many of the Dinkas' neighbors became integrated and many Luo were incorporated into the Dinka amalgam. This included the Eastern Twic, Rek and Malwal communities.⁽²²⁹⁾ In the 1950s the chief of the Apuk (a large section of the Rek living north of the Wau-Meshra road) acknowledged that half of his subjects were origianlly Luo.⁽²³⁰⁾ Likewise many Bongo have been integrated into the Rek Dinka community however, this became necessary somewhat later after the Azande advance from the south.⁽²³¹⁾

However, clusters of unintegrated Luo groups remained and in the 1950s Santandrea noted two groups of unintegrated Luo

the Padimo and Pakir clans living between the Malwal and the Rek not far from Madhol.⁽²³²⁾ Another group in Wau township continue to speak Luo although they have adopted the Dinka customs of breaking their lower teeth and marking their heads.⁽²³³⁾ As late as 1996 among the Rek Dinka southwest of the town of Thiet in Mapel independent unintegrated groups of Luo continued to exist under their own chiefs still speaking their own language.⁽²³⁴⁾ As the Rek expanded to accommodate an expanding population a new group emerged, later to be known as the Malwal. Oral history recounts:

The Malwal were Rek but the people became many and fission took place. After the Malwal left, another group of Rek moved to the area of [today's] Gogrial region along the Gogrial and Lol rivers. The Rek that remained are today known as the "Tonj county Rek" and today the towns of Tonj, Gogrial, and Aweil, all comprise Rek people. The last to move were the Twic.⁽²³⁵⁾

A similar but more detailed story is recounted of how the Rek of Gogrial and the Malwal migrated away from the main body of the Rek Dinka:

A Rek Chief, Longar became powerful overshadowing his brother Ariath who then became jealous and both quarreled. So Ariath left so [that] he could be an independent "beny bith" (spearmaster) accompanied by his younger brother Malwal. Eventually Ariath settled north of today's Gogrial area while Malwal, the younger brother accompanied Ariath becoming the great great grandfather of the Malwal of Aweil.⁽²³⁶⁾

Agriculturally, Rek Dinka territory is not as fertile as that of the Agar and Ciec regions for the soils are muddy. Hence, these Dinka needed to expand more quickly to both feed themselves and graze their cattle. Kec stops growing well at

the southwestern limits of this territory and only a grain, "jiang" is cultivated.⁽²³⁷⁾ Other ecological factors affected the Rek and around the territory of Thiet the Dinka were forced to expand because of insufficient water.⁽²³⁸⁾ Today the Malwal are northwest of the Rek.

THE MALWAL

The Malwal are broken into four major sections, the Malwal Malwal in the northwest, the Abiem Malwal in the northeast, the Palyouping Malwal in the southwest and the Paliet Malwal in the southeast. The Malwal and Abiem are located north of the river Lol, the others are to its south. The Malwal Malwal have four subsections, the Malwal Abiem have six subsections. South of the river Lol are the Palyouping and the Paliet. The Palyouping Malwal have five subsections while the Paliet Malwal have four.⁽²³⁹⁾

Generally, the Malwal state that centuries ago "we dispersed in a place called Cui (Angan) in Upper Nile [province]."⁽²⁴⁰⁾ Sometime after these Dinka clans migrated south they crossed the Nile and migrated in a northwesterly direction. Malwal informants claim that two famous chiefs, Deng Dit and Ariath Makuei (both "priests") brought the Malwal people to the western banks of the Nile many generations ago.⁽²⁴¹⁾ Informants note that "the Rek decided to settle where they are today, the Luaic then settled in their present position while the Malwal proceeded northwards to Aweil."⁽²⁴²⁾

Noting my oral histories collected it appears that each Malwal section migrated into their present territory at different times. Most Malwal history concerns regional migrations out of the Rek territories into their present land. The Malwal (Luo) scholar, Damazo Dut Majak, states that the Malwal split from the Rek, who in turn evolved from the Agar, (who claim they originally migrated from the Yirrol region west of the Nile). This argument is similar to that mentioned above. He states:

The Malwal began to push westwards from the River Jur about three hundred years ago, under the pressure of an increasing population. Expanding peacefully, they established settlements in the alluvial plains of the Loll river, on its tributaries and in the Gok forests as cultivators and transhumants. Their expansion northwards stopped because of aridity and to the south and west because of the tsetse fly, which threatened their livestock with disease.⁽²⁴³⁾

Another Dinka oral history records that the Malwal and Rek parted ways near Apuk in Gogrial. The Malwal headed northwest (eventually taking their position in the far northwestern corner of Malwal-land, leaving the Apuk (Rek) Dinka in their present position. One informant claims that the Abiem section of the Malwal evolved from a Rek group some of whose clans remained in the modern day Tonj region and reside there today.⁽²⁴⁴⁾ Those Malwal-Malwals in the far northwest bordering the Bahr-el-Arab/Kir river region arrived, it is claimed, because they were following the buffalo:

When we left from Angan to our present area we followed the same pass made by the buffaloes which is called 'Malwal following' and from this time we were called "Malwal."⁽²⁴⁵⁾

Another informant explains how the Paliel-Malwal now resident in the southeast of the Malwal amalgam came to their present position:

The Paliel-Malwal group also migrated from Rek territory, near the modern day town of Gogrial and were led westwards by my great grandfather, Wek Deng, five generations ago. We moved to an "empty" place when he was told by his father: 'Deng go west because the young people will die, because they are constantly hunting buffalo and will be killed by them.' His own father was a spiritual leader based at Mariel (not the town near Tonj) and what he meant by this statement was that it was bad that people hunted buffalo in large hunting parties and he believed that one day the buffalo would kill them all. So he wanted us to leave the life of hunting, get our cattle and settle down as herdsmen. ⁽²⁴⁶⁾

However, another informant claims that all four major sections of the Malwal left around the same time from the Rek country and that no one prominent chief led the people to their respective homelands. Rather, several chiefs led the migration northwards. For example, among the Palyoupiny, Chief Kuac Kuac, Chief Ding Lual, Chief Autiak Akot and Atuojong Anyuon are remembered. Among the Abiem, Chiefs Kuol Makuac and Malong Yor are noted. Among the Paliel, Chiefs Ariath Kon and Week Atuong are remembered. ⁽²⁴⁷⁾

The Dinka/Luo scholar Damazo Dut Majak states that the second largest ethnic group in the Malwal region, the Luo, preceded the Dinka centuries before having also originated from Yirol, just west of the Nile. However Santandrea notes that the Luo came from the northeast ⁽²⁴⁸⁾ and that they reached the River Jur gradually pushing further west in the following centuries. He proposed tentatively that the Luo

migrated into the Bahr el-Ghazal around 1600 which is a later estimate than that of British administrators, J. M. Stubbs and C. G. T. Morrison who suggest they migrated sometime between 1500 and 1620 coinciding with that of the Atwot.⁽²⁴⁹⁾ Santandrea suggests that the Luo and Dembos (also of the Luo family) occupied the Bahr el Ghazal, but later proved no match for the second invading population, the Malwal, who gradually took over almost all of their land. He proposes the Dinka arrived in 1700.⁽²⁵⁰⁾ It is likely the Malwal arrived after their present-day neighbors the Western Twic whose land is far richer.

Dinka oral histories however, mention nothing of battles with the Luo, and instead remember wars only with the Luel:

We found these Luel here and we displaced them. They were cattle owners and my great great grandfather used to fight with these people at night which is when they attacked. He addressed the god of light (the star of Venus, 'ciir') asking it to 'light the way for my cows so that Luel people do not come and get me.' Later we adopted 'ciir' as a totem.⁽²⁵¹⁾

Another informant states that when the Paliet Malwal arrived they found Luel people in the area all the way up to the river Kiir (Bahr el-Arab). A Chief Deng told the young men to fight the Luel and take their cattle: "so the young people pushed some of the Luel north, integrated with the others and acquired cattle. This is how our area was founded."⁽²⁵²⁾

The Malwal also recall battles with people on horseback:

When we came to our present area we fought with people on horseback. Although we are tall these people could see us from afar and when we ran the men on horseback overran us. Then Turtuk, a man,

brought out a red bull and killed it and asked God to reduce the size of the red people. So today we are called "Malwal on foot" which is the name of this bull.⁽²⁵³⁾

This oral history most likely notes the beginning of the Baggara prenetration into Malwal territory in the latter eighteenth century. These Islamic pastoralists accompanied the Luel who aimed to recover their recently lost territory.

The migration of the Malwal into their present-day homeland suggests there was a degree of violence, however, they did not drive all previous residents off the land for in the Malwal region in the twentieth century there still existed unintegrated Luo and Luel clans.⁽²⁵⁴⁾ The Malwal had absorbed some Shatt elements, believed on the one hand to be related to the Luel, but also to resemble the Luo in speech and culture. These groups now live in Aweil, north of Wau.⁽²⁵⁵⁾

Up to twenty years ago there was at least one village in the Palyoupiny area northwest of Aweil called Makuac Lang where groups of unintegrated Luel clans continued to exist, among them the "Panyang." However, in the chaos of the present-day war it has disappeared.⁽²⁵⁶⁾ Additionally, unintegrated independent Luo sections (now known to the Dinka as Jur-Chol) also exist each headed by their own chiefs. Among them are Chief Akol Unquac (whose Luo section is located in the Paliet-Malwal region) and Ajing Upia who is located in the Palyoupiny region.⁽²⁵⁷⁾

How Dinka section names were acquired over time is of historical interest and the name "Malwal" was acquired by the

people when they left the Rek area with red bulls which they slaughtered to ensure their new home was holy.⁽²⁵⁸⁾ Another claims the Malwal followed a certain buffalo for some distance with a view to killing it. When they did, they acquired the name "people following the buffalo" also known as "Malwal."⁽²⁵⁹⁾ However, Kelly postulates the name "Malwal" may have been derived from the region which originally belonged to the "Luel."⁽²⁶⁰⁾ However, Dinka place names are usually prefixed with "Pa" in which case it should be Paluel. The origin of the Dinka section name "Palyoupiny" came from those migrating into the region who settled in a place with many Lulu trees (Rak in Dinka) from which oil is derived. It is said that when people eat this oil they get fat and become "palyoupiny." The Malwal section name "Paliet" was acquired when these particular Malwal people failed to come to the aid of their neighboring Dinka who frequently fought wars with the Baggara to their north. Rather, they remained "idle" or just looked on which in Dinka is "liet," hence the name Paliet. These Dinka objected to being called this name but over the years came to accept it because all their neighbors referred to them as such.⁽²⁶¹⁾

The land that the Malwal Dinka migrated into was not as rich as the soils south of the Rek country or the Agar region for it is flooded for much of the year. However, they were able to grow enough to survive including short growing dhurra varieties known as anyan and jiang as well as millet.⁽²⁶²⁾ To the northeast of the Malwal are the Western Twic.

WESTERN TWIC

There are four major sections of the Western Twic (along with subsections). All four are located north of Gogrial beginning from east and going west in a line beginning with the Akwar, Amol, Adiang and ending with the Thon.⁽²⁶³⁾ According to Dinka oral history the various clans of the Western Twic are related to those of the same name residing today on the eastern banks of the Nile in the Bor region. At some point this Dinka group split in two with one migrating across the Nile in a northwesterly direction while the other remaining in its present position.

It is orally recorded that the groups divided peacefully at Patundur and from here many clans migrated as far as three hundred miles into today's northern Bahr el-Ghazal province.⁽²⁶⁴⁾ Many people left because they needed new pastures and grazing for their cattle and there are no wars or battles remembered.⁽²⁶⁵⁾ After centuries of separation a similar nomenclature exists between both groups: the Eastern Twic claim those in the west now call themselves Twic Mayardit, a name also existing among those in the east. Additionally, within the Western and Eastern Twic there are clans called Kuac, both of which are part of the Adjuong subsections. Lastly, both groups share the same totems.⁽²⁶⁶⁾

The Western Twic version of their migration is similar to that of their eastern counterparts:

When we were east of the Nile the Twic were one people but some of us crossed the Nile and migrated to our present region. When we were east of the

Nile and there was a chief called Atwic Arem, who was the father of the Twic, and when we crossed we took the name with us, while he remained in the east and so we are brothers with the Eastern Twic. This is confirmed because of sub-clans in the eastern and western Twic of the same name: Kuac, Adiang, Hol, Payeth, and Aweng, Wunrok, Akoc. We crossed the Nile under the leadership of Ayuel and Garang (two different chiefs) and then Bol Nyuol (who was a beny bith). We had no quarrel but left because there was not enough land.⁽²⁶⁷⁾

Another oral tradition holds that after the Twic crossed to the west bank of the Bahr el Jebel at Shambe, one subsection resided for some time among the Ciec Dinka. However, conflict between these two groups precipitated a westward migration of this branch of the Twic.⁽²⁶⁸⁾ It seems that later in their migrations through the Bahr el-Ghazal, another Western Twic subsection reached the modern-day Western Luaic territory remaining there for a period. Luaic informants state the famous Twic Chief, Kuol Alel, who led the Twic across the Nile and into the Bahr el-Ghazal region north of Paliang, died there and was buried in a pyramid of stones in the area today called "Alel." It is believe he died quite some time before the Turkiyya which began in 1821.⁽²⁶⁹⁾

Achaeology supports that the Twic Dinka territory was once home to a different ethnic group and studies of numerous village mounds around Wun Rok in Dinka territory (160 kilometers north of Wau, the capital of the Bahr el Ghazal Province) and Dhang Rial (nine degrees north and twenty-eight degrees east) reveal that hump-backed cattle entered the region only within the last five hundred years.⁽²⁷⁰⁾ Excavations suggest that the region had been previously

inhabited by tall "Nilotic" people who did not practice dental evulsion (a practice common among the Dinka until recently). Dinka historical histories claim the mound builders were the "Luel," a cattle herding, iron using people some of whom fled while others assimilated when the Dinka arrived in the region from the east. Unlike the encroaching Dinka, the Luel did not have hump-backed cattle and Nicholas David argues that the introduction of this new breed was a significant causative factor in the abandonment of the nucleated mound villages of the Wun Rok region and the spread of modern patterns of Nilotic pastoralism.⁽²⁷¹⁾

These archaeological findings provide a baseline for the earliest possible arrival of the Dinka in the northern Bahr el-Ghazal as 1500. Noting that their northern neighbors, the Western Ngok arrived no later than the early 1700s and that the Western Twic were already in place (the Twic land is far superior and the Ngok would not have settled in inferior land first). Further, small Ngok clans later migrated into Twic territory and the Ngok claim the Twic section, Twic Kwac and the Akok clans are of Ngok extraction.⁽²⁷²⁾ It can therefore be reasonably assumed that the Twic arrived within this time frame (1500-1700). Cross-checking their arrival with that of other oral data and the beginnings of the eighteenth-century slave trade it is reasonable to assume they arrived sometime during the seventeenth century.

Dinka Twic historical histories parallel that of their Malwal and Rek neighbors who remember that as they migrated

into their present-day territory they displaced a mound-building, iron using and cattle herding people called the Luel. It is remembered that some were driven out while others were assimilated.⁽²⁷³⁾ According to Santandrea the Twic wrung piece by piece most of their territory from its former inhabitants.

According to Luel history a certain Luel Chief Akangtok lived in a place called Rec, a hillock within the present-day Twic territory. He was defeated by two Twic sections, the Adiang and the Yol-Kuel who joined forces against him. At this point most of Akangtok's people fled west.⁽²⁷⁴⁾ Western Twic informants concur with most of the above: "There were people in our region called Luel. They were red skinned and when we went into the area we fought and displaced many of them but also integrated with them by marriage."⁽²⁷⁵⁾

Numbers of Luel and Luo peoples integrated into the Western Twic communities however, other Luel remained unintegrated and Santandrea notes remnants of their communities existed in 1957 among the Twic where a big family continued to exist and whose close relatives, the Patek lived in the Malwal region. Others resided among the Rek of Thiet.⁽²⁷⁶⁾ Among the Luel, Tek was their common ancestor who remained in the Twic country begetting numerous children. In the 1950s the Gurmok and Ber represented major Luel sections. The Gurmok (Gurmok) were the Girma of the Ngok. and the Ber resided at Ber Ajou near the Nuer border in the country of Chief Ngok Lual Ayak. Another Luel group were located in Chief

Benjamin Lang's territory on the borders of Nuerland. They lived as hunters of elephants and hippopotami. Some Ber (Luel) also resided among the Manager.⁽²⁷⁷⁾

Of the four main sections of the Twic: Amol, Adiang, Thon and Akwar the latter acquired their name when Chief Juk Ring and his people migrated to their present territory and settled while many others kept moving ahead to the Nuer and Ngok territories. Chief Juk decided to encourage some of those recently settled in the Nuer and Ngok territories to return "because his area comprised rich soils and grasslands." Hence, "Akwar" in Dinka means "someone who gathers people around him and unifies them into a collected group." Today there are twelve sections of the Akwar. The origin of the section name "Thon" is similar to that above and is derived from those people "brought back" ("Thon") by Chief Juk. Today the Thon section consists of four subsections.⁽²⁷⁸⁾

The Adiang section acquired their name from an historical incident concerning a powerful priest who specialized in solving problems. One day when the people visited him he failed to wake up and so his wife donned his leopard skin and impersonated her husband. When the priest awoke to discover his wife performing his "miracles" he angrily accused the masses of having distorted minds. He asked "why did you accept her?" He then accused them all of being disturbed stating "from today you are all 'Adiang.' and then collapsed and died. From that day onwards the people of this section were referred to as "Adiang" or those whose minds have been disturbed. At

present there are thirteen subsections.⁽²⁷⁹⁾

The land that the Western Twic migrated into was of good quality and the toic (grasslands) are among some of the best in the region. Over the centuries other Dinka and Nuer groups have vied for these rich grasslands. Being considerably richer than the Malwal territory, the Twic were able to grow dhurra which variety is known as athial along with many other crops. Hence they higher brideprice for their women and are a richer Dinka community.⁽²⁸⁰⁾

NOTES TO APPENDIX

1. Linguistically, a glottochronological study of the southern versus northern Luo languages shows a split occurred somewhere in A.D. 870 (plus or minus 200) or between 670 and 1070 A.D. See B. Blount and R. T. Curley, "The Southern Luo Languages: A Glottochronological Reconstruction," Journal of African Languages IX I 1970: 1-18. See also R. S. Herring, "Hydrology and Chronology: The Rodah Nilometer as an Aid in Dating Interlacustrine History," in Chronology, Migration and Drought in Interlacustrine Africa, J. Webster, ed. (London: Longman and Dalhousie University Press, 1979), 39-86.

2. From there groups then slowly dispersed with the Central Paraniotic proto Maasai moving into Kenya and some of the proto-northern Paraniotes pushing west settled nearer the Lwo. Webster argues oral traditions support that there were two severe and distinct droughts in 1382-1409 and 1436-1463 and that the first of these broke up the proto-Northern Lwo settlements in southern Sudan. See Webster, "Noi! Noi!," 5-11; Herring, "Hydrology and Chronology," 39-86.

3. Personal interview: Dickson Ogolla Oroku, (Kenyan Luo) Nyabagok, south Sudan.

4. Personal interview: Albino Ukec Simon, (Sudanese Luo) Nyabagok, south Sudan.

5. Certain informants state the Abialang come under the umbrella of the Dunghol.

6. Personal interviews: Cok Kuek Ywai (Dunghol-Ager) and Majak Chol Mayiik (Dunghol-Niel) and Musa Ajak Liol (Abialang) Kakuma, Kenya.

7. Personal interviews: Barnaba Wuor and Samuel Majak Piok (Ghol Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

8. Personal interview: Phillip Thon Marol (Thoi Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

9. These groups are presently under Chief Deng Ngor Kok. However, around Renk there are other clans, the Akon, Luangwien and Rom which are presently under Chief Moindeng Ajing while the Dhok, Koeng, Nita and Abeet clans are under Chief Akui Ajak Ngor. Personal interview: Musa Ajak Liol (Abialang) Cok Kuek Ywai (Dunghol-Ager) and Majak Chol Mayiik (Dunghol-Niel) Kakuma, Kenya.

10. Personal interview: Musa Ajak Liol (Abialang) Kakuma, Kenya.

11. Personal interview: Phillip Thon Marol (Thoi Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

12. Westermann, The Shilluk People Ivi; Herring, "The Rodah Nilometer," and Webster, "Noi, Noi".

13. It is estimated that the Shilluk in the form of six families migrated to the region some time during the period between 1412-1419 ahead of the vanguard of large waves of southward moving Dinka and came to reside on the left bank of the Nile, across the Nile sudd block. See Kathy Ann Yunger, "Nyikang The Warrior Priest: Shilluk (Chol) Imagery, Economics and Political Development," Ph.D. Dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1985, 149. It is during the reign of the Shilluk King, Ocolo (1600-1635), that extensive unification of the Shilluk became necessary because of the vanguard of Dinka penetration into Shilluk territory. See Westermann, The Shilluk People, Ivi and Yunger, "Nyikang the Warrior Priest," 131.

14. Personal interview: Phillip Thon Marol (Thoi Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. Upon arrival, the Shilluk displaced and absorbed large numbers of sedentary peoples already resident in the region, the Apfuny, Obwongo and/or Dongo. Terms interpreted by scholars today as Fung, strangers or red men. See, J. Spaulding, "The Funj: A Reconsideration," Journal of African History 13 (1972): 43; "Farmers, Herdsmen and the State in Rainland Sinnar," Journal of African History 20 (1979): 329-347; Westermann, The Shilluk People; G. Lienhardt, "The Shilluk of the Upper Nile," African Worlds, D. Forde, ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 144 and "Nilotic Kings and Their Mother's Kin," Africa 27, (1955): 341-355.

Proof of Funj occupation of the Sobat is also provided by archaeologist, Else Johansen Kleppe, who discovered Funj pottery in Renk and Malakal. See, "The Debbas on the White Nile," in Culture History, 59-71.

15. Personal interview: Cok Kuek Ywai (Dunghol-Ager Dinka) and Majak Chol Mayiik (Dunghol-Niel Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

16. Personal interview: Phillip Thon Marol (Thoi Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

17. Gabriel Giet Jal, "The History of the Jikany Nuer Before 1920," Ph.D. Thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1987, 94.

18. Personal interview: Cok Kuek Ywai (Dunghol-Ager Dinka) and Majak Chol Mayiik (Dunghol-Niel Dinka) Phillip Thon Marol (Thoi Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

19. Personal interviews: Cok Kuek Ywai (Dunghol-Ager) and Majak Chol Mayiik (Dunghol-Niel) Kakuma, Kenya.

20. Personal interviews: Sarah Nyanek Daac and John Deng Pur (Eastern Ngok) Kakuma, Kenya; Reverend Reuben Abiel Chuang and John Aben Deng (Eastern Ngok) Nairobi, Kenya.

21. Personal interview: Simon Ayuel Deng (Eastern Ngok Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

22. Personal interview: Reverend Reuben Abiel Chuang and John Aben Deng (Eastern Ngok) Nairobi, Kenya.

23. Personal interview: Simon Ayuel Deng, Sarah Nyanek Daac and John Deng Pur (Eastern Ngok) Kakuma, Kenya.

24. Personal interview: Simon Ayuel Deng (Eastern Ngok) Kakuma, Kenya.

25. Personal interview: Malwal Chan Gaac (Eastern. Luaic) Kakuma, Kenya.

26. Personal interview: David Deng Athorbei (Atuot-Apak) Nairobi, Kenya.

27. Personal interview: Malwal Chan Gaac (Eastern Luaic) Kakuma, Kenya.

28. SAD 764/12/21 [P.P. Howell].

29. Personal interview: Santino Malual Meet (Rut-Pajut) Kakuma, Kenya.

30. Personal interview: Paul Dak Kachuol (Rut-Cuei) Santino Malual Meet (Rut-Pajut) and Phillip Thon Marol (Thoi) Kakuma, Kenya.

31. Ibid.

32. Personal interview: John Biem Ngok Bilkuai (Ruweng-Paneru) Kakuma). It should be noted the Alor no longer consider themselves administratively part of the Ruweng.

33. British administrators noted that the district is fairly rich in cattle but cultivates a very poor crop of dhurra. SAD 764/12/21 [P.P. Howell].

34. Yunger, "Nyikang the Warrior Priest," 164; Webster, "Noi! Noi! Famines," 5.

35. Another date for the Shilluk arrival in their land is that of 1540. They engaged the Funj in a series of battles and defeated them. See M. E. C. Pumphrey, "Shilluk 'Royal' Language Conventions," Sudan Notes and Records Vol. XX, Part II, 1937 and Pumphrey, "The Shilluk Tribe," in Sudan Notes and Records Vol. XXIV (1941) and John Warner Frost, "A History of the Shilluk of the Southern Sudan," Ph.D. Dissertation University of California, Santa Barbara, 1974, 99.

36. See, Hofmayr, "Die Schilluk," and Westermann, The Shilluk People, LV, Ivi.

37. Personal interview: John Biem Ngok Bilkuai (Ruweng-Paneru) Kakuma, Kenya. During the reign of the Shilluk King Akwot, another battle with the "Dinka hordes" represented the last large migration across the Shilluk country retracing their steps to the eastern banks of the Nile river. It is said that every Shilluk at that time had a Dinka slave girl and a Dinka cow from the booty of Akwot. See Riad, "Divine Kingship of the Shilluk," 158, 161.

38. Personal interview: Lazarus Leek Mawut (Nyarruweng-Abiok Dinka) London, England; Kelly, Nuer Conquests, 24; SAD 764/12/21 [P.P. Howell].

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Personal interviews: Reverend Reuben Abiel Chuang and John Aben Deng (Eastern Ngok) Nairobi, Kenya and Daniel Dok Manyang (Eastern Ruweng) Kakuma, Kenya.

42. Personal interview: Daniel Dok Manyang (Eastern Ruweng) Kakuma, Kenya.

43. Personal communication: Chol Machar Dau (Eastern Paweng/Ruweng Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

44. Personal communication: William Mayar Dau (Alor-Abang) and Mary Awien Nyok (Alor-Amal) Kakuma, Kenya.

45. During field research in Nairobi I was informed by the Minister of Culture and Information of New Sudan, Pagan Amun and the secretary of the Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association, Arthur Akuen Chol, that the Paramount Chiefs of the Alor wanted to be considered as "separate" from the main body of the Ruweng. Personal interviews: Nairobi, Kenya.

46. Personal interview: Reverend Reuben Abiel Chuang and John Aben Deng (Eastern Ngok) Nairobi, Kenya.

47. Personal communication: William Mayar Dau (Alor-Abang) Kakuma, Kenya.

48. Personal communication: Mary Awien Nyok (Alor-Amal) Kakuma, Kenya.

49. Personal interview: Maguith Deng Kuol and Agoth Alor Bulabek (Western Ngok-Abyor) Kakuma, Kenya. See also, Deng, Deng Majok. According to Santandrea the Alei clan were originally another ethnic group and the word in Dinka means "strangers." He notes they are remembered as shorter than the Ngok and reddish in color. He suggests they are the Luel who it is said were helped by Chief Arop Biong who "gathered [them] in one place and offered them a land to live in by themselves." When Chief Arop Biong died in 1903 their Ngok neighbors chased these immigrants away. However, another more Dinka-ized section of these peoples remained permanently in the land having renounced its language and culture. Stefano Santandrea, The Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal (Sudan) (Editrice: Nigrizia, 1968), 190.

50. Personal interviews: Simon Ayuel Deng, Sarah Nyanek Daac, John Deng Pur (Eastern Ngok Dinka), Kakuma, Kenya. See also, David Cole and Richard Huntington, African Rural Development: Some Lessons from Abyei, unpublished manuscript, Cambridge, Harvard Institute for International Development, October 1985 who suggest the Ngok may share traditions with the Shilluk, the only other Nilotes with a centralized polity, [Obtained from the Center for Development Studies, University of Bergen, Norway], Chap. 6. 2, 7-8.

51. Personal interview: John Biem Ngok Bilkuai (Ruweng-Paneru) Kakuma, Kenya.

52. Personal interview: Ring Deng Biong (W. Ngok Abyor) Cairo, Egypt.

53. Personal interview: Ring Deng Biong (W. Ngok Abyor) Cairo, Egypt.

54. See S. F. Beswick, "The Ngok: Emergence and Destruction of a Nilotic Proto-State in Southwest Kordofan," Kordofan Invaded: Peripheral Incorporation and Sectoral Transformation in Islamic Africa, 1785-1995, Michael Kevane and Endre Stiansen, eds., forthcoming, Brill.

55. Santandrea, Ethno-Geography 126; K. D. D. Henderson, "The Migration of the Missiria Tribes into South Western Kordofan," Sudan Notes and Records 22, No. 1 (1939): 58. Informants state the past eight generations of Ngok chiefs are Dumbek, Jok, Monydhang, Alor, Biong (Turkiyya period) Arop Biong, Kwol Arob and Deng Majok. Personal interview: Maguith Deng Kuol and Agoth Alor Bulabek (W. Ngok-Abyor) Kakuma, Kenya. Francis Deng notes the founder of the Pajok clan, Jok, competed with Longar for power and it is Jok's descendants, the Pajok, who retained leadership throughout the centuries by primogeniture. Deng, Deng Majok, 43-5.

Santandrea differs somewhat in his list of Ngok leaders. He notes the Ngok leader Jok lived around 1640 east of the Nile at Ngok-luel-yat. He was succeeded by the following leaders, Bulabek (1665), Donbek (1690), Kuol (1720 who crossed the Nile, settled along the Ngol), Monydan (1750 who lived along the Ngol), Alor (1785 who went to Abyei [c.1810] buried near the Ngol), Biong (1815 who went south to Wunewei and died there), Arop (1840 time of the Mahdiya), Kuol (1865), Deng Makwei (Deng Majok). Santandrea, The Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal 129, 191, 195.

56. Cole and Huntington, African Rural Development, ch. 7, 2-3.

57. Henderson, "The Migration of the Missiria," 58; Santandrea notes that in the early twentieth century Ngok leader Kwol Arop found a considerable number of Begi still in his territory and decided to redress their wrongs by gathering them all in one place and offering them a separate land in which to live within the Ngok environs. They then began to intermarry with the Dinka and started keeping cattle. When Arop Biong died in 1903 the Ngok clan, the Allei, waged war against the Begi and so they fled west to their brothers who had joined the Rizeiqat where they were united into a large group. Santandrea, The Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal, 129-130, 196.

58. SAD 660/11/206 and 478/5/6 [K.D.D. Henderson in a document entitled "Dagu and Shatt."]

59. P. P. Howell, SAD GIIS1124/450-60.

60. Personal interview: Ring Deng Biong (W. Ngok Abyor) Cairo, Egypt.
61. Personal interviews: Barnaba Wuor and Samuel Majak Piok (Ghol) Kakuma, Kenya.
62. Personal interviews: Barnaba Wuor, Samuel Majak Piok and Deng Malwal Mabur Mahboub (Ghol) Kakuma, Kenya.
63. J. W. G. Wyld "Bor District Notes, Upper Nile Province Handbook," Chapter Three, Durham University, Sudan Archives 212/15/4.
64. G. Beltrame, Il Fiume Bianco E I Denka (Verona: 1881), 263.
65. See, A. Kaufmann, Schilderungen aus Centralafrika oder Land und Leute im Obern Nilgebiete am weissen Flusse (Brixen: A. Weger, 1862).
66. J. W. G. Wyld, "Bor District Notes, Upper Nile Province Handbook," Chapter Three, Durham University, Sudan Archives 212/15/4.
67. Personal interview: Lazarus Leek Mawut (Nyarruweng-Abiok) London, England.
68. Personal interview: Issac Lat (Ghol-Nyiel Dinka) Cairo, Egypt.
69. Personal interview: Lazarus Leek Mawut (Nyarruweng-Abiok) London, England.
70. Personal interview: Solomon Leek Deng and Abdengokuer Adut (Nyarruweng) Kakuma, Kenya.
71. Personal interviews: Barnaba Wuor and Samuel Majak Piok (Ghol) Kakuma, Kenya.
72. Personal interviews: Solomon Leek Deng and Abdengokuer Adut (Nyarruweng) Kakuma, Kenya; Also concurring with this belief is Lazarus Leek Mawut (Nyarruweng-Abiok) London, England.
73. Personal interview: Lazarus Leek Mawut (Nyarruweng-Abiok) London, England.
74. Originating from near the modern-day Didinga territory on the Ugandan border, Murle oral history recounts that they forged north under pressure from the Jiye and Topotha. Migrating from Kathiangor Mountain to the Maruwa Hills they reached the valley of the Lotilla near south eastern Ethiopia

around 1780. Then they migrated west into what had recently become Dinka territory. SAD 104/16/1-13 (John Winder).

75. Personal interviews: Solomon Leek Deng and Abdengokuer Adut (Nyarruweng) Kakuma, Kenya; Lazarus Leek Mawut (Nyarruweng) London, England.

76. Personal interview: Deng Malwal Mabur Mahboub (Ghol) Kakuma, Kenya.

77. Personal interview: Lazarus Leek Mawut (Nyarruweng) London, England.

78. Personal interview: Solomon Leek Deng and Abdengokuer Adut (Nyarruweng) Kakuma, Kenya. Another informant states, Nyarruweng means literally "Nyar" the period when the cattle are released before being milked and then brought back around 9 a.m. Personal interview: Lazarus Leek Mawut (Nyarruweng) London, England.

79. Personal interviews: Solomon Leek Deng and Abdengokuer Adut (Nyarruweng) Kakuma, Kenya; Lazarus Leek Mawut (Nyarruweng) London.

80. Personal interviews: Alier Arok Akuein, Mayen Jok Majok, Kuc Manyang Kuany, Deng Dut, Dau Tor, Atem Ayiik, Atem Garang Deng and Deng Kuek Atem, (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.

81. Personal interviews: Atem Garang Deng, Deng Kuek Atem and Philip Aguer Panyang (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.

82. Per Sofholm, "The River-Lake Nilotes: Politics of an African Tribal Group," Studia Sociologica Upsaliensia #8, Uppsala: Uppsala University Doctoral Dissertation Thesis, 1973 (subsequent unpublished document derived from the thesis, "The Dinka: The River-Lake Nilotes, Uppsala 1973, 116-131, 58).

83. Personal interviews: Deng Malwal Mabur Mahboub (Ghol) and Bul Awuol Ayuel (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.

84. Personal interview: Diing Akol Diing (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.

85. Personal interviews: Bul Awuol Ayuel and Diing Akol Diing (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya (Diing Akol claims people also separated in Paneru).

86. Personal interview: Tor Deng Lual and John Majok Deng (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.

87. J. W. G. Wyld, "Bor District Notes, Upper Nile Province Handbook," Chapter Three, Durham University, Sudan Archives 212/15/4.

88. Personal interview: Philip Aguer Panyang (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.
89. Personal interview: Ayuel Parmena Bul (Eastern Twic-Abek) Kakuma, Kenya.
90. Personal interview: Philip Aguer Panyang (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.
91. Personal interview: Atem Garang Deng and Deng Kuek Atem (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.
92. Ibid.
93. Personal interviews: Alier Arok Akuein, Mayen Jok Majok, Kuc Manyang Kuany, Deng Dut, Dau Tor, Kuir Jok, Atem Ayiik and Bul Awuol Ayuel (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.
94. Personal interview: Bul Awuol Ayuel (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.
95. Personal interview: Atem Garang Deng and Deng Kuek Atem (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.
96. Personal interviews: Alier Arok Akuein, Mayen Jok Majok, Kuc Manyang Kuany, Deng Dut, Dau Tor, Kuir Jok and Atem Ayiik (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.
97. Among the Bor Gok, the Abiei court center is at Cuei Ker, the Hol court center is at Kolnyang, the Palek court center is Anyidi and the Koc court center is Makuac. Within the Bor-Atoc the Biung and Angakuei Pathuyiei have their court center at Baidit while the Juet and Abuoudit Alian have their court center at Jalee. Personal interview: Abed Nego Aciek (Bor Gok) Kakuma, Kenya.
98. Personal interview: Abdulla Ayom Kuany (Bor-Atoc) Kakuma, Kenya.
99. Personal interview: Johnson Kuol Kur (Bor-Gok) Kakuma, Kenya.
100. Personal interview: Michael Majok Bor (Bok Gok) Kakuma, Kenya "The Bor region has poorer soil which does not produce crops as well as other places." Personal interview: Lazarus Leek Mawut (Nyarruweng) London, England.
101. The spear was considered a source of wealth. If one married into a group that currently possessed the spear one had to contribute a bull and a heffer to the spear. Personal interview: Deng Acuoth (Bor-Gok Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya. Others who contributed to the above history of "Lirpiou" or

"Lierpiou" are: Wuut Maac, Wec Chol, Johnson Kuol Kur, Makuac Jok Deng, Makere Chol Adol (Bor-Gok) Kakuma, Kenya.

102. Personal interview: Abed Nego Aciek (Bor Gok) Kakuma, Kenya.

103. In their wake they drove the Beri from the mountains at Lokoya and Liry, and pressed them into the large islands of the Nile which they still inhabited in 1857. See, A. Kaufmann, Schilderungen aus Centralafrika, 153.

104. Personal interview: Michael Majok Bor (Bok Gok) Kakuma, Kenya.

105. Personal interviews: Stephen Anyaak Chol (Pakam-Agar) Akot, south Sudan. Bor-Atoch Dinka, Mom Kou Arou admits that these Dinka speak Dinka with an admix of other languages. Personal interview: Hamilton, Canada.

106. Personal interview: Philip Aguer Panyang (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.

107. Wendy James, 'Kwanim Pa The Making of the Uduk People (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 73.

108. They originated from near the modern-day Didinga territory on the Ugandan border Murle oral history recounts that they forged north under pressure from the Jiye and Topotha. Migrating from Kathiangor Mountain to the Maruwa Hills they reached the valley of the Lotilla near south eastern Ethiopia around 1780 and then migrated west into what had recently become Dinka territory. SAD 104/16/1.

109. Personal interview: Diing Akol Diing (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya. Another Bor argues the Murle, Mundari and Dinka are all cattle owners and intermarried. Personal interview: Michael Majok Bor (Bor-Gok) Kakuma, Kenya.

110. Personal interviews: Wuut Mac and Wec Chol (Bor-Gok) Kakuma, Kenya.

111. Personal interviews: Abdulla Ayom Kuany (Bor-Atoc) Michael Majok Bor (Bor-Gok) Kakuma, Kenya; and Stephen Anyaak Chol (Pakam-Agar) Akot, south Sudan.

112. Kaufmann, Schilderungen aus Centralafrika, 55, 134-8.

113. R. T. Johnston, Foreword to handing Over Report on Bor and Duk District 13/4/1934 (639/12/1 SAD Archives Durham).

114. The Ciec-Lou have six subsections all headed by sub chiefs:

Kuacdit comprises Pajiek, Pakol, Jaar, Alieb, Cuajak or Atoc (fishermen section) and the Ajuong (blacksmith section or Ajong);

Kuacthi comprises the Nam, Alichu, Nyueny, Kun and Beciec (also a small section of fishermen);

Ajak (or Ajiek) comprises Duor and Panalak called Pannyigeng. Both are from one motherland and are of one lineage;

Pajook, Padiet Anion, Padongluel subsections are also from one mother or one lineage group and are also known as "Ciliic."

(All the above sections are again sub-divided into clans or sub-sections headed by Gol leaders.

The Ciec-Ador have two subsections: Gok and Ajak each with eight subsections.

Personal interviews: Cagai Matet Guem (Ciec-Lou) and Gordon Matot Tut (Ciec-Ador) Nairobi, Kenya; Emanuel Kot Kuany, Zande Cuor Yol, John Luk Majok, Martin Makur Beny and Zakaria Chol Kot (Ciec Dinka) Kakuma, Kenya.

115. V. H. Fergusson, "The Nuong Nuer," Sudan Notes and Records 4 (1921): 146-55.

116. J. W. G. Wyld, "Bor District Notes, Upper Nile Province Handbook," Chapter three, Durham University, Sudan Archives 212/15/4.

117. Personal interview: Gordon Matot Tut (Ciec-Ador) Nairobi, Kenya.

118. Ibid.

119. Beltrame, Il Fiume Bianco E I Denka, 263.

120. Kaufmann, Schilderungen aus Centralafrika, 143.

121. Personal interview: Gordon Matot Tut (Ciec-Ador) Nairobi, Kenya.

122. Personal interviews: Emanuel Kot Kuany, Zande Cuor Yol, John Luk Majok, Martin Makur Beny and Zakaria Chol Kot (Ciec), Kakuma, Kenya.

123. Ibid.

124. Personal interview: Napoleon Adok Gai (Atuot-Kuek) Nyabagok, south Sudan.

125. Personal interviews: Gordon Matot Tut (Ciec-Ador) Nairobi, Kenya and informal discussion, Gary Jones of the Lutheran World Federation, Nairobi, Kenya, who has worked among the Yibel (Jurbel) for two years.

126. Personal interview: Gordon Matot Tut (Ciec-Ador) Nairobi, Kenya.
127. Ibid.
128. Ibid.
129. Personal interviews: Emanuel Kot Kuany, Zande Cuor Yol, John Luk Majok, Martin Makur Beny and Zakaria Chol Kot (Ciec Dinka) and Akec Nyatyiel Nar (Atuot) Kakuma, Kenya.
130. Personal interview: Edward Ngong Deng (Aliab-Bulok) Kakuma, Kenya.
131. Personal interviews: Personal interview: Phillip Thokluel Kuol (Aliab-Akuei), Emanuel Kot Kuany, Zande Cuor Yol, John Luk Majok, Martin Makur Beny and Zakaria Chol Kot (Ciec), Kakuma, Kenya.
132. Personal interviews: Edward Ngong Deng (Aliab-Bulok) Abraham Mayuom Mangok (Aliab-Apuk) Kakuma, Kenya.
133. Personal interviews: Abraham Mayuom Mangok (Aliab-Apuk) and Phillip Thokluel Kuol (Aliab-Akuei) Kakuma, Kenya.
134. Personal interview: Edward Ngong Deng (Aliab) Kakuma, Kenya.
135. Personal interviews: Parmena Awerial Aluong (Aliab-Akuei) London, England; Edward Ngong Deng (Aliab-Bulok) and Phillip Thokluel Kuol (Aliab-Akuei) Abraham Mayuom Mangok, (Aliab-Apuk), Emanuel Kot Kuany, Zande Cuor Yol, John Luk Majok, Martin Makur Beny and Zakaria Chol Kot (Ciec) and Akec Nyatyiel Nar (Atuot) Kakuma, Kenya.
136. Both the Apak and Awen subsections of the Apak come from Yei while a smaller section the Aper come from east of the Nile. The northern boundary is between Akot and Aluakuak. The Jurbel (Yibel) belong to the southern Movolo area and they border the Ror-Kec Atuot. The Mundari border the Kuek Atuot. Personal interview: Paul Mabor Aliab (Atuot-Akot) Bar Pakeny, south Sudan.
137. Personal interview: Akec Nyatyiel Nar (Atuot), Kakuma; John W. Burton, God's Ants: a Study of Atuot Religion (St. Augustine, Germany: Anthropos Institute, 1981).
138. Personal interviews: Paul Mabor Aliab (Atuot-Akot) Bar Pakeny, south Sudan; Napoleon Adok Gai (Atuot-Kuek) Nyabagok, south Sudan.
139. Personal interview: Paul Mabor Aliab (Atuot-Akot) Bar Pakeny, south Sudan.

140. Burton, God's Ants and A Nilotic World: The Atuot Speaking Peoples of the Southern Sudan (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 5.
141. John W. Burton, "Some Observations on the Social History of the Atuot Dialect of Nilotic," in Nilo-Saharan: Proceedings of the First Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Colloquium, Leiden, September 8-10, 1980 Thilo C. Schadeberg, M. Lionel Bender, eds. (Dordrecht, Holland: Foris Publications, 1981), 134.
142. Personal interviews: Emanuel Kot Kuany, Zande Cuor Yol, John Luk Majok, Martin Makur Beny, Zakaria Chol Kot (Ciec) Kakuma, Kenya.
143. Personal interview: Napoleon Adok Gai (Atuot-Kuek) Nyabagok, south Sudan.
144. Personal interview: Akec Nyatyiel Nar (Atuot) Kakuma, Kenya.
145. Personal interview: David Deng Athorbei (Apak Atuot) Nairobi, Kenya.
146. Personal interview: Akec Nyatyiel Nar (Atuot) Kakuma, Kenya.
147. Personal interview: Pur Ciengan (Atuot) Akot, south Sudan.
148. Personal interview: Ambros Beny (Atuot-Ror-Kec) Toronto, Canada.
149. Burton, A Nilotic World, 5.
150. Personal interviews: Napoleon Adok Gai (Atuot-Kuek) and Albino Ukec Simon (Sudanese Luo) Nyabagok, south Sudan; See also, Johnson, "History and Prophecy," 84.
151. Personal interview: Andrew Anhiem Alit (Atuot-Ror-Kec) Akot, south Sudan.
152. Personal interviews: Emanuel Kot Kuany, Zande Cuor Yol, John Luk Majok, Martin Makur Beny, Zakaria Chol Kot (Ciec) Kakuma, Kenya.
153. Personal interview: Paul Mabor Aliab (Atuot-Akot) Bar Pakeny, south Sudan.
154. Personal interview: David Deng Athorbei (Apak Atuot) Nairobi, Kenya.
155. Burton, A Nilotic World, 5, 12-13.

156. Personal interview: Andria Acin-Nyin Maketh (Apak Atuat) Nairobi, Kenya.

157. Personal interviews: Paul Mabor Aliab (Atuat-Akot) Bar Pakeny, south Sudan; David Deng Athorbei (Apak Atuat) Nairobi, Kenya.

158. Personal interview: David Deng Athorbei (Apak Atuat) Nairobi, Kenya.

159. Among the Apak chiefs the first war-leader, Mel, was not a priest (magician). Much of the Apak leadership is not passed by primogeniture that is it has not been succeeded by the sons of chiefs but rather by relatives. Mel was succeeded by a relative, Ayol Ngong who was followed by Piny Deng. Succeeding generations of chiefs were Dhieu Alam, Apugi Alam, Machar Ijong, Mayar Machar (who was Ijong's son), and Kon Mayar who is the present chief. The last two chiefs acquired their posts by election while their predecessors acquired the chieftaincy if they demonstrated superior leadership. Personal interview: David Deng Athorbei (Apak Atuat) Nairobi, Kenya.

160. Burton, A Nilotic World, 5, 12-13.

161. Personal interview: Napoleon Adok Gai (Atuat Kuek) Nyabagok, south Sudan.

162. Personal interview: David Deng Athorbei (Atuat-Apak) Nairobi, Kenya.

163. Personal interview: Napoleon Adok Gai (Atuat-Kuek) Nyabagok, south Sudan.

164. Personal interview: Pur Ciengan (Atuat) Akot, south Sudan.

165. Although the Gok Dinka are administratively considered part of the Agar, their ascent and naming of trees is different and they migrated directly from the Ciec Dinka. Personal interview: Paul Machuer Malok (Agar-Akuei) Akot, south Sudan.

166. Personal interview: Michael Manyiel Chol (Agar-Akuei) Akot, South Sudan; Samuel Aru Bol (Agar-Rup) Nairobi, Kenya.

167. David, "The Archaeological Context of Nilotic Expansion," 68.

168. Personal interview: Mabet Mabum Arop (Agar-Aliam-Toc) Akot, south Sudan.

169. The Dinka claim it does not taste so good and only buy it when they are really hungry. Personal interviews: Manasseh Mayen Malok, Paul Machuer Malok (Agar) Akot, south Sudan; Simon Malual Deng, (Yibel) Nairobi, Kenya.

170. Personal interviews: Paul Machuer Malok (Agar) Akot, south Sudan; Paul Manhom Mading, Isaac Makoi Majur, Kana Achol Dak (female), Mabor Morwel Lok, Manasseh Keluel Cindut and Joseph Mathiang Dhalbeng (Agar) Kakuma, Kenya.

171. Personal interviews: Julia Benjamin (Agar) Bloomington, Indiana, United States. During the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium one British administrator reported that within the Yibel (Jurbel) territory there was an absence of cattle because of tsetse fly. He noted the Dinka attributed this to the malevolence of the Jurbel and that they were frightened of this Yibel magic expressing anxiety over the number of Dinka affected by it. This akwel (magic) was worked by means of a small bean which was retained by the Yibel practitioner but invisible to the human eye. When he wishes to, the bean could be propelled from his eye and strike his victim in the forehead. (SAD 767/11/28.)

172. Mostly malaria and sleeping sickness. Informal conversation with Gary Jones of the Lutheran World Federation, Nairobi, Kenya. It is estimated today that the Yibel in south Sudan number approximately 40-50,000. Personal interview: Simon Malual Deng (Yibel/Jurbel) Nairobi, Kenya.

173. Personal interview: Bishop Ruben Macier Makoi (Yibel) Nairobi, Kenya. Another Yibel informant states, "On our east are Dinka Apak, on our north are Dinka Agar, while on our west and south are Moru people. We are not Nilotes but come from west central Africa and we understand that the Moru are our brothers." Personal interview: Simon Malual Deng (Yibel) Nairobi, Kenya.

174. Personal interview: Albino Ukec Simon (Sudanese Luo) Nyabagok, south Sudan.

175. Personal interview: Simon Malual Deng (Yibel) Nairobi, Kenya.

176. Bol Yuol, "The Agar of Rumbek," Unpublished paper, written for Oxfam South Sudan, March 1996.

177. That there is integration is seen with an explanation of one informant's family tree. His father was Makoi (a Nilotic name) while his grandfather was Awat, whose father was Lu, and in turn Lu's father was Girnga. Personal interview: Bishop Ruben Macier Makoi (Yibel) Nairobi, Kenya. In this case we see an adoption of Dinka names in the father's generation only

indicating adoption of certain Nilotic culture around the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium period.

178. SAD 767/11/28.

179. Personal interviews: Paul Machuer Malok (Agar-Akuei) and Michael Manyiel Chol (Agar-Akuei) Akot, South Sudan.

180. Personal interview: Michael Manyiel Chol (Agar-Akuei) Akot, south Sudan.

181. Personal interview: Paul Manhom Mading, Isaac Makoi Majur, Kana Achol Dak (female), Mabor Morwel Lok, Manasseh Keluel Cindut and Joseph Mathiang Dhalbeng (Agar) Kakuma, Kenya.

182. Personal interview: Mabet Mabum Arop (Agar-Aliam-Toc) Akot, south Sudan.

183. Personal interview: Paul Manhom Mading, Isaac Makoi Majur, Kana Achol Dak (female) Mabor Morwel Lok, Manasseh Keluel Cindut, and Joseph Mathiang Dhalbeng (Agar) Kakuma, Kenya.

184. Ibid.

185. Personal interview: Manasseh Mayen Malok (Agar-Nyuer) Akot, south Sudan.

186. The section name Gak means "to quarrel" in Nuer. Personal interview: Stephen Anyaak Chol (Pakam-Gak Agar) Akot, south Sudan.

187. The Pakam no longer remember the origins of thier section name. All information on the Pakam was acquired in a personal interviews with Stephen Anyaak Chol, Agar-Pakam and his uncle, Simon Adel Yak (Agar-Rub) Akot, south Sudan.

188. Personal interview: Jok Ayom Majak (Gok-Ayiel) Akot, south Sudan.)

189. Personal interview: Paul Machuer Malok (Agar-Akuei) Akot, south Sudan.

190. Personal interviews: Lual Wuol Nhiak and Deng Nhial Diek (Gok) Kakuma.

191. Personal interview: Jok Ayom Majak (Gok) Akot, south Sudan.

192. The Gok's eastern boundary is the river Aber, their western boundary is five miles east of the town of Tonj. Their northern boundary is the river Tonj and their southern

boundary lies near to the border of Maridi. Personal interview: Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok-Ayiel) Akot, south Sudan.

193. Personal interview: Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok-Ayiel) Akot, south Sudan.

194. Personal interview: Jok Ayom Majak (Gok-Ayiel) Akot, south Sudan.

195. Personal interview: Joseph Lueth Ater (Gok-Ayiel) Akot, south Sudan.

196. Personal interviews: Lual Wuol Nhiak and Deng Nhial Diek (Gok-Toc) Kakuma, Kenya.

197. This is not an Yibel name but may represent a Dinka derivative of his name. According to an Yibel, Bishop Ruben Macier Makoi the most famous Yibel chief and warrior was Awat. He was known as a great warrior and led the Yibel in wars against the Bongo and other Yibel peoples. Another famous chief was Maciek. He was a warrior and a spiritual man, a rain maker. However his rise to power came much later. Personal interview: Nairobi, Kenya.

198. Personal interview: Chol Gurke Door (Gok-Pathiang) Akot, south Sudan. Today the Yibel (Jurbel) go as far west as Cuebet and down to Mvolo. According to an Yibel, Bishop Ruben Macier Makoi:

"We call ourselves Yibel. We have always been here and we have similar words with the Bongo people and Mavolo and Mavocodor of Madi and also with those from Beridi of the Baka people. We comprise one section with own language."

199. Personal interview: Paul Machuer Malok (Agar-Akuei), Jok Ayom Majak (Gok-Ayiel) Akot, south Sudan.

200. Personal interview: Jok Ayom Majak (Gok-Ayiel) Akot, south Sudan.

201. Personal interview: Simon Malual Deng (Yibel), Bishop Ruben Macier Makoi (Yibel) and Andrew Mayak Maloksu (Gok-Pathiong) Nairobi, Kenya. According to Bishop Ruben the Yibel have similar totems to the Dinka, for example the python. However, unlike many Dinka groups they do not observe the "incest" laws of their neighbors and intermarry with those of the same totem.

202. Personal interview: Jok Ayom Majak (Gok) Akot, south Sudan.

203. Personal interview: Andrew Mayak Maloksu (Gok) Nairobi, Kenya.

204. Personal interviews: Lual Wuol Nhiak and Deng Nhial Diek (Gok) Kakuma, Kenya; Andrew Mayak Maloksu (Gok) Nairobi, Kenya.
205. Personal interviews: Lual Wuol Nhiak and Deng Nhial Diek (Gok) Kakuma, Kenya.
206. Personal interview: Makuac Majok Mangeng (Western Luaic-Rubar) Kakuma, Kenya.
207. Lienhardt, Divinity and Experience, 186.
208. Personal interviews: Makuac Majok Mangeng (Western Luaic) Kakuma, Kenya; Victor Majok Amecrot and Matthew Mathem Daw (Rek) Nyabagok, south Sudan.
209. Personal interviews: Wilfred Ring Aduer (Western Luaic-Nyaronhom) Nyabagok, south Sudan.
210. Personal interview: Makuac Majok Mangeng (Western Luaic) Kakuma, Kenya.
211. Personal interview: Wilfred Ring Aduer (Western Luaic) Nyabagok, south Sudan.
212. Personal interview: Makuac Majok Mangeng (Western Luaic) Kakuma, Kenya.
213. Each division is sub-divided into smaller sections. Personal interviews: Mayar Mayar Mareng, Gabriel Awec Bol (Rek) Kakuma, Kenya; Victor Majok Amecrot and Matthew Mathem Daw (Rek) Nyabagok, south Sudan.
214. Personal interview: Mayar Mayar Mareng (Rek) Kakuma, Kenya.
215. Personal interview: Ring Deng Biong (W. Ngok Abyor) Cairo, Egypt.
216. Personal interviews: Victor Majok Amecrot and Matthew Mathem Daw (Rek-Kuei) Nyabagok, south Sudan.
217. Personal interview: Gabriel Awec Bol (Rek) Kakuma, Kenya.
218. Personal interview: Paul Manhom Mading, Isaac Makoi Majur, Kana Achol Dak (female), Mabor Morwel Lok, Manasseh Keluel Cindut and Joseph Mathiang Dhalbeng (Agar) Kakuma, Kenya.
219. SAD 465/3 H. C. Jackson [From a document entitled "A short History of the Peoples of Northern District.]
220. Santandrea, Ethno-Geography, 126-7.

221. Personal interview: Gabriel Awec Bol (Rek) Kakuma.
222. Dinka scholar Lazarus Leek Mawut (Nyarruweng) also repeated the story of Wau being named after the chieftainess Chol. Personal interview, London, England.
223. Personal interview: Gabriel Awec Bol (Rek) Kakuma, Kenya.
224. Personal interview: Mayar Mayar Mareng (Rek) Kakuma, Kenya.
225. Ibid.
226. Jackson writes that the Luo were also known as Daigu [Daju] and described as dwarfs armed with bows, arrows and hand darts. They were light skinned with short stocky figures owning cattle and sheep of the Arab type. (SAD 465/3 H. C. Jackson, from a document entitled "A Short History of the Peoples of Northern District.") In interviews with various Dinka informants I was informed that the Luo were not Daigu [Daju] or Luel but a separate ethnic group.
227. Santandrea, Ethno-Geography, 130-132.
228. SAD 465/3 H. C. Jackson. It is possible that many former Luel became Begi peoples.
229. The northern Shilluk Luo who arrived around 1700 (today known to the Dinka as the Jur-Chol) maintain their custom of "divine kingship" resembling that of their Shilluk of the White Nile. Santandrea, Ethno-Geography, 133, 138-149.
230. Santandrea, The Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal, 155.
231. Personal interviews: Jok Ayom Majak (Gok-Ayiel) Akot, south Sudan and Andrew Mayak Maloksu (Gok-Pathiong) Nairobi, Kenya.
232. Santandrea, The Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal, 131.
233. Personal interviews: Victor Majok Amecrot and Matthew Mathem Daw (Rek-Kuei) Nyabagok, south Sudan.
234. Personal interview: Albino Ukec Simon (Sudanese Luo) Nyabagok, south Sudan.
235. Personal interviews: Matthew Mathem Daw and Victor Majok Amecrot (Rek-Kuei) Nyabagok, south Sudan.
236. Personal interview: Gabriel Awec Bol (Rek) Kakuma, Kenya.
237. Ibid.

238. Even today when the Dinka in Thiet run out of natural resources they move to areas such as Nyabagok joining other members of their family with better access to water. Personal interviews: Victor Majok Amecrot and Matthew Mathem Daw (Rek-Kuei) Nyabagok, south Sudan.

239. Personal interview: Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal-Malwal) Nairobi, Kenya. Some informants today recognize the Malwal as divided into two, those north of the Lol river and those south of it with twenty four subsections in total. Those north of the Lol river are called Pajok Malwal while those to its south are Palioupiny. They state the subsections to the north are: Payweng, Duliet, Athiou, Korok, Ajuong Dit, Ajuong Thiei, Duliet Kuany Ngor, Apoth Yol, Akany Jok, Wundiing, Lou Agueir, Wut Anai, Makuac Athian. Those south of the river are: Guom Jueir, Cimel Kuac, Ajuet, Celkou, Ajak Akol, Ajak Wek Ateny, Buonycuai, Kongder, (Aweil) Mading Aweil and Raja a river that divides Lol-Ayat. Personal interviews: Kuol Lual Mou (Malwal-Korok) Akot Ajuou Majok (Malwal-Makuac Athian) Akec Macol Akec (Malwal-Guom Jueir) Ater Bol Mayen (Malwal-Korok) Piol Piol Adim (Malwal-Ajuet) Ding Akuei Deng (Malwal Wut-Anei) and Paulino Akon Ken (Malwal-Duliet) Kakuma, Kenya.

240. Personal interviews: Kuol Lual Mou, Akot Ajuou Majok, Akec Macol Akec, Ater Bol Mayen, Piol Piol Adim, Ding Akuei Deng and Paulino Akon Ken (Malwal) Kakuma, Kenya.

241. Personal interviews: Kuol Lual Mou, Akot Ajuou Majok, Akec Macol Akec, Ater Bol Mayen, Piol Piol Adim, Ding Akuei Deng and Paulino Akon Ken (Malwal) Kakuma, Kenya.

242. Personal interview: Makuac Majok Mangeng (Western Luaic) Kakuma, Kenya.

243. See Damazo Dut Majak Koejok, "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal," 23-6.

244. Personal interview: Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal-Malwal) Nairobi, Kenya.

245. Personal interviews: Kuol Lual Mou, Akot Ajuou Majok, Akec Macol Akec, Ater Bol Mayen, Piol Piol Adim, Ding Akuei Deng and Paulino Akon Ken (Malwal) Kakuma, Kenya; Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal-Malwal) Nairobi, Kenya.

246. Personal interview: Lawrence Lual Lual Akuey (Malwal-Paliet) Nairobi, Kenya. The scholar Lienhardt also noted that the Paliet and Malwal claimed to be originally Rek Dinka splitting off in the past to find their own land and pastures after having spread across the Bahr el-Ghazal Province from east to west. See, Lienhardt, "The Western Dinka," 109. British administrators also noted the Malwal are derived from

a branch of the Rek who originated from the Agar. See, Stubbs and Morrison, "The Western Dinkas."

247. Personal interview: Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal) Nairobi, Kenya.

248. Damazo Dut Majak Koejok, "The Northern Bahr al-Ghazal," 23-6.

249. J. M. Stubbs and C. G. T. Morrison, "The Western Dinkas, their Land and their Agriculture," Sudan Notes and Records Vol. 21, (1938): 251-68; Santandrea, The Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal, 86.

250. Santandrea, Ethno-Geography, 133, 138-149.

251. Personal interview: Akot Ajuou Majok (Malwal-Makuac Athian) Kakuma, Kenya.

252. Personal interview: Lawrence Lual Lual Akuey (Malwal) Nairobi, Kenya.

253. Personal interviews: Kuol Lual Mou, Akot Ajuou Majok, Akec Macol Akec, Ater Bol Mayen, Piol Piol Adim, Ding Akuei Deng and Paulino Akon Ken (Malwal) Kakuma, Kenya.

254. Santandrea, Ethno-Geography, 126-7.

255. Personal interview: Albino Ukec Simon (Sudanese Luo) Nyabagok, south Sudan. There is some question as to whether the Luel and Luo are the same people. One Malwal informant asserts that many believe there is a connection because the Malwal area used to belong to the Luo as well as the Luel. Additionally, the Luo claim up to the present day that the cattle belonged to them and that the Luel may have been one of their sections. However, the Luel area extended all the way to Pibor and they were a culture who, according to legend, built earthen mounds (panthony) which appear today all over Dinkaland. Yet, neither the Dinka nor Luo build mounds of this type. Personal interview: Lawrence Lual Lual Akuey (Malwal) Nairobi, Kenya who also notes: "A long time ago we married Luel women and sometimes in Dinka families you see features that are completely different. For example, my sister is brown not black. We nickname these people "Luel." See also, SAD 660/11/206 and 478/5/6 [K.D.D. Henderson in a document entitled "Dagu and Shatt."]

256. These Luel, for the most part, "disappeared" probably integrating with the Dinka. Personal interview: Lawrence Lual Lual Akuey (Malwal-Paliet) Nairobi, Kenya. Santandrea noted small units of extant Luel in Dinka and Shatt country. See, The Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal, 62.

257. Personal interview: Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal-Malwal) Nairobi, Kenya.

258. This story compares with the one above from a different Malwal source. Personal interview: Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal-Malwal) Nairobi, Kenya. In Dinka Malwal is also the color of a red cow.

259. Personal interview: Makuac Majok Mangeng (Western Luaic) Kakuma, Kenya.

260. Kelly, Nuer Conquests, 17.

261. Personal interview: Kawac Makuei Mayar (Malwal) Nairobi, Kenya.

262. Personal interviews: Kuol Lual Mou, Akot Ajuou Majok, Akec Macol Akec, Ater Bol Mayen, Piol Piol Adim and Ding Akuei Deng and Paulino Akon Ken (Malwal) Kakuma, Kenya.

263. Personal interviews: Joseph Agel Ring, Paul Mangok Maror, Deng Agak Duot and Michael Angok Malong (Western Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.

264. Personal interview: Bul Awuol Ayuel (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.

265. Personal interviews: Alier Arok Akuein, Mayen Jok Majok, Kuc Manyang Kuany, Deng Dut, Dau Tor, Kuir Jok, Atem Ayiik (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.

266. Personal interview: Atem Garang Deng and Deng Kuek Atem (Eastern Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.

267. Personal interviews: Joseph Agel Ring, Paul Mangok Maror, Deng Agak Duot and Michael Angok Malong (Western Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.

268. Lienhardt notes that the founding ancestor, Ajing Anoi, of the Twic clan the Nyang and his people arrived in the Ciec territory and there was a battle. The Twic left the country taking many Ciec cattle with them. As they moved northwest they met a people who built mounds called the Ber Ajou and stole their cattle. They continued until they reached the country near Meshra el-Rek. See Lienhardt, Divinity and Experience, 186-7.

269. Personal interviews: Wilfred Ring Aduer (Western Luaic) Matthew Mathem Daw and Victor Majok Amecrot (Rek-Kuei) Nyabagok, South Sudan.

270. The early IA inhabitants herded humpless cattle, fished, hunted, made bone tools and wore iron jewellery. See David, "Nilotic Expansion," 72 and "The B.I.E.A. Southern Sudan Expedition of 1979."

271. These and other mounds were first noted by Titherington (1923) and several new sites were located in 1979. See David, "The B.I.E.A. Southern Sudan Expedition of 1979," and "Prehistory in Central Africa," in The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History, Christopher Ehret and Merrick Posnansky, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 87-8. These mounds are called by the Dinka "tethony" (place of potsherds) and many can be found around Nyamlel. Santandrea, Ethno-Geography, 141-149.

272. Personal interview: Ring Deng Biong (W. Ngok Abyor) Cairo, Egypt; P. P. Howell, SAD GIIS1124/450-60.

273. David, "The B.I.E.A. Southern Sudan Expedition of 1979." The artificial mounds (almost hillocks) such as Acelup, Dumkap, Rakcuk, Tada, Wongalat, Pajok, Gamdhang, Madenydit were heaped by the Luel. Santandrea, The Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal, 131.

274. The chief was found lying down in grief and was killed. In the 1950s the Luel clans of the Gurmok and Gumbek still remembered their old Chief Akangtok. Santandrea, The Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal, 132 and, Ethno-Geography, 126-7 and Lienhardt, Divinity and Experience, 177 and P. P. Howell, The Equatorial Nile Project and its Effects in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan Being the Report of the Jonglei Investigation Team Vol. I. (London: Waterlow and Sons, 1954), 116.

275. Personal interviews: Maniem Maluak Mawien, Joseph Agel Ring, Paul Mangok Maror, Deng Agak Duot, Michael Angok Malong, Bol Bol Chol, Dhieu Deng Dhieu and Santino Nhom Achot (Western Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.

276. Santandrea, Ethno-Geography, 133, 138-149 and The Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal, 129-131, 177.

277. Santandrea, The Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal, 132

278. Personal interviews: Maniem Maluak Mawien, Joseph Agel Ring, Paul Mangok Maror, Deng Agak Duot, Michael Angok Malong, Bol Bol Chol, Dhieu Deng Dhieu, Santino Nhom Achot (Western Twic) Kakuma, Kenya.

279. Ibid.

280. Personal interviews: Dhieu Deng Dhieu (Western Twic-Adiang) Kakuma, Kenya; John Mangok Kuot (Western Twic-Chabok) Lokichoggio, Kenya.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PERSONAL INTERVIEWS:

My oral history interviews took place at two different times. All those interviewed in Canada, England and the United States were interviewed in 1992. All those interviewed in Africa were interviewed in 1996. Those listed in brackets were interviewed as a group. Those interviewed were given the option of having their identities revealed or to be listed anonymously. All of the following listed interviewees gave me permission to use their names. Those who requested anonymity are listed in the text as "anonymous informant."

Those who were my interpreters are denoted with a star (*) after their names. Some who acted as interpreters were also informants. Special thanks to my primary interpreter at Kakuma, Ayuel Parmena Bul. Periodically other groups brought their own interpreters to the meetings and I then I worked with both.

<u>PLACE OF INTERVIEW</u>	<u>ETHNIC IDENTITY</u>	<u>DATE INTERVIEWED</u>
<u>Kakuma Refugee Camp</u>		
Peter Malwal)	Nuer	1/26
James Gatluak)	Nuer (E. Jikainy)	
Thok Top Liem)	Nuer (E. Jikainy)	
Peter Nyang Khat)	Nuer (E. Jikainy)	
John Gatwech Turial)	Nuer	
Peter Gai Lual)	Nuer	
Steven Ter)	Nuer	
Abraham Riek Bum	Nuer (Gawar)	
Philip Thon Marol	Thoi Dinka	1/27
Ayuel Parmena Bul	E. Twic Dinka	
Simon Ayuel Deng	E. Ngok Dinka	1/29
Sarah Nyanek Daac	E. Ngok Dinka	
John Deng Pur	E. Ngok Dinka	
Musa Ajak Liol	Abialang Dinka	1/30
Malwal Chan Gaac	E. Luaic Dinka	
John Biem Ngor Bilkuai	Ruweng (Kwil) Dinka	
Daniel Dok Manyang	E. Ruweng Dinka	
Chol Machar Dau	E. Ruweng (Paweng) Dinka	1/31
Barnaba Wuor	Ghol Dinka	
Samuel Majak Piok	Ghol Dinka	
Solomon Leek Deng)	Nyarruweng Dinka	
Abdengokuier Adut)	Nyarruweng Dinka	
Malwal Riak	Ghol Dinka	
Gabriel Chol Chan	Nyarruweng Dinka	

PLACE OF INTERVIEWETHNIC IDENTITYDATE INTERVIEWEDKakuma Refugee Camp

Alier Arok Akuein)	E. Twic Dinka	2/1
Mayen Jok Majok	E. Twic Dinka	
Kuc Manyang Kuany)	E. Twic Dinka	
Deng Dut)	E. Twic Dinka	
Dau Tor)	E. Twic Dinka	
Kuir Jok)	E. Twic Dinka	
Atem Ayiik)	E. Twic Dinka	
Marko Mabior Majok	W. Twic Dinka	
John Majok Makoi	Agar Dinka	
Phillip Aguer Panyang	E. Twic Dinka	
Atem Garang Deng	E. Twic Dinka	2/2
Deng Kuek Atem	E. Twic Dinka	
Tor Deng Luar)	E. Twic Dinka	
John Majok Deng)	E. Twic Dinka	
Thieu Atem Aleu	E. Twic Dinka	
Ajok Akei	E. Twic Dinka	
Kuir Deng Biar (female)	E. Twic Dinka	2/3
Deng Malwal Mabur Mahboub	Ghol Dinka	
Samuel Bulen Alier	Bor Dinka	
Diing Akol Diing	E. Twic Dinka	2/6
Dau Atem Yong	E. Twic Dinka	
Bul Awuol Ayuel	E. Twic Dinka	
Kuer Dut	E. Twic Dinka	
Kur Bol Aleu	E. Twic Dinka	
Ajith Bul	E. Twic Dinka	
Abuor Gordon Nhial (female)	Bor Dinka	
Maria Abuk Bol (female)	Malwal Dinka	
Suadony Awok Dhthn (female)	Malwal Dinka	
Rebecca Abuk Deng (female)	Malwal Dinka	
Abed Nego Aciek	Bor-Gok Dinka	2/7
Michael Majok Bor	Bor-Gok Dinka	
Wuut Mac)	Bor-Gok Dinka	
Wec Col (Chol))	Bor-Gok Dinka	
Deng Acuoth	Bor-Gok Dinka	
Barnabas Majok Barnabas	Agar Dinka	
Abdulla Ayom Kuany)	Bor-Athoc Dinka	2/8
Magot Majok Anyieth)	Bor-Athoc Dinka	
Chol Mayen Kur)	Bor-Athoc Dinka	
Gideon Gai Deng)	Bor-Athoc Dinka	
Makere Yuang Malual)	Bor-Athoc Dinka	
Kuol Ayuen Biar)	Bor-Athoc Dinka	
Thon Deng Kuany)	Bor-Athoc Dinka	
Mary Benjamin Dhal (female)	Atuot	
Michael Alier Agou)	Bor-Gok Dinka	2/9
Johnson Kuol Kur)	Bor-Gok Dinka	
Makuac Jok Deng)	Bor-Gok Dinka	
Makere Chol Adol)	Bor-Gok Dinka	
Akec Mayom Mac (female))	Bor-Gok Dinka	

<u>PLACE OF INTERVIEW</u>	<u>ETHNIC IDENTITY</u>	<u>DATE INTERVIEWED</u>
<u>Kakuma Refugee Camp</u>		
Deng Yai Deng)	Bor-Gok Dinka	
Pac Deel Deng)	Bor-Gok Dinka	
Martha Athou (female))	Bor-Atoc Dinka	
Roda Yar Alier (female))	Bor-Gok Dinka	
Deborah Yar Anyok (female)	Bor-Gok Dinka	
Rebecca Amur Mac (female)	Bor-Gok Dinka	
Martha Nyedier Akok (female)	Malwal Dinka	2/10
Susana Gum (female)	E. Twic	
Teresa Gayo Jatluak (female)	E. Twic	
Aluel Ayiel Chet (female)	Ghol Dinka	
Diing Majak (female)	Agar Dinka	
Nyanjur Ajong (female)	Western Ngok	
Akec Nyatyiel Nar	Atuot Apak	2/12
Emanuel Kot Kuany	Ciec Dinka	
Zande Cuor Yol	Ciec Dinka	
John Luk Majok	Ciec Dinka	
Martin Makur Beny	Ciec Dinka	
Zakaria Chol Kot	Ciec Dinka	
Edward Ngong Deng	Aliab Dinka	
Phillip Thokluel Kuol	Aliab Dinka	
Paul Manhom Mading)	Agar Dinka	2/13
Isaac Makoi Majur)	Agar Dinka	
Kana Achol Dak (female))	Agar Dinka	
Mabor Morwel Lok)	Agar Dinka	
Lual Wuol Nhiak)	Gok Dinka	
Deng Nhial Diek)	Gok Dinka	
Manasseh Keluel Cindut)	Agar Dinka	
Joseph Mathiang Dhalbeng)	Agar Dinka	
Makuac Majok Mangeng	W. Luaic Dinka	2/14
Gabriel Awec Bol)	Rek Dinka	2/15
Mayar Mayar Mareng)	Rek Dinka	
Mel An{ar Aduol)	Rek Dinka	
Aramthai Kur Deng (female)	Rek Dinka	2/16
Lilian Dudu Jackson Kisanga (female)	Bari	
Susanne Gordon Kuol (female)	Bor-Gok Dinka	2/17
Grace Isaiah Piel (female)	Bor-Gok Dinka	
Joseph Agel Ring)	W. Twic Dinka	2/19
Paul Mangok Maror)	W. Twic Dinka	
Deng Agak Duot)	W. Twic Dinka	
Michael Angok Malong)	W. Twic Dinka	
Bol Bol Chol)	W. Twic Dinka	
Maniem Maluak Mawien)	W. Twic Dinka	
Dhieu Deng Dhieu)	W. Twic Dinka	
Santino Nhom Achot)	W. Twic Dinka	
Paterno Imoi Lokoria	Dongotono	
Kasimoro Ohisa Odongi	Lotuka	
Kuol Lual Mou)	Malwal Dinka	2/20
Akot Ajuou Majok)	Malwal Dinka	

Akec Macol Akec	)	Malwal Dinka	
Ater Bol Mayen	)	Malwal Dinka	
Piol Piol Adim	)	Malwal Dinka	
Ding Akuei Deng	)	Malwal Dinka	
Paulino Akon Ken	)	Malwal Dinka	
Massimino Allam		Latuka	
Sarah Nyakuoth Kuac (female)		Nuer	2/21
Maguith Deng Kuol	)	W. Ngok Dinka	2/22
Agoth Alor Bulabek	)	W. Ngok Dinka	
Fidele Majok Mabior		Rek Dinka	
Cok Kuek Ywai	)	Dunghol Dinka	2/23
Majak Chol Mayiik	)	Dunghol Dinka	
Mary Akuol Bith (female)		Ruweng Dinka	
Santino Malual Meet		Rut Dinka	
Paul Dak Kachuol		Rut Dinka	
Catholic Sister Carolyn Buhs		American	1/24
Catholic Sister Mary ellen		American	
Catholic Sister Nikki		Australian	1/24 & 2/11
Abraham Mayuom Mangok		Aliab Dinka	2/26
Deng Dau Deng		E. Twic Dinka	
Mary Awien Nyok		Alor Dinka	
William Mayar Dau		Alor Dinka	

Akot, South Sudan

In Akot I utilized the services of the following interpreters (some of whom were also informants): Riny Tiny (Atuot-Luaic), Mourthon Marial (Agar Dinka), Manasseh Mayen Malok (Agar), Nek Martin (Atuot), and Chol Mabet Mabum (Agar) and Lilian Reuben Marmour (Moru).

Manasseh Mayen Malok	Agar Dinka	3/15
Mourthon Marial Mourthon	Agar Dinka	
Stephen Anyaak Chol	Pakam-Agar Dinka	3/15-23
Deborah Aluel Abol (female)	Agar Dinka	3/16
Dut Malual Arop	Agar Dinka	3/16-20
Paul Kok Bol	Western Ngok Dinka	
Gabriel Makuac Nyiak Agrey	Agar Dinka	
Lilian Reuben Marmour (female)	Moru	3/19
Paul Machuer Malok	Agar Dinka	
Mary Dual Rok (female)	Rek Dinka	
Khamisa Doron Acien (female)	Agar Dinka	
Mabet Mabum Arop	Agar Dinka	3/20
Jok Ayom Majak	Gok Dinka	
Chol Gurke Door	Gok Dinka	
Joseph Lueth Ater	Gok Dinka	3/21
Pur Ciengan	Apak Atuot	
Nek Martin Majok	Apak Atuot	

<u>PLACE OF INTERVIEW</u>	<u>ETHNIC IDENTITY</u>	<u>DATE INTERVIEWED</u>
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Akot, South Sudan

Paul Kok Bol	W. Ngok Dinka	
Simon Adel Yak	Agar Dinka	3/21-22
Michael Manyiel Chol	Agar Dinka	3/22
Andrew Anheim Alit	Atuot	3/23

Bar Pakeny, South Sudan

(Judge) Ruben Madol Arol	Gok Dinka	3/23-4
(Commissioner) Paul Mayom Akec/Agar Dinka		3/24

Lokichoggio, Kenya

David Kagunda	Kikuyu (Kenyan)	3/26
John Mangok Kuot	W. Twic Dinka	4/5

Nyabagok, South Sudan

In Nyabagok I utilized the services of the following interpreters, Napoleon Adok Gai (Atuot), Daniel Chol Bol (Rek) and Matthew Mathem Daw (Rek).

Dickson Ogolla Oroku	Luo (Kenyan)	3/30
Albino Ukec Simon	Luo (Sudanese)	
Napoleon Adok Gai	Atuot	3/30-4/7
Wilfred Ring Aduer	W. Luaic Dinka	4/1
Victor Majok Amecrot	Rek Dinka	4/1-4/4
Matthew Mathem Daw	Rek Dinka	4/1-4/4
Bol Malek Jok	Rek Dinka	4/2
Sahda Mangok Paroum (female)	Rek Dinka	
Christina Ayen Mawith (female)	Rek Dinka	
Cegin Abiel (female)	Rek Dinka	
Akwil Bak (female)	Rek Dinka	

Agany, South Sudan

Paul Mabor Aliab	Atuot	3/17
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Yambio, South Sudan

In Yambio I utilized the services of the following people who were willing to interpret: Bandindi Pascal Uru (Balanda), Jeremiah Zingbondo and Oliver Kpakpuyo (Azande).

Bangasi Joseph Bakosoro	Zande	4/6
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<u>PLACE OF INTERVIEW</u>	<u>ETHNIC IDENTITY</u>	<u>DATE INTERVIEWED</u>
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Yambio, South Sudan

Dr. Anne Itto Leonardo	Madi	4/7
Pascal Bandindi Uru)	Balanda	4/8-4/10
Ephraim Sunguzagi)	Zande	4/8
Dr./Fr. Michael Katawa)	Zande	
Bishop Daniel Manase Zindo)	Zande	4/9
Jeremiah Zingbondo)	Zande	
Oliver Kpakpuyo)	Zande	
Murangi Salatiel)	Zande	
Rvd. Botrus Bandaka)	Zande	
Nyamuse Enosa (female)	Zande	4/10
Clementina Anisa (female)	Zande	
Florence Ammy	Zande	
Vincent Zangabeyo Windio	Zande	4/11
Jerome Barikue/Mr. Bandini)	Balanda	
Romano Gasi)	Blanada	
Gov. Samuel Abujohn Kbashi/Zande		4/12

Nazara, South Sudan

Sister Eugenia	Italian	4/10
Said Mohammed Arthur	Zande	
Terezine Samuel Renzi	Zande	4/11

Nairobi, Kenya

In Nairobi, I utilized the services of the following as interpreters: Simon Malual Deng (Yibel), Simon Ngor Ngor (Malwal), Lual Benjamin Bil (Agar), Arek Akot Awutier (Malwal) and Fatna Kok Macok.

Andrew Mayak Maloksu	Gok Dinka	1/23
David Deng Athorbei	Apak-Atuot	4/25
Telar Deng	Atuot-Luaic	
Lual Benjamin Bil	Agar Dinka	4/26
Gordon Matot Tut	Ciec Dinka	4/26-5/20
Andria Acin-Nyin Maketh	Apak Atuot	
Revd. Reuben Abiel Chuang	E. Ngok Dinka	4/28
John Aben Deng	E. Ngok Dinka	
Isaac Cuir Riak	Ciec Dinka	4/29
Bishop Ruben Macier Makoi	Yibel	4/30
Kawac Makuei Mayar	Malwal Dinka	5/1-5/3
Simon Ngor Ngor	Malwal Dinka	
Bol Akok Akok	Malwal Dinka	
Duang Deng Duang	Malwal/Luo	
Simon Malual Deng	Yibel	5/3
Monica Nyibel Aleu (female)	Malwal Dinka	
Athieng Deng Acier (female))	Malwal Dinka	

<u>PLACE OF INTERVIEW</u>	<u>ETHNIC IDENTITY</u>	<u>DATE INTERVIEWED</u>
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Nairobi, Kenya

Arek Akot Awutier (female)	) Malwal Dinka	
Arek Akot Awutier (Sister)	) Malwal Dinka	
Ayuen Akot Awutier (female)	) Malwal Dinka	
Raphael Dut Atak	Malwal Dinka	
Mary Acuoth Dhel (female)	) Agar Dinka	5/5
Fatna Kok Macok (female)	) Agar Dinka	
Rebecca Nyatur Acien (female)	) Gok Dinka	
Regina Ding (female)	) Agar Dinka	
Samuel Aru Bol	Agar Dinka	5/9
Comboni Fr. Mattia	Italian	5/12
Lawrence Lual Lual Akuey	Malwal Dinka	5/13
Gabriel Jiet Jal (telephone)	Nuer	5/13
Pagan Amun	Shilluk	5/14
Peter Adwok Nyaba (telephone)	Shilluk	
Cagai Matet Guem	Ciec Dinka	5/20
Bishop Nathaniel Garang	Bor-Gok Dinka	5/21

Cairo, Egypt

Sadiq Al Mahdi	Northern Sudanese	5/23
Ebe Enosa	Kakwa	
Mourwel Ater Mourwel	Agar Dinka	5/25
Asunta Mario (female)	Rek Dinka	
Mawien Kual Ariik	Rek Dinka	
Ring Deng Biong	W. Ngok Dinka	
Isaac Lat	Hol (Ghol) Dinka	
Gabriel Mathiang Rok	Agar Dinka	
Lomumba Tito Eman	Atuot	
Abel Alier Wal Kwai	Bor-Atoc Dinka	5/26
Meriam Al-Batool (female)	Jaali/Baggara N. Sudanese	

London, England 1996

Parmena Awerial Aluong	Aliab Dinka	6/8
Lazarus Leek Mawut	Nyarruweng Dinka	6/8, 6/14
Father Eppink (Mill Hill Fathers)	British	6/13
Gordon Muortat Mayen	Agar Dinka	6/14

Bath, England 1996

O. I. MacGill (wife of D.C.)	British	7/9
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<u>PLACE OF INTERVIEW</u>	<u>ETHNIC IDENTITY</u>	<u>DATE INTERVIEWED</u>
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Former District Commissioners (and Wives): England 1992

Jack Wilson (telephone), Budleigh Slaterton Devon	8/2
Peter Hogg, Seven Oaks, Kent	17/5
John Udal, London	5/20
Philip Pawson (and Peggy), Tavistock, Devon	5/26-27
Mrs. Arthur Forbes (letter)	
Donald Hawley (Devizes, Wiltshire)	5/24
Mrs. Patricia Arbor, Spinbrook, Oxon	5/25
Hugh Malet, Blue Anchor, Somerset	5/26
Denis Vidler (and Peggy), Tunbridge Wells, Kent	5/17
Ted Bickersteth (and Elspeth) Oxford	5/25
David Driver (and wife), Alton, Hampshire	5/21
Brian Carlisle (and wife) Hartley Wintney	5/22
Sam Richardson (and Kay Wood) Wylde, Warminster	5/24
Glen Balfour-Paul, Crediton, Devon)	5/27
William Monteith, Crediton, Devon)	

Miscellaneous Interviews: Britain 1992

Graham Reid, (crop sprayer) Saltash, Cornwall	2/19
Bona Malwal (W. Twic Dinka) Oxford	5/25
Dr. Arthur Casson (CMS Missionary) Oxford	5/24
Dr. Peter Abbott (and Mary) Hindhead, Surrey	5/18
Dr. Ina Beasley, Margate Kent (Women's Education in Sudan)	5/17
Sheila Connolly, Margate Kent (teacher)	5/17
Guy and Pamela Elgar (Sudan Plantations Syndicate) Wellington	2/10

Canada 1991-1992

Mom Kou Nhial Arou, Bor-Atoc Dinka, (Hamilton)	11/13/91
Musa Adam, Agar Dinka (Hamilton)	
Dr. Isaiah Deng, Ciec Dinka (Hamilton)	
Martin Koshwal	
Mary Phileman Majok (female) Nuer (Toronto)	1/1/92
Adut Ciengan, Atuot (Toronto)	
Ambros Beny, Atuot (Toronto)	
Major Leonard Humphreys (Victoria)	1/10/92
Cecilia Imunu, Latuka (Kitchener)	8/15/92

United States 1990-1992

Southern Sudanese

Urbe Woli (Southern Muslim) College Station, TX	8/90	
Rev. Elioba, Kuku, New York City	8/90	
Sabit Alley (Southern Muslim) New Jersey	8/90	
David Chand, Nuer, Washington D.C.	8/91	
(Michael) Wal Duany, Nuer, Bloomington, Indiana	8/92	
Julia Benjamin (Duany) Agar Dinka Bloomington, IN	8/92	
Archangelo Ayuel Mayen, W. Twic Dinka Glendale, MD	8/92	
Andrew Mayen, Bor Dinka, Falls Church, VA	7/92	
Helena Amaco (Lueth) Agar Dinka, Falls Church, VA	7/92	
<u>PLACE OF INTERVIEW</u>	<u>ETHNIC IDENTITY</u>	<u>DATE INTERVIEWED</u>

United States 1990-1992

Southern Sudanese

Margaret (Manachol) Deng, Bor Dinka Fairfax, Virginia	6/90
Lual Deng, Bor Dinka, Fairfax, VA	6/90
Dominic Akeg Mohammed, W. Twic Dinka (telephone) Miami	7/91
Abannik Hino, Latuka, E. Lansing, MI	8/92
John Lueth Ukec (Luo) Ames, Iowa	7/92
Damazo Dut Majak, Malwal/Luo, Los Angeles, CA	7/92
Sam Laki, Kuku	8/92
Abdul Monheim Younis (Southern Muslim) Cambridge, MA	8/92
Yongo Bure, Kuku, Southfield, Michigan	8/92

United States 1990-1992

Non-Sudanese

Stella Beswick Boyd, Raleigh, North Carolina	4/92
Douglas Beswick, Raleigh, North Carolina	4/92
Martha Hughell (African Inland Miss.) Rutherford, NJ	6/92
James Jandrowitz, Elizabeth, NJ	8/92

Anonymous Interviews: I collected a number of these from Dinka and non-Dinka Sudanese.

PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE

Personal correspondence, Rev. J. Roger Schrock, former Executive Secretary of the New Sudan Council of Churches, Nairobi, Kenya, Nov. 1995. In early 1980 he was based among the Bul Nuer of South Sudan.

Letters from J. M. Hunter to his mother dated 3/3/43, 5 April 1945 and 18/5/43. Mailed to me by J. M. Hunter.

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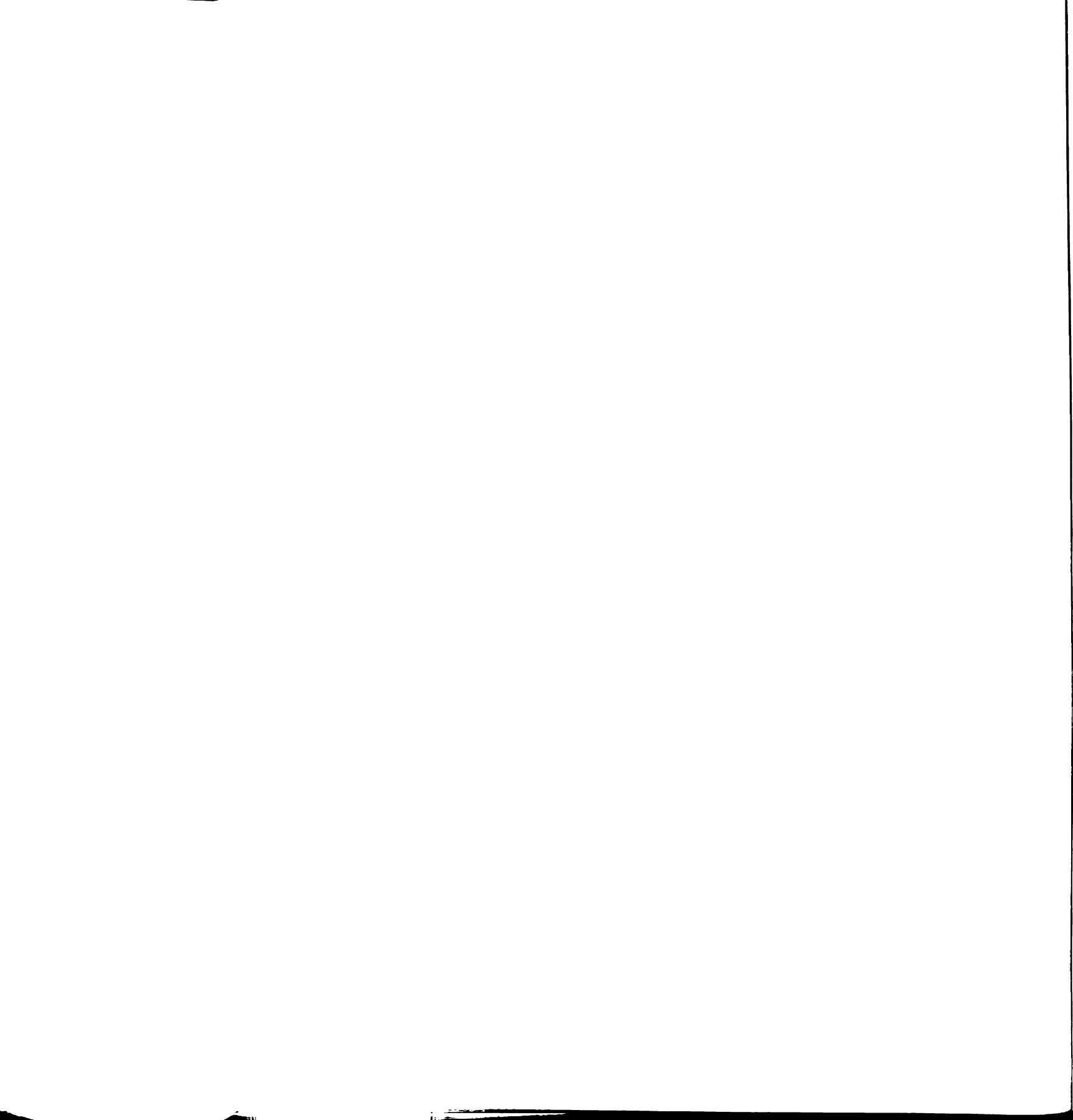
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