

COLONIAL POLICY AND PROPHETS: THE 'NUER SETTLEMENT', 1929-1930

Since their suppression by the Anglo-Egyptian government in 1930, the prophets of the Nuer have been seen almost solely in terms of their political relations with non-Nuer. Their existence is explained as being in some way a product of Nuer foreign relations. According to Evans-Pritchard they organized the Nuer in their wars against the Dinka, the Arab slavers and the colonial government. In attempting to unite all Nuer against all non-Nuer they were associated with the highest level of segmentary opposition. P.P. Howell summarized the administrative view when he wrote that the Lou prophet Ngundeng "was thrown up like some dictator" in the face of Mahdist and colonial aggression. Recently, in an attempt to underline the continuity of their own struggle against the Northern (Arab) Sudan, Southern Sudanese intellectuals too have emphasised the prophet's resistance to colonialism.

These views are essentially "outsiders'" views. They have dominated discussions of the role of the prophet in Nuer society, but no attempt has yet been made to analyse the relations between the Nuer and the government they were supposed to have opposed. This paper will concentrate on the events and personalities of the "Nuer Settlement" of 1929-1930. It is therefore as much an examination of the Anglo-Egyptian administration as it is of the Nuer prophets. I hope to show how the policies of pacification and local administration in the Sudan helped to form government attitudes towards the prophets, and how these attitudes influenced both the government's opposition to the Nuer prophets and the Nuer's response to the government. As many of the government's attitudes were conditioned by what they thought had happened in the recent past, I shall begin with a brief outline of the activities of the prophets during the nineteenth century.

Prologue: Rise of the prophets

Prophets first began to appear in the mid-nineteenth century among those groups of Nuer which had migrated east of the Nile and assimilated numbers of Dinka and other people¹. This absorption of individual Dinka inevitably introduced a number of Dinka ideas of Divinity to Nuer society. Evans-Pritchard has described the assimilation of Dinka clan-divinities as well as foreign types of magic. He has also suggested the assimilation of Dinka free-divinities in the form of the sky spirits who possessed and inspired the prophets.

The Nuer east of the Nile, especially the Lou and the Gaawar, came under the influence of two Dinka shrines: Puom Aiwel (the Mound of Aiwel) and Luang Deng (the Luak of Deng). Through them a number of myths and symbols central to the main Dinka concepts of Divinity entered Nuer society. The Lou prophet Ngundeng was possessed by the sky-spirit Deng. He built a large mound of earth and ash which he referred to as Luak Kuoth (the Nuer name for Luang Deng) or Puom Aiwel. He adapted many elements from the Aiwel myth to his own life and, in his own ceremonies, incorporated many of the symbols associated with Aiwel and his descendants, the masters of the fishing-spear. His teachings emphasised what is perhaps the most notable feature of the Dinka concept of man's relationship to Divinity: the existence of a single community at peace created by Divinity. Ngundeng tried to settle feuds between Lou sections, and he also prohibited raids on the Dinka. The absorption of Dinka reinforced these teachings which were at once socially sound and spiritually comprehensible to both societies.² Extensive intermarriage with Dinka groups had the same effect

Ngundeng and the Lou lived in a relatively stable area, undisturbed during the 1860s and 1870s by any major incursions from slave raiders or the Egyptian government. The Gaawar were not so fortunate, for the area of the Zaraf valley where they settled became a major waterway south from the mid-1860s to the mid-1870s (see map p. 3). Both Nuer and Dinka living on either bank of the Bahr al-Zaraf were drawn into the orbit of the armed camps of the merchant companies that traded in the area. The leader of the dominant section of the Gaawar allied with one of the companies and raided Dinka, Nuer and even the Gaawar for captives and cattle. He lost support among the Gaawar but built up a large personal

following from a number of Nuer and Dinka groups. Some of this following raided the Lou and were nearly annihilated by Ngundeng in the only battle he is known to have fought.

A Gaawar prophet, an adopted Dinka called Deng Lakka, later led the Gaawar in overthrowing the merchants' ally after the merchants themselves had withdrawn from the Bahr al-Zaraf. Deng Lakka continued intermittent warfare against those Dinka who had also supported the slavers, and when floods of the Bahr al-Zaraf forced him to seek the higher ground of the Duk ridge, he came into conflict with the Nyarreweng and Ghol Dinka to the south. But his conflicts were selective and not directed against the Dinka as a whole. He was in close contact with the Dinka shrine at Luang Deng; and had numerous marriage connections with Dinka groups living among the Gaawar. Many of these Dinka supporters accompanied his raids to the south. As he became older, peace-keeping and ending feuds became increasingly important activities for him, though he was never as successful at these as Ngundeng.

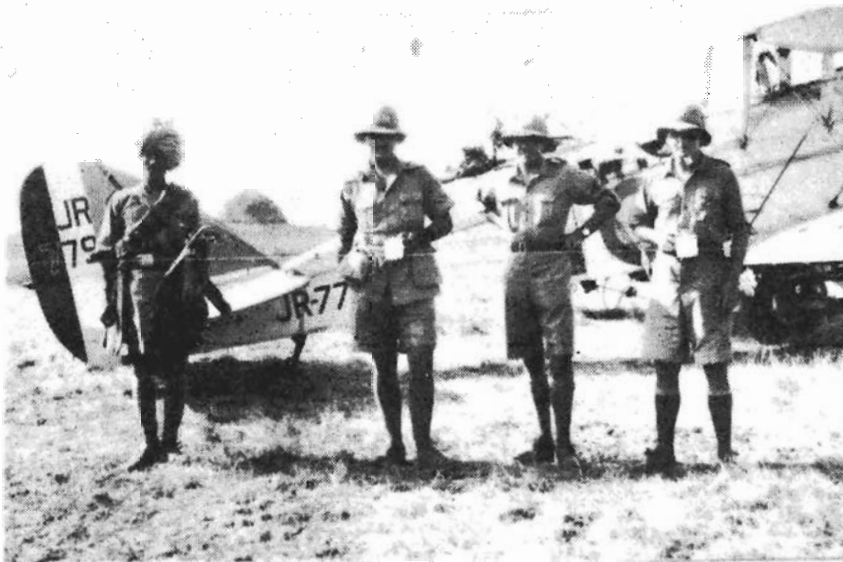
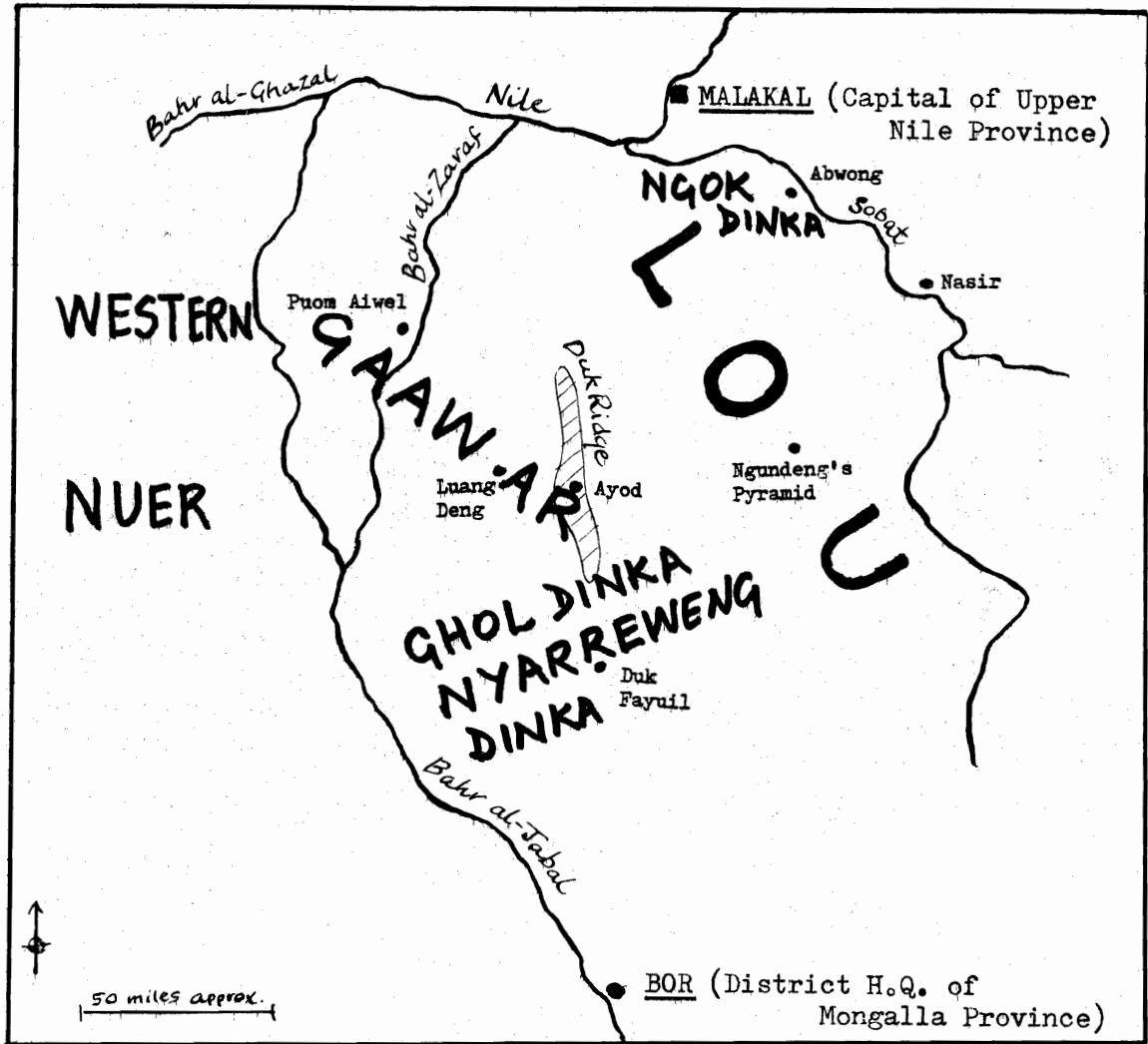
It is important to note in passing that among the Western Nuer who had been exposed to more intensive slave-raiding for a longer time, and who faced stiffer opposition from the Dinka than either the Lou or Gaawar, prophets appeared later than in the east. These prophets were more aggressive towards the Dinka, but they seem to have had more limited political and spiritual authority than their eastern counterparts. It is worth keeping these differences in mind, for it seems that the Western Nuer prophets have been used as the basis for the model which has dominated later academic discussions, a model which represents Nuer prophets as militantly opposed to the Dinka.

The Arrival of the Government

The Anglo-Egyptian government that entered the Sudan after the battle of Omdurman in 1898 was concerned during the first few years of its rule with establishing order and security throughout the territory it claimed. It was obsessed with determining the degree of "loyalty" or "hostility" of its new subjects. Frequently "hostility" was defined not so much by actual instances of violence and rebellion, as by refusal to recognize the authority of the new government. "Hostility" was the opposite of "submission". This definition could also be applied indirectly, for any independent group that threatened subjects of the government ran the risk of being accused of under-mining the government's authority.

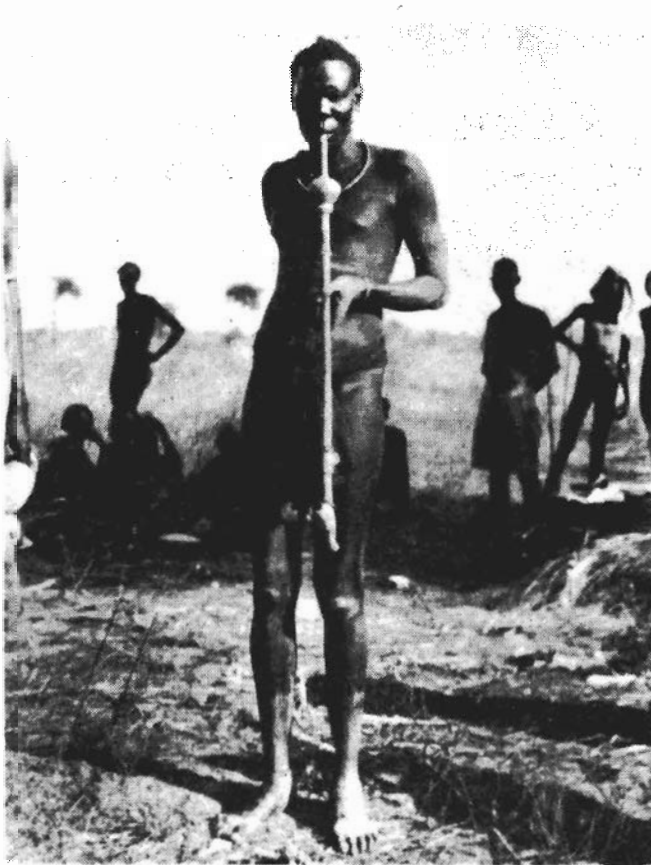
For the Nuer, relations with the new government were complicated not only by their attitude to it, but also by its attitude towards the Dinka. In the Upper Nile Region among the first to submit to the new government were those Dinka groups living on the more accessible banks of the Sobat and Bahr al-Jabal. Some had been allies of the old Egyptian government or of the merchant companies against the Nuer. Those who had been allied with the old government in the past were willing to submit to the new government and to try to use this new alliance in the same way they had used the old. Thus the Nuer ran a double risk of being declared "hostile" either by refusing to meet with the new government's representatives, or by appearing to threaten the government's "loyal" Dinka subjects.

A further complication was the government's inherent hostility to any form of unorthodox, prophetic or ecstatic religion. In the northern Sudan the government had defeated Mahdism, a Messianic Muslim revivalist movement that had overthrown the old Egyptian government. For several years therefore, the government was continually on the watch for new "Mahdis". It viewed the unorthodox Sufi brotherhoods of the north with suspicion, and the activities of itinerant holy men, fiqis or charm-sellers, with distaste. These prejudices had their counterpart in the Southern Sudan, where the colloquial Sudanese Arabic word for



The R.A.F. at Abwong, 1927

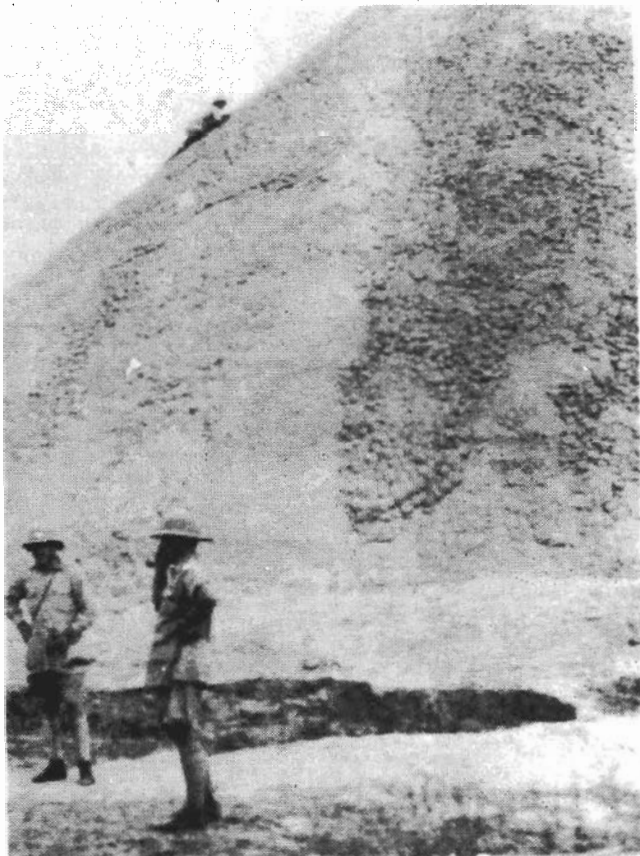
Photographs by kind permission of Mrs K. Coriat.



Dual Diu, 1926



"Chunky" Willis, c.1927



Coriat climbing
the Pyramid, 1927



Wyld, Coriat and O.C. Police
with trophies of Guek, 1929

"witchdoctor", "kujur", was applied to numerous types of spiritual experts. The new administration identified them with the figis of the north. Thus any person identified, through the medium of an Arabic speaking soldier or interpreter, as a "kujur" was immediately suspect as a potential threat to security.

In later years when the government was trying to create a particular class of administrative "chief", it formalised its opposition to what it considered to be the reactionary magicians in the Unlawful Societies Ordinance of 1919. This act was first used among the Azande to strengthen the position of government-appointed chiefs against the "Secret Societies" there. The government had been alarmed by the "cultic" organization of these societies, for they had spread, almost undetected, across tribal and international boundaries. The Secret Societies became a model for administrative fears, and with the Unlawful Societies Ordinance organized "magic" was legally defined as politically subversive.

One can easily imagine the new government's reaction when it began to hear of the two "kujurs" of the Lou and Gaawar via "loyal" Dinka who had clashed with both Ngundeng and Deng Lakka many years before. Throughout the years of 1899 to 1901 the new government heard of impending Nuer raids. Government informants claimed the Nuer were "hostile and have declared that if Government troops come into their country they will kill all their cattle to prevent them from being taken, and will fight to the last". Later it was reported that Ngundeng "promises to kill all people other than his own tribe, and even them, if they are friendly with white people approaching his village". The main sources of this information were the Dinka groups which had attacked and been defeated by Ngundeng. They offered to guide the government in any patrols against him, and in April 1902 a patrol of Sudanese soldiers aided by a large number of Dinka warriors set out for Lou Nuer territory.

This large and well-armed force progressed through Lou territory unresisted. Ngundeng and the Lou withdrew with their cattle before it and refused either to parley or give battle. This retreat was interpreted by the commander of the column as a deliberately hostile act, so he burned Ngundeng's abandoned village and looted his pyramid of the elephant tusks that were placed around its base. Ngundeng remained aloof from the government and two years later an official commented, apparently without irony, that his "antagonism to Government has apparently only deepened with time. With the best possible intentions we may be unable to prevent the Nuers of the Sobat moving across to Denkur (sic) (Ngundeng's ox name) rather than accept our pacific proposals".

By this time the government was beginning to doubt the veracity of its Dinka allies. The anticipated raids by Ngundeng's Lou failed to materialise; the Sobat Dinka were themselves found to be using the protection of the government to raid the Nuer; and other Dinka, particularly the Ngok and the Nyarreweng, were found to be on amiable terms with the Lou. A final attempt was made in 1906 to get in touch with Ngundeng, but he had died during the rains of 1905.

The government had more success with Deng Lakka. Though it described him as a "Mahdi" and a "fakir", the failure of its campaign against Ngundeng made it wary of further aggressive action. Perhaps because he had more experience with outsiders, Deng Lakka seems to have been more willing to speak with the government than Ngundeng had been. He met with government officials twice before he died in 1907, and managed to justify to them his antagonism towards those Dinka who had allied with the slavers in the preceding century. Ironically, then, we

find that the government officials began to sympathise with the prophet who actually raided their "loyal" Dinka, while they remained suspicious of the prophet who did not. This ambiguous attitude resulted mainly from the differing approaches the prophets took towards the new government, Ngundeng practiced avoidance, and while he did so the government could conclude that their only alternatives lay in reconciling or removing him. Deng Lakka was willing to speak with government officials, and in so doing gave sufficient recognition of the government's authority to placate it. This pattern was to be repeated with the prophet's sons and successors twenty years later, producing similar results.

Administration of the Nuer and Dinka

The immediate problem of the government's policy towards these two prophets disappeared with their death. It could now concentrate solely on establishing public order and an administration that worked through men with sufficient authority to be treated as chiefs. But, because frequently it established provincial and district divisions for strategic military reasons rather than from internal logic, the government tended to thwart its own project. The garrisons in what later became Upper Nile Province, for example, were established to deny the Sobat and the White Nile to the French and the Abyssinians. Further south a separate garrison was established at Mongalla to watch the Belgians at Lado and Rajjaf; when the Belgians left, their territory was merely added to the province that had grown up around the Mongalla headquarters. This included the Dinka of Bor District, while most of the Lou and Gaawar were administered by Upper Nile Province. As province administrators were jealous of interference from neighbouring provinces the net effect of this division was to compound clashes between Nuer and Dinka with clashes between province staff. Over the years tensions between the two peoples on the province borders became exaggerated by different officials who saw them as external threats to the internal administration of their provinces. In many cases it was this exaggerated view that formed the basis of later administrators' and even anthropologists' understanding of Nuer-Dinka hostility.

The pattern of relations in this area was already exceedingly complex. As refugees from Deng Lakka's earlier conquests tried to regain their cattle by nocturnal theft, the Gaawar launched raids of their own to recapture the cattle. The Nyarreweng and other Dinka frequently fled to the Lou for protection from Gaawar raids, and mixed settlements and intermarriage resulted.

The province borders did not take such complexities into consideration. In an attempt to end raiding, officials from both provinces decided in 1909-1910 that the simplest solution was to fix a "tribal boundary" that coincided with province boundaries. The two peoples were thus to be separated - the Nuer in Upper Nile solely, the Dinka in Mongalla - and their "official" relations conducted through their respective province administrators. Much effort was spent to enforce this arrangement by trying to "return" the Nuer to Upper Nile. From time to time administrators in each province realized the futility of the operations, for the communities were so mixed that the definition of who was a Nuer and who was a Dinka was frequently arbitrary. Unfortunately there was no uniform agreement between the provinces, and attempts to establish some uniformity by an official in one province were usually rejected as "interference" by his counterpart in the other province. The provinces continued to identify themselves with what they perceived to be the interests of the people they were supposed to represent. Thus the Mongalla officials sought to protect the Dinka from the Nuer, while the Upper Nile officials were prepared to resist what they called "Dinka intrigue".

These artificial barriers and the rivalries they produced had the opposite effect from what had been intended. The Gaawar and Lou living near the province boundary were in more contact with the Mongalla officials on the border than with

Upper Nile administrators. The identification of Mongalla Province with Dinka interests was encouraged by the fact that the minor Sudanese officials there were frequently Dinka from the Bahr al-Ghazal who were serving in the army. These soldiers frequently, on their own initiative, intervened in disputes on the side of the Dinka, leading the Nuer to regard the entire government as on the Dinka's side. In 1916 one Dinka officer was killed and his patrol annihilated in an ambush when he took the side of a local Dinka chief against the Lou prophet Pok Kerjiok. The defeat of government troops, even on an unofficial manoeuvre, forced the government to take action; a punitive patrol was sent against the Lou in 1917. Its range of action was extended to include the Gaawar who, under Dual Diu, the son and successor of Deng Lakka, had earlier clashed with government troops over problems in relations with the Dinka. When Dual finally made his peace with the Upper Nile administration the following year, he claimed that he had assumed Mongalla represented the entire government in its support of the Dinka and had not realized that representatives at Malakal, the capital of Upper Nile Province, might have listened to him more sympathetically.

A few administrators recognized at the time that many of these conflicts grew out of administrative policy, but the conflicts largely worked to reinforce the idea that the main security problem of the area was the protection of the Dinka from the Nuer. As prophets such as Dual and Pok Kerjiok became involved, the idea that "kujurs" were inherently hostile to the government also seemed confirmed. By 1926 when Bor District (a Dinka centre) was transferred to Upper Nile Province in an attempt to overcome some of the administrative tangles, such attitudes had hardened into dogmatic rigidity among those responsible for Dinka administration. By 1926 also, when the governor K.C.P. Struvé retired, there was no-one left in Upper Nile Province whose experience in Nuer and Dinka affairs predated 1921.

Dramatis Personae

Struvé had spent many years as an Inspector in Upper Nile Province and was one of a series of Inspectors with experience among both the Nuer and the Dinka who had also, since 1910, become governors of the province. He had been involved in the original delineation of the Nuer-Dinka boundary and had personal knowledge of the Nuer and Dinka participants in the many subsequent disputes. He had a strong suspicion of anything that smelled of "intrigue", especially anything emanating from the local mamurs, (junior Sudanese officials in charge of a sub-district) interpreters and Dinka chiefs of Bor District. "The Dinkas are decidedly clever at presenting a good case", he advised his successor, "while the Nuer is a correspondingly damned fool at the game, and prefers the spear as an argument. Consequently he appears to be always the aggressor, and the Dinka uses this fact to the full." As governor Struvé had used his experience as an Inspector to deal with complaints from the border area. "Most of the chiefs know me personally from my own D.C. days and know it is useless to start on to old intrigues which I have washed out." But, he warned his successor, "My departure and your arrival will probably be the cause of a lot of stirring of old antagonisms, and attempts may be made to see if you are likely to reverse present policies". Struvé specifically warned the new governor that he would probably hear rumours of impending Nuer raids from the Dinka chiefs in the border area, from the government interpreters of Bor District, and from the mamur of Duk Fayuil near the Nuer boundary. The Dinka would use the fact that the Gaawar had rifles to try to convince him to mount a patrol which they could accompany as "friendly", and would seek to be rewarded with captured Nuer cattle.

Of the two District Commissioners who were then in charge of Nuer and Dinka affairs, Struvé commended highly the Nuer D.C., Percy Coriat: "Coriat has the

Nuer side of the question at his fingers' ends, and has no illusions about the Nuers." Coriat did indeed have a detailed knowledge of the Nuer. He had begun his administrative career in 1922 at Ayod among the Gaawar. He became fluent in Nuer - - the first District Commissioner to become so - - and established close personal relations with the Gaawar, including the prophet Dual Diu. But in 1924 his headquarters were transferred to Abwong on the Sobat River, and by 1926 all the Gaawar had been transferred to a new and less experienced District Commissioner. Coriat retained only the Lou. Based among the Dinka around Abwong as he was, Coriat never came to know the Lou as well as he knew the Gaawar. Nor were his relations with the Lou prophet Guek Ngundeng as close and easy as those with Dual Diu.

The man who administered the Dinka of Bor district was Major "Tiger" Wyld, a man with a unique way of spelling which was the result, it was widely rumoured in the province, of his father being the Merton Professor of English Literature at Oxford. Wyld had no knowledge of Dinka or Nuer and relied exclusively on his interpreters and mamurs for information. Struvé was worried by the influence of these dubious sources, especially as Wyld was, perhaps true to his name and military background, a rather impetuous man. "Under a military style of Government," Struvé advised, "he might be something of a fire-eater, and too prone to force the pace; I sometimes think he chafes a little under the restraint of a chief who has himself got past that stage and seen the futility of it".

The new governor, C. Armine Willis, universally known as "Chunky", came from the Intelligence Department in Khartoum where he had spent the last ten years as both Assistant Director and then Director. He was a prodigious writer of reports and saw the role of his department almost solely as that of a confidential library service. Unfortunately he appears to have neglected some of the more immediate aims normally associated with Intelligence: in 1924 he neither possessed nor provided advance warning of the army mutiny and the "White Flag League" Revolt. This omission led to his being "reorganized" out of his department and transferred to the governor's office of Upper Nile Province. Willis resented his removal and posting to one of the least developed provinces in the Sudan. Seeing the transfer as a criticism of his personal and administrative abilities, he seemed determined to vindicate both his vigilance and his administrative methods. Having been swept out of Khartoum, he appears to have regarded himself as a new broom in a very dusty province.

His personal disappointment was manifested in suspicion and disapproval of the personnel of his new province, and he voiced this disapproval throughout his term as governor. He was appalled by the mid-western American missionaries on the Sobat and noted, "They need to be herded and watched." The wife of one of his D.C.'s, he wrote to his sister, was "thoroughly unsound on 'serviettes' - - you know the type well..." On more substantial matters he dismissed his predecessor's rather laissez faire style of administration as "the maintenance of adequate security at the lowest possible cost - - He did not demand a high degree of security; he was more concerned to keep expenditure down than to elaborate a constructive administrative policy." The tribesmen themselves he considered "practically primitive and somewhat truculent (sic)..."

Willis persuaded Khartoum to allocate money for the development of the province, the most important grant coming from the Egyptian Government for the examination of irrigation schemes - a precursor to the present Jonglei Canal project. Using this as a base, Willis was determined to build "a more progressive policy" than his predecessor, bringing the peoples of the province into close contact with "civilization" for the first time. This required that the tribes be "organized and disciplined", in a process that involved "gradually eliminating elements adverse to Government and insinuating such benefits of

sanitation, education and progress as could be absorbed..." Such progress required the building of roads, as well as the creation of administrative chiefs and Chiefs' Courts through which the government could direct the peoples to their new destiny.

The government had been searching for chiefs for over a quarter of a century, with very little success. They had found men of some influence who were incorporated into the administrative hierarchy, but no one who could be described as an hereditary chief with traditional executive powers. There was a belief among administrators that hereditary chiefs did exist but that their powers had been destroyed in the last century and their position usurped by the "kujurs". Since these kujurs were the most influential men then among the Nuer, a number of administrators had reluctantly decided that they should be included in the embryonic Chiefs' Courts until such time as the government could create a real executive chief. As one D.C. put it in the early 1920s, it was better to try to win them over to the government point of view "than appoint some nincompoop who could not stand up to the kujur". As Willis later claimed that all the "kujurs" were implacably hostile to the government, it is worth examining their relations with the government.

We have already noted Dual Diu's early difficulties with the government over the Tribal Boundary. After 1918, when a government post was established at Ayod near his home, his personal relations with the government seemed amicable, and he visited Malakal twice. In 1922 Dual proposed to settle all Gaawar blood-feuds at a reduced rate of compensation, a proposal which was in accord with the government's peace-keeping policies but which was successfully thwarted by a government-appointed chief from the rival primary section of the Gaawar. (The chief lived, or rather died, to regret his opposition, for two years later he was killed in revenge for an unsettled feud.) Tension was reported on the Nuer-Dinka border in 1925-1926, but the rumours emanating from Bor district about Dual's intended raids proved false. Coriat reported that Dual had not raided the Dinka for ten years. He seemed anything but hostile to the government, and Coriat described him personally as a "great friend".

Guek Ngundeng received considerably less sympathy from government officials. He had become possessed by his father's spirit Deng while in flight from government troops who were campaigning against the Lou and the prophet Pok Kerjiok in 1917. In 1920 the government heard rumours that Guek was planning to set up a "rival government". These turned out to have originated with the government interpreter at Nasir, who, because the local D.C. could speak neither Nuer nor Arabic, had become quite rich by extorting bribes from people wanting cases heard. Dissatisfied with the outcome, many people had gone to Guek and received more satisfaction. Guek was cleared of the charge of rebellion, but he followed his father's reluctance to deal directly with government officials. He sometimes stayed on top of his father's pyramid in a seizure of spirit possession throughout their visits. Because of this obvious reluctance to be involved with government affairs he was recognized as only a "sub-chief" of his own section. He was not considered to be as co-operative or as influential as Dual, and Coriat wrote of him, "The more I became acquainted the less did I consider him fitted as a Chieftain and had it not been for his Kujurial power and the necessity of keeping him in a position where he could be watched, I would have been prepared to ignore his influence entirely."

The other two Lou prophets were Pok Kerjiok and Car Koryom. After the 1917 Lou Patrol Pok had dropped out of the government's view. Even Wyld, who was vigilant in spotting anti-Dinka and anti-Government prophets, had never heard of him. Car Koryom came from a Lou section on the Nyarreweng

Dinka border that had intermarried extensively with the Nyarreweng and generally lived in peace with them. Car himself was cited in government reports as being active in settling or preventing feuds and preventing other Lou sections from raiding the Dinka. From a government point of view the Lou prophets had all been quiet, and even tractable, for over ten years.

The Conflict

The first phase of Willis' progressive policy was the building of a road through Lou territory to Bor District. A meeting of Lou chiefs was held in May 1927 where Coriat explained to each chief the section he was responsible for and the labour he was to provide. Guek spoke at the meeting, objecting to the labour involved. Coriat was surprised, as Guek had never taken much interest in administrative affairs, but he dismissed Guek's objection and emphasised that as he was only a minor chief he was expected to obey the instructions of those above him.

The precise nature of Guek's objection is still obscure. The Lou today admit that Guek objected to making the road, but they give various reasons for this. Some say that he objected to the labour involved, others that the timing of the project clashed with the time Nuer normally cleared their fields for cultivation.

Willis interpreted Guek's objection to road work as "anti-government" propaganda. In presenting this view to Khartoum he emphasised that Guek and all other "kujurs" were inevitably opposed to the government because "their position and wealth depend on keeping the people ignorant and frightened of their supposed supernatural powers; and in the nature of things they must be reactionary and opposed to a policy of progress such as the Government proposes". Both supporters and opponents of Guek among the Lou today deny that he intended to raise a rebellion over the matter of the road. They admit that Guek finally did decide to fight the government, but that this decision was based on the government's own actions and the insistence of other people. The corroboration of modern Nuer testimony provided by government files is surprisingly consistent.

After the May meeting Coriat went on leave and did not return until the end of the year. Therefore there was no Nuer-speaking official in the province who could check on the reports about his district. Reports of Guek's preparations for rebellion came in from two main sources, Wyld in Bor District, and Mor Lou chiefs. Wyld's reports all came via his interpreter and the mamur at Duk Fayuil, who were both Dinka. Considering Struvé's prediction that such rumours would come from precisely those sources, it is strange that they were believed. While it is true that reports from Mor Lou chiefs seemed to corroborate them, there is reason to suspect that such stories were motivated by sectional rivalry among the Lou. The Mor had always been reluctant to acknowledge Ngundeng, Guek's father, as a prophet, or abide by his prohibitions against feuds and raids against the Dinka. After Ngundeng died, feuds between the Gun and the Mor broke out into war, the "Kur Luny Yak" that Evans-Pritchard mentions as an extreme example of the intensity of inter-sectional fights among the Nuer. Guek's possession came after this war, and Lou testimony today confirms that he continued his father's preaching against feuds and raids. Government accounts of 1921 record that Guek admitted he had little influence over the Mor. Many individual Mor later sided with Guek in the hostilities against the government, but it need not surprise us that men who already owed their position to government support might have tried to use that support to weaken the influence of a rival. Thus, anti-Guek reports from a few Mor government chiefs cannot be

regarded as conclusive.

These reports, however, were believed by Wyld and Willis, both of whom were already predisposed to accept such accounts and to use them in urging an immediate response from the government. Willis, having been transferred from Khartoum for failing to discover a rebellion, was all too ready to take swift action at the first hint of rebellion in his new province. Wyld was quick to take advantage of the situation to put forward the interests of his district of Bor, which he felt had been overlooked by a pro-Nuer governor in the past. He agreed with Willis about the need to eliminate "Kurjurial power" in the province in order to protect the Dinka and establish administration. He had repeatedly requested that Dinka living among the Lou be resettled under the government chiefs of his district in order to bolster their power. Throughout 1927 Wyld repeatedly urged that a patrol be used to facilitate this transfer.

In August Willis persuaded Khartoum to authorize a patrol to "show the flag" among the Lou during the coming dry season of 1928. In September Wyld reported that his interpreter, a mamur and a Dinka chief had all reported the Guek planned to kill Coriat, raise all the Nuer, and parcel out "raiding rights" against the Dinka as far as Bor. Willis forwarded these reports to Khartoum, noting, "I have received reports which go to confirm the probable rising of Guek Wonding as I had anticipated..." He went on to point out the residual benefits of such a rising: "In many ways however it gives an opportunity to start the 'native administration' with a definite demonstration of what is to happen to those natives who refuse to recognize the chiefs' and the Government's authority." Preparations for military operations thus continued, and work was started clearing a landing strip for the R.A.F. at Abwong.

In November H.C. Jackson, the man who had first contacted Guek in 1921, wrote from Halfa Province, where he was then governor, to point out that six years earlier, when reports of Guek's alleged rebellion had poured into Malakal from all over the province, the circumstantial evidence against Guek had been just as strong as it was now. When Guek was contacted personally it was found that the rumours were completely false. Jackson suggested the same procedure should be followed this time as well. The Governor-General agreed and suggested that Coriat, who would return from leave soon, should try to contact Guek first; if he failed, then and only then should R.A.F. planes be sent to bomb Guek.

When Coriat arrived in Khartoum he found that preparations had gone almost too far to be stopped. The use of planes seemed to have been an administrative decision, for the recent use in Iraq had led the government to try them against the Nuer "in order to determine their use, one way or the other in administration". The sheaf of telegrams and reports awaiting Coriat's arrival seemed to provide damning proof of Guek's intentions, and Coriat admitted that he had "gone too far to submit". Coriat received instructions to go to Abwong to discover the extent of Guek's support, but he was specifically ordered not, as he himself wished, to try to arrest Guek with the few mounted police at his disposal. He was given until December 7th to discover "whether it was war or not". Coriat was flown to Malakal and was in Abwong by the 27th November and on tour by the 29th.

It is here that a comparison of government and Nuer sources provides a curious reconstruction of events. Government documents record that a Lou Nuer chief, Dok Dieng, contacted the government three times between June and November. The first occasion was before Coriat went on leave when he urged Coriat to try to talk with Guek about the road again, but Coriat dismissed the suggestion. The second time he appeared at Abwong in November with an elephant tusk from Guek, protesting that Guek had no intention of fighting the government. The third time he came with a number of other Lou, including Guek's brother Bol, bearing a second tusk

from Guek, and presented it to Coriat just before he set off on his tour. Coriat replied that he was not satisfied with Guek's conduct and that he expected them all to meet him in a few days' time with other Lou chiefs to settle the matter. To ensure that they did, he detained Bol Ngundeng at Abwong.

The Lou remember Dok Dieng's attempts to appeal to the government. They also remember that he was one of the Nuer leaders who warned Guek of the government's preparations for war and urged Guek to fight. They also remember that other men who had been to Abwong with Bol Ngundeng when he was arrested urged the same course of action on Guek. In fact, it was only with the detention of Bol that Guek became convinced of the government's hostility towards him.

Coriat spent from November 29th to December 7th on trek in the Lou country. By this time the Lou anticipated some sort of conflict, and Guek was making preparations for battle. Coriat returned to Abwong where he met the Commander-in-Chief of military forces in the Sudan, Willis and other military officers. At this time Coriat still thought that he could resolve the matter personally if he was given a strong escort of mounted police to arrest Guek, but Willis vetoed this proposal. So it was decided to begin the campaign by sending four planes to bomb Guek's pyramid and village.

The decision to use planes was a matter of government conjuring. It was thought that the 20 pound bombs carried by four bi-plane bombers could destroy an earthen structure 60 feet high and 150 feet round at the base. It would be dramatic proof Willis claimed, that the Government had the stronger "kujur". It was to be humane proof too, for Coriat was to announce the date of the raid ahead of time so that "loyal" chiefs could evacuate their people from the area and no one would be hurt.

The announcement was duly made, but the government kujur had not counted on logistical problems, and it was found that the planes could not be made ready in time. The day of the raid passed with no raid taking place. Road gangs immediately left work. To raise government prestige again, a much more ruthless demonstration was planned for the following day. The planes raided the pyramid, arriving in time to interrupt the sacrifice of an ox. Their incendiary bombs failed to set fire to the village, and their 20 pound bombs missed the pyramid. The Nuer scattered. Another bombing and machine-gun run against the pyramid was held the following day, and the Nuer hid in their sorghum fields. The planes went out several days running, machine-gunning any concentrations of men or cattle they could find. The "morale effect" was considered excellent. The Nuer were thought to be terrified until one Nuer with a rifle shot at a plane and wounded the pilot in the thigh; thus grounding both pilot and plane for the rest of the patrol. The Nuer terror was then admitted to have "moderated". The total casualties inflicted by the R.A.F. were two old men and 200 cattle killed.

Troops had to be sent in. They succeeded in burning the village around the pyramid, but they were unable to find any large concentrations of Nuer to fight. The Lou had scattered when the planes had come and had gone into swamps where the troops could not follow, or had sought refuge among their neighbours the Gaawar. The first principle of "savage warfare", that of forcing the enemy to concentrate so that it could be decisively defeated, had been violated by the over-optimistic use of planes. After several weeks roaming around the bush the patrol could claim only a few prisoners. Their score in human casualties was slightly higher than the R.A.F., being 2 women and 2 children killed.

Government prestige had suffered with the failure to damage the pyramid. The Royal Engineers were called in to level it with explosives. Some thirty - four Lou chiefs were gathered to watch the demonstration, which took on the

atmosphere of a conjuring trick as Coriat told them that he would make the mound disappear in a puff of smoke at the drop of a handkerchief. The handkerchief was dropped, the charge set off, and "The result was something of an anti-climax", Coriat later wrote. The wind blew the sound away, and all that was seen was "A puff of white smoke and a few lumps of earth tumbling down the side". Symbolic of the government's entire effort, only the top of the pyramid had been removed, leaving the base intact. Nevertheless the government in Khartoum announced to the papers back home and to the world at large that the pyramid had been "completely destroyed", and that "The destruction of this stronghold of wizardry symbolises the downfall of the kujurs..."

With the bungling of the Lou patrol it was now necessary to impress neighbouring Nuer with government strength and reassure the Dinka of their protection. The reports that Lou fugitives were with the Gaawar and that a new prophet, named Kurbiel Wal, had arisen among the Gaawar, determined the government to send a patrol to the Gaawar. Wyld was to come from Bor District and be met by Coriat and the new D.C. of the Gaawar.

During the planning of the Gaawar March Willis' condemnation of the prophet became more intense. He began to discover evidence of a conspiracy of "the kujur as a body" and he proposed "to remove any kujur who is using his magic for profit or politics..." This proposal to eliminate all "kujurs" alarmed the Governor-General. He declared himself ready "to deal strongly with hostile kujurs" but he feared that a general campaign against "kujurs" would only encourage opposition. He cited Edwin Smith's The Golden Stool to support his reservations.³ Willis set about gathering information to support his claims of a conspiracy. He compiled a dossier on what he called the "Cult of Deng" and solicited information from his D.C.s. He hoped to show that the Dinka elements in the teachings of such prophets as Ngundeng and Guek constituted a foreign "cult" which had entered Nuer-land and was subverting Nuer custom and tradition. His D.C.s in the Shilluk and Dinka districts responded with reports corroborating his notion of the subversive nature of the Cult of Deng and the "Deng Men", and these were forwarded to Khartoum. His Nuer D.C.s, Coriat in particular, denied that any such thing as the "Cult of Deng" existed. These reports were not forwarded to Khartoum, and Coriat received a sharp reply from Willis for his pains. Willis then wrote his own account of the Cult of Deng. He moderated his original position slightly in the face of Khartoum's reservations, but he did say that he hoped that he would soon have "sufficient evidence to make the Cult of Deng an illegal society..." In this way he tried to link the prophets with recognized anti-government "magicians".

Meanwhile events among the Gaawar had escalated. In late February Coriat and the new Gaawar D.C. visited the new "kujur", Kurbiel Wal. He paid three bulls as tribute to the government and then disappeared. Coriat then turned his attention to Dual Diu and visited his cattle camp where he was joined by Wyld who was accompanied by 300 Dinka warriors who had followed him to Gaawar. Dual was still considered a "loyal" chief at this time. The meeting between Dual and Coriat was friendly, each giving assurances that they had no desire for hostilities. Unfortunately Coriat met stiffer opposition from Wyld who felt Dual's Gaawar should be disarmed; Wyld was not satisfied with Dual's assurances that he was not harboring Lou refugees. Coriat gave in, and Dual's camp was surrounded that night. At dawn the troops entered the camp and according to one British eye-witness, "generally beat the place up..."⁴

Dual was incensed, and further injury was caused by some of the Dinka "friendlies" whom, he claimed, mutilated one of his bulls. He complained to Coriat and Wyld on the spot, but his complaints were rejected. It was from this

point that Dual, feeling betrayed, decided to break with the government. Coriat's remorse over this incident is clear, for two years later after hostilities with Dual had ended with his capture, Coriat wrote, "In my opinion Dual had material cause for grievance at the action taken on the Gaweir march..."

Willis continued innocent of any real understanding of the situation and was overjoyed by the results of the march. "The Kujur have been discredited" he reported, "and it has been brought home to the tribesmen that if they harbour rebels or refugees they get into trouble". The new Gaawar D.C. was left to roust out Kurbiel himself, while Coriat returned to track down the Lou prophets Guek, Pok Kerjiok and Car Koryom.

Reports of the downfall of wizardry had appeared in the home newspapers and Punch took a fancy to the names of two prophets mentioned. It published this confident jingle:

I fear that Messrs. Pok and Gwek
Will shortly get it in the neck
And that an overwhelming shock
Is due to Messrs. Gwek and Pok.

Then let us mourn the bitter wreck
In store for Messrs. Pok and Gwek
When we administer the knock
To Mr. Gwek and Mr. Pok.

This irritated the Gaawar D.C. who thought his efforts to hunt down Kurbiel were ill-appreciated. "I don't think many people seem to realize that the Gaweir kujur KURBIELE is a real die-hard", he complained to Willis. "His name has not yet appeared in the British Comic Press, but in my opinion his removal is just as necessary as that of any of the BIG THREE of the LAU".

The big three were to be joined by Dual Diu. In August, during the rains, he gathered a force of Gaawar, a few Lou and the inevitable Dinka contingent and raided the Nyarreweng Dinka and the government police post at Duk Fayuil. Though it was reported at the time that he had broken with the government because of the events of the Gaawar March, and that most of the herds he attacked contained Gaawar cattle confiscated by the government, Dual's action was interpreted as motivated by the Nuer's inveterate hatred of the Dinka. As Willis put it, the Nuer had an "inborn conviction that Dinkas existed merely to be raided". The fact that some Nyarreweng Dinka sent their cattle to Lou Nuer relatives during this period of Gaawar raids was also reported but had no effect on the standard interpretation.

The "kujurs" were in general revolt now, as Willis had confidently predicted over a year before. Police patrols were sent at the beginning of the dry season to try to locate Guek, Pok, Car and Dual. By early January 1929 it was decided that ~~some~~ radical form of administrative reorganization must be tried to bring about a final solution to Nuer unrest and Dinka fears. A "settlement" backed by "armed assistance" was proposed. This "Nuer Settlement", as it came to be called, consisted of concentrating the Gaawar, and the Gun and Mor Lou into specific areas, and creating a "No-Man's Land" between them and their Dinka neighbours. Those who had not concentrated by early February would be declared "rebels" and would be forced to move by police and troops. Not only would Dinka cattle and captives be returned, but Dinka currently living among the Nuer would be forced to move back to the Dinka areas, so that all the peoples of the area, Nuer and Dinka, would be organized to "establish proper discipline and control and preclude further disturbance of peace". The concentration and separation of the Nuer and

Dinka would be followed by the building of roads and the economic development of the area. The administration of "tribal discipline" would be carried out through the government-appointed Chiefs' Courts and Chiefs' Police. Prophets were naturally to be excluded from them.

The military phase of the "Nuer Settlement" was greatly helped by the return of Guek to the ruins of his pyramid. There, on February 8th, 1929, a patrol encountered him with some 200 of his followers. According to government sources Guek hoped to raise his sagging prestige by a successful contest of arms. According to Guek's nephew who was with him at the pyramid, Guek ordered his following to disperse before the government troops could arrive, but they decided to stand and fight. "The following morning," his nephew told me, "Guek's kuoth left him".

Nuer and government sources agree on what happened next. The government troops arrived and formed a square facing the pyramid. The Nuer made no motion to attack, so the soldiers fired in the air to bring them on. Then the Nuer began to advance, with Guek in the lead following a white ox. Guek's nephew, who was by his side during the battle, described it this way:

When the Turuk (white man) came, Guek took an ox and walked towards the Turuk... Guek tried to spear the ox, but the ox turned away. He did this many times and the ox did the same until Guek wept. Then the Turuk shot him and also shot the ox. When we saw that Guek had been killed we fled. The Turuk killed thirty people from the family of Ngundeng of which I am a member. The Turuk took all our cattle and children who were left behind and took them to a place called Muot Dit.⁵

Guek's body was taken from the field and hung up on the branches of a tree near the pyramid. When the troops had left, some of Guek's wives returned and found him hanging there. He was taken down and buried. "He would have been buried in a hut," one man who lost two brothers at the battle later told me, "had it not been for the burning of all the huts by the Turuk".

With Guek dead the Lou obeyed the concentration orders, and all were reported to be in their assigned settlements by 17th February. Willis was delighted and wrote home, "Guek's death has given a great fillip to obedience. .." Dual was still at large, but Gaawar obedience to the concentration orders was aided by a rinderpest epidemic at the end of the year, which coincided with a crop failure. Dual was eventually captured on the Sobat river in 1930. By 1931 Car, Pok, and Kurbiel had all surrendered or been captured.

So ended the military operations of the "Nuer Settlement". The implementation of the "No-Man's Land" was more complicated. By 1931 it was found that the various groups of Dinka living among the Gaawar and Lou refused to move back to what the administrators called their original "homeland". Willis, who retired in 1931, left the province with this definite order: "The policy was laid down that Dinka should go to Dinka country and Nuer to Nuer. Where there is doubt as to the tribal identity of individuals, each case will have to be decided on its own merits." This was easier said than done. The province officials contemplated all sorts of means of effecting the transfer, even the removal of the shrine at Luang Deng from Gaawar territory to the new Dinka tribal area. One old Dinka chief was heard to declare that if he was forced to move he would tell his son to kill the Nyarreweng Dinka chief "who is getting the Turk to move us..."

Both Wyld and Coriat also left the province in 1931, so none of the formulators of the "Nuer Settlement" remained to implement it. The new governor, who had

served as an Inspector in Upper Nile during World War I, was faced with implementing a policy which was thoroughly unworkable. The new D.C. of Bor District fought for it as the cornerstone of his own district's administration, but he was faced with the fact that there were not enough Dinka in his district to occupy the territory the Lou and Gaawar had evacuated.

The Gaawar and Lou D.C.s found that the overcrowding of their districts caused by the concentration order was further complicated by another rinderpest epidemic in 1931 and floods which destroyed the crops in 1932. This, plus the refusal of the Dinka living among the Nuer to move, caused the governor to reverse the resettlement policy in 1933. In 1937 his successor abolished the No-Man's Land. This decision was marked by a grand fête of Lou, Gaawar and Dinka where the occasion was celebrated by relay races, which the Dinka won, and a tug-of-war, which the Lou won.

As administrative policy moved through the 1940s towards the creation of a grand "Nilotic Confederation" in the province, the "tribal boundary" was relaxed and the transfer of individuals between districts was allowed in a limited way. Large numbers of Dinka left Bor District and became Nuer during the economic hardships and floods of the 1940s, late 1960s and early 1970s.⁶

Prophets were still excluded from administration, but some were allowed to carry on in their religious functions. As the administration became well established and less fearful of opposition, more knowledgeable and sympathetic administrators began to adopt a more generous attitude to some of the prophets. The word "kujur" was replaced by the Nuer word "kuoth" in administrative documents. Of the prophets who were captured during the Nuer Settlement, Pok died in exile, Car eventually returned home, and Dual was released shortly before the independence of the Sudan, only to be rearrested again when the Dinka claimed that he was planning to raid them. He was finally released in 1957, when a peace-making ceremony was held between him and the Dinka chiefs. He died in 1968. His nephew, who was seized by the spirit Diu after Dual died, was accused by the Dinka in 1976 of inciting raids against them, but he was cleared of these charges when they were investigated and was commended for having tried to keep the peace between his district and Bor district.

Conclusion

Readers familiar with Evans-Pritchard's work on the Nuer may have already suspected how the events of the "Nuer Settlement" affected his perception of them. He has drawn our attention to the initial difficulties of his research, which began in 1930, deriving from Nuer suspicion of the government, and from the difficulties of obtaining information on the prophets when they had been killed, exiled or were in hiding (1940: 9-11; 1954: 305). As there were no general anti-prophet regulations in effect among the Western Nuer, sky-spirits and prophets seemed better known there than east of the Nile, where they had been suppressed. This led Evans-Pritchard to make erroneous claims about their western origin and their diffusion eastward. It affected his analysis not only of Nuer prophets, but also of the true impact of Dinka ideas of Divinity on Nuer religion. Evans-Pritchard's representation of Dinka influence on Nuer religion is that certain Dinka ideas and practices arose outside Nuer society, among the Western Dinka, and entered from the West and moved eastward. He sees the Dinka ideas and spirits as something ultimately separable from Nuer society, and in his analysis of the relationship of spirits to the social order he does not seem to see the social order extending beyond the boundaries of Nuer society. His studies of Nuer kinship offer proof of the massive absorption of Dinka into Nuer society (at least among the Lou), but he tends to see the result as the domination of "Nuer society" over the Dinka, rather than a fusing of the two.

These impressions were perhaps confirmed by his experience in Western Nuer, where he terminated his investigations. There the Nuer and Dinka again faced each other across province boundaries. The military activities of the prophets still active in the West seemed to confirm the case the government has presented concerning the Gaawar and Lou prophet's aggression and hostility to both the government and the Dinka. Evans-Pritchard seems to have accepted the general trend of this part of the government's argument, though he was unable to accept particular details, especially those presented by Willis.

It was not just his view of the prophets that was affected by the "Nuer Settlement". Evans-Pritchard did not see Nuer society, especially Lou society, in its natural state. He found the people artificial and forcibly separated from the Dinka. As the Nuer had been told that the patrols sent against them, the confiscation of their cattle, and their removal to fixed concentration areas was done in part on behalf of the Dinka, their resentment against the Dinka is understandable. Evans-Pritchard's analysis of Nuer-Dinka relations is slightly ambiguous, for contrasted with the rapid and relatively easy assimilation of Dinka into Nuer society, are a number of exaggeratedly hostile and violent personal statements of various Nuer against Dinka. Evans-Pritchard left the "Nuer Settlement" area before the reversal of its policies began. He completed his research before the "No-Man's Land" was abolished. He therefore had little opportunity to rectify his earlier impressions.

Modern anthropologists, by ignoring the "Nuer Settlement" entirely, have continued to be misled in their interminable revisions of the Nuer material. A few have added the writings of contemporary administrators to some of the more extreme Nuer statements recorded by Evans-Pritchard to develop bizarre theories concerning the origins of the two peoples. Others have used Willis, despite or perhaps because of Evans-Pritchard's warnings about his reliability, to revise Evans-Pritchard's own analysis of the prophets. There was an example recently, in an Oxford seminar, of how something as remote from the political events of the "Nuer Settlement" as a detailed argument about pastoralism and the economic nature of bridewealth can be distorted by citing Evans-Pritchard's account of Nuer pastoralism in the early 1930s, without taking into account how the machine-gunning of Nuer herds by planes, the confiscation of cattle, the effect of two rinderpest epidemics in three years, and the hiding of cattle from government patrols and tax assessors might have affected his impressions.⁷

The "Nuer Settlement" was a brief episode in Nuer history and the history of Nuer Administration. As an attempt to settle once and for all Nuer-Dinka relations it failed, for it was based on an erroneous appreciation of those relations. This misunderstanding arose as much from the structure of administration in the province at the time, as from the personalities of the men involved in implementing or opposing the "Nuer Settlement". The balance of Nuer-Dinka relations in the Upper Nile Province had been complicated by the administrative divisions which introduced the opposition of district interests to the other tensions of the area. Where the government intervened in Nuer-Dinka disputes its solutions were very frequently the results of inter-district compromises based on the balancing of the administrative objectives of opposing districts.

The objectives of those representing Bor District over the years had come to be aggressively defensive on behalf of the Dinka against the Nuer. They had aimed at controlling Nuer contacts with the Dinka, and at isolating the Dinka from the Nuer in order that the Dinka might strengthen their own position. As long as Bor District was part of Mongalla Province, the Upper Nile Province staff reacted with suspicion at what it feared were attempts to interfere with its own province administration. This suspicion favoured a pro-Nuer attitude in Nuer-Dinka disputes that crossed province lines.

When Bor became part of Upper Nile Province in 1926 and the last governor involved in the Upper Nile-Mongalla disputes left, the inter-provincial rivalry that had supported Nuer claims in the province vanished. But the interests of Bor District as an administrative unit remained. To defend these interests the Bor D.C. advocated the isolation of the Dinka from the Nuer and the strengthening of the Dinka population at the expense of the Nuer districts, by the resettlement of Dinka from the Nuer districts. No longer supported by another province in disputes with the Nuer, Bor district had to gain administrative strength at the expense of the Nuer districts in order to defend its own interests. The D.C. at Bor, Wyld, already convinced of a Nuer threat to his district, was vigilant to spot and eager to point out evidence of this threat.

Willis' defence of his own interests was no less vigorous than Wyld's. His policies in a province where he had no personal experience were as much an answer to Khartoum's implied criticism of his abilities as a response to the province's own needs. He was quick to spot potential opposition not only because he had failed to spot an uprising in his last post, but also because he expected resistance from the "kujurs"; he shared the general attitude of administrators in the Sudan which branded the "kujurs" and other such persons as reactionary and troublesome. When, therefore, Wyld produced evidence proving the need to defend Bor district from the Nuer, this evidence confirmed Willis' anticipation of opposition, and he was quick to prepare for rebellion. Once Khartoum accepted the need to prepare for an uprising, it was only a small step for the central government of the Sudan to use the opportunity to carry out its own experiments-in this case an experiment with the use of planes in administrative patrols. The preparations of the government produced the very uprising the government had anticipated. The experimental use of planes scattered the original target and necessitated the extension of operations to other groups of Nuer. This government action brought the Gaawar into open opposition. The expanding Nuer resistance justified the government's contentions about the danger of prophets and the need to protect the Dinka from the Nuer.

This "proof" has found its way into innumerable scholarly studies about the Nuer and the Dinka, resulting in the current state of anthropological understanding of the area. No attempt has yet been made to analyse the government's accounts or understand the motives behind administrators' statements. They have been treated as equal in validity to Evans-Pritchard's work. All Nuer source material has assumed a timeless quality, as if the discussion of mere events had no bearing on the discovery of eternal truths. It is ironic that Evans-Pritchard's material has been treated in this way, for he repeatedly complained of the lack of historical method in modern anthropology. That his own work should be placed in its historical context is both a fitting extension of his own interests, and long overdue.

Douglas Johnson.

NOTES

Space does not permit the full citation of references. Quotations from documents have been taken from the following: Civil Secretary, Intelligence, Dakhliya and Upper Nile Province files in the Central Records Office, Khartoum; Administrative, Army, Tribal and Governor's Office files in Malakal, Upper Nile Province; the Willis Papers, Sudan Archive, University of Durham; the Coriat Papers which recently have been donated to Rhodes House, Oxford; and the published Sudan Intelligence Reports.

Interviews among the Gaawar and Lou Nuer and the Nyarreweng Dinka were conducted in February-July 1975, and March-August, 1976. All research was carried out in preparation for a doctoral dissertation in African history at UCLA. The events described will be published in more detailed articles elsewhere in the future.

1. Much confusion has arisen in recent anthropological writings about Nuer-Dinka relations, so it is best to emphasise that the Dinka discussed in this paper (as well as in most of the writings of Evans-Pritchard) are the Eastern Dinka of Upper Nile Province, about whom considerably less is known than the Western Dinka of the Bahr al-Ghazal Province.
2. The evidence for this statement, which is contrary to almost, all other written accounts of Ngundeng, must be accepted as conclusive. My Lou informants were unanimous on this aspect of his teachings, and their statements were confirmed by other Gaawar Nuer and Nyarreweng Dinka informants. Francis Deng records a Ngok Dinka song (no. 90 in The Dinka and their Songs) which also confirms Lou statements made to me. Early government reports also record peaceful relations between Ngundeng's Lou and the Ngok and Nyarreweng (Sudan Intelligence Report, no.128, 1905, pp.6 & 8). These have apparently been overlooked or ignored by later administrators and by Evans-Pritchard himself.
3. The campaign against the prophets was complicated by the murder of Capt. Fergusson, D.C. of the Western Nuer, at the end of 1927. Fergusson's district was then in Bahr al-Ghazal Province and was due to be transferred to Upper Nile. It was recognized that Fergusson's death was unrelated to events east of the Nile, but attempts were made to attribute the murder to the "kujurs" of the Western Nuer. It was at first supposed that the man who instigated the murder was a minor prophet named Garluak Nyagh. Suspicion fell on him in part because the real instigator of the murder, a "loyal" government-appointed chief, had accused him to the government, and in part because he was a prophet and therefore immediately suspect. Fergusson's own attitude towards prophets had been ambivalent, for he praised the work of some and killed four others during a punitive patrol. Willis later claimed that it was from Fergusson that he first got the idea of eliminating all "kujurs". But Fergusson's views were so ambiguous that the Governor-General also cited them back to Willis in support for his prohibition against a full-scale campaign against the prophets of the east.
4. This is the account of Capt. Romilly, as recorded by B.A. Lewis in a file in the Malakal archives. Romilly accompanied the Gaawar March as a soldier but later entered the Sudan Political Service and became a Nuer D.C. In the post-"Nuer Settlement" era of the 1930s both he and Lewis maintained that Wyld's actions during the Gaawar March were largely responsible for the alienation of Dual Diu and the Gaawar.
5. Ngundeng is supposed to have achieved his victory over the Gaawar-Dinka aggressors by sacrificing an ox on the battlefield while facing his attackers. Guek was clearly attempting the same thing. In this account his failure is attributed to his kuoth having left him because it disapproved of fighting.
7. David Turton, "The Economics of Mursi Bridewealth: A Comparative Perspective", Feb. 9, 1979.
6. Space does not permit recounting the full details of the complex relations that have existed, and still exist between the Gaawar, Lou and their Dinka neighbours. One should however, contrast the general pattern of Nuer dominance there with Western Nuer's relations with the Dinka of the Bahr al-Ghazal. Between 1911-1918, for instance, the Western Jikainy were forced to flee south of the Bahr al-Ghazal because of Kuil (Rueng) Dinka raids. At one point the Western Jikainy so feared the Kuil Dinka that they demanded

government protection. Further south the Agar Dinka, under Wol Athiang (the man who master-minded the annihilation of the Egyptian garrison at Rumbek in 1883), dominated Nuer-Dinka raiding until well after the establishment of the colonial administration. Wol's name is still regarded with awe by the Nyuon, Dok and Jagai Nuer.

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