

DOCUMENTS IN NUER HISTORY
AND ETHNOGRAPHY, 1922-1931



PERCY CORIAT

SECTION ONE

Central Nuer

CENTRAL NUER: INTRODUCTION

CORLAT spent eight years among the Gaawar and Lou and had some brief contact with the Lak and Thiang Nuer on Zeraf Island. In administrative terms these Nuer were later classified as the 'Central Nuer', to distinguish them from the 'Western Nuer' living west of the Bahr el-Jebel, and the 'Eastern Nuer'—the Eastern Jikany—living along the eastern border of the Sudan. During most of Coriat's time the Lak, Thiang, Gaawar, Lou and some Dinka groups were contained in one large 'Southern District' with ADCs assigned to specific 'inspectorates' at Abwong, Fangak and Duk Fayuil.

Any classification based on administrative geography does not necessarily describe the range of relations existing between the different Nuer tribes. Coriat gives evidence of continuing close relations between the Gaawar and the Nyuong and Dok Nuer of the west, despite the intervening river. There are also ties between the Bar Gaawar and the Gun Lou which are not paralleled between the Gun and Mor primary sections of the Lou. The Mor were (and still are) very closely tied to the Eastern Jikany, and Coriat did not know them well.

Documents 1.1–1.3 describe the administration of the Gaawar, while documents 1.4–1.5 describe the Lou and their Dinka neighbours. They take us from Coriat's very first months among the Gaawar during the rains of 1922 to his last days among the Lou, following the Nuer Settlement in 1929. Documents referring to specific administrative problems during this period will be found in Sections 2 and 3.

DOCUMENT 1.1

EASY BUT UNCERTAIN

This story relates Coriat's introduction to the Gaawar during the rains of 1922 and describes some of the difficulties he faced in imposing government order even a short distance from his headquarters at Ayod. The story is as much about an old Gaawar leader, Nyang Macar,¹ as about Coriat. A predecessor of Coriat's had complained that Nyang had so little influence that he was unable to control his young men,² but Coriat shows Nyang in a very different light. He appears as a man of quiet influence even in his old age, a man perhaps as eager as the government to control the younger generation. Nyang won Coriat's immediate respect and gratitude and became one of his earliest teachers of Gaawar history and customs.

This is the only complete story found among the autobiographical fragments in Coriat's papers donated to Rhodes House. It was one of the 'dining out' stories which he told his Sudan colleagues, and it was a story they used to repeat about him.

Among other legacies handed to me by my predecessor³ was a list of 'Wanted Men'. This sounds as though it might have been a criminal dossier with photographs of gunmen and forgerers wanted by the Police. Actually it was an unexciting though interesting record of Blood-feuds. Therein were the names of Warriors from whom Blood-money was due for their victims in inter-section fights and other young Tribesmen known to be liable to a sudden rush of blood to the head.

1. See below, doc. 1.2 n. 14, and doc. 1.3.

2. W. Pollen, 'Report on Visit to Buk on the Duk (Dwal Diu's Ballad)', n.d. [c. October 1918], Upper Nile Province archives, Malakal, SCR 14.A.

3. C. Borradaile: see above, Introduction, n. 12.

At that time the Tribes suffered from innumerable internecine feuds and little could be done to administer the country until these had been settled. As in most cases the sections involved were unwilling for a settlement, it was necessary to enforce one. To do this the aggressors had to be caught and coerced to pay Blood-money, in the form of a payment of cattle, to the injured party. As often as not the injured party, in the hope of getting their own back on the principle of a life for a life, would refuse to accept payment and the upshot would be a peace conference by force in an anything but peaceful setting. Fortunately, provided the correct ritual was adhered to at the ceremony, it was considered an evil act and one punishable by the 'Spirits' to reopen a feud.⁴ Unless however the 'killer' was present, the settlement was not a final one, thus a great deal of time was spent in chasing killers and hence the 'Wanted' list.

With one exception none of the 'Wanted' on my list lived near the Post and I knew little could be done until the dry season had set in. Heavy rains had made a quagmire of the surrounding country. Mule transport was useless under such conditions and the local inhabitants would as soon have run 20 miles across country with my Police in full cry after them, as carried a load for a 100 yards. I had perforce to confine myself to short 'treks' within easy distance of home. However it seemed possible to make a start with the gentleman referred to in an entry which read—

Jwoi Nyang son of Chief Nyang Machar.
Section Shodgwar.

Killed two men of Bedak section 1921–2. Prominent in raids against Dinka. Has refused to come in or pay Blood-money. His father Nyang is a reactionary old Chief and was a noted warrior in his day. The section has been troublesome in the past and is likely to give trouble in the future.

Village Gool.⁵

The village of Gool was only nine miles away and without giving much thought as to how I was to catch Jwoi I determined to pay a call. I was certain of one thing, that unless Jwoi was arrested and brought in to the Post the section would refuse to pay Blood-money for his victims.

The world was emerging from its shell as the Nuer describe the dawn, when I marched out of the Post one morning with my one and only Corporal of Police, two men and one Manyel who combined the duties of Interpreter, Guide and walking Encyclopaedia of the District.⁶ Having left my servants behind, Manyel

4. These rituals are described below in doc. 1.2, and in Evans-Pritchard 1940: 172–6; 1956: 107–12.

5. See below, doc. 1.3.

6. Manyel Deng, remembered in Ayod as either a Dinka or a Thiang Nuer. The manuscript alternates between 'Manyel' and 'Mayan'. Mayan Lam was Coriat's interpreter at Abwong (see below, doc. 1.5 n. 65). This memoir was written some years after Coriat left the Sudan and he apparently confused the two names. For a picture of Manyel Deng in 1928 see Plate 1. Borradaile described him as 'an insidious [sic] looking senile, biblical of mien, for whom I soon acquired a

carried my lunch in a haversack slung over his shoulder and my chair perched on his head.

As soon as we had left behind us the sandy soil on which the Post was built, the going became appalling as we were either staggering or sliding through mud or splashing across pools knee to waist deep in water. It was not long before we were soaked through and covered from head to foot in a film of mud. An astonishing spectacle to present as the representatives of the mighty and powerful Government. After travelling in this fashion for three hours I was thankful to see some little way ahead, a hut partially visible behind a few stunted trees. Manyel assured me that we had arrived but I was yet to learn that a Nuer village was anything from 500 yards to 5 miles in length. Huts or groups of huts are dotted about the country haphazardly and the larger the village the greater the area covered.

For another hour we followed the path, winding our way in and out through low scrub and passed apparently deserted huts before we came to a group of buildings with signs of habitation. A few women and girls were pounding corn in a cleared space by one of the smaller huts and a young man lounged by the side of a 'Luak' (Cattle hut). Mayan [i.e. Manyel] shouted out to ask where the Chief lived but there was no response, the young warrior turning towards us and regarding us with as much interest as if we were a stray flock of sheep. The women and girls remained intent on their task and did not appear to have seen or heard us, but a second and louder shout from Mayan prefixed with seemingly uncomplimentary remarks caused one of their number to turn her head to the right and put out her tongue. A rude gesture thought I, but it satisfied Mayan as he led off again by a smaller path that led to our right. When I asked him later, I learned that it was as common to point with the tongue as with the finger, though use of the tongue was casual and a little impolite as Mayan admitted.

The path now ran through a thorn bush and after skirting a thick clump of gum trees we emerged on to a large clearing. Close by were two large huts and beyond, placed at irregular intervals about the clearing, were several smaller ones. Several young Tribesmen were standing by the entrance to one of the larger huts, the roof of which was surmounted by two ostrich eggs. Mayan pointed this out as the Chief's hut. As we came nearer numbers of young warriors came running up from all directions towards this and having reached within a 100 yards of it, Mayan decided we had gone far enough and placing my chair down told me to await him while he called the Chief.

The ground was dry and though I could have wished for a little shade as the sun was pitiless, I was thankful to be able to sit down. Mayan was soon lost in the crowd that had by that time collected at the edge of the village but I had not long to wait and shortly the gathering began to move in my direction. As they approached I noticed an old man wearing a Leopard-skin⁷ in the centre

sneaking fancy' (Ben Assher 1928: 154).

7. The leopard-skin was normally worn by earth-masters (*kuar muon*), but others in authority

and slightly in advance of the others. When about 25 yards from my chair, the leader signalled a halt and came on alone with Mayan. I was introduced to Chief Nyang Machar, an imposing looking old man, still hale and hearty and as appeared later, in full possession of his faculties. Through Mayan who from then on interpreted our conversation, I asked the old warrior to be seated and to let his henchmen do the same, whereupon a skin mat was produced upon which he squatted in front of me, and the Tribesmen followed suit grouping themselves in a large semicircle round their Chief. After the usual preliminaries concerning cattle and crops Nyang asked me quite bluntly why I had come to his village. I explained that as the new District Commissioner, I had visited him chiefly because I wished to make his acquaintance but I added that I was also anxious to discuss with him the matter of Blood-feuds which were disturbing the peace of the country. Ignoring this, Nyang asked how long I intended to stay. I replied that I hoped not to have to return until he and I both thought the same way as regards Blood-feuds. I added that as the sun was hot I hoped we should not get as heated inside as I felt outside while we were discussing them. This seemed to amuse the old man and before long we were chatting away merrily though I fear the conversation had turned from Blood-feuds to an argument as to whether or not the crepe rubber soles of my boots were made of human skin.

Before starting out in the morning, I had confided in Manyel that I hoped to arrest Jwoi Nyang the son of the Chief whose village we were going to visit. Manyel was sceptical as to our chances of success in this line without as he put it 'asaker ketir' (many soldiers) [Arab.] but to my surprise he said he knew Jwoi quite well and would point him out to me if he saw him.

It was, I think, while we were discussing crepe rubber soles that Manyel, having interpreted some remark made to me by Chief Nyang, added, 'Jwoi is here sitting on Nyang's left. The fat young man. The third one from Nyang'. Not wishing to 'let the cat out of the bag' until I had made up my mind as to the best way of doing it, I continued to talk to old Nyang while taking stock of the fat young man on his left, whom I saw to be a large and rather stupid looking individual much bedecorated with beads and brass wire. As with his fellow warriors, of whom by then there must have been close on a 100, his spears and club were laid by his side. I was fairly certain that to ask for Jwoi to be handed over to me would have been to ask for trouble. I knew also that if I could get away with him successfully, the example would have a good effect on other sections of the Tribe and would go a long way to making my work easier in the future. The only way I thought was to try and bluff it through.

Calling my Corporal up on the pretence of wanting a drink from his water-bottle, I warned him to look steadily at me until he had heard what I wished to say to him. I then in as few words as possible described Jwoi and gave

sometimes also tried to assume it. Nyang was not, in fact, from an earth-master lineage (see below, doc. 1.2).

instructions for him to be arrested as soon as I gave a signal. This I would do by taking my handkerchief out of my pocket, when he and his men were to seize Jwoi and carry him off as fast as they were able to the Post. They were not to await me or to look round or to stop at all until they were well out of sight of the village. If he resisted they were to stand by him and await my orders. I had not the faintest idea what the next move would be in case of resistance but I considered it likely that the man would be so overcome with surprise that he would allow himself to be led off fairly easily.

Manyel I instructed to remain with me. The Corporal was a trusty old soldier who had served under Gordon.⁸ Thick headed and very stupid, he was brave, loyal and implicitly obedient. He could be relied on to do as he was told. Having taken a pull at his waterbottle, I told the Corporal to return to his place behind my chair. Before long Nyang and I had reverted to the subject of Blood-feuds. I said that the arm of the Government was a long one, that evildoers, though they remained at liberty for years, were punished in the end. Those, I said, who wished to make peace with the Government would pay Blood-money and settle their Tribal feuds. Government would imprison those responsible for breaking the peace. Nyang as an Elder Chief should give the right lead to others. I would take his son Jwoi to Ayod with me and would keep him until Blood-money had been paid for those he had killed. I then took my handkerchief out of my pocket. My Corporal and his two men stepped forward, seized hold of Jwoi by each arm, pulled him to his feet and proceeded to walk off with him. As I had surmised, he was too surprised to do anything but follow, though he looked rather appealingly at his father as he was led off.

For an instant there was complete silence, then, 'Clack-Clack-Click-Clack!' It is difficult to describe the sound but it will long remain in my ears. The rattle of spear shafts seized by the assembled Tribesmen as they leaped to their feet. 'That finishes it' I thought to myself and then I saw old Nyang, still seated on his mat, perfectly calm and looking hard at me. The gallant old sportsman was our only chance and prodding Manyel, who was looking nervously round from side to side, I told him if he valued his life to go on interpreting. Out of the corner of my eye, I could see that every head was turned towards the Chief. I dared not look round to see how my Corporal fared. I cannot remember now what it was I said, but whatever it was Nyang, like a perfect gentleman listened to [it] with interest, heedless of a babble of talk which began to break out round us.

It must have been five minutes, though it seemed like several hours and still had there not been a move, before I concluded by hoping my host would pay

8. Most of the police in the Southern Sudan at this time were ex-soldiers who had served in the Turco-Egyptian army, the Mahdist *jibadiyya*, or the Sudanese battalions of the post-1882 Egyptian army. Very few served under Gordon personally either during his governorship of Equatoria (1874-6) or his governor-generalships of the Sudan (1877-9 and 1884-5). In the imagination of British administrators, however, all old soldiers were Gordon's soldiers.

me a return [visit] and grasping his hand in farewell, I motioned Manyel to pick up my chair and stalked off the way I had come. To my delight there was no sign of the Corporal or his prisoner. I could still hear the talk behind me but by an effort I refrained from looking round. Walking steadily until we had reached the welcome seclusion of the thorn bush through which we had passed in the morning, no sooner were we out of sight than we both mechanically fell into a jogtrot. We soon reached the hut, now deserted at which we had turned off to the right on our way out. There complete with two men and prisoner stood Corporal Idris wearing a large grin on his face. We were home in time for tea.

Ten days later, Nyang and his section came in with the Blood-money and gifts of bulls for the representative of Government, so there was much beer drinking and dancing.

It had been easy but [for] that Click-Clack of spears!

DOCUMENT 1.2

THE GAWEIR NUERS

The following article was written after Coriat had spent over a year administering the Gaawar. He was now conversant in Nuer, though some of the information contained here was undoubtedly first conveyed to him through an interpreter. Allowing for this, we can see that it is a remarkably accurate sketch of Gaawar history and customs, given the very short time in which information was gathered.

The fact that Coriat carried out some enquiries in Nuer, and not exclusively through an interpreter, can be seen in his section on 'kujurs'. Like all administrators of the time he used the Arabic word 'kujur' in his reports and official correspondence. Here, as in the final document (5.1), he introduces the Nuer word 'kuoth' (kot) and shows some understanding of the complexity of the various manifestations of 'kuoth' in Nuer society. His investigations at this point were not extensive, however. What he says under 'Laws and Customs', for instance, must be treated with caution, since, unlike Howell (1954), he gives no examples to illustrate or substantiate his description of what was customary.

One of Coriat's main informants was Nyang Macar, with whom, as we have seen in document 1.1, he established an immediate rapport. His close friendship with Dual Diu, however, seems to have begun after this article was written. Another source of information would have been the governor of Upper Nile Province, K. C. P. Struvé, who had served as inspector among the Gaawar before the First World War and had already published brief accounts of the activities of Nuaar Mer and Ilyas Kapsun.'

This article was originally published as a supplement to H. C. Jackson's SNR article 'The Nuer of the Upper Nile Province' when the latter was reissued as a pamphlet, and it is sometimes mistakenly listed in bibliographies as having appeared in SNR. Jackson acknowledged Coriat as his main source of information for the Gaawar (1923: 162). An

1. 'Annual Report. Upper Nile Province, 1908', GGR 1908: 656.

earlier report on Bar Gaawar political divisions² is largely incorporated here in the section 'Division and Distribution'.

History

It is related that about 360 years ago, there was a rope from heaven which reached earth by a large Ardeiba 'Kat' [*Tamarindus indicus*]³ tree in Dok Nuer country⁴ and by means of which by the people of heaven used to descend to earth for recreation and in search of food.

The earth at that time was inhabited by five Nuer sub-tribes: the Jaluh [Jalogh], Kwai, Nuong [Nyuong], Rill [Reel] and Bel.⁵

There were also many cattle on earth.

One day a man from heaven called Jakar [Kar] came down by the rope in search of food and finding the earth a pleasant place and food plentiful delayed his return to heaven and made friends among the people.

His absence from heaven being noticed, his elder brother Weir [War] came down to earth and sought Jakar's return to heaven.

Jakar, however, who had by this time been prevailed upon by his friends on earth to remain with them suggested to Weir that they should make the earth their home and give up the idea of returning to heaven.

Weir would not agree to this and told his brother that they would incur the anger of God should they remain on earth.

He ordered his brother to procure a bull and slaughter it at the tree 'Kat' as a sacrifice in order that he would not be punished for his long absence.

Weir decided that he would return to heaven in the meanwhile and would rejoin Jakar after the bull had been slaughtered, when they would both eat of the meat and return to heaven.

Jakar was unwilling to leave the earth and was afraid to disobey his brother's orders or to remain on earth without him, but with the aid of his friends a plan was hit upon by which, on Weir's return to earth, he would be kept among

2. 'Barr or Southern Gawair—Précis of Note by Mr. Coriat 19.01.23', NRO Dakhliat I 112/13/87.

3. The tamarind (*koat*) tree at Koat-Liec in the Jagei country. For other accounts of myths of the tree and the rope, see Fergusson 1921: 148-50; Jackson 1923: 70-1; Crazzolara 1953: 8-11, 66-8; and Evans-Pritchard 1956: 6-10.

4. On Dok Nuer country, see below, doc. 4.1.

5. Jalogh are a clan of the Gaawar which was split by the eastward migration, some remaining behind in Dok country; Kwai is a segment of the Kerpeil lineage of the Radh primary section; Nyuong, a Western Nuer tribe (see below, 4.1); Rill [Reel], the Atuot name for themselves (though Fergusson used it for the Jagei); Bel, perhaps a misprint for Bul, a Western Nuer tribe (see below, doc. 4.1).

them and would be unable to leave again.

The bull was slaughtered at the tree 'Kat' and Jakar awaited his brother some little distance away where he had prepared a fire to cook the meat.

Jakar's friends hid themselves in the tall grass close by.

Weir having smelt the blood of the slaughtered bull was soon on his way down the rope to earth and on his arrival proceeded with his brother to cook the meat and feast on it.

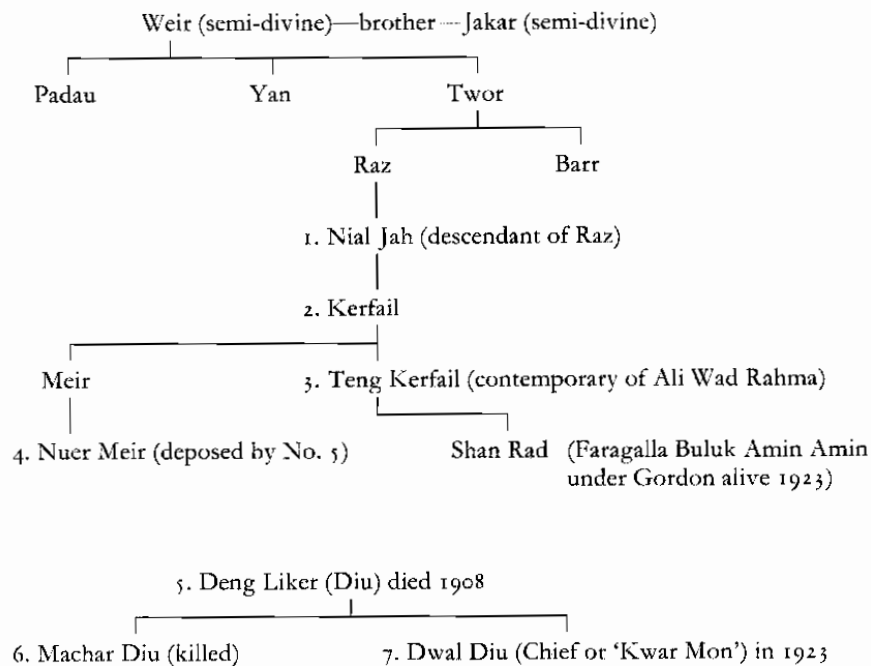
When he was engrossed thoroughly in this occupation, Jakar's friends slipped out of their hiding places and cut the rope from heaven.

From that day all communication with heaven was severed and Weir and Jakar perforce became inhabitants of the earth.⁶

Weir married a woman from one of the sub-tribes and eventually became a powerful and respected man.

He had three sons born to him, Padau, Yan and Twor, of whom Twor was the father of Raz and Barr, ancestors of the two sections of Gaweir, She- (Shieng) Raz [Radh] and Barr.*

* Footnote by Coriat:



The sub-tribe founded became known as the children of Weir i.e. (Gaad Weir) Gaweir.

The earliest home of the sub-tribe is said to have been in the Rayan country

6. Cf. Evans-Pritchard 1940: 230-1 for other versions of the Kar and War myth.

in the Bahr El Ghazal about latitude $8^{\circ} 25' N$ long. $30^{\circ} E$ from whence they penetrated eastwards to the country between the Bahr El Jebel and the Bahr El Zaraf by driving out the Dinka inhabitants.

From there, they continued to invade the country to the East until they occupied their present home, then in the hands of Luaich [Luac], Gnok [Ngok], Dongjol [Dungjol], Angai, and Ghol Dinkas, between latitudes 8° and $8^{\circ} 30'$.⁸

The last great tribal fight against the Dinkas, before the invasion of present Gaweir, took place at Fakwam [Pakuem] on the Bahr El Zaraf, when the Gaweir were under the leadership of Nial Jah [Nhial Jah] a descendant of Raz.⁹

Though the Dinka is still the hereditary enemy of the Gaweir, and raids for the purpose of filching territory and cattle from the Ghol and Angai Dinkas on the Gaweir Southern boundary had continued till as recently as 1916, this has been the action of independent Shens and the battle of Fakwam was the last concerted effort against the Dinkas by both the Raz and Barr Shens under one Chief.

After this conquest of the country Nial Jah appointed himself and became by common consent 'Kwar Mon' [*kuaar muon*] (Land Chief) of the Gaweir.¹⁰

This was originally the Head to whom all disputes concerning land were taken, but the position increased in importance until it eventually became that of Paramount Chief and Kujur combined.

On Nial Jah's death the position of 'Kwar Mon' passed to his son Kerfail [Kerpeil], an important Chief during his lifetime.

Kerfail became founder of the Shen called after him and the office of 'Kwar Mon' remained hereditary in the family.

Shen Kerfail consequently became the most powerful Shen in the tribe, but after Kerfail's death its supremacy was impaired by internecine warfare owing to the jealousy of Shens of the Barr section. The unity of the sub-tribe also suffered.

Teng Kerfail [Teny Kerpeil] however followed his father as 'Kwar Mon' and it was during his time that the slave raiders began to overrun the country.

When slave raiding was at its height, after the Arab Ali Wad Rahma had established posts in Gaweir,¹¹ the 'Kwar Mon' was Nuer Meir [Nuaar Mer] a

7. Near present-day Ler, then in the Eastern District, Bahr el-Ghazal Province.

8. The Luac occupied the southern Zeraf Island and the Ngok the northern half. The Angac were settled around Mogogh on the northern end of the Duk ridge while the Ghol occupied the ridge south of Ayod. The Dungjol and the rest of the Padang Dinka were in present-day Lou Nuer country.

9. Nhial Jah was neither a *kuaar muon* nor an ancestor of Kerpeil, but the companion and spokesman of Buogh Kerpeil, the leader of the Gaawar migration to the Zeraf Island. Nhial's family are said to have returned to the west.

10. It was Buogh Kerpeil who became the 'land-chief' of the Gaawar. Cf. Lewis 1951: 81. He was followed by his brother, Teny Kerpeil.

11. Kuçuk 'Ali, a Turkish trader (d. c. 1869), first established a *zariba* on the east bank of the

nephew of Teng.

Nuer was a Kujur and a fighting man,¹² but was more interested in amassing cattle and increasing his own wealth than in maintaining authority over his people. After forming a friendship with the Arabs, he assisted them in raids against various Gaweir Shens.

The greatest sufferers were the Barr section of the sub-tribe, though many Raz Shens and some of Nuer's own people were betrayed.

The ravages of the slave raiders split the Gaweir into small Shens and families dispersed throughout the country. Nuer was recognized as Chief by Shen Kerfail only, in which he was still able to maintain a strong following.

Gaweir remained in this condition till Deng Liker's [Deng Laka] rise to power.

The story of this man is as follows:-

By birth a Dinka from Khor Filus [Fullus], Deng while still a boy was captured with his mother by the Gamok [Jamogh] Shen of Barr Gaweir.

When a young man and at the time the Barr Shens were continually being raided by the slave raiders, Deng became possessed of Kujurial powers and soon reached a position of importance among the Shensmen of Gamok in spite of his Dinka birth.

During one of the Arab raids, Deng's mother was captured and after this Deng took a prominent part in the fighting.

When not engaged in defending himself against the slave raiders, Deng led the Shens against the neighbouring Dinkas and by capturing women and cattle, made up for those lost to the Arab raiders.

Deng's influence spread to other Barr Shens and finally he attempted to unite the Barr section and organise an attack against Nuer Meir, the 'Kwar Mon'.

It is said that a day was appointed on which the Shensmen were to gather but owing to the strength of Nuer's following the idea met with little enthusiasm and Deng found himself with only a small force. This so enraged him that he left Shen Gamok then living in the country to the South of the Duk ridge and made his way to Ajwong on the Zeraf where several small Barr Shens were gathered.

On arrival at Ajwong, Deng shut himself up in a hut and refused all food and drink.

After fourteen days during which Deng had fasted the whole time, the Chiefs and Elders of Barr Shens became convinced that this was a Kujur out of the ordinary run, and collecting a small following they repaired to Deng's hut and

Bahr el-Zeraf (at about 8°10' / 30°46') in the late 1860s, but his son Nasr 'Ali moved it to Jambiel on the west bank (8°30' / 30°40') in about 1871. The Ghattas company had a *zariba* inland at present-day Ayod, then in Luac Dinka country, and another *zariba* was at Khandak. See Marno 1873: 130-3; 1874: 331, 394-5; and 1881.

12. Nuaar Mer was a Thoi Dinka adopted by Mer Teny, nephew of Buogh Kerpeil. The Kerpeil are earth-masters, and the only *kuoth* Nuaar was said to have was *kuoth rieng*, the tutelary divinity of earth-masters. He was not a 'kujur' in the sense Coriat uses for Deng Laka, who was a *guk* *kuoth* (prophet).

demanded his orders.

Deng replied that they had disbelieved in him once but would not do so again. He had been seized by Kujur during his fourteen days at Ajwong and he would remain four more days under a spell. In five days time he would set out for a spot on the Duk ridge where the Barr Shens would meet him. Beyond this Deng would say nothing further.¹³

At the appointed time and place a strong force of Gaweir met Deng, mainly owing to the efforts of Nyong Machar [Nyang Macar], a Chief of sub-Shen Shodgwar [Cotguor] of Shen Sharm [Cam],¹⁴ who is still living, and Yor Kweth a Gamok Chief of sub-Shen Fod [Puot], father of the present Chief.¹⁵

These Chiefs were firm believers in Deng and later became his greatest friends.

Deng then told the Shensmen that they would march with him to Nuer Meir's 'murah'. On arrival they would find the cattle away grazing and Nuer and his men out hunting. They would however enter the central 'murah' where by a small fire they would find two gourds full of butter left there for Nuer on his return.

He (Deng) and other minor Kujurs would eat the butter when they would be seized by Kujur and fall into a trance.

A thick mist would gather in the air and the Shensmen would go forward and meet and attack Nuer's force without being seen.

In the course of the battle Nuer would be killed.

A few men had misgivings and returned home, the main body followed Deng.

The events which took place, were as had been predicted and the Barr Shens made for home the richer with cattle and women.¹⁶

A month after Nuer Meir's death, a Gaweir force under Deng defeated the slave raiders with Elias Kapsun [Ilyas Kapsun] at Kodni on the Bahr El Zeraf.¹⁷

13. According to modern Gaawar accounts both Deng and his mother were Ngok Dinka refugees who came to the Gaawar on their own when Deng was a small boy. When Deng was fully grown Nuaar Mer sold his mother to the slavers. It was because of this that Deng joined the growing band of Nuaar's opponents. A raiding party he joined broke up before reaching Mogogh, Nuaar Mer's home. Deng was disgusted by this and returned home to Ajuong, where he fell ill. After his illness was diagnosed as seizure by the divinity Diu, he organized the final, successful attack on Nuaar.

14. See docs. 1.1 and 1.3. Nyang lived in Mogogh with Nuaar Mer but left him, taking some of Nuaar's special cattle to Deng Laka. According to some Gaawar accounts it was Nyang, arriving with these cattle, who persuaded Deng Laka to attack Nuaar.

15. Riek Yor: see below, doc. 1.3.

16. Modern Gaawar accounts which I collected in 1975-6 mention only that Deng Laka urged his followers on to Mogogh by telling them, 'You will be up to your necks in butter tomorrow.'

17. The slavers along the Bahr el-Jebel and Bahr el-Zeraf had all been evacuated by Gordon in 1874. The battle of Mogogh took place in 1879, after the great flood of 1878. There are two possible dates for the battle near the Bahr el-Zeraf between Deng Laka and local soldiers: 1885

Deng had become by this time Paramount Chief of Gaweir and was looked upon as the rightful 'Kwar Mon'.

The heritage of the office of 'Kwar Mon' was lost to Shen Kerfail which dispersed into small Sub-shens, many of them besides other Raz Shens acknowledging Deng as Chief.¹⁸

Deng assumed the name of Diu, the particular Kujur spirit with whose powers he was said to be imbued.

He died about 1908,¹⁹ after occupation of the country by the present Government, to whom he remained independent but not hostile.

His son Machar, known as Machar Diu, succeeded him, though the Kujurial spirit of Diu is said to have been inherited at birth by his brother Dwal, the present Chief.²⁰

Machar was unable to maintain the authority his father had over Gaweir, and numerous feuds broke out between Shens over cattle captured from the Dinkas in various raids.

The Raz section disclaimed Machar, who occupied his time in leading Shen Gamok and others of Barr who wished to join him, in raids against the Ghol and Angai Dinkas with great success.

In 1914 a patrol was sent against Machar for his attacks on the Dinka and for his reported hostility to Government.

Machar was not captured but was later killed with two brothers by the Dinkas.²¹

Dwal Diu, the younger brother who had inherited his father's Kujur became Chief of Shen Gamok; he had at first little control over other Barr Shens, the disputes among which during Machar's time had led to blood feuds.

In 1916 Dwal led a small raid against a Gaweir Shen, Boi, which had been driven into Dinka territory by Machar following a dispute over cattle. He also attacked the Dinkas with Shen Boi, but little was gained and Dwal returned probably through fear of Government action being taken against him.

In this case a patrol was contemplated, but Dwal's brothers among whom was Gai, who was later appointed as his representative with Government, visited the Markaz Duk Fadiat in the Dinka country. He maintained that certain territory

(see Casati 1891: i.241, 318; Schweitzer 1898: i.184; and Schweinfurth *et al.* 1888: 488), and c. 1896 ('Report on March from Taufikia to Twi and Visit to Twi by Steamer, by El Kaimakam Liddell Bey, Director of Post and Telegraphs. 9th June 1904', Appendix A in *SIR* 119 (June 1904), 6). Modern Gaawar do not place it as soon after the battle of Mogogh as Coriat does.

18. Descendants of Mer Teny continued to act as earth-masters (see notes g and h to table below entitled 'Gaweir Shens'), but Deng Laka also acted as an earth-master as well as a prophet.

19. Deng Laka died in c. August 1907 (*SIR* 159 (Oct. 1907), 2).

20. The divinity Diu did not manifest itself in Dual Diu until about 1912-13.

21. Macar raided the Ghol and Twic Dinka once in 1908, after his father's death, and then again in 1914, following the seizure of his cattle by government troops. He and his brothers Wol and Thoi were killed while raiding the Twic Dinka on 10 June 1914 (Governor Mongalla, to governor Malakal, 15.06.14, SRO UNP 14.1). See Kulang Majok, text 2.5, in Johnson, in preparation.

captured by Machar and taken by the Dinkas, to have been the cause of the fighting.²²

A boundary was defined and certain land captured by the Gaweir was allowed to remain in their hands.

Dwal then became friendly with the Government and no further raids were made against the Dinkas, though rumours of such, started by the Dinkas were frequent and continue to the present day.²³

In 1921 Dwal initiated himself into new Kujurial powers and rites were held, after which he did not leave his Shen and dealt with Government through Gai only.²⁴

Early in 1922 Gai died and Dwal resumed relations with Government in person.

By this time though he had not had the opportunity to gain fame as a fighting leader, Dwal had considerable influence with the Barr Gaweir as a Kujur.

His authority was supported by Government and Dwal became recognised as leading Chief of the Barr section.

He attempted to settle the blood feuds between Shens in the winter of 1922, but was then unsuccessful mainly owing to the jealousy of Shan Rad [Cany Reth] (Faragalla Buluk Amin) then a Kujur of Shen Kerfail of the Raz section employed as Interpreter at Ayod Merkaz, and partly owing to the lack of authority of minor Shen Chiefs.²⁵

Since Shan Rad's appointment to Paramount Chief of Raz, Dwal has resumed his efforts in this direction.

The Raz section of the sub-tribe had had no strong Chiefs after the death of Deng Liker and had been less subject to Government influence than the Barr.

On Nuer Meir's death in the ordinary course of events the office of 'Kwar Mon' would have passed to Shan Rad, his nephew.

Shan however had been captured as [a] boy by the slave raiders and after having been released by Gordon, served in his army where he attained the rank of Buluk Amin. On the fall of Khartoum, Shan drifted back to Gaweir, by which time Deng Liker had established himself. He therefore laid no claim to his position but joined Deng as one of his fighting force.

22. The fight took place in April 1918 (see doc. 2.1 n. 8). Gai, Biel and Dual Diu made peace with the government at Duk Fadiat in August 1918 (MPMIR, August 1918, NRO Intel 2/48/408 and SRO TD SCR 36.H.20).

23. The monthly reports of Mongalla Province from 1918 to 1925 record numerous rumours of impending Nuer raids, none of which ever took place (see below, doc. 2.1 n. 9).

24. Dual, like his father before him, accumulated a number of divinities through sacrifice and dedication of cattle.

25. Dual convened a meeting of some 300 young men and chiefs from various sections in October 1922 and proposed that blood feuds be cancelled on a general payment of bloodwealth at a reduced rate of six head of cattle per death. Mayom Kuai and Cany Reth were the main opponents of this scheme, insisting on a rate of fifty to sixty head of cattle per death (see 'Barr or Southern Gaweir', cited in n. 2).

After Deng had died, Shan confined himself to his work as a Kujur and was occasionally employed by Government as Guide and Interpreter.

His influence as Kujur increased and he became much feared by the Raz section.

Shan's knowledge of Arabic and his ability to read and write were assets in his dealings as a Kujur.

In 1918 when a Government station was established on the Duk ridge at Ayod, Shan was employed as Interpreter at Awoi Post.²⁶

His Kujur work was carried on in a quiet way and though he has a certain fondness for power, his main object apparently was to amass cattle and he was outwardly loyal to Government.

When Dwal attempted to settle the question of blood feuds in 1922, Shan used his influence to prevent this, from what seems to have been jealous motives and fear of losing cattle.

In 1923 Shan Rad was appointed Paramount Chief of Raz Gaweir and is now living at Moot [Mut] on the left bank of the Bahr El Zeraf, where his influence is confined to that section of the Gaweir only.²⁷

The minor Gaweir Chiefs, with few exceptions have little control over their young men now that they are unable to lead them in war, but under the leadership of Dwal Diu and Shan Rad supported by Government, this should improve and the Gaweir become increasingly amenable to peaceful Government by their own Chiefs.

Division and Distribution

The two sections of Gaweir, Raz and Barr, are each divided into six Shens or families with a varying number of Sub-shens or branches of the family.

These Sub-shens alter in name and vary in strength, as some minor Chief or follower finds a Shen of his own or augments his following.

26. Cany Reth, of the Radh section, was captured as a boy sometime during the period of Nuaar Mer. He was trained as a soldier and learned to read and write, a necessary accomplishment to become a company quartermaster sergeant (*buluk amin*). He appears to have returned to the Gaawar after the fall of Khartoum (January 1885) and is also said to have taken part in Deng Laka's defeat of Ilyas Kapsun. He first came to the government's attention as an emissary sent by Deng Laka to Fashoda in 1902. He later visited Khartoum in the company of Deng Laka's son, Wol, in 1908. He began manoeuvring for government support to be made a chief as early as 1904. See SRO EHJP4, Ruot Rom, Cuol Macar, Gai Thung, 12.04.81; SRO EHJP7, Kulang Majok, 13.04.81; *SIR* 99 (Oct. 1902), 1; 119 (June 1904), 5; 163 (Feb. 1908), 2; also 'Return of Prominent Persons—Upper Nile 1909', SRO UNP (unnumbered); and Ben Assher 1928: 182-3.

27. Cany Reth was murdered on 22 October 1924 by Lel Lublub, a Jamogh-Bar-Gaawar youth who was one of Dual's own bards (see below, doc. 1.3).

GAWEIR SHENS

No.	Sub-shen	Shen	Chief	Village	'Marab'
BARR SECTION OF SUB-TRIBE					
1	Bedeed	Bang	Won Tyeir	Gwer ^a	Akair
2	.. (sub)	..	Pong Won	Dongayo	..
3	Marinyang	..	Dol Bul	Awoi	..
4	Tod	..	Diu Bang	Kwaideng	..
5	.. (sub)	..	Fol Twop	Ajwong	Kh. Gwer
6	Gaing	..	Kor Juol	Fankor	Akair
7	Shamarn	..	Kwajen Ton	Wunlang	Kh. Dthok
8	Turwo	..	Diu Kan	Kweylek ^a	..
9	Giel	Gamok	Dwal Diu ^b	Turawo	Akair
10	Diow	..	Wol Mun Thod	Konthod	Kh. Dol
11	Fod	..	Riek Yor	Agum	Akair
12	Maen	Sharm	Pfui Yir	Wan ^c	Bek
13	Shodgwar	..	Nyong Machar	Gool	Kh. Them
14	Korar	..	Bedak Ling	Kungleir	..
15	.. (sub)	..	Mud Gien	Ajwong	left bank
16	Shuk	Dol	Biey Char	Rufshendol	Kh. Gurwel
17	Boz	..	Wal Kir	..	..
18	Ruol	..	Shakweng Jok ^d	..	..
19	Nyabel	..	Riek On	..	..
20	Kur	..	DISPERSED AMONG SHEN DOL		
21	Thoi	..	..	..	..
22	Kwad	..	..	..	..
23	Yey	..	..	..	..
24	Malair	Riah	Thalil Dah	Temrol ^c	'toich' ^e
25	Garlied	..	..	Kot	..
26	Jok	..	..	Gnol	..
27	Long	Garkwar	Gwer Weoh ^f	Bul	Kh. Gurwel
28	Nyeir	..	Lief Gaing	Maleet ^c	Bek
29	Koh	..	Lain Dar	..	..
RAZ SECTION OF SUB-TRIBE					
30	Kwai	Kerfail	Maiyom Kwai ^g	Mogug	Kh. Famir, or Tithbel
31	Nyakar	..	Dag Meir ^h	Khandak	..
32	Rad	..	Shan Rad ⁱ	Moot ^c	k.175.Z. ⁱ
33	Bishok	..	Mut Jior	Rufkwoth ^c	Kh. Liet
34	Daiching	..	Tong Bul	Maleet ^c	Bek
35	Buh	Nyaigwar	Biey Liaf	..	Ful Yal
36	Fakeer	..	Shwol Bwol	..	Keth
37	Shon	..	Roomfut Dwos	Moot ^c	k.175.Z.
38	Liaf	..	DISPERSED		
39	Wah Farr	Yi Deng	(Bilal Yunis)	Fakwaz	Kh. Bir
40	Farr	Farr	Deng Falwal	Haad ^c	Kh. Thol
41	Liah	..	with Farr		

GAWEIR SHENS (*continued*)

No.	Sub-shen	Shen	Chief	Village	'Marah'
42	Kweer	..	Tik Bul	Haad ^c	Kh. Thol
43	Juol	Getheib	Lio Bay	Fankor	Thorol
44	Diow	..	Gnaney Kan	Shenkwon ^c	Kh. Thol
45	Mandeen	..	Wor Kolang	Ful Kir	Kh. Famir
46	Larb	..	Diu Joh	Thonakan	Kh. Dang
47	Wangjak	..	..	..	..
48	Kwoth	Nyadakwon	Gyal Nyarn	Faiyatt	k.160.Z.
49	Kur	..	Joh'w'Err	Nyongchar	Mbar
50	Beh	..	Lok Fadam	Gnwir ^c	k.160.Z.
51	Lar	..	Luah Lar	Nyongchar	Mbar & l.b.
52	Thor	..	Bil Bul	..	..
53	Giek	..	Dar Barn	Rufshenjog ^c	k.160.Z.
54	Gor	Mwanjoh	No Chief	Haad ^c	-----

a. Fasheir District.

b. Paramount Chief of section.

c. Left bank.

d. Cakuen Jok: see Introduction, above, and below, 1.3.

e. The Bar Gaawar *toic* was then the annually river-flooded grassland between the Duk ridge and the Bahr el-Zeraf/Bahr el-Jebel swamp. The Radh Gaawar *toic* was found on both banks of the Bahr el-Zeraf and inland on Zeraf island.

f. Guer Wiu: see below, 1.3, and Introduction, above. Guer's father was a Dinka, and Guer was generally on good terms with the Dinka, later playing an important mediatory role between them and the Gaawar. He was a close friend of Coriat's and sided with the government against Dual Diu in 1928. He died in June 1937 ('Personality Report no. 135' NRO UNP 1/25/182, and B.A. Lewis to governor, Upper Nile Province, 18 October 1937, SRO UNP 66.D.3). See Plate 2.

g. Mayom Kuai, one of the most prominent earth-masters of the Kerpeil lineage in the 1930s and 1940s. He was not appointed a government chief because it was felt 'he would put the clock back and run the place by the leopard skin if he could'. Two of his sons, Biel Mayom and Malual Mayom, did serve as presidents of the mainland Radh Gaawar court in the 1940s to 1960s. Mayom was accused of using magic to kill Dag Mer, the other leading Kerpeil earth-master ('Upper Nile Province Personality Report no. 34' NRO UNP 1/34/276 and 'Supernatural', n.d. [c. 1937], SRO ZVD 66.K.1).

h. Dag Mer, a younger son of Mer Teny, was an influential earth-master in his own right but also an ally of Dual Diu's until the latter's capture in 1930. Dag was the most important Radh Gaawar earth-master from that time till his death in 1937 (Lewis 1951: 81).

i. Distances along the rivers were marked by poles numbered from the Zeraf mouth southwards. K.175.Z and k.160.Z were renumbered as reference poles 34 and 31. See also document 4.1 n. 9 below.

j. Paramount Chief of section.

The name of a Shen remains the same, though a Sub-shen may increase in strength and importance until it in turn becomes the main root of various other families.

The Barr section occupies the country to the right bank of the Bahr El Zeraf, South of latitude 8° 21', with the exception of two Sub-shens of Shen Garkwar [Gaakuar] at Maleet [Malith] on the left bank (who settled there in Nial Jah's time) and Shen Riah on the left bank in the South.

The Raz, with the exceptions of two Sub-shens of Kerfail and Nyadakwon and a Sub-shen of Getheib [Jithep], live on the left bank.

The right bank Shens inhabit the country towards the Northern boundary of Gaweir.

Relations with Other Tribes

Dinkas

The history of the Gaweir has been one of raiding and invasion of Dinka territory since ancient times and the Dinka has seldom been able to hold his own against this sub-tribe of Nuers, being treated by them with the greatest of contempt.

The Nuer name for a Dinka 'Jangé' is synonymous with that of a slave.

Dinka boys captured in battle are always retained as slaves.²⁸

The Dinkas themselves live in great fear of the Gaweir.

The Ghol and Angai Dinkas are neighbours to the south of the Gaweir country and the Luaich to the north-east.

These sections originally inhabited the present home of Gaweir with the Dongjol and Gnok who migrated to the north and east.

Nuong [Nynong] Nuers

The Nuong living in the country on the left bank of the Bahr El Jebel is the neighbour of the Raz section of Gaweir and there is much intercourse between that section of the tribe and the Nuong.

Intermarriage is common and the Gaweir often loan their rifles to the Nuong, and join him in raids against the Dinkas of the Bahr El Ghazal.

Lak Nuers

The country of this sub-tribe lies to the north of Gaweir.

Relations are friendly but there is little intermarriage or trade with Lak.

Lau Nuers

The Lau are on generally friendly terms with the Gaweir though there are occasionally inter-tribal Shen fights.

Lau act as middlemen in the rifle and ivory trade between the Gaweir and Jekaing. In times of famine there is exchange of durra and cattle between the two sub-tribes.

With the exception of a few words the Nuer language is common to the sub-tribes. Dinka is related but not mutually intelligible.

28. Dinka boys, after performing menial tasks such as herding cattle (which Nuer boys also did), were usually adopted as full members of a lineage (Evans-Pritchard 1940: 221-2 and 1951: 24-5).

Economic Life

The Gaweir is entirely pastoral, growing hardly sufficient grain for his own needs in the winter months, when he is unable to fish and hunt to any extent.

Owing to the physical conditions of the country, life is more or less nomadic in character.

During the winter months, roughly from June to December, the Gaweir lives in his village, which consists of groups of mud huts scattered over a large area. Each man having his cattle hut (Lwak) and two or three small living huts (Ud [wut] or Dwel) surrounded by a patch of cultivation several hundred yards from those of his neighbour.

The cattle 'Lwak' is a large circular hut where the cattle are kept at night during the rains. In the centre a small mud wall about a foot high is built in a circle and kept filled with burnt cattle dung, in this and on a platform built over it the young unmarried men sleep.

The 'Ud' or 'Dwel' is a small bee-hive shaped hut with a plastered mud floor in which the married man and children and girls live.

The site of a village is moved if the pasture for cattle becomes poor. Besides cattle a few flocks of sheep and goats are kept.

Cultivation is done mostly by the women and old men.

The principal crop grown is durra, besides which there is a small amount of maize and tobacco.

Meat, fish and milk form the main diet during the summer months, most of the grain grown being kept as a reserve for the winter.

After harvest and before the Shen leaves the village for 'Marah' the grain is stored in mud jars and placed in a hut, the door of which is sealed by plastering with mud.

A village's entire crop is often placed in a hut belonging to a Chief or Elder and a bull sacrificed to some Kujur spirit as a protection against theft.

Theft of durra by parties of Jekaing on their way through to the 'Marah' with rifles to exchange for ivory is not uncommon.²⁹

In the summer months the Gaweir lives on the Khors, Fulas and rivers.

The sites of these 'Marahs' vary from year to year according to the sufficiency or otherwise of water in the Khors and Fulas and the quality of the grazing.

Shens collect together during this period of the year.

Grass huts are built close together, roughly in the form of a ring, the cattle being kraaled in the centre.

This season is spent in hunting and fishing.

Fish is speared, the weapon used, 'Bith', being similar to the Arab 'Kokab'.³⁰

Elephant, Hippopotamus and Giraffe are hunted with spear and with rifles by those who possess them.

29. The Jikany also sometimes traded grain, hides and cattle (Johnson 1986b).

30. A barbed spear.

In elephant hunting the quarry is encircled by hundreds of men and speared and shot until it falls.

Ivory is claimed by first spear and the rule regarding this is rigid.

On obtaining tusks the owner will sacrifice a bull to his particular guardian Kujur spirit, failure to do this is considered certain death.

One tusk must be given to a relative.

Theft of ivory also means death.

Should a tusk be left in the bush, a small conical shaped grass covering will be placed over it to denote ownership.³¹

The hippo is harpooned from canoes in the Shilluk manner.³²

The harpoon is a narrow iron spike sharply pointed at the end with a barbed hook a few inches from the tip.

Giraffe are driven into swamp country when being hunted and are followed till brought to a standstill through exhaustion.

The only skilled craft known is iron working carried on by the men.

The iron, traded from the Arab, is fashioned into spears, bracelets, anklets and other articles of ornament.

Iron working is learnt from boyhood but is not confined to any sect or family.

The baskets used for all purposes, including the carrying of infants, are shaped like a long narrow box and are made by the women and old men from the leaf of the Dom palm [*Hyphaene thebaica*].

Women and men do not eat together and each man takes his food separately. Hollowed and dried marrow gourds, of which a quantity are grown for the purpose are used as bowls for food and water.

Mussel shells are used as spoons.

In a year of famine the blood of cattle is drunk, bleeding being done by an incision in the neck of the animal.

Cattle are seldom slaughtered for food excepting on occasions such as marriages, etc.

All feathered game, reptiles and the waterbuck are considered unclean feeders and are not eaten.

The waterbuck is said to eat snakes.

In war, spears, clubs and rifles are used.

Rifles are traded from the Jekaing for ivory who in turn trades with the Abyssinians.³³

The amount of rifles in Gaweir possession is increasing.

Two types of shields are used; a shield similar to that used by the Shilluk

31. A more detailed description of Nuer elephant-hunting can be found in Howell 1945. The right tusk went to the first spearer and the left tusk went to the second spearer (ibid.: 100).

32. The same photograph of a 'Nuer' harpooning from a canoe, which appears on the front cover of Evans-Pritchard 1940, is in fact identified as a Shilluk in Coriat's own photo album (now in the family's possession).

33. Johnson 1986b.

fashioned out of crocodile or hippo hide or a stout branch of ambatch wood [*Herminiera aegyptiaca*] about four feet long with a piece carved out of the middle to act as a handle. This type is most generally used on account of its lightness.

Some of these ambatch shields are hollowed out to a depth of two or three inches at both ends and fitted with a stopper, this is for carrying tobacco.³⁴

No clothes are worn but many ornaments are worn on the body, the most common being ivory and brass bracelets and necklaces of beads of various colours.

Bracelets worn by the men vary in pattern.

Some of these consist of giraffe tail hairs twined around the wrist or strips of brass bound round the wrist two or three times or round the length of the arm from wrist to elbow.

An iron bracelet with two curved prongs about three inches in length extending from it at the back of the wrist is a type sometimes worn by the men.

Ivory armlets about an inch thick and sometimes four or five inches in depth are also worn.

Charms from Kujurs, said to be protection from snake bites, illness, etc. are worn round the neck.

Hair is dyed red and worn long by the men or is plastered over with mud and cattle dung and shaped into a conical headdress brought to a point either to the front or back of the head.

This headdress is worn when the hair is in the process of being dyed.

Women wear similar necklaces to the men but bracelets worn are made of tin.

The same are used as anklets. A young girl wearing one or two and married women three or four.

The men smear their bodies and faces with the ash of burnt cattle dung.

This is not done by the women except at dances when the young unmarried girls smear the upper half of their bodies and their faces with the ash.

Married women wear skirts of plaited goat hair or two triangular shaped pieces of goat hide round the loins, the edge of which is trimmed with cowrie shells or beads or a fringe of hair is left as a border.

Both men and women wear round the waist either a single string of cowrie shells or string of beads or a strip of hide or dom palm fibre.

A deep waistband of beads is sometimes seen but this has been introduced from the Dinkas and Lau Nuer.

34. *Kom*: also used as a pillow or stool.

Laws and Customs

Birth

No special festivities are held on the birth of a child.

A woman will often conceal the birth of a child born to her for several days for fear of the evil eye. This means that she will not leave her hut, though quite capable of doing so.

Marriage

A marriage is celebrated by a dance and much drinking of 'marissa' at the bride's village. A bull is slaughtered by the bridegroom and the families and friends join in the feast.

On her first marriage a girl will shave the hair off her head.

A skirt is not always worn till after the birth of a child.

The 'mahr' paid on marriage is variable and is fixed by agreement between the father of the bride and her family and the bridegroom and his family.

The original amount with Gaweir on a woman's first marriage was 50 head of cattle but is now between 15 and 30.³⁵

Payment is in most cases made by instalment, the last being paid on the married man receiving 'mahr' for a daughter.

The amount paid for a second wife is not influenced by the man already having one wife.

Only small 'mahr' is paid for a divorcee and none for a widow.

On marriage a man will invariably give his wife beads, anklets and bracelets which should be returned if she leaves him.

A number of relatives and friends have claim to participation in the 'mahr' received by the bride's family.

The following have first claim:-

1st claim	Father	one cow and calf and one bull or more
2nd ..	Mother	.. .. . or more
3rd ..	'Wangnen'	.. .. . or more
	Paternal uncles	.. .. .
	.. aunts	.. .. .
	Maternal uncles	.. .. . and one bull or more
	.. aunts	.. .. .

The 'Wangnen' are the grandfather and grandmother of the girl on the

35. The 'ideal' bridewealth was often claimed to be forty to fifty head of cattle. The actual bridewealth in the 1930s was usually twenty to thirty (Evans-Pritchard 1940: 20). Howell has questioned whether there was ever any fixed 'ideal' rate, or even an agreed minimum. Among the Zeraf Nuer in the 1940s seventeen to twenty head of cattle was the usual rate, but this could be reduced even further during times of severe cattle loss (Howell 1954: 98-9). Throughout the 1930s and 1940s the rate fluctuated constantly throughout Nuerland.

father's side or their heirs.

Cattle received by women are the property of their husbands or fathers.

The bridegroom will receive help in payment of 'mahr' from his father, uncles, aunts and close friends.

His friends will then participate in 'mahr' he may receive for a daughter.³⁶

Divorce

If a woman leaves her husband and returns to her relatives a meeting of the families is held.

If the woman is in the wrong all 'mahr' is returned.

If the man is in the wrong the woman's relatives keep two cows as follows:-

Yang Mimni (The cow of the hair). As significant of the girl's first marriage in shaving the hair off her head.

Yang Yith (The cow of the 'Furwa' [Arab. 'hide' or skirt]) the price paid for lost virginity.

These cattle are paid only if it is the woman's first marriage.

In all cases cattle that have died are not replaced, but those eaten are made good.³⁷

Adultery

The adulterer pays from two to six cows to the husband.

If a child is born it is kept by the husband of the woman but may be given to the father on payment of a cow and calf.

If a man wishes to marry and has committed adultery with a woman and by concealment of the fact has not paid 'Dier' [Arab. *diyya*, 'blood money'] to her father or husband he will do so on marriage for fear of the death of his offspring.

Marriage Rights

A large offspring is the desire of every Gaweir as this means increased wealth.

If a man is incapable of producing children, he may allow a friend to have access to his wives, and will pay a cow calf for a child born.

36. Compare this with the bridewealth distribution among the Lak and Thiang during the 1940s, as recorded by Howell (1954: 102-4). Father: 2 cows, 1 ox, 1 calf; brothers: 1 ox each; paternal uncles: a variety of cows, calves and oxen; paternal aunt: 1 cow; paternal grandparents: a cow or a heifer each; father's maternal uncle: 1 cow calf; mother: 2 cows, 1 calf; maternal uncles: a variety of cows, cow calves, and oxen; maternal aunts: 1 cow calf; maternal grandparents: 1 pregnant cow each; mother's maternal uncle: 1 cow calf. Grandparents are *wangnen* (from *wang*, eye, and *nen*, see) only if they have lived to see the birth of the bride. If they have, then a share of the bridewealth is allocated to them, even if they died before the marriage (Evans-Pritchard 1946: 249).

37. Cf. Howell 1953a: 141-3, where the names of the cattle are given as *ruath miemni* (bull calf of the the hairs) and *yang yaatni* (cow of the skirt), the latter referring to the skirt married women wear as a symbol of their married status. See also Howell 1954: 149.

The child [is treated] as in the case of widows' children, being called the child of the cattle paid in 'mahr', and is considered a legal child.

Widows

When a married man dies his brother or half-brother takes the widow.

If a child is born it takes the name of deceased and is called the child of the cattle paid in 'mahr'.

If there is no brother the woman looks for another man who does not pay 'mahr' for her. Any children born take the name of deceased.

The child or children have the same rights as other children and inherit deceased's property in the event of his having had no other offspring.³⁸

Seducing a Girl

If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant a deputation of girls is sent to the man concerned.

He must pay a fine of 10 to 20 cattle or marry the girl, otherwise war may result.

Inheritance

A man's eldest son inherits his property i.e. wives, sons, daughters, cattle, debts and assets.

This son looks after his brothers and assists them in 'mahr' when they marry.³⁹

He also inherits the father's share of any 'mahr' paid for his sisters.

If there are no sons the brother will inherit and look after the family.

Except for a man taking his brother's widow or widows, intermarriage among relatives is forbidden to Gaweir.

Exchanges

A man wanting a sheep or bull for a feast on a special occasion and having none will get one from a friend paying a bull calf for a sheep or goat and a cow calf for a bull.

A bull may be had on loan but a cow only if in milk.

Five cows are paid in exchange for a herd bull.

Debt

In cases of dispute over debt, decision may be given by a Chief or Kujur, a cow being taken as fee where the dispute concerns many cattle. The fee is paid by Plaintiff.

38. See below, doc. 5.1.

39. A man is expected to distribute his cattle among his sons before his death. The eldest son does not get full and exclusive control over his father's property, but cattle are used in the sons' marriages according to seniority (Howell 1954: 190-4).

Theft

The following are fines for theft under tribal law:-

<i>Article stolen</i>	<i>Award to owner</i>
Durra any quantity	One cow
Canoe	Two cows
Cow if killed and eaten	Five cows
Cow if stolen and kept	Cow returned
Cow disfigured	.. .. no fine
Bull killed and eaten	Cow calf
Bull stolen and kept	Bull returned
Herd bull killed and eaten	Ten cows
Spear	One bull
Fish spear	Two to five cows
Any article of ornament	One bull
Rifle (theft or damage)	Three cows

The above are the maximum fines.

A man has a perfect right to steal his property back or some other article in exchange, this is not considered theft.⁴⁰

Fines are generally paid by the thief if he has been discovered.

If he refuses to pay the owner will appeal to a Kujur.

As in cases of dispute over 'mahr' a man may consider he has a right before committing a theft and will be willing to appear before a Kujur or Chief if summoned.

Where the parties are of different Shens the dispute will generally be taken before a Kujur.

If the Kujur is widely known and has sufficient influence, the defendant in the case will abide by his decision on fear of death or permanent disability by supernatural means.

Claimant pays a fee to the Kujur, but defendant may pay a larger fee in which case claimant will probably lose his case regardless of the justice of the decision.

40. The retrieval of stolen property was known as 'self-help' in legal language. Howell (ibid.: 198-203) notes that only certain rare items obtained in trade through the exchange of cattle used to cause litigation or retaliation if stolen, and that in many of these cases 'the damages were out of all proportion to the wrong'. Such articles included canoes and iron spears, a fishing-spear sometimes fetching six cows among the Gaawar. Many other Nuer tribes had less punitive rates of compensation.

Hurt

The following are the fines paid for hurt:-

<i>Injury</i>	<i>Compensation</i>
Beating or stabbing (no permanent injury)	Nil
Leg broken	Ten cows
Arm broken	Six cows
One bone of arm broken	Three cows
Loss of both eyes	Ten to thirty cows
Loss of one eye	Two to ten cows
Teeth of unmarried girl broken	Cow and calf

The above are the maximum awards.⁴¹

Procedure in Cases of Dispute

When a case is decided by some important Kujur or Chief, the following procedure is adopted:-

The general assembly is seated in a semicircle facing the Chief who may wear a leopard-skin.

The earth is scratched up into a shallow pit in front of the Chief. All parties in the case then make their speeches in rotation standing before the Chief. The man speaking has his right hand on his spear, which is embedded shaft downwards in the pit. On conclusion the presiding Chief retires with any other Chiefs that may be present and Elders and a short palaver is held after which they return and decision is given. A few minutes are allowed in discussion of the manner in which the decision is to be carried out and the case is concluded.

The significance of the pit is that a man making a false statement while holding his spear will be stricken dead on the spot or in a short time will be buried. The pit being presumably a reminder to any would be perjurer of his grave.

A man will in some cases refuse to give his evidence in this manner, in which case, though allowed to make his speech, it will carry no weight.

Manslaughter or Murder

Blood money varies from ten to forty cows the amount being determined by a meeting of the families concerned and dependent on the wealth of the murderer.⁴²

This is exclusive of two payments made as a peace offering.

When a man kills another and he is penitent, he will take refuge in the house of a Kujur, where he will remain several months during which time he may not

41. Cf. *ibid.*: 69-70. A scale of compensation for bodily injury was set for the whole of Nuerland in 1945 at lower rates than those given here.

42. Howell (*ibid.*: 26) doubts if the rate of homicide compensation ever varied as much as this.

dress his hair or wear any ornaments.

In past times sanctuary was taken for six months in the house of the 'Kwar Mon'.

After this period has elapsed the Kujur and family of deceased meet and arrange the amount of blood money to be paid.

If death has not been the result of a Shen feud the family of the murderer will also be present.

Blood money decided on is paid and the two families then gather for payment of the first peace offering called 'Yang Toka' [*yang tuoke*] (lit. the cow of the drinking vessel).

The two families face each other and relatives of deceased assume a warlike manner. The Kujur then produces a bull 'Yang Ketha' which is his own and for which he receives a fee and holds it between the two parties. The bull is then speared by both families; after which a member of each family holds on to one side of the leg bone of the bull.

The Kujur cuts the bone through in the centre and the families gather together and cook and eat the meat and drink the urine found in the bladder of the bull out of a bowl made from the root of the 'Kuk' tree [*Acacia veruga*].

The 'Yang Toka' with a calf is then handed to the relatives of deceased and the families may again meet in friendship.

Payment of the second peace offering may not be made till years after the first.

This is a cow called 'Yang Pal Loid' [*yang pale loic*] (lit. cow of the eased heart) presumably intending to mean a clear conscience on the part of all concerned and payment is carried out as follows:-

After prearrangement relatives of deceased steal the cow from the murderer's family, who then approach as if for war.

Should proceedings be carried out without a hitch and there is to be no continuation of a blood feud which may be the case even after payment of blood money, the holders of the cow will cut the tail of the animal until it bleeds, when the relatives of the murderer will retire.

This is a final ending of the feud between the parties.⁴³

Burial

Burial of a person is done by a friend of the family on payment of a bull as fee.

To bury a person without receiving a fee is believed to mean death and for this reason no Gaweir will bury an unknown body found in the bush.

No man will bury a relative.

43. Cf. Evans-Pritchard 1940: 172-6; 1956: 107-12, 293-7; and Howell 1954: 44-8. Ritual atonement takes place whether or not the murderer is 'penitent'. *Ruath ketbe* (the bull of the gall-bladder) is sacrificed at the end of the ceremony; the *yang tuoke* is one of two *gbok pale loic*, the other being the *yang cak* (cow of the milk) which is given to the dead man's mother. The payment of the *gbok pale loic* was abolished by the Nuer Chiefs' Council in 1947 (Howell 1954: 65).

The grave of an adult is made by the door of his hut; in the case of children, inside the hut.

The body is placed in the grave feet first with the arms clasped together and tied and the knees drawn up and tied in this position to the body.

Initiation

Every boy on reaching the age of puberty undergoes an initiatory ceremony, after which he is considered to have attained manhood and enjoys the privileges of an adult.

The ceremony is an occasion for much feasting and dancing on the part of the boy's Shen.

The boy or boys to be initiated are put through an ordeal said to make them insensible to pain.

A small pit is dug in the ground by which the boy reclines at full length placing his head over the pit.

An elder of the Shen whose duty it is to carry out this operation then makes six incisions across the boy's forehead stretching from left temple to right, the blood being allowed to flow into the pit.

If the boy is the last child to be born by his mother seven incisions are made.

Cattle dung ash is rubbed into the wounds, the scars of which are visible afterwards practically during a lifetime.

The boy is then placed in a hut alone or in company with other initiates and remains segregated for a period of fifteen days or more if the wounds have not healed by that time.

During this seclusion he is only allowed out of the hut for about half an hour after sunset, food is taken him by his mother or by an old woman but he may be seen by no other women.

The boy's release is followed by more festivities and he will then take the name of his favourite bull or father's bull, which name becomes his war cry in time of war.

An adult Gaweir may not milk cattle or grind corn.

It is said that a man who milks his own cow will die and a man who grinds corn will lose the use of both his arms.

Boys initiated within a period of six to twelve years belong to the same class or sect and bear the name of that class.

The Chief Kujur living decides the time for founding and the name of the new class.⁴⁴

Originally the class or sect of a period was said to be common to the sub-tribes of Nuers.

With Gaweir the last class was founded by Chief Dwal Diu, and named

44. This is normally the prerogative of the leading *wut ghok* (man of cattle). Among the Gaawar there is no separate *wut ghok* lineage, and both Deng Laka and Dual Diu were involved in the initiation of age-sets.

Pilwal, lit. the world of water [in fact, 'red water'] after the floods of that year.⁴⁵

This class has an alternative name 'Goog', this being the name of the Kujur spirit possessed by Dwal in that year as distinct from his father's spirit 'Diu'.

All class names being significant of a particular event in the lives of the community at the time or being named after some Kujur spirit or his totem.

The following are the classes for the past 85 years:-⁴⁶

<i>Class or sect</i>	<i>Probable date</i>
Pi Lwal or Goog	1916 [c. 1922]
Dal [<i>sic</i>] [Yaal]	1906 [c. 1900]
Lier	? [c. 1896]
Dang	? [c. 1880]
Lailek	? [c. 1870]
Wor [Wuor]	? [c. 1860]
Thut	? [c. 1850]
Lajak	?
Tharfi	1838

Men of Lailek may not marry the daughters of other men of the same sect.

Inter-marriage between Lier and Dang was forbidden till 1922 when Chief Dwal Diu is said to have received a Kujur spirit visitation and after sacrifice of a bull this was no longer forbidden.⁴⁷

No woman may refuse to have intercourse with a man of the Lailek sect.

Men of the same sect are forbidden to have blood feuds, though in a Shen fight members of the same sect may be at war with one another.

In war with another tribe members of a sect must stand by each other to the death.

Kujur

The name for a Kujur 'Kot' [*kuoth*] meaning God may refer to a living person or a spirit.

All Kujurs are said to receive their powers from heaven where the existence of a supreme 'Kot' is believed in.

Kujurs may be hereditary or acquired and may have supernatural powers or may be without power.

45. *Pilual* (red water) was named after the flood of the same name, which occurred in 1916-19. The age-set's initiation was delayed by the flood, and it was not marked until 1920-1, just before Coriat arrived in Ayod.

46. The alternate dates given in brackets are calculated by relating the initiation of age-sets to datable events such as floods, battles or the deaths of famous persons. Coriat omits Karam, a set coming between Yaal and Pilual, marked by Macar Diu between 1908 and 1913.

47. This may be what lies behind a later allegation that prophets gave dispensations from the rule of clan exogamy (Willis 1928: 201), though in fact this pronouncement, while possibly concerning incest, has nothing to do with clans.

A Kujur in one man may consist of occasional fits or spiritual visitation while another Kujur may have the power to cause or heal sickness, to produce or stop rain or to cause death or permanent injury to a person.

Charms or potions are used as a medium for carrying out these practices.⁴⁸

Charms given for protection against certain illnesses generally consist of the dried up roots of herbs or trees or pieces of bone.

All Kujurs are possessed of their own totem or totems in the form of a living animal or some inanimate object.⁴⁹

Malakal
10.7.23

Percy Coriat
Asst. District Commissioner
Lau and Gaweir

48. Charms, or *wal*, were instruments of the magician (*guan wal*), not the prophet (*guk kuoth*).

49. Cf. Evans-Pritchard on totems (1956: 77–90) and Howell 1953*b*.

DOCUMENT 1.3

TRANSFER OF BARR GAWEIR TO ZERAF VALLEY DISTRICT

In 1923 the Lou Nuer were added to Coriat's district, and in 1924 he transferred his headquarters to Abwong. The Radh Gaawar, who lived mainly on the Zeraf island and along the banks of the Bahr el-Zeraf, were under the jurisdiction of the Zeraf Valley District, with its headquarters at Fangak. By 1925 the difficulties of splitting the Gaawar between two districts and administering the Bar from Abwong were evident. In January 1926 Coriat handed the Bar over to Fangak and henceforth confined himself to the Lou and their immediate Dinka neighbours along the Sobat and Khor Fulluth. This handing-over note is a description of Bar Gaawar administration between 1923 and 1926. While it contains much of the same information as document 1.2, it also gives a wealth of personal and administrative detail not found there. It uses the same numbering for the Gaawar sections, and the section of each chief is indicated by a number in parentheses.

*District Commissioner¹
Zeraf Valley
Fangak*

I attach a list of Barr Gaweir Shens, Chiefs and the more important villages.

1. G. S. Pletts: see above, Introduction, n. 5.

Tribute

The assessment of each Shen is given on the attached list of Shens. Each Sub-shen Chief is responsible for his tribute. Since the D.C. has been living at Abwong, only tribute durra has been taken to Ayod Post and the majority of tribute cattle were collected at Chiefs Dwal Diu (9) and Gwer Weoh [Guer Wiu] (27) camps.

With the formation of a Post on the Zeraf² I suggest that all Chiefs be made to take their cattle in there.

Durra was accepted at the rate of 2 ardebs to one bull i.e. 4 sacks.

I would suggest that a Policeman be retained at the Post who is able to read and write, not only for the checking of tribute but for sending information to your Headquarters.

You will note that I have given the tribute for the past five years on attached assessment list. A great number of Sub-shens were not registered until 1923.

The assessment is roughly one per cent of cattle [per Shen] and could be very greatly increased if a market for cattle could be obtained. Collection of tribute on present assessment gives no difficulty except with Barr Shens on left bank.

Administration

Barr Gaweir have had some years' experience of Government and there is no question of their being ignorant of Government methods. On the other hand they are a somewhat turbulent sub-tribe and require constant handling.

The greatest difficulty to contend with in the past and a source of trouble to the present day has been the Gaweir-Dinka boundary on the Southern limits of the District. The past history of this section of Gaweir consists of a long list of raids and incursions into Dinka territory and the whole of present Gaweir was originally Dinka country. A short history of these people which may be of some use is contained in the monograph published by the Intelligence Dept. 'Nuers of the Upper Nile Province' by H. C. Jackson.³ I need only enumerate here the more recent events in Barr. The Diu family now represented by Chief Dwal Diu (9) has been mainly responsible for attacks on Dinkas.

The last raid was in 1916 when the section led by Dwal Diu attacked some of the 'Ol [Ghol] Dinkas and a section of Gaweir (Shen Kan Boi)⁴ who having quarrelled with the Diu family at the time of Machar Diu were then living in

2. No additional post was established on the Bahr el-Zeraf to replace Ayod.

3. See doc. 1.2 above.

4. See doc. 1.2 and doc. 2.1 n. 8.

Dinka country near Amiel and Okak.

Since 1916 there have been no actual raids but a certain amount of trouble has been caused by Dinka intrigue and probably provocative acts on the part of the Nuer.

The Diu sections of Barr live on the south end of the Duk ridge, having lived there since the flood years 1916–17.

The ridge has now been deserted by most of the other sections of Gaweir who were living there and is becoming extremely unpopular with Sub-shen Giel (9) on account of its dryness in the dry season and poisonous grass found there in the rains. Sub-shen Giel's camp in the dry season is also situated at great distance from the Duk villages and this also is a reason for this section wishing to evacuate the Duk.

The boundary between the two tribes as it now stands (vide Shen list) was fixed by Government in 1910 after conquest of certain parts of the country by Diu (Deng Liker) [Deng Laka].⁵ During the latter part of 1924, Dwal Diu requested permission to remove his villages closer to the Dinka boundary and this permission was granted on the understanding that he did not build in Dinka country. He then built four huts at Wey Tworley [Thorley], the actual position of which has not yet been determined but which was undoubtedly close to the border and possibly over the border [see Fig. 1, in doc. 2.2 below].

Shen Boi with whom there was still enmity were then some few miles south of Wey Tworley and within Dinka limits.

This move had the effect of disturbing the Dinkas and Shen Kan Boi, but there was no actual conflict until in January of 1925 Diu proceeded to cut wood in the forest south of Wey Tworley for the purpose of building more huts. This brought about a conflict with Shen Boi who attacked Dwal Diu's men in the woods and the resulting fight caused the death of two Boi Shensmen. Dwal's people suffered no casualties.

Dwal then stated his intention of living at Amiel, a centre of the Ol Dinkas, and matters became critical between the two tribes. At a meeting in that month between the D.C. Duk Fayuil⁶ and Dwal Diu and the Ol Chief Mankweir Mahbub [Moinkuer Mabur]⁷ a fight was very nearly precipitated and was only prevented by the action of the D.C. Duk Fayuil.

5. For Deng Laka see above, doc. 1.2.

6. Major J. W. G. Wyld.

7. Moinkuer Mabur: Moinkuer's father, Mabur Ajuot, was a former slave, Arabic speaking, and an early ally of the government against the Nuer. He was the leader of Angac Dinka refugees from Awoi living among the Twic. He gained an unsavoury reputation among early administrators as a 'scoundrel' and an intriguer against the Nuer (*SIR* 119 (June 1904), 4; 153 (April 1907), 10). His son Moinkuer, however, made a very different impression on both the government and the Gaawar. He became court president of the Ghol Dinka court in the 1940s and married into the Gaawar (Marwood, 'Handing-over Notes on Bor 1938', NRO UNP 1/51/3; 'Upper Nile Personality Report no. 45', NRO UNP 1/34/276). In 1957 Dwal Diu married one of Moinkuer's daughters.

The following month it became necessary to define the boundary and definitely settle the limits of the two tribes and for this purpose the D.C.'s Abwong and Duk Fayuil accompanied by Chiefs Dwal Diu and Mankweir Mahbub and other Nuer and Dinka Chiefs and Shensmen made a joint tour along the line of the boundary. Actual geographical positions were not known owing to the lack of instruments and this will require to be done in 1927 but a satisfactory division was made between the two people and Dwal Diu was forbidden as also Gaweir to proceed south of Wey Borley or Kungleir. It was also decided to order the evacuation of Shen Boi from the Dinka territory to prevent any possible cause of jealousy on the part of Gaweir and huts occupied by this section were burnt. Ground between Wey Borley and Okak was made a no-man's land. Wey Thorley is situated equally distant between these two places and building on this site was forbidden.⁸

During my recent tour of Gaweir last month Dwal again opened up the question of Wey Thorley and as I am convinced he has no desire to raid Dinkas now and is only anxious to find a good site for his villages, the matter was discussed with the Governor and District Commissioner Duk Fayuil but it was decided that the boundary was to stand.

Dwal himself if able to control his young men will not give trouble unless provoked,⁹ it is however necessary to watch the border. The question of a new site for his Shen will have to be decided in 1927. There are few sites left which are considered suitable by Nuers, the main questions to be considered in choosing sites of villages being in order of importance, good grass in the rains, not liable to flood, availability of timber for building etc. and closeness to dry season 'Toich'.

Shen Boi who have not yet been taxed by this District, having had cattle plague in the last season are now settled at Awoi and Fasheir [Pacier] and should be concentrated at Awoi in 1927 if possible. Dwal Diu has stated his readiness to pay the blood money for the ten men of Shen Boi killed by his Shen and a Court should be held in 1927 for the purpose of settling this feud. Unless this is done, the feud is likely to break out again and I have found blood feuds to be the greatest obstacle in the way of peaceable administration.

Two separate Shen fights occurred during the past dry season and it is of the utmost importance that my orders given to the men concerned are carried out if the fights are not to develop into feuds and if there is to be continuity of policy.

A drunken brawl between sub-shens Gaing (6) and Turwo (8) on the one side and Bedeed (1) on the other resulted in a few casualties and I instructed the Shensmen that hurt payments should be made. I intended seeing this

8. See below, doc. 2.1.

9. This assessment was justified by the events of 1928 (see above, Introduction; also Wedderburn-Maxwell 1928; Wyld 1928; Dual Diu 1930; Gaawar texts 4.8, in Johnson, in preparation.

done in January 1927. None of the Chiefs were responsible and any further developments would be caused entirely by young men. The two Shensmen chiefly responsible are Jor Majug [Majok] and Pod Wi.

I had both these men before me and warned them, so if you wish to go further into the matter, the presence of these two men is essential. Jor Majug lives at Fankor, near Ayod and is a son of a surly individual named Majug Jwai [Majok Juc, Kulang Majok's father]. Pod Wi is a married man living at Fasheir.

A quarrel between Shens Diow (10) and Nyabiel (19) over an elephant hunt resulted in a most aggressive action on the part of Shen Diow. Shen Nyabiel are under Chief Riek On (19) but are controlled by Chief Gwer Weoh (27) who lives at Tongruop [district of] Rufshendol [Rupciengdol].

Gwer is the most efficient and loyal Chief in Gaweir.¹⁰ This Chief was away with me on trek at the time of the incident but owing to his influence in the Shen and the presence of his brothers Shen Nyabiel refused to be drawn into a fight.

Shen Diow are a very small sub-shen living at Konthod near Rufshendol and have been somewhat neglected in the past owing to their unimportance and have never previously given trouble. I believe the sub-shen has been strengthened by being joined by a number of young men from Khandak of the Shen Raz sections. The Chief one Wol Thod is a very old and useless person and had the Shen been of any importance would have been superseded. The Shen bolted on my arrival at Konthod last month and not having the time at my disposal I was unable to deal with them. Two cows and calves belonging to the section which had been given to a Shen Dol man to hide were confiscated. The Shen I believe bolted in the direction of Shwai. All except two cattle huts belonging to old men were burnt. I give below the names of the men who require to be dealt with and suggest that if possible they be given a small term of imprisonment and a small fine imposed on the Shen. It is possible that if they think you are aware of their behaviour they will produce a fine on their own account, I should however refuse this and insist on the young men appearing before you as well as a fine being paid.

Shen Diow

Men chiefly concerned in attack on Shen Nyabiel:

Chung Dar and son Dol
Yey Gega and sons Garwey and Fakey
Pui Nuot
Yuol Duop
Bul Rial
Bul Wuth
Wieh Yan

10. Guer Wiu: see above, doc. 1.2, note f to table entitled 'Gaweir Shens'.

Mabil Kul
 Duop Nuot
 Wey Yi
 Pui Deng

Some of these men have the following relatives in Rufshendol with Shen Dol.

Shwol Gwath
 Mud Dum
 Mud Thuk Wuth a most unpleasant type of individual living with Jazz Thai of Fateng [district of] Rufshendol.

The Shen list includes the names of places where Shens camp in the dry season.

The Lau Shen under Chief Fod Gig [Puot Gig]¹¹ occasionally camp in the Gaweir toich with Dwal Diu.

The great majority of camps are situated in the swamps south of Fasheir. Barr Gaweir is workable from the middle of December to the end of June.

Distances

Tithbel-Fakwaz [Fakwak]	3 hours
Fakwaz-Rufshendol	3 ..
Rufshendol-Luang Deng	5 ..
Luang Deng-Bo [Biau]	4 ..
Bo-Fankor [Fankur]	4 ..
Fankor-Ayod	2 ..
Ayod-Agum	3 ..
Agum-Wau	2 ..
Wau-Shwai [Cwih]	6 ..
Shwai-Buingfor [Buonyfuot]	2 ..
Buingfor-Rufshendol	5 ..
Rufshendol-Konthod	1 ..
Rufshendol-Fasheir	2 ..
Fasheir-Awoi	4 ..
Awoi-Juai	4 ..

11. Puot Gig: see below, doc. 1.5. Puot and his section were settled on territory judged to belong to the Ghol Dinka when the tribal boundary was fixed in 1910. He moved to Gaawar country after that. He was active in trying to prevent a Nuer-Dinka fight in 1910. He had marriage connections among the Dinka, and used these to gain access to Dinka pastures (G. B. Wahab to governor UNP, 29.06.10, SRO UN GOV CRR 34 1910; L. Tunnard, inspector Bor to governor Mongalla, 01.06.13, SRO UNP SCR 14).

Juai-Luang Deng	5 hours
Awoi-Kungleir	3 ..
Kungleir-Wey Borley	1 ..
Wey Borley-Dongayo	3 ..
Wey Borley-Wey Thorley	1 ..
Dongayo-Duk Fadiat	4 ..
Dongayo-Gool [Gul]	4 ..
Gool-Turwo [Turu]	3 ..
Turwo-Dongayo	
(via Fagwor, Lou village)	5 ..
Turwo-Fadau	½ hour
Fadau-Dorweng	3 hours
Dorweng-Ayod	2 ..
Wey Borley-Ajwong	? common route
Ajwong-Fasheir	4 hours

The village of Luang Deng commonly known to the Nuers as 'Luak Kwoth' (House of God) is a Dinka village as is also Shwai. These Dinkas belong to the Rut group and are under an old man called Deng Gwir [Aguer]. These are the remnants of the Dinkas who originally lived in Gaweir and were not expelled from the country owing to the magical properties possessed by the hereditary Kujur of Deng Gwir's family. Luak Kwoth is the hut in which the spirit is said to repose and all elephant tusks are kept in this hut and not sold or otherwise disposed of until the spirit through the medium of Deng Gwir orders the manner of their disposal. The ground surrounding the hut is sacred and must not be defiled with refuse etc. Deng is a pleasant old man and seems quite lacking in guile. I can only surmise that he believes he has visitations by the spirit etc. This village is much revered by Nuers as well as Dinkas.¹²

A small section of Dinkas live at Awoi, the eastern end of which is known as Fadicher [Padicier] under Manyel Koi.

Awoi has increased during the past season and the sections will require to be assessed and made to pay their tribute separately unless they return to their own sections. The following live at Awoi:

Angai [Angac] Dinkas

Shen Boi (the greater part of Shen Boi. Cattle Luaks not yet built as Shen only recently arrived from Dinka country. Vide above.)

Shen Shodgwar (a few families only)

Shen Marinyang (most Marinyang families live here)

Shen Rut (really a section of Shen Bedeed (1) but should now be made to pay separately under Jok Dthor)

12. For Luang Deng, see Howell 1948 and 1961; also Struvé in Matthews 1907. Deng Aguer had been the caretaker since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. He was succeeded by his nephew Raak Yaak in the early 1930s.

The most convenient starting point for the Gaweir camps on the southern part of the Toich is Fasheir; the line of the swamp being easily followed from this village.

Game

Tiang, waterbuck, roan, cob, reedbuck, Mrs. Gray [antelope], buffalo, elephant, giraffe, Dik-Dik, rufifrons, oribi are all common particularly in the country south of Fasheir. Zebra are sometimes seen south-east of Awoi in the direction of the Toich.

Firearms

There has been a very great increase in firearms and consequently in the slaughter of game.

There is an increasing use of firearms at dances etc. and injuries in recent fights have been caused by rifle as well as spear.

Trading parties come from the Garjak [Gaajak] country generally in December and January.

Ivory is the only commodity in the arms trade.

Dwal Diu's camp has by far the greater number of arms.

During the past three years I have attempted a registration of sorts by confiscating any rifle which is not produced to me for registration, but this is an extremely slow method and has no effect on the traffic. Arms have been presented to a few responsible Chiefs.¹³

Further information is contained in the Shen and tribute lists and I should be glad to answer any questions regarding any other points you may think of.

The young men have been inclined to be [a] little unruly during the past few months owing to my absence the greater part of the year and consequent looser control. The Shen Raz Tiang [Thiang] fight during May on an old tribal scale also disturbed the Barr section and action will have to be taken before

13. A meeting of DCs at Akobo in March 1926 discussed the problem of firearms in the province. There was concern about the general increase of firearms in the rural areas, the increase in the slaughter of elephants, and the appearance of rifles in marriage payments. Since a general disarming of the population could be achieved only by force, a step all agreed could not be taken, no firm conclusions on the control of arms were reached ('Notes on a Meeting Held at Akobo, 2nd March 1926', NRO Civsec 1/2/6). The Gaawar were disarmed only during the campaigns of 1928-9.

they can realise that Government policy is to discourage violence in the way of Shen fights.

Shen Lists

1. Sub-shen Bedeed. Shen Bang. 2 bulls tribute.

A strong sub-shen under Wan Tyeir [see Plate 3] living at Fasheir. Wan has several sons, one of whom Koryom is living near Dongayo and is Chief of 2. Wan Tyeir is a pleasant old man but has no great control of the section. Tribute is paid without demur. Vide Administration [above in this document] the fight in May last with 6 and 8 must not be allowed to develop into a Shen feud.

Fasheir is a very large village or group of villages.

Cattle camp is generally situated on the Khor Gurr or swamps to the south.

A group of this sub-shen live at Awoi.

2. Sub-shen Bedeed (sub) Shen Bang. 1 bull tribute.

A small section of 1. living at Dongayo near the Dinka border. Chief Koryom Wan son of Chief of 1. Sub-shen originally under Koryom's brother Pong, a Kujur who died in 1924.

Dongayo contains a few Dinkas and a large number of huts were built there in 1926. It is doubtful whether these Dinkas pay tribute and the village should be assessed and reorganised in 1927, preferably jointly with the D.C. Duk Fayuil.

Cattle camp generally with or near 1.

3. Sub-shen Marinyang. Shen Bang. 2 bulls tribute.

A somewhat scattered sub-shen under Dol Bul.

Most of the Shensmen live in the eastern part of Awoi. Dol has a hut at Awoi and also at Fasheir. His sons, three in number live at Fasheir. Dol Bul is an old man with good control but is inclined to be lazy over tribute collection. The youngest son, Kai is by far the most intelligent and should make a useful Chief. Cattle camp on Khor Gurr area. Awoi is a very large village, containing in addition to Marinyang, families of Shodgwar (13) and 1. and some Angaich [Angac] Dinkas. This sub-shen and the Dinkas are responsible for upkeep of huts at Awoi telegraph Post, having built the huts in 1926 in lieu of paying tribute and the cost £E.15. paid by Irrigation Dept. credited to their tribute. In future they should be made to keep the huts in repair without any reduction of their tribute. Awoi contains a telegraph Post (site known to the Nuers as Fadicher being slightly west of Awoi) with a few linesmen and in the dry season of 1927 will probably also be opened as a telegraph Post to assist Irrigation parties working in the Zeraf area.

4. Sub-shen Tod. Shen Bang. 1 bull tribute.

A sub-shen under Chief Diu Bang, a strong and useful individual closely

allied to the Diu family (9) though no relative. The sub-shen is divided into two groups, that under Diu Bang and the branch under Fol Twop (5).

Diu and his section originally lived at Kwaideng near Turwo, but owing to the unpopularity of the Duk ridge now, have removed to Wey Borley on the southern border (Vide Administration). A few families only remain at Kwaideng, though the crops of this section are grown chiefly at this village.

5. A small section of 5. under Fol Twop [Pol Tuop] living at Ajwong. 1 bull tribute. Section has only about 10 Luaks.

Fol Twop is very shy of Government but is considered a wiseacre by the Nuers (not a Kujur) and cases are often taken before him independently. I liked this man considerably after I got to know him. Cattle camp in Ajwong area.

6. Sub-shen Gaing. Shen Bang. 3 bulls tribute.

A strong Shen under Kor Juol, a very old but strong spirited Chief. Kor has several sons, one of whom Shwol [Cuol] is a great elephant hunter and has very considerable control over the section. He has however aversion to working for Government and has to be strongly handled. If the old Chief dies Shwol Kur must not be allowed to slide into the background.¹⁴ Vide 1. re possible feud.

Cattle camp in the Akair area south of Awoi.

Kor and the greater part of the sub-shen live at Bo near Fankor and Shwol lives with other families at Juai. Shwol has great respect for his father and obeys him implicitly. A few of the section live at Fankor, which produces the best crops.

7. Sub-shen Shamarn. Shen Bang. 1 bull tribute.

Living at a small village called Wunlang an hour's march from Rufshendol to the south east. An unimportant group of families under a young and rather deceitful Chief one Kwajeng Ton.

Cattle camp on the Gurr and Gurwel areas.

8. Sub-shen Turwo. Shen Bang. 1 bull tribute.

Chief Diu Kun. Old and very useless. Has a lazy son called Malith. Living on the north east side of Fasheir, actual village known as Kwelek, though all part of Fasheir. A small section with many truculent youngsters. Vide 1. re possible feud.

9. Sub-shen Giel. Shen Gamok. 4 bulls tribute.

A powerful section under Chief Dwal Diu (vide Administration).

Dwal received a Sword of Honour in 1924.

Villages at present on the Duk ridge at Buk, Turwo, Kwaideng, Fagil, Fagul

14. Cuol Kur was eventually appointed sub-chief of *cieng* Bang and became executive chief of the Awoi B court in 1948. He was variously described by DCs as 'a thorough gentleman but lacks drive', or 'one of the best sub-chiefs and has much influence'. He was generally praised for his intelligence (Upper Nile Province 'Who's Who', UNP archives, Malakal, SCR 66.D.4). His father, Kur Juol, was reputed to have owned magic ('Supernatural', n.d. [c. 1937], SRO ZVD 66.K.1).

and cattle camp on the southern swamps close to the Dinka border.

Dwal himself lives at Turwo.

Gau Bang, a brother of Dwal lives at Fagul and has a good influence over Dwal. Another brother Biel has the reverse.¹⁵

Ruob Gyark [Ruop Joak] an ex-U.N.P. Policeman lives at Fagul.¹⁶ This man had considerable influence over Dwal but is now out of the limelight. This man will have to be watched and handled without the slightest compassion. He is also a great liar.

10. Sub-shen Diow. Shen Gamok [Jamogh]. 1 bull tribute.

Village Konthod. Chief Wol Thod, a kindly old man will require to be superseded. Wol has no sons. Vide remarks under Administration.

11. Sub-shen Fod. Shen Gamok. 2 bulls tribute.

Under a young Chief Riek Yor related to Dwal Diu. Riek has not much control but can be handled with the assistance of Chief Gwer Weoh (27).

Village at Agum on the Duk ridge. Section also lives in small villages close to Agum.

The sub-shen contains two very truculent and unpleasant brothers one of whom was a wanted criminal for two years and who gave me a great deal of trouble before I was able to arrest him. These men (Lam referred to above) and Luang Yor should be watched. The sub-shen had rather bad cattle plague in 1925 but the tribute could be increased to three bulls without being felt. Cattle camp, either with 9. or just off the Duk ridge in the Lau country to the east, where wells are dug for water supply. The brothers Yor generally remain near Agum and seldom go to the Toich.

12. Sub-shen Maen.¹⁷ Shen Sharm [Cam]. 2 bulls tribute.

A strong section whose Chief Fatai Juol was replaced owing to his old age by his nephew Pui Yir.

15. Biel Diu acted as Dual's intermediary when the family made peace with the government in August 1918 (see above, doc. 1.2 n. 22). He made a very favourable impression on officials from both Upper Nile and Mongalla Provinces. See J. Stevenson-Hamilton, inspector Bor District, to governor Mongalla, 03.09.18, and W. Pollen, inspector Lau & Gaweir, 'Report on a Visit to Buk on the Duk (Dwal Diu's Ballad)', both in UNP archives, Malakal, SCR 14.A; also MPMIR December 1918, NRO Intel 2/48/408 and SRO TD SCR 36.H.2. Gau Bang became the leader of the Bar Gaawar after Dual's arrest and exile in 1930. Though elected court president of the Bar Court in 1939, he saw himself merely as standing in for Dual. He died on 15 June 1948, some nine years before Dual finally returned home ('Upper Nile Province Personality Report no. 136', NRO UNP 1/34/276). Also see below, docs. 2.1 and 3.4.

16. Ruop Joak was killed in the aftermath of the Duk Fayuil raid in 1928 (see Gaawar texts 4.8, in Johnson, in preparation; and ADC Fangak to governor Upper Nile Province, 27.10.28, NRO Civsec 5/3/12). See also below, doc. 2.1.

17. *Ciang* Maen ('cinamin' or 'Shin Min' in early government reports) was the first Gaawar section to resist tribute collection in 1913, just before Macar Diu's rising (Bimbashi Tweedie, inspector Zeraf Valley to governor, Upper Nile Province, 16 June 1913 and 28 June 1913, SRO UNP SCR 14.2).

Pui has plenty of spirit but a wild group to deal with. Previous to 1923 these people had never paid tribute and it was only after I had taken strong measures that tribute was brought in. Owing to their being on the left bank Zeraf the section has been a little neglected.

Village Wan (L.B.) cattle camp in Swamps to west or on Khor by village.

This section is repeatedly having incidents with 15. who live on the opposite side of the river, but there is no feud between them.

13. Sub-shen Shodgwar. Shen Sharm. 3 bulls tribute.

Originally under Nyang Machar,¹⁸ a Chief of very independent spirit who died in 1924, this section is composed of a number of unruly young men. On Nyang's death a younger son Giey was appointed Chief but although still responsible for tribute Giey is living away from his brothers at Kungleir having quarrelled with the family over division of their father's riches. Giey is a pleasant lad and far in advance of an elder brother Jwoi.¹⁹

The sub-shen lives at Gool just west of the Duk ridge, a few families being at Kungleir and Awoi.

This section is apt to give trouble and are constantly moving to and fro.

Cattle camp generally in the Akair area on Khor Gurr and other tributaries.

14. Sub-shen Korar. Shen Sharm. 3 bulls tribute.

Chief Bedak Ling, an old man. Chag Lam is acting Chief, Bedak's young son Mut being quite unsuitable.

The section is fairly strong and lives at Kungleir on the Dinka border. Cattle camp due west of Kungleir on the Khors.

15. A sub-section of 14. of fairly large families under a strong and useful Chief Mud Gien living at Ajwong on the Zeraf. Tribute 2 bulls.

16. Sub-shen Shuk [Cuk]. Shen Dol. 2 bulls tribute.

Under Deng Biey and living in the quarter of Rufshendol known as Torkey.

This section assisted Government in the capture of Fathot Shakweng [Pathot Cakuen] who was responsible for the murder of a merchant in 1924. Fathot was actually shot by a relative of his, living with this section at the time and since removed to the Tiang country, consequently the relations between this section and Fathot's section 18. are somewhat strained. The question of Fathot's blood money was raised but was naturally disallowed, Fathot being a criminal outlaw at the time of his death.²⁰

Cattle camp on the Khor Gurwel.

17. Sub-shen Boz or Buth. Shen Dol. 1 bull tribute.

A very small section under Wal Kir living at Rufshendol in the village known as Nurborau.

18. See above, doc. 1.1, and doc. 1.2 n. 14.

19. See above, doc. 1.1.

20. See above, Introduction.

Cattle camp generally with 19. on the Gurwel.

18. Sub-shen Ruol. Shen Dol. 3 bulls tribute.

Living at Jongshol. Rufshendol. Chief Bang Shakweng appointed on the death of his father Shakweng Jok.

Shakweng died in 1924 while in prison when his son Fathot was outlawed.²¹ Fathot was mortally wounded by a Shensman of 16. and died after being captured by the Government. Bang Shakweng is a useful young Chief and realises that the question of his brother's blood money cannot be raised but some of the young Shensmen are inclined to resent sub-shen Shuk's action.

Camp at Gurwel.

19. Nyabiel. Shen Dol. Tribute 3 bulls.

Under Chief Riek On nominally, practically run by Chief Gwer Weoh (27) who is also largely responsible for the whole of Shen Dol.

Cattle camp on the Gurwel and village Tongruop. Gwer Weoh also lives at Tongruop with his brothers. (Vide Administration re affair with sub-shen Diow (10).)

20 (Kur) 21 (Thoi) 22 (Kwad) 23 (Yey) all non existent and dispersed among Shen Dol.

Shen Riah	{	24. Sub-shen Malair village Temrol left bank Zeraf	}	All under Thalil Dah and all Shen Riah
		25. Garlied .. Kot		
		26. Gok .. Ngol		

Thalil is an old man and the Shen is somewhat ungetatable, moving in the dry season towards the Nuong [Nyuong] swamps. Tribute is seldom brought in voluntarily and the Shen has much in common with the Nuong.²² Requires more visiting than other Barr sections, but gives no trouble. Owing to very loose administration assessed at 3 bulls tribute for whole Shen.

27. Sub-shen Long. Shen Garkwar. Tribute 2 bulls.

Under Chief Gwer Weoh, awarded Sword of Honour 1926. This Chief is the most enlightened and useful Chief in Gaweir and was chiefly responsible for the submission of certain Shens after the Gaweir patrol in 1914 and for the information which led to the arrests of Leil Luflug [Lel Lublub] (murderer of Shan Rad [Cany Reth] (Faragalla Buluk Amin))²³ in Dok and Fathot Shakweng (murderer of merchant Ibrahim Hassan). The section lived on the Duk ridge at Bul and Wonkwil and also at Buingfor on the Tithbel-Ayod road, but Gwer himself lives at Rufshendol. He also has a Luak at Buk.

This section also has a few families at Fakwaz and at Fangak (near Luang Deng).

21. See above, Introduction, and doc. 1.2.

22. See above, doc. 1.2.

23. See above, doc. 1.2 notes 26 and 27.

One Juz Thai of 19. is extremely jealous of Gwer's authority and is an individual who requires watching.

28. Sub-shen Nyeir. Shen Garkwar. Tribute 3 bulls.

Living at Maleet on the left bank Zeraf. Chief Lief Gaing [Liep Gany]. Lief has little authority but is able to produce his tribute when reminded by Gwer (27). This section has much in common with Dok and Nuong. Trouble occasionally with 15.

29. Sub-shen Koh. Shen Garkwar. Tribute 1 bull.

A left bank section who were under Diu Bar. Since his death I have been unable to visit the Sub-shen and appoint a new Chief. The group is small and scattered. I suggest Lain Dar, a nephew of Diu to be appointed.

27. have their cattle camp at Gurwel and 28. and 29. in the left bank swamps.

Above completes the list of the 29 sub-shens of Barr Gaweir. The following information may be of use for 1927:

One Wan Kwoth [Wuon Kuoth], said to be a Chief of Dok has visited Fasheir and will probably settle there.²⁴ D.C. Nuong²⁵ informed.

Several Nuong and Dok are living with Shen Riah and sub-shens Nyeir and Maen.

1. paid the one tribute bull for 2. in 1926, therefore 2. will pay one of 1.'s bulls in 1927.

Shen Diow (10) may possibly try and settle with the Dinkas at Shwai; if so they must be ferreted out.

Shen Boi (vide Administration) are under Lam Kan son of the late Kan Boi.²⁶ These people have not yet been listed.

Dinkas at Awoi are under Manyel Koi.

Dinkas at Shwai and Luang Deng are under Deng Gwir and pay 2 bulls tribute (Rut section Dinkas).

24. See below, doc. 4.1 n. 27.

25. Captain V. H. Fergusson: see above, Introduction, n. 4.

26. Kan Boi, who first fled to the Angac Dinka of Mabur Ajuot, died in c. May 1922 (MPMIR May 1922, NRO Intel 2/48/408 and SRO TD SCR 36.H.2). His son Lam became the main negotiator with the Gaawar in 1925 and was persuaded by the government to return to his old home. See below, doc. 2.1 n. 5.

Settlement of Gaweir Nuer Duk Fadiat boundary 1910

At Wirfwoi on 13.3.10 by Struvé, Owen and Fox.²⁷

The [Lou] Nuers were ordered to move East of Khor Fulus [Fulluth].

The Gaweir were definitely confirmed in possession of territories captured by Diu.

The Ol and Angai Dinkas were repatriated.

Struvé wrote—

I therefore request that no application for a Southern move on the part of Luaj [Luac], Thoi and Duor [Duor] Dinkas²⁸ ever be considered unless when confidence and complete tranquillity shall have been restored it may be possible to allow Dinkas and Nuers to live together in the Duk and Awoi territory by mutual consent. Bimb. Fox was to complete the exact delimitation of the boundary which runs west of the Khor Kabaij and East to the Khor Fulus. North of this line the Gaweir Nuers retain all the country which they have made use of since Diu's invasion.

Owen wrote—

We decided to make the boundary from the West Fula on Khor Kabaij and thence in a line parallel with the meridian to Kh. Fulus we tied a long pole from bough to bough of the prominent Higlig trees [*Balanites aegyptiaca*] about two miles North of Duk Fadiat to fix the boundary. The representative of Machar [Macar Diu]²⁹ was entirely satisfied with the boundary.

The East to West boundary line approximately is as follows: Mankwaka—Fatitet—Juat—Fanyok—Warawar—and Duk Warawar.

This was settled in 1918 by Godwin and Stevenson-Hamilton.³⁰ In 1925 by Wyld and Coriat, the village of Wey Borley was fixed as the most southerly point in Gaweir and Okak as the most northerly in Dinka territory.³¹ The country in between which includes a site known as Wey Thorley was proclaimed a No-man's land.

27. K. C. P. Struvé: see above, Introduction, n. 9. Lt.-Colonel R. C. R. Owen CMG, OBE: governor Mongalla Province 1908–18. Captain C. V. Fox, junior inspector Mongalla Province 1910–13.

28. The Luac, Thoi and Duor Dinka were then living on the Khor Fulluth, to the north of the Gaawar. As part of the Nuer Settlement of 1928–9 attempts were made to repatriate them to Ghol and Nyareweng country (see below, docs. 1.5, 2.2).

29. Macar Diu: see above, doc. 1.2 n. 21. A more complete account of the border settlement will be found in Struvé 1909, Wahab 1910, Owen 1910, O'Sullivan 1910.

30. Bimbashi C. C. Godwin, second inspector UNP (Nyerol) 1917–18. Bimbashi J. Stevenson-Hamilton, second inspector Mongalla Province (Bor) 1916–19. The border settlement took place in June 1918 (*SIR* 288 (July 1918), 2).

31. See below, doc. 2.1.

BARR TRIBUTE
(Figures alone refer to number of bulls)

No.	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	Remarks	Asst.
1.	1	2	2	2	2	very light	2
2.	nil	2	2	1	1	light	1
3.	1	2	2	2 (in durra)	2	..	2
4.	1	2	2	2	2	.. 1 to be collected	2
5.	nil	1	1	1	1	medium	1
6.	2	1275 rtls durra	2 & 600 rtls durra	2000 rtls durra	1 & 1200 rtls durra	..	3
7.	nil	1	1	1	1	light	1
8.	..	1	1	1	1	..	1
9.	2	1 & 1650 rtls durra	1 & 1200 rtls durra	4	4	light?	4
10.	nil	1	1	1	1	medium	1
11.	2	1 & 1200 rtls durra	1 & 800 rtls durra	1 & 1000 rtls durra	1 & 1200 rtls durra	medium	2
12.	nil	2	1	2	2	light	2
13.	2	1500 rtls durra	1 & 1200 rtls durra	2 & 900 rtls durra	1800 rtls durra	medium	3
14.	1	3	3	3	3	..	3
15.	nil	2	2	2	2	medium?	2
16.	1	2	2	2	2	medium	2
17.	nil	1	1	1	1	..	1
18.	3	3	3	3	3	..	3
19.	3	3	3	3	3	..	3
20, 21, [22], 23	nil nil	nil nil	nil nil	nil nil	nil nil		
24.	} nil	1	nil	3	2	..	3
25.							
26.							
27.	1	1200 rtls durra	800 rtls durra	2	1 & 600 durra	..	2
28.	nil	2	2	3	3	..	3
29.	..	1	nil	2	nil	v. light	2

Total^a 49 bulls

a. Not including Awoi and Luang Deng Dinkas and Shen Boi [Coriat's own annotation].

4800 rtls durra paid in durra for 1926 according to number of sacks reported paid in by Chiefs to Ayod. Police at Ayod illiterate and correct amount of durra paid unknown but above is probably right therefore cost at 90 P.T. per 300 rtls to be collected equally from four Policemen.

Malakal
9.7.26

Percy Coriat
ADC
Lau

DOCUMENT 1.4

BLOODWEALTH PAYMENTS

The settling of feuds was the main preoccupation of Nuer administration in the 1920s. This led administrators into the realm of compensatory payments which Nilotes employed in the settlement of feuds. The aim of such payments was to reconcile the parties involved, rather than impose punishment on a guilty party. Nilotic justice was sought through negotiation, rather than through judicial sanctions as practised in the Sudan Penal Code.

Coriat had already given a list of some compensatory payments for hurt, theft, death, etc. He noted that the rates of various payments, whether bridewealth or compensation, were not fixed but varied widely according to a number of circumstances,¹ not the least of which were the availability of cattle and the degree of political and social closeness between the parties involved. In 1926 Coriat, now dealing exclusively with the Lou and their Dinka neighbours, proposed to regularize compensation payments among the Nuer and between adjacent Nuer and Dinka communities. This was the first government attempt to reduce the complexity of compensatory payments. It was not the last, and efforts to expand and reform the principles of compensation continued for over twenty years.²

As in document 1.2 we must be cautious about accepting Coriat's reconstruction of what was customary in the past. Here also he presents a much simplified version of the Sudan Penal Code's own definitions of culpable homicide.

It should be noted that in discussing compensation between the Lou and Dinka, Coriat was referring mainly to the Ngok and Nyareweng Dinka, with whom the Lou had intermarried. There were, therefore, a number of active and growing social and economic ties between them. The procedure of payment between the Lou and the Nyareweng and Ngok, which Coriat refers to, had existed before the arrival of the Anglo-Egyptian government in the area.

1. See above, doc. 1.2.

2. Later attempts were aimed more at regularizing procedure than codifying law for the whole of the Nuer (Howell 1954: 1). See also Johnson 1986a: 75–6.

Coriat's recommendations were accepted by both the governor of Upper Nile Province and the district commissioner of Duk Faywil District, the Dinka district bordering his.³ They formed the basis of the first intertribal court meetings which began the following decade. No standard set of payments for all Nuer districts, as proposed in his final paragraph, was ever introduced, or even seriously considered, by his successors.

*Governor
Upper Nile Province
Malakal*

I beg to submit for your approval that the following rulings relative to administration in the Nuer and Dinka Districts should be regularised and enforced.

1. Blood money payable between members of the same sub-tribe to be 20 head of cattle for each life.⁴
2. Blood money payable for a member of a different tribe or sub-tribe killed before 1918 to be 10 head of cattle for each life, except when past custom has been to make similar payments to another tribe as for blood payments between members of the same tribe. i.e. LAU and GAWEIR.⁵
3. Blood money payments to be equal for all tribes for all cases after 1918 (flood year) i.e. 20 head of cattle.⁶
4. Causing the death of a person other than in a tribal war or Shen fight to be dealt with under the Penal Code as murder.⁷
5. Action to be taken by Government in all cases of Tribal, Section or Shen fights.

With regard to 1 & 2. These have been in force in this District for the past 18 months and are definitely adhered to in all awards made by Chiefs Courts

3. K. C. P. Struvé to district commissioner Duk-Faywil, 10 July 1926, and J. G. Wyld to governor, Upper Nile Province (n.d.), both in SRO BD 66.B.3.

4. Coriat's reduction here is a response to the recent loss of cattle among the Lou and others, as well as for the reason given below. However, in the 1930s the government proposed to keep the bloodmoney rate at its past high level to act as a deterrent to murder. In 1945 the rate was fixed at fifty head of cattle, of which ten were paid to the government (Howell 1954: 63).

5. Evans-Pritchard (1940: 156) noted that where two groups had intermarried extensively compensation was usually agreed on and paid easily. Howell (1954: 24) noted that 'the closer the structural relationship of the parties involved, the more likely is the wrong to be rectified, but the smaller the idemnification required to do so. Conversely, the more remote the relationship the greater the idemnification necessary but the smaller the likelihood that the wrong will be rectified at all.'

6. It was also the year following the 'Lau patrol', after which administration began in earnest.

7. The Sudan Penal Code was modelled on the Indian Penal Code and was enacted in 1899 (Warburg 1971: 124). For early applications of the Sudan Penal Code to the Nuer, see Johnson 1986a: 62-7.

and Councils.

My reason for submitting that these should be generally adopted is that there are occasionally varying amounts of blood money paid in different Districts and tribesmen are apt to resent some decisions as a consequence, being unable to see any reason why there should be any difference in blood money payments in different Districts.

These rulings were the outcome of both Nuer and Dinka Councils in this District.⁸

The original payments made for a member of the same tribe in the old days were not less than 40 head of cattle, but this was generally agreed to be an excessive amount and was apt to aggravate the feud between families; the amount of cattle to be paid falling not on the murderer alone but on his family.

Chiefs were in favour of only 6 head of cattle being paid for members of a different tribe, the old custom allowing only this amount in blood payments between Nuers and Dinkas and in some cases no blood money was paid between tribes, but I considered this one of the Laws in the Tribal Code which it was necessary to abolish.⁹

My only reason for not allowing the full 20 head under 2 is owing to the number of outstanding cases for which blood money is due for men killed before 1918.¹⁰

I believe the tribesmen have reached a stage of administration when cases of cold blooded murder should be dealt with under the Penal Code and I consider this and action by Government against Shens in the cases of section or tribal fights is imperative if violence by young tribesmen is to be stopped.

It necessarily follows that the above should be general and not confined to one District.

Malakal
30th June 1926

Percy Coriat
Asst. Dist. Commissioner
Lau

8. The Dinka were mainly Ngok and Nyareweng, but also some Luac.

9. Evans-Pritchard (1940: 217-18) recorded the rate of six head of cattle for an unadopted Dinka among both the Jikany and Lou.

10. This proposal is in clear imitation of Dual Diu. See above, doc. 1.2 n. 25.

DOCUMENT 1.5

SOUTHERN (ABWONG) DISTRICT HANDING-OVER NOTES

Coriat administered the Lou Nuer from 1923 to 1929, being based at Abwong on the Sobat river, in Ngok Dinka territory, from 1924. During 1927-9 he was involved in the various patrols against the Lou and Gaawar prophets (see Section 3 below). After the death of Guek in 1929 he was posted to the Western Nuer District, following its transfer from Bahr el-Ghazal to Upper Nile Province. This handing-over note on the Lou was written after he left Abwong and had taken up his duties among the Western Nuer. It gives the same sort of detailed, personal information which he had written for the Bar Gaawar in 1926 (document 1.3 above). It should be noted, however, that the most substantial information concerns the Gun Lou and the Dinka living along the Sobat. Coriat had relatively little contact with the Mor Lou, who did not come under close administration until after 1930.

This document gives a fair summary of Lou Nuer administration and Lou society immediately after their defeat in the Nuer Settlement campaign. As such it gives useful background information on the condition of the country at the time Evans-Pritchard began his fieldwork.

No copy of this report has yet been found in the Sudan. This copy, minus two pages of appendixes, was found in Coriat's personal papers, now in Rhodes House, Oxford. It follows the form for handing-over notes required in all districts of the Sudan whenever there was a change in administrators, but this document and document 1.3 are the earliest handing-over notes to survive for any Nuer district, and are among the oldest to survive for any southern province.

*Capt. A. H. A. Alban D.F.C.*¹

Abwong

Much of the matter contained in these notes should be sent in as additions and corrections to 'General Information in respect of District' report 57/B dated 22.5.26.² The various corrections etc. should be sent as addenda under their respective headings in the report.

The causes and results of the Lau Patrol 1928 are contained in the report File 5.³ A summary of these should be written in heading 'History' in report referred to above.

After the Patrol and in the latter part of 1928, Gwek remained a fugitive in the Jekaing [Jikany] country at Faweng [Paweng] on the Sobat, where his mother's relatives lived. He returned just before my departure on leave in August and built himself two huts by the site of the Pyramid [Ngundeng's Mound]. His further history and the causes and consequences of the Nuer Settlement 1929 will be sent under a separate report on the Nuer Settlement.⁴

In 1927 [in fact, 1926] the Barr Gaweir were taken over by Zeraf Valley District; the Gaweir thus becoming administered as a Tribe by that District.⁵

The District boundary to the west now running from Fulus [Fulluth] mouth east bank to opposite Wuthol on west bank, thence across the Fulus and including Wuthol to E. long. $31^{\circ} 30'$, thence south following this longitude to Southern boundary. East of this line from its northern point south to approximately N. lat. 9° live Shilluks and Rueng Dinka.

Between Gobjak on the Sobat and Fulus mouth is Shilluk country and although included within the District boundaries, these people are under Central District for purposes of administration and taxes.

This is unsatisfactory owing to cases between them and the Dinka and the difficulty of arranging for roads to be cleared in that area. The Shilluks slip over the boundary when it suits them.⁶

Cann (1927)⁷ agreed that all those within the boundary not living in proper concentrated Shilluk villages, could be ejected and their houses burnt, but this is difficult to carry out from this District. These Shilluks live for the most part

1. Captain A. H. Alban: see above, Introduction, n. 5.

2. Not yet found in any office or archive.

3. See below, doc. 3.2.

4. See below, doc. 3.3.

5. See above, doc. 1.3.

6. Central District (Shilluk) at this time had one DC at Kodok (the Shilluk Resident), one at Malakal (the province capital) and one at Tonga. The Shilluk colonization of new areas generally began with isolated barns and huts (Howell 1941). There are still settlement disputes between the southern Shilluk and the Dinka of this area.

7. Captain G. P. Cann, Shilluk Resident (DC Kodok) 1923-30.

like Nuers and Dinkas, i.e. isolated luaks and huts containing individual families and not, as with other Shilluk, in group villages.

I suggest a meeting with D.C. Shilluk when possible.

It is proposed as an outcome of the Nuer Settlement that the three Lau sections in the south (Shiengs Maikieir [Maiker], Kwaijien and Dung, all of Gun), should remove to new homes within this District, they being at present administered by Duk District.⁸

There are three alternatives for them, either they can live in present Jureir⁹ country, or between Fanyangluel [Panyanglual] and Nyerol on the Fulus and westwards between these two points, or within Lau proper with the consent of the respective Lau Chiefs concerned. The Chiefs of these sections have been given definite orders to move in 1930. So far they have elected as follows; Shiengs Dung and Kwaijien move their southernmost villages to the unoccupied area north of their present homes. Actual position and details with D.C. Duk District.¹⁰ Shieng Maikieir to live in Khor Kunjur (Kwanjor) country with villages at Ayau, Fagau, Ngok, Yo etc. Fagau is inhabited by Shieng Dul (Chief Biey Rieg 27) but the section will move in 1930 to the home of the remainder of their section (28) at Jokrial.

The Chiefs concerned have agreed to the above but are quite likely to change their minds by 1930 and the D.C. Duk and yourself will have to arrange these moves as you may find the circumstances.¹¹

The Jureir Dinka, also conforming to the Nuer Settlement, will be repatriated to Duk District (their ancestral home) in 1930. The majority are willing and the rest unwilling, but they will all go when told to, with the possible exception of the Thoi division living at Wuthol and vicinity. These may require pressure.¹²

The Jureir is not a cattle country but is a home of plenty as regards durra. The Nuers loath the very name of it.

If you can, it would facilitate road work to get the Rueng Dinkas¹³ of the Central District to occupy Jureir, otherwise you will have to make special arrangement to clear some 39 miles of road. As you will see from Shieng

8. The original reads 'Shiengs Maikieir, Kwaijien and Dung. All of Gun.' The Maiker, Kwaijien and Dung sections of the Rumjok Lou were ordered to evacuate the Lang area in 1931. They never completely abandoned the area and were allowed to return in 1933 (see below, n. 11).

9. Jureir, or 'outlander', the nickname of the various Luac, Thoi and Rut Dinka groups settled along Khor Fulluth, refugees from the Gaawar raids of the nineteenth century.

10. Major Wyld: see above, Introduction, n. 25.

11. These moves were never carried out due to Lou Nuer opposition.

12. The Luac arrived in Bor-Duk District just in time to be hit by rinderpest, floods and locusts. Having lost nearly all their cattle they were allowed to return to their homes along the Khor Fulluth in 1933 (Johnson 1982a: 200).

13. The Rueng Dinka living along the Khor Adar between the mouths of the Bahr el-Zeraf and Sobat were then part of the Central District, administered from Tonga. They were later transferred to the Zeraf Valley District and placed under Fangak.

Book,¹⁴ a few Ngok sections live in the Jureir country to the east bank Fulus and they are responsible for their respective sections of the Malwal (Fulus mouth) Mwot Dit road. It would be a pity if the greater part of Jureir was uninhabited waste land.

Fanyangluel on the Fulus is the boundary between Nuer and Dinka.

The Dinkas have given up growing cotton and have been encouraged to cultivate more durra. The demand for durra during the past 3 years and prices ruling have resulted in a considerable increase in grain cultivation and approximately 5000 ardebs of durra are exported in a normal year from Sobat and Fulus markets.

The estimate of population of the Lau Nuer must be revised and the figures obtained from census taken during Nuer Settlement plus 10%.¹⁵

A list of the more prominent Chiefs and persons with Personality reports was sent to the Governor in August 1928. Copies were to have been typed for Governor's Office, Intelligence Dept. and District Office. These have not yet been returned and there is no copy in District Office.¹⁶ I attach Personality reports on Chiefs and other persons in brief.

Lau Nuers

1/ Gwet Thi [Guet Thie].¹⁷ A Kujur. Has been of great assistance to

14. The 'Shieng [*cieng*] Books' were census books listing male taxpayers by village, and sometimes giving the numbers of wives and dependants. None of the Lou Nuer District Shieng Books from this period are known to have survived.

15. Population figures at this time were highly unreliable, being rough guesses based on incomplete counts.

16. The originals of these reports have not been found, but some of Coriat's comments on individual chiefs were copied into later, updated versions which are now in Khartoum, Juba and Malakal (NRO UNP 1/25/182, SRO ZD 66.K.1, and Malakal SCR 66.D.4). It is clear that not all those names appearing on the original personality reports are given here, and this explains the gaps in the numbering. Of the Lou chiefs listed below, numbers 2, 4-7, 9, 12-15, 20, 21, 24-26, and 30 were no longer listed as chiefs by the mid-1930s. The sub-sections (both tertiary and secondary) of each chief, where known, are given in brackets at the end of each entry (from 'Chiefs and Headmen Lau Nuer District', n.d. [c. 1936], SRO LND 66.B.3).

17. Guet Thie: (b. c. 1885), an earth-master and son of Thie Rue, one of Ngundeng's rivals and antagonistic towards Ngundeng's family. Guet was one of the first Lou chiefs to welcome the new post at Nyerol at the end of the Lou patrol in 1917. He continued his father's antagonism to Ngundeng's family, partly because he was a magician (*guan wal*). He was described by Jackson in 1921 as 'a Kujur touched in the head' but rapidly became 'an "old pal" of Coriat's' in the late 1920s. He retired as chief in 1949 and was still alive in 1954 (Godwin, Nyerol 23.04.17, SRO UNP SCR 15.10; 'Diary-Nyerol-April 1917', UNP archives, Malakal SCR 14.A; H. C. Jackson, 'Safaria Notes, January-February 1921. Lau Nuer Country', SAD 465/4; 'Upper Nile Province

Government since 1927, before which he had various Kujur seizures. Loyal and intelligent enough to realise that Government wins in a long course. Inclined to shirk responsibility occasionally. Should prove a prominent Chief if he can be bolstered up sufficiently and at the same time kept on the right side and when he finds that it will pay him (materially) to assist Government. [Sub-section Cic-Gaadbal]

Age Makeir [Maker] class.¹⁸

2/ Kwainien Thi [Kuanyen Thie]. A brother of Gwet. Dealt with Government when Gwet was doing conjuring tricks. Intelligent and out for a peaceful life. Has slid into background since Gwet took over section but always a useful ally.

Age Makeir class.

3/ Gwek Wundeng [Guek Ngundeng] killed January 1929. Section dispersed. Gwek's age was Dang Gwonka [Dang-gonga] class.¹⁹

4/ [Kwain Mal]²⁰ A young Chief inseparable from Lam Wel No. 7. Works well, not afraid of his men and acts as number two to Lam. [Sub-section Pälker-Rumjok]

Age Luaich [Luac] class.²¹

5/ Pur Kui. A useless old man. Ding Twil Kwoth acts as Chief of section. Ding has considerable authority over the section but is jealous of Lam Wel. Prevented a Dinka raid in 1928 by challenging Gwek and Dtho Dieng.²² Vide report File 57/B. [Sub-section Pälker-Rumjok]

Age Luaich class.

6/ Kong Wuth. Characterless and pretty well useless. Obeys Lam Wel. Has no control. [Sub-section Pälker-Rumjok]

Age Luaich class.

7/ Lam Wel. Possibly the most prominent of the younger Chiefs in Lau. Has complete control over Fulkir [Pälker] (one of the largest Shiengs) and great authority. Was a rebel in 1928 and the first to come in with entire section for the concentration during Nuer Settlement. Does not fear his men and now realises power of Government and benefits of a peaceable administration. Was a prominent fighting leader. Should be encouraged.

Personality Report no. 5', NRO UNP 1/34/276; P. L. Roussel, 'List of Notables and Chiefs now Retired or Dismissed', 02.11.54, SRO LND 10.A).

18. The Maker age-set was marked in about 1887.

19. Guek was not a Dang-gonga (marked c. 1895), but a Luac.

20. He appears as Kwek Mal in documents from the mid-1930s to the 1950s. He became president of the Dak-Rumjok court in 1942.

21. Luac were marked in c. 1908.

22. Ding Twil Kuoth is now remembered to have opposed this raid because it was aimed against the Dinka, among whom he (and other Lou) had many relatives.

Age Dang Gwonka class.

8/ Rial Mai. One of the oldest of Government Chiefs.²³ Has always been pro-Government but has lacked support and is too old to be of much use with the young men. Had difficulties with his section in the past but has never himself supported anti-Government tendencies. Is now assisted by Chag Gaing [Cak Gany] (10) who is one of the younger leaders. [Sub-section Nyajikany-Rumjok]

Age Makeir class.

9/ Chokwel Dthwor [Cokuel Dhoar]. Ignorant, useless and unable to realise meaning of Government. Absconded in 1928 and arrested early 1929 when he served a term of imprisonment at Mwot. Never likely to improve. [Sub-section Nyajikany-Rumjok]

Age Dang Gwonka class.

10/ Chag Gaing. Appointed a Chief in 1927 on death of his brother Yuai Lith Gaing. Young, energetic, is gaining increasing control over young men of Shieng Nyajakan [Nyajikany] and should eventually replace Rial as Head Chief.²⁴

Age Luaich class.

11/ Warweng Tudel. An amiable young Chief without much character and is timid. [Sub-section Nyajikany-Rumjok]

12/ Thiep Ruai. Aged and infirm. Warweng acts for him. [Sub-section Nyajikany-Rumjok]

13/ Pur Tiop. An old rascal who has more influence with his section than he is inclined to admit. Reactionary tendencies and shirks responsibility but has a broad sense of humour, which helps a lot. Bolted annually in past. Afraid and suspicious of Government in the past. [Sub-section Nyajikany-Rumjok]

Age Makeir class.

14/ Goy Thuin Bey. Hereditary Land Chief of Lau ('Kwar Mon' [*kuaar muon*]). Father died in 1928.²⁵ A loyal young Chief, not sufficiently forceful but has a pleasant manner and is generally liked. Influence as regards spiritual position now practically negligible except as concerned with the determining of age class names and times of initiation. [Sub-section Mathel-Rumjok]

Age Karam class.²⁶

23. Rial Mac, first mentioned in government reports in 1918 (J. Stevenson-Hamilton and C. C. Godwin, 'Boundary between LAU NUERS (Upper Nile) and Bor District (Mongalla)', 25.07.18, SRO UNP SCR 14.4).

24. Cak Gany was still only a sub-chief under Rial Mac in the mid-1930s.

25. It was erroneously reported in 1927 that Tony Begh died after criticising Guek (Lee to governor, Malakal, 16.10.27, NRO Civsec 5/2/10 and UNP 1/5/27). Tony Begh, in fact, sided with Guek. He was a *wut ghok* (man of cattle), not a *kuaar muon*.

26. The Karam age-set among the Gaawar was marked between 1908 and 1913. There is no separate set called Karam among the Lou, but it may have been a sub-set of Luac.

15/ Thain Pin Dul. Outwardly meek and timid but lying and treacherous. Fled in 1928 but gave himself up after [S8] Patrol. Thoroughly unreliable. [Sub-section Mathel-Rumjok]

Age Dang Gwonka class.

16/ Fod or Pod Gig [Puot Gig].²⁷ A pleasant old fellow who threw his lot in with Gwek in January 1929 and has not been seen since. Lived with his section in Gaweir at Kwaideang and was told to return to Lau when this area was handed over to the Dinkas in 1928. He probably joined Gwek because of his home having been taken from him. Went to Gaweir when this part was invaded and captured from the Dinkas by Machar Diu in 1914. Chiefs Policeman Tut Roa is at present acting for section. [Sub-section Nyajikany-Rumjok]

Age Makeir class.

17/ Nuer [Nuaar] Ganur Wor son of Ganur Wor. His father is a high spirited old man who cannot recognise that a Dinka is anything but a slave and who has only recently become friendly to Government. Nuer is a powerful young Shiengsman who should do good work if he finds it worth his while.²⁸ [Sub-section Yuong-Gaadbal]

Age Luaich class.

18/ Yik Turog [Turuk]. A young supporter of Nuer without character. Was appointed because his father had become too old. [Sub-section Yuong-Gaadbal]

Age Luaich class.

19/ Lem [Lam] Thon. A young Chief rather like Nuer and a very decent fellow to boot. A typical young blood. [Sub-section Yuong-Gaadbal]

Age Karam class.

20/ Rueh Kuh. Rapidly becoming senile. In 1924 and until that year he was the cause of a great deal of trouble. Had never paid tribute and raided Jekaing [Jikany] parties passing through Lau. Was caught with his section after a ten day chase in 1924. Son Changath [Cangac Ruei] acts as Chief; a young blood but bone lazy. [Sub-section Yuong-Gaadbal]

21/ Dtho Dieng [Dhiew Dieng].²⁹ I have been unable to fathom this Chief. Was first appointed in 1923 when he walked into the office at Ayod. He produced two bulls with him and stated he had never paid tribute before. He was then made to accompany me to Malakal. Became a most prominent personality at Courts but would not live either with his section or elsewhere

27. Puot Gig, see doc. 1.3 n. 11. Puot settled with the Gaawar before 1914.

28. In 1918 Ganur was described as a minor chief 'capable of causing local trouble', but with no real authority ('Notes for Inspector Lau Nuers' [1918], Malakal, UNP SCR 14A. By the mid-1930s Nuaar Ganur was chief of the Yuong-Gaadbal section (see 'Chiefs and Headmen', cited in n. 16).

29. See below, doc. 3.1 n. 32, and doc. 3.2.

where there were others living and built himself a house near Nyerol. Warned Government before the Gwek trouble in the latter part of 1927 and then bolted clean away when the Patrol took place. Gave himself up at Abwong after the Patrol. Attempted to lead a raid against the Dinkas during the rains of 1928 and was only stopped by action of other Chiefs. Came into Abwong while I was away on leave and said his only reason for attempting to lead a raid was because a case he had against the Dinkas of Duk in 1924 had been wrongly awarded against him. Vanished during Nuer Settlement when he played about a little at Mwot Tot and when the place became too hot to hold him, crossed the Sobat and made his way to Tayabur on Garjak [Gaajak] swamps. Gave himself up at Abwong April 1929. His explanation both times was that he could not go with the herd and wished to avoid Government while there was trouble. Was imprisoned and sent to join prisoners at Malakal.³⁰ It may be he runs with the Hare and hunts with the Hounds or possibly it is that he is never sure which is the winning side. He has a very winning personality, is cheerful, uncommonly intelligent for a Nuer and has a very straightforward manner. The only native I have known who can be effectively ironic. Had a dog he called 'Kai Lora' (All Lies); the other Chiefs now say that the dog was the only person who knew Dtho's mind and that it was 'All Lies' anyway. [Sub-section Manthiep-Gaadbal]

22/ Kol Gai. Half his face was chewed off by a Hyena when he was a child hence 'Hyena Face'. Was a great fighting man. Is a fairly good Chief I believe but is always prowling around and one is never sure of his intentions or movements. [Sub-section Manthiep-Gaadbal]

Age Dang Gwonka class.

23/ We[t]h Turial. Son of Turial Nyit. A talkative young fellow. [Sub-section Macok-Gaadbal]

24/ Witong Tong. Has a few families of Jadul (14) to whom he belongs, under him and lives with Kol at Ful Bar in the Mor country. Missing since 1928. [Sub-section Jadul-Rumjok]

25/ Malo Tur was Chief and a note about him follows. Present Chief Gwel Poy. An uncertain individual who was appointed in 1927 with Malo Tur's brother Chag [Cak] to help him. Chag is a very decent fellow. A number of Gwel's people were with Gwek at the battle of the Pyramid in January 1929.³¹ [Sub-section Leng-Gaadbal]

26/ Luak Lam.³² A young Chief of an unpleasant type. Ignorant and possessed of a low cunning. Age Luaich. Most of his section were with Gwek at battle of Pyramid. [Sub-section Leng-Gaadbal]

30. Note in margin: 'No at Abwong'.

31. See below, doc. 3.3.

32. See below, doc. 3.3. Luak Lam died in December 1935 (UNPMD December 1935, SRO BD 57.C.1).

27/ Biey Rieg [Bie Riek].³³ A poor type of Chief with an unruly section living at Fagau on Gaweir border. [Sub-section Dul-Rumjok]

28/ Maikier Thijok [Maiker Thijoak].³⁴ Was an ally of Gwek's. Sister married Gwek in 1929. Now in prison at Malakal. [Sub-section Dul-Rumjok]

29/ Ngwoth Kuin [Nguth Kuny].³⁵ Newly appointed. Brother Kwaigur was Chief and died in 1928. Not a pleasant fellow. Liglig the second brother was appointed and died at Gwek's side in 1929. Ngwoth may prove satisfactory now. He returned that Sparklet bulb I told you about. [Sub-section Nyarkuac-Gaadbal]

30/ Bul Kan.³⁶ A loyal old Chief who never gives any trouble. Neither does his section. Jok acts and is a cheery young Nuer. They live on the Sobat and are the best Nuer section. Bul has a feud with the Kuin family of 29. [Sub-section Nyarkuac-Gaadbal]

The remaining Lau Chiefs are Mor and I do not know as much about them. Herewith notes on the more prominent ones and the Chiefs one normally deals with.

33/ Kong Pan.³⁷ A promising Chief if only he had control over Shieng Buth. He wants to go and live on his own on the Pibor which must not be allowed. [Sub-section Buth-Mor]

Dang Gwonka class.

33. Bie Riek, b. c. 1890, sub-chief of Dul-Rumjok c. 1917-49. Still alive in 1954 when it was noted that he had good relations with the Gaawar and was a friend of Dual Diu (only recently allowed home). Even though retired from his chiefship it was thought he might still be useful in future Lou-Gaawar relations (see Roussel, 'List of Notables', cited in n. 17).

34. Maiker Thijoak's father, Thijok Dul, was a minor prophet under Ngundeng. He died in the mid-1920s, and the government subsequently alleged that Guek's settlement of compensation claims following Thijok's death constituted a perversion of custom (Johnson 1985a: 142-3).

35. Nguth Kuny: Luac age-set; sub-chief of Thul court (*cieng* Nyarkuac-Gaadbal); was considered 'uncouth... pig-headed... obstructive...' and 'unco-operative' by Coriat's immediate successors, but 'improving' and 'a rascal but a likeable one' by later DCs (see Roussel, 'List of Notables', cited in n. 17). He died in 1975.

36. Bul Kan was one of Ngundeng's contemporaries (Johnson 1982b: 124). He was a renowned magician, and in 1931 Evans-Pritchard found him settled at Kurmayom, on the border between the Ngok Dinka and the Lou. Bul's genitor was a Ngok Dinka, while his pater was Kan Kwoth, a Lou Nuer. Bul traced descent to the dominant Jinaca clan, who owned the village, through his maternal grandmother, not through his pater, who was of the Kiek clan (Evans-Pritchard 1935: 72-3; 1950: 384-5; 1951: 21-2). The ambiguities in Bul's kin affiliation remind us how political attachments were often more complex than Coriat and his successors allowed in straightforward lists such as this.

37. Kong Pan: chief of Buth-Mor. Both his father and grandfather were warrior leaders against the Anuak (see Roussel, 'List of Notables', cited in n. 17). He imitated the manner of a prophet during Guek's lifetime but abandoned any public display of seizure after Guek's death (A. H. A. Alban, 'Note on the Indigenous Basis of the Present Administrative System', 26.06.35, SRO UNP 32.B.1).

34/ Wey Twor Bey [Weituor Begh].³⁸ An old man with a lot of authority but extremely suspicious of Government. Bolted during concentration 1929 but should be tried again. Is now in prison at Malakal. [Sub-section Buth-Mor]

38/ Kwil Rueh. Has complete mastery over his section of Buth but anti-Government. Missing since 1928. Probably on Gila river. Related by marriage to Gwek vide reports.³⁹ [Sub-section Buth-Mor]

41/ Gwem Kur Bum.⁴⁰ Utterly useless but is supposed to run Jegar [Jajok] for lack of a better. [Sub-section Gaaliek-Mor]
Age Luaich class.

46/ Mut Shan Poich [Mut Cany Poc]. Not prepossessing but is gaining mastery over his section and is well meaning. Must be dealt with patiently. Age Lith Gai class.⁴¹ [Sub-section Jajok-Mor]

53/ Pey Ruai Thit [Pec Ruac Thit]. A very promising young Chief who lives at Kaibui near Akobo. His father Ruai Thit lives with the remainder of the section at Kaikwi and Kurwai in Lau. Pey loses his head very easily. [Sub-section Can-Mor]

Age Lith Gai class.

62/ Diu Muk. A good steady Chief who runs the whole of Shieng Maroa and was discovered in 1926. For some inexplicable reason, did not put in an appearance at the Wegin concentration. Neither did his section who were absent in toto. [Sub-section Kun-Mor]

67/ Tut Lam. The most prominent of the Mor Chiefs with a wild section. A determined fellow who, with his section, assisted Gwek in 1928. Now a loyal Government Chief. Brought section and other Jemaish [Jimac] Chiefs into Wegin.⁴² [Sub-section Jagueth-Mor]

73/ Red Ruathdell [Rët Ruathdel]. Means well but has not the character or influence required to control his section. Shieng Belyu [Biliu] near the Geni are the farthest Lau. [Sub-section Biliu-Mor]

The following leopard-skins are those chiefly dealt with by Government:

38. In the manuscript the number is handwritten and appears to be '31'. Weituor Begh was released from prison on 09.07.29 ('Detail of Political Prisoners Taken by Morcol', NRO UNP 1/6/43). He eventually became court president of the Faddoi B court. His sons Cuol and Rau Weituor succeeded him in that position. Cuol Weituor was murdered during the first Sudanese civil war; Rau Weituor died during the second civil war.

39. Though an ally of Guek's, Kwil actively supported a number of Rumjok chiefs who were protecting Dinka cattle from other Lou, following the August 1928 raids (J. W. G. Wyld, 'Report on Dinka of Duk District', NRO Civsec 5/3/12).

40. Guem Kur was chief of the Gaaliek-Mor by the mid-1930s (see 'Chiefs and Headmen', cited in n. 16).

41. Lithgai were marked in 1913-15.

42. See below, doc. 3.3. One of Guek's wives was a Jimac.

Jok Diang⁴³ of Yarkwaith [Nyarkuac] on the Sobat. Gun Lau. He is at enmity with his brothers who live at Shwil on Sobat. All Diang family are hereditary leopard-skins. One brother Thung is a Chief's Policeman.

Pui Majug [Majok] of Faddoi. A friend of Chief Kong Pan. Has been of assistance in dealing with Shieng Buth.

Nyang Keth of Faddoi. Related to Chief Nuap Turog of Shieng Niag. A good influence with Nuap Turog.

Among the Mor Chiefs I omitted Nuap Turog [Turuk]⁴⁴ who is untrustworthy and a bad type.

Other Persons

Pok Keirjok. A Kujur of Shieng Nyajakan, vide Report on Patrol S8. Pok was at the battle of the Pyramid and was last heard of going over to the Mor country with a pipe and a bag of charcoal in his hand. He is said to have received three outers during the battle, in the head, arm and chest. It is probable he went over to Kwil Rueh.⁴⁵

Malo Tur. Until 1924 was with Rial Mai, one of the oldest of Government Chiefs. He had control of Shieng Lang. In 1924, Malo believed he had been bewitched by one of his Shiengsmen and he consequently moved from Majuk in the Lang country to Dik Mareng on the Geni, a village occupied by oddments and Gogo Wel of Shieng Belyu and his family. He was ordered to return to Gun but protested that he would run his section if he was allowed to remain at Dik until the sickness he had left him. This was granted and until the end of 1927 he continued to be responsible for tribute and administration of his section. When Gwek rebelled he disappeared and was heard of at various places on the Pibor, including Dengjok. His brother Chag was sent to him during the rains of 1928 in order to find out what his intentions were. He met his brother and told him he would return in the dry season of 1929 and would come to see me. He did not come in and the last heard of him was that he was living among the Jekaing on the Pibor, had become a Kujur and that he had caused the death of

43. Jok Diung, of the Beegh clan and Luac age-set, was one of Evans-Pritchard's sources and is mentioned by him several times (Evans-Pritchard 1934: 48; 1935: 48; 1936: 260; 1950: 378).

44. Space for a number appears before Nuap Turog's name, which may have been filled in on the original, but there is no indication of this in the remaining file copy I used in preparing this document.

45. Pok Kerjok became possessed by the divinity Gär in c. 1914. He organized the 1916 Lou raid into Bor district, which ended with the annihilation of a detachment of Sudanese soldiers. He was defeated in battle by government troops in 1917 but was never captured. He finally surrendered at Abwong on 5 August 1930 and died in exile.

a Jekaing by witchcraft. It seems that he has found an easy way of increasing his wealth in cattle and will probably remain on the Pibor until he falls foul of the Jekaing or gets caught.⁴⁶

In 1930, the Political prisoners arrested during the Settlement will have to be returned to their sections. I suggest that instead of being released at Malakal, they are handed over by you in person to their respective Chiefs.

Dtho Dieng, should I suggest be given another chance, but must be made to live with his section.

Chamjog Chai now living at Kwemthol is to be appointed Headman of Shieng Lam (a new section). Chamjog recently came over from Gaweir (1928) with his family and others and the remainder of the section were living among Shieng Lang. They dispersed after a blood feud. This feud with Reth Dar of Gwet Thi's people will need to be tackled in 1930. Shieng Lam wish to live at or near Fanyang of Gwet Thi's. They would come under Gwet as Head Chief. The present Policeman, a brother of Chamjog's should be exchanged for a member of some other branch of the family or it would be better still to appoint Jok or his brother Luk Tulshieng as Headman with Chamjog as Policeman.⁴⁷

The Gwek family and relatives should if possible be deported or failing that give them a settlement on the Sobat, but you would have to see that they stuck to the Settlement.⁴⁸

One Shwol [Cuol] Kur is a Political prisoner at Malakal. Vide file Political prisoners. He should be deported to Jekaing when, and only then, his brother Kuin Kuin turns up. There is another brother a fairly decent [chap] whose name I have forgotten who is always hanging around and unless you are wary will try and cajole you into releasing Shwol without further ado. Shwol is a Kujur. Kuin Kuin the elder brother is merely a bad hat. They live at Thieylang just inland from Wegin and are mixed Dinka-Jekaing. They harboured Gwek, have never paid taxes and do not appear to be known by Eastern District. Turn them out of Thieylang as this was to have been done for the past two years but I have not yet had the time. They go over to Jekaing for dry season cattle camp. The Ballak Withiel and his brother Torkai Ngor are friendly with them.

Subshieng Rueh. Ch. Rueh Kuh 20/ Old Rueh wants to go and live on his own at Wunbil (Shieng Tiang) and is there now. He says Wunbil is his ancestral home and Leet does not agree with him. You will have to try and get him to live with his section somewhere. They need not necessarily stick to Leet but

46. Malo Tur returned briefly to Lou in 1930 but went immediately to the Khor Geni and then to Dinka country (A. H. Alban to DC Nasser, 16.01.31, Nasir END 66.B.3/1). He appears on no subsequent list of Lou chiefs.

47. Camjok Cai was still chief in the 1930s, with Jok Tulcieng as a sub-chief under him (see 'Chiefs and Headmen', cited in n. 16).

48. Guek's brother Lei subsequently settled in Nasir, while most of the rest of Ngundeng's grandchildren settled around Weideang.

they must be together.

Subshieng Manthiep. Ch. Dtho Dieng 21/ One Gung Wil runs the section or what he can of it. Dtho can go back when he comes out of prison but they must concentrate somewhere. Preferably at their old home Gweirthar and vicinity. The families at Milkeir under Bum Kai [Buom Kac]⁴⁹ must be turfed out. Gung Wil is a very decent fellow and so is the C.P. [Chiefs' Police] Nyith.

Shieng Dul 27/ & 28/ Biey Rieg can come out of Fagau which may be going to Shieng Maikieir of Duk vide above and can live at Jokrial running both the Maikieir subsections.

Thijok 28/ should go and live with the Gwek family.

Shieng Matchok 22/ & 23/ These people of whom half are at Fulbar in the Mor country should join up and live at Limkuntchik and vicinity where 22/ is. 23/'s father Tural Nyit is still alive and is really Head of the section.

The Mor did not concentrate because they were too far away from their homes and did not know what they were in for. I suggest they concentrate between Kaibui and Mangong or Ful Geni on the Geni. They can hish [Arab., 'to weed', i.e. clear; see Plate 13] a road along the area and from Kaibui to Akobo, which road will be wanted in any case. They should stick to one side of the Khor. Supplies can be taken up to Akobo during the rains, including motor transport. You will require a post of a Platoon or perhaps less at the Geni or southern end and a troop of Mounted Police or Cavalry for any chasing there may be. Done this way and particularly after they have seen the results of Guncol,⁵⁰ I am pretty sure you will get them to concentrate easily. When that is done they will want a lot of reorganising as to village and camp sites for the future. Luckily the Chiefs' Police were appointed for the most part, while I was at Wegin. Gun can do as they please, that is they can have their Courts and will camp by Sections or Subshiengs as they please, provided they do their roads and you know where each Subshieng is camped. They cannot all camp in Shiengs as [ordered] during the Settlement as there is not normally enough water or large enough water holes in Lau for this.

When and if the Mor concentrate properly, they can be sent off in batches to do the particular piece of the Akobo road allotted them. Vide below re roads [Appendix B to this document, now missing].

The Chiefs' Police have been given instructions to report every month till December when they all come in for orders. One Policeman from Gun and one from Mor only will report at the full moon of each month. In the event of sickness they are responsible for finding their own substitutes.

49. Buom Kac became head chief of *cieng* Manthiep in the 1930s.

50. For Guncol, see below, doc. 3.3.

The following is the scheme:

<i>Month</i>	<i>Nuer Month</i>	<i>Chiefs' Policemen to report</i>
January	Tiup 2nd [Tiop Intot]	—
February	Pet	—
March	Dwong	—
April	Gwag [Gwaak]	—
May	Dwat	Red Bidong (52) Gun. Char Poi (53) ⁵¹ Mor.
June	Kurnuot [Kornyuot]	Reth Moin (77) Gun. Banang Nuon (75) Mor.
July	Pai Yetni [Paiyatni]	Bayak Tutyl (71) Gai Tong (74) Gun. Luai Muinlau (108) Mor.
August	Thur [Thoor]	Lul Thiankan (80) Gun. Mun Gai (104) Mor.
September	Teir [Teer]	Tutjeh Pan (92) Gun. Luak Nuon (64) Mor.
October	Labur [Lath Boor]	Wanjang Niag (95) Gun. Wanjang Weytwor (78) Mor.
November	Kur	Tob Rih (94) Gun. Butbut Korwal (2) Shwol Balang (4) ⁵² Mor.
December	Tiup 1st [Tiop Indit]	All Police to report.

Allow them a few days' latitude each way as regards the full moon.

Note. The numbers above 100 are incorrect but the Chiefs' Police roll will give you the correct numbers.

Herewith notes on the [Ngok] Dinkas.⁵³

81/ Ajiak Thon. A pleasant young Ngok without much control. [Sub-section Deng-Jok]

82/ Fadwom [Paduom] Manyang. A bit of a Wizard in curing sickness. Quite honest but not of much use as regards Government. Lazy. [Sub-section Deng-Jok]

83/ Deng Awok. A good Chief with authority. [Sub-section Ajuba-Jok]

84/ Munkal Kir. Not much use.

51. Char Poi [Car Poc] became a sub-chief of the Jagueth Mor under Tut Lam in the 1930s (see 'Chiefs and Headmen', cited in n. 16).

52. Shwol [Cuol] Balang was a political prisoner in Malakal in 1929 (see 'Detail of Political Prisoners', cited in n. 38).

53. Of the following Ngok Dinka chiefs, numbers 86, 91, 94, 112, and 113 no longer appeared on the list of chiefs by the mid-1930s (see 'Chiefs and Headmen', cited in n. 16). The Ngok were administratively divided into two major divisions and ten sections: Jok (Ngau, Abi, Deng, Acak, Adong, Ajuba), and Yom (Baliat, Awir, Dud, Diak). The section of each chief, where known, is given here in brackets at the end of each entry.

85/ Thon Lual Akon. Lazy, deceitful and has the worst section of Ngok. They live at Wunarual on the Fulus not far from Fanyangluel. [Sub-section Ajuba-Jok]

86/ Marial Jok. Efficient and quiet.

87/ Shwol [Cuol] Deng Dau. Does what is required of him. [Sub-section Abi-Jok]

88/ Kir Lual Kir. Lives at Gobjak near the Shilluk border. Rather a young shirker. His section has much to do with Shilluks. [Sub-section Ajuba-Jok]

89/ Dey Kir. Truculent, dishonest and shirks responsibility. A thoroughly bad hat. Now in prison. Should not be reappointed. Section can come under Deng Gai. [Sub-section Acak-Jok]

90/ [Unidentified] A fairly useful Chief in the past. For two years (1926-27) believed himself to be suffering from a spell and was semi-paralysed from waist down. Spent 6 months in Malakal Hospital and recovered. His ailment was not diagnosed. Has never fully recovered his strength and has become rather a wheedler.

91/ Angun Akai. Lives close to Station. Has good control over section. Runs ramps [i.e. 'swindles'].

92/ Awol Ashwol acting for Makeir Amoryal whose sons both died as Chiefs and whose third son Pok is one of the District motor drivers and will never make a Chief. Makeir is senile and completely brainless. Awol is a nonentity. There is another son of Makeir whose name I have forgotten. This fellow has never had much to do with Government but may be worth trying.⁵⁴ The section is large and although living close to the Station is a nuisance particularly as regards taxes: this is for want of a Leader. [Sub-section Ngau-Jok]

93/ Dau Deng. Appointed in place of Thoi Shan in 1926. Very litigious but can tackle his people. [Sub-section Ngau-Jok]

94/ Awan Ajin. The worst headman in Ngok. Dishonest, cowardly and utterly incapable of doing anything with his section. Should follow Dey Kir when there is an opportunity.

95/ Awol Majuk. An intelligent hardworking Chief. Has authority. Looks young but is well over middle age. [Sub-section Ngau-Jok]

96/ Akey Datwil. Appointed on death of Chief in 1929. Chief died without heirs. Akey looks alright. [Sub-section Awir-Yom]

97/ Bul Agwet. Old and thoroughly useless. Run by his wakils who quarrel with him and amongst themselves. [Sub-section Awir-Yom]

98/ Gai Kir. A very forceful fellow. Ramps [i.e. 'swindles'] but is one of the few Ngok who really is a Chief. Uncommonly intelligent very fond of litigation and sways the other Chiefs by a flood of oratory of which he is master. Has

54. Abiel Makeir, headman in the Ngau section by the mid-1930s (ibid.).

only a small section. [Sub-section Awir-Yom]

99/ [Left blank in text]

100/ Keid Ayey. An intelligent old Chief with authority and a good influence over other Chiefs. [Sub-section Awir-Yom]

101/ Deng Duop. Has a small section of Adong and does well. [Sub-section Adong-Jok]

102/ Deng Bul Ayik. Quiet and reliable. [Sub-section Adong-Jok]

103/ Deng Shwol Fiot. A useful Chief. Extremely litigious. Mixes overmuch with Jellaba and involves himself in dubious transactions. [Sub-section Adong-Jok]

104/ Shwol Dau Abak. Young but very stupid and useless. [Sub-section Adong-Jok]

105/ Akol Ajok. Untrustworthy and lazy but a fairly pleasant manner. [Sub-section Adong-Jok]

106/ Muntong Dabul. A hard working Chief with influence. He and his people foully murdered one Ajang Ballak who had killed Muntong's brother Ago. Ago was a Chief and died of his wound at the Station where he is buried (1925). [Sub-section Diak-Yom]

107/ Shwol Ajal. Stupid and a shirker. [Sub-section Dud-Yom]

108/ Awan Ayom. The most able of the Ngok Chiefs. A strong influence and has complete control over section. Friendly with the Nuers particularly Bul Kan near whom he lives. [Sub-section Baliet-Yom]

109/ Deng Ayey. A decent and reliable Chief but disinclined to take much part in Courts except as an onlooker. [Sub-section Baliet-Yom]

110/ Shigai [Cigai] Deng. Hardworking but timid of his people. [Sub-section Baliet-Yom]

111/ Riak Deng Mayan. Hereditary Paramount of Ngok. Has not yet attained much influence outside his section. Retains his father's privileges as a foil to Ateir Kur and family. Father⁵⁵ was murdered in 1926 by a brother of Ateir Kur 112, with whom there had been and still is an agelong feud, though parties are now quits. Murderer of Deng Mayan was killed as a result of Government action taken vide reports.⁵⁶ Riak has a fiery temper which he must learn to control. Has quarrelled with his brother Awan Ajin and unless watched section

55. Deng Mayan (sometimes spelled 'Deng Maiung') was made *omda* (Turk., 'head chief') of the Ngok Dinka at Gobjak on the Sobat in 1903, but he 'gradually lost influence, his people considering him too zealous in collecting taxes & on behalf of Government generally. Finally he petitioned to resign, as he was afraid of his people. As it was realized that he had lost all influence he was relieved of all responsibility' in 1909, but retained the 'chiefship' since no one else was willing to take it up ('Return of Prominent Persons in Upper Nile—1909', SRO UNP unnumbered). See photograph of him on Plate 2.

56. No official account of this feud has yet been found in Malakal or Akobo.

is likely to become divided. Awan is jealous of one Bang who is inseparable from Riak. Riak was shy and very quiet when first appointed but does not know himself now. Should make a strong paramount when he is older and all going well. [Sub-section Baliet-Yom]

112/ Ateir Kur. Father was Paramount during time of Slave-raiders, hence feud with Mayan family. Brothers Faleig and Athoi are unpleasant fellows, particularly Faleig who has much to do with Shilluk Kujurs.⁵⁷ Section lives on Shilluk border at Gobjak. Ateir is a pleasant enough old man but is getting past his working days.

113/ Wal Kir. A young Chief. Reliable and well mannered.

114/ Lual Kir Jumka. Has no real section of his own. Would make a strong Chief if he had a large section. Good on Courts. [Sub-section Ajuba-Jok]

The following Jureir Chiefs, who will move to Duk District in 1930:⁵⁸

115/ Kor Akwey [Akuei]. Mediocre. [Luac Dinka tribe]

116/ Shwol Akwey [Cuol Akuei] for whom son Lam acts. Both are stupid and of little use. [Duor Dinka tribe]

117/ [Unidentified] At Duk Dist.

118/ Diu Ngor. A thorough ass but works hard. Assisted by one Muinlek. The old Chief Mabiur [Mabior] Lual who died in 1927 was an excellent fellow. Mabiur had no grown sons. [Rut Dinka tribe]

119/ Lat Makwai [see Plate 4]. Useless as is his section.

120/ Ayang Awan. Is not much use. Has a very small section.

121/ Akwey [Akuei] Biel [see Plate 5].⁵⁹ With Garang Weo, runs the Jureir. Very able and intelligent and has been known to Government since the early days. A great humourist. Useful as intelligence agent among the Nuers and commonly known as 'Bashom'. Garang Weo is very jealous of him and Akwey hates Garang Weo. They are supposed to be friends now. [Luac Dinka tribe]

122/ Garang Weo [Wiu] [see Plate 6]. Able and complete control over Luaich. Runs the Jureir with Akwey. Very jealous of Akwey.

123/ Deng Kir [see Plate 7]. Does his work fairly satisfactorily. [Luac Dinka tribe]

124/ Dag Them Jang a young fellow without much character who acts for his

57. For the 'Shilluk kujurs', see Johnson 1985a: 142.

58. Of the following Dinka chiefs, numbers 119, 120, 121, and 122 were no longer listed as chiefs by 1936 (see 'Chiefs and Headmen', cited in n. 16). Their specific tribes, where known, are given in brackets at the end of each entry.

59. Akuei Biel was appointed chief of the Luac Dinka by Coriat. He agreed to lead his people to Bor District, but when they returned to Khor Fulluth he resigned his position as chief and remained behind. Even as a very old man he used to give a fair imitation of Coriat speaking Nuer.

father Them Jang [see Plate 8]. Them [i.e. the father] was a great deal of trouble at one time and the last of the Jureir to become amenable to Government. He still runs his section but is becoming old. [Luac Dinka tribe]

Of the Ballak Chiefs none are worth mentioning except Deng Aiwei Agot 131/. I have been trying to get this Chief to run the whole of Ballak. He is a determined fellow with influence over the others, none of whom are worth calling Chiefs.⁶⁰

Other Dinkas of note are:

Thoi Shan a very cunning rogue with a Kujur wife who was a Chief until 1926 when Dau Deng was appointed in his place. Lives near Abwong.

Koi Athon Ator. A determined and forceful Ngok who would make a good Chief and who is trying to oust Wal Kir. Will have to be watched that he does not give trouble.

Dinkas love litigation.

All the Dinkas have too many Chiefs and they must be got rid of by degrees i.e. the death of a Chief need not mean a new appointment. I have not done anything about this in the past as I have been too occupied with Nuers. Their problems are not the same as those of the Nuers. The young men are easy to handle and the plethora of Chiefs is a nuisance in that you have to deal with more persons and not that the young men will not obey their appointed Chiefs. The scheme I suggest would be to retain the present Chiefs as Headmen and they in turn would be responsible to one Chief from each of the respective divisions, about 6 in number. This will simplify Riak Deng's position as Paramount at some future day.⁶¹

The Ballak are a cause of unnecessary trouble. They are always mixing themselves up with Jekaing and always having trouble with them over fishing and grazing rights. A fortnight on that border with the D.C. Eastern District⁶² would do a lot of good.

Both Nuer and Dinka Courts function well but the great and lasting drawback is lack of Clerks. This can only be overcome when the Mission⁶³ produce literate youths.

The Dinkas have only two Temargia and they must produce more boys.

Both for this and schooling, you require to use a little pressure but they are perfectly contented when they realise their boys are not going to be taken away from them and are going to be of use to them.

60. Ballak Dinka: a group of mixed Dinka-Anuak-Nuer fishermen who inhabit a short stretch of the Sobat. Deng Aiwei was listed as head chief of the Ballak by the mid-1930s (*ibid.*).

61. The number of Dinka chiefs increased to seventy by 1936 (*ibid.*).

62. John Lee, DC Eastern District (Nasir) 1921-9, replaced by C. L. Armstrong, DSO, MC, in December 1929.

63. The American Protestant Mission, Nasir.

It is no use getting Dinka boys for schooling as there is no place you can send them to. I suggest you obtain permission to send them to Malek Mission⁶⁴ otherwise it looks as if you will never have Dinka Clerks.

The Hospital should be enlarged in 1930.

Mayan Lam is a good Interpreter and honest [see Plates 9 and 18]. Personally I think he is the best in the Province but you will have to keep him up to scratch. If you give him a day's leave, he may take two and come back full of excuses but that's roughly the only sort of crime he ever commits. He will report to you when anyone wants to see you at any time of the day or night and whoever the person is. I have insisted on his doing this. It does not follow you will see the nas [Arab., 'people'] at odd times but he has to report. I avoided fining him as he needs all his pay but if necessary you can generally find a punishment to fit the crime. He has never yet had anything to do with the usual Interpreter type of ramp.⁶⁵

The A.M.O. Awad Bakheit is the best I have had in the District. He knows both the Nuers and Dinkas and works hard and can run his Temargis. When he is out on trek with you the Temargis do the work in the Station. They cannot yet give injections. Nothing is charged for Medical treatment unless taken away or injections given in the Station are 10 PT each unless there is a chit from you.

The Felucca crew are used on the Garden when not otherwise required. They receive extra pay for this.

The Herdsmen are all Tribal and are never allowed to wear clothes. There is a large Station herd. The nucleus of the herd were fine cattle. The Friesian bull is not yet doing very well. One died last year.

It would be a mistake to hand over the Friesian to a Chief. There would never be any apparent result and it would be a drop in the ocean. It is better to grade up a Station herd and the Chiefs can then be asked to look at it when there are some cows worth having.⁶⁶

There is also a small sounder of pigs & a flock of goats & sheep.

The General Book⁶⁷ referred to in General Information in respect of District report, now contains in addition, the following:

64. The CMS school at Malek in Bor District.

65. Mayan Lam was the son of Lam Tutthiang, the Lou chief who was arrested and imprisoned in Malakal in 1911. Many of Lam's children learned to speak Arabic there, and he subsequently became a staunch ally of the government, coming to settle near Abwong. Mayan's main job was to translate from Nuer into Dinka. While employed by the government he was sent to the American Mission school at Nasir to learn to read and write. Alban praised him highly and even proposed to make him a chief (A. H. Alban, 'Abwong District', 20.12.30, NRO Civsec 57/2/8 and SAD 212/14/214; A. H. Alban to governor UNP, 14.12.31, SRO UNP 66.B.11). The Nuer remember him as an honest man who translated correctly and did not take bribes to present cases favourably, as other interpreters used to do.

66. Coriat had originally been very enthusiastic about this experiment, criticising Struvé for his scepticism about its value and praising Willis for pushing it forward.

67. Not found.

Roll of Chiefs' Police.
 Annual exp. & Grant Grass clearing & Sanitation.
 Grant & Expenditure Landing Grounds.
 Medical statistics and receipts.
 General cattle account, this includes, cattle from Malakal, Patrol cattle
 etc. and all cattle other than Tribute, shown in Tribute book.
 Chiefs' Courts receipts & Expenditure.
 Rifles & Small Arms on charge.
 Markets in District.
 Traders Tax assessment.
 List of Discharged Soldiers & Police in District.
 Devolution expenditure.

I have placed notes in the relevant pages in this book relative to the various headings.

Devolution and road estimates will have to go in for 1930. Also grant required from Provincial budget for Local Services.

These notes should be read in conjunction with 'General Information in respect of District' report.

If there is any further information you require or anything not understood, please let me know. I am doing this away from the Station and there may be things I have forgotten.

The general Policy laid down is a Native Administration. I have interpreted this in the following way and have tried to work on these lines.

Peace. That is, because authority is to be maintained in the Chiefs, there can be no reason why there should be innumerable intersection fights and fights have been punished with severe fines.

I do not think a Chief should obtain fine cattle as a result of blood feuds and Shieng fights, and any fines collected either by Government or Chiefs go to Government. They will eventually go to a fund administered by the Chiefs themselves but not to the Chief's pocket.

Devolution of Authority. It is no use giving a Chief authority to do this or that if he has not the means or the will to control his own people and the sections have had to be disciplined and still have to be in some cases. If the Chiefs had the requisite influence it would be different but as yet they have not got authority on their own and without a backing as regards the Nuer is concerned. Given a Chief with determination and provided he is loyal, he should get all the moral and material backing he wants. There are not many Chiefs of this sort and that is why our problems are not those of Mongalla [Province] and Uganda etc.

Tribal Integrity. I do not allow long shirts, i.e. Arab clothes in the District. The

Ngok have now evolved a national dress (a sort of Toga with belt)⁶⁸ of their own and there is no reason why the Lau should not do the same. As soon as the odd lad is allowed to put on a jellabia he apes the Jellaba in manners and behaviour. This seems a small matter but I think it counts. Tribal boys are not encouraged to go to Malakal. In the past a fellow had to put on a shirt and talk Arabic before he could get near or curry favour with the 'Turk'. He is now just as proud of being a Nuer or Dinka in the Station as out of it and the people themselves realise that they mean just as much to Government as the Policeman, Peddlar or watercarrier in the Station.

The Foot Police and the escort of Mounted Police have no authority whatever with the Tribes except under your orders.

The Serraf has to show as much respect to the Chiefs as he would to an Arab Patriarch.

No Government Policeman is allowed under any circumstances whatever to leave the Station, either to collect tribute or people or any other reason. The only time Government Police have been outside the Station is when they have accompanied me as my escort. None of the Chiefs' Police are ex-soldiers or Police except Ruot Malwal of the small Rueng settlement at Kofkiot about whom I left you a separate note. Ruot is an ex-U.N.P. Policeman and is a special case.

All employees, watercarriers, herdsmen, sweepers, labourers are Tribal and local.

Authority of Chiefs. In their present stage of development, the more influence a Chief can obtain the better and other than blood feuds or fights as mentioned above, I have been quite prepared to hear a Chief has pocketed a fine off somebody or other for disobedience or truculence.

It is very unlikely to occur but you will soon hear of any abuse of authority on the part of Chiefs. If you do get complaints of this sort, probably the first ones will be from Tribesmen talking Arabic and general hangers on.

Kujurs when they crop up will require to be watched very closely and I think I failed in this, otherwise the 1928 Patrol would not have happened. (Don't down all Kujurs.)

Chiefs' Police [see Plates 9 and 10]. They are really the backbone of the Native administration at this stage. They are more reliable than the Chiefs, do not fear their people, being young bloods themselves and have an amazing esprit de corps. They are produced by the Chiefs and selected by the D.C., because until the Chiefs (I think they do now) realise what we are driving at, they imagine the most suitable fellow is the Arabic speaking hanger on.

Chiefs' Police start and end on 10 pt. per month pay plus a red armlet. They are given a toga of cloth as they are inclined to be shy if in Malakal.

68. A *loua*, the same in Shilluk.

They are responsible to Government as well as to their own Chiefs.

Courts. There are too many Chiefs functioning because I did not want to discourage people at the start and it was difficult to get a few strong Chiefs who were not afraid of giving decisions at the Courts without the moral backing of all the other Chiefs. This need not apply now and both with the Dinka and Nuer, the time has arrived for selection of the more important Chiefs to sit on Courts.

With the Dinkas this can apply to general Administrative purposes but with the Nuers it will have to be tentative.

In conclusion, I think the Nuers are a fine people and believe you will like them as you will the Dinkas in the District. They will seem stupid and probably deceitful at first but not when you know them.

As an instance of how one can get a mistaken impression, you might easily camp by some Luak and ask the owner whose it is. He might reply that it was Chief so and so's hut (naming his Chief) and you would thereupon ask him where the Chief was and he would say he was on a journey somewhere. You would then go away thinking it was the Chief's hut you had visited, to find out later that it was not and would conclude that the fellow was a liar and trying to deceive. All he meant was to please you and as his name conveyed nothing to you and he knew you knew the Chief, he had thought that by telling you that the hut belonged to his Chief you would be pleased and think what a sensible fellow he was.

I do not know whether the above conveys what I am trying to get at but I cannot think of any other way of impressing that they have got to be tackled with patience and that at present one should not deal with the Chief only to the exclusion of the ordinary people. For some time, unless they know you, they probably will not care much who their Chief is. This as far as the Nuer is concerned, but it is through the D.C.'s backing that they will respect and obey their chiefs & ultimately appoint them. There will be a lot of hard work and shidding [Arab., 'moving from one point to another'] in the District before one can sit back and watch the Chief's administration functioning.

The Nuer Settlement was not a punitive patrol against the Lau but an attempt to hasten up organisation and discipline and control by Chiefs and to assist the settlement in Gaweir. That is, a final [end] to the Patrols and marches of past days and which still seem to go on in some Districts where the administration is supposed to be more advanced and peaceable.

- I attach Appendices A & B.
 A. List of Political Prisoners Gun Lau settlement.
 B. Road work division. [Missing]

Asst. Dist. Commissioner

SGS *Kerreni*⁶⁹

6.5.29

Copy to Governor U.N.P.

APPENDIX A: POLITICAL PRISONERS GUN LAU NUER⁷⁰

Shieng Dul. Chiefs Biey Rieg & Maiker Thijok.

Shan Bul	Malakal
Munjang Dup	..
Tutgwong [Tutbwong] Kwainwor	..
Chag Buinlieth	..
Nyoi Kyeir	..
Shwol Thijok ⁷¹	..
Nyong Machar	..
Galwak Wuth	..
Diu Tut	..
Thor Rih [Rin]	..
Chief Maikyeir [Maker] Thijok	..

Shieng Manthiep. Chief Dtho Dieng.

Shwol Koryom	Malakal
Ngoin Loin	..
Darwey Joag	..
Dwoth Gyeir	..
Mua Dog	..
Kai Buth	..
Chief Dtho Dieng	Abwong

Shieng Fulkir. Chiefs Lam Wel, Kwain Mal, Kong Wuth, Ding Twil.

Char Dup	Malakal
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69. SGS *Kerreni*, the floating headquarters of DC Western Nuer (see above, Introduction, n. 31).

70. This is virtually the same list given in 'Nuer Settlement Prisoners Southern District, Abwong Lau', NRO UNP 1/6/43, but variations in spellings found in the latter are noted here in brackets.

71. Cuol Thijok: brother of Maiker, on whom see n. 34.

Dayim Gon	Malakal
Yey Shwol	..
Shwol Reth	..
Buth Yar	..
Bul Pet	..
Wol Wai ⁷²	..
Mun Loga	..
Dag Joag	..
Wan Gai [Wangai]	..
<i>Shieng Nyajakan. Chiefs Rial Mai, Chag Gaing, Pur Tiop, Chokwel Dthwor.</i>	
Shantoi Mabeg [Mabeb]	Malakal
Deng Keirjok	Brother of Kujur Pok, killed attempting to escape on 17.4.29
Lil Juba	Malakal
Kwiyat Kwi	..
Buth Yi	..
Galwak Nyang	..
Nyak Tong	..
Latjor Dup	..
Shan Tut	..
Ruot Muk	..
Kong Bul	..
Deng Wandwol	..
<i>Shieng Matbel. Chiefs Goy Thuin & Thainpin Dul.</i>	
Deng Kuin	Malakal
Kweylual [Kweyluar] Roa ⁷³	..
Luak Bitho	..
Reth Juai	..
Lul Kuin [Kwiw]	..
Shwol Diu	..
Kun Loi	..
Luh [Luk] Joag	..
Lul Bikai	..
Dthar Yuol	..
Diu Ki	..
<i>Shieng Lang [Leng]. Chiefs Luak Lam & Gwel Poich.</i>	
Lam Thon	Malakal

72. Wol Wai was released for reasons of health on 27.07.29 (Acting governor UNP to officer commanding, no.7 coy Equatorial Corps, Malakal, 26.07.29, NRO UNP 1/6/43).

73. Kweylual Roa was released with Wol Wai for the same reasons; see preceding note.

Pog Pan	Malakal	
Gaing Kan	..	
Ngun Munjang	..	
Riak Kweth	..	
Fathot Chodwey	..	
Shwol [Shol] Rut	..	
Chang [Can] Kwain	..	
Majug [Majog] Wi	..	
Dul Kai	..	
Giel Lulog	..	
Kweth Diu [Diow]	..	
Gai Trel [Twil]	..	
Kong Garakwoth	..	
Shan Wel [Wal]	..	
Pod Poal	..	
Nyangweg Chai	..	} Of Shieng Lam Headman Chamjog Chai
Shan Bidong	..	
Rieg Log	..	

Shieng Tiang. Subshieng Goal. Chief Ngwoth Kuin.

Shwol Rueh [Rueth]	Malakal
Reth Rih	..
Leir Deng	..
Pok Kashwol	..
Turuk Kweka	..
Rom Let	..
Mut Belyu	..
Nyith Gweir ⁷⁴	..
Gaing Kyeth	..
Shwol Puh	..
Jik Buth	..

Shieng Matchok. Chiefs Web Turial & Kol Gai.

Tut Wuth	Malakal
Nangwot [Bangot] Thiang	..
Reng Bul	..
Thod Dup	..
Kweth Jith [Jish]	..
Yuek Dag	..
Bul Thiep	..
Lul Ton [Thow]	..

74. A chiefs' policeman.

Sbieng Yuong. Chiefs Nuer Ganur, Lam Thon, Yik Turog, Changath Rueh.

Gai Wanjang	Malakal
Kir Kwangag	..
Kweth Diu	..
Nuot Kweylual	..
Niak Ngwot	..
Jish Lual	..
Bitho Kai	..
Kwol Rueh	..

Sbieng Shish. Chief Gwet Thi.

Dwoth Pod	Malakal
Diu Gut	.. —Gaweir Nuer
Shwol Diu	..
Luin Met	..
Kwoin Fathot	..
Dag Dwot	..
Reth Wundeng ⁷⁵	.. —Of Wundeng Deng- kur family

75. Reath Ngundeng: Ngundeng's eldest legitimate son (his eldest son, Riam, had quarrelled with his father and had gone to live among the Jikany before the turn of this century).

SECTION TWO

Fixing the Boundary

FIXING THE BOUNDARY: INTRODUCTION

ONE of the most contentious issues in the pre-First World War administration of the Nuer was the regulation of the Nuer-Dinka border between the Gaawar, Lou, Nyareweng and Ghol. The main conflict between the Gaawar and Ghol was land: the Gaawar had occupied Ghol land on the Duk ridge since the 1890s, and the Ghol wanted it back. The Ghol generally tried to use the government to restore the land to them, and this was one reason why the Gaawar continued to mistrust the government after Deng Laka died in 1907. A tribal and provincial boundary was fixed between the Gaawar and Ghol in 1909-10, with the hope that this would regulate intertribal movements and prevent intertribal fighting. It was spectacularly unsuccessful in achieving either objective, and government attempts to enforce the border only contributed to the tension and antagonism between the peoples it separated. The inclusion of Duk Fayuil in the Upper Nile Province in 1926 helped to remove the provincial rivalry which had aggravated border disputes in the past. Nevertheless, a tribal boundary between Nuer and Dinka remained government policy well into the 1930s, despite reservations expressed by many district officials (Johnson 1982*a*).

After 1918 there were closer and friendlier relations between the Gaawar and the government, especially after Coriat's appointment to Ayod. It was therefore easier than in the past for the government to appear to be dealing with border problems even-handedly. Thus when a border clash occurred in 1925 it was possible for Coriat, Major Wyld (DC Duk Fayuil) and the Gaawar and Ghol chiefs involved to meet and reach an agreement (doc. 2.1 below).

With the outbreak of hostilities between the Nuer and government in 1928, however, the government adopted a sterner and more punitive attitude towards the Nuer and their Dinka boundary. In 1929 a no man's land was declared between Gaawar, Lou and their Dinka neighbours, ostensibly for the greater control of the Nuer and the protection of the Dinka. At the time this policy was enforced Coriat was no longer involved in the administration of either the Lou or Gaawar, but since no one else seemed to know precisely where the old tribal boundaries ran, his advice was eventually sought (doc. 2.2 below). By that time it was evident that a tribal no man's land was unrealistic and unenforceable. Both the no man's land and the tribal boundary were abandoned five years later.

SETTLEMENT OF OL DINKA-GAWEIR NUER BOUNDARY DISPUTE

Between 1918, when Dual Diu submitted to the government, and 1925 there were many Nuer invasion scares among the Dinka of Bor district, but no invasions. The government attributed these rumours either to Dinka nervousness or Dinka intrigue. In 1925 a fight did occur along the Gaawar-Ghol border, and it appeared as if the Gaawar might invade the Dinka after all, as they had done in 1914 and 1916. Coriat was sent to the border in December 1925 to effect an agreement between the disputing parties.

This is his report of the border meeting which took place at the end of 1925. It is notable for many points which should alter standard interpretations of Nuer-Dinka hostility. First, the Gaawar movement south along the Duk ridge was precipitated by ecological factors (the alteration of water distribution following the 1916-18 floods), not by internal political segmentation. Secondly, the conflict following the movement came about through the extension of Nuer inter-sectional feuds into Dinka territory, with the Dinka siding with one Gaawar section but not becoming directly involved in any fighting themselves. Thirdly, the Gaawar, through Dual Diu, were prepared to accept mediation and a restriction on their movements. This willingness to negotiate was due in no small part to the personal friendship between Coriat and Dual.

SETTLEMENT OF OL DINKA—GAWEIR NUER BOUNDARY DISPUTE
BY DISTRICT COMMISSIONERS DINKA—NUER DISTRICT
MP [MONGALLA PROVINCE] AND SOUTHERN DISTRICT UNP

The District Commissioners Abwong and Duk Faywil¹ met at DUK FADIAT on 17.12.1925.

The D.C. Abwong was accompanied by Chief Dwal Diu (9)² and about 200 retainers and other minor Gaweir chiefs.

The D.C. Duk Faywil had with him Chief Mankweir Mahbub [Moinkuer Mabur]³ of the Ol and other Dinkas.

In order to prevent any possible friction it was decided that Chief Dwal's men should return to their homes and the D.Cs. then proceeded to Duk Faywil accompanied by Chiefs Dwal and Mankweir each with a few chiefs and personal retainers. Two days were spent at Duk Faywil in investigating the causes of the dispute and examining both parties separately and a return was made to Duk Fadiat on 21.12.1925.

The Chiefs were instructed to proceed direct to Amiel for the second meeting, while the D.Cs. made a tour along the line of the boundary from a point two miles north of Duk Fadiat westwards through Fachok, thence to Amiel by Wey Borley and Wey Thorley which covered the area in dispute.

Considerable difficulty was experienced in following the boundary line defined by Struvé, Owen and Fox at Wirfoi in 1910, owing to the uncertainty of the west fula of Khor Kabaij and the absence of any record of Captain Fox's exact delimitation.⁴

As arranged Chiefs Dwal and Mankweir met the D.Cs. at Amiel on the morning of 23.12.1925.

It was found that the chief cause of the trouble was the presence on the boundary of a few of the weaker Gaweir Shens, including Shen Kan Boi⁵ (referred to later) who was not connected with Dwal or concerned with the original settlement made after Machar Diu's invasion.

The erection of four 'Luaks' at Wey Thorley some few months ago by Dwal Diu led to fighting with Shen Boi and this brought matters to a head with the Dinka for the following reasons: After Shen Boi's expulsion from Gaweir (ref. inter-Shen feuds. Gaweir S.C.R. dated Fasheir)⁶ they migrated into Dinka

1. Major J. W. G. Wyld.

2. For the numbers in parentheses in this document, see above, Gaawar section lists, in docs. 1.2 and 1.3.

3. See above, doc. 1.3 n. 7.

4. See above, doc. 1.3.

5. Kan Boi was the leader of the small *cieng* Boi (named after his father), until his death in 1922. See above, doc. 1.3 n. 26.

6. The only known surviving documents describing the feud between Dual and Kan Boi are

country south of Duk Fadiat. Later they were given a village at Folo by Mankweir Mahbub's father⁷ who took them under his protection. Some years after this and after Machar's death [1914], the country now in dispute having been vacated by both Dinka and Nuer was settled in by Shen Boi with the approval of Mankweir.

With the exception of a small fight between Shen Boi and chief Dwal Diu's (9) section in 1916⁸ matters remained peaceable although as it is known Dinka rumours of Gaweir invasion have been persistent.⁹ In addition to Shen Boi's settlement, other Gaweir from Fasheir and Dongayo (north of the boundary) filtered in and occupied the country close to Shen Boi without protest from the Dinkas. Turning to more recent events, it is evident that the Duk ridge has lost its attraction for the Gaweir since the flood years 1916-18 and Shens have drifted back to their old country west of the ridge.

Dwal himself, whose first village on the ridge was Buk, gradually moved South in search of better grazing and water for his cattle and possibly with designs upon the more desirable pastures of the Dinkas. In any case the latter was the motive ascribed to Dwal by the Dinkas.¹⁰

This Chief's present village at Turawo (or Turug [Turu]) is poor in grazing ground and ill supplied with water and separated from the dry season 'Toich' by a large waterless stretch of country. To the west along the northern side of the boundary, the plains are inhabited by sections of Shens Tod (4) and Bedeed (1) of Gaweir although this is the country originally occupied by Dwal's brother Machar during his conquests, which he afterwards vacated. This appears to have been one of the reasons for Dwal's move to Wey Thorley, which lies on open country about one mile south of Wey Borley and Shen Tod (4) and an equal distance north of Nkak [Okak], Shen Boi's village, which is also occupied by some of Mankweir's men.

This move was looked upon by Shen Boi as the preliminary to a further attack on them by Dwal in [an] attempt to reopen the old blood feud and by the Dinkas as a recommencement of the old Gaweir land raids, confirming

listed in n. 8 below.

7. See above, doc. 1.3 n. 7.

8. This fight took place in April 1918 (Abdulla Kher el Sid, MT, OC detachment 12th Sudanese, Awoi to OC Upper Nile District, 10.04.18, and inspector Bor District to governor, Mongalla Province, 25.04.18, both in SRO UNP SCR 14; also MPMIR April 1918, NRO Intel 2/48/408). Subsequent to this fight men from *cieng* Boi captured some of Dual's cattle and fled to the Lou (MPMIR October 1918, NRO Intel 2/48/408 and SRO TD SCR 36.H.2).

9. Contemporary reports of these rumours can be found in MPMIR: Dec. 1918, March 1921, June-July-Aug.-Sept. 1922, Sept. and Oct. 1924, NRO Intel 2/48/408 and SRO TD SCR 36.H.2; and governor, Upper Nile Province, to governor, Mongalla Province, 19.12.20, SRO UNP SCR 14.A.5.

10. See above, doc. 1.3. Dual came grazing near Duk Fadiat, complaining of lack of water and bad pastures around his home as early as the dry season of 1920 (Ibrahim Abd el Rahman, mamur Kongor to governor, Mongalla, 09.06.20, SRO UNP 66.B.11).

Dwal's threat to descend on Amiel, the heart of Mankweir's section and a Dinka Kujur centre. Actual hostilities at Wey Thorley were started by Shen Boi, although they were the only sufferers, losing one killed and two wounded. After discussion it was decided that:-

1. Kongleir and Wey Borley were definitely Gaweir.
2. Nkak was definitely Dinka.
3. That all country between these villages should remain unoccupied for the present.
4. This country will only be reoccupied by mutual consent of the Dinkas and Nuers and after reference to Government.
5. Shen Boi and other Gaweir to return to their own country in order to remove all cause of jealousy.

The following day in order to give effect to the above, Shen Boi and section of Shodgwar (13) and Tod (4) of Gaweir were evacuated and all huts burnt.

Chiefs and their followers then accompanied the D.Cs. through Nkak and the neutral territory to Kongleir in Gaweir where the final meeting was held before the parties dispersed to their homes.

The Nuers and Dinkas affirmed complete understanding of all arrangements and the limits of their respective territories. Owing to limited time and lack of requisite instruments it was found impossible to define an exact boundary for record. The D.Cs. agreed to do this as soon as possible and before any further misunderstandings can arise [see Fig. 1, in doc. 2.2 below].

In view of the fact that the Chiefs behaved extremely well and the absence of any friction between the parties, it is hoped that inter tribal feeling will cease to be hostile and in course of time may even become friendly now that the chief cause jealousy has been removed by the evacuation of Shen Boi.

The D.C. Abwong arranged that Shen Boi should return to their original home at Fasheir [Pacier]¹¹ and promised an enquiry into the blood feud between them and the Shen Giel (Chief Dwal.9) with a view to a final settlement.

The D.C. Abwong was favourably impressed by the behaviour of Chief Mankweir Mahbub and whatever his past history this young Chief now shows himself to be possessed of good sense and anxious to maintain his territory in peace.

The constant rumours of Gaweir invasion in the past have undoubtedly been due to one or two of his prejudiced and influential followers.

There is evidence to show that Dwal himself has followers equally prejudiced and anxious to intimidate the Dinkas. Among these may be cited the following:-

11. It had been proposed as early as April 1918 to repatriate *ciengs* Boi and Bedid to their old homes (Inspector Bor District to governor, Mongalla Province, 28.04.18, SRO UNP SCR 14).

Gaweir

Biel Diu.¹² A brother of Dwal already known for his aversion to Government and cunning and intriguing character.

Ruob Gyark [Ruop Joak].¹³ An ex-U.N.P. policeman of one year's standing with predatory instincts.

Dinka

Kwol Ateir. A cunning and soft spoken sub-Chief extremely prejudiced to Dwal and related by marriage to Shen Boi.

Deng Amon. An aggressive and quick tempered sub-Chief.

The D.Cs. agreed that for some years to come it will be necessary to maintain supervision over affairs on the tribal boundary and the necessity of an efficient post at Ayod or some other position in Southern Gaweir is still apparent.

Kongleir

Christmas Day, 1925

12. See above, doc. 1.3 n. 15, and below, doc. 3.3.

13. See above, doc. 1.3 n. 16.

NUER-DINKA RE SETTLEMENT INTERTRIBAL BOUNDARY

In 1927–8 the government fought the Lou prophet Guek Ngundeng because of his refusal to organize road work among his section of the Lou (see Section 3 below). Many Lou fled to the Gaawar, where they were followed by Coriat and a column of troops. The outcome was that Dual Diu broke with the government and raided the Dinka and government outposts at Duk Fadiat and Duk Fayuil in August 1928.¹

At the end of 1929 the government decided to end the war with a massive forced resettlement, known as the 'Nuer Settlement'. The Lou and Gaawar were ordered into specific concentration areas, while a no man's land between the Nuer and Dinka (employed as a demilitarized zone) further restricted Nuer movements. Coupled with the no man's land was the policy of mass repatriation of Dinka living north of the boundary, to strengthen the southern Dinka by increasing their numbers. The author of this policy was C. A. Willis, governor of Upper Nile from 1927 to 1931. Before retiring from the province in 1931 he reaffirmed his instructions to his DCs 'that Dinka should go to Dinka country and Nuer to Nuer',² as the cornerstone of the new administrative policy regarding the two peoples.

This order was impossible to enforce. The Rut and Thoi Dinka living with the Gaawar refused to be transferred to the political control of Ghol and Nyareweng Dinka leaders. The Luac Dinka living on the Khor Fulluth were forcibly expelled from their homes and arrived in their new settlements just in time for a rinderpest epidemic, a locust plague, and general flooding. They soon drifted back home to the Khor Fulluth against government orders. The

1. See Wedderburn-Maxwell 1928; Wyld 1928; Dual Diu 1930; Gaawar texts 4.8, in Johnson, in preparation.

2. C. A. Willis, governor, Upper Nile Province, to district commissioners, Zeraf Valley & Bor and Duk, 15.03.31, SRO UNP 66.B.11.

Rumjok Lou living next to the Nyareweng Dinka also refused to leave those of their homes designated as part of the no man's land.

The two strongest advocates of both the no man's land and the repatriation policy had been governor Willis and Major Wylde, the DC for Bor and Duk District. Both left the province in 1931. The new governor, A. G. Pawson, was clearly unhappy with the policy he had inherited. He sought Coriat's advice, though he was now the DC for the Western Nuer and was not involved in enforcing the new policy. Coriat, too, had his reservations. The advice he offered in this document was pragmatic, based on an appreciation of recent Nuer-Dinka relations. Both of Coriat's successors, Captain Alban among the Lou and Wedderburn-Maxwell among the Gaawar, gave similar recommendations to those outlined here. Pawson eventually began to reverse Willis's policy in 1933, and the no man's land was abolished in 1936 (Johnson 1982a: 200).

Governor³

Upper Nile Province

Malakal

In accordance with your instructions—I have attempted to give an outline of the past history and general sequence of events which led to the resettlement of Nuer and Dinka sections on the east bank of the Zeraf.

I am writing from memory and my statements may not be entirely accurate.

Past History

Until 1910 there was no recognised boundary between LAU and GAWEIR Nuer and the Duk sections of the Dinka. Up to that time the history of the border was a succession of Nuer raids and encroachment of Dinka territory by the Nuer; partly by conquest, partly by a process of absorption. In 1910 the boundary was defined, Nuer were confirmed in possession of land conquered by them and it was agreed that there should be no violation by either side of the line drawn until such time as the Nuer and Dinka could by mutual consent live together.

The delimitation was as follows:-

West to the Khor KABAIJ east to the Khor FULUS [Fulluth], through MANKWAKA, FATITET, JUAT, FANYOK, WARAWAR, DUK WARAWAR. GAWEIR to the North, Dinka to the South. (Struvé, Owen, and Fox at WIRFWOI).

Raids continued and in 1914 the GAWEIR under MACAR DIU occupied a number of Dinka villages whence they were ejected by the 1914 Patrol but to

3. A. G. Pawson: Introduction, n. 56.

which they returned in 1915.⁴ Conditions on the border remained unsettled but there were no further conquests by the Nuer.

In 1926⁵ there was considerable agitation among the Dinka owing to occupation by the Nuer of land close to or on the border. The Nuer were removed after a meeting by the District Commissioners concerned (Wyld and Coriat) [and] a strip of territory on the west side of the Duk ridge was declared No Man's Land. The line WEY BORLEY to the Zeraf was established as the Southern limit of the Nuer and OKAK to the Zeraf as the Northern limit of the Dinka. Villages between the lines were destroyed. The Gaweir appealed against this but there was no further aggression on their part.

Though the Lau Nuer occasionally assisted their Gaweir brothers in raids against the Dinka, conquered territory went to the Gaweir and relations between the Lau Nuer and Duk Dinka were on the whole friendly. Those sections of the Lau who lived in LANG and adjacent to the Dinka are probably 60% Dinka. In fact so great has been absorption of Dinka by Lau that possibly not more than 60% of the Lau as a whole are pure bred Nuer.⁶

Nuer Settlement

Trouble throughout the Nuer areas led to the Nuer Settlement. One of the objects of the Settlement was to establish a No Man's Land between Dinka and Nuer as an effective bar to Nuer aggression.

Primarily the Gaweir were concerned and at the conclusion of operations, all Nuer villages South of Ayod were ordered to move North or off the Duk ridge.

This decision affected the Rut Dinka living in and near Fangak, the LUANG DENG Dinka of central Gaweir,⁷ the Dinka sections living near LAU country East of Duk Fadiat and the sections of Dinka occupying the banks of the Khor Fulus from KAN to the mouth of the Khor. A number of these sections were willing and anxious to move but others, particularly the FULUS people who had for years been friendly with the LAU and who lived close by their brothers, the NGOK Dinka of Abwong, were loath to move.

As an outcome of this policy which in effect was Nuer to Nuer and Dinka to Dinka, and in order that there should be an unoccupied area between the

4. For a history of Macar Diu's raids, see Kulang Majok, text 2.5, in Johnson, in preparation.

5. December 1925 (see above, doc. 2.1).

6. Evans-Pritchard gave an estimate of 50%-75% (1933: 5, 53), while Crazzolara estimated 50% (1953: 36).

7. See above, doc. 1.3.

Lau Nuer and the Dinka, all Nuer sections living South of the old Upper Nile Province Mongalla boundary line were with a few exceptions ordered to evacuate. The whole of the LANG area is South of this line.

Present Position

The Fulus Dinka have moved. They were ejected by force and there may still be backsliders.⁸

The Fulus country is essentially a durra growing one and unfitted for Nuer occupation.

The Nuer in LANG never intended to move and have no intention of moving now. Short of prolonged operations by mounted police with a District Commissioner nothing will induce them to move. It is doubtful whether even this would be successful. The Lang country supplies excellent water and grazing for Nuer cattle. The Lau country as a whole is notably short of dry season camping grounds and their only other outlet, without LANG, is west to the Gaweir 'Toich' or east into Anuak country on the GENI and PIBOR.⁹

Evacuation of LANG is to make the whole country from approximately south of the line FADDOI, MWOT DID to the Mongalla hills a vast uninhabited area. The result of settling Dinka on the Duk ridge in the country immediately south of Ayod has been to abolish any advantages which may have been obtained by the decision to declare a neutral territory between the two tribes. Thus we have, as regards the Dinka and Gaweir, reverted to a boundary between the two tribes, whereas between the Dinka and Lau who were least affected by a No Man's Land, there is a large tract of neutral territory containing some of the best land in their domains. To allow the Nuer grazing in Lang and prevent permanent occupation would mean neither one thing nor the other to the people and would be quite impracticable.

Conclusion

I am not qualified to give an opinion as to whether or not the border policy should be reconsidered but I am convinced that it will be difficult if not impossible to carry out present intentions quite apart from any hardship to the

8. Almost all the Luac had returned to the Fulluth by early 1933.

9. For discussions of the excessive seasonal dryness of Lou country, see Evans-Pritchard 1940: 118-19 and Jonglei Investigation Team 1954: 144-5.

people concerned without protracted forcible measures.

It might however be possible without reversing previous decisions to modify the general terms of the policy.

Any Fulus sections who do not wish to live with the Southern Dinka could be allowed to return to their homes.

The Lau might be allowed to occupy the Lang and neutral territory could be restricted to a narrow strip of country running from the Duk ridge east to the eastern edge of the Dinka and thence south.

Roughly this would run as shown in the diagram below:

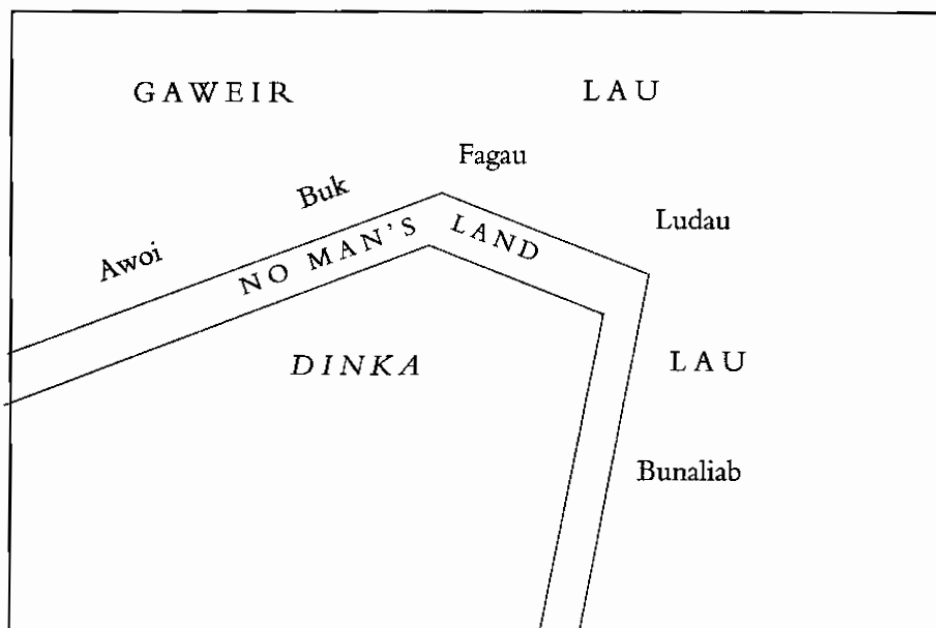


FIG. 1 Nuer-Dinka boundary, 1931

The suggestion is a tentative one and the District Commissioner concerned may produce a better and easier solution.

Malakal
28th November 1931

P.C.
District Commissioner
Western Nuer