

ወራራት ብለን

ካብ ብሪታኒያ ሱንድስትሮም 1869-1919 ተአክቦ ጽሑፋት ትርጉም - ካብ ትግረ ናብ ትግርኛ - አቶ ገብሩ ክፍለ 1998

(ደጊያት ውቤ ካብ ሰሜን - አምሓራ ኣብ ኤርትራ ኣብ 1840ታት ብተዳጋጋሚ ይዘምት ነይሩ። ኣብ 1855 ብ ካሳ ቴድሮስ ተማሪኹ።)

ደጊያት ውቤ ንዓንሰባ ዘመቶ እሞ ኣብኡ ማእለያ ዘይብሉ ህዝቢ ኣጥፊኤ፡ ብዙሓት ጥሪትውን ወሰደ። ብብዝሒኹ ህዝቢ ዓጋዜን መህደሚ ስኢንን ብእዛንን ተታሒዞን ይሕረዳ ነበራ።

ካብ ኩላተን እተን ዓድታት እኸላ ዘይተወሰደን ገዛውታ ዘይነደደን ዓዲ ያና እያ። ምኸንያቱ ከአንክንቲባ ወልደጋብር ሓብትናኡ ኣብኡ ተመርዕዮ ስለ ዝነበረት እዩ ብሳልኣ ተረፈት። ናይዚ ወራር መራሕ ዝነበረ ከንቲባ ወልደጋብር እዩ። ኩሉን ዝመቱወን ጥሪትን ንብረትን ሓዞም ዓዲ ንአምን ምስ በጽሑ፡ ካብ ኩሉ ዕሽር ኣውጽኡ፡ ካብቲ ዕሽር ንክንቲባ ወልደጋብር ሽሕ በጽሑ።

ደሐር ሐደ ሰብኣይ በዓል ትምባኸ፡ እዞም ሰባት ውሉፋት ዮም ዝኾኑ ኢሉ ብናይ ትምባኸ ጎጎታትን ጥምቢን ዝመልኤ ለቆትኡ ሓዞ ናብኣቶም እናኸደ እንከሎ ዓይላይ ተቐብሎ እሞ ሃበኒ በሎ፡ ንሱ ከአ ሓደ ጎጎን ጥምቢን ሃቡ። ሽዑ ዓይላይ ንርእሱ ሰትዩ፡ ነቲ ሰብኣይ ናብ ከንቲባ ወልደጋብር ሓዞም መጽገሞ፡ ሐደ ሰብኣይ በዓል ትምባኸን ጥንቢን ረኸቦ በሎ። ከንቲባ ወልደጋብር ከአ ሓዞኹም ምጻእ በሎ።

ሽዑ እቲ በዓል ትምባኸ ገጸ በረኸት ኢሉ ሓምሽተ ጎጎን ጥንቢን ንክንቲባ ወልደጋብር ኣውጺኡ ሃቡ። ሽዑ ወልደጋብር ክሳብ ዝኣኸሎ ሰትዩ፡ ደሐር ንዓይላይ፡ ነዚ ሰብኣይ ናይተን ንዓይ ዝሃበኒ ሓምሽተ ጎጎ ሓምሽተ ላም ሃቡ። ሰለስተ ካብተን ጅጅዓት ክልተ ከአ ረብዓት ፍለዩሉ። ናይተን ጥምቢ ከአ ክልተ ብዕራይ፡ ኩልኩለን ካብተን ከብተይ ሸውዓተ ፈሊኻ ሃቡ በሎ።

እሞ እቲ ሰብኣይ ብዓል ትምባኸ ኣብተን ሓምሽተ ጎጎን ጥንቢን ሸውዓተ ከብቲ ተዋህቡ። ድሕርዚ ከአ ከንቲባ ወልደጋብር ካብዚ ሰብኣይ ዝዓደገ ዘበለ፡ ኣብ ሓንቲ ጎጎ ጣዕዋ ይሃቦ በለ። እሞ ዝዓደገ ዘበለ ኩሉ ኣብ ሓንቲ ጎጎ ጣዕዋ እናሃቡ፡ ወዮ ሰብኣ ኣብ ማዓልቱ ጉዋሳኡ ኣውፈረ።

እሞ እቶም ተጨውዮም ዝነበሩ ከአ ከንቲባ ወልደጋብርን ልጃምን ለሚኖምሎም ተለቂቆም ተመልሱ። መፍለስ ወዲ ተድሮስ ግን ኣይተመልሱን፡ ምስኣቶም ማለት ምስ ውቤ ንሸዋ ኸደ። ዓይድብ ጉዋል ዘርኣይውን ምስኣቶም ከይዳ ኣይተመልሱትን፡ ድሐር ኣብኡ ውቤ ንርእሱ ተመርገዋ።

ውቤ ገናውን ድሕሪ ክልተ ዓመት ንዓንሰባ ደጊሙ ዘመተ። ሽዑ ህዳድ ወዲ ነስረዲን ካብ ሰራዊት ውቤ ንሓደ በርሂ ዝተባህለ በዓል ፈረስ ቀተለ። ንዕኡ ምስ ቀተለ ኣምሓራ ብኣፍራስ ጎዩዩዎ፡ ኣሞ ህዳድ ወዲ ነስረዲን ሃዲሙ፡ ንሱ ግን ሎሚ ዝሃደመ ባርያይ እዩ ቢሉ ደው በለ። ካብኡ እዛዝ ሓዉ መጺኡ ሓዞም ሃደመ።

ካብ ብለን ከአ ተድሮስ ወዲ መሐመድ፡ ኣቦ መፍለስ ተጨውዮ ተኣሲሩ ነበረ። ትግራይ ምስ በጽሑ ዓዲ ኣቡኡ-100 ቅርሺ ሂቦም ኣውጽእዎ። ኣውጺኦም ካብ ትግራይ ሓዞም ክምለሱ እንከለዉ ኣብ ዓድ ተክለዛን ሓደሩ እሞ ከንቲባ ወልደጋብር ከአ ንተድሮስ ወዲ መሐመድ ወሲዱ ኣሰሮ።

እቶም ብጻቱ ከአ፡ እዚ ተድሮስ እንታይ ገበረ፡ ቅድም ውቤ ኣሲሩዎ፡ ካብኡ ኣፍቲሕናዮ እናተመለሰና እንከሎና ንስኻ እትኣስሮ በልዎ። ከንቲባ ወልደጋብር ግብኣ ኣነ ባዕለይ ይፈልጥ በሎም። ተድሮስ ከአ ኣነ ደጊም ኣንታይ ክብል እግዚኣብሂር ባዕሉ ይፍረደኒ በለ። ወልደጋብር ከአ እሞ ይርዳእኻ፡ ንእግዚኣብሂር እውን ንዓኻ ኣስዓብኩዎ፡ ሕጂ ካብ ኢደይ የውጽእኻ በሎ።

ድሐር ዓዲ ሽቦት ሰብኣይና ፍትሓልና ክብሉ ክረድኡ መጽዎ። ንሱ ከአ ሰብኣይኩም ክለቀልኩም ሓምሳ ላም ኣምጽኡ በሎም። ሓምሳ ላም ኣምጺኦም ከአ ሰብኣዮም ኣፍትሑ።

ደሐር ደቂ ሰለሙን ከንቲባ ወልደጋብር ንኣቦና ሃኪን ዝቀተለ እዩ ቢሎም መዓልቲ ይጽበዩሉ ነሮም። ንሱ ከአ ሰጊኡ ጉዋል ኣሕጸዮም። ንሳቶም ከአ ሓምሽተ ጠበንጃ ሃቡዎ። ጠበንጃ ወሲዱ ነቲ ሕጸ ጠለሞም።

ድሕሪ ክንደይ ኣብ ናይ ሐደ ዝተሸመ ሰብ ክብካብ ብዙሕ ሰብ ተኣኪቡ ነበረ። ወልደጋብርውን ኣብኡ ተዓዲሙ መጺኡ ነበረ። ወልደሚካኤል ከአ ዓሳኸሩ ኣኸቲሉ ብኣኡ ኣቢሉ ሓለፈ። እሞ ወልደጋብር ምስ

ረአዮ: "አን ወዲ ተድሮስ እዚ ጋሜታት ደስ አይብለኒን" በለ። ንጽባሒቱ ንግሆ ንፈኸራ መጀመርያ ወልደጋብር ወሪዳ።

"አን ወዲ ተድሮስ ጅግና ስሚ አዳም" ኢሉ ፈከረ። ሽዑ ወልደሚካኤል አብ ዝባን ፈረሱ ከይዱ ዓሳኸሩ አኸቲቱ መጸ። ወልደጋብር ኮፍ ኢሉ እንከሎ ወልደሚካኤል ፈረሱ ጥቓ ወልደጋብር ደው አቢሉ። ጅግና ፈረሰኛ እን ሓው ተመርጸ ኢሉ ፈኪሩ ሰለስተ ጥይት ተኩዊሱ ተመልሰ። ደሐር ከንቲባ ወልደጋብር፡ አቲም እን ንብር ነረ ቀተልተይ ደቂ ሰለሙን እያቶም፡ በለ።

ደሐር እቲ ከብካብ ተፈጸመ፡ ናብ ዓዳቶም ተመልሱ። ጸኒሑ ከአ ሐደ ሰብአይ ሞተሞ ከንቲባ ወልደጋብር አብቲ ተዝካር መጸኡ ምህላዉ ሰሚዖም፡ አብቲ ተዝካር አይመጹን።

ንከንቲባ ወልደጋብር እመቤት እሌኒ ይጽውዓኻ አለሞ ኢሎም ልአኸሉ፡ እሞ መጸኡ ሰላምታኡ ምስ አቅረበለን፡ እመቤት እሌኒ ከአ መን ኢኻ በልኡ። ንሱ ኸአ አንየ ወልደጋብር በለን። እሞ አብ ዓድና እንታይ አምጸአካ። ኪድ ኢኻ እቶም ደቂ ከይቀትሉኻ በልኡ።

ንሱ ከአ እና ሃደምኩ አብ መቀመጫይ ክውጋእ ኮይነ ኢሉ አብቲ ገዛ አትዩ ኮፍ በለ። ደሐር ደቂ ሰለሙን ወልደሚካኤልን መርዕድን መጸኡም ንወልደጋብርን ነቶም ዓሳኸሩን አሲርም ወሰድዎም፡ ደሐር ነቶም ዓሳኸሩ ምሳና ክኸይድ ዝደሊ ይሰግበና፡ ዘይደሊ ከአ ንዓዱ ይኸይድ ኢሎም ፈትሕዎም። ከንቲባ ወልደጋብር ግን ናብ ንጉስ ሒዝናዮ ክንኸይድ ኢና ኢሎም አብ በቕሊ አወጢሖም ወሰድዎ።

አብ ፍርቂ መንገዲ ምስ ብርጽሑ ከንቲባ ወልደጋብር፡ "አንቲም ደቂ ሰለሙን ክትቀትሉኒ ትደልዩ ከምዘሎኹም እፈልጥ እዩ፡ ሕጂ አይትቀትሉኒ ካብ ምቅታለይ እንታይ ረብሐ አሎኩም" በሎም።

መርዕድ ከአ ንወልደሚካኤል እዚ ሰብአይ ከምዚ ካብ በለ ዘይንለቆ በሎ። ወልደሚካኤል ከአ እን ንሃኪን ዝቐተለ እንታይ ኢሊ ዝለቆ፡ "አቦይ ሃኪን ይቅሰን" ኢሉ አብ መንኸቡ ዝሓሰበ አብ ርእሱ ጩለፎ። አብታ በቕሊ ምስ ወልደጋብር ሐደ ሰብአይ ተቀሪኑ ነሩ። እሞ እታ በቕሊ በሪራ አብ ጸድፊ ደርበዮቶም።

ወልደሚካኤልን መርዕድን ከአ ክደልዩዎም ደድሕሪኦም ሰግቡ። ደሐር እቲ ምስ ወልደጋብር ተቀሪኑ ዝነበረ ሰብአይ በዚ አሎና ኢሉ አድሃዮ እሞ ሽዑ መጸኡም ንወልደጋብር ሓሪዶም ብነጸላኡ ንገዘዎ። ነቲ ምስኡ ተአሲሩ ዝነበረ ሰብአይ ግን ፈቲሖም ኪድ አኣዊ በልዎ።

ንሳቶም ክልቲአም ውላድ ሓሓደ ነበርም እሞ ነቶም ደቆምን ነዲአምን አብ ከንቲባ በኸት አዕቆቡዎም። ንርእሳቶም ከአ አብ ዓዲ አምሓራ አብ ንጉስ ተሳገሩ።

ከንቲባ ወልደጋብር ምስ ሞተ ብግጥሚ ከምዚ ኢሎም ወደሱዎ፡-

ሞት ፍናን እያ ከንቲባ ሎሚ ናይ ሓቂ ሞት በጺሓ መቁነኑ
አይሞተን ወዲ ተድሮስ ብሂወት አሎ አይፋሉ
ወልደጋብር እንተሞተ ሮራ ክርስትያን ወይለኡ መላኡ
ብተሰፋ ደምበ ነይሓጽር ከይተመልሰ ወራሩ
ከም ቀደሙ አይምቀል አይመቅል ዘይናቱ
ክዳን ይህብ ከንቲባ ንምትልታሉ
በቕሊ ይህብ ከንቲባ ቻረ ምስ ፍታሉ
አቅራሽ ይህብ ከንቲባ ሓፊሱ ሕፍኑ ዝመልኣሉ
ብዘይካ ወዲ ተድሮስ ኹሉ ቅውሕ እዩ አብ ንብረት ሓላሉ
ከም ነጎዳ እዩ ወዲ ተድሮስ ኹሉ ዝርዕድ ካብ ጽላሉ።

ወራር ከለውን ፋንጅን

ናብ መጋርሕ ቀደም ባርያን ከለውን ነበሩ። እሞ ፋንጅ ካብ ባርካ መጸኡም ብዝምታ ሓመድ ገበሩዎም። ጸኒሖም ከአ ካልአይ ግዜ ዘሚቶም ነቶም ዝተረፉ አስግብዎም።

ከምዚ ኢሎም ንግሆን ምሽትን ብዝምታ ምስ ኣሰክሖም፡ ከለውን ባርያን መኸሮም፡ እዞም ፋጅ ሰብ ኣፍራስ ስለዝኾነ ኣፍራስ ከኣ ኣብ ኣምባታት ክወጹ ኣይክእሉን ኢሎም።

ገሊኡቶም ናብ ላልምባ ወጹ፡ ገሊኡቶም ናብ ሮራ ቤት ገብሩ፡ ገሊኡቶም ከኣ ናብ ሃገር ወጺኦም ተዓቆቡ። ፋንጅ ኣፍራሶም ኣብቲ እምባታት ክድይቡ ስለ ዘይኸኣሉ ማይ ዘለዎ ቦታታት ዘበለ ኩሉ ሓለዎ ገበሩሉ እሞ ካብ ሩባታት እናዘመቱ ሓመድ ገበሩዎም።

ድሕርዚ እቶም ካብ ባርያ ዝተረፉ ዘበሉ ኣብዚ ሕጂ ዝቐመጥዎ ዘለዉ ምሬት ሃዲሞም መጹ። ከለው ከኣ ፈቀዶኡ ፋሕ ኢሎም ጠፍኡ።

ወራር መጋርሕ

(ኣብ 1851-4 ቱርኪ ኣብ ምድሪ ብለን ዘሚቶም ህዝቢ ጩዊኦም ነሮም፡ ብፍላይ 1854 ኣብ-ነ ሮሃንስ - ስቴላ ንመብዛሕቶም ኣምሊሱዎም፡ ካብ መንግስቲ እንግሊዝ ሓገዝ ረኸቡ።)

ሰብ ባርካ ንመጋርሕ ወረሩ፡ እሞ ብዙሕ ሰብ ጩዊኦ። ደሓር ሰንሒት ረዲኦም ንኹሉ እቲ ተጨውዮ ዝነበረ ህዝቢ ኣምለሱዎ። ካብቲ ህዝቢ ሓንቲ ሰይቲ መንደር ወዲ ኣሚር ጠፍኡት። ሽድሽተ ኣወዳት ደቃ ገዲፋ ከኣ እያ። ካብ ኣቶም እቲ ሓደ ሕመድ ጸውራይ እተባህለ ወዲ ዓዲ መቱ እዩ። ዓስከር ቱርኪ ነበረ። እዚ ሕመድ ጸውራይ ኣብ ቱርኪ ስልጣን ነበሮ ማለት ትሕቲኦም ኣብ ከሰላ ነበረ።

እቲ ካልእ እተጨውዮ ህዝቢ ከምለስ እንከሎ፡ ንዓኣ ሓቢኦም፡ ኣብ ወዳ ስልጣን ሓዘሉ ዘሎ ሃገር በጽሖት። እቲ ጎይትኣ፡ እዚኣ ቀደም ውን ሰይቲ ጭዋ ዝነበረት እያ እትመስል፡ ስለዚ ሕጂ ውን ብዘይካ ናይ ቤት ስራሕ ደገ ኣይተሰርሖዎ (ኣይተውጽእዎ) ኢሉ፡ ደገ ከየውጽኣ ገሩ።

ደሓር ሓደ መዓልቲ ሰውነታ ክትሕጸብ ንሩባ ወረደት፡ እቲ ሩባ ማዩ ውሑድ እዩ። እዛ ሰበይቲ ከኣ ነቶም ናይ ማይ ኣገልገልቲ፡ ማይ ሓቡኒ በለቶም። ንጎቶም ከኣ ከልእዎ፡ ናታቶም ሓላፊ ከኣ እቲ ወዳ ሕመድ ጸውራይ ነበረ። ንእሽቶይ እንከሎ ዝኸደ እዩ፡ እሞ ጠፊኡ ተባሂሉ፡ ቀደም ቅድሚ ምጭዎዎ ቀቢጾቶ ዝነበረት እዩ።

ደሓር እቶም ናይ ማይ ኣገልገልቲ ማይ ምስ ከልኡዎ፡ ብቁዋንቻ ብለን ገራ "ኣነ ኣብዚ ምድሪዚ በዩን መጻእኩ" ኢላ ነብሳ ረገመት። እሞ እቲ ወዳ ነቲ ቁዋንቻ ብለን ሰሚዑ፡ ነቶም ኣገልገልቲ ማይ ሃቡዎ ቢሉ ማይ ኣውሃባ። ኣዲኡ ምኻና ግን ኣይፈልጥን።

ማይ ሂደማ ተሓጽቦት። ንሱ ከኣ ብቁዋንቻ ብለን ጌሩ፡ "ኣንቲ ሰበይቲ ብለነይቲ፡ ካበይ ዝመጻእኻ ኢኻ" በላ። ንሳ ከኣ፡ "ጎይታይ ኣነ ከምዚ ኮይነ ተጨውዮ ዝመጻእኻ እዩ። ንብጽተይ ግን ሰባም ኣውጺኦምዎም (ኣውጺኦምዎን)፡ ንኣይ ከኣ ሓቢኦምኒ ተረፍኩ። ንሰኻኽ ጎይታይ ብለን እትሓረብ ካበይ ዝመጻእኻ ኢኻ" በለቶ።

ንሱ ከኣ ኣነስ ካብ ጽላለ እዩ በላ። እሞ ጎይታይ ደሃይ ደቀይዶ ኣሎካ ቢላ ንኹላቶም ብዘይካ እቲ ምስኣ ዝሓረብ ዘሎ ብኣስማቶም ዘርዘረቶም። ንሱ ከኣ ኸመይ? ሕመድ ጸውራይኽ በላ። እትሰ ብንእሽቶኡ ጠፊኡ ቀቢጽና ኣተሰከርናዮ ኢና በለቶ። ንሱ ከኣ፡ እቶም ዝሰመኸዮም ደቅኽ ኩላቶም ጽቡቕ ኣለዉ። እቲ ቀቢጽኪዮ ዘሎኽ ሕመድ ጸውራይ ከኣ እዚ ምሳኺ ዝሓረብ ዘሎ እዩ ብላ።

እሞ ብሓቂ በል በለቶ፡ ሓቀይ እዩ በላ። እሞ እንካ ወደይ ሓመድ ጸውራይ ከምዝኸንካ ነዛ ኢደይ ጥቓዕ በለቶ። ኢኣ ከኣ ጠቐኝ እሞ ሽዑ ብምድፍናቕ ሰዓመቶ። ንሱ ኣብ ቱርኪ ስልጣን ስለዝነበሮ ምስኡ ናብቲ ዕርዲ ሓዘዎ ኣተወ። ጸኒሑ ከኣ እቲ ጎይትኣ ክረድእ መጹ። ሕመድ ንቱርኪ ነገሮም፡ ሽዑ እቶም ቱርኪ ነቲ ሰብኣይ ኣይትወሃቡን እያ በልዎ። እሞ ሕመድ ጸውራይ ከምዚ ገሩ ነዲኡ ኣውጺኡ።

ድሕርዚ ንሱ ንመጋርሕ ክኸይድ ደልዩ እሞ ናብ ሓንቲ ጠንቁዋሊት ሓንካስ ሰበይቲ መጺኡ ረኣይለይ፡ እሞ እቲ እትብሊዮ ሓቂ እንተኾይኑ እግርኽ ትሕው፡ ብሓሶት እንተበልኪ ከኣ እታ ካልኣይቲ እግርኽ ትደገም በላ።

ንሳ ከኣ ሕጂ ምስ ሰራዊትካ ክትነቅል ኢኻ፡ ኣብ ፍርቂ መንገዲ ምስ በጻሕካ ሽፍታ ይቅበሉኻ እሞ ምስ

አቶም ብዙሕ ትዋጋኝ። ድሕሪ ብርቱዕ ቃልሲ ንስኻትኩም ትዕወቱ፣ እሞ ትሓልፍ። ደሐር ኣብ ሩባ ዳዕሮታይ ትበጽሑ እሞ ኣብኡ በርሃ በጊዕ ዓዲግኩም ትበልዑ። ንዕኡ ምስ በላዕኩም ሓደ ብጻይኩም ብሕማም ከብዲ ሞት ይጠልቅ እሞ ጸርኩሞ ትኣትዉ።

ንስኻ ሕመድ ሰበይትኻ ጥንስቲ እያ። እሞ ጉዋል እንተ ወሊዳ ንሳ ክትመውት እያ። ወዲ እንተወሊዳ ከአ ንስኻ ትመውት በለቶ። መፈለጣኡ ከአ ዓድኻ ምስ ኣቶኻ፣ ዓድኻ ንመቐበሊኻ ስዋ ይጸምቁ። ንስኻ ምስ ደንጎኻ ከአ ንርእሳቶም ይሰትዩዎ። ደሐር ንስኻ ምስ መጻእኻ ካብኡ ሓደ ዋንጫን ፈረቓን ይጸንሓካ። ንስኻ ከአ ንዕኡ ትሰቲ በለቶ።

ደሐር ምስ ሰራዊቱ ነቐለ፡ ከምቲ ንሳ ዝበለቶ ከአ፡ መጀመርያ ምስ ሽፍታ ተዋግኤ። ካብኡ ኣብ ሩባ ዳዕሮታይ ጤል በልዑ። ካብቶም ሰራዊት ሓደ ሰብኣይ ሞት ጠለቐ እሞ ንዕኡ ተሰኪሞም ሳገሙ። ንሕመድ ጸውራይ ዓዱ መቐበሊኡ ስዋ ጸሚቕም ተጸበዩ እሞ ምምጻኡ ምስ ደንጎዮም ንርእሳቶም ሰተዩዎ።

ከምቲ ጠንቁዋሊት ዝበለቶ ሓደ ዋንጫን ፈረቓን ጸንሖ፡ እሞ እታ ዋንጫ ምስ ሰተያ ካልኣይቲ ፍርቂ ኮይናቶ። ነታ ሰራሕተኛ፡ ኣይትርሓስ ነሃ ፍርቂ ካብ ማይ እኩዋ ኣይትመልእያን በላ። ንሳ ከአ፡ እሞ ኣብ እንተ ዝኾነለይሲ፡ ካብ ሓደ ግዜ ዓሰርተ ግዜ ምመላእኩዋ፡ በለቶ፡ ንዕኡን ከአ ሰተዩ።

ሰበይቲ ከአ ከምቲ እታ ሰበይቲ (ጠንቁዋሊት) ዝበለቶ ወዲ ወለደት። ንሱ ከአ ካብታ ዓዲ ዝኣተወላ ዕለት ሰውነቱ ቀጭውጭው ከብሎን ክቐጥንን ጀመረ። ደሐር ክረምቲ ኮይኑ ክሐርስ በይኑ በጉ ወረደ።

እሞ ክሐርስ ውዲሉ ዝኖብ ምስ መጸ፡ ካልኣይ ርእሱ ከዕቅሉ ኣብ ትሕቲ ድማ ኮፍ በሉ ኣብኡ በርቂ ወዲቐዎም ሞቲ።

ባእሲ ቤት ገብሩን ማርያን

ማርያ ጸላም ካብ ቤት ገብሩ ጉዋል ክፍለማርያም ወዲ ኣስገዶም ተመርዓዉ። እሞ ድሕሪ ገለ ግዜያት፡ ጉዋል ክፍለማርያም ምስ ሓሙታ ተባእሳሞ እታ ሰይቲ ሓሙታ ጉዋል ሓራሲት ትምባኾ ኢላ ጸረፈታ። ንሳ ከአ ሓቕኸ ኢኸ ንሰኸ ትበልጽኒ ኢላታ ስቕ በለት።

ድሕሪዚውን ጸኒሖን፡ ድሕሪ ዓመት ከአ ከም ብሓድሽ ተባእሳሞ እታ ሰይቲ ሓሙታ ገናውን ጉዋል ሓራሲት ትምባኾ ቢላ ጸረፈታ እሞ፡ እዚኣ ዓሚ ጉዋል ሓራሲት ትምባኾ ኢላ ጸረፋትኒ ሎም ዘመውን ደገመትኒ ኢላ፡ ንኹላቶም ዓዲ ሓሙኣ ኣከበት። ንሳቶም ከአ ነቲ ዝወረዳ በደል ፍርዲ ኣይሃቡሉን ኣይዓረቕዎንን።

እዚ ደሓን እዩ ኣሕዋት ኢኻትክን ኢሎም ጠቢሮምዋ ከዱ። ንሳ ከአ ጉህያ ከመይ ድዩ ነገሩ ኢላ ሱቕ በለት እሞ፡ ከምዝን ከምዝን ተባሂለ ተጸሪፈ ኢላ ናብ ዓዳ ለኣኸት። ነቲ ልኡኽ ከአ፡ እቲ መሰለይ ኣጥፊኡ ዝጠበረኒ እከለ ምኹዋኑን ኹሉ ዝረኽብኩም ዓገብን ብፍላይ ንወዲ ሓወይ ንኣሚር ወዲ ሲላ ንገሮ ኢላ ብምስጢር ለኣኸቶ።

ኣሚር እዚ ልኡኽ ምስ በጽሖ ኣጽዋሩ ሓዙ ንበይኑ ነቐለ እሞ ኣብ መንገዲ እቲ ነሙኡ መሰላ ኣጥፊኡ ዝጠበራ ምስ ካልኣዩ ጎፍ በልዎ እሞ ኣሚር ብስፍ ወይ ብበትሪ ወስ ከይበለ፡ ሓፍ ኣበሉ ኣብ ከውሒ ኣራጺሙ ቀተሎ። እቲ ብጻይ ከአ ብስንባድ ተዳሂሉ ልቡ ጠፊኡዎ እቲ ቀይሕ ሽግራይ ወዲቐ።

እቲ ቀይሕ ሽግራይ ወዲቐ ኣናበለ ንዓዲ ተመልሰ እሞ እንታይ ተረኽቦ እንተ በሉዎ እቲ ቀይሕ ሽግራይ ወዲቐ ምድግጋም ጥራይ ምስ ኮነ መልሱ፡ ንርዳእ እቲ ዝኾነ ክጸንሓና እዩ ቢሎም ምስ ረድኡ ወዮ ሰብ ኣዮም ሞይቱ ጸንሖም እሞ ካብኡ ረሳኦም ቀበሩ። ኣሚር ወዲ ሲላ ንዕኡ ቀቲሉ ኣሙኡ ከይረኣያ ካብኡ ንዓዱ ተመልሰ።

ማርያ ጸላም ከአ ቀታል ሰብኣዮም ይጣይቁ ነሮም። ድሕሪ ሓያሎ ግዜታት ኣሚር ወዲ ሲላ እዩ ቀቲሉዎ ተባሂሉ ተፈልጠ። ድሕርዚውን ክልቲኣቶም ወገን ወትሩ ይጸብኡ ነበሩ እሞ ቤት ገብሩ ይዕወቱሎም ነሮም።

ድሕርቲ ነታ ሰበይቲ ይትረፍዶ ጉዋል ሓራሲት ትምባኾ ክብልዋስ፡ ሓንቲ ቃል እኩዋ ክብልዋ ይደፍሩ

አይነብሩን።

ባእሲ ዓዲ ሸቦትን ዓዲ ጸፋዕን

ዓዲ ጸፋዕ አብ ሊባንጅና ንዓዲ ሸቦት ዘመቱ። ካብቶም ጉዋሶት ሐደ ክዳነይ ክሓጽብ እየ ቢሉ ንሩባ ወረደ። ጩጊራይ ወዲ ንኡሻይ ከአ ምስቲ ሐደ ጉዋሳ አብተን ከብቲ ወፈረ። ኣጋ ምሸት ምስ ኮነ፡ ዓዲ ጸፋዕ ነተን ከብቲ ዘረፉወን፡ እሞ ጩጊራይ ከአ እናፈከረ ደድሕርኤን ሰዓብ።

ንድሕሪት ግልጽ ኣሊሎም ቀተሉዎ፡ ነተን ከብቲ ከአ ብኣስያፍ ኣሰግቡዎን። ካብኣ ዓዲ ሸቦት ረዲኦም ነተን ካብ ሞት ዝተረፉ መለሱ።

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Short stories from Sudan notes and Records.txt

Sudan Notes and Records II, 1919.

RED SES PROVINCE.

Beni Amer Marriage custom

Pages 74-6.

The following note is intended to give some idea of the marriage custom as practised by the Beni Amer tribe. It may be mentioned that each section of the tribe regards itself as free to modify or amplify the details here set down.

On the day appointed for the marriage ceremony to commence the male and female relatives of the bridegroom leave him at home and with singing and rejoicing proceed to erect the bridal hut. The material for this hut are as follows,

Seven pieces of white bursh.

The usual number of bent poles over which to stretch the bursh.

Pieces of zaf, i. e. leaves of dom palm, wherewith to tie the bursh to the poles.

An angareb or even simpler form of bed.

Some pieces of hugarit, the local name for a hematite, which is found in Eritrea.

The above intentioned materials are put on a camel and conveyed to the spot arranged where they are all taken off and laid upon the ground.

The male relatives now take the camel and go themselves to the house of the bride's father. They are met with derisive shouts by the female friends of the bride who seal the testimony of their regard by bespattering the visitors with dung.

(This form of play is indulged in by the bride's female friends for the ensuing seven days.) Nevertheless they return with the men, who load the camel with an angareb or some form of couch and proceed singing to the site of the new hut. The bridal hut is now erected by the female relatives only of the bride and bridegroom: The hut is partitioned into two portions by fixing up light hangings.

Water is next poured over the pieces of hugarit and the resulting solution is taken and splashed over the poles supporting the hut and huge rough crosses are made on the bursh above the entrance to the hut with this same solution.

This ceremony is said to be carried out in commemoration of the tragic murder of the father of the first of the Nabtabs who was beheaded by the Christian King Bulo on the morning following the first night after his marriage with the king's own daughter. (This man is reputed to have been a "holy man" called 'Ali Belas, to whom the King Bulo took such a fancy that he gave him his daughter in marriage.

On the morning after his first bridal night, he was, for a slight breach of etiquette in the presence of the king, summarily beheaded. His one night bride bore him a son, Mohammed Dugal ibn Mousa, the first of the "Nabtabs".) The ceremony completed, the bridegroom on horseback appears upon the scene accompanied by horsemen and camelmen who encircle the hut seven times.

After the procession has completed the seventh circle, the whole mounted body with a shout, gallop for about half mile in a line due south of the hut. (The reason for going in a southerly direction is because in ancient times the tribe prayed with faces turned to the south.)

After this has been done, the bridegroom is carried bodily into the half of the hut reserved for him and his friends, and is deposited on the angareb. He is now anointed with water into which have been poured a few whole grains of dura. He also changes his garment and decks himself out with women's jewellery especially bracelets, and a piece of camel dung is inserted in his amma.

The jewellery includes a necklace of alternate gold and other beads and a broad silver bracelet and is worn by the bridegroom until the seventh day when it is given to the bride. He is now ready for the bride who, in due course, approaches with all the women in attendance.

She is carried on the back of a strong slave seven times round the hut and is then brought in and deposited on the angareb in her half of the hut. She is anointed in like manner as the bridegroom.

As soon as the bride is anointed the women in their half of the hut and the men in their half commence singing and rejoicing. The men, however, soon go out and indulge in sports and races.

The marriage feast commences and is kept up for seven days – the men entering and leaving their portion of the hut while the women do the same in theirs. For seven days and seven nights, the bride and bridegroom are surrounded, day and night, by their friends.

Only once during that period does the bridegroom enter the bride's chamber. In the silent watches of the first night, he, accompanied by a friend, by stealth approaches the couch of the supposed-to-be-sleeping bride.

He strokes her face and neck and immediately retires again. This ceremony is performed with the purpose of preventing the jinn from bearing her way or changing her into another being. At the end of the seven days, the male friends of the bridegroom begin to leave him until by evening only one is left in attendance.

At night the bridegroom and his friend again enter the bride's chamber. This is the signal for all the bride's attendants, except two old women, to rush out of the hut. The bride tries to follow and must be forcibly detained by the bridegroom.

(She has allowed her finger-nails to grow long so that the scratches she makes on his wrist may afterwards be shown to his friends.) If he fails to retain her, so that she escapes to her companions waiting outside, he is made the laughing stock of the village.

If he succeeds he throws her upon the ground and in the presence of the two old women and his friend, he puts his foot upon her neck and proclaims himself her lord and master. The witnesses now leave: the partition is thrown down:

The hut is one. Before the wife can speak to the husband, he must pay her father the sum of £ 10 or give him the present of a camel.

At the end of ten days, the husband is required to leave his wife. He goes away for the purpose of earning the £ 10 or of securing a camel, and quite often does not return for several months.

The purpose of silence seems to vary very much and even though the bridegroom has provided the necessary gift, the bride ought not to speak to her husband for at least six months. If he does not leave her village she yet may not speak to him nor may be live continuously in her house and if he wishes to see her face before the end of six months, he must remove her veil by force.

The period of silence may be extended to two years if the present is not forthcoming. The reason given by the people for this "avoidance" is that if the bride speaks it shows that she has known the bridegroom previously and this is considered disgraceful.

G. J. Fleming.

Sudan notes and Records 4, 1921

RED SEA PROVINCE

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AMONG THE BENI AMER TRIBE

p. 293-5.

A fuller account of Beni Amer marriage customs was contributed to this journal last year (Vol. II. Pp. 74 ff.) by Mr. Fleming, but the following note is of interest because it contains various new details which are parallel to customs reported from many other countries in both ancient and modern times—for example, the part played by a child whose parents are both alive (compare Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Vol. VI. Pp. 236) and the care taken to prevent the feet of the bride-groom from touching the ground (Frazer, *ib.* Vol. X. Pp. 2 foll.).

The gallop in the direction of Mecca, or towards the south according to Fleming, reminds us of the race which occur in the accounts of marriage elsewhere (Frazer Vol. II. Pp. 300 ff.) and these are often combined with similar "historical" legends about the death of the bride-groom and changes in the succession.

On the marriage of a Nabtab, that is to say a direct descendent of 'Amer 'Ali, the founder of the tribe of the Beni 'Amer, the following rites are observed. After the first formalities, the bridegroom and his relations visit the place where the bridal hut is going to be built.

They make choice of a small boy who has not reached the age of puberty and whose parents are both alive, to ensure luck and he with the tip of a sword draws a line along the full length of one of the pieces of matting which is going to make the hut.

This is to commemorate the fact that the Nabtab succeeded to their heritage by the sword. After this has been done the hut is built. An accordance with the customs of the Bello people, who reigned supreme in this part of the country before the coming of 'Amer 'Ali to power, a bull is slaughtered; the bull's blood was formerly used to make a mark like a cross within a rectangle on the hut of the wedded couple, but now this mark is made with red paint and the blood of the bull is dispensed with.

When the building of the hut is finished the bridegroom mounts a horse and is thus led by two persons seven times round the hut, after which he and his relations, all mounted, ride at full gallop from the hut for several hundred yards towards the east—the direction of Mecca.

THE GASH DAM

P.226-7

The following particulars of an old dam on the Gash may be of interest to readers and can be found on pages 213-216 of "African Wanderings" published in London in 1852.

The period of the construction of this dam was between July and September 1840. The idea of a dam so as to cause the surrender of the Arabs to the invading Turks is credited to Mohamed Ehle of the Halenga, who was then a spy with Ahmed Pasha Abu Uddan's army.

The Halenga tribe furnished the baskets and mats whilst the soldiers and every one else obtainable worked on the earthworks so as to prevent the flood water descending to the Hadendoas and thus deprive them and their herds of the annual replenishments for the exhausted wells.

The khor was 1220 meters broad and the slope of the dam which was 1613 meters long was 45 degrees. The dam was 5 meters broad on the top and the earth stayed by tree trunks erected in the bed of the khor before the bank was made. These tree trunks were sunk into the khor bed and laced or anchored as far as possible.

The dam was situated half an hour from the suk of Huathi. From a subsequent account we learn that the guards on the earthwork, which was then holding up a head of ten feet of water, were massacred by the Arabs. The earthwork was cut and the escaping water entirely destroyed the dam and removed all traces of its construction.

A.E.R.

Sudan notes and Records 9, 1926
p. 84

Notes on the Fellata Melle of Kassala

There are at present to be found in the neighbourhood of Kassala five Farigs of this West African people, and their coming to the Sudan and subsequent history present certain features of interest.

They came from the region of Timbuktu some twenty-five years ago and travelled across Africa in a fairly considerable body under the leadership of El Fagir Mohammed Hashim.

Having made the pilgrimage together, their leader stayed on in El Medina whilst the greater number returned to the Sudan and drifted to Kassala. For the first few years of their sojourn there they were very poor and maintained themselves by daily labour and by acting as shepherds. Slowly they acquired a few animals (mostly sheep and goats), and as these have gradually expanded into flocks they have all joined up together again and adopted a nomadic

form of life.

With the local tribes they have established very satisfactory relations, and, though still regarded as "Axhrab" when any matter of rights arises, seem to have no difficulty in securing adequate watering facilities and grazing.

They have, moreover, adopted many of the local customs and have evolved a type of bet, in shape like the West African grass bee-hive hut, but constructed on the same principles as the Hadendoa bet, viz., long stripes of "brush" stretched across and round a framework of bent branches.

Further, they have adopted the "tiffa" (fuzzy head) and their young men mostly carry the Hadendoa dagger.

Another remarkable fact is the way they have picked up the local languages and most are trilingual, viz., Fellata, Arabic and Beja.

Administratively they give no trouble, pay their taxes punctually, and I can remember no cases of any violence among them during the last few years.

The head Sheikh, Mohammed Ahmed Belu, is a man of considerable religious influence, and there also appears to be a close liaison maintained with El Fagir Mohammed Hashim in the Hedjaz.

Sudan notes and Records

THE STORY OF TAJOJ

By F. L. Harwood
(Sudan Railways)

About the year 1820, during the reign of El Saltana El Zarga, there was born at Jebel Gulsa, among the Hamran, a branch of the Beni Amer tribe, a girl called Tajoj.

Jebel Gulsa is a hill on the right bank of the River Gash to the south of Kassala. The Hamran are a nomadic people, moving from place to place in the area around Abu Qamal with their camels, goats and sheep and living in tents made of dom palm matting. They are a race of handsome men and beautiful women, but Tajoj was of an especial beauty that lives for us in her story.

At that time, there was recurrent warfare among the various tribes in that part of the Sudan and the particular enemies of the Hamran were the Hadendoa, another Hamitic tribe. The Hamran resisted the attacks of their enemies with a success, chiefly due to the skill and bravery of one young man called Mohallag. (1) He was Tajoj's cousin and was violently in love with her. He composed songs extolling her beauty and sang these so that the beauty of Tajoj became known far and wide.

The Arabs regard such fame rather as notoriety, and count it as an infringement of a girl's modesty and good name, so that Tajoj's parents were highly displeased and when Mohallag came to ask for Tajoj's hand in marriage, they refused him. She had other suitors, among them one Oakad (2) of the Hadendoa.

1. Mohallag = money in Beidawi-Ed,
2. Okad (a Beni Amer name)-Ed,

Mohallag was heart-broken at this refusal and pined and became so sick that it was thought he might die.

The elders of the tribe were much concerned at this and feared that they might lose their leader in battle. They, therefore, approached the girl's parents and urged them to overlook Mohallag's fault and to permit him to have Tajoj for wife. At length, they reluctantly agreed and the marriage took place.

When Oakad heard of the marriage, he came down and challenged Mohallag to mortal combat and in the ensuing duel Oakad was slain.

Mohallag did not enjoy his lovely bride for long. Perhaps she had been in love with Oakad, perhaps merely she did not care for her cousin. The story tells that shortly after the marriage, Mohallag asked her to strip herself naked and walk before him in her unveiled beauty.

Such a thing appears shameful to the strictly conventional Arab and so Tajoj refused. He importuned her again and again, so at length she said that she would if afterwards he would promise her, on his oath, to do her one favour. This he promised.

She stripped herself and then told him that the favour was to be an immediate divorce. He could not break his oath so they were separated. The end previously feared soon came upon Mohallag. His heart was broken and he pined away and soon died.

Bereft of their leader, the Hamran were helpless before their enemies. Inspired by thoughts of revenge for the death of Oakad, the Hadendoa attacked them, many of the Hamran were killed and among the booty carried off was Tajoj.

Now the Hadendoa began to fight among themselves to decide who should possess her. Duels and battles had soon caused the death of several of the young notables of the tribe, and it was plain that it might be seriously depleted of the best of the young fighting men if some drastic action was not taken.

The elders, therefore, held a meeting to decide what could be done and after some discussion one old man asked to see the cause of all the trouble. Tajoj was brought in and led before the old man. He took her by the arm and, before the onlookers could interfere, drew his sword and slew her. He had come to the conclusion, he said, that this was the only way to put an end to the bloodshed that she was causing.

So she died. She is buried somewhere between Jebel Abu Qamal and Kassala among a grove of palm trees and her grave has often been visited by Sudanese who are much stirred by this story of her great beauty and its tragic end. Her story is very widely known and there are various versions; the above, however, appears to be the most widely accepted.

The songs which Mohallag made to Tajoj were many. The following are translations of parts of some of those that he made in his despair after he had lost her :-

" Though I am a brave man, yet am I most unfortunate.
I have brought myself misery by my own fault, and through
Light-heartedness and joy I have come to have no rest nor peace."

" O Tajoj your teeth are like silver.
O Tajoj his gone leaving misery increasing upon me."

"Still your song, Oh happy bird singing in the tree,
I am suffering and unhappy. My love has left me and I can
have no comfort without her."

Sudan notes and Records 22, Part 2, 1939

CORRESPONDENCE p. 301-2

To the Editor

Dear Sir,

Among my notes on the history of Kassala which I compiled when at Khartoum, I found a reference to Jebel Mandera which seems to have escaped general attention. I traced the original work in the British Museum and it is not alluded to by Dr. Crowfoot in his paper "Old Sites in the Butana".

Prince Pueckler Muskau wrote a long account of his travels in Egypt and the Sudan (Egypt under Mohamet Ali, 3 Vols, 1845). He arrived in Egypt on January 4th 1837 and travelled to the Sudan via the Nile. Mustafa Bey (later governor of Kordofan) was then in Khartoum.

Prince Pueckler Maskau was accompanied by a dragoman named Giovanni. I think this man was the celebrated Giovanni Finati whose biography was published by Sir Thomas Banks in 1830. During May and June Prince Pueckler Muskau was ill at Abu Haraz (Blue Nile).

Giovanni travelled in the Butana and visited Jebel Geili and Mandera. He reported that he had seen some statues in a grotto at Jebel Liberi, a site about five hours journey N.E. of Mandera.

In the XVII th century Mandera was the headquarters of Fatma, "Negusta Rum" of the Bega. She surrendered to Susenyos of Abyssinia when he invaded the Sudan during the reign of the Fung Sultan Rubat (1614-1642). This queen was reputed to be a descendant from the ancient royal line of Egypt. There is no mention of this ruler in the published poems and traditions of the Shukria but it is not impossible that she was a descendent of the old rulers of the Isle of Meroe.

During the reign of the Fung Sultan Adlan II (1778-1787) Jebel Mandera was the site of a great battle between the equestrian Rikabia tribe and the camel-herding Shukria tribe, in which the Rikabia were defeated and absorbed by the Shukria. Some of the armour and weapons of the Rikabia were in the possession of the Shukria cavalry at the time of the Mahdist rebellion.

The tradition of a female ruler of the Bega is also to be found at Jebel Kassala. (see Werne, "Wanderings in Africa" p. 207) Werne stated that Fakenda was a great ruin and the reputed

seat of a queen of the Halenga. When I was at Kassala in 1908 I walked over most of the outskirts of Kassala town and rode to Sabderat. I took a number of photographs but found no antiquities except the old (medieval) Moslem tombs at Maman (see Crowfoot, SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS, Vol. V. P.83).

I was informed when at Kassala that the ruins described by Werne were on the site of the present Mirghani mosque at Khatmia and that the reputed ancient irrigation works were contemporary with the erection of the ginning factory (i.e., during the American Civil war).

I should be glad to hear through your pages if the grotto at Jebel Liberi has been examined and if the site of Fakenda has been identified. I think Fakenda is more probably contemporary with the Maman ruins than ancient Meroe. The present Eritrean and Abyssinian political frontiers seem to have been based upon natural and cultural limits for some centuries past.

ARTHUR E. ROBINSON

Sudan notes and Records 32, 1951

Ancient villages in Khor Nubt, p. 326-331

Page 330-1

As regards the rock pictures, most of them are of cattle of the longhorned humpless breed. The true Beja breed is, according to my information, a short-horned beast with a marked hump.

A long-horned humpless beast is also found among their herds and is said to have been introduced from either Arabia or Eritrea. Whether this is the prototype of the rock pictures or not we have no means of knowing. The Nubt cattle pictures show the same type of cattle as those at Onib, Nurayet in W. Diib, W. Nefirium near Derhib, Rawai and other places. The giraffe and the sitting man may help the archaeologist however.

With reference to the history of the city the following tale is current among the local tribes; however it may savour of the purely legendary, it is perhaps worth recording not only as all an amusing fairy tale but because such legends are often really aetiological myths woven to explain some historical fact.

The community was originally one of " Roumeen, " who are said by some to have been black and of Abyssinian-like features and by others to have been of European colour and characteristics; and there are supposed to have been a number of such communities from further North down to Tokar within measurable distance of the coast, but none very far inland.

The King of the Roumeen, so runs the tale, had three great possessions; a sword that could cleave through rock itself, a grinding-stone that was harder than granite and could grind anything to powder, and a daughter who was the most beautiful in the world. About this time, which was long before Barakween, the founder of the Hadendowa, and the reputed ancestors of other Beja tribes, had entered the neighbourhood, an Arab tribe named the Baynhilalt (Bani Hilal?) lived on the coastal plain near Suakin.

The son of the Baynhilat Sheikh, hearing of the Roumeen king's daughter, went thither to

see for himself, and sojourned some while, tending the Roumeen flocks and making surreptitious advances to the damsel.

The Roumeen, after a while, suspected him of having had an affair with her, and seized him; trial by ordeal was decided on. Now the Roumeen were men of great stature and none could wield their well-buckets but themselves, such was the bucket's capacity.

So the young man was brought to the well at evening, given one of their dalus (buckets) and told, if he was innocent, to fill the troughs, for the flocks to water at, before morning. Then they left him. Sure enough he found himself baffled; but he ran, when it was dark, to his ladylove, the king's daughter, who hurried out with him and, being of similar physique to her brethren, easily wielded the well-bucket and filled the troughs for him.

With the dawn came the Roumeen and were surprised to find the troughs full. However, they had suspicions of the truth, so went back to search, and sure enough found a splash of undried mud still on the lady's breast, which gave the show away. So they killed the young man.

When his father, the sheikh of the Baynhilait, heard of it, he set out with his entire tribe to take vengeance. A prophetess of the Roumeen a local Cassandra - saw lightnings in the eastern sky which she announced would devour the settlement and all its inhabitants; the lightnings were, in point of fact, made by the tinders of the Baynhilait host as they lit their evening fires.

The struggle took place close to the city, a mile or two up the valley to the Southward. Some say that the two communities suffered the fate of the Kilkenny cats; others that some of the Baynhilait survived and lived on for a time, but then wandered away and were never again heard of.

When the king of the Roumeen saw that all was lost, he was determined that at least no one should have his three great possessions. So he took the sword-that-could-cut-rocks and first cut off the head of his beautiful daughter; he then went to the grindstone-harder-than-granite, and with the sword clove it in two pieces, and finally struck the sword, point down, into the earth, which swallowed it up.

The supposed site of the buried blade-an unimpressive dimple in the ground-is still shown, as is the cloven grindstone, a split slab of marble-like stone indistinguishable from many others lying around; white the shade of the beheaded damsel or some more indefinable influence, is believed still to haunt the spot.

Such is the story. It is a pity that the Arabic tombstones examined, whose dates cover a period of just 50 years from 227 to 277 A.H. give no clue to the tribe of the occupants of the graves, whether Bani Hilal or otherwise.

The legend, as such, obviously recounts a historical Arab conquest (presumably one that soon passed on) of the local pre-Muslim inhabitants, but only stimulates rather than allays speculation as to who these inhabitants were by dragging in the Roumeen, nor does it afford any solution of the question what was the attraction that led them to dwell in this particular place, which is neither strategic nor appears to possess gold or any other commercial advantage.

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Tigre folk tales (Digam)

Sudan notes and records

Volume XXVII 1947

By A. C. Beaton

Pages 146-150

Some Nuer and Fur folk stories were published in Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. XXIII, Part II, 1940. The following were told by a Sheikh of the Beni Amer, a nomadic Hamitic tribe, who graze their cattle, sheep and goats on the hill mass south of Tokar to the east of Khor Baraka.

The bulk of the tribe lives in Eritrea, but the Sudan Contingent, about a third of the whole, migrates between Tokar and Kassala and between the Karora and Eritrean hills. The leaders of the tribe are trilingual in that they speak Arabic, Beja and Tigri, but of the ordinary people some speak only Beja, while others, the majority, speak only Tigri—a language they share with other north Eritrean tribes such as the Habab.

Tigri is the tongue of the Beni Amer cowherds and goat keepers, whose status is one of semi-serfdom in that they herd, but nevertheless have certain rights over, the animals of the Nabtab aristocrats. The original Tigri version of the stories is given because this is the first written record of the narrative of the language in the Sudan.

1 Hayat wa Karai wa Hashiil

Hayat wa Karai wa Hashiil tar Ealau. Eindu misil geisou Ealau, adiq wa araab wa mantale qatlau. Hare la Hayat igil la Karai, " Nisi, illi arei kifalina minu ? " beila. Karai hita tibe, " Illa kifla kula aamira-inta la adiq wa ana la araab wa Hashiil la mantale linsa,; La Hayat qatabu ka ibba idu dabtcia ka motat, Hare Hashiil la'aka ka " Kifal?; beileiu. Hashiil beila, " La adiq igil tabchkatu wa araab igil diraarkatu wa mantale afoka masis ibba?. Hayat biduuh itfakkara it illa kifla wa itra'asa, hare Hayat beila, " Ei wad rigib, man illa kifla atmahareika? Hashiil beila, " Lohi ras-a-.Karai ataamarci'nita.?

The Lion, the Hyena and the Fox

The Lion, Hyena and Fox were friends. When they went out hunting together, they killed a donkey, an ariel and a hare. Then the Lion said to the Hyena, "Come, this kill, divide it among us." The Hyena said, "I know all about dividing a kill; you take the donkey, I will take the ariel and the Fox can have the hare."

The Lion was angry and struck the Hyena so hard with his paw that she died. Then he called the Fox and said to him, " Divide the kill."

The Fox said, " The donkey will do for your lunch, the ariel for your dinner and you can wipe your mouth with the hare." The Lion pondered long, was very pleased and said, " O Fox, who taught you this division." The Fox replied, " The fate of the Hyena taught me."

2. Hitaan wa Arqab Ga hate hitaan ambata qatil Eala ka arqab ra'a ka ambeitat amsaleia ka idu madda igil linsa. Hare hitu lakfeiu ka hita teilatu,"

Ib ideika wa t'abat'kani, qital ambita wa adamka minu."

The Boy and the Scorpion

One day a boy was killing locusts and, seeing a scorpion and mistaking it for a locust, he stretched out his hand to grasp it; but he saw what it was in time and hit it with a stone. The scorpion said, "If you had seized me with your hand, you would have soon stopped killing locusts."

3. Kile Dimmo wa Habai

KilE dimmo jibnat qalaia ka diib Habai geisaia ibba igil likaafi, ka kulot kifaal wadaia, örutom minna malheiu la'abi ka it meidaamu karaiom ka la'abi deda, hitu ibba anyaabu qarca minu igil ökil la nu'uush liwdclu. Laakin la illa nasa mina bidhet ka la nu'uush deda ka kumsil la malheiu wadaia. Hare la wediit la lahai wadaia wada ösik la jibnat diib mawhai qirbat. La klle dimmo beilaiahu, " Hena illa kiflat radeina, jibnatna habana." Hitu beila, " Intin man raida, haq iiy radde," Ka min la kiflat la daidat ita qarrie ösik kile wahaia. KilE; la dimmo ib qatib wa ib tieis aqbalaia it libla, " Ade inta la hisika ida rabbi ib mila Eala wa daalimlatu daalimu rakibu."

(not titled in english)

Two cats stole some cheese and took it to a baboon to divide for them. He divided it into two pieces-one larger than the other-and put them on the scales. The bigger portion weighed down one scale and he nibbled a bit off it to make it the same weight as the smaller, but he bit off so much that the smaller piece became the heavier.

Then he repeated his nibbling and went on alternating his bites until the cheese was nearly finished, The two cats said, " We agree to that division, give us our cheese," He replied " Who are you to agree? An exact division shall not be wanting," and proceeded with his nibbling until both pieces were finished.. The two cats went home angry and disappointed saying, " Now you have filled the hand of God and the oppressor will meet with oppression."

4. Siqir wa Mantale

Siqir igil Mantale, " Nitbadir," tibe. Ka itradia la kiraia bidra ras debir reyiim karaiahu igil la qadam malhei tibtah hita tinsu. Siqir hita seni hiilata it magais batkat wa mantale bediir iiy tayasat it magais la qilla wa la qiida ta'amir Ealat, ka ibba la waqaia it tilhiya abdeitu ösik la siqir min ad debir qarbat ka sa'eit igil gadam as siqir tibtuha ka iiy Earrata. Wa siqir bathat eindu min hirara iiy itkarre. Mantale diibha hammaleiha taeasat wa tassa iiy nafeatta.

The Kite said to the Hare, " Let us run a race." They agreed to put the prize for the race on the peak of a distant hill and for the one who reached it first to take it. The Kite put all her energy into walking, but the Hare did not put forth the least effort, knowing she was the faster she lost time playing about until the Kite was close to the hill.

Then the Hare ran to reach the hill before the Kite, but could not overtake her. Thus the Kite arrived first by not slackening in her walk and the Hare was defeated by her own negligence, which profited her nothing.

5. Tadbiiir Seni

Hitaan wa hitu it qarabiit misil geisou Ealau ka kelib sumuun immirharom lisee eala wa immirharu sab ib marawi abai igil liqtabu haddau ealau. La hitaan farha wa la hitu weEeit, la hitaan hitu biduuh fakirtu la shaal nasa'ka it idiehu qalabu laulaiu wa hitu immirhar eat'aatu abtaraia. La kelib doul abhasha diibu la idu la lifi madda ilu, hitu ibba anyaabu labaqie nakasheiu ösik la adaam earrEiom lu ib mirhar la kelib liseau salau ka dabat'awu amotawu ka la hitaan wa hitu salman wa ibba tadbiiir la seni dahanau.

Presence of Mind

A boy and his sister were walking along a path and behind them a mad dog was running, pursued by men with big sticks intent on killing it. The boy was afraid and his sister cried out, but he thought hard and taking his turban, wrapped it around his hand and thrust his sister behind him.

When the dog attacked him, he thrust out his hand swathed in the turban and the dog continued to snap at it with his teeth, until the men came up behind it and beat it to death. Thus the boy and his sister escaped scatheless owing to his presence of mind.

6. Inaas wa Karai

Abattihat igil litnaeou fagrau ka karai itisei fagrat ilom, hitom talawa. Hita diib beit inaas aateit, hitu ib seyif hirout fagra diibom, hitom heye beilawa, " Wa qabir rabbi, afo la illa nitnaEe kalakana " ; hitu beilom, " Illa hita tahasabatani." Hitom heye admau minu wa hitu qanhaia ka biduuh shilhit wa hamrat ra'a ka heliib fagir wa mise aateia ösik hawadat wa rajeat. AmEel hate hitu it lisakib, wadgat diibu ka dirto sharamat wa damu sateit. Wad abhu heye beila, " SenEita igil reyim lawade jadahu illitu."

The Man and the Hyena

Some youths went out hunting, and putting up a hyena pursued her into a man's house. When he drew his sword on them, they asked, "O servant of God, why do you deny us that which we are hunting? "

" She has taken refuge with me," he said, and they left her alone. Then the man looked at the hyena and, seeing that she was very thin and weak, gave her milk morning and evening until she grew fat and recovered. One day as the man lay asleep, the hyena fell on him, ripped open his stomach and lapped up his blood. The dead man's brother moralized, "Such is the fate of the man who does a kindness to strangers."

7, Walat Beit wa Ancal

AmEeI hate walat beit fagrat diib kadan ka ancai sifriit rakbat ka teilatta, " Igilniit illa titgasei? Ka iiy ithaade nabra tithallagi? Qinati misiliE diib Ead igil nabra seni tilEi," Hita heye diib beit la itta tanabbir Ealat, taaleita baal la beit heye a amta wa ashbihat wada itto. Walat la beit lashbihat min raEita, shafgat ka ib anyaaba qaleita ka la baal gab abalaia diiba ka qatla ; la ancai heye harbat ösik maskabha laqadam ka tibe, ?it abyaat nabra bidhit wa baddaha min qadr tallia wa dahan misil higlan tahaayis igilie min tigab mot bi itta?.

The House Rat and the Field Rat

One day a house rat went out into the country, and finding a hungry field rat said to her, "Why do you remain here" Do you not want to find food "Up with me to the village and eat good fare." So the field rat followed her to the house where she was staying.

The householder went out and brought back some fat. When the house rat saw it, she rushed at it and snatched at it with her teeth, but the man struck her and killed her. Then the field rat ran back to her home in the fields saying, " In the houses of men there may be much food, but there is more to it than that; I prefer life with poverty to death amid plenty."

The teller of these tales was a literate sheikh, and although some of them e.g., Nos. 1, 2 and 6 sound genuine, the others have a ring of Aesop studied in Arabic translation and reproduced in Tigri. Further investigation on that point is required; meantime the tales are recorded for the factual interest in the first transcription of narrative in the common tongue of the poorer members of the Beni Amer tribe.

THE SUDAN MEMORIES OF CARL CHRISTIAN GIEGLER PASHA 1873-1883.

Edited by Richard Hill. Oxford University Press

FONTES HISTORIAE AFRICANAE

Series Varia II

p. 134-5 (in 1875)

We left Musawwa' for Kasala along the Abyssinian border via Senhit on 22 January 1879 having made all preparations. This was one of the most beautiful journeys I have ever made in the Sudan.

Some hours west of Musawwa?, the ascent into the foothills of the Abyssinian Highlands begins. Every day brought such splendid and beautiful scenes that I cannot describe them. We passed through mountains, wonderful fertile valleys and then through rocky gorges which were so narrow that a laden camel could scarcely pass through without knocking its load on the sides.

Once we rode through a long rock gully through which a stream of clear water flowed so that the animals and drivers had to march through water for a long time. We often saw large herds of wild boars eating or galloping away when they saw us. The telegraph from Musawwa' to Kasala was completed.

As the whole area is practically uninhabited, at least near the telegraph line, the houses of the telegraph guards are just about the only dwellings to be found there. There we invariably found vegetables and fruit. It was there, too that we always rested at midday and spent the night.

There was sufficient water everywhere. There were also all kinds of wild animals. I had to limit myself to hunting guinea fowl, of which there were large numbers, but which were very hard to shoot. They run like weasels and then flutter quickly from bough to bough so that I often shot at a whole flight of them without hitting any.

One evening we camped at a stream near the foot of a mountain. In the cracks and crevices of the rock a huge number of monkeys (baboons) also wanted to spend the night. They were, however, disquieted by our presence for suddenly they made a terrific scene and set off.

The young ones sat on the backs of their mothers or hung under their stomachs while the old ones hit the young ones who strayed too far away. It was such a quaint sight that I still recall it with pleasure today. The whole band marched round the mountain till it disappeared from view.

On the seventh day after our departure from Musawwa, we arrived in Senhit, also called Keren. Senhit was a fortified place situated on a hill, the residence of a ma'mur or district officer and a garrison of Negro troops.

The ma'mur was an Austrian called Hasan (*) who had previously been with Munzinger and had got his present position from Gordon. He knew Abyssinia well, was married to an Abyssinian and, because of his connections, carried out his work well. He was absent when I arrived but came a day later.

With him I visited the French Catholic mission which had a house there. The missionaries were mostly Germans from the Rhineland. They were nicely furnished and had a pleasant garden. Yet I heard nothing about their doings or success as missionaries.

The officers and civil servants of Senhit had cultivated pleasant gardens in a khor or seasonal watercourse, where all sorts of vegetables and fruit flourished. Meat was also to be found there so we had no lack of good food during our stay.

I made several small trips with Hasan in the neighbourhood. We rode Abyssinian mules which strode splendidly and with sure foot on the narrow paths we had to pass. I had little business to do at Senhit since the station was in good order. I could pass the time as pleasantly as possible till preparations had been made for my onward journey.

On 3 February we continued on our way to Kasala. Camels march badly in that region and when we had to cross mountains I often marched on foot for hours at a time, which was a pleasure in that beautiful country.

On foot one could better enjoy the surroundings than on a camel. On a camel one has to concentrate one's whole attention on the camel and the path. We always camped at midday and in the evening under splendid sycamore trees with pure flowing water nearby. It was a wonderful journey! Every day, every hour something new and beautiful!

One afternoon on the way to Kasala I killed a large snake, which wanted to cross a torrent in front of us, by shooting a charge of shot into its head. One of my people removed the head. It was a good large specimen and is now to be found in the collection which I gave the school.

Although the region is not very safe because the wild tribes near the Abyssinian border often raid in the north, we arrived safely at Kasala on 13 February. Kasala is the capital of the Eastern Sudan and quite an important trading centre. The governor, 'Abd al-Raziq Pasha, whom I already knew?

(*)Probably Franz Hassen, formerly consular agent for France at Musawwa, an

Austrian friend of Munzinger whom in 1872 he followed into the Egyptian service.

FN p 50.

' Sanjaq (Turkish), a flag, a term used in the Sudan for a troop commander of irregular cavalry who might also govern an administrative district.

'Agha, an old-fashioned Turkish designation for a naval or military officer below the grade of bey who was promoted from the ranks. In Giegler's time the term was generally limited to officers of irregular formations.

Regular officers from battalion commander (binbashi) to 2nd. lieutenant (mulazim thani), who had passed through the newly-established naval and military schools, were addressed as efendi. ' Bashi-buzuq, from the Turkish, literally cracked bead, crazy, in the sense of brave, the name then used in the Sudan for the irregular military formations such as the Shalqiya.

THE TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO (THE VENETIAN) (1254-1324)

Revised from Marsden's translation, and edited with introduction by Manuel Komroff.
1930 N.Y. USA.

BOOK III, CHAPTER 35 pp. 316-8

TREATING OF THE GREAT PROVINCE NAMED ABASCIA OR MIDDLE INDIA.

Abascia (Abyssinia) is an extensive country, termed the Middle or second India. Its principal king is a Christian. Of the others who are six in number, and tributary to the first, three are Christians and three are Saracens.

I was informed that the Christians of these parts, in order to be distinguished as such, make these signs or marks, namely, one on the forehead, one on each cheek, which are imprinted with a hot iron.

This may be considered as a second baptism with fire, after the baptism with water. The Sarasens have only one mark, which is on the forehead, and reaches to the middle of the nose. The Jews, who are likewise numerous here, have two marks, and these upon the cheeks.

The capital of the Principal king is in the interior of the country. The dominions of the Saracen princes lie towards the province of Aden. The conversion of these people to the Christian faith was the work of the glorious apostle, St. Thomas, who having preached the Gospel in the kingdom of Nubia, and converted the inhabitants, afterwards visited Abascia, and there, by the influence of his discourses and the performance of miracles, produced the same effect.

He subsequently went to abide in the province of Maabar, where, after converting the infinite number of persons, he received, as we have already mentioned, the crown of martyrdom, and was buried on the spot.

These people of Abascia are brave and good warriors, being constantly engaged in hostility with the Soldan of Aden, the people of Nubia, and many others whose countries border upon theirs. In consequence of this unceasing practice in arms, they are accounted the best soldiers in the part of the world.

In the year 1288, as I was informed, this great Abyssinian prince adopted the resolution of visiting in person the holy sepulchre of Christ in Jerusalem, a pilgrimage that is every year performed by vast numbers of his subjects. He was however, dissuaded from it by the officers of his government, who represented him the dangers to which he would be exposed in passing through so many places belonging to the Saracens, his enemies.

He then determined upon sending a bishop as his representative, a man of high reputation for sanctity, who, upon his arrival at Jerusalem, recited the prayers and made the offerings which the king had directed. Returning however, through the dominions of the Soldan (Sultan) of Aden, the latter caused him to be brought into his presence, and endeavoured to persuade him to become a Mohammetan.

Upon his refusing to abandon the Christian faith, the Soldan, making light of the resentment of the Abyssinian monarch, caused him to be circumcised, and then suffered him to depart. Upon his arrival, and making a report of the indignity and violence to which he had been subjected, the king immediately gave orders for assembling an army, at the head of which he marched, for the purpose of exterminating the Soldan. The Soldan, on his part, called for assistance two Mohometan princes, his neighbors, by whom he was joined with a very large force. In the conflict that ensued, the Abyssinian king was victorious, and having taken the city of Aden, he gave it up to pillage, in revenge for the insult his bishop had sustained.

The inhabitants of this kingdom live upon wheat, rice, flesh, and milk. They extract oil from sesame, and have abundance of all sorts of provisions. In the country there are elephants, lions, giraffes, and a variety of other animals, such as wild asses, and monkeys that have the resemblance of men, together with many birds, wild and domestic. It is extremely rich in gold, and much frequented by merchants, who obtain large profits. We shall now speak of the province of Aden.

THE STATE OF EMERGENCY IN ERITREA AND THE MASSACRE OF INNOCENT PEOPLE

14.1.1971 Stockholm

Statement by the Ethiopian Students Association in Sweden

On December 16, 1970, the feudal regime of Haile Selassie in Ethiopia declared a state of emergency in Eritrea. The pretext for the declaration was to withstand the "infiltration of foreign-trained bandits" into the country. By this declaration the feudal regime is only slapping its own face for it is now an open secret that a determined resistance against oppression has been surging ahead during the last few years. Particularly in Eritrea, a well-organised armed struggle incorporating a substantial segment of the oppressed nationalities has been going on for the last ten years. The peoples of Ethiopia as well as the Eritrean people are oppressed and exploited by the reactionary feudal regime and its patron US imperialism.

Eritrea was a colony of Italy from 1889 to 1941 and a British Protectorate from 1941 to 1952. It was federated with Ethiopia in 1952 by the decision of the General Assembly of the United Nations where the interest of US imperialism played an overriding role.

In the decade between 1952 and 1962, the reactionary feudal regime took a series of undemocratic and unpopular measures by which the Eritrean people were robbed of all rights for which they had fought for a long time. These measures were crowned with an outright incorporation of Eritrea as a province of Ethiopia.

Today, the same autocratic regime which oppresses and massacres the Ethiopian peoples has imposed a reign of terror on the people of Eritrea. The people in Eritrea are thus struggling against the political, economic and cultural oppression of Ethiopian feudalism and US imperialism.

In response to the heroic struggle of the people, the unpopular regime has leased out the whole of Eritrea as a base of US imperialism, thus revealing itself as an active participant in US imperialism's counter-revolutionary activities.

We resolutely support the just and popular struggle of the heroic people of Eritrea. We condemn the murderous bombardment of the town of Keren in which over 500 people died. The savage killing of children, the aged and the innocent, the burning down of villages and the destruction of all lives in Eritrea will not save the feudal regime of Haile Selassie from the final doom to which it is heading.

We ask all progressive and peace-loving Swedish people to join us in the condemnation of the atrocities of Haile Selassie's regime in Eritrea.

THE PEOPLES STRUGGLE WILL TRIUMPH!

Uppsala Afrikagrupp

Box 2059

S-750 02 UPPSALA

Sverige/Suede

Pg. 613192

Source: Nordic African Institute Uppsala, Sweden

"THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE 'ERITREANS FOR LIBERATION'
IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA"

The Eritrean students in imperialist U.S.A. and Canada have arrogantly dispatched a propaganda material in the name of the Eritrean people. Their action is meant not to condemn the General Command of the Eritrean Liberation Front, but also to oppose the convening of the first Eritrean National Congress which is being initiated by the progressive forces within the Eritrean Liberation Front. The mask of "ULTRA-Leftism" that the Eritrean students in U.S.A. and Canada wear can not hide the essence of their despicable action –OPPOSITION TO REVOLUTION AND REPUDIATION OF THE ERITREAN REVOLUTION!!!

Consequently, we ERITREAN PATRIOTS FOR INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM resolutely CONDEMN the Eritrean students (and any person) in U.S.A. and Canada who is responsible for the dispatch of the reactionary, divisive propaganda material. At the same time we cherish sincere respect and love for those Eritreans in Northern America who opposed the infantile action of the so-called Eritreans for Liberation.

We, ERITREAN PATRIOTS FOR INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM CONDEMN the so-called Eritreans for Liberation in imperialist U.S.A. and Canada:-

Because they (Eritreans for Liberation) dispatched the propaganda material in the NAME OF THE ERITREAN PEOPLE thus illegitimately CLAIM to REPRESENT the Eritrean people. In the dispatch they state that "the whole Eritrean people condemn the General Command" while supporting the so-called Popular Liberation Forces - - this is a completely down-graded lie and it is designed to MISLEAD the unthinking population in particular to deceive those who are still unaware of the TRUTH.

We, Eritrean Patriots for Independence and Socialism recognize the Eritrean Liberation Front as the vanguard of the Eritrean Revolution therefore it is only the fighters under the Eritrean Liberation Front that could claim the right to represent the Eritrean people as long as it (the E.L.F.) is for the interest and aspirations of the Eritrean people; fights against colonial Ethiopia, imperialism and zionism.

Let alone the Eritrean students in North America the whole Eritrean students abroad cannot represent the Eritrean people. At present the task of the Eritreans abroad and in particular the students is to make propaganda against the criminal colonial Ethiopia; to raise world wide support for the Eritrean Revolution and carry on political education devoid of bourgeois and imperialist ideology.

Eritrean residing or studying abroad have no right at all to act as judges of the Revolution let alone to try to organize the internal affairs of the Eritrean Revolution from European capitals. (To play in the hands of imperialists is to betray the revolution!)

Because it is known all over the world that the First National Congress is scheduled to be held this year the enemy, colonial Ethiopia, backed by United States imperialist and Israeli zionists is intensifying its propaganda and diplomatic aggression.

Since the first Eritrean National Congress will have a far-reaching influence in the history of the Eritrean armed struggle obviously Colonial Ethiopia is taking every opportunity to stop the convening of the Congress. In collusion with the interest of the enemy the reaction within E.L.F., some of the ousted supreme council, certain 'leaders' of the o-called Popular Liberation Forces, reaction outside Eritrea especially those who abandoned the SCENE OF THE STRUGGLE ARE showing their opposition to holding the First National Eritrean Congress.

Because the holding of the National Congress will be the end of the reactionaries parasitic deeds and despicable lies! In this respect the position of the so-called Eritreans for Liberation is quite evident..... just as the so-called Popular Liberation Forces have become popular in capital city of colonial Ethiopia and imperialist newspapers so the 'Eritreans for Liberation' have become favorites in reactionary circles. The dispatch of the divisive material is 'HERESY' to REVOLUTION AND TO THE UNITY OF ERITREA.

A very good example of reactionary opposition to the holding of the first National Congress comes from self-intoxicated ex-secretary general of the E.L.F. He (the ex-secretary general) attempted every vicious ways and means not only to stop the National Congress but also to shape it according to his personal interests.

After all his rotten attempts to win the hearts and minds of the gallant fighters of Eritrea failed, the ex-general secretary turned his attacks towards the Preparatory Committee especially the chairman of the Preparatory Committee. Despicable as his actions are his last attempt is a sign of DESPERATION. The act of the so-called Eritreans for Liberation is as despicable, rotten, and vicious as that of ex-general secretary!!

All they could receive from Eritrean Patriots and revolutionary people of Eritrea is contempt that reactionaries deserve. Just as ex-general secretary must recognize that he will be removed whenever the people wants it the psudo-leftists 'Eritreans for Liberation' must recognize that being abroad (especially in imperialist U.S.A. and Canada) does not give them any kind of privilege.

Because the General Command of the Eritrean Liberation Front is elected in congress by Eritrean fighters it is only answerable to the congress. It is agreed by the fighters of E.L.F. that the General Command would not resign before the National Congress is held least of all it will not resign to give way to the sectarian, reactionary so-called Popular Liberation Forces.

We would like to stress here that the General Command of E.L.F. while it removed the reactionary Supreme Council it is difficult (at the short time of its existence) to completely eradicate the evils that was disseminated by the reactionary Supreme Council and its revolutionary command.

Here we would like to stress that we are not taking sides between those who might like the General Command to resign after the National Congress, however, we resolutely oppose the so-called Popular Liberation Forces..... since they represent the CONTINUATION of the old, stagnant and reactionary policy of the ousted supreme council.

Furthermore, from purely military point of view two fronts are disadvantageous to our Revolution and credit to the enemy therefore splittism within a revolutionary movement must

be resisted at any cost. The 'Eritreans for Liberation' in U.S.A. and Canada must be condemned for its advocacy of splittism and for transmitting lies about Eritrean Revolution.

The leadership of the so-called Popular Liberation Forces is not only devoid of any revolutionary principles but it lacks faith in its actions: we have evidence (we will publish it whenever we think it is necessary) that it applies coercive terrorism and empty threats to force people not to attend the National Congress and not to join the Eritrean Liberation Front.

The 'Eritreans for Liberation' have shown complicity in the undemocratic, primitive action. Because the dispatch from 'Eritreans for Liberation' speaks the same language as the enemies of our people – colonial Ethiopia, U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionists. Colonial Ethiopia and its masters continue to apologize for Eritrean traitors and deserters; continue to foam lies about tribalism, religious fanaticism and political assassinations within Eritrean Liberation Front. The so-called 'Eritreans for Liberation' have not done bad at all in rendering service to the enemies of the Eritrean people.

We, Eritrean Patriots for Independence and Socialism do not oppose criticism in fact we encourage it. No revolution can be made without mistakes and we discourage completely covering up mistakes, however we DEMAND that the critique should not abandon the scene of the struggle; any criticism from European capitals or abroad could not be possibly aimed at correcting the Revolution.

The 'criticism' by the 'Eritreans for Liberation' was not objective, its aim was to destroy and demolish by sowing seeds of fear, distrust and suspicion among our people. Far from dealing with basic matters, the primary contradictions, they (the so-called Eritreans for Liberation) are OBSESSED with exploiting secondary contradictions.

We are not being sensitive or emotional in comparing the 'Eritreans for Liberation' with the enemies of the Eritrean people and the reaction at home. But by exposing their errors we want them to correct it and benefit. Instead of being over-critical, timid and overcautious they should learn to relate their criticism to political and organisational mistakes..... most of all while abroad they should recognize that they have no RIGHT at all to criticize the internal affairs of the Revolution lest they fall in the hands of imperialists.

OUR CONCLUSION; - At this particular moment when our people and the gallant fighters are looking forward for the convening of the HISTORIC First National Congress of Eritrea ONLY a SHAMELESS renegade publishes propaganda material and/or holds congresses....etc. that are meant to disseminate despicable lies, divisive ideas, rotten plots about the Eritrean Liberation Front.

Furthermore, such actions of renegades – transmitters of colonial and imperialist influence – is the purest and VULGAR opportunism which completely repudates Revolution while accepting it in words! Americanized Eritrean RENEGADE lack the capacity to understand the high aspirations of proletarian fighters; balk at any personal sacrifice and ignoring the justice of our cause they base their actions contrary to the highest interests of the broadest masses of our people. (No wonder the 'Popular Liberation Forces' and 'Eritreans for Liberation' are supported by the enemies of the Eritrean people and reaction W I T H A L A C R I T Y)

We, ERITREAN PATRIOTS FOR INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM gave a reply to the

arrogant and manipulated dispatch from the 'Eritreans for Liberation' to block the enemy hand from exploiting the infantile approach to our Revolution. Our reply for further subversive materials, congresses...etc, is our invitation to join the E.L.F. **SHARE THE WORK: SHARE THE SACRIFICE: SHARE THE DANGER: COME AND JOIN THE SCENE OF THE STRUGGLE !**

Be ready to sacrifice yourself. At present every human and material resources must be used against Colonial Ethiopia, U.S. imperialism and Zionism.

Save yourself from being a cheap labour for imperialists!

(Next is a page in Tigrina from Eritrean Students Mahber in Italy. Head office in Bologna, Italy, dated 4.4.71)

Source: Nordic Africa Institute – Uppsala, Sweden

THE KUNAMA PEOPLE

Book: På Gamla Återställda Stigar (On old recovered paths)

By Aug. Andersson, a Swedish missionary.

Evangeliipress, Örebro, Sweden 1947 255 pages.

(This is the author's narration of his travels in Eritrea in 1909-1947 times. Many Swedish missionaries had gone to Kunama, Eritrea and sent letters and notes which were published in their newspapers, journals and books. This is a translation from the original Swedish.)

P 9-10 Kunama, the country and the people.

The Kunama country is situated in the north west of Abyssinia by the Red Sea, 400 km from Massawa. It borders the Abesinian landscape to the east, Dembelas and Adiabo and Welkiat to the south, Suderat and Algeden tribes to the west, and Barea country in the north.

It is divided into four landscapes, Marda in the north, Barka in east, Bazena in west and Tika in the south between the rivers Gash and Tekeze. Kunama, which is a thousand meters above sea level, would be considered lowland in comparison with Abesinia, but highland compared to Barea country.

It feels so wonderful riding up the mountain from Areda village in Barea to Samero, which is the first Kunama village. Several grass and tree mountain chains leap through the country and between them wide, fertile plains with deep rich earth suitable for farming are found.

Through every landscape flows some big river. In north Kunama where Barentu is situated, flows the Momonya River, which is tributary river to Barka, which in turn flows by Akordet and into the Red Sea near Tokar.

In the middle of Kunama country flows the Gash River which has its source in Hamazen near Adi Gebrai. In Abyssinia the Gash River is called Mereb, in Kunama language, Sona and Kessela calls it Gash.

In southern Kunama flows the Tekeze River, the only river in that area which does not dry up in the arid season. It is rich with fish, hippopotamus and crocodile. The people there call the river for sea.

Both Gash and Tekeze rivers flow up to Abyssinia and are tributaries to the Atbara, which nearing Berber unites with the Nile. The river banks are enriched with many kinds of plants and fruit bearing trees, as well as boaboa tree, evergreen, dates tamarind and sycamore etc.

Also found are different kinds of Akacia, gum and ebenholt (Swedish) The rainy season falls in the July through September months and the land becomes lush with verdure. However, grasshoppers are difficult land tormentors, which have been known to destroy the year's harvest and even tree blades.

The riverbanks also have a rich bird and animal life, inhabitants range from the smallest birds to ostriches, from the smallest animal to elephants and giraffes.

P12 To which origins do the Kunama belong to?

The elderly Kunama say that according to tradition, they came from the north, east, and south. Hence they are a mixed people, which is how they received their name, "Koa" meaning people and "Nama" meaning blended. They regard the Gallas as their relatives. It seems that they are related to the Bantu as well.

P13. The Tigre speakers refer to the Kunama as Baden. Most Abyssinians do not differentiate the Barea and Kunama, although these are two different tribes with their own languages. Those who know their differences call Kunama Bazen.

They divide themselves into four houses. The first one is called "Karawa". Those belonging to this house regard themselves in union with the thunder and rain. The "Shoa" house has the fire and sun as their union figure.

The "Serma" regard bees as their family, and the fourth, "Gurma" house consider their figures to be the elephant and a bird. They state that all humans belong to those four families and that all tribes have these four families in them. They often ask missionaries which house they belong to. The names reproduce different sounds of nature and every house has selected their symbol, a kind of equivalent to our shields emblems or escutcheons.

The Kunama are almost without exception short limbed and strongly built. Their skin colors vary from black to red brown. They are generally happy and open people, but can sometimes be sullen and suspicious.

They have well-developed sense organs, including perfect sight and hearing abilities. Because they totally depend on memory, they are sharp, and can repeat word for word what they heard only once. We write notes and need not burden our memory but they do not have writing. Hence, everything, their laws, debts, changes etc are recorded in memory.

P14. The Kunama search for an elevated yet covered and protected location to build their homes on. During the dry seasons when the water wells are further away, they all move from the mountainous area and build temporary homes by riverbanks. Men, women and children work together on the farm.

It is often the case that the whole village or most families work together in the farming process. They have an abundance of cattle, sheep, goats, but have few donkeys. Sources of great revenue are honey and gum arabicum. After a good harvest they sell seeds and tobacco to the houses or barter for cloths, needles, and iron items. When traders raise their tents in the Kunama villages, the Kunama gather around them and a lively barter takes place.

P19. Tobacco is used mostly for snorting and is placed in small round pump shell, with a narrow opening. Almost every man carries this with him. Only the chief drinks coffee. The coffee is prepared in the following manner; the coffee beans are roasted on a clay plate resting on red-hot charcoal.

The beans are roasted with constant shaking. The coffee is then grounded together with spices such as zingebel, pepper and cloves in a wooden bowl using a stone grinder. The coffee is served in small Arab cups and the process is usually repeated several times.

Once, when Onesimus was in Sweden, he was served coffee and asked how it tasted. He is said to have replied "It tastes like the fourth cooking".

The Family.

Contrary to the neighboring Barea, where Mohammedanism rules, the women of Kunama are free, and are aware of their freedom. It is obvious from just looking at the women and more obvious from observing the small society and the family.

The father's tradition is the law and it protects the family. An old tradition regarding relations with other tribe's states "You shall not demand foreign people's daughters". But there are limits even within the clans: the families of Karava and Shoa can marry among themselves, and likewise the Serma with the Gurma. The first group cannot marry from the second group.

The first of the two groups have thunder and rain, fire and sun and their sense of symbol, insist having supremacy over the nature crafts. The two latter groups, the bee and lion, the bird and elephant therefore reign supreme over the animal world.

P20 When a young male reaches 18-20 years of age, he starts to search for a wife to be. After identifying one to his liking he observes her senses and working ability. After adequate observation, he meets with her when she is alone, and asks her if she will become his wife. She has the freedom to say yes or no.

If two young men, she has no obligation to agree with any of them. She can freely accept or reject any marriage proposal. When the girl reaches 14, the wedding is celebrated. .. According to tradition, it is the girl's family who pay for the wedding (describes how the wedding is celebrated).

P24 Circumcision occurs in the second, fifth or tenth year following the birth of a child. An elderly woman performs the circumcision for a girl and an elderly man for a boy. Cattle are slaughtered and feasted on in celebration.

P25 Children learn working from early age. Girls accompany their mothers and help with the strength they have. Boys help with looking after the animals and learn to throw stones with precision and the use of lances.

Instead of lances they use long sticks. The Kunama demand unconditional obedience from their children, or they will be punished. For the elders, respect and willingness to work are general characteristics of children.

When a child leaves village of the father it is customary to return on great occasions to ask for the fathers' blessings. The person lies down on the floor and then first takes hold of his father's knee and then his chin.

Parents are also immensely close to their children. If a father starts a trip away from the village, he soon starts complaining that he misses his children, and returns as soon as possible. During sowing and harvest times children are not left behind but are taken along with the older siblings watching the younger ones.

P26. Seldom do the Kunama divorce, and when they do it almost always the woman who leaves her husband, contrary to the neighboring Abyssinians. When the wife leaves her husband, he has the right to reclaim what he gave his father in law at the time of the wedding.

A family may have servants. The servants are not given money as salary and a shepherd is given milk from the herd. The farm hand is given part of the harvest; apart of the food he eats which all servants are allowed.

If the harvest is poor, the servant gets no income for his work. Every community has the sick and the poor who live of pittance. Professional beggars are not seen in Kunama. It is the family's obligation to feed their needy relatives, and no one is more privileged than the other as the needy are taken care of with the contributions of the entire community.

P27 The Kunama do not worship icons. Their religious concept is more similar to the Mongolian nomads religion, Shamanism or spirit worship. At the same time, they raise themselves beyond these philosophies and believe in one God and one evil spirit, which stand over the spirit of the dead and spirit powers as well as in all living creatures.

They have several names for God. They call him "Anna" or "Anna baddi shinda" i.e., originator of all and creator of the first humans – 'Adum and Haoa'. They call him also "Kas'anda" which means "great image", it symbolizes God's ability to bestow gifts such as children, cattle and good harvest.

P28 With the name "Schama" they say that he can save from death and all distress. God is the good spirit, which is peaceful and giving and who listens to people's prayers when they turn to him in time of need. The bad spirit is called "Sadalla".

They say that he has an iron pole with which he spreads death and terror around him. One can compare it with the devil holding the fork of fire. Those hit by him cannot be healed except with sacrifice and bloodletting. Here is an example.

When a slave has bought freedom or has managed to escape and reach home, a sacrifice animal is circled two or four times around him. And then the animal is slaughtered. The blood is collected and smeared on the man's body as a sign that he is freed from slavery.

P29 If a child dies in the early years; it is buried in a separate grave, where every child has a special grave. At the 'Andina-feast', durra beer is sprayed in the air for the dead children's spirits.

An underground chamber, which can sometimes accommodate several villages, is built for the burial of the elder. Above the grave is a circular wall made of stones. The opening in the middle of the grave opening is covered by a large stone and tightened with earth and small stones.

The grave must be opened every time a person is buried and the stench of the dead is horrible for the digger. The dead are laid men to the right and women to the left.

I want to tell about the village chiefs who gave us the stations Kulloko and Ausa-Konoma. When Chief Baychike of Kulloko became old and sick, he had a general elders meeting as where he should be buried. After that the diggers start and animals are slaughtered for the diggers to eat meat, and beer made by the women.

Those not digging blew horns, played the drums and danced until the grave was built and finished with mud and grass. When the chief died, a horn was blown at the bayou and the

nearby villages heard it. The message of death is shouted which can be heard from four kilometers distance – this is their telephone – and the general wailing and crying starts.

* * * * *

Sudanese soldier in Eritrea 1885

THE LIFE-STORY OF
YUZHASHI'ABDULLAH ADLAN
as told to
G. R. F. BREDIN

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FOREWORD

Towards the end of 1933 I was posted as Deputy Governor to El Obeid and shortly after the new year attended a levée at Province Headquarters. Among the crowd of sheikhs, uniformed officers and others awaiting their turn for presentation to the Governor I noticed an elderly Sudanese yuzbashi.

He was remarkable both for his upright and soldierly carriage (in spite of his 80-odd years) and for the fact that the medals crowded on the chest of his tunic included the Gordon Star as well as those of the Nile campaigns while the latter bore the clasps of Toski, Firket, Atbara and Omdurman.

It seemed to me that the chronicle of a man who had endured such a variety of military experience must be worth recording, and I approached him with the request that he should come to my house on a series of afternoons and give me an opportunity of writing at his dictation his personal reminiscences of the stirring events through which he had lived. He agreed and we embarked on our task forthwith.

The record which follows is the result of these sessions. It is written in the very words he used as nearly as I could reproduce them. I have made no additions or emendations, neither have I made any attempt to establish the historical accuracy of the narrative by comparing it with the official chronology of the events which he records or with the regimental histories of the regiments with which he served.

It seemed to me best to reproduce the plain unvarnished narrative told as it was with astonishing vividness and with the unhesitating clarity of memory of early events so often granted to old age. Our joint efforts have, I hope, rescued from oblivion the story of a life of unusual interest covering a period in the history of the Sudan of which all too few such personal records survive.

YUZHASHI 'ABDULLAH'S STORY

My father was the Sultan Adlan Badi of Jebel Gulli in the Fung where I was born. He could trace his ancestry back through twenty generations of the royal house of the Hill. My mother, was Fatma bint El Nazir Awdoon the daughter of the Nazir of the Habbania tribe and came from Sherkeila. My brother Idris Adlan was the sixth ruler who had governed the Hill under the Turks and was the "Mek" at the time of the Mahdia.

When the Khedive Sa'id Pasha was in Khartoum on a visit to the Sudan in 1858 all the notables from far and wide were summoned to meet him. Amongst these was my father. The Khedive demanded that children from the families of three big sheikhs should be sent in to join the army-one from among the sons of the Sultan of Darfur, one from Ibrahim Sabun the Dinka Chief of Kawa and the third from my father's household. At that time the Dinkas inhabited the banks of the White Nile as far north as Kawa near Dueim.

(38) When he received these instructions my father passed word on to my uncle El Kashef Yusef, who was a "Sanjak" with the Turkish Army at Kassala and in whose charge I then was, that when I became twelve years of age (I was then eight) I should be enrolled in the Khedive's Army. In preparation for this career I was sent first to the local "Khalwa" to learn my letters under a Fiki named Abdullah Medani and, when I had been there for two years, my father told my uncle to put

me into the school at Kassala which was in the charge of an Egyptian officer in the Bashi-Bazouks named Mohammed Zankaloni.

This was the school to which the sons of all the local officers and notables used to go. It was a government school run by the Turks and as I was there by the Khedive's order I paid no fees. There I was soon joined by Adam Bosh son of Sultan Ahmed Bosh of El Fasher. He had done some schooling in Darfur and he and I worked together, but the Dinka representative who joined us later was no use at his books and just used to drill on the square with the soldiers.

Thus I spent three years. The Khedive Sa'id Pasha died and Isma'il Pasha took his place. He found among his records a note about us three children at Kassala and sent word to the Mudir (Abdel Razaq Pasha-who was afterwards killed with Hicks Pasha) to enlist us as soldiers and to send us to Egypt with the garrison of Kassala (four battalions) which was due for relief.

Our uniform consisted of a short tunic buttoned up to the neck and made of white damour cloth, white trousers, boots and white spats and tarbooshes on our heads. Our pay was 7½ piastres a month but, of course, our food and uniforms were provided free. The regular soldiers were given twenty piastres a month and were paid in coins which got the name "Abu Teir" as they had French eagles on them.

The barracks were mud-brick buildings laid out in the shape of a square to form a fort. Each battalion drank from its own well. The married men lived in their own houses in the town. We called the barracks "Hara El Jehadia". The soldiers were all armed with muzzle-loading flint-locks and had not yet been issued with Remington rifles. The artillery consisted of small brass cannon which were carried on mules and iron ones which were carried on camels. They fired cannonballs made of cast iron.

We marched to Suakin, covering the distance in twenty-seven days; and there Mumtaz Pasha, the Governor, sent for transports to take us to Egypt. Each battalion was put onto a separate transport. These were really men-of-war with an engine as well as sails. After five days at sea we reached Suez and from there were sent by rail to Cairo.

Our regiments were taken to some barracks called "Tura El Kheit" and then we three boys were sent by the Miralai to the army headquarters where we were allocated to our several units. I was sent to the army music school, Adam Bosh to the infantry and the Dinka to the artillery. The last was found to be of no use as a soldier and after six months was sent back to the Sudan. I spent nine years in the army music school.

At about this time an Austrian named Metzinger(1) Pasha who had visited Massawa wished to open up Eritrea and to add it to the Khedive's dominions and asked for an army with which to do this. The Khedive sent him a battalion and this landed and occupied a place called Senheit between Massawa and Agordat.

A brother of Metzinger Pasha's then ventured further into Abyssinia but was killed by the Abyssinians who cut him into four pieces and hanged them onto separate trees. When news of this was brought to Metzinger Pasha he returned to his headquarters at Massawa and sent a despatch to Isma'il Pasha asking for more troops.

(1) Evidently Munzinger, who was in fact a Swiss [Ed. S.N.R.]

(39) The Khedive then sent him a second battalion and with this Metzinger Pasha advanced to Amadeib (where his brother had been killed) and occupied it. The officers commanding the two battalions then asked if their regimental band could be sent up from Egypt to join them.

This was approved and I went with them. My instrument in the band was the Cyprian cornet. We landed at Massawa and stayed there for six months; then we went to Senheit where the first battalion was about eleven days' journey by camel. At least the officers and the kit went by camel: we walked. We stayed at Senheit for three months and from there went on to Amadeib where we stayed for a month.

Metzinger Pasha then asked for permission to go to Kassala which was outside his command: this

request was granted and our band accompanied him on his twelve day journey to Kassala. There we had a great welcome from the Governor and I joined my family once more. My uncle and my mother were still there but I heard then for the first time the news of my father's death and the succession of my brother Idris to the sultanate of Gulli. After his visit to Kassala Metzinger Pasha returned to his command at Senheit, Amadeib and Massawa and we went with him.

At that time there was trouble at Zeila and Berbera in what is now Somaliland and Metzinger Pasha sent for a company from the Senheit garrison to deal with it. These reinforcements came first to Massawa and there our band joined them after putting our instruments into store. We went by ship to a place in Somaliland whose name I cannot remember and there landed and made a zariba.

Metzinger Pasha summoned the local sheikh, but evening came and he had not appeared. In the middle of the night the sheikh and a party of tribesmen made a sudden onslaught on our zariba burst their way in and killed Metzinger Pasha.

The alarm was given and we formed a square. They then attacked us with swords but our firearms were too much for them and next day we were able to get back to the shore carrying the Pasha's dead body, and boarded our ship. The captain of the ship, who was either an Englishman or a Frenchman, went through a form of Christian burial but we took the body in the coffin back to Massawa where we handed it over and went up country again to Senheit.

After I had spent about four years at Senheit with the first battalion they sent me and two others off to Egypt where we were to be given further instruction so that we could each take charge of a regimental band. My course in Egypt lasted for a year, after which I returned to Senheit: my two companions were given posts in Egypt-one to the cavalry and one to an infantry unit.

The regimental band of which I was a member consisted entirely of Sudanese: the bandmaster was a Kunjari from Darfur while the others were from all sorts of different tribes-Nuba, Shilluk, Dinka and so on.

I spent five years between Kassala, Amadeib and Senheit, during which time I was promoted Onbashi and finally Shawish. During this time the members of the regimental band were frequently called out for duty in patrols against the local inhabitants.

The way in which the government collected taxes was to send out soldiers who went from house to house with the tax-gatherers. The soldier who accompanied the tax-gatherer was entitled to take, in addition, 1 per cent of the tax for himself.

This was a very profitable business for the soldiers who drew no pay during tax collection but lived on their share of the takings. Soldiers were not allowed to retire but just worked and served until they dropped. When no longer fit for active service, they were put onto light work such as looking after the officers' gardens. There was no such thing as leave of absence.

(40) The administration of the country was purely military. The officers used to see cases and deal out punishments. The cases would be brought to them by the local chiefs who were some of them Abyssinians and some Arabs. In the more settled areas, however, there were civilian officials in government service.

We had several battles with the local people. There was a certain Maria tribe (Hamra and Zerga) living between Asmara and Senheit. They lived along a big khor called the Baraka which runs from Kofit to Senheit. They frequently refused to pay their taxes and when we went to collect cattle by force they used to attack us, but our firearms were always too much for them.

After about a year they were pacified and came into Asmara with their tribute and cases. I took part also in one expedition against the Kushtan tribe which lived in the direction of Adowa. After the death of Metzinger Pasha on the Somali coast, command of the troops in our area was taken over by 'Ala' al Din Pasha and Prince Hassan, son of Isma'il Pasha.

While 'Ala' al Din Pasha was in charge the 1st Egyptian Battalion made a raid on the Kushtan near the Abyssinian frontier who had refused to pay their tribute. The Kushtan attacked them at night when

they were asleep and unprepared and the battalion lost about half its numbers including several officers. The survivors withdrew to Senheit.

To avenge this reverse an army of 32,000 men was sent up to us from Egypt under the command of Prince Hassan to which were added the 4,000 troops already in Eritrea. The 2nd Battalion, with which I was serving, was amongst these.

We marched up towards the Abyssinian frontier by way of a place called Medin where our comrades of the 1st Battalion had been cut up. By this time our total force numbered 36,000 men. We were met by the Abyssinians whose leader parleyed with our commander (Prince Hassan) but they failed to come to terms and the battle began.

The Abyssinians attacked us in our zariba in great numbers. They galloped forward on mules and then sprang off and tore away the thorn bushes and poured in amongst us. But we held our ground and by the evening the corpses were piled high in front of the zariba.

On the third day of the battle our battalion commander ordered us to leave the zariba and advance. We did so and were fighting hand to hand with the enemy when the rest of the army, fearing that we might be driven back and the Abyssinians follow us into the zariba, opened a heavy fire on friend and foe alike and killed many of our men. During the fighting I received two sword cuts and a bullet in the thigh.

The Abyssinians used firearms which they discharged with lighted matches and many of their bullets were made of stone and ebony. At the end of three days fighting neither side had gained any advantage and the two commanders agreed to break off hostilities.

The Egyptian army then retired but the wounded were left behind under the care of the doctors. They wished to remove the ebony bullet which had lodged in my thigh but I refused to let them do this and it is in my body today. It gives me no pain except that it aches during the wet weather.

Many of our wounded had been emasculated by the Abyssinians and had died. Among the wounded who later perished was our Battalion Commander Mohammed 'Ali Pasha whom we buried on the battlefield. When I had recovered from my wounds I returned to Senheit and went on several tours with the band round Eritrea finishing up at Kassala.

Before reaching Kassala we had heard of messages having been received in the countryside from Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi telling everyone to rise and join him. Later, after he had inflicted defeats on the Turkish forces at Aba and Gedir was preparing to besiege El Obeid, he sent further messages to the tribal sheikhs and elders telling them that he (41) was the expected Mahdi.

The Turks then sent a battalion of mixed Sudanese and Egyptians under Mohammed Pasha from the east near Massawa by way of Kassala. This force was set upon by the Mahdists near the Um Dam in Kordofan and wiped out. News of this disaster reached us at Senheit and the whole country there rose against the Turks.

The Turkish authorities at once prohibited the holding of "zikrs". A rising at Senheit followed and a battalion sent to suppress it was annihilated. By that time a new battalion had arrived at Suakin. This marched up country and met a similar fate. At Kassala, however, a local rising was crushed by a Turkish force under the command of a certain Rashid Pasha who had been sent from Egypt by the Khedive to enquire into and suppress the revolt.

After he had put down the rising at Kassala, he left two of his three battalions in Kassala and returned to Egypt with the other one. After this there was a pause in the fighting lasting several months after which my battalion was sent from Senheit to Kassala to reinforce the garrison there.

By this time El Obeid had fallen to the Mahdi; Hicks Pasha's army had been destroyed at Sheikan and the Mahdi himself had begun to move eastwards towards the Nile. It was when we were in Kassala that we first heard news of the landing of British troops at Suakin.

Soon after that a large consignment of arms from Egypt reached us through Suakin and two

battalions were detailed to march to Khartoum as escort for these arms to help Gordon Pasha who had arrived there.

We met with no opposition on our way to Khartoum and when we arrived there heard that an order had arrived from the Khedive saying that anyone who wished to leave his post and return to Egypt could do so as the Sudan was being abandoned. On arrival at Khartoum we handed over the arms which we had brought with us and, a few days later, Gordon Pasha himself came and inspected us and had lists made of the names of our men so that we could be issued with his medal.

I had seen Gordon Pasha twice on previous occasions, at Kassala. The first time he came on a visit from Suakin and the second time he came on a tour of inspection as Governor General. On both occasions my band played for him there. Slatin Pasha also paid us a visit while I was in Kassala. The first time that Gordon Pasha came we played for him three nights running and he left a cheque for £200 which was handed over and distributed among us. The second time he gave us £50. Slatin Pasha did not give us anything.

We took our place among the garrison of Khartoum. The Dervish army was besieging Khartoum from a distance and was encamped on the banks of the White Nile to the south in the direction of Kawa. We soon heard that all the Turks and Egyptians in Dongola Province had left. Kassala also sent a number of its people to Egypt including Sayed Mohammed Osman, the father of Sayed 'Ali Mirghani, but the officials and garrisons of Khartoum, Sennar and Berber remained at their posts.

Soon after we arrived Gordon Pasha sent a messenger to the Mahdi who was approaching to say that he would not surrender Khartoum until he had received orders to do so. The Mahdi killed the messenger.

A week or so afterwards messengers arrived from the Mahdi to say that if Khartoum was not surrendered he would attack it, and Gordon Pasha then made all preparations for its defence. We had found the ramparts finished when we arrived but we added to them, digging a ditch and making a mound from behind which we could fire.

The fortifications of Khartoum were very poor-nothing like so good as (42) those of Kassala. The ramparts then circled a very large area only a part of which was occupied by buildings, the Palace and the market. My battalion was stationed on that part of the ramparts where the Abbas Pasha barracks now stand.

Our rations were slender but we were not really starving. Each soldier was issued with two and a half bowls of grain every fifteen days and also a little beef. The married men handed their rations over to their wives for cooking, but the others lived in a kind of mess and their food was cooked for them. There seemed to be no lack of ammunition.

Before our arrival in Khartoum the soldiers of the garrison had been issued with pieces of paper bearing Gordon Pasha's signature in lieu of pay but these issues ceased on our arrival and we got no pay.

We had not been in Khartoum three months when the final assault on the town was made. Until then there had been no real fighting near the town but only exchanges of letters between the Mahdi and Gordon Pasha.

The final assault was made in the early morning. It fell chiefly upon an Egyptian battalion which was holding a part of the defences opposite the Mogren. They broke and fled at once. Our part of the line was also heavily attacked and though we went on firing our rifles until they were too hot to hold they finally poured over the ramparts by sheer force of numbers and anyone who remained standing was killed.

Life was dear and many of us threw ourselves down among the dead and wounded while the Dervishes poured over us into the town. For several days they pillaged the city and massacred the inhabitants until finally the Mahdi ordered them to stop.

We, the survivors of the garrison, were collected and the Mahdi ordered us to be segregated into camps. Our uniforms were taken from us and we were dressed in Dervish clothes. The Mahdi then organized three columns, one to attack Berber, one Kassala and one Sennar.

After staying for three months in Khartoum while preparations were being made, the survivors of the troops which had come from Senheit were handed over to the command of the Emir El Hag Mohammed Abu Girga for the attack on Kassala. Away we marched and came to Kassala, approaching it from the west between the Gash Gate and the Kadi's Gate. Kassala was then a strongly fortified town surrounded by a wall and a ditch. In the wall were a number of forts with cannon mounted on them.

The garrison in that part of the wall facing us was composed of Shaigia whom our leaders bribed to open the gate. I was with the party of Dervishes which first entered and we headed straight for the Mudiria. Around us were forts occupied by my former comrades whom I had left behind when we marched to Khartoum.

We reached the Mudiria-- a building with a row of five tebedi trees in front-- at about eleven o'clock at night. Parties were sent to bring out of their beds the Governor (Miralai Ahmed Bey Iffad), his Deputy (Bimbashi Hassan Agha)-both Turks-together with the chief merchant and the Greek army contractor.

They were found and brought along while everyone else in the town was still asleep. They were ranged in a row and our commander argued with them until midnight trying to persuade them to surrender the town. They all refused and their heads were cut off on the spot.

We then waited until dawn came. By this time news had gone round that the Dervishes were in the town but the soldiers in the forts did not open fire as they did not know where we were. (A picture of the elderly and decorated Yuzbashi 'Abdullah Adlan, sitting upright in a chair outside a building)

At dawn our Commander divided his force into sections and sent them to attack the forts at the same time sending messages to the Commanders of the forts calling upon them to surrender. Two Egyptian bimbashis replied that they would surrender but the third commander (a Dinka sagh named Abdel Raddi) refused and (43) sent messages to all the rest of the garrison saying that he would die on the ramparts rather than give in to the Dervishes.

As a result the whole of the garrison, other than the two Egyptian bimbashis, refused to surrender and the Dervishes attacked them. They resisted fiercely but with difficulty as the forts were crowded with women and children and refugees. We who had been soldiers of the Khedive did not like to fight against our former comrades and so we hung back, taking no part in the battle.

For two days the garrison held out but on the third day a force arrived under Osman Digna and overwhelmed the defenders by weight of numbers. The survivors then surrendered.

We who had originally formed part of the garrison of Kassala and had been captured at Khartoum were allowed to settle down with our families in our homes in Kassala and were told to hold ourselves in readiness to serve the Mahdi. The remainder of the town was then pillaged.

After we had been at Kassala for two or three months we heard that a party of Italian troops was approaching to the relief of Kassala. They arrived to find that the town had already fallen and we went out to meet them. They were well armed and we suffered considerable losses in the two engagements which we had with them. For the second we had strong reinforcements from Osman Digna and we drove them back a long way into what is now Eritrea. We saw them no more.

Our three battalions which were composed of ex-soldiers were placed by Abu Anga under the orders of Osman Digna and we were ordered to join in the attack on Suakin. We had already heard that there had been a battle between Osman Digna and Baker Pasha which Osman Digna had won.

Suakin was being invested by Osman Digna's second-in-command but without much success and we were sent to reinforce him. Our force consisted of our three battalions and two or three thousand Dervish horse. We were made to put up fortifications around Suakin to invest it and we occupied the

wells at El Teb, Tamai, Handub and Gemmaiza. We used to creep up towards the walls of Suakin at night.

There were always a lot of lights burning in the town and the British officers of the garrison used to have their evening meal on the ramparts by candle-light. We used to take random shots at these lights hoping to hit someone. The garrison of Suakin was on the mainland protected by a wall. They lived in tents. We seldom emerged by day but only fired on the town at night. There were several small forts outside the well which fired at us but no sorties were made.

One night we collected all our forces and made a night attack on the wall but were beaten back. Soon after this the garrison in one of the forts spotted a large party of our camelmens and horsemen on a daylight patrol and fired into them causing heavy losses.

Osman Digna's second-in-command then sent word back telling him that he could make no impression on Suakin and urging him to send up the remainder of his army. In due course Osman Digna arrived and, leaving his army a short distance behind, came forward to reconnoitre the position.

He then retired, taking the rest of the Dervishes with him to hold a council of war, leaving our contingent of ex-soldiers alone facing Suakin. At that moment by the Grace of God a very heavy storm of rain fell and a big wadi came down in spate between our force and the main body of the Dervishes.

Our officers told us that here was a heaven-sent chance to make our escape and at midnight we set out and, after two days march, reached Akik on the shore of the Red Sea. Here we halted and camped under some trees. In the meantime news had reached Osman Digna that we had deserted and he sent a large force of mounted men in pursuit.

We made a zeriba round each battalion with our families inside and were preparing to defend ourselves to the last when we (44) saw a British gunboat steaming past. One of our officers, a yuzbashi named Selim Eff. Kirkir had been a signaller and knew some English and flashed a message to the ship using a looking-glass as a heliograph, saying that we were Turkish soldiers deserting from the Mahdi's army.

By this time the Dervish horse had come into view and were rapidly approaching our zariba. The captain of the gunboat then told us to abandon our zariba so as to leave the field of fire clear for his guns. We did so and moved along the shore and as the Dervishes entered our zariba the gunboat opened fire on them.

Many were killed and the remainder retired. The captain of the ship then sent a signal to say that he wished to see our commanding officers. It must be remembered that we were all dressed in Dervish jibbas and he clearly wished to make sure that our story was true. Five of our officers were taken on board over a ladder between the ship and a reef and when they returned they divided us up into detachments and listed us.

In the meantime the gunboat had got a message through to Suakin telling them to send transports for us and next day an Egyptian man-of-war arrived to take us off. It could not get close enough to the shore so a small ship was sent which ferried us over in instalments with our women and children and put us onto the man-of-war which then took us to Suakin.

When we arrived there we were given new uniforms and three months' pay. After resting for a fortnight at Suakin we sailed for Suez where we landed five days later. From there we were taken by train, battalion by battalion, and put into camps at Abbassia. This was in May 1885.

About a week later the Khedive Tewfik together with Grenfell Pasha, another English general, and 'Ali Pasha Sherif came to visit us. We were drawn up in line and the Khedive's party drove along our line in carriages. They stopped and spoke to the officers and asked them questions.

Orders were then issued for nominal rolls to be made and for us all to be issued with pay from the day on which we had last drawn it including the time during which we had been with the Mahdi's force. In the meantime we were drawing rations for ourselves and our families.

Eighteen days later we were sent for to go to the Treasury where, in a couple of hours, we had all our back pay issued to us. We were paid in gold—partly in English sovereigns, partly in Turkish pounds and partly in Egyptian coins. We were then told to return to our barracks and await orders. We were left alone for three months and I took the opportunity to get married again. A representative of the Ministry of Pensions then came and issued each man with a discharge certificate, telling us that we were discharged on condition that we did not return to the Sudan.

About this time, the British were making arrangements to build up a new Egyptian army in place of the one which had been destroyed by the Dervishes and into this new army they prepared to incorporate the remnants of the battalions which had been rescued from the Sudan.

The garrisons of Senheit and Amadeib had been withdrawn and the forts handed over to an Abyssinian representative. With these came the garrison of Gallabat which had been able to find its way down to Senheit. These contingents arrived in Egypt about six months after we did and were all discharged in the same way. With them were contingents who had retired into Egypt from Dongola.

These latter troops (i.e. the ones from Dongola and Berber) were used to form the IXth (Sudanese) Battalion and sent to Suakin: I was put into the training battalion with the rank of Bash-shawish in the band. After spending about six (45) weeks there I was sent as an instructor to the new XIIIth (Sudanese) Battalion which was being formed at Assuan.

This was in about October 1886. A few months later, early in 1887, we sailed up the Nile to Wadi Halfa and formed part of the Egyptian frontier guard against the Dervishes. A short while later the general in command of the forces on the frontier heard that the Dervishes were planning a raid on Egypt and asked for reinforcements.

The IXth Sudanese were then sent up from Egypt and joined us at Halfa. They were followed by two Egyptian infantry battalions, a company of camel corps and some cavalry. We then strengthened the defences around Halfa, making a rampart with a ditch outside. Outside the main defences were five forts. About this time Woodhouse Pasha came to take over command.

The Dervishes, who had come as far as Sarras, advanced to Gamai near Amka. Two battalions were then sent forward to make an advanced fort at Khor Musa Pasha, several hundred yards south of Halfa, and did so under the protection of one of the river gunboats. For two months we slept to our arms on the ramparts and were not allowed to return to camp.

By this time I had been commissioned as a combatant officer in the XIIth Sudanese. In July 1890, I had been made sol in charge of the band at Halfa and was finding the work very arduous. Two of the British officers there (one of whom was the commanding officer of the XIIth) were very fond of music.

Every post from England would bring a fresh supply and I had the task of transcribing it and then teaching the band to play it. These officers insisted that every evening the band should play for them one new march and one new waltz.

We were in great demand to play at all the messes and I was responsible for making out all the programmes. Finally I could stand the strain no longer and put in a formal complaint explaining that I trained the band all day and then had to sit up all night transcribing the music for the next day's programme.

In fact this is what has left my eyes weak to this day. My petition was passed to Kitchener Pasha and soon afterwards news came through of my appointment as Mulazim Tani. The commanding officer of the XIIth congratulated me and asked if I would like to serve in his battalion. I said I would and was appointed accordingly.

The 7th (Egyptian) battalion then arrived and was sent to occupy the new advanced fort. Here the Dervish Commander (Osman Azrak) at night attacked them. When news of this attack came in our commander sent one company from the IXth and one from the XIIth (in which I was serving) to

their help. We arrived to find that the Dervishes had forced their way into the fort and that a hand-to-hand struggle was going on. When we arrived and attacked the Dervishes they broke and fled.

In the morning we found that sixty or seventy of the Egyptians had been killed and forty or fifty Dervishes. After this the 7th battalion was withdrawn inside the fortifications and we were sent to hold the fort. When Osman Azrak heard that a Sudanese garrison was at Khor Musa Pasha he withdrew to the main body at Sarras. Nothing happened for about two months.

After this the Dervishes advanced again and destroyed a scouting party of our camel corps. The IXth were then ordered to advance to Sarras which they did, driving the enemy before them, and the Dervishes withdrew to Firka. Our force at Sarras was gradually increased until we had a strength of about ten battalions.

Then suddenly one Friday, Osman Azrak made a detour through the hills and fell upon the market at Dabarossa behind our lines. The alarm was sounded and we were sent to Dabarossa but the Dervishes had already withdrawn having killed many of the inhabitants. Many others in trying to escape had crowded into a boat which put out into the Nile and then sank.

(46) For several months the Dervishes left us alone and then they made a raid near Korosko killing one of our officers named Ahmed Bey El Abbadi together with a party of camel scouts who were on an outlying picquet.

So 1888 went by and 1889 came. In 1888 the XIth and XIIth Sudanese battalions were reformed and joined us. In 1889 the Emir Wad El Negumi moved against us. He advanced along the west bank of the Nile and was heading towards Egypt. The river gunboats were sent to watch him but he continued his advance northwards towards Abu Simbel.

Our force was then put onto the steamers and after landing at a point to the north of his advance we made a defended position, knocking loopholes in the walls of the mud houses we found there. For sixteen days we and the Dervishes faced each other in our positions, and in the meantime Grenfell Pasha had sent up more troops from Egypt including the 1st and 2nd Egyptians.

They arrived in due course together with the XIth Sudanese under Macdonald Bey and we were put onto ships and taken back to Fercik to which the Dervishes had moved. Our force consisted of six battalions. Then one evening we heard Wad El Negumi's ombaya being sounded and the noise of his army moving.

We stood to arms at 2 a.m. and marched until mid-day following them up until we reached some hills near Toski. On our left were some of our Camel Corps and some British machine guns. We opened fire on the Dervishes at one o'clock and firing went on for two hours.

Suddenly we saw a naga and a horse running about riderless which some of the friendlies recognized as being those of Wad El Negumi. Soon after this the cease-fire was sounded and we advanced to find the Emir and seven of his followers lying dead.

However, his brother escaped and was pursued until the evening by a force under Hunter Pasha. Our general ordered the Emir's body to be placed on a stretcher and taken with us and we were then put onto the steamers and returned to Halfa.

About a thousand Dervish prisoners-men, women and children-were put onto sailing boats and taken down to Egypt. About six months later, however, they were sent back to Halfa and from there to Sarras where they were released and allowed to go to their homes. Then there was another pause in the fighting.

In 1891 my battalion was sent from Assuan (where we were in reserve) to Suakin. We went by way of Luxor and then cut across the desert to Kosseir on the shore of the Red Sea. There we were embarked on a ship and taken to Suakin. At that time Osman Digna and his army were at Tokar.

We advanced on Tokar with the infantry in the centre and the cavalry on the wings, and fell on them from three sides. Osman Digna himself made his escape but most of his Emirs were killed and many

of his men. After this success we were sent back to Assuan by way of Kosseir and Luxor, the way we had come.

After this Grenfell Pasha went home and Kitchener Pasha took over command. Lord Cromer was in Egypt.

For a couple of years Kitchener Pasha spent his time on tours of inspection and in 1892 the Khedive Tewfik Pasha came with him. My band often used to play for him in Halfa. Soon after his visit Tewfik Pasha died and was succeeded by Abbas Hilmi. The latter came up to Halfa in 1893 and went as far as Sarras. It was about this time that Slatin Pasha arrived escaping from the Khalifa. By 1896 the whole army was concentrated in Halfa.

Early in the year the vanguard of the army moved slowly forward to Sarras and from there to Akasha. The XIIIth went forward with them, and we left Halfa in March; soon four battalions were camped at Akasha. The Sirdar then planned the attack on Firket which was the northernmost outpost of the Dervishes.

(47) We, together with the Camel Corps and some maxim guns, set out at night. The Sirdar himself came with us accompanied by Wingate Pasha. We made a wide into the desert and marched all night over difficult country.

At daybreak we were ordered to take our place on the right of the line with some field guns in the middle and some cavalry on the left. We halted on the edge of a Khor. We had been ordered to fire a shot when we were in position. We gave the signal at about half past five and then the rest of the army, which had been advancing along the river bank, formed line and attacked the Dervishes. We could hear the sound of their volleys.

Then our guns were ordered to fire and we lay down while the shells went over our heads. The Dervishes were thus hemmed in and were destroyed by our fire. The Emir (I think his name was Idris Hamouda) and his sister were found lying dead on their prayer mats. He was a Habbani, a relative of my mother's, but I was a soldier in the service of the Khedive and had to fire like all the rest.

Osman Azrak escaped with a small party of horsemen but nearly all the Dervish army was killed or taken prisoner. The wounded were handed over to the hospital and the unwounded sent to Halfa. Next morning at 9 o'clock we and the camel corps and the maxims under Hunter Pasha went in pursuit of the remnant of the Dervishes.

We marched all day and at midnight arrived at Suwarda where Hassan Wad El Negumi was. When he heard that we were coming he put his army onto boats and crossed over to the west bank of the Nile. We found his camp deserted except for a lot of stores, but were forbidden to take anything except what we wanted to eat.

We made no zariba round our camp that night. At mid-day the rest of the army came up. We made our camp a little distance away from the Dervish camp and made ourselves huts out of the trunks of palms, and there we stayed for three months. During this time the engineers at Halfa had been putting together the river gunboats and the "Fateh" and the "Nasir" had been completed.

The Xth were on guard over prisoners while the Egyptian battalions worked at the building of the camps and the railway line. In September the river rose and the "Fateh" came upstream and joined us. On board it was a detachment of British soldiers. We then advanced along the shore while the "Fateh" steamed beside us up the river and so arrived at Fercik (a different Fereik this time).

The gunboat scouted upstream and saw no signs of the enemy so we advanced to Abu Fatma. The gunboat then went on to Kerma and found a party of the enemy on the west bank under the Emir Wad Bishara. We were then ordered to advance and approached Kerma.

The Dervishes fired on the gunboat which replied and then our guns were ordered forward and opened fire on the Dervishes across the river. We had dug ourselves in by this time but at mid-day we

were ordered to start firing volleys at the enemy on the other bank. The enemy then retired. This was at about 3 p.m.

The gunboat sailed on and found the Dervish camp deserted. We spent all day crossing the river and then made a zariba. Next day the gunboat brought the cavalry and camel corps up to join us and then returned to fetch the Xth. The whole force then advanced with a fringe of scouts out in front and sleeping in a zariba every night and in seven or eight days came to Dongola. On the way we came on Wad Bishara's horse lying dead.

When we reached Dongola we found that the army of Yunis El Dikeim had abandoned it. The British contingent disembarked and advanced along the shore as far as Old Dongola. Here they were picked up again by the steamer which took them back to Halfa.

They had been brought in case there might have been Dervish resistance at Dongola. Kitchener Pasha and Hunter Pasha also returned and Macdonald Pasha was left in command of us. We then advanced to Khandak and finally came up with Osman Azrak at Debba but he withdrew and all we captured were some of his family.

The river here was too shallow (48) for the big steamer so the two smaller ones were sent back to bring up our supplies from railhead which by that time had reached Kerma. We and the XIIIth were at Debba, the XIth at Korti, the IXth at Merowe and the Xth at Dongola, and so we awaited the Nile flood of 1897.

The Sirdar had heard from 'Abdalla Saad of Metemmeh that he would join the expedition and asked for help. The Sirdar sent a mounted column forward to his help but before they reached Metemmeh they got news that the Emir Mahmoud had massacred all the inhabitants of Metemmeh.

My battalion were then ordered to go downstream to Kerma whence we were taken by rail to Halfa and from there along the new railway line across the desert as far as what is now Station No. 3. There the line ended and we then marched to Abu Hamed.

Our water was supplied by camel transport but it was a hard march. When we reached Abu Hamed we found that the Xth had attacked the Dervish garrison and taken the place. After a further thirteen days march with the railway line following us along slowly we reached Berber.

The Dervish Emir at Berber, El Zaki Karrar, retired abandoning his fortifications. The reason for this retreat was that a certain 'Abdel 'Azim Bey who had been sent on a detour inland away from the Nile suddenly appeared at Berber before the rest of the army had arrived and so alarmed the Dervishes that they retreated. This was in December, 1897.

Throughout our march we had been received with the greatest enthusiasm by the Danagla and the Shaigia. They were very poor and had hardly any clothes but they lined the roads everywhere and cheered us as we marched past. The next few months saw the railway arrive at Berber after great efforts by the engineers and from there it was pushed on to Dakka near Atbara.

In February and March, 1898, the whole army was concentrated at Berber and an advance was made to Salama and Um Adara and finally to Um Debeiha where we were halted in one large zariba. Our force consisted of three or four British battalions under a brigadier, then the IXth, Xth and XIth Sudanese and 7th Egyptians under Macdonald, the XIIth, XIIIth and XIVth Sudanese and 8th Egyptians under Maxwell, the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Egyptians under Lewis and the 4th, 5th and 6th Egyptians under Wilkinson (who was afterwards killed by a lion at Kassala). The transport and auxiliaries were under Hickman.

On 8th April, 1898, we left our camp at Um Debeiha at 5 o'clock in the evening and were drawn up in a hollow square. We and the Egyptians formed one side, the British another, and the other troops and the baggage a third side.

When the parade was ready a platform was brought forward and the Sirdar mounted it and made a speech to encourage us and to ask for God's help in the coming battle against the Emir Mahmoud Ahmed. We were greatly encouraged by his words and our hearts were warmed for the battle. With

one voice the whole army gave a cheer and raised their rifles in the air. We felt that we were unconquerable.

We moved off at 6 o'clock with strict orders that silence be kept and no lights lit. We marched in square formation. Each man kept close to his comrades on either side of him and it was very hot. After an unbroken march of five hours we halted in formation and ate some food and then marched on for another four hours.

As dawn was breaking we came within sight of Mahmoud's zariba. There was no movement and the Dervishes seemed to be still asleep. The army then deployed with Maxwell's brigade (in which I was) on the right, then Macdonald's brigade and then the British brigade.

The Egyptians were behind in reserve and also the baggage square. By 6 o'clock the line was in position. The Sirdar then ordered the artillery to, divide up-three guns being put beside each battalion. At daybreak fire was (49) opened with incendiary bullets onto the camp which burst into flames. After an hour's firing when the camp was in flames the men who fired the incendiary bullets were withdrawn and the field guns pushed forward and fired for half-an-hour.

The enemy were crouching in their trenches which extended backwards for twelve lines or so behind their zariba. The guns were then pushed back and the Dervishes at once emerged from their trenches and opened fire on us. Our losses from this fire were very small. We then fixed bayonets all along the line.

Each band then played its regimental march, the officers went on in front and we advanced, firing volleys as we did so. We were provided with ladders made of iron covered with thick canvas which were thrown onto the thorn zariba. They were too short to cross the whole zariba but we forced our way through the remaining branches and into the Dervish encampment. We advanced into the defences in battalion order, with the Dervishes firing at us as we came.

Our men began to drop and were tended by the doctors who came behind. The reserve battalions formed up inside the gap we had made while we advanced towards Mahmoud's headquarters. As we approached the enemy broke and fled across the river. We poured a heavy fire into them and many fell. Many of the Emirs were killed but Osman Azrak who was opposite the British brigade made his escape with the camel corps and cavalry after him.

We were then ordered to search the zariba and sweep across it clearing all the trenches of the remaining enemy. While doing this the company with which I was found Mahmoud. A woman emerged from a shelter and told a British officer that he was still in there alive.

As we advanced upon his shelter his guards opened fire on us and several of our men were hit. We shot several of his guards and then called out to him that he must surrender or we would pour a volley into his shelter. He then called out "Aman" three times and came out, with a woman and a slave.

He was light in colour with no hair on his face, dressed in a short Dervish jibba and drawers and shoes. He had nothing on his head and no arms in his hands. News of his capture was sent to the Sirdar who had pitched his tent under a tree. We formed a guard round Mahmoud and marched him off to the Sirdar.

He was sitting outside his tent dressed in a shirt and breeches with a knife and revolver in his belt. With his big black moustaches he was a frightening figure. We halted fifty yards away and the Sirdar came forward. Mahmoud started trembling but we told him to bear up. Kitchener came and shook him by the hand and then took him by the arm and they talked for a while.

An order was given that our two battalions which had captured Mahmoud were to escort him back to Berber while the others remained on the battlefield to bury the dead and attend to the wounded. By half past two in the afternoon the fighting was over and after an hour's rest we paraded again and started our march back to Berber with Mahmoud.

Our wounded followed in litters. We marched till 10 o'clock in the evening and halted for the night. We had no blankets and slept on the ground. At 2 o'clock in the morning we started again and entered Berber at about 10 o'clock.

Everyone had already heard that Mahmoud Ahmed who had boasted that he would invade Egypt had been defeated and captured. News had been sent round as to which roads we should march along and they were packed with women and girls.

The Xth went on in front, then Mahmoud on foot with a guard round him with fixed bayonets to protect him from the crowd and then the XIIth. We marched through the streets of Berber amid cheering crowds. Mahmoud held his hand over his mouth and tears ran down his face. Next day he was sent away by train to Halfa and thence to Egypt.

(50) Two days later the rest of the army returned from the battlefield. We stayed on and around Berber for three months by which time the railway line had reached Dakhla near Atbara where the bridge over the Atbara river now stands.

In July we were on the move again. The whole army was transferred to Wad Hebeish on the west bank. Here a small party of mounted Dervishes approached our camp and I was given the task of chasing them away. I went forward with my platoon and sent some of my men up trees to act as look-outs.

Soon the Dervish approached and were spotted by one of my look-outs. He came back with the news and I led my platoon forward. The Dervishes had a couple of scouts on ahead who saw us and retired on their main body. I then advanced, having sent word of what was happening back to my company commander. I made a square with platoon and the Dervishes attacked us riding on camels.

I waited until they were quite near and then opened rapid fire on them. They all fell except nine men of whom we were able to take four prisoners. The remaining five escaped. I only had one man wounded. After sending back word to the main body we remained on guard over our prisoners until Maxwell Bey came up to question them.

I was ordered to collect the animals and the property of the dead. We were told to only the arms and the rosaries of the dead but not their clothes. I then returned to the main body and handed everything over. Maxwell Bey took a report back to the Sirdar who was very pleased. He sent me a reward of £120 of which I kept £40 myself and gave the rest to the soldiers of my platoon. My platoon shawish and onbashi were promoted.

After questioning my prisoners our commander knew that the Dervishes were in force near the Shabluka gorge and the whole army then moved forward to Wad Hamid near the entrance to the gorge. The Nile rose and one of the gunboats was able to steam up the river and attack the Dervish position, but the Dervishes saw it coming and retired. After cutting enough wood to provide fuel for the gunboats we left the river and marched round outside the gorge while the gunboats went on upstream and fired a few shells into Omdurman and returned.

Then our army advanced along the west bank and early on 1st September, 1898, we arrived at a place called Ard Esh Shifa near Kerreri and dug ourselves in. Inside our semicircular zariba with our backs to the Nile Macdonald's brigade was on the right, Maxwell's in the centre and the British brigade on the left.

The camel corps were to the north of the zariba near the Kerreri Hills. Lewis' brigade was in reserve. We worked on the zariba until mid-day and made shallow entrenchments inside it. In the evening the Dervishes marched out of Omdurman an occupied Jebel Surgham. The gunboats turned their searchlights onto them and watched them massing until 4 o'clock in the morning.

From 2 o'clock we were all standing to with our baggage animals packed. At about 4.30 a.m. we had orders to advance from our zariba but before we had time to obey we saw the enemy advancing. We heard the ombaya sounding and at 6 o'clock the attack began. We held our fire until the order was given and then fired in volleys.

The machine-guns also opened up. They fell in hundreds and finally the Emir Yagoub fell near our zarib and we went out and brought in his Black Flag. By 11 o'clock the attack had been broken and we left our zariba and advanced. Another attack was made on Macdonald's brigade on our right but we had no serious opposition and we advanced until we reached Shambat about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. We then advanced on Omdurman with the British brigade beside the Nile, we on their right and the Egyptians behind. At 4 o'clock we reached the gates of the city near where the Civil Hospital now stands.

The British brigade went in along the river bank past (51) the Dervish forts while we entered through the Mosque Gate and surrounded the Khalifa's House. Two tall Dervishes (from the Fung near Singa) came out asking for quarter and said that the Khalifa had collected his family and left some time before. Kitchener and his officers then entered the house and found it empty.

The troops were then told off to occupy the different quarters of Omdurman. For three days we pillaged the city and then order was restored. A flying column was sent in pursuit of the Khalifa. We remained in Omdurman but the British brigade, which was camped in the ruins of Khartoum itself, went home.

In October news came that the Emir Ahmed Fedil, who was at Gedaref, was about to try to join forces with the Khalifa. Kitchener heard that he was at Abu Haraz, on the Blue Nile near Medani. Maxwell Pasha was ordered to send a force to deal him, and the XIIIth (with which I was still serving) were despatched. We sailed from Shambat on the "Fateh" for Abu Haraz while two companies of camel corps accompanied us marching along the shore. We landed at Abu Haraz and left the river in pursuit of Ahmed Fedil who had left in the direction of Gedaref.

After marching for twelve days we reached Gedaref. There we found the 16th Egyptian battalion which had arrived there from Kassala. We left the Egyptian battalion at Gedaref and marched towards where Ahmed Fedil was reported to be.

After two days' marching we came in contact with him and some of his men opened fire on our camp, at night but were easily held off by our outposts. Next morning we attacked him and he and his force were driven back to Assar and from there to Doka and from there to Jebel Beila. Here his force disintegrated and fled to the river Dinder: we pursued them and captured about 2,000 prisoners and an Emir called Abu Bakr and a Sultan called Wad Banga.

The Xth took up the pursuit and drove them into the river but Ahmed Fedil himself escaped and finally joined the Khalifa at Gedir after crossing the Rahad and the Blue Nile, by which time he only had about sixty followers left out of his original army of 12,000 men. From the Dinder we returned to Gedaref and stayed there for a time after taking over from the Egyptian battalion.

We built a fort at Sofi and sent our prisoners back to Omdurman to be enlisted as soldiers: they were mostly Kungara from Darfur. Hickman Bey was sent as Governor to Dongola and I went with O'Connell Bey (afterwards Governor of Kordofan) to Gallabat taking with us the son of Sheikh Saleh Sharga who had been killed by the Dervishes.

We installed him there and raised the two flags on the Abyssinian frontier. We stayed there for a month by which time a mamur was tent to take over. On our return to Gedaref we had a visit from Kitchener Pasha who issued us with medals. We then returned to Omdurman.

Towards the end of 1899 we left by steamer with a powerful force in the direction of Kaka. When we arrived there we landed and were preparing to march inland when a letter arrived from Wingate Pasha by the hand of a bash-shawish of the camel corps telling us that the Khalifa had left Gedir heading westwards and might then be starting back towards Omdurman.

We embarked again and returned to Omdurman where we were settled in barracks with headquarters in the Khalifa's house. Wingate Pasha did not return but sent a message asking for two battalions. The ones detailed for the expedition (which did not include the XIIIth) were despatched by steamer, together with some levies, and took part in the action which ended in the defeat and death of the Khalifa at Gedid.

The Sudanese regiments were then posted on garrison duty in various stations -- IXth at Medani, the Xth at Assuan, the XIth at Kassala, the XIIth at Dongola, the XIIIth and XIVth in Omdurman and the XVth at Berber. This dispersal (52) followed an incident in which the Sudanese regiments had been ordered to hand their ammunition.

This was done in order that fresh ammunition might be issued but someone spread the rumour that the British regiments would be ordered to shoot down the Sudanese. I handed over my units ammunition to Cameron Pasha (afterwards Governor of Singa) but many refused to do so. Jackson Pasha ordered an inquiry through Maxwell Pasha and a number of officers, mostly Egyptians, were found guilty of spreading these rumours and sent off to Cairo under arrest.

My regiment (the XIIth) went to Dongola but a year or two afterwards we were sent to El Obeid, from where Dickinson Bey had been appointed Governor at Medani. After serving for five years at El Obeid, I was posted to the Bahr-el- Ghazal.

[Here the narrative, which takes us down to the end of 1905, comes to an end. After periods spent on garrison duty at Wau,, Tewfikia, Yambio, Omdurman and Mongalla, 'Abdullah Adlan was retired on pension on 1st January, 1915. September, 1920, he was placed in charge of the Redief at El Obeid and finally retired from all military duties on 20th September, 1931-no less than sixty-eight years after his enlistment at Kassala in the Khedive's army in 1863.

He continued to take an active part in public affairs in El Obeid, serving on the local bench magistrates and in other voluntary capacities and enjoying life to the full until death, full of years and held in high esteem by all around him.]

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AFRICA 1975 Ethiopia Tikdem

ETHIOPIA TIKDEM

By Peter Enahoro

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'Haile Selassie somehow managed to keep Eritrea into the Empire; it will not help the image and the authority of the ruling Dergue if it fails to keep it'.

The rest of the world may be talking about the virtual state of civil war in the northern province of Eritrea, but in Addis Ababa it is the socialisation programmes of the ruling Dergue that occupy most of the discussions. Press censorship and the dramatic challenge of the attack on centuries of feudalism account for this.

For years millions of Ethiopians did not even know that a protracted guerrilla war was being fought in Eritrea. The regime of deposed Emperor Haile Selassie succeeded with the pretence that the 'disturbance' in Eritrea was a mere matter of 'Shiftas' (bandits) versus the state. (When I interviewed the former Emperor two years ago I was forbidden to ask him any questions concerning Eritrea).

When they came to power, the new rulers of Ethiopia frankly but mistakenly believed that the rebellion was a reaction to the feudal system and the maladministration under imperial rule. Given a socialist Ethiopia, the Dergue thought, the Eritrean rebels would see things differently.

The Dergue was particularly encouraged by the fact one half of the secessionist movement-the Popular Liberation Front-was Christian led and Marxist-oriented.

And so little publicity was given to the extent of the rebellion while there was hope of a settlement, especially as the late General Aman Andom, the Eritrean-born chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Government, initiated contacts which the Dergue thought would produce results.

They did not; and now, almost too late, the Government in Addis Ababa is trying to whip up patriotism over Eritrea among the rest of the population. One example of the limited success of the campaign was that on the day Major Mengistu Haile Mariam addressed a rally of Ethiopian veterans only 2,000 of the many thousands that were expected to turn up.

In the view of the Government in Addis Ababa, whichever way the Dergue turns in trying to solve the dilemma in Eritrea it will suffer a blow of some kind. If it permits outright independence in Eritrea there is a serious risk that the rest of Ethiopia will disintegrate.

Extremely poor communications and long distances in this mountainous country have meant that Ethiopia has never been as united as the rulers in Addis Ababa like to believe. Haile Selassie himself fought wars against ducal lords to establish authority of Addis Ababa, but the authority was remote to several parts of the country, and the former emperor never set foot in certain areas of Ethiopia.

If Eritrea is given autonomous home rule under a federal system, other provinces such as Tigre and Gojjam, which have never held great affection for Addis Ababa, might demand the same status.

This would carry certain dangers for national unity and the survival of the state, especially at a time when the Dergue is embarked upon radical innovations and when, it may be argued, a strong central government is needed. Furthermore, once the Dergue is shown to be weak, there is no telling what might happen in a country where large numbers of peoples possess personal weapons.

Independence for Eritrea will mean the loss of Ethiopia of the Red Sea ports of Massawa and Assab. Landlocked Ethiopia would then become dependent on French-held Djibouti, which a hostile Somalia could cut off at anytime simply by uprooting the railway track.

Not to be discounted either is the extent to which the prestige of the Dergue is now hazarded in Eritrea. Haile Selassie somehow managed to keep the province in the empire; it will not help the image and the authority of the Dergue if it fails to keep Eritrea.

'It would be a disaster if the Dergue falls and it can fall on Eritrea,' said an African diplomat in Addis Ababa.

Victory, if it comes, will be won at great cost, however. In order to win the Dergue must be prepared for a long hard struggle during which it cannot afford to relax its grip on the province. This is recognized in Addis Ababa and there is an air of fierce commitment not to yield an inch.

The Dergue has asked the United States-Ethiopia's traditional suppliers since 1953-for \$55 million worth of arms. The US will supply most but not all the arms sought. Replacements for losses already suffered are continually in the pipeline, in accordance with existing agreements, but sources in Addis Ababa say that this is nothing compared to requirements.

The question of getting the arms to the troops in Eritrea is another matter. The supply lines are prone to rebel attacks. The US is unwilling to supply direct to Asmara. The guerrillas have SAM-7 ground-to-air missiles and Washington would be greatly embarrassed if a US plane was brought down.

Meanwhile, the US is understood to be trying to tie a weapons agreement to compensation to US firms affected by the Dergue's nationalization decree. The US, of course, has interests to protect in Ethiopia Washington cannot be happy with the prospect of Arab control over the Red Sea, nor would it wish to see the new Ethiopia slip by default into the complete embrace of Chinese influence, which is growing visibly day-by-day.

The impression gathered in Addis Ababa is that the ELF-PLF do not appear to be having any great difficulties in obtaining the arms they require. They have apparently accepted the maxim that 'a guerrilla war which is not lost is winning.'

This means that they will concentrate on using light weapons, striking where they wish, when they want. The long border with the Sudan, through the rebels obtain their arms, cannot be

effectively policed. Therefore, victory will depend to a large extent on whose stamina lasts longer.

The belief in Addis Ababa is that the war has escalated because Saudi Arabia became the major backer of the rebels. King Feisal is said to have three reasons for giving the support. He sees himself as the 'pope' of the moslem faith; he realizes the benefit of Arab control over the Red Sea route; and he does not like military regimes; in particular those that proclaim themselves socialists.

However, in Addis Ababa, Syria is the main butt of anti-Arab feeling, which is rather pronounced. Syria is the ELF's oldest backer and ELF officers are actually graduates of the Syrian military academy.

(a picture of Aman Andom and written below it:

General Aman Andom: his execution was a vital element in the escalation of the Eritrean rebellion. -AP Article inside a square follows.p11)

It has been said that the unexpected departure of General Aman Andom, who was killed by Government troops who attacked his residence on the night of 'bloody Saturday', last November, was a vital element in the present escalation of the Eritrean rebellion. General Aman died, this version says, because he was an Eritrean and because he refused to sign the order for troop reinforcements for the province.

It is true that General Aman counselled a negotiated settlement. He made contacts with the Sudanese Government, presumably without the prior approval of the Dergue, asking Khartoum to mediate.

But Eritrea was only one of several grounds of disagreement between the general and the young officers who had led the revolt against Emperor Haile Selassie. General Aman schooled in the Sudan, spent a considerable part of his life outside his home province, and was less of an Eritrean than the ELF-PLF coalition will now have it.

According to informed sources in Addis Ababa, two of the grounds of strong disagreement concerned the proposal to execute certain aristocrats, civilian and military leaders as well as officials of the old regime who were thought by the Dergue to deserve capital punishment in connection with the drought which claimed the lives of several thousand Ethiopians. There was disagreement also over the plan to seize private properties.

General Aman insisted that any execution must be preceded by fair trial. He also opposed the seizure of private property unless such property was determined to have been illegally acquired. In effect General Aman was attempting to temper two of the fundamental programmes of the revolution.

The proposal to execute the deposed Emperor's closest aides and friends was twice debated by the Dergue. General Aman, who was its chairman but not a member, did not control the majority, but his views encouraged a sufficient number of weavers for the plan to be adjourned. Outside the Dergue, however, General Aman was popular for other reasons.

The Second Division, which has been bogged down for 12 years in Eritrea, was enthusiastic about his publicly stated stand on a negotiated settlement. In the course of their lengthy stay,

many of the soldiers had inter-married with the local population and the role they had to play in the province occasionally affected morale.

General Aman also remained popular with the Third Division in the eastern front, which he had led in the border confrontation with Somalia, when he made his name. The Third Division is also the unit which elected Major Mengistu to the Dergue. General Aman visited Asmara and went to Harrar, headquarters of his old division. His visit was followed by the demand for Major Mengistu's recall from the Third Division.

The Major refused to answer the recall and his family was taken into custody. In Addis Ababa he had a stronger influence than General Aman. The General resigned. Diplomatic sources in Addis Ababa are convinced that he was bluffing when he did so. "He felt," said one non-antagonistic source, "that the boys could not do without him."

Major Mengistu visited the general to urge him to return, but the single-minded General stated his conditions. He wanted more authority. The Dergue became convinced that the General was planning to seize powers not given to him. His arrest was ordered. He put up a fight and claimed a bullet in the head. General Aman died on the way to hospital.

With him gone the 59 others were shot that same night after a vote on each name. (End)
P12 Other Arab states which back the rebels include Libya, which is thought to give money, but not weapons, if at all. Egypt does not give money or arms, but supports federal status for Eritrea.

However, the Arab League has its headquarters in Cairo and the view in Addis Ababa is that the Egyptian Government cannot be unaware of the help often rendered to the ELF by the League. Kuwait is a recent example of the widening support that the ELF is receiving in the Arab world, and there is concern in Addis Ababa that other Arab states will want to jump on the bandwagon.

This is why the Government has been in two minds about OAU intervention. The fact that some members of the Organization are backing the rebels as well as the fact that countries outside the continent are giving support openly to the secessionists, would ordinarily have enabled the Ethiopian government to bring the matter before the OAU.

But the last Ministerial Council meeting in Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian government judged that the time was not opportune to raise it. Some African states still sore over the treatment to Haile Selassie before he was brought down. Some have not forgiven the Dergue for the executions on 'Bloody Saturday'. And just at the time of the meeting, there were reports of atrocities in Eritrea.

The Ethiopian Government therefore decided to play a waiting game, partly hoping that the Arab-speaking states would raise the issue on behalf of the rebels. But the Arabs too were hoping that the Ethiopians would be the first to mention the matter; the Arabs were having enough trouble trying to sort out the unfavourable atmosphere displayed towards them at the meeting.

This attitude was the result of the way in which the Arab League had reached over the head of OAU to distribute money to Black African states from funds donated by Arab oil magnates to help ease the burden of the increase in the cost of energy supply.

The money was to have been paid in bulk to the African Development Bank but, arguing that the ADB banked its money in London, the Arab League chose to pay directly to the individual states who were asked to come to Cairo to collect their share. Ghana spearheaded a strong protest, and refused to go to Cairo or to collect its share.

But, unhappily some African states in desperate need of cash swallowed their pride and went to Cairo to hold out their caps. Nevertheless it left a bitter taste, and when the Arabs proposed an Afro-Arab summit the Black Africans reluctantly agreed, without fixing a date. In this atmosphere the Arabs could not raise the question of Eritrea without getting clobbered.

The statement of Salem Sale Sabbe, the ELF secretary-general, that friendly Arab states will bring Eritrea before the United Nations does not cause loss of sleep in Addis Ababa. But there are groans over what unpredictable General Idi Amin may say in his opening address when he hosts the OAU Summit in Kampala in July.

General Amin who is not an enemy of the Arabs, and not a friend of the regime in Addis Ababa, may, it is feared, provoke a discussion of the Eritrean problem simply by making remarks that will compel the Ethiopian delegate either to walk out or to respond, either to which courses will lead to other comments, and thus undermine the Ethiopian stand that Eritrea is a domestic matter.

Obviously Addis Ababa would have wished the OAU to condemn the intervention of the states outside the continent in the war of secession, but it knows it cannot obtain condemnation in the present conditions when so many Black African states are seeking Arab economic aid.

Indeed, some diplomats in Addis Ababa said they found it difficult to see the Sudan as an effective mediator. The ELF used to obtain its arms across the Red Sea, in particular through Zeila on the Somalia-Djibouti border. But in recent times the arms are reported to have been ferried across the long Sudanese border.

A legitimate question is; is the Dergue strong enough to withstand these strains? Last month it launched Ethiopia into what surely must rank as one of the most revolutionary plans designed by the Black African government since the independence decade began in the sixties.

One has to know Ethiopia and to be acquainted with the deep-rooted feudal system in order to appreciate the enormity of the change which the Dergue decreed when it declared all rural land to be in the collective ownership of the people of Ethiopia. Four million landless peasants were the virtual vassals of 40,000 landowners.

Attempting to introduce justice into Ethiopia's ancient land tenure system was never going to be easy. Haile Selassie himself made four fruitless attempts within the framework of the feudal system and was resisted. The Dergue must expect protest at some stage, but there will be no serious challenge on this issue until the euphoria which greeted the decree wears off.

The back of the landlords has been broken, partly by the executions, partly by the sheer popularity of the decree itself. But there are stark contradictions which will cause friction. The most obvious among these is the clause that forbids succession to a land-holding. The

Dergue has intended to set up communes throughout rural Ethiopia, but was advised against that extreme step.

What it has done now is to establish cooperatives within the context of communalism. The result is a land system that, in the final analysis, is neither this nor that. Some of the clauses are idealistic but do not take account of the stage of development, the African mentality, or the realities of Ethiopia.

For example, a labourer was allowed to take away two oxen, and the implements he used, on the day of the decree. In other words a tractor driver could not walk away with the machine. Fine. But supposing it breaks down? Or he wishes to sell it?

Also, countless small landowners were dispossessed. For you lose your land unless you actually live on it and farm it.

But while such problems will have to be tackled, the Dergue seems in full control at the moment, with the exception of Eritrea. The despatch of 60,000 students and high school pupils to the rural areas has taken the sting out of any possible student protests. The mystical power of the church over the peasantry has turned out to be a myth.

There have been reports of divisions within the Dergue, Diplomatic sources say that the actual size of the resident Dergue members in Addis Ababa has dropped from 120 to 47. The others have been reassigned to the provinces, but in Addis Ababa, where rumours now proliferate just as silence is used to reign in the old days, there are other accounts of what may have happened to deplete that number.

However, the Dergue is well-placed to monitor what is going on, not only to the provinces but also in the capital where two representatives each are assigned to every Government department.

They are overseers in the true sense, and one result is that it puts a question mark on the quality of the advice the Dergue is receiving from civil servants. The fear of giving the wrong advice is strong, particularly after the arrest of the Minister of State for Commerce and Industry and the civil servants with whom he constituted the prices control board.

In answer to directives from the Dergue to cut the price of egg and certain commodities, the board took a slice off farmers' earnings. This created a crisis, and although the Dergue originally approved the cuts, the board was jailed when the Government reached over the head of the Minister and his advisers to settle with the farmers.

More is gradually becoming known about the Dergue itself. The two most powerful men, who can be described as Ethiopia's twin strong men, are Major Mengistu and Major Atnafu Abate. Major Mengistu is believed to have the edge in the leadership in that he has the numerical superiority derived from the support of the non-commissioned officers who are the largest single block in the Dergue.

Contrary to his image abroad, he is said to be 'in fact, quite reasonable and rather democratic in his methods.' He seeks opinions and can be persuaded to give in. He is a 'born socialist' who does not have to plead ideological convictions because as the son of a

gatekeeper in feudal Ethiopia who left school in the eighth grade, and worked his way up from the ranks in the army, he knows what socialism is.

Major Atnafu is the hard-liner. A surprising number of people who know something of Major Mengistu are mystified when asked about Major Atnafu, which may be why there are so many versions of his alleged ruthlessness. Major Atnafu is a socialist to the extent that he is uncompromisingly opposed to feudalism and all feudalists, to capitalism and all capitalists.

Not far out of the picture is Air Force Major Sisai Habte, third vice-chairman of the Dergue after Majors Mengistu and Atnafu respectively. Major Sisai is the chairman of the political committee and is reputedly the brain behind the socialisation programme. He studied computer engineering in America.

These, then, are the three men who must hold together if Ethiopia after the fall of Haile Selassie is to survive. For things will get worse before they become better. Foreigners are leaving the country, there is going to be a severe shortage of foreign exchange, and already Ethiopian citizens are no longer permitted to leave the country.

University students and the last two grades of high schools have not been to class for more than a year, and there is talk of extending their assignments to rural areas. It means that the shortage of man-power which is already a problem-especially with the consequences of the war in Eritrea-is worsened, because trained personnel are not coming through the pipeline. Rapid recruitment into the army is giving rise to indiscipline.

At the same time the Dergue has been forced to reduce the strength of units in other provinces to rush them to Eritrea. Policing the country with soldiers is a race against time. There are the examples of the two brothers in Shoa province, in the vicinity of Addis Ababa, who are being sought but have so far eluded capture.

A lieutenant-colonel and a major recently disappeared with E\$85,000 and are believed to be still in the country. They have not been found. There is still the question of what to do with Haile Selassie, who remains a prisoner in the heavily guarded Menelik Palace. Against all these, the war in Eritrea is only another problem for the Dergue. It is a war that it must win but it cannot give it all its attention. (End)

AGRARIAN REFORMS. (p13)

The Dergue changed its mind about setting up collective forms throughout rural Ethiopia. It has opted for cooperatives, having first 'nationalised' all rural land. The following are the most salient Articles in governing State control over land ownership:

¶ All rural land shall be the collective property of the Ethiopian people.

¶ No person or business organization or any other organization shall hold land in private ownership.

¶ No compensation shall be paid for rural land and any free-crops thereon: provided, however, that appropriate compensation shall be paid for movable properties and permanent improvements on land.

¶ No person may use hired labour to cultivate his holding. However, the foregoing shall not

apply to a woman with no other means of livelihood, or where the holder dies, is sick or old, to the wife of the deceased or the husband or to his children who have not attained majority.

Ï No person shall by sale, exchange, succession, mortgage, antichresis, lease or otherwise transfer any land acquired under the provisions of this proclamation; provided that upon the death of the holder the wife or husband or minor children of the deceased or where all these are not present, any child of the deceased who has attained majority, shall have the right to use the land.

Ï Until all lands are distributed pursuant thereto, any tenant or hired labourer shall have possessory right over the land he presently tills, provided that a resident landowner who has leased out all his land shall have the right to equally share the land with his tenants. The Government shall protect the rights to such landowner in any way it thinks fit.

Ï The provisions of the proceeding Article shall not apply to a person who has rented land from a woman with no other means of livelihood or from a person who, by reasons of minority or old age or illness, cannot cultivate his holdings.

Ï The relationship between landlord and tenant shall be abolished. Accordingly the tenant shall be free from the payment of rent, debts or any other obligation. Likewise, a landowner who has given his land in antichresis to a tenant shall be free from the payment of his debt.

Ï The tenant shall have the right to retain agricultural implements and a pair of farm oxen belonging to the landlord, a reasonable compensation for which shall be paid by the tenant within a period not exceeding three years: provided that a landlord with no other agricultural implements and farm oxen may take back his implements and oxen from the tenant.

Ï Any large scale farm shall be owned and run by the state or by cooperatives or shall be distributed to the tillers for individual use: provided that until the establishment of state cooperative farms, the Government shall have the right to administer such farms in any manner it seems fit: provided further that until the government decides upon the manner in which such farms are to be administered the present managers of these farms shall have responsibility to continue administering them.

Ï The Government shall pay appropriate compensation for movable property and permanent works on such farms: provided that compensation shall not be paid for the value of the land.
(End)

ETHIOPIA TEKDEM

EDITORIAL: Biting the hands that feeds.

Ethiopian Herald September 5, 1975

If there is any one thing that enemies of Ethiopian unity almost always forget to realise is that this nation has the will, strength, determination and stamina to remain united. Those who fail to draw this valuable lesson from history go on making pitiable mistakes and deserve utter ridicule and condemnation for their rabid actions.

This is precisely the case with regard to the separatist movements currently trying to accomplish the impossible in the Eritrean region of this country. The separatist elements in

Eritrea seem to be drawing a lot of attention from sources bent on distorting facts. It is highly incredible that certain seemingly self-respecting international news agencies should degenerate into an abysmal state of incredibility.

It should have dawned on such sources of fabricated news that baseless and malicious propagation of such trash can only contribute to the confusion of international public opinion.

One only wonders what benefit perpetrators of such lies hope to gain from such a wanton exercise. The prophets of doom and destruction can rest assured that their wishful thinking and wild dreams will never be realised. Ethiopian unity is granite that no brokers in international brigandage can barter for gain let alone seriously endanger. This will continue to be proved until the end of time much to the great chargin of the enemies of this land.

It is sad to note that news agencies which ostensibly claim to pride themselves on being fair and just should cast aspirations on others while their own house has not yet been set in order. Eritrea has always been and will always remain an integral part of its motherland Ethiopia.

Even during the brief period during which that part of this country has been under colonial rule, it has always been spiritually part and parcel of its motherland though it was temporarily physically separated.

Our patriotic Ethiopian brothers in the Eritrean region have all along been keeping the torch of freedom and nationalism burning bright. The motto these gallant sons and daughters had embraced was nothing less than "Ethiopia or Death". The presence of certain flies in this ointment will do nothing to mar or discredit these firm supporters of national unity.

Ethiopia has not been lacking in enemies who are always on the alert only to discover that they can get nowhere in their evil designs. Their stooges abound in number. It is to be recalled that a high-level committee has recently been set up to work out a lasting solution to the Eritrean problem.

While the Government has been showing every sign of goodwill and co-operation, those wedded to separatist tendencies in the service of aliens have not reciprocated this in any way at all. They have in fact stepped up their divisive efforts at a time when Ethiopia is passing through such an unprecedented change aimed at ensuing the freedom and equality of all irrespective of tribe, creed or religion.

The unity of Ethiopia is an article of faith and those who may be entertaining the wild hope of bringing about a dismemberment are living in a dream world. The stand of the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) on this has been firm and will remain unequivocal.

As a custodian and repository of the hopes and aspirations as well as the wish of the plurality of the Ethiopian people, Ethiopia's military leadership will make quite certain that the territorial integrity of this country is maintained - and maintained well. Errand boys of foreign Arab countries should not misconstrue the patience of the Ethiopian people for ignorance. No more biting the hand that feeds. Ethiopia Tikdem and down with traitors! (End)

MOHAMMED SAID
Director of information,
Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF)
Interviewed by
Godwin Matatu

Ī AFRICA: How does the ELF assess the military and political aspects of the recent escalation of the war between its army, the Popular Liberation Forces, and the Ethiopian Armed Forces?

Ī SAID: The recent developments in Eritrea came as a surprise to the outside world, but to us it was not. The escalation of the war was a logical development in the guerrilla war which we started 14 years ago. Starting with small guerrilla bands, the size of our fighting forces has progressively increased to thousands over this period; when we began, we had very old weapons, but now our guerrillas carry sophisticated arms.

A few months ago, we assessed the overall situation and found that we had liberated a substantial part of our country, especially the rural areas. We decided that conditions were ripe to take the war inside the towns where units of the Ethiopian army are stationed. We were also encouraged by the increased determination of the Eritrean population to fight, no matter what the price, until the independence of Eritrea is achieved.

The workers' strikes, especially in Assab and Massawa ports, and the student strikes throughout Eritrea, confirmed our people's total rejection of Ethiopian occupation of our country.

Regarding the military situation, our forces are succeeding in making daring attacks in the heart of Samara itself; they have cut oil supplies for Ethiopia by blowing up a bridge 140 kms to the west of the Eritrean seaport of Assab, which has a refinery and which Ethiopia uses for military purposes; they have attacked numerous military posts near the small towns which were part of the Ethiopian Army's supply routes; the general situation is one of continuing war and the ELF is confident that the fighting in Eritrea will become stronger, not weaker.

The fighting has also succeeded in lowering the morale of the Ethiopian military; recently 50 Eritrean officers serving in the Ethiopian Navy Command in Massawa deserted to join our forces.

Ī AFRICA: You will agree that most of the freedom-loving people in Africa also believe in the unification, rather than the disintegration, of African peoples and countries. Is the dismemberment of the Ethiopian state, which the secession of Eritrea will entail, not inconsistent with this ideal?

Ī SAID: First I would like to clarify one point. Eritrea is not part of Ethiopia, and has never been for the last four or five centuries. It was under Italian domination from 1869 until 1941 when the armies of the Allies occupied it in the wake of the last World War. In 1950, the United Nations, by its Resolution 390, federated Eritrea with Ethiopia.

This resolution did not take into account the wishes of the Eritrean people, who were opposed

to the federal idea and wanted full independence, just like other former Italian colonies such as Libya and Somalia. However, under the federation Eritrea had a government, parliament, flag, emblem and security forces of its own.

These were progressively nullified by Ethiopia and this culminated in the unilateral annexation of Eritrea by Haile Selassie in November 1962, when our country was declared Ethiopia's 14th province. It is against the background of expansionist actions by Ethiopia that our demands for full independence must be seen.

Now we come to your question. We are not against unity; we like Africa to be united and our movement believes that the future lies in unity. But, equally, we believe that unity must not be imposed by military means or oppression; unity must stem from the will of the people and must be for the interests of the people.

We are conscious that there are many common interests between Eritrea and Ethiopia, as there are between Eritrea and other African countries. And we are sure that in the long run there will be true unity with Ethiopia based on the interests of the people, and not the interests of expansionists like Haile Selassie and his successors.

Unity cannot be achieved by massacres; in the past 14 years Ethiopia killed 30,000 Eritreans and today there are 100,000 Eritreans living as refugees in the Sudan. No unity can be achieved in this manner. We would like our African brothers to know that we are not against unity, but we have been occupied by a neighbouring country.

How can, for example, Tanzania occupy Uganda or Kenya occupy Somalia in the name of African unity? It is unthinkable. It should be unthinkable in our case also.

Ī AFRICA: Recently President Nimeiri of the Sudan offered to mediate between the Ethiopian Government and the ELF with a view of finding a peaceful solution. What is the response of your organization to this initiative?

Ī SAID: When President Nimeiri offered to mediate we responded favourably, and we shall soon be sending a delegation to Sudan. We are ready to negotiate with the Ethiopians in order to seek a peaceful solution; we have always been. Since last August we specifically declared that we were against the continuation of war, and we approached the OAU, the UN, and several Arab and African governments, requesting to mediate between us and Ethiopia. We want peace; but we have our conditions.

Ī AFRICA: What are those conditions?

Ī SAID: Firstly, we cannot accept peace which implies the continuation of Ethiopia's occupation of our country. Secondly, Ethiopia must accept and recognize the right to self-determination and full independence of the Eritrean people.

Thirdly, the ELF will refuse to negotiate with any Eritrean group that is established by Ethiopia or the Governor-General of Eritrea; for this is a means by which the Government of Eritrea seeks to localise the Eritrean question and avoid the fact that they are a colonial power in our country.

And the Ethiopians must accept the ELF and the Popular Liberation Front (PLF) as the sole and legitimate representative of the Eritrean people. Fourthly, any negotiations between the Ethiopian Government and the representatives of the Eritrean revolution must be held in neutral territory under the auspices of the OAU, the UN, and the Arab League.

These are our terms, but let me insist that we cannot accept any partial solutions. Let me also add that so long as Ethiopia eschews our olive branch, it will get from us more bullets and bombs; the weapons which our forces have obtained of late have no less effect and value than the weapons that are in possession of the Ethiopian army.

Ī AFRICA: In today's circumstances, where clearly Eritrea has been part of the Ethiopian state and has been regarded as such by the international community, it has been suggested that perhaps the basis for a peaceful solution is not secession, but a certain degree of autonomy for Eritrea within the Ethiopian state. Are you willing to consider this?

Ī SAID: We have had bitter experiences with Ethiopia because they did not respect the UN resolution which established a federal system. They unilaterally changed it into a complete annexation and military occupation of our country.

This and the hardship that our people have faced during the last 14 years of war, has eroded any trust that could be placed in the Ethiopian Government. Really, there is very little room for compromise; Eritreans are determined to have their full independence.

Ī AFRICA: To press the question further, would you consider a solution to the Eritrean problem along the lines of the agreement that ended the war between the North and South of Sudan?

Ī SAID: The question of the southern and northern parts of Sudan are quite different from that of Eritrea because the former was part of the Sudanese Republic. Eritrea is not part of Ethiopia and we are not Ethiopians.

We are an African country colonised by another. If our brothers elsewhere in Africa fought for independence from colonialism, why should Eritreans be deprived from a similar right? We will not consider any federal or regional solution; our claim is for self-determination and independence. Eritreans must have the right to decide their own future; and if, afterwards, they decide to be Ethiopians, then we accept that. But this cannot be decided for them, nor can it be imposed by military aggression.

Ī AFRICA: It is said that one of the reasons why Ethiopians are reluctant to consider full independence for Eritrea is that they feel Ethiopia would be economically vulnerable. Is there any justification for these fears?

Ī SAID: WE do not want to destroy Ethiopia at all. If you are talking about the rumours that have been spread that we will deprive Ethiopia access to the Red Sea, then this is not so. For many centuries, Ethiopia, as our neighbour, has always used Eritrean ports as outlets to the Red Sea.

The ELF is not going to change this; but it must not be taken for granted. Ethiopia's use of our ports must come as a result of an agreement between two sovereign nations, not by force. We hope Ethiopians will be wise enough to solve the Eritrean problem and concentrate on

developing their own country (Faded word) a costly war which they will never win (Faded word) will fail in the same way as Haile Selassie. War is a double-edged dagger.

İ AFRICA: The ELF has reportedly been getting most of its support and arms from the Arab countries and, indeed, your Foreign Mission has its headquarters here in Beirut, Lebanon. This has led to the belief in some circles that your organization intends to substitute the heterogeneous complexion of Eritrea with a strong pro-Arab orientation?

İ SAID: The Ethiopian Military Council is very cunning. First they say that the war has escalated because of foreign intervention, and now they say we are fighting to create an Arab state. As a liberation movement, we have the right to ask for arms from anywhere: Africa, Europe, and the Arab world. This is a right that has been exercised by all liberation movements in other parts of Africa.

For example, our brothers in Guinea-Bissau received military aid from the Soviet Union, but that did not mean that they wanted to create a Soviet state in their country. We contacted African, Arab and socialist countries for help; and, it is true, most of our arms have come from the Arab world but that help is very little in relation to our requirements.

If our Ethiopian brothers think this is wrong, it is also legitimate for us to ask whether they want Ethiopia to be the 52nd state of the United States, because they get most of their arms from that country.

The Ethiopians are exploiting the tune which was played by imperialists to create a schism between Africans and Arabs. They are trying to spoil the face of the Eritrean revolution. We are not being pushed by Arabs; when we started our struggle 14 years ago, we were not even allowed to move freely in the Arab countries.

Our struggle began a long time ago inside Eritrea, and we only received arms from the Arabs four years ago. The Ethiopians are falsifying the situation and attempting to create contradictions between Arabs and Africans.

We are Eritreans, and the ELF is nationalist movement fighting for the liberation of our country. It is not necessary to be pushed by any other country.

İ AFRICA: What efforts have you made to explain the Eritrean issue to other Africans?

İ SAID: We have made many contacts with our brothers in Africa, especially governments and voluntary organizations. Gen. Idi Amin of Uganda invited our representative in Libya recently so that he could hear our side.

After our briefing to him, he stated that Uganda was willing to intervene in the Eritrean question and he sent a cable to the Government of Ethiopia asking them to accept the principle of self-determination for Eritrea.

The Ethiopians, of course, rebuked him and said he did not have a right to intervene in the internal affairs of the country. President Tolbert of Liberia and the Tanzanian Government have just recently been in contact with us urging us to stop the bloodshed in Eritrea and work out a peaceful solution.

We are sending a delegation in the near future to African countries to explain our case, to explain that we are not secessionists and that we are not trying to separate an African country. Because Ethiopia has insisted all along that Eritrea is an internal problem, most Africans have been deprived of the full facts and have been hostile to us. However, we are sure that once they are aware of our position, they will support us.

We would like to ask them to remember the days of their bitter suffering and struggle against colonialism. We ask them now to realize that here is an African country suffering from oppression by an African country. This is awkward. And we would like to reassure them that we are for African unity, with African interests, and are not anyone's agents. They must not hesitate to help us; we are a liberation movement struggling for national liberation in Eritrea.
(End)

SUDANOW, August 1978

THE WAR IN ERITREA
MENGISTU GOES FOR BROKE
pp.9-14

As tens of thousands of Ethiopian troops try to regain lost territory, the war in Eritrea has now reached its fiercest pitch for 17 years. Ethiopia has suffered serious defeats, but has also won some limited victories. Dan Connell has just returned from a week with the ELF on the Eritrean border. His report:

ETHIOPIAN SCORED its first breakthrough last month against Eritrean independence forces, while sustaining heavy losses in a series of major defeats in a campaign that is now being waged on at least seven different battlefronts. Ethiopian government forces overran the border defences of the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) in three places, but at a heavy cost. By the third week of the month the government had been completely blocked on all other fronts.

Now well into the largest military offensive in the 17-year Eritrean war, Ethiopia appears to be in deep trouble; but the build-up continues, and fighting is expected to intensify despite international efforts to bring about negotiations between the two sides.

Fresh from victories over Somali-backed forces in the contested Ogaden region, Ethiopia has already mobilized more than 150,000 troops and vast quantities of Russian-supplied heavy armour and artillery for the Eritrea campaign. Additional soldiers and armour continue to move into the area, and work is proceeding on two airfields which will be operational for Ethiopia's new Russian MiG fighter aircraft by September, when the heavy summer rains draw to a close.

Diplomatic sources in Addis Ababa say that the beleaguered government's main push will come in September; but the past month has already seen some of the heaviest fighting of the war on multiple fronts along Eritrea's southern border and inside the territory itself.

Cuba and the Soviet Union appear to be playing only a behind-the-scenes role in the offensive, but diplomats suggest that Ethiopia's ruling military Dergue may be trying to force their hand now to draw them into the expected intensification of the war in September. Late in June, division-size Ethiopian units began to roll out of bases in Ethiopia's Tigray province, south of Eritrea.

Early last month, government forces launched a series of attacks from within the besieged Eritrean capital of Asmara. Three anti-government movements the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) joined forces to block the Ethiopian advance.

The EPLF and the ELF were successful on all fronts inside Eritrea, but by late in the month three mechanized Ethiopian columns were driving into areas held by the ELF in south-central and south western Eritrea. Meanwhile government assaults on EPLF positions around Asmara were smashed, with the EPLF gaining territory in the exchange.

Moving in sequence on five separate fronts, the Ethiopians tried to capture the south-western corner of Eritrea. The first large-scale movement of troops began in Tigray when 6,000 men

occupied the strategic north-central town of Intechew and tried to push north toward the Eritrean border. This drive was stopped by EPLF units which crossed into Tigray from central Eritrea, according to an EPLF spokesman.

A spokesman for the TPLF says that TPLF guerrillas have also been active in fighting around Intechew, which has continued sporadically ever since.

Shortly after this, some 8,000 troops with 36 tanks crossed the Takazie river in the far west, in sight of the Sudan border, and attacked the Eritrean border town of Om Hajer. ELF sources say they were stopped here for several weeks but government reinforcements were brought up from Gondar province to swell this force to more than 20,000.

A woman member of the ELF who said she witnessed the battle described a daily bombardment by Ethiopian artillery and fighter aircraft on ELF positions there. She said the entire civilian population fled while Om Hajer became little more than a government military camp. In mid-July, the Ethiopian force appeared to have broken through ELF lines.

They quickly advanced north to the village of Guluj which was leveled by continuous bombing raids, according to eye witnesses. From Guluj, this force continued north to threaten the ELF-held city of Tessenai as ELF fighters converged from bases throughout the western lowlands to put up last minute resistance. Thousands of Eritrean refugees began to move out of these areas into eastern Sudan as residents of Tessenai fled the city.

One eyewitness said that people began leaving the city with whatever goods they could carry on Wednesday, July 19, fearing Ethiopian massacres of civilians should the city fall. An ELF leader conceded that Tessenai was in danger, but he added, 'If they come into Tessenai we will just surround them and it will be like before.' Simultaneously, an estimated 10,000 to 12,000 Ethiopian troops were moving out of Ende-Selassie in west-central Tigray, supported by Russian-supplied tanks, armoured cars, 'Stalin organs' (multiple rocket launchers) and MiG aircraft, going north toward the Eritrean border.

Following little used secondary dirt roads, they were reportedly halted by the TPLF until ELF units came to their assistance. Guerrilla spokesmen said that the advance was temporarily stopped at the village of Adi Daro, 25 km north of Ende-Selassie with heavy Ethiopian losses, but reinforcements arrived and the advance continued.

As Ethiopian forces were moving out of Om Hajer, this second force reached the Eritrean border at Shambuko, crossed the river there, reportedly losing two more tanks in the process, and began to thrust north toward the government's only remaining garrison in the western lowlands at Barentu.

The two parallel drives into south-western Eritrea threatened all the ELF's urban bases in the area and offered Ethiopia a strong morale boost in a war that has not seen a government victory in more than three years, but in overall strategic terms it is not likely to have a significant effect on the outcome of the present offensive.

The recapture of Tessenai and the reinforcement of Barentu would give the Ethiopians the opportunity to move on against the ELF-held city of Agordat and from there to threaten the EPLF in Keren, but EPLF leaders here express confidence that such a move would be easily blocked.

They point out that the western lowlands are rolling, flat plains which are not easy to defend, but the way to Keren is through more rugged mountainous terrain which is ideal for defensive warfare. ELF and TPLF spokesmen also point out that the troops advancing in the southwest are not able to keep their supply Lines open behind them, so the further they go, the more isolated and subject to ambush and defeat they become.

With the countryside here and in Tigray remaining in ELF and TPLF hands, the two fronts can utilize guerrilla tactics to force the Ethiopians onto the defensive in much the same way they did prior to 1977 when the lowland towns and cities first fell into ELF hands.

A much more serious threat, however, exists in the south central region where a third Ethiopian force has penetrated ELF defences. Early last month the largest force yet rolled out of the Tigray town of Aduwa, which serves as the Ethiopian government's Forward Command post for its 'Northern Front.'

This force, according to ELF sources, was initially blocked by the ELF north of the Tigray village of Rama, close to the Mereb River which serves as the Eritrean border. The ELF claimed that ten tanks, one armoured car and one helicopter were destroyed or captured there with 413 Ethiopians killed. A lieutenant-colonel in charge of the operation was also reported wounded.

The ELF appeared to be doing extremely well in the fighting here, but after a continuous pounding their defences finally gave way, and the much expanded Ethiopian force drove north to capture the ELF-held town of Adi Ouala and go on to threaten Mendefera, 45 km into Eritrea and the largest city in ELF hands.

The capture of Mendefera would be a severe blow to the ELF while directly threatening EPLF positions in the central highlands. Such a victory for Ethiopia would have only limited military consequences, but the political effects would be considerable.

In purely military terms, Mendefera is of value only as a staging area for further assaults on the central highlands where the maximum Eritrean strength lies. Control of the city would give the Ethiopians the option of either pressing on toward Asmara in an attempt to reopen the highway from the besieged Eritrean capital south to central Ethiopia or for attacking the EPLF-held city of Decamare to the north-east.

The successful completion of one or the other would be a strategic victory for Ethiopia, but EPLF spokesmen here say firmly that neither will happen.

An almost monthly series of attacks on EPLF positions around Asmara in both these directions beginning last September has been repeatedly defeated by the EPLF, and the EPLF spokesman predicts that efforts to do this from Mendefera would also meet the same fate.

The spokesman said the real test of the offensive would now come in the highlands, but he pointed out that heavy fighting has been taking place there throughout the current campaign. On the day after Ethiopia's first major assault against the ELF at Rama, Ethiopian forces tried to break out of Asmara with a feint toward Mendefera followed by a push to the south-east, but they were defeated by the EPLF in a day-long battle at the village of Adi Howusha, according to an EPLF spokesman.

The EPLF claimed four tanks destroyed, one Russian T-54 tank captured intact, 300 Ethiopian soldiers killed and 500 wounded or captured in the battle.

Early on July 4, another Ethiopian force tried to break the Asmara siege on the north eastern side of the city. The EPLF's Khartoum spokesman described this engagement as the biggest yet in the month-long campaign. He said that EPLF forces held their positions and counterattacked the next day, overrunning the government's defence perimeter and advancing to within two or three kilometres of Asmara.

The spokesman said that the EPLF captured the villages of Embaderho, Beleza and Adi Nefas, taking control of Asmara's electric power station and the city's water supply. He said that 2,000 Ethiopians were killed in fierce fighting and large quantities of light and heavy weapons were taken.

In Political terms, the combination of ELF reverses with EPLF victories will accelerate the growing dominance of the EPLF within the divided Eritrean independence movement. In the short term, it will mean a military showdown between the EPLF and Ethiopia, but in the longer term, it will also mean a further shift for the Eritrean movement toward the independent Left programme of the EPLF as contrasted with the more Soviet-oriented direction of the ELF.

Although the two rival fronts formally agreed to establish unity beginning in April of this year, substantial differences in political line still separate them and will have to be resolved before complete unity is possible.

The EPLF's political programme is one of 'New Democracy' which stresses self-reliant economic and political development based upon a high level of organisation among Eritrea's workers and peasants, while the ELF is guided by the theory of 'Non-capitalist Development' which calls for concentrated economic development under the leadership of progressive elements of the middle classes and a close relationship with the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries.

ELF losses on the battlefield together with the effect of the continuing, though discrete, Soviet assistance to Ethiopia in the Eritrea campaign is apt to undercut the ELF's political position and hasten the resolution of the division of the Eritrean movement into one between the EPLF on the one hand and the right wing ELF-PLF, under Osman Saleh Sabbe, on the other hand.

The small Sabbe 'third force' has been noticeably absent from the fighting in the current offensive, but it has also benefited from the ELF's problems. Pro-Sabbe elements inside the ELF have been accused of sabotaging the ELF's military operations in an effort to take over the front and consolidate its now weak position in the movement.

An actual mutiny occurred in June when two members of the ELF's Revolutionary Council tried to take over ELF positions in the Danakil region of Eritrea, but ELF leaders say the attempt failed. Since then a significant but undisclosed number of ELF leaders and fighters have gone over to the ELF-PLF.

The Sabbe force's substantial support by outside interests hostile to the leftist EPLF and ELF and its continued avoidance of combat in this the most serious military campaign against the

Eritrean movement has caused some observers to liken it to Angola's FNLA which was a stalking horse for Western interests there.

Outside Eritrea, the ELF's Revolutionary Council Chairman, Ahmed Nassar, and EPLF General-Secretary, Ramadan Mohammed Nur, appeared together in Beirut to call for peace talks with Ethiopia, without preconditions, to settle the war. The Ethiopian immediate response was cold, with officials saying that so long as the two fronts refuse to compromise on independence, there was no basis for talks. There was no sign of compromise by the Eritreans on this point.

Meanwhile, international pressure was building up last month for Ethiopia to begin negotiations, with Libya calling for talks and Sudan's President Nimeiri again offering mediation.

The Eritrea question was raised during the OAU Summit in Khartoum for the first time in that organisation's 15 year history when President Nimeiri spoke to the assembled heads of state on the continuing problems between Ethiopia and Sudan. He called the war in Eritrea the 'root cause' of bad relations between the two countries.

Over Ethiopian protests that the Eritrea war is an internal Ethiopian problem President Nimeiri cited the 300,000 refugees now in Sudan, the proximity of the war to Sudan's borders and the large-scale backing of Ethiopia by outside powers as among the reasons for viewing the war as an international problem that threatens the peace and security of the region.

Within the OAU, delegates from many of the countries of the 'progressive' bloc, including Algeria, Mozambique, Malagasy, Tanzania and Angola - which have previously been friendly to Ethiopia's self-proclaimed 'socialist' military government - said privately that they opposed Ethiopia's unswerving reliance on force to settle the Eritrea issue and were pushing for a peaceful solution.

Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere and Mozambique's President Samora Machel flew directly to Addis Ababa for talks with Ethiopian leaders on this and other issues immediately following the end of the conference in Khartoum.

In Ethiopia, there were also signs that Dergue Chairman, Lt Col Mengistu Haile Mariam, was running into increasing political trouble over his war policies, and diplomats based in Addis Ababa said the Ethiopian economy is in danger of collapse.

Radio Revolutionary Ethiopia announced that there have been nine attempts on Mengistu's life so far this year, and a coup d'etat planned for the first of June was uncovered in May.

Following reports of Cuban and South Yemeni efforts to bring Negede Gobezi, vice-chairman of the suppressed Me'eson party, back to Addis to share power with the current military rulers, there are indications that the Russians are also considering a replacement for Mengistu who would favour regional autonomy for the various Ethiopian nationalities and for Eritrea, as well as a return to civilian rule under a leadership closer to the Soviet Union. Lt Col Mengistu is said to be moderating his stand toward the West in order to secure economic aid and consolidate his own position. He is also reported to have travelled to a number of military bases throughout Ethiopia and Eritrea in order to shore up his power base in the army against Russian moves to unseat him.

The Russian role in the Addis Ababa manoeuvring and in the Eritrea offensive is murky. A spokesman for the TPLF says that they have evidence from intercepted radio messages that Russian strategists are playing a low-profile role in directing the Eritrea campaign; but Eritrean spokesmen say they have no such information.

Diplomatic sources say that the Russians and the Cubans have refused to become directly involved in combat, but that they have agreed to a secondary roll in logistics and communications. Cuba forces are also reportedly garrisoning the major Ethiopian towns and cities in order to release Ethiopian troops for frontline duty.

A high level ELF delegation is reliably reported to have visited Moscow recently, to try to persuade Kremlin leaders to withdraw their support for Lt C, Mengistu and press for a peaceful settlement in Eritrea. They were reportedly told that while Russian support for Mengistu himself is waning, Russia leaders believe that there are progressive elements inside the Dergue who will continue to receive their backing.

Soviet leaders are said to see the current leadership as following a 'chauvinist trend', but they believe this can be reversed if the Me'eson party can be brought to power. With tentative plans in Ethiopia for the establishment of a formal political party and the declaration of a Democratic Republic of Ethiopia set for next month, observers saw the possibility of an intense power struggle in Add Ababa.

Neither Lt Col Mengistu nor the Eritreans have so far managed to get the Russians or the Cubans to get down off the fence and take a firm stand on the Eritrea question; but Lt Col Mengistu seems to be counting on them to join his side in the event of an Ethiopian defeat in the current campaign. A defeat which would place his regime in severe jeopardy as the Eritreans well know.

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EPLF on Nakfa offensive 1982.txt

E.P.L.F.
ERITREAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT

January 5, 1982

VIA FIRENZE 15/3
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PRESS RELEASE

After failing on five separate occasions to drive the Eritrean People's Liberation Front out of their base areas in the Eritrean province of Sahel, the Ethiopian military regime is now in the midst of intensive preparations for a new general-offensive against the Eritrean freedom fighters.

The extent of preparations shows this 6th offensive to be the largest to date. In fact this offensive, as the five previous failures indicate, is born of desperation, -- military desperation at the incapacity of the Ethiopian army to attain victory on the battlefield and political desperation before the unyielding will of the Eritrean people to secure their elementary rights to self-determination and freedom.

The aim of the Ethiopian military regime is to capture the provincial capital of Nacfa, still a liberated city, and then to go on to drive the Eritrean forces out of their bases in the Sahel and Barka provinces which are presently liberated areas under the control of the EPLF. They plan to accomplish this feat within a period of 20 to 30 days.

What makes the Ethiopians so confident that they can now easily succeed where previously they have failed so miserably? The morale of the Ethiopian army is at a lowest point than ever before, but what has changed is the extent of military fire power presently directed at our forces: not only will Ethiopia's Mig 21s and 23s be involved but also older recently refitted American F5s.

Also to be used for the first time are the 20 MI 24 helicopter gunships furnished by the Soviet Union and piloted by South Yemeni pilots, as well as a Hercules C 14 furnished by Libya. However, the single most dangerous weapon brought forward by the Ethiopians is the Soviet-supplied stock, of nerve gas, a highly poisonous chemical weapon never before used against which our fighters and civilian population have virtually no effective defense.

To back up this awesome firepower the Ethiopians have mobilized 90,000 troops. These troops are deployed as follows: Tessenei - the 7th Division; Keren - the 2nd and 21st Divisions; Asmara - the 22nd Division; along the Asmara-Massawa road - the 19th Division; on the border with the Ethiopian province of Tigray - the 18th Division; Algehna - Task Force 505; Agordat - Task Force 504; Afabet - Task Force 508; Massawa - Task Force 507. This large army is directed from a Command Post established since the 26th of December 1981 in the Eritrean capital of Asmara, and is under the command of General Mesfin Gebrekal, himself under the direct orders of the Ethiopian Head of State, Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam.

General Mesfin is assisted by five Ministry of Defense generals affected to the tasks of Transportation, Engineering, Information and Propaganda, and Signal Corps. At the outset of

hostilities this Command Post will move to the more northerly town of Keren.

Even in the face of such destructive forces and weapons the Eritrean people are determined to fight on and to obtain the rights and freedom which are their due. And now as the authoritarian and brutal nature of the Ethiopian military regime weighs more and more heavily on the Ethiopian people, they too wish to see the end of Mengistu's military dictatorship. Fearing the continuation of this regime, they anxiously await the outcome of this offensive and give their support to the Eritrean people in the hope that a defeat will bring down the unpopular Mengistu and his military cohorts.

(sketch map follows)

ERITREAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT POLITICAL BUREAU

Declaration of the Political Bureau of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front

The sixth Ethiopian offensive launched in February 1982 against Eritrean liberation forces, has been going on for four months, although since March it has virtually died off. It is in this context that the Political Bureau of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front met on June 10 and 11, 1982.

After assessing global and regional political realities bearing upon the present offensive, the internal situation of the Eritrean revolution, and organizational questions, the Political Bureau formulated a general programme of action for future confrontations with the Ethiopian aggressors.

The present historic period of violent confrontation between the Eritrean people and its enemies, during which prolonged and bitter battles have taken place within the context of a complex political situation, constitutes a challenge to the determination of the Eritrean people and its vanguard, the EPLF.

It also constitutes a test situation whereby friends are separated from imposters on the one hand, and enemies and their collaborators are identified on the other. It has, moreover, been an important formative experience in the long process of the Eritrean people's struggle.

It should be recalled that the Ethiopian military regime, labouring under the illusion that its aggressive dreams could be realized through war, simply ignored the strong opposition of the Ethiopian people, the suffering of its army and the opinion of wiser officers unfavorable to a war of aggression in Eritrea which was planned by Soviet generals - who bragged that three weeks would suffice for victory - and bolstered by an important quantity of new weapons.

This offensive, seemingly guaranteed of success, and designed to eliminate "once and for all" the Eritrean revolution, was, moreover, accompanied by a large-scale and unprecedented propaganda barrage including seminars, demagogic press articles and diplomatic manoeuvres.

The Ethiopian military regime was not only supported by the Soviet Union, but also by Libya's Kadaffi. In an attempt to achieve his dream of becoming "a great leader of a great regime", Kadaffi has side-d with the Ethiopian junta and poured hundreds of millions of dollars as well as transport aircraft into the offensive.

Also the government of South Yemen has gone beyond mere verbal support and put its naval capacity in the service of the sixth Ethiopian offensive. The collaboration of these countries has yet further hardened Ethiopian intransigence.

Although the primary mover and beneficiary in this on-going offensive is the Soviet Union (Libya and South Yemen being junior partners), the Eritrean people cannot ignore the cover collaboration of other forces with the Ethiopian military junta.

Not underestimating the danger of such a large-scale offensive even though undaunted by Ethiopian intransigence and sabre rattling; and aware that the confrontation is not with some 100,000 Ethiopian soldiers forced, against their wishes and interests, to participate in this war but rather with Soviet advisors, their modern weapons and a hand-full of collaborating Ethiopian officers; the EPLF has, in this hostile climate, succeeded in rallying the Eritrean people to its side, and with their reserves of determination and self-confidence drawn from years of struggle, is successfully meeting all enemy challenges. Persevering in its fierce resistance the EPLF has won many victories.

The Ethiopian military-junta, however, have not recongized defeat. Lulled by the illusions that "the EPLF has been weakened and can no longer hold up if we, (the Ethiopians), persevere in prolonging the war", " we can be successful", etc.; unable to admit the failure of the sixth offensive which was billed as assured of success; and anxious to avert the negative consequences flowing from the actual failure of the offensive, the Ethiopians have opted to intensify their offensive, have fully relegated command to Soviet generals, and have regrouped and reorganized their forces.

They are still attempting to pursue the present offensive while making preparation for a new and yet larger offensive.

In its June 10-11, 1982 meeting, the Political Bureau of the EPLF has carefully assessed present enemy preparation by the Ethiopian regime and the Soviet Union for the continuation of their offensive, and has adopted a new plan of military measures to confront the impending offensives.

On this occasion, the Political Bureau would like to convey the following message to the Eritrean people, to those who support its just struggle and to all peace-loving forces.

The Soviet Union, in order to advance its own interests in the region, has not limited its intervention to politically obstructing the legitimate rights of the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples, but has induced war, thereby obstructing peace, by according massive military support to the Ethiopian military dictatorship which has resulted in extensive repression and unspeakable destruction of civilian property and lives not to mention the liberation fighters.

Acknowledging that the Soviet Union, to higher degree than the Ethiopian military regime, is primarily responsible for the historic crimes being perpetrated and convinced that as long as Soviet logic and physical presence persists in the region peace and justice cannot be achieved, the EPLF calls upon the Ethiopian peoples to intensify their struggle against Soviet presence.

The EPLF calls upon all international organisations and peace-loving forces to exert political and diplomatic pressure on the Soviet Union to end its attempts to crush the Eritrean revolution.

It urges the Organization of African Unity, the Conference of Islamic Countries, and the Non-Aligned Nations to take-up the question in their forthcoming summits and extend due support to the just struggle of the Eritrean people.

The EPLF demands that Libya and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen cease their participation in the war against the Eritrean people.

The EPLF calls upon the national and multi-national organisations in Ethiopia to intensify co-ordination of struggle and commends the concrete co-ordination presently displayed by the Tigray People's Liberation Front in confronting the Soviet-Ethiopian sixth offensive.

In conclusion, the EPLF strongly condemns Zionist Israel's aggression against Lebanon and reiterates its support of, as well as its alliance with, the Palestinian people and their revolution, and its support of the progressive Lebanese national movement.

Victory to the Masses!
EPLF Political Bureau
12/6/1982.

THE KUNAMA PEOPLE

Book: På Gamla Återställda Stigar (On old recovered paths)

By Aug. Andersson, a Swedish missionary.

Evangeliiipress, Örebro, Sweden 1947 255 pages.

(This is the author's narration of his travels in Eritrea in 1909-1947 times. Many Swedish missionaries had gone to Kunama, Eritrea and sent letters and notes which were published in their newspapers, journals and books. This is a translation from the original Swedish.)

P 9-10 Kunama, the country and the people.

The Kunama country is situated in the north west of Abyssinia by the Red Sea, 400 km from Massawa. It borders the Abesinian landscape to the east, Dembelas and Adiabo and Welkiat to the south, Suderat and Algeden tribes to the west, and Barea country in the north.

It is divided into four landscapes, Marda in the north, Barka in east, Bazena in west and Tika in the south between the rivers Gash and Tekeze. Kunama, which is a thousand meters above sea level, would be considered lowland in comparison with Abesinia, but highland compared to Barea country.

It feels so wonderful riding up the mountain from Areda village in Barea to Samero, which is the first Kunama village. Several grass and tree mountain chains leap through the country and between them wide, fertile plains with deep rich earth suitable for farming are found.

Through every landscape flows some big river. In north Kunama where Barentu is situated, flows the Momonya River, which is tributary river to Barka, which in turn flows by Akordet and into the Red Sea near Tokar.

In the middle of Kunama country flows the Gash River which has its source in Hamazen near Adi Gebrai. In Abyssinia the Gash River is called Mereb, in Kunama language, Sona and Kessela calls it Gash.

In southern Kunama flows the Tekeze River, the only river in that area which does not dry up in the arid season. It is rich with fish, hippopotamus and crocodile. The people there call the river for sea.

Both Gash and Tekeze rivers flow up to Abyssinia and are tributaries to the Atbara, which nearing Berber unites with the Nile. The river banks are enriched with many kinds of plants and fruit bearing trees, as well as boaboa tree, evergreen, dates tamarind and sycamore etc.

Also found are different kinds of Akacia, gum and ebenholt (Swedish) The rainy season falls in the July through September months and the land becomes lush with verdure. However, grasshoppers are difficult land tormentors, which have been known to destroy the year's harvest and even tree blades.

The riverbanks also have a rich bird and animal life, inhabitants range from the smallest birds to ostriches, from the smallest animal to elephants and giraffes.

P12 To which origins do the Kunama belong to?

The elderly Kunama say that according to tradition, they came from the north, east, and south. Hence they are a mixed people, which is how they received their name, "Koa" meaning people and "Nama" meaning blended. They regard the Gallas as their relatives. It seems that they are related to the Bantu as well.

P13. The Tigre speakers refer to the Kunama as Baden. Most Abyssinians do not differentiate the Barea and Kunama, although these are two different tribes with their own languages. Those who know their differences call Kunama Bazen.

They divide themselves into four houses. The first one is called "Karawa". Those belonging to this house regard themselves in union with the thunder and rain. The "Shoa" house has the fire and sun as their union figure.

The "Serma" regard bees as their family, and the fourth, "Gurma" house consider their figures to be the elephant and a bird. They state that all humans belong to those four families and that all tribes have these four families in them. They often ask missionaries which house they belong to. The names reproduce different sounds of nature and every house has selected their symbol, a kind of equivalent to our shields emblems or escutcheons.

The Kunama are almost without exception short limbed and strongly built. Their skin colors vary from black to red brown. They are generally happy and open people, but can sometimes be sullen and suspicious.

They have well-developed sense organs, including perfect sight and hearing abilities. Because they totally depend on memory, they are sharp, and can repeat word for word what they heard only once. We write notes and need not burden our memory but they do not have writing. Hence, everything, their laws, debts, changes etc are recorded in memory.

P14. The Kunama search for an elevated yet covered and protected location to build their homes on. During the dry seasons when the water wells are further away, they all move from the mountainous area and build temporary homes by riverbanks. Men, women and children work together on the farm.

It is often the case that the whole village or most families work together in the farming process. They have an abundance of cattle, sheep, goats, but have few donkeys. Sources of great revenue are honey and gum arabicum. After a good harvest they sell seeds and tobacco to the houses or barter for cloths, needles, and iron items. When traders raise their tents in the Kunama villages, the Kunama gather around them and a lively barter takes place.

P19. Tobacco is used mostly for snorting and is placed in small round pump shell, with a narrow opening. Almost every man carries this with him. Only the chief drinks coffee. The coffee is prepared in the following manner; the coffee beans are roasted on a clay plate resting on red-hot charcoal.

The beans are roasted with constant shaking. The coffee is then grounded together with spices such as zingebel, pepper and cloves in a wooden bowl using a stone grinder. The coffee is served in small Arab cups and the process is usually repeated several times.

Once, when Onesimus was in Sweden, he was served coffee and asked how it tasted. He is said to have replied 'It tastes like the fourth cooking'.

The Family.

Contrary to the neighboring Barea, where Mohammedanism rules, the women of Kunama are free, and are aware of their freedom. It is obvious from just looking at the women and more obvious from observing the small society and the family.

The father's tradition is the law and it protects the family. An old tradition regarding relations with other tribe's states "You shall not demand foreign people's daughters". But there are limits even within the clans: the families of Karava and Shoa can marry among themselves, and likewise the Serma with the Gurma. The first group cannot marry from the second group.

The first of the two groups have thunder and rain, fire and sun and their sense of symbol, insist having supremacy over the nature crafts. The two latter groups, the bee and lion, the bird and elephant therefore reign supreme over the animal world.

P20 When a young male reaches 18-20 years of age, he starts to search for a wife to be. After identifying one to his liking he observes her senses and working ability. After adequate observation, he meets with her when she is alone, and asks her if she will become his wife. She has the freedom to say yes or no.

If two young men, she has no obligation to agree with any of them. She can freely accept or reject any marriage proposal. When the girl reaches 14, the wedding is celebrated. .. According to tradition, it is the girl's family who pay for the wedding (describes how the wedding is celebrated).

P24 Circumcision occurs in the second, fifth or tenth year following the birth of a child. An elderly woman performs the circumcision for a girl and an elderly man for a boy. Cattle are slaughtered and feasted on in celebration.

P25 Children learn working from early age. Girls accompany their mothers and help with the strength they have. Boys help with looking after the animals and learn to throw stones with precision and the use of lances.

Instead of lances they use long sticks. The Kunama demand unconditional obedience from their children, or they will be punished. For the elders, respect and willingness to work are general characteristics of children.

When a child leaves village of the father it is customary to return on great occasions to ask for the fathers' blessings. The person lies down on the floor and then first takes hold of his father's knee and then his chin.

Parents are also immensely close to their children. If a father starts a trip away from the village, he soon starts complaining that he misses his children, and returns as soon as possible. During sowing and harvest times children are not left behind but are taken along with the older siblings watching the younger ones.

P26. Seldom do the Kunama divorce, and when they do it almost always the woman who leaves her husband, contrary to the neighboring Abyssinians. When the wife leaves her husband, he has the right to reclaim what he gave his father in law at the time of the wedding.

A family may have servants. The servants are not given money as salary and a shepherd is given milk from the herd. The farm hand is given part of the harvest; apart of the food he eats which all servants are allowed.

If the harvest is poor, the servant gets no income for his work. Every community has the sick and the poor who live of pittance. Professional beggars are not seen in Kunama. It is the family's obligation to feed their needy relatives, and no one is more privileged than the other as the needy are taken care of with the contributions of the entire community.

P27 The Kunama do not worship icons. Their religious concept is more similar to the Mongolian nomads religion, Shamanism or spirit worship. At the same time, they raise themselves beyond these philosophies and believe in one God and one evil spirit, which stand over the spirit of the dead and spirit powers as well as in all living creatures.

They have several names for God. They call him "Anna" or "Anna baddi shinda" i.e., originator of all and creator of the first humans – 'Adum and Haoa'. They call him also "Kas'anda" which means "great image", it symbolizes God's ability to bestow gifts such as children, cattle and good harvest.

P28 With the name "Schama" they say that he can save from death and all distress. God is the good spirit, which is peaceful and giving and who listens to people's prayers when they turn to him in time of need. The bad spirit is called "Sadalla".

They say that he has an iron pole with which he spreads death and terror around him. One can compare it with the devil holding the fork of fire. Those hit by him cannot be healed except with sacrifice and bloodletting. Here is an example.

When a slave has bought freedom or has managed to escape and reach home, a sacrifice animal is circled two or four times around him. And then the animal is slaughtered. The blood is collected and smeared on the man's body as a sign that he is freed from slavery.

P29 If a child dies in the early years; it is buried in a separate grave, where every child has a special grave. At the 'Andina-feast', durra beer is sprayed in the air for the dead children's spirits.

An underground chamber, which can sometimes accommodate several villages, is built for the burial of the elder. Above the grave is a circular wall made of stones. The opening in the middle of the grave opening is covered by a large stone and tightened with earth and small stones.

The grave must be opened every time a person is buried and the stench of the dead is horrible for the digger. The dead are laid men to the right and women to the left.

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If the harvest is poor, the servant gets no income for his work. Every community has the sick and the poor who live of pittance. Professional beggars are not seen in Kunama. It is the family's obligation to feed their needy relatives, and no one is more privileged than the other as the needy are taken care of with the contributions of the entire community.

P27 The Kunama do not worship icons. Their religious concept is more similar to the Mongolian nomads religion, Shamanism or spirit worship. At the same time, they raise themselves beyond these philosophies and believe in one God and one evil spirit, which stand over the spirit of the dead and spirit powers as well as in all living creatures.

They have several names for God. They call him "Anna" or "Anna baddi shinda" i.e., originator of all and creator of the first humans – 'Adum and Haoa'. They call him also "Kas'anda" which means "great image", it symbolizes God's ability to bestow gifts such as children, cattle and good harvest.

P28 With the name "Schama" they say that he can save from death and all distress. God is the good spirit, which is peaceful and giving and who listens to people's prayers when they turn to him in time of need. The bad spirit is called "Sadalla".

They say that he has an iron pole with which he spreads death and terror around him. One can compare it with the devil holding the fork of fire. Those hit by him cannot be healed except with sacrifice and bloodletting. Here is an example.

When a slave has bought freedom or has managed to escape and reach home, a sacrifice animal is circled two or four times around him. And then the animal is slaughtered. The blood is collected and smeared on the man's body as a sign that he is freed from slavery.

P29 If a child dies in the early years; it is buried in a separate grave, where every child has a special grave. At the 'Andina-feast', durra beer is sprayed in the air for the dead children's spirits.

An underground chamber, which can sometimes accommodate several villages, is built for the burial of the elder. Above the grave is a circular wall made of stones. The opening in the middle of the grave opening is covered by a large stone and tightened with earth and small stones.

The grave must be opened every time a person is buried and the stench of the dead is horrible for the digger. The dead are laid men to the right and women to the left.

I want to tell about the village chiefs who gave us the stations Kulloko and AUSA-Konoma. When Chief Baychike of Kulloko became old and sick, he had a general elders meeting as where he should be buried. After that the diggers start and animals are slaughtered for the diggers to eat meat, and beer made by the women.

Those not digging blew horns, played the drums and danced until the grave was built and finished with mud and grass. When the chief died, a horn was blown at the bayou and the

nearby villages heard it. The message of death is shouted which can be heard from four kilometers distance – this is their telephone – and the general wailing and crying starts.

* * * * *

Sudanese soldier in Eritrea 1885

THE LIFE-STORY OF
YUZHASHI'ABDULLAH ADLAN
as told to
G. R. F. BREDIN

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FOREWORD

Towards the end of 1933 I was posted as Deputy Governor to El Obeid and shortly after the new year attended a levée at Province Headquarters. Among the crowd of sheikhs, uniformed officers and others awaiting their turn for presentation to the Governor I noticed an elderly Sudanese yuzbashi.

He was remarkable both for his upright and soldierly carriage (in spite of his 80-odd years) and for the fact that the medals crowded on the chest of his tunic included the Gordon Star as well as those of the Nile campaigns while the latter bore the clasps of Toski, Firket, Atbara and Omdurman.

It seemed to me that the chronicle of a man who had endured such a variety of military experience must be worth recording, and I approached him with the request that he should come to my house on a series of afternoons and give me an opportunity of writing at his dictation his personal reminiscences of the stirring events through which he had lived. He agreed and we embarked on our task forthwith.

The record which follows is the result of these sessions. It is written in the very words he used as nearly as I could reproduce them. I have made no additions or emendations, neither have I made any attempt to establish the historical accuracy of the narrative by comparing it with the official chronology of the events which he records or with the regimental histories of the regiments with which he served.

It seemed to me best to reproduce the plain unvarnished narrative told as it was with astonishing vividness and with the unhesitating clarity of memory of early events so often granted to old age. Our joint efforts have, I hope, rescued from oblivion the story of a life of unusual interest covering a period in the history of the Sudan of which all too few such personal records survive.

YUZHASHI 'ABDULLAH'S STORY

My father was the Sultan Adlan Badi of Jebel Gulli in the Fung where I was born. He could trace his ancestry back through twenty generations of the royal house of the Hill. My mother, was Fatma bint El Nazir Awdoon the daughter of the Nazir of the Habbania tribe and came from Sherkeila. My brother Idris Adlan was the sixth ruler who had governed the Hill under the Turks and was the "Mek" at the time of the Mahdia.

When the Khedive Sa'id Pasha was in Khartoum on a visit to the Sudan in 1858 all the notables from far and wide were summoned to meet him. Amongst these was my father. The Khedive demanded that children from the families of three big sheikhs should be sent in to join the army-one from among the sons of the Sultan of Darfur, one from Ibrahim Sabun the Dinka Chief of Kawa and the third from my father's household. At that time the Dinkas inhabited the banks of the White Nile as far north as Kawa near Dueim.

(38) When he received these instructions my father passed word on to my uncle El Kashef Yusef, who was a "Sanjak" with the Turkish Army at Kassala and in whose charge I then was, that when I became twelve years of age (I was then eight) I should be enrolled in the Khedive's Army. In preparation for this career I was sent first to the local "Khalwa" to learn my letters under a Fiki named Abdullah Medani and, when I had been there for two years, my father told my uncle to put

me into the school at Kassala which was in the charge of an Egyptian officer in the Bashi-Bazouks named Mohammed Zankaloni.

This was the school to which the sons of all the local officers and notables used to go. It was a government school run by the Turks and as I was there by the Khedive's order I paid no fees. There I was soon joined by Adam Bosh son of Sultan Ahmed Bosh of El Fasher. He had done some schooling in Darfur and he and I worked together, but the Dinka representative who joined us later was no use at his books and just used to drill on the square with the soldiers.

Thus I spent three years. The Khedive Sa'id Pasha died and Isma'il Pasha took his place. He found among his records a note about us three children at Kassala and sent word to the Mudir (Abdel Razaq Pasha-who was afterwards killed with Hicks Pasha) to enlist us as soldiers and to send us to Egypt with the garrison of Kassala (four battalions) which was due for relief.

Our uniform consisted of a short tunic buttoned up to the neck and made of white damour cloth, white trousers, boots and white spats and tarbooshes on our heads. Our pay was 7½ piastres a month but, of course, our food and uniforms were provided free. The regular soldiers were given twenty piastres a month and were paid in coins which got the name "Abu Teir" as they had French eagles on them.

The barracks were mud-brick buildings laid out in the shape of a square to form a fort. Each battalion drank from its own well. The married men lived in their own houses in the town. We called the barracks "Hara El Jehadia". The soldiers were all armed with muzzle-loading flint-locks and had not yet been issued with Remington rifles. The artillery consisted of small brass cannon which were carried on mules and iron ones which were carried on camels. They fired cannonballs made of cast iron.

We marched to Suakin, covering the distance in twenty-seven days; and there Mumtaz Pasha, the Governor, sent for transports to take us to Egypt. Each battalion was put onto a separate transport. These were really men-of-war with an engine as well as sails. After five days at sea we reached Suez and from there were sent by rail to Cairo.

Our regiments were taken to some barracks called "Tura El Kheit" and then we three boys were sent by the Miralai to the army headquarters where we were allocated to our several units. I was sent to the army music school, Adam Bosh to the infantry and the Dinka to the artillery. The last was found to be of no use as a soldier and after six months was sent back to the Sudan. I spent nine years in the army music school.

At about this time an Austrian named Metzinger (1) Pasha who had visited Massawa wished to open up Eritrea and to add it to the Khedive's dominions and asked for an army with which to do this. The Khedive sent him a battalion and this landed and occupied a place called Senheit between Massawa and Agordat.

A brother of Metzinger Pasha's then ventured further into Abyssinia but was killed by the Abyssinians who cut him into four pieces and hanged them onto separate trees. When news of this was brought to Metzinger Pasha he returned to his headquarters at Massawa and sent a despatch to Isma'il Pasha asking for more troops.

(1) Evidently Munzinger, who was in fact a Swiss [Ed. S.N.R.]

(39) The Khedive then sent him a second battalion and with this Metzinger Pasha advanced to Amadeib (where his brother had been killed) and occupied it. The officers commanding the two battalions then asked if their regimental band could be sent up from Egypt to join them.

This was approved and I went with them. My instrument in the band was the Cyprian cornet. We landed at Massawa and stayed there for six months; then we went to Senheit where the first battalion was about eleven days' journey by camel. At least the officers and the kit went by camel: we walked. We stayed at Senheit for three months and from there went on to Amadeib where we stayed for a month.

Metzinger Pasha then asked for permission to go to Kassala which was outside his command: this

request was granted and our band accompanied him on his twelve day journey to Kassala. There we had a great welcome from the Governor and I joined my family once more. My uncle and my mother were still there but I heard then for the first time the news of my father's death and the succession of my brother Idris to the sultanate of Gulli. After his visit to Kassala Metzinger Pasha returned to his command at Senheit, Amadeib and Massawa and we went with him.

At that time there was trouble at Zeila and Berbera in what is now Somaliland and Metzinger Pasha sent for a company from the Senheit garrison to deal with it. These reinforcements came first to Massawa and there our band joined them after putting our instruments into store. We went by ship to a place in Somaliland whose name I cannot remember and there landed and made a zariba.

Metzinger Pasha summoned the local sheikh, but evening came and he had not appeared. In the middle of the night the sheikh and a party of tribesmen made a sudden onslaught on our zariba burst their way in and killed Metzinger Pasha.

The alarm was given and we formed a square. They then attacked us with swords but our firearms were too much for them and next day we were able to get back to the shore carrying the Pasha's dead body, and boarded our ship. The captain of the ship, who was either an Englishman or a Frenchman, went through a form of Christian burial but we took the body in the coffin back to Massawa where we handed it over and went up country again to Senheit.

After I had spent about four years at Senheit with the first battalion they sent me and two others off to Egypt where we were to be given further instruction so that we could each take charge of a regimental band. My course in Egypt lasted for a year, after which I returned to Senheit: my two companions were given posts in Egypt-one to the cavalry and one to an infantry unit.

The regimental band of which I was a member consisted entirely of Sudanese: the bandmaster was a Kunjari from Darfur while the others were from all sorts of different tribes-Nuba, Shilluk, Dinka and so on.

I spent five years between Kassala, Amadeib and Senheit, during which time I was promoted Onbashi and finally Shawish. During this time the members of the regimental band were frequently called out for duty in patrols against the local inhabitants.

The way in which the government collected taxes was to send out soldiers who went from house to house with the tax-gatherers. The soldier who accompanied the tax-gatherer was entitled to take, in addition, 1 per cent of the tax for himself.

This was a very profitable business for the soldiers who drew no pay during tax collection but lived on their share of the takings. Soldiers were not allowed to retire but just worked and served until they dropped. When no longer fit for active service, they were put onto light work such as looking after the officers' gardens. There was no such thing as leave of absence.

(40) The administration of the country was purely military. The officers used to see cases and deal out punishments. The cases would be brought to them by the local chiefs who were some of them Abyssinians and some Arabs. In the more settled areas, however, there were civilian officials in government service.

We had several battles with the local people. There was a certain Maria tribe (Hamra and Zerga) living between Asmara and Senheit. They lived along a big khor called the Baraka which runs from Kofit to Senheit. They frequently refused to pay their taxes and when we went to collect cattle by force they used to attack us, but our firearms were always too much for them.

After about a year they were pacified and came into Asmara with their tribute and cases. I took part also in one expedition against the Kushtan tribe which lived in the direction of Adowa. After the death of Metzinger Pasha on the Somali coast, command of the troops in our area was taken over by 'Ala' al Din Pasha and Prince Hassan, son of Isma'il Pasha.

While 'Ala' al Din Pasha was in charge the 1st Egyptian Battalion made a raid on the Kushtan near the Abyssinian frontier who had refused to pay their tribute. The Kushtan attacked them at night when

they were asleep and unprepared and the battalion lost about half its numbers including several officers. The survivors withdrew to Senheit.

To avenge this reverse an army of 32,000 men was sent up to us from Egypt under the command of Prince Hassan to which were added the 4,000 troops already in Eritrea. The 2nd Battalion, with which I was serving, was amongst these.

We marched up towards the Abyssinian frontier by way of a place called Medin where our comrades of the 1st Battalion had been cut up. By this time our total force numbered 36,000 men. We were met by the Abyssinians whose leader parleyed with our commander (Prince Hassan) but they failed to come to terms and the battle began.

The Abyssinians attacked us in our zariba in great numbers. They galloped forward on mules and then sprang off and tore away the thorn bushes and poured in amongst us. But we held our ground and by the evening the corpses were piled high in front of the zariba.

On the third day of the battle our battalion commander ordered us to leave the zariba and advance. We did so and were fighting hand to hand with the enemy when the rest of the army, fearing that we might be driven back and the Abyssinians follow us into the zariba, opened a heavy fire on friend and foe alike and killed many of our men. During the fighting I received two sword cuts and a bullet in the thigh.

The Abyssinians used firearms which they discharged with lighted matches and many of their bullets were made of stone and ebony. At the end of three days fighting neither side had gained any advantage and the two commanders agreed to break off hostilities.

The Egyptian army then retired but the wounded were left behind under the care of the doctors. They wished to remove the ebony bullet which had lodged in my thigh but I refused to let them do this and it is in my body today. It gives me no pain except that it aches during the wet weather.

Many of our wounded had been emasculated by the Abyssinians and had died. Among the wounded who later perished was our Battalion Commander Mohammed 'Ali Pasha whom we buried on the battlefield. When I had recovered from my wounds I returned to Senheit and went on several tours with the band round Eritrea finishing up at Kassala.

Before reaching Kassala we had heard of messages having been received in the countryside from Mohammed Ahmed El Mahdi telling everyone to rise and join him. Later, after he had inflicted defeats on the Turkish forces at Aba and Gedir was preparing to besiege El Obeid, he sent further messages to the tribal sheikhs and elders telling them that he (41) was the expected Mahdi.

The Turks then sent a battalion of mixed Sudanese and Egyptians under Mohammed Pasha from the east near Massawa by way of Kassala. This force was set upon by the Mahdists near the Um Dam in Kordofan and wiped out. News of this disaster reached us at Senheit and the whole country there rose against the Turks.

The Turkish authorities at once prohibited the holding of "zikrs". A rising at Senheit followed and a battalion sent to suppress it was annihilated. By that time a new battalion had arrived at Suakin. This marched up country and met a similar fate. At Kassala, however, a local rising was crushed by a Turkish force under the command of a certain Rashid Pasha who had been sent from Egypt by the Khedive to enquire into and suppress the revolt.

After he had put down the rising at Kassala, he left two of his three battalions in Kassala and returned to Egypt with the other one. After this there was a pause in the fighting lasting several months after which my battalion was sent from Senheit to Kassala to reinforce the garrison there.

By this time El Obeid had fallen to the Mahdi; Hicks Pasha's army had been destroyed at Sheikan and the Mahdi himself had begun to move eastwards towards the Nile. It was when we were in Kassala that we first heard news of the landing of British troops at Suakin.

Soon after that a large consignment of arms from Egypt reached us through Suakin and two

battalions were detailed to march to Khartoum as escort for these arms to help Gordon Pasha who had arrived there.

We met with no opposition on our way to Khartoum and when we arrived there heard that an order had arrived from the Khedive saying that anyone who wished to leave his post and return to Egypt could do so as the Sudan was being abandoned. On arrival at Khartoum we handed over the arms which we had brought with us and, a few days later, Gordon Pasha himself came and inspected us and had lists made of the names of our men so that we could be issued with his medal.

I had seen Gordon Pasha twice on previous occasions, at Kassala. The first time he came on a visit from Suakin and the second time he came on a tour of inspection as Governor General. On both occasions my band played for him there. Slatin Pasha also paid us a visit while I was in Kassala. The first time that Gordon Pasha came we played for him three nights running and he left a cheque for £200 which was handed over and distributed among us. The second time he gave us £50. Slatin Pasha did not give us anything.

We took our place among the garrison of Khartoum. The Dervish army was besieging Khartoum from a distance and was encamped on the banks of the White Nile to the south in the direction of Kawa. We soon heard that all the Turks and Egyptians in Dongola Province had left. Kassala also sent a number of its people to Egypt including Sayed Mohammed Osman, the father of Sayed 'Ali Mirghani, but the officials and garrisons of Khartoum, Sennar and Berber remained at their posts.

Soon after we arrived Gordon Pasha sent a messenger to the Mahdi who was approaching to say that he would not surrender Khartoum until he had received orders to do so. The Mahdi killed the messenger.

A week or so afterwards messengers arrived from the Mahdi to say that if Khartoum was not surrendered he would attack it, and Gordon Pasha then made all preparations for its defence. We had found the ramparts finished when we arrived but we added to them, digging a ditch and making a mound from behind which we could fire.

The fortifications of Khartoum were very poor-nothing like so good as (42) those of Kassala. The ramparts then circled a very large area only a part of which was occupied by buildings, the Palace and the market. My battalion was stationed on that part of the ramparts where the Abbas Pasha barracks now stand.

Our rations were slender but we were not really starving. Each soldier was issued with two and a half bowls of grain every fifteen days and also a little beef. The married men handed their rations over to their wives for cooking, but the others lived in a kind of mess and their food was cooked for them. There seemed to be no lack of ammunition.

Before our arrival in Khartoum the soldiers of the garrison had been issued with pieces of paper bearing Gordon Pasha's signature in lieu of pay but these issues ceased on our arrival and we got no pay.

We had not been in Khartoum three months when the final assault on the town was made. Until then there had been no real fighting near the town but only exchanges of letters between the Mahdi and Gordon Pasha.

The final assault was made in the early morning. It fell chiefly upon an Egyptian battalion which was holding a part of the defences opposite the Mogren. They broke and fled at once. Our part of the line was also heavily attacked and though we went on firing our rifles until they were too hot to hold they finally poured over the ramparts by sheer force of numbers and anyone who remained standing was killed.

Life was dear and many of us threw ourselves down among the dead and wounded while the Dervishes poured over us into the town. For several days they pillaged the city and massacred the inhabitants until finally the Mahdi ordered them to stop.

We, the survivors of the garrison, were collected and the Mahdi ordered us to be segregated into camps. Our uniforms were taken from us and we were dressed in Dervish clothes. The Mahdi then organized three columns, one to attack Berber, one Kassala and one Sennar.

After staying for three months in Khartoum while preparations were being made, the survivors of the troops which had come from Senheit were handed over to the command of the Emir El Hag Mohammed Abu Girga for the attack on Kassala. Away we marched and came to Kassala, approaching it from the west between the Gash Gate and the Kadi's Gate. Kassala was then a strongly fortified town surrounded by a wall and a ditch. In the wall were a number of forts with cannon mounted on them.

The garrison in that part of the wall facing us was composed of Shaigia whom our leaders bribed to open the gate. I was with the party of Dervishes which first entered and we headed straight for the Mudiria. Around us were forts occupied by my former comrades whom I had left behind when we marched to Khartoum.

We reached the Mudiria-- a building with a row of five tebeldei trees in front-- at about eleven o'clock at night. Parties were sent to bring out of their beds the Governor (Miralai Ahmed Bey Iffad), his Deputy (Bimbashi Hassan Agha)--both Turks--together with the chief merchant and the Greek army contractor.

They were found and brought along while everyone else in the town was still asleep. They were ranged in a row and our commander argued with them until midnight trying to persuade them to surrender the town. They all refused and their heads were cut off on the spot.

We then waited until dawn came. By this time news had gone round that the Dervishes were in the town but the soldiers in the forts did not open fire as they did not know where we were. (A picture of the elderly and decorated Yuzbashi 'Abdullah Adlan, sitting upright in a chair outside a building)

At dawn our Commander divided his force into sections and sent them to attack the forts at the same time sending messages to the Commanders of the forts calling upon them to surrender. Two Egyptian bimbashis replied that they would surrender but the third commander (a Dinka sagh named Abdel Raddi) refused and (43) sent messages to all the rest of the garrison saying that he would die on the ramparts rather than give in to the Dervishes.

As a result the whole of the garrison, other than the two Egyptian bimbashis, refused to surrender and the Dervishes attacked them. They resisted fiercely but with difficulty as the forts were crowded with women and children and refugees. We who had been soldiers of the Khedive did not like to fight against our former comrades and so we hung back, taking no part in the battle.

For two days the garrison held out but on the third day a force arrived under Osman Digna and overwhelmed the defenders by weight of numbers. The survivors then surrendered.

We who had originally formed part of the garrison of Kassala and had been captured at Khartoum were allowed to settle down with our families in our homes in Kassala and were told to hold ourselves in readiness to serve the Mahdi. The remainder of the town was then pillaged.

After we had been at Kassala for two or three months we heard that a party of Italian troops was approaching to the relief of Kassala. They arrived to find that the town had already fallen and we went out to meet them. They were well armed and we suffered considerable losses in the two engagements which we had with them. For the second we had strong reinforcements from Osman Digna and we drove them back a long way into what is now Eritrea. We saw them no more.

Our three battalions which were composed of ex-soldiers were placed by Abu Anga under the orders of Osman Digna and we were ordered to join in the attack on Suakin. We had already heard that there had been a battle between Osman Digna and Baker Pasha which Osman Digna had won.

Suakin was being invested by Osman Digna's second-in-command but without much success and we were sent to reinforce him. Our force consisted of our three battalions and two or three thousand Dervish horse. We were made to put up fortifications around Suakin to invest it and we occupied the

wells at El Teb, Tamai, Handub and Gemmaiza. We used to creep up towards the walls of Suakin at night.

There were always a lot of lights burning in the town and the British officers of the garrison used to have their evening meal on the ramparts by candle-light. We used to take random shots at these lights hoping to hit someone. The garrison of Suakin was on the mainland protected by a wall. They lived in tents. We seldom emerged by day but only fired on the town at night. There were several small forts outside the well which fired at us but no sorties were made.

One night we collected all our forces and made a night attack on the wall but were beaten back. Soon after this the garrison in one of the forts spotted a large party of our camelmen and horsemen on a daylight patrol and fired into them causing heavy losses.

Osman Digna's second-in-command then sent word back telling him that he could make no impression on Suakin and urging him to send up the remainder of his army. In due course Osman Digna arrived and, leaving his army a short distance behind, came forward to reconnoitre the position.

He then retired, taking the rest of the Dervishes with him to hold a council of war, leaving our contingent of ex-soldiers alone facing Suakin. At that moment by the Grace of God a very heavy storm of rain fell and a big wadi came down in spate between our force and the main body of the Dervishes.

Our officers told us that here was a heaven-sent chance to make our escape and at midnight we set out and, after two days march, reached Akik on the shore of the Red Sea. Here we halted and camped under some trees. In the meantime news had reached Osman Digna that we had deserted and he sent a large force of mounted men in pursuit.

We made a zeriba round each battalion with our families inside and were preparing to defend ourselves to the last when we (44) saw a British gunboat steaming past. One of our officers, a yuzbashi named Selim Eff. Kirkir had been a signaller and knew some English and flashed a message to the ship using a looking-glass as a heliograph, saying that we were Turkish soldiers deserting from the Mahdi's army.

By this time the Dervish horse had come into view and were rapidly approaching our zariba. The captain of the gunboat then told us to abandon our zariba so as to leave the field of fire clear for his guns. We did so and moved along the shore and as the Dervishes entered our zariba the gunboat opened fire on them.

Many were killed and the remainder retired. The captain of the ship then sent a signal to say that he wished to see our commanding officers. It must be remembered that we were all dressed in Dervish jibbas and he clearly wished to make sure that our story was true. Five of our officers were taken on board over a ladder between the ship and a reef and when they returned they divided us up into detachments and listed us.

In the meantime the gunboat had got a message through to Suakin telling them to send transports for us and next day an Egyptian man-of-war arrived to take us off. It could not get close enough to the shore so a small ship was sent which ferried us over in instalments with our women and children and put us onto the man-of-war which then took us to Suakin.

When we arrived there we were given new uniforms and three months' pay. After resting for a fortnight at Suakin we sailed for Suez where we landed five days later. From there we were taken by train, battalion by battalion, and put into camps at Abbassia. This was in May 1885.

About a week later the Khedive Tewfik together with Grenfell Pasha, another English general, and 'Ali Pasha Sherif came to visit us. We were drawn up in line and the Khedive's party drove along our line in carriages. They stopped and spoke to the officers and asked them questions.

Orders were then issued for nominal rolls to be made and for us all to be issued with pay from the day on which we had last drawn it including the time during which we had been with the Mahdi's force. In the meantime we were drawing rations for ourselves and our families.

Eighteen days later we were sent for to go to the Treasury where, in a couple of hours, we had all our back pay issued to us. We were paid in gold—partly in English sovereigns, partly in Turkish pounds and partly in Egyptian coins. We were then told to return to our barracks and await orders. We were left alone for three months and I took the opportunity to get married again. A representative of the Ministry of Pensions then came and issued each man with a discharge certificate, telling us that we were discharged on condition that we did not return to the Sudan.

About this time, the British were making arrangements to build up a new Egyptian army in place of the one which had been destroyed by the Dervishes and into this new army they prepared to incorporate the remnants of the battalions which had been rescued from the Sudan.

The garrisons of Senheit and Amadeib had been withdrawn and the forts handed over to an Abyssinian representative. With these came the garrison of Gallabat which had been able to find its way down to Senheit. These contingents arrived in Egypt about six months after we did and were all discharged in the same way. With them were contingents who had retired into Egypt from Dongola.

These latter troops (i.e. the ones from Dongola and Berber) were used to form the IXth (Sudanese) Battalion and sent to Suakin: I was put into the training battalion with the rank of Bash-shawish in the band. After spending about six (45) weeks there I was sent as an instructor to the new XIIIth (Sudanese) Battalion which was being formed at Assuan.

This was in about October 1886. A few months later, early in 1887, we sailed up the Nile to Wadi Halfa and formed part of the Egyptian frontier guard against the Dervishes. A short while later the general in command of the forces on the frontier heard that the Dervishes were planning a raid on Egypt and asked for reinforcements.

The IXth Sudanese were then sent up from Egypt and joined us at Halfa. They were followed by two Egyptian infantry battalions, a company of camel corps and some cavalry. We then strengthened the defences around Halfa, making a rampart with a ditch outside. Outside the main defences were five forts. About this time Woodhouse Pasha came to take over command.

The Dervishes, who had come as far as Sarras, advanced to Gamai near Amka. Two battalions were then sent forward to make an advanced fort at Khor Musa Pasha, several hundred yards south of Halfa, and did so under the protection of one of the river gunboats. For two months we slept to our arms on the ramparts and were not allowed to return to camp.

By this time I had been commissioned as a combatant officer in the XIIth Sudanese. In July 1890, I had been made sol in charge of the band at Halfa and was finding the work very arduous. Two of the British officers there (one of whom was the commanding officer of the XIIth) were very fond of music.

Every post from England would bring a fresh supply and I had the task of transcribing it and then teaching the band to play it. These officers insisted that every evening the band should play for them one new march and one new waltz.

We were in great demand to play at all the messes and I was responsible for making out all the programmes. Finally I could stand the strain no longer and put in a formal complaint explaining that I trained the band all day and then had to sit up all night transcribing the music for the next day's programme.

In fact this is what has left my eyes weak to this day. My petition was passed to Kitchener Pasha and soon afterwards news came through of my appointment as Mulazim Tani. The commanding officer of the XIIth congratulated me and asked if I would like to serve in his battalion. I said I would and was appointed accordingly.

The 7th (Egyptian) battalion then arrived and was sent to occupy the new advanced fort. Here the Dervish Commander (Osman Azrak) at night attacked them. When news of this attack came in our commander sent one company from the IXth and one from the XIIth (in which I was serving) to

their help. We arrived to find that the Dervishes had forced their way into the fort and that a hand-to-hand struggle was going on. When we arrived and attacked the Dervishes they broke and fled.

In the morning we found that sixty or seventy of the Egyptians had been killed and forty or fifty Dervishes. After this the 7th battalion was withdrawn inside the fortifications and we were sent to hold the fort. When Osman Azrak heard that a Sudanese garrison was at Khor Musa Pasha he withdrew to the main body at Sarras. Nothing happened for about two months.

After this the Dervishes advanced again and destroyed a scouting party of our camel corps. The IXth were then ordered to advance to Sarras which they did, driving the enemy before them, and the Dervishes withdrew to Firka. Our force at Sarras was gradually increased until we had a strength of about ten battalions.

Then suddenly one Friday, Osman Azrak made a detour through the hills and fell upon the market at Dabarossa behind our lines. The alarm was sounded and we were sent to Dabarossa but the Dervishes had already withdrawn having killed many of the inhabitants. Many others in trying to escape had crowded into a boat which put out into the Nile and then sank.

(46) For several months the Dervishes left us alone and then they made a raid near Korosko killing one of our officers named Ahmed Bey El Abbadi together with a party of camel scouts who were on an outlying picquet.

So 1888 went by and 1889 came. In 1888 the XIth and XIIth Sudanese battalions were reformed and joined us. In 1889 the Emir Wad El Negumi moved against us. He advanced along the west bank of the Nile and was heading towards Egypt. The river gunboats were sent to watch him but he continued his advance northwards towards Abu Simbel.

Our force was then put onto the steamers and after landing at a point to the north of his advance we made a defended position, knocking loopholes in the walls of the mud houses we found there. For sixteen days we and the Dervishes faced each other in our positions, and in the meantime Grenfell Pasha had sent up more troops from Egypt including the 1st and 2nd Egyptians.

They arrived in due course together with the XIth Sudanese under Macdonald Bey and we were put onto ships and taken back to Fercik to which the Dervishes had moved. Our force consisted of six battalions. Then one evening we heard Wad El Negumi's ombaya being sounded and the noise of his army moving.

We stood to arms at 2 a.m. and marched until mid-day following them up until we reached some hills near Toski. On our left were some of our Camel Corps and some British machine guns. We opened fire on the Dervishes at one o'clock and firing went on for two hours.

Suddenly we saw a naga and a horse running about riderless which some of the friendlies recognized as being those of Wad El Negumi. Soon after this the cease-fire was sounded and we advanced to find the Emir and seven of his followers lying dead.

However, his brother escaped and was pursued until the evening by a force under Hunter Pasha. Our general ordered the Emir's body to be placed on a stretcher and taken with us and we were then put onto the steamers and returned to Halfa.

About a thousand Dervish prisoners-men, women and children-were put onto sailing boats and taken down to Egypt. About six months later, however, they were sent back to Halfa and from there to Sarras where they were released and allowed to go to their homes. Then there was another pause in the fighting.

In 1891 my battalion was sent from Assuan (where we were in reserve) to Suakin. We went by way of Luxor and then cut across the desert to Kosseir on the shore of the Red Sea. There we were embarked on a ship and taken to Suakin. At that time Osman Digna and his army were at Tokar.

We advanced on Tokar with the infantry in the centre and the cavalry on the wings, and fell on them from three sides. Osman Digna himself made his escape but most of his Emirs were killed and many

of his men. After this success we were sent back to Assuan by way of Kosseir and Luxor, the way we had come.

After this Grenfell Pasha went home and Kitchener Pasha took over command. Lord Cromer was in Egypt.

For a couple of years Kitchener Pasha spent his time on tours of inspection and in 1892 the Khedive Tewfik Pasha came with him. My band often used to play for him in Halfa. Soon after his visit Tewfik Pasha died and was succeeded by Abbas Hilmi. The latter came up to Halfa in 1893 and went as far as Sarras. It was about this time that Slatin Pasha arrived escaping from the Khalifa. By 1896 the whole army was concentrated in Halfa.

Early in the year the vanguard of the army moved slowly forward to Sarras and from there to Akasha. The XIIIth went forward with them, and we left Halfa in March; soon four battalions were camped at Akasha. The Sirdar then planned the attack on Firket which was the northernmost outpost of the Dervishes.

(47) We, together with the Camel Corps and some maxim guns, set out at night. The Sirdar himself came with us accompanied by Wingate Pasha. We made a wide into the desert and marched all night over difficult country.

At daybreak we were ordered to take our place on the right of the line with some field guns in the middle and some cavalry on the left. We halted on the edge of a Khor. We had been ordered to fire a shot when we were in position. We gave the signal at about half past five and then the rest of the army, which had been advancing along the river bank, formed line and attacked the Dervishes. We could hear the sound of their volleys.

Then our guns were ordered to fire and we lay down while the shells went over our heads. The Dervishes were thus hemmed in and were destroyed by our fire. The Emir (I think his name was Idris Hamouda) and his sister were found lying dead on their prayer mats. He was a Habbani, a relative of my mother's, but I was a soldier in the service of the Khedive and had to fire like all the rest.

Osman Azrak escaped with a small party of horsemen but nearly all the Dervish army was killed or taken prisoner. The wounded were handed over to the hospital and the unwounded sent to Halfa. Next morning at 9 o'clock we and the camel corps and the maxims under Hunter Pasha went in pursuit of the remnant of the Dervishes.

We marched all day and at midnight arrived at Suwarda where Hassan Wad El Negumi was. When he heard that we were coming he put his army onto boats and crossed over to the west bank of the Nile. We found his camp deserted except for a lot of stores, but were forbidden to take anything except what we wanted to eat.

We made no zariba round our camp that night. At mid-day the rest of the army came up. We made our camp a little distance away from the Dervish camp and made ourselves huts out of the trunks of palms, and there we stayed for three months. During this time the engineers at Halfa had been putting together the river gunboats and the "Fateh" and the "Nasir" had been completed.

The Xth were on guard over prisoners while the Egyptian battalions worked at the building of the camps and the railway line. In September the river rose and the "Fateh" came upstream and joined us. On board it was a detachment of British soldiers. We then advanced along the shore while the "Fateh" steamed beside us up the river and so arrived at Fercik (a different Fereik this time).

The gunboat scouted upstream and saw no signs of the enemy so we advanced to Abu Fatma. The gunboat then went on to Kerma and found a party of the enemy on the west bank under the Emir Wad Bishara. We were then ordered to advance and approached Kerma.

The Dervishes fired on the gunboat which replied and then our guns were ordered forward and opened fire on the Dervishes across the river. We had dug ourselves in by this time but at mid-day we

were ordered to start firing volleys at the enemy on the other bank. The enemy then retired. This was at about 3 p.m.

The gunboat sailed on and found the Dervish camp deserted. We spent all day crossing the river and then made a zariba. Next day the gunboat brought the cavalry and camel corps up to join us and then returned to fetch the Xth. The whole force then advanced with a fringe of scouts out in front and sleeping in a zariba every night and in seven or eight days came to Dongola. On the way we came on Wad Bishara's horse lying dead.

When we reached Dongola we found that the army of Yunis El Dikeim had abandoned it. The British contingent disembarked and advanced along the shore as far as Old Dongola. Here they were picked up again by the steamer which took them back to Halfa.

They had been brought in case there might have been Dervish resistance at Dongola. Kitchener Pasha and Hunter Pasha also returned and Macdonald Pasha was left in command of us. We then advanced to Khandak and finally came up with Osman Azrak at Debba but he withdrew and all we captured were some of his family.

The river here was too shallow (48) for the big steamer so the two smaller ones were sent back to bring up our supplies from railhead which by that time had reached Kerma. We and the XIIIth were at Debba, the XIth at Korti, the IXth at Merowe and the Xth at Dongola, and so we awaited the Nile flood of 1897.

The Sirdar had heard from 'Abdalla Saad of Metemmeh that he would join the expedition and asked for help. The Sirdar sent a mounted column forward to his help but before they reached Metemmeh they got news that the Emir Mahmoud had massacred all the inhabitants of Metemmeh.

My battalion were then ordered to go downstream to Kerma whence we were taken by rail to Halfa and from there along the new railway line across the desert as far as what is now Station No. 3. There the line ended and we then marched to Abu Hamed.

Our water was supplied by camel transport but it was a hard march. When we reached Abu Hamed we found that the Xth had attacked the Dervish garrison and taken the place. After a further thirteen days march with the railway line following us along slowly we reached Berber.

The Dervish Emir at Berber, El Zaki Karrar, retired abandoning his fortifications. The reason for this retreat was that a certain 'Abdel 'Azim Bey who had been sent on a detour inland away from the Nile suddenly appeared at Berber before the rest of the army had arrived and so alarmed the Dervishes that they retreated. This was in December, 1897.

Throughout our march we had been received with the greatest enthusiasm by the Danagla and the Shaigia. They were very poor and had hardly any clothes but they lined the roads everywhere and cheered us as we marched past. The next few months saw the railway arrive at Berber after great efforts by the engineers and from there it was pushed on to Dakka near Atbara.

In February and March, 1898, the whole army was concentrated at Berber and an advance was made to Salama and Um Adara and finally to Um Debeiha where we were halted in one large zariba. Our force consisted of three or four British battalions under a brigadier, then the IXth, Xth and XIth Sudanese and 7th Egyptians under Macdonald, the XIIth, XIIIth and XIVth Sudanese and 8th Egyptians under Maxwell, the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Egyptians under Lewis and the 4th, 5th and 6th Egyptians under Wilkinson (who was afterwards killed by a lion at Kassala). The transport and auxiliaries were under Hickman.

On 8th April, 1898, we left our camp at Um Debeiha at 5 o'clock in the evening and were drawn up in a hollow square. We and the Egyptians formed one side, the British another, and the other troops and the baggage a third side.

When the parade was ready a platform was brought forward and the Sirdar mounted it and made a speech to encourage us and to ask for God's help in the coming battle against the Emir Mahmoud Ahmed. We were greatly encouraged by his words and our hearts were warmed for the battle. With

one voice the whole army gave a cheer and raised their rifles in the air. We felt that we were unconquerable.

We moved off at 6 o'clock with strict orders that silence be kept and no lights lit. We marched in square formation. Each man kept close to his comrades on either side of him and it was very hot. After an unbroken march of five hours we halted in formation and ate some food and then marched on for another four hours.

As dawn was breaking we came within sight of Mahmoud's zariba. There was no movement and the Dervishes seemed to be still asleep. The army then deployed with Maxwell's brigade (in which I was) on the right, then Macdonald's brigade and then the British brigade.

The Egyptians were behind in reserve and also the baggage square. By 6 o'clock the line was in position. The Sirdar then ordered the artillery to, divide up-three guns being put beside each battalion. At daybreak fire was (49) opened with incendiary bullets onto the camp which burst into flames. After an hour's firing when the camp was in flames the men who fired the incendiary bullets were withdrawn and the field guns pushed forward and fired for half-an-hour.

The enemy were crouching in their trenches which extended backwards for twelve lines or so behind their zariba. The guns were then pushed back and the Dervishes at once emerged from their trenches and opened fire on us. Our losses from this fire were very small. We then fixed bayonets all along the line.

Each band then played its regimental march, the officers went on in front and we advanced, firing volleys as we did so. We were provided with ladders made of iron covered with thick canvas which were thrown onto the thorn zariba. They were too short to cross the whole zariba but we forced our way through the remaining branches and into the Dervish encampment. We advanced into the defences in battalion order, with the Dervishes firing at us as we came.

Our men began to drop and were tended by the doctors who came behind. The reserve battalions formed up inside the gap we had made while we advanced towards Mahmoud's headquarters. As we approached the enemy broke and fled across the river. We poured a heavy fire into them and many fell. Many of the Emirs were killed but Osman Azrak who was opposite the British brigade made his escape with the camel corps and cavalry after him.

We were then ordered to search the zariba and sweep across it clearing all the trenches of the remaining enemy. While doing this the company with which I was found Mahmoud. A woman emerged from a shelter and told a British officer that he was still in there alive.

As we advanced upon his shelter his guards opened fire on us and several of our men were hit. We shot several of his guards and then called out to him that he must surrender or we would pour a volley into his shelter. He then called out "Aman" three times and came out, with a woman and a slave.

He was light in colour with no hair on his face, dressed in a short Dervish jibba and drawers and shoes. He had nothing on his head and no arms in his hands. News of his capture was sent to the Sirdar who had pitched his tent under a tree. We formed a guard round Mahmoud and marched him off to the Sirdar.

He was sitting outside his tent dressed in a shirt and breeches with a knife and revolver in his belt. With his big black moustaches he was a frightening figure. We halted fifty yards away and the Sirdar came forward. Mahmoud started trembling but we told him to bear up. Kitchener came and shook him by the hand and then took him by the arm and they talked for a while.

An order was given that our two battalions which had captured Mahmoud were to escort him back to Berber while the others remained on the battlefield to bury the dead and attend to the wounded. By half past two in the afternoon the fighting was over and after an hour's rest we paraded again and started our march back to Berber with Mahmoud.

Our wounded followed in litters. We marched till 10 o'clock in the evening and halted for the night. We had no blankets and slept on the ground. At 2 o'clock in the morning we started again and entered Berber at about 10 o'clock.

Everyone had already heard that Mahmoud Ahmed who had boasted that he would invade Egypt had been defeated and captured. News had been sent round as to which roads we should march along and they were packed with women and girls.

The Xth went on in front, then Mahmoud on foot with a guard round him with fixed bayonets to protect him from the crowd and then the XIIth. We marched through the streets of Berber amid cheering crowds. Mahmoud held his hand over his mouth and tears ran down his face. Next day he was sent away by train to Halfa and thence to Egypt.

(50) Two days later the rest of the army returned from the battlefield. We stayed on and around Berber for three months by which time the railway line had reached Dakhla near Atbara where the bridge over the Atbara river now stands.

In July we were on the move again. The whole army was transferred to Wad Hebeish on the west bank. Here a small party of mounted Dervishes approached our camp and I was given the task of chasing them away. I went forward with my platoon and sent some of my men up trees to act as look-outs.

Soon the Dervish approached and were spotted by one of my look-outs. He came back with the news and I led my platoon forward. The Dervishes had a couple of scouts on ahead who saw us and retired on their main body. I then advanced, having sent word of what was happening back to my company commander. I made a square with platoon and the Dervishes attacked us riding on camels.

I waited until they were quite near and then opened rapid fire on them. They all fell except nine men of whom we were able to take four prisoners. The remaining five escaped. I only had one man wounded. After sending back word to the main body we remained on guard over our prisoners until Maxwell Bey came up to question them.

I was ordered to collect the animals and the property of the dead. We were told to only the arms and the rosaries of the dead but not their clothes. I then returned to the main body and handed everything over. Maxwell Bey took a report back to the Sirdar who was very pleased. He sent me a reward of £120 of which I kept £40 myself and gave the rest to the soldiers of my platoon. My platoon shawish and onbashi were promoted.

After questioning my prisoners our commander knew that the Dervishes were in force near the Shabluka gorge and the whole army then moved forward to Wad Hamid near the entrance to the gorge. The Nile rose and one of the gunboats was able to steam up the river and attack the Dervish position, but the Dervishes saw it coming and retired. After cutting enough wood to provide fuel for the gunboats we left the river and marched round outside the gorge while the gunboats went on upstream and fired a few shells into Omdurman and returned.

Then our army advanced along the west bank and early on 1st September, 1898, we arrived at a place called Ard Esh Shifa near Kerreri and dug ourselves in. Inside our semicircular zariba with our backs to the Nile Macdonald's brigade was on the right, Maxwell's in the centre and the British brigade on the left.

The camel corps were to the north of the zariba near the Kerreri Hills. Lewis' brigade was in reserve. We worked on the zariba until mid-day and made shallow entrenchments inside it. In the evening the Dervishes marched out of Omdurman an occupied Jebel Surgham. The gunboats turned their searchlights onto them and watched them massing until 4 o'clock in the morning.

From 2 o'clock we were all standing to with our baggage animals packed. At about 4.30 a.m. we had orders to advance from our zariba but before we had time to obey we saw the enemy advancing. We heard the ombaya sounding and at 6 o'clock the attack began. We held our fire until the order was given and then fired in volleys.

The machine-guns also opened up. They fell in hundreds and finally the Emir Yagoub fell near our zarib and we went out and brought in his Black Flag. By 11 o'clock the attack had been broken and we left our zariba and advanced. Another attack was made on Macdonald's brigade on our right but we had no serious opposition and we advanced until we reached Shambat about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. We then advanced on Omdurman with the British brigade beside the Nile, we on their right and the Egyptians behind. At 4 o'clock we reached the gates of the city near where the Civil Hospital now stands.

The British brigade went in along the river bank past (51) the Dervish forts while we entered through the Mosque Gate and surrounded the Khalifa's House. Two tall Dervishes (from the Fung near Singa) came out asking for quarter and said that the Khalifa had collected his family and left some time before. Kitchener and his officers then entered the house and found it empty.

The troops were then told off to occupy the different quarters of Omdurman. For three days we pillaged the city and then order was restored. A flying column was sent in pursuit of the Khalifa. We remained in Omdurman but the British brigade, which was camped in the ruins of Khartoum itself, went home.

In October news came that the Emir Ahmed Fedil, who was at Gedaref, was about to try to join forces with the Khalifa. Kitchener heard that he was at Abu Haraz, on the Blue Nile near Medani. Maxwell Pasha was ordered to send a force to deal him, and the XIIIth (with which I was still serving) were despatched. We sailed from Shambat on the "Fateh" for Abu Haraz while two companies of camel corps accompanied us marching along the shore. We landed at Abu Haraz and left the river in pursuit of Ahmed Fedil who had left in the direction of Gedaref.

After marching for twelve days we reached Gedaref. There we found the 16th Egyptian battalion which had arrived there from Kassala. We left the Egyptian battalion at Gedaref and marched towards where Ahmed Fedil was reported to be.

After two days' marching we came in contact with him and some of his men opened fire on our camp, at night but were easily held off by our outposts. Next morning we attacked him and he and his force were driven back to Assar and from there to Doka and from there to Jebel Beila. Here his force disintegrated and fled to the river Dinder: we pursued them and captured about 2,000 prisoners and an Emir called Abu Bakr and a Sultan called Wad Banga.

The Xth took up the pursuit and drove them into the river but Ahmed Fedil himself escaped and finally joined the Khalifa at Gedir after crossing the Rahad and the Blue Nile, by which time he only had about sixty followers left out of his original army of 12,000 men. From the Dinder we returned to Gedaref and stayed there for a time after taking over from the Egyptian battalion.

We built a fort at Sofi and sent our prisoners back to Omdurman to be enlisted as soldiers: they were mostly Kungara from Darfur. Hickman Bey was sent as Governor to Dongola and I went with O'Connell Bey (afterwards Governor of Kordofan) to Gallabat taking with us the son of Sheikh Saleh Sharga who had been killed by the Dervishes.

We installed him there and raised the two flags on the Abyssinian frontier. We stayed there for a month by which time a mamur was tent to take over. On our return to Gedaref we had a visit from Kitchener Pasha who issued us with medals. We then returned to Omdurman.

Towards the end of 1899 we left by steamer with a powerful force in the direction of Kaka. When we arrived there we landed and were preparing to march inland when a letter arrived from Wingate Pasha by the hand of a bash-shawish of the camel corps telling us that the Khalifa had left Gedir heading westwards and might then be starting back towards Omdurman.

We embarked again and returned to Omdurman where we were settled in barracks with headquarters in the Khalifa's house. Wingate Pasha did not return but sent a message asking for two battalions. The ones detailed for the expedition (which did not include the XIIIth) were despatched by steamer, together with some levies, and took part in the action which ended in the defeat and death of the Khalifa at Gedid.

The Sudanese regiments were then posted on garrison duty in various stations -- IXth at Medani, the Xth at Assuan, the XIth at Kassala, the XIIth at Dongola, the XIIIth and XIVth in Omdurman and the XVth at Berber. This dispersal (52) followed an incident in which the Sudanese regiments had been ordered to hand their ammunition.

This was done in order that fresh ammunition might be issued but someone spread the rumour that the British regiments would be ordered to shoot down the Sudanese. I handed over my units ammunition to Cameron Pasha (afterwards Governor of Singa) but many refused to do so. Jackson Pasha ordered an inquiry through Maxwell Pasha and a number of officers, mostly Egyptians, were found guilty of spreading these rumours and sent off to Cairo under arrest.

My regiment (the XIIth) went to Dongola but a year or two afterwards we were sent to El Obeid, from where Dickinson Bey had been appointed Governor at Medani. After serving for five years at El Obeid, I was posted to the Bahr-el- Ghazal.

[Here the narrative, which takes us down to the end of 1905, comes to an end. After periods spent on garrison duty at Wau,, Tewfikia, Yambio, Omdurman and Mongalla, 'Abdullah Adlan was retired on pension on 1st January, 1915. September, 1920, he was placed in charge of the Redief at El Obeid and finally retired from all military duties on 20th September, 1931-no less than sixty-eight years after his enlistment at Kassala in the Khedive's army in 1863.

He continued to take an active part in public affairs in El Obeid, serving on the local bench magistrates and in other voluntary capacities and enjoying life to the full until death, full of years and held in high esteem by all around him.]

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