

The Pen Must Calm the Sword
A Call to Promote South Sudanese History for Peace

John Robert Flores Jr.

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Abstract

The Republic of South Sudan is the world's youngest nation and its birth has been marred by horrific acts of tribal and ethnic strife that have been characterized by brutal attacks on women and children by both rebels and government forces and the destruction of its ability to feed and provide basic services for its citizens. South Sudan's first few years of statehood have been heartbreaking especially when considered against the promise that existed only a few years ago. Working towards a peaceful and successful future will inevitably be founded, in part, on understanding the history of the diverse peoples of South Sudan and educating its future generations on the strength of their culture and people.

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Introduction

South Sudan's historiography is clouded. Indeed, the emphasis of modern African historiography has focused on events after 1900. Richard Reid, professor of the History of Africa at the University of London, has called this limited emphasis the "foreshortening" of African history.¹ With the exception of notable fields of study, such as the slave trade, much written on African history focuses on events from 1900 to the present day. African civilizations, however, have existed for thousands of years; making the focus on such a limited time-frame a major distortion of the long-term cultural and economic trajectories of Africa as a whole, and South Sudan in particular. Further clouding the history of South Sudan is the fact that it was unknown to the wider world for so long. Until explorations of the 1860's, the only evidence and recorded history of South Sudan that was available to the wider world was obtained through slave raids and wars. As a result of the sparse primary records available to modern historians, many modern histories of Sudan often lump Northern and Southern Sudan into the same discussion, despite distinct differences in developmental stages and history. The lack of specificity in many of these histories to adequately distinguish between the south and north can lead the reader to believe that much of the development and trade experienced in the north was also experienced in the south. Untangling the history of South Sudan from that of Sudan and recognizing the trajectory of civilizational development in the south is vital to

¹ John Parker, and Richard Reid, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Modern African History* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2013), 9-10.

creating a firm understanding of the unique aspects of the culture that can be used to inform and direct present-day decision-making and aid in planning for relief efforts and long-term development. Moreover, because South Sudan's history is largely unwritten (and unknown to its current generation), it is possible, that as it is rediscovered and made available, through education and public dissemination, that the mores and values of its people in earlier days will add to a national conversation about the direction of South Sudan's culture and society.

The history of South Sudan currently exists as a mixture of oral tradition and written record. The people groups that settled in the area that is now South Sudan were a pre-literate society and did not have written records for the vast majority of their history. Thus, what does exist in written form consists primarily of records created by outsiders who ventured there on missions of faith, exploration, or conquest. This paper will emphasize the history of South Sudan through written records from foreigners and studies of native oral histories that also exist. The use of foreign written records provides an often-hidden benefit in that it not only records events but reveals how the creators of those records and history view South Sudan and its people within the history of the wider world as they reveal how outsiders understand the trajectory of the people and their component groups. Therefore, this study will provide an overview of the history of foreign contact told from the perspective of the outsider with an analysis of how modern scholars have come to know what they know about South Sudanese history.

The history of mineral exploitation in South Sudan will provide the vantage point for this study of South Sudanese history and historiography. The use of a very specific line of historical inquiry allows for the visualization of what can be rather dry and theoretical discussion of important issues. This particular line of historical inquiry was also chosen because of the impact that mineral resources have had on human development across continents and cultures. From the beginning of the Age of Sail, during the first years of European exploration in the 15th century, through the Industrial Revolution, mineral exploitation has catapulted nations such as the United States to historically unimaginable heights of wealth. It is hoped that a better understanding of the history of mineral exploration in South Sudan will provide a pathway to such economic success in that Country.

This paper aims to encourage a new effort to uncover the history of South Sudan by arguing that the lack of a detailed history of South Sudan denies the country and those who might invest in its development a detailed understanding of a sector that should be important not only for the country but across the region. In addition, by providing a brief history of outside contact with the geographic area that now constitutes the Republic of South Sudan, and by highlighting the development of mineral extraction, the challenges and possible benefits of a more thorough historic inquiry will be more easily visible.

This paper is split into four main sections, with subsections under them. The First section discusses the importance of understanding history, with specific consideration given to the situation of the nation of South Sudan. Second, the various difficulties to studying South Sudanese history are laid out for the reader to better understand where there are gaps in the historical record. This section is further split up into three subsections, each dealing with a particular issue for South Sudanese scholarship: the combined Sudan, unwritten records, and written records. The third section is a brief ethnographic overview of several tribes that will be featured in the historical section to follow. Finally, the history of South Sudanese interactions with outsiders, including the history of mineral exploitation by foreigners and natives alike, is presented as is best understood; taking into account the limitations and gaps noted in the previous sections. This historical section is divided by reference to the foreign entities that were involving themselves in South Sudan, in order: the ancient world, Islamic Sultanates, Egyptian Empire, and the British Condominium through independence. Though these periods provide a convenient way to more easily separate the impact of each foreign power, it should be noted that these powers often overlapped in their interest in South Sudan.

The Pen Must Calm The Sword: A Call to Promote South Sudanese History for Peace

Section I: The Importance of History for South Sudan

The peoples of South Sudan rely on an oral tradition of history, as exemplified by the Dinka tribe. Researcher Stephanie Beswick's work has included her study of the Dinka's oral history in an effort to add color to the relatively blank canvas of native South Sudanese history and has identified some unique historical recordkeeping practices. She recounts how, in addition to songs, some Dinka have used sacred sticks with sun burnt marks to denote important historical events. The sticks act as a visual aid for the eldest son of the family who bore responsibility to memorize the sequence of events represented on that stick.² However, there are limits to such oral histories and the traditions or rituals that assist in its transfer to succeeding generations that go beyond the arguments about the reliability of memory; which is itself a subject of much debate. A written history, by contrast, allows for wide dissemination and greater involvement by a wider segment of a given society's people in the development of their own history. In the case of the sacred sticks, because such sets were not maintained by all households and were only maintained by certain families the surrounding community did not have a direct way to challenge, correct, or preserve the existence and veracity of the historical record. The pre-literary society of South Sudan stands in contrast to the recorded history of civilizations in North Africa and even West Africa. By way of contrast, in Europe and the United States, there are histories, histories of histories, comparative histories, and comparative

² Stephanie Beswick, *Sudan's Blood Memory* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004), 6.

histories of comparative histories; the list goes on and on. In the United States, children grow up learning not just the history of their own state, but of all the other states, and how all of their histories combined to make the history of the United States of America. There are civil war monuments all around the northern and southern states, seemingly every little town has some sort of historical marker for one important event or another; there are detailed histories of the most inconspicuous towns, recording their idiosyncratic and unique histories. Such a rich breadth of historical record gives the very diverse peoples of the United States a shared identity and gives context to their future. Furthermore, having a written record of history through countless books published online and in print each year allows the public of the United States to actively affect the study of their own history; through social and cultural reactions to what is being studied and published. The lack of a written and detailed history of the Republic of South Sudan poses challenges to building a unified national identity and creating a better future.

Section II: Difficulties to Studying South Sudanese History

This study highlights the importance of long-term historical trajectories to increasing the usefulness of the historic record for the wider public, including South Sudan's citizens. A practical example of one such historical trajectory is the study of trade development. Such a study, regardless of the people or country that is studied, can be readily defined for the purpose of that study by a focus on three key aspects: the subject, the historical inquiry, and the subject's relationship with foreign elements. Such long-term studies are important to understanding societal and cultural influences and yet are currently lacking for South Sudanese history. Much has been written about the long-term historical

trajectories of Sudan³, its major cities, and the people who inhabited the land. This rich history provides access to an understanding of the impact of societies on each other and the impact of key issues in the development and history of Sudan. By way of contrast, the majority of studies focusing on the history of South Sudan are very targeted; focusing on the history of one specific tribe, one language group, one societal aspect; and do not cover such long-term trajectories as those covered by histories of Sudan. Examples include the valuable ethnographies done by Seligman and Evans-Pritchard. Each focused on a particular tribe, the Shilluk for Seligman and the Nuer for Evans-Pritchard. These specialized studies provide the foundation for comprehensive studies and it is not the intent of the author to diminish their importance; rather, to note that the existence of only specific inquiries underscores the point and goal of this study, to encourage greater attention and work to be done to develop broader and wider ranging Southern Sudanese historical trajectories.

The Combined Sudan

Having discussed the importance and need for long-term historical analysis, it is important to point out the short-comings of Sudan historiography as it currently exists. As mentioned above, there are several studies on Sudan before its split, with many focused on long-term historical trajectories that have shaped the area. The existence of such studies that focus largely on the area that is now Sudan, can hide the paucity of the historical record of the South. As a result, information and conclusions drawn from

³ Sudan here refers to the Republic of Sudan, not to be confused with the Republic of South Sudan

histories of the Sudan as a whole may not have much use when considering South Sudan and can result in a major misunderstanding of what is actually available to the scholar of South Sudanese history. This deficit throws into question the comprehensive histories of the southern portion of Sudan that exist. In turn, it raises the likelihood that they lack a southern perspective and may not be useful in addressing pressing problems or evaluating proposed solutions to the current situation facing South Sudan.

Even while addressing the area that is now South Sudan and making the distinction between northern and southern regions, histories of the Republic of Sudan seldom go into great detail about the history of the south; instead emphasizing only the north. The reason for this may be explained by the fact that these histories were, for the most part, written after Sudan's independence from Great Britain in 1956 and the majority of British activity occurred in the northern part of the County. In addition, these histories largely drew upon information gathered during the British Condominium⁴ period of 1899 – 1956 and some studies were done post-independence before the 21st century when events were still very much driven by the more established Sudan. While some of the studies done post-independence are invaluable to research, such as Evans-Pritchard's ethnographic work, the information gathered during the Condominium Period was often lacking academic rigor and sometimes biased due to conflicting interests within the British government over the future role Southern Sudan would play in the British

⁴ Term given to the geographic area controlled by the British Empire 1899 – 1956, conformed to 1956 boundaries of the Republic of Sudan

Empire. These issues, which will be further discussed in Section IV, can be summarized as follows. The British Empire separated the Condominium into two governments, one for the north and one for what would become South Sudan. These two different governmental structures had different goals for their sections of the Condominium. The North was being prepared for eventual independence, through development efforts; while the South was kept separate, both to block the southern spread of Islam and for eventual integration of the southern provinces into an envisioned British East Africa.⁵ This discontinuity within the British government of the Condominium contributed, in large part, to the current underdeveloped state of South Sudan and the comparative paucity of written record about it.

Discussions of South Sudan's contribution to the historical trajectories mentioned in Sudan histories become further complicated when such histories use mere directional terms to discuss the area that is now South Sudan. It is difficult to piece together what is actually known about Southern Sudanese contributions and reactions to historical themes presented by Sudan histories as there is often an imprecise definition and delineation of places and peoples. For example, phrases such as, "developments in the south," or "southern Sudan" complicate the work of understanding just exactly what is known about South Sudan. As a result, even when a historical record exists, the aforementioned lack of specificity makes it a particular challenge to determine whether the limited written record

⁵ The south was given independence with the north in 1956, although this decision was made with comparatively little time to prepare the south for independence

is actually that of South Sudan. For example, historical documents and studies often use the label, “southern Sudan” to refer to the southern area of northern Sudan; which, in reality, is the geographic area known as the Sennar, Kordofan, or even Darfur (Appendix C); none of which are within the Republic of South Sudan. Understanding the historical record provided by many pre-colonial sources becomes especially difficult as they regularly refer to a large swath of sub-Saharan Africa, into Central Africa, as “the Sudan.” The many variations in these pre-colonial sources of spellings and geographic name places for what would become South Sudan also make identification difficult.

The Unwritten Record

For the pre-literate societies of South Sudan, the contact with outside civilizations provided the catalyst for the first written records of their history. The first comprehensive written histories, as opposed to notes from travelers or raiders, would not come until after 1900, with most academic studies coming after 1940. The large gap of knowledge beforehand must be filled by other methods; such as archeology and oral tradition. The urgency of the former task becomes ever greater as civil war continues to devastate the country and result in the unwitting destruction of key sites and the information they could provide.

The current archeological record of South Sudan is rather scarce, owing to the difficult logistics and continued, but sporadic, internal warfare and strife since 1956. There have, however, been several important archeological studies that have added to the

knowledge of South Sudan. The British Institute in Eastern Africa led two expeditions in 1979 and 1981 in the regions populated by Dinka and Atuot peoples.⁶ These culminated in the identification and exploration of eight dig sites that provided evidence reinforcing the theory of the Dinka, Nuer, and Atuot being from distinct ethnic groups.⁷ More recently surveys have been conducted by a group of archeologists south of Juba, South Sudan's present day capital, as part of an impact assessment on the construction of three dams south of Juba on the White Nile River.⁸ These archeological expeditions represent the only known archeological expeditions in South Sudan, and while they provide valuable information, they reveal and confirm only a small portion of the history of South Sudan; underscoring the need for much greater exploration.

The investigation of South Sudan's history has, as noted above, been expanded by the work of ethnographers and an exploration of oral sources. The work of Stephanie Beswick, a U.S. historian and professor, provides an in-depth discussion of oral tradition. Beswick's book, *Sudan's Blood Memory* presents her effort to collect and use the oral histories of the Dinka and other southern Sudanese to trace the history of the Dinka over a period of time covering multiple generations. This same written documentation of oral tradition is lacking for other large and significant southern tribes such as the Nuer,

⁶ See Appendix D, geographically located near the central and north central South Sudan

⁷ Tribal groups in South Sudan

⁸ Matthew Davies, "Archeology in South Sudan Past and Present," *Sudan & Nubia Bulletin* 18 (2014): 164.

providing an opportunity for a new generation of historians to add to the world's understanding of the history of South Sudan.

The use of oral sources was largely discounted as a valid source of historically accurate information until the 1950's. Since then, the study of oral histories to identify and understand cultural development and traditions has been widely acknowledged as adding an important tool to developing the historical record. The acceptance of oral history as a valid method of historical documentation in the case of South Sudan also provides a counterbalance the archival material left by colonial sources. In recent decades there has been an increased scrutiny of oral sources when they are limited in number and cannot be checked against other such records. Accordingly, small numbers of oral sources can be criticized as inherently biased or of limited value as independent verification can be difficult, if not, impossible and an ongoing debate on the usefulness and degree of trust that should be awarded to oral history is currently underway.

The Written Record

The lack of a cohesive and comprehensive written history of South Sudan should not be equated with the notion that there is no historical record available. Indeed, there are histories, studies, and resources available to the scholar of the history of South Sudan from which to build. These histories and sources include the very detailed and documented accounts and information about the Shilluk and Nuer tribes provided by Evans-Pritchard and Seligman, perhaps the best-known ethnographers of Southern

Sudanese tribes. In addition, the British administrators for the Condominium also provided valuable first-hand accounts of the areas that they administered. L. F. Nalder was one such official, who produced the *Upper Nile Handbook* in 1931 that gave geographic, scientific, ethnographic, and various notes on the province of Southern Sudan that he administered. Additionally, a publication called the *Sudan Notes and Records* was published by the French Archeological Unit Sudan Antiquities Service between 1918 and 1969. The academic journal, *Kush*, that was published between 1953 and 1968 with some sporadic issues published since then also provides important historical and cultural explorations of the region. These two publications provide information on both northern and southern Sudan; but for the articles on tribes and matters pertaining to South Sudan, they often represent the earliest systematic written record of such issues.

Written sources on the history of South Sudan are available for most periods and by foreign governments after 1500 AD, yet the bulk of written record that has informed modern scholarship on the history of South Sudan was created by the British during the Condominium Period. The British made several attempts at creating recorded and scientifically accurate information about the Sudan, but early sources were often inaccurate and in conflict with existing reports. The Quartermaster-General's Intelligence Branch produced a report entitled: "Report on the Egyptian Provinces of the Sudan, Red Sea, and Equator," in 1884.⁹ This report was prepared to aid British forces, headed by

⁹ Douglas H. Johnson, ed., *The Upper Nile Province Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Kitchener¹⁰, as they pushed against the Mahdist¹¹ state in a bid to recapture Khartoum. This report was revised several times for geographic inaccuracies and focused only on what was necessary or helpful to military operations. As a result, it provided little detail concerning anything besides geography and some minor cultural notes concerning peoples in the path of the army.

During the First World War, the British Intelligence Division would produce the first handbooks on the Sudan region as a whole. These repeated many of the same mistakes that were included in the original *Report on the Egyptian Provinces of the Sudan, Red Sea, and Equator*, as there had been little progress on correcting mistakes or discovering the true lay of the land. Interestingly, it would not be the government, but the private enterprise of one of the Sudan's governors; L. F. Nalder, governor of the Funj Province (not to be confused with the Funj Sultanate), that would produce one of the first largely accurate records of the Sudan region. He produced a handbook entitled, *Equatorial Province Handbook*, which contained ethnographic, cultural, and geographic information on his province.¹² Another compilation by C. A. Willis, once the senior British official of the southern Sudan provinces, entitled *The Upper Nile Province Handbook*; aimed to serve initially as a set of hand-over notes for the man coming to fill his position after he left. While it contains many important facts and figures, it largely

¹⁰ British military commander who led British forces to recapture Khartoum from the Mahdist revolt and establish the British Empire in Sudan

¹¹ Uprising from 1891 – 1899 against Egyptian rule of northern Sudan, put down by British in 1899 by the capture of Khartoum

¹² Douglas H. Johnson, ed., *The Upper Nile Province Handbook*.

serves as a justification for Willis's his own policies and as a result is heavily biased in its interpretation of events and consequences.¹³ The usefulness of these sources varies widely and while the historical significance of the source itself should not be understated, their current usefulness for academic research is limited.

Section III: Ethnographic Overview

The current section will introduce a selected few tribes that are specifically mentioned in the historical section. The Republic of South Sudan contains over 60 different tribal groups, each with their own histories and traditions. The presence of so many different tribes has had and will continue to have a significant impact on the ability of South Sudan to create and implement a country-wide governing structure. Appendix A contains a map that will help the reader to visualize the often-confusing realm of Sudanese ethnogeography.

The Shilluk

The Shilluk, located primarily in Northeastern South Sudan, are one of only two tribes that functioned as a monarchical government. Their kingdom is thought to have originated sometime in the 17th century and lasted through the British Condominium period, acting as an extension of British rule with a king selected by the British. This governmental structure had been documented, especially the particulars of the relation between king and society, by British ethnographers such as Seligman, Professor Diedrich

¹³ Douglas H. Johnson, ed., *The Upper Nile Province Handbook*.

Westermann, and Father Wilhelm Hofmayr as early as 1905.¹⁴ The location of the Shilluk tribe was directly on the southern border of the Funj Sultanate. This close proximity to foreign civilizations often brought the Shilluk tribe into conflict with slave raiders from the north. Being unable to assert full control over the southern provinces, the British Empire initially turned to local leadership, including the appointment of a Shilluk king, to maintain order and control.

The Dinka and Nuer

The Dinka and Nuer are two of the largest groups in South Sudan. Their historic lands have been along the White Nile and her tributaries around most of the country throughout the northern half of the country. These two groups are perhaps the most studied of the tribes of South Sudan, owing both to their large size and history of interaction with Europeans. As noted above, the Nuer were the principle subject of the ethnographer Evans-Pritchard. The Dinka in the northwest had been subject to perhaps the earliest slave raids by the Baggara of Darfur, and along with the Nuer, constituted the largest population of the early slaves taken by northern Arabs.

The Azande

The Azande established a kingdom in Equatoria, Southwestern South Sudan, in the 19th century. Their system of kingship was very different from that of the Shilluk. While the Shilluk were much more stable in their line of succession, the Azande favored a winner

¹⁴ E. E. Evans-Pritchard, "The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk," *Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 1, no. 1 (2011): 407.

take all approach. Upon the death of the king, the princes of that kingdom would fight each other with armies raised from the provinces they had been given to govern.

Whoever gained control of most of the father's land was deemed the successor. The other sons would either sue for peace or establish rival kingdoms. By way of these rival kingdoms, the outer limits of lands ruled by Azande continued to expand with each succeeding king.¹⁵ As a result of the fragmented nature of the kingship, it was difficult for the different kings to organize a unified defense against foreign powers. With the coming of the British Empire, the Azande aristocracy that had lands within the British Condominium were allowed to keep their lands and rule as extensions of British authority, with the important revision being that the power to levy tribute was taken away.

The Bari

The Bari people are the primary inhabitants of the southern region of South Sudan. They are one of the few tribes in South Sudan with a documented history of metalworking and mineral exploitation. Most South Sudanese tribes are widely assumed to have purely pastoralist societies with the use of only rudimentary metallic implements that were usually the result of trade or plunder.¹⁶ Samuel Baker, an English explorer who was to be the first European to explore South Sudan, records the gold mining activities and iron working capacities of the Bari as he travelled through their lands on his way south through South Sudan. Archeological studies have revealed evidence of a metalworking

¹⁵ *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*, s.v. "Azande."

¹⁶ E. E. Evans-Pritchard *The Nuer: A Description* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940)

history in southern South Sudan, particularly around Jebel Kathangor.¹⁷ Further archeological studies may bring to light the full extent of the contribution of South Sudanese tribes to the development and spread of East African metallurgy.¹⁸

Section IV: A History of South Sudan

The ancient history of the geographic area that now forms the Republic of South Sudan is largely conjectural, with little archeological, written, or recorded oral tradition to support accurate timeframes for human migration into the area. What is known is that the tribes that now live in the Republic of South Sudan have not always been there. Through a series of migrations from outlying lands and further internal migration the current locations of each tribe have been in flux throughout history. While confident timelines of migration are difficult to establish, a timeline of foreign contact with the peoples of South Sudan can be plotted with varying accuracy from the first recorded contact in 60 AD through the end of the British Empire's control in 1956 AD.

Ancient World

The earliest ancient kingdoms to have a presence near what would become South Sudan, were that of the Nubians. The Nubians are a civilization nearly as old as the Egyptians, yet they would not possess land bringing them into the borderlands with what is now South Sudan until the Meroitic kingdom.¹⁹ The Meroitic kingdom extended, at the height of its

¹⁷ Can be read as *Mt. Kathangor*

¹⁸ There is debate about the spread of metalworking technology in East Africa with some scholars claiming it originated elsewhere and was brought through trade, while some contend it developed on its own in East Africa.

¹⁹ approximate dates 250 BC – 350 AD

power, down into the area known as Gezira, also called the Sennar. Gezira is between the Blue and White Nile Rivers just after their split at the modern-day city of Khartoum and extends southward stopping before the Sudd. The Sudd is a massive swamp area in the northern part of South Sudan. The exact size varies each year, contemporaneously with the amount of rain; yet it can cover an area twice the size of Spain during the wet season.²⁰ The Meroitic kingdoms would not extend their power into modern-day South Sudan, and evidence has not yet been discovered to suggest explorations by Nubians to the south of Gezira, though perhaps there may be evidence to be found.

The earliest recorded exploration into the area that is now South Sudan was made by a group of Praetorian Guardsmen²¹ between 60 and 70 AD as recorded by Pliny the Elder and Seneca the Younger.²² This group supposedly followed the Nile River to the split between White and Blue; following the White Nile, the Romans continued south through Gezira and into lands never before seen by Westerners. Not much information is recorded of this first expedition: the soldiers are nameless, locations are generalized, specific results are omitted, and even the events surrounding the creation of the expedition are not known. As claimed by Pliny, the expedition's purpose was to deduce the source of the Nile, which they had claimed to do. To reach their destination, the Romans traveled through lands of the Meroitic Nubians, most likely receiving some form of logistical support from them.

²⁰ Consultative Group for Intl. Agricultural Research, *Seeing the Sudd from Space*, 2015, accessed March 18, 2018, <https://wle.cgiar.org/thrive/2013/02/01/seeing-sudd-space>

²¹ Elite Roman soldiers, they remain unnamed by available sources

²² Perseus Digital Library Project, *Pliny the Elder, Natural History Vol. 6.35*, n.d., accessed March 20, 2018, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Plin.%20Nat>.

This makes it interesting that no recorded explorations south of Gezira survive from Nubia, certainly the Romans could not have been the first ones to think of going beyond Gezira. It is not known what, if any, contact the Roman soldiers had with indigenous peoples south of Nubia as the soldiers are largely believed to have turned back upon encountering the impassable Sudd, a common theme for the next 1,800 years.

The Nubian people would remain in control of the lands between Egypt and South Sudan until 1504. After the Nubian kingdom of Meroe began to wane around 350 AD, it was overtaken by another group of Nubians known as X-Group that lasted between 350 and 641 AD.²³ There is no evidence of their involvement or contact with the area that is now South Sudan. Following this group of Nubians is what is known as the Christian Period from about 641 to 1500 AD, which would include the rise of the kingdom of Alwa at the southernmost point of Nubian influence. Again, there is no evidence of contact or exploration by Nubians into areas that now constitute the Republic of South Sudan.

It is important to note that the lands inhabited by the peoples of South Sudan were not static throughout history and have seen frequent migrations. For example, some accounts of Dinkan oral history recount their original homeland to be in Gezira.²⁴ The Shilluk also have some oral histories that recount their ancestral homelands being much further south than their current location.²⁵ The importance here being that there may very

²³ Marjorie M Fisher, et al. eds. *Ancient African Kingdoms on the Nile: Nubia* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2012), 40.

²⁴ Stephanie Beswick, *Sudan's Blood Memory*, 32.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 33.

well have been trade and contact between the Dinka and Nubian societies before the Dinka migrated to what is now South Sudan. This gap in knowledge calls for additional scholarship to determining the extent, if any, of early cross-cultural influences.

Rise of Islamic Sultanates

The Nubian, and Christian, kingdom of Alwa fell in 1504, marking the end of the Nubian civilizations and the beginning of the Islamic Sultanates. The Funj Sultanate was founded in the Sennar region at the same time as the fall of Alwa, as an Islamic sultanate.²⁶ This foundation was by no means uncontested. The Southern Sudanese Dinka and Shilluk tribes fought against Funj expansion into the Sennar²⁷, areas that they claimed as their own. The Shilluk, at one point, were strong enough to attempt a northward expansion into the Sennar, against the Funj; but were repelled by the Funj under the reign of Badi II Abu Duqn, in the 17th century.²⁸ The combined Dinka and Shilluk forces were so successful that the Funj Sultan attempted to drive a wedge between them by negotiating an agreement with the Shilluk to try and stop the Dinka.²⁹ This met with limited success, while the Funj did succeed in splitting the tribes apart and extending their power to the contested areas, Dinka raiders would continue to harass the Funj into the 18th century.³⁰ The Funj economy was largely based upon the slave trade; specifically, slaves taken from black, non-Muslim, tribes to the south. These slaves included people from the Nuer,

²⁶ Harold D. Nelson, ed., *Area Handbook Series: Sudan, A Country Study* (USA: Government Printing Office, 1983), 16.

²⁷ Geographical area between the Blue and White Nile Rivers south of Khartoum

²⁸ Harold D. Nelson, ed., *Area Handbook Series: Sudan*, 18.

²⁹ Stephanie Beswick, *Sudan's Blood Memory*, 35.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 36.

Dinka, and Shilluk tribes, who lived at the extreme southern borders of the Funj Sultanate.³¹

What is known about the Funj Sultanate largely comes from a document called the Funj Chronicle, a compilation of historical matter pertaining to the Funj state that was compiled by Shaykh Ahmad ibn al-Hajj Abi Ali, also known as Katib al-Shuna. Katib al-Shuna was a granary clerk for the Sudan the Turkiyya³² government and began compiling a history of the Funj until 1838.³³ This work would be later added onto and eventually contain the works of several authors. Katib al-Shuna felt the urgency to record Funj history as the sultanate was essentially a puppet of the Egyptian government by 1830, and Katib al-Shuna was keen on learning from the downfall of the Funj Sultanate.

The Funj Sultanate controlled the area on the northeastern borders of modern-day South Sudan; while their rivals, the Fur Sultanate, controlled lands on the northwest of the borders of modern-day South Sudan. The Fur Sultanate had existed without the name for some time before their first historic king, Suleiman Solong, who upended the existing line of succession in 1596.³⁴ From then on, the Fur Sultanate would increasingly become

³¹ Harold D. Nelson, ed., *Area Handbook Series: Sudan*, 18.

³² Name given to the period from 1821-1825 of Egyptian empire ruled by Turkish elites that included Sudanese lands

³³ Heather J. Sharkey, "The Sudan of the Three Niles." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 32, no. 2 (2000): 288-90. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/259601>.

³⁴ Harold D. Nelson, ed., *Area Handbook Series: Sudan*, 19.

an integral part of the slave trade in Southern Sudanese tribesmen. While the Fur led slave raids of their own, the Baggara slavers that arrived in the 1770's would lead many slave raids on the southern tribes and eventually become part of the systematic slave trade funneling to Egypt that was spearheaded by the Fur. The Fur acted as administrators to the slave system, giving permission to the Baggara, and others, to conduct slave raids in southern lands. After slaves had been captured they were sold through Fur markets under the auspices of the Fur Sultanate. The Fur and Funj Sultanates, along with Islamic slavers, at their height and furthest reaches, did not extend their borders into modern-day South Sudan; rather, their contact with the tribes of the South was mostly limited to slave raids and conflicts with various tribes. This was soon to change with the coming of the Egyptians, at that time a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire.

Egyptian Empire

Muhammad Ali's Empire

Since ancient times, the Egyptians have had conflict with their southern neighbors and at the turn of the 19th century Egypt was a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire. Muhammad Ali was a viceroy of the Ottoman Empire, who ruled over Egypt, with designs on an independent Egyptian Empire. He attempted to gain independence from the Ottoman Empire through political favor by way of a conquest of the rebellious Hijaz region, in modern-day Saudi Arabia. As a fulfillment of the request to do so from the Ottoman sultan, Muhammad Ali had believed he would be granted favor and concessions from the Ottoman sultan. Despite conquering the area and fulfilling the request of the Ottoman sultan, Muhammad Ali was met with political gambits to try and keep him subordinate to

the Ottoman Empire.³⁵ Looking to secure the independent empire he desired, Muhammad Ali looked south, to the Sudan. The conquests of 1820-1822 brought the Egyptian empire to the northern borders of modern-day South Sudan, Kordofan. This conquest officially ended the Funj Sultanate and coincided with the establishment of Egyptian government; under whose auspices, Katib al-Shuna wrote the celebrated Funj Chronicle. Though an Egyptian conquest, these new lands were technically part of the Ottoman Empire and ruled by Turkish elites; hence the term Sudan the Turkiyya. Complete Egyptian control over these lands was far from absolute, however, it would not be until the reign of Ismail, Muhammad Ali's grandson, that Egypt firmly controlled the Sudan.

Slaves and Gold

The pursuit of wealth and power have driven many nations and empires throughout history, and the Egyptian Empire was no exception. In a letter to his son, Muhammad Ali wrote that the purpose of the Sudan conquests was to gain gold and slaves.³⁶ Slaves that he needed to bolster his army and create one large enough to continue his southern conquests while also keeping the Europeans and Ottoman Empire at bay. These slaves were funneled from slavers operating through trade with the Fur Sultanate in western Sudan, around modern-day Darfur. The Baggara traders, as already mentioned, began the move away from informal slave raids to a more systematic and professionalized slaving operations under the auspices and trade developed by the Fur Sultanate. The Fur sultans would give permission for around 60 to 70 slave raids, also called ghazwa, each year.

³⁵ Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt in the reign of Muhammad Ali* (Melbourne: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1984), 203.

³⁶ Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt in the reign of Muhammad Ali*, 205.

Each expedition was targeted towards a specific people group, had a delineated travel plan, and specified the amount of people to bring back as slaves.³⁷ The need for gold, on the other hand, was both due to an economic reality and deeply rooted beliefs of the viceroy that there was indeed a land of gold aplenty to the south. At the time of his ascension, Muhammad Ali inherited perhaps the poorest province in the Ottoman Empire.³⁸ He himself had become convinced, even obsessed, with the supposed abundance of gold on the borders of what is now South Sudan.³⁹ He sent many geologists and mineralogists to try and discover mineral deposits; two of these, the Austrian J. von Russeger and the Piedmontese, Boreani, reported very different results. The former being rather optimistic and the latter, rather pessimistic. The timing does not appear to have been particularly fortuitous for mining activities. In addition to the contradictory reports on the viability of ore deposits, some other attempts at iron and copper mining in the Kordofan region had not met with success. Furthermore, Egyptian control over this territory was contested, making mining ventures difficult. A perfect illustration of this was a trip made by Muhammad Ali himself, to check the veracity of the claims of his mineralogists about the mineral resources of the Sudan. Muhammad Ali was so invested in finding gold that even at the age of 70 he embarked on a quest of his own to confirm what he had been told.⁴⁰ An account of his journey was issued as an appendix to an official gazette, the *Vagai i misriya*, that was published in Egypt in the 19th century; the

³⁷ Stephanie Beswick, *Sudan's Blood Memory*, 158.

³⁸ M. W. Daly, ed., *The Cambridge History of Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 206.

³⁹ M. W. Daly, ed., *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, 207.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 206.

original has since been lost, however, a copy was found in 1977 and republished as *Rihlat Muhammad 'ali ila al-sudan*. According to interpretations of the document, this journey ultimately led to nothing but frustration and failure, though it seems that the actual economic viability of the deposits themselves were largely ignored in considering the failures of the mission. Reports indicate that the French engineers hired to extract the resources disagreed on the technical aspects of the mine design, which stalled work as the details were argued over. As this was going on, the party came under repeated and successful attack by locals attempting to oust the foreigners; it was these raids finally forced the expedition to return to Cairo.⁴¹ The expedition was focused in Kordofan, a region just above the northern border of South Sudan. The relevancy of this expedition to the history of South Sudan therefore is questionable as it is located within Sudan. It has been included primarily because of the potential continuity of people groups. The people that live in the Nuba mountains are more culturally similar to the Southern Sudanese than the Arabs that populate Sudan. The people of the Nuba mountains were driven to living amongst the mountains largely by the rise of the Funj and Fur Sultanates in the 1500's who hunted southern tribes, including the Nuba people, as slaves. Given the, as of yet, not fully understood history of migration patterns amongst Southern Sudanese tribes there very may well be revealed a historic connection between the Nuba people's recognized history of ironworking and the development of Southern Sudanese tribes through trade and exchange of technology.

⁴¹ Eve Troutt Powell, *A Different Shade of Colonialism* (Berkeley: University of California, 2003), 53.

An inspection of the geography reveals clearly that the extent of Muhammad Ali's control only went so far as the northern borders of modern-day South Sudan (See Appendix B); and even then, control was tenuous. In a letter to his son, the viceroy admitted:

“We have no idea of the vastness of Darfur, Kordofan and Fazoghlu⁴², therefore we cannot comment on the feasibility of their administration.”⁴³

So little was known of the regions bordering the northern part of South Sudan, that the lands of modern-day South Sudan must have remained unknown; protected as they were by the Sudd. Despite these limitations, Muhammad Ali's forces conquered southward, down to the northern borders of modern-day South Sudan, and exerted some modicum of control over those lands. Control was not absolute, however, and the armies were recalled so as to prepare for a potential war with one of the Ottoman Empires enemies.⁴⁴ Egyptian forces had briefly attempted to penetrate the protective shield of the Sudd, and extend down the White Nile into Dinka territory; but they were repulsed by attacks and beset by the sudden illness and death of the army's commander, the son of Muhammad Ali.⁴⁵

Khedive Isma'il

⁴² On the Ethiopian border, a region along the Blue Nile River

⁴³ Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt in reign of Muhammad Ali*, 204.

⁴⁴ Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt in reign of Muhammad Ali*, 205.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

The ultimate extension of control into what is now South Sudan would not happen until the British Empire's arrival some 100 years after the initial 1820 expansion south by Muhammad Ali; however, the first attempts to control that area and learn about its potential would come from the Khedive Isma'il, the grandson of Muhammad Ali. The Khedive⁴⁶ was the third to rule Egypt after Muhammad Ali. His two predecessors showed no interest in the expansionist policies of Ali and remained content with the landed borders already established and instead focused on other matters.⁴⁷ Khedive Isma'il, however, found himself flush with a thriving economy that produced coveted cotton for the ongoing Civil War in America and desired to look again to the south. After the American Civil War's conclusion, it would provide Khedive Ismail with some of his most trusted advisors.

Americans in Africa, certainly not unheard of before the Civil War, but no less out of place after it. After the War's end, many fighting men found themselves in search of another adventure and found it on the frontiers of the Egyptian's Sudanese empire. The Khedive brought some thirty Americans, both former Confederate and Union military men, to Egypt in the early 1870's to train his army and lead expeditions into Sudan.⁴⁸ These men would become trusted advisors to the Khedive, who considered the Americans untainted by the same bias and hidden agendas that plagued his other European advisors. Some, like General Raleigh Colston, would be geologists,

⁴⁶ an honorary title given by the Ottoman Empire

⁴⁷ M. W. Daly, ed., *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, 211.

⁴⁸ Dr. Icenogle, "The Khedive's Cartographers," *Saudi Aramco World* 35, no. 5 (1984): 16.

geographers, cartographers, botanists, and end up adding much to Western knowledge of these hitherto unknown parts of the world.⁴⁹ Others, would provide training to the Khedive's military, in an attempt to shape them into a formidable fighting force. It would take all the formidability the Khedive could muster to bring the southernmost provinces of Equatoria⁵⁰ under his sway; as he not only had to fight local tribes, but the slave traders who had literally entrenched themselves in makeshift forts all across Equatoria.⁵¹

As the slave trade had progressed in Egypt, through the pipeline of slaves from South Sudan to Egypt, slave traders had taken to becoming minor kings in their own right, controlling armies of private soldiers who helped to enforce their control over the lands where they conducted their numerous slave raids. Perhaps one of the most infamous of these slave kings was al-Zubayr. This powerful trader exerted his control over the slave trade from Northern Congo to Darfur.⁵² In order to exert control into the African interior, Egypt officially made al-Zubayr governor of Equatoria; yet, in practice, he was a law unto himself. To end the control of such minor kings, and exert his own, Khedive Ismail brought in Samuel Baker to blaze a trail South in 1869, ostensibly to end slavery.

⁴⁹ Dr. Icenogle, "The Khedive's Cartographers," 18.

⁵⁰ Southeastern province in South Sudan

⁵¹ M. W. Daly, ed., *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, 203-206.

⁵² David Van Reybrouck, *Congo: The Epic History of A People*, trans. Sam Garrett (Amsterdam: HarperCollins Publishers, 2010), 31.

The historical significance of this expedition cannot be understated. While its true aims may have been the extension of Egyptian power, not only did it provide the foundations for ending the slave trade that had plagued the tribes of South Sudan for nearly a century, it also was the first expedition to follow the White Nile south into modern-day Uganda. The last attempt at anything remotely close was the Praetorian Guardsmen who ventured down the White Nile in 60 AD, a little over 1,800 years ago. Baker leaves a very detailed account of his journey south, and while some question the veracity of his account as it comes to the purity of his quest, the details concerning natural science are interesting to note as they provide the first accounts on the lands of modern-day South Sudan by a Westerner.

In his book, “Ismailia,” Baker recounts the stories and journeys of himself, his wife, and their travelling party of Englishmen and Egyptians. Among the references to mining, geology, and minerals, is a reference to the blacksmithing skill of the local Bari around Gondokoro, just north of the modern-day capital of South Sudan, Juba.⁵³ The account of Samuel Baker’s expedition includes many references to gold, iron, and other ores. In his book, *Ismailia*, where Baker recounts his expedition of 1869 – 1874, he says that the geological appearance of the land gives strong evidence of the occurrence of precious metals; he goes on to describe minute geological details concerning the surrounding land in an attempt to justify his claim.⁵⁴ The book has many other references

⁵³ Project Gutenberg Literary Archive, *Ismailia*, January, 2003. Accessed March 5, 2018. https://www.gutenberg.org/wiki/Gutenberg:Project_Gutenberg_Literary_Archive_Foundation

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

to various deposits scattered throughout the country; but as his expedition was focused on the eradication of the slave trade, while the level of detail is more than what you would find in a casual travel book, it certainly is not to the level needed for evaluating industrial exploitation. It is interesting to note, that Baker praises the skill of metalworking the Bari people exhibited on his journey south. This is significant mainly for two reasons; firstly, for him to have made mention must have meant the sight had made an impression on him. Second, the fact that such an impression was favorable might come as a surprise in an age when Westerners looked upon the peoples of South Sudan in a rather paternalistic way.⁵⁵ Questions still remain, however. For example, why did this expert blacksmithing of the Bari not spread to the surrounding tribes? Which metals did the Bari work in, and from where did their primary sources of minerals come from? These questions need further investigation, most likely of an archeological nature to satisfactorily answer. During a series of archeological expeditions to an area in the southernmost portion of South Sudan, some of these questions began to be answered as evidence of iron working and furnaces capable of shaping metal implements had been uncovered. The dating, use, and extent of these remains awaits further research and excavations to determine the extent to which the area contributed to the development of metalworking in sub-Saharan Africa.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Project Gutenberg Literary Archive, *Ismailia*.

⁵⁶ Matthew Davies, "Archeology in South Sudan Past and Present," 171.

Almost concurrently with Samuel Baker's expedition to extend Egyptian control and end the slave trade, another explorer was venturing beyond the waters of the Nile to discover a South Sudan hitherto only known to slave traders. Dr. Georg August Schweinfurth was a German botanist who was the first Westerner to explore the western half of what is now South Sudan. While Baker's expedition stayed mostly along the Nile, Schweinfurth's expedition went along land routes in the west. Schweinfurth's expedition was funded by the Berlin Academy of Sciences and the Berlin Geographical Society which set out in 1869 to return in 1873.⁵⁷ He also provides often the first written record on many diverse topics of scientific interest, including: geography, botany, ethnography, and even cartography. His magnum opus, *The Heart of Africa*, compiles the information he collected on his journey along with many illustrations. He also published vocabularies of various tribes he encountered along the way. While this information is certainly valuable and voluminous there would be much more from his journey, were it not for an unfortunate fire in 1870 that destroyed much of his journals and specimens he had been collecting.⁵⁸ In order to make such a journey, Schweinfurth travelled under the protection of a notorious slave trader, the Copt Ghattas. Certainly under no illusions as to the horrible business his protector was in, Schweinfurth had this to say about his situation:

“When Caesar was amongst the pirates he howled with the wolves; later he had them all hanged. This is my principle also, and the only possible principle if the scientific

⁵⁷ Wickens, G. E. "Dr. G. Schweinfurth's Journeys in the Sudan." *Kew Bulletin* 27, no. 1 (1972): 129.

⁵⁸ Sudan Notes and Records. "Obituary: George Schweinfurth." *Sudan Notes and Records* vol. 8 (1925): 243 – 245.

object is to be kept in view, instead of being sacrificed to a foolish desire to set oneself up as an arbiter of morals in matters which are no concern of ours.⁵⁹”

His willingness to work with such deplorable villains is undoubtedly criticized by some; yet the fact is that without the protection of the Copt Ghattas, Schweinfurth would have never made the journey and our understanding of South Sudan, as it historically existed, would be almost nothing.

The Khedive’s control over lands to the south was certainly not absolute and would last a very short time. Growing discontent with the Khedive among the Muslim population became manifest in a popular uprising to support the establishment of a Muslim Caliphate headed by the Mahdi. Originating in the Sudan region, the Mahdi proclaimed himself the holy and appointed leader who would create the pure Islamic state that would overthrow the corrupted Egyptian one.⁶⁰ Soon his revolution spread and culminated in the heroic last stand of Governor Charles Gordon in Khartoum. The death of so beloved an Englishman sent ripples through English media and perhaps presaged the official involvement of the British Empire. The Mahdist state lasted from 1881 until 1899, with two heads of state; the one following the Mahdi being just barely able to hold the revolution together after the death of its charismatic leader. An expeditionary force led by Kitchener in 1899 would end the young Mahdist state, and officially assert the British Empire as the dominant power in Sudan. The Mahdist revolution represents a very

⁵⁹ Sudan Notes and Records. “Obituary: George Scwheinfurth.” 244.

⁶⁰ P.M. Holt, and M.W. Daly, *A History of the Sudan: From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day* (London: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2011), 70.

brief period in Southern Sudanese history, and very little is known about how the Mahdist government affected the tribes of South Sudan.

The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium

The Fall of the Mahdist state in 1899 would officially usher in the British Empire in what is known as the Condominium Period. Prior to the Mahdist revolt the British had deeply entrenched themselves into the politics and finances of the Egyptian Empire, exerting a considerable amount of control over decisions. Kitchener's push south simply made the acquisition of the territories of Egypt and Sudan as part of the British Empire official. After liberating Khartoum and restoring a joint Egyptian and British force, he continued to Fashoda, a military outpost on the northern borders of what is now South Sudan. There he engaged with French troops who had rushed to occupy the fort and sought to claim parts of the Sudan for themselves. Through political negotiations with the French, and soon after the Belgians, bloodshed was avoided and the British Empire extended itself down into the modern-day borders of South Sudan. Here, through continued negotiations with the Belgians, French, Germans, and other European powers, the modern-day borders of a unified Sudan were formed. The subsequent borders of a newly independent South Sudan in 2011 abided by the same eastern, western, and southern borders; only renegotiating a northern border. Administering this newly acquired territory was a challenge for the British. The Governor-General of Sudan was vested with supreme command over both civil and military affairs in the territory.⁶¹ He would retain nearly

⁶¹ Harold D. Nelson, ed., *Area Handbook Series: Sudan*, 36.

absolute control until 1910, when an executive council of sorts was introduced, whose consent was needed for legislative affairs. The British were the first to truly bring civil organization, as the West understands it, to the far southern reaches of Sudan, in the form of penal codes and criminal procedure borrowed from India and a standardized system of taxation.⁶² This new level of civil organization unfortunately did not bring with it much economic or industrial development. During the Condominium period much, if not all, of the investments by the British government and foreigners went into enterprises in the North. The South was officially closed to northern Sudanese in an attempt by the British to carve out a separate country that would be free of Islam and eventually part of an envisioned British East Africa.⁶³ The immediate effect of such a policy was that one of the last economic ties the south had with the world, its Arab traders, were expelled by the British and not replaced by a comparable system. The envisioned British East Africa was not to be, however, and as time came closer to northern independence in 1956 it was decided the south would join them in independence. A frantic, and unsuccessful, attempt at modernization was attempted in the south to bring them up to comparable levels of economic, industrial, and civic capability. The resulting failure of the British Empire has led to much of the inequality between north and south that was a major contributor to the subsequent civil wars and conflict between north and south. To further compound issues the British civil administrators of the north and south both acted as if they were operating in two separate countries. Those in the north met regularly with the Governor-General,

⁶²Harold D. Nelson, ed., *Area Handbook Series: Sudan.*, 36.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 37.

while their counterparts in the south met with British leadership in East Africa.⁶⁴ The result was a natural divide between north and south; partially along the natural geography of the Sudd, and politically along internal British divides. Interestingly, this divide more or less ran along the modern-day borders of Sudan and South Sudan. This divide would last through a unified independence of the Republic of Sudan in 1956; the subsequent independence of the Republic of South Sudan in 2011 made the consequences of the separation of British civil servants from the early 20th century an international reality.

Conclusion

What was once a place only rumored and whispered about among explorers, has become its own country, increasingly embroiled in global and regional affairs and a fight over who will control the new nation-state. This fight is not new, from the Pasha of Egypt to the monarchs of Great Britain, to American explorers and Christian missionaries and now by its own government, South Sudan has been and remains an area about which there remains much mystery. Understanding the history of the Republic of South Sudan is imperative for both cultural development and adding to the understanding of the broader history of Africa. The tragic lack of understanding and knowledge about South Sudan's natural resources is notable for what does not exist—a well-documented and thriving history of mineral exploitation. This gap and great unknown provides an opportunity to not only help shape the country's economic future but identify a foundation for wealth generation. Likewise, the gaps of in the historical record of tribal relationships and their

⁶⁴Harold D. Nelson, ed., *Area Handbook Series: Sudan.*, 38.

genesis leaves South Sudan without the ability to look back and find common history that might be used to create the conditions for civil peace and an end to civil war. South Sudan's history, whatever it is, must be understood and fully developed to enable the South Sudanese people to build their own unified but modern national identity and move forward. As Edmund Burke once said: "In history a great volume is unrolled for our instruction, drawing the materials of future wisdom from the past errors and infirmities of mankind."⁶⁵ From a more local perspective, the Luo people have a saying: if you ignore the repeated good advice of others they will give you up to your ignorance until you learn from hardship.⁶⁶ This paper demonstrates the complexity of South Sudan's history not by laying it out in its totality but by demonstrating the many gaps in its fabric. It is hoped that someday its full history will be known, and its people will find the basis for its future in its past.

⁶⁵ British Library, *Edmund Burke: Reflections on the French Revolution*, pg. 242. Accessed March 15, 2018, <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/reflections-on-the-revolution-in-france-by-edmund-burke>.

⁶⁶ "Ladwar neno opoko pii ki wange." Loosely translated as, A hunter sees the water pot with his naked eye. The water pot symbolizes hardship in reference to the scarcity of water in general, and especially during hunting season. The implied idea is that the hunter has received repeated advice from others, repeatedly rejected it, so, in exasperation, the advisors give the hunter up to his ignorance and let him see hardship with his own eyes. Comes from the Luo (Acholi) people and is written in the Achol language.

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Appendix A

Representational Map of Selected People Groups



Sources:

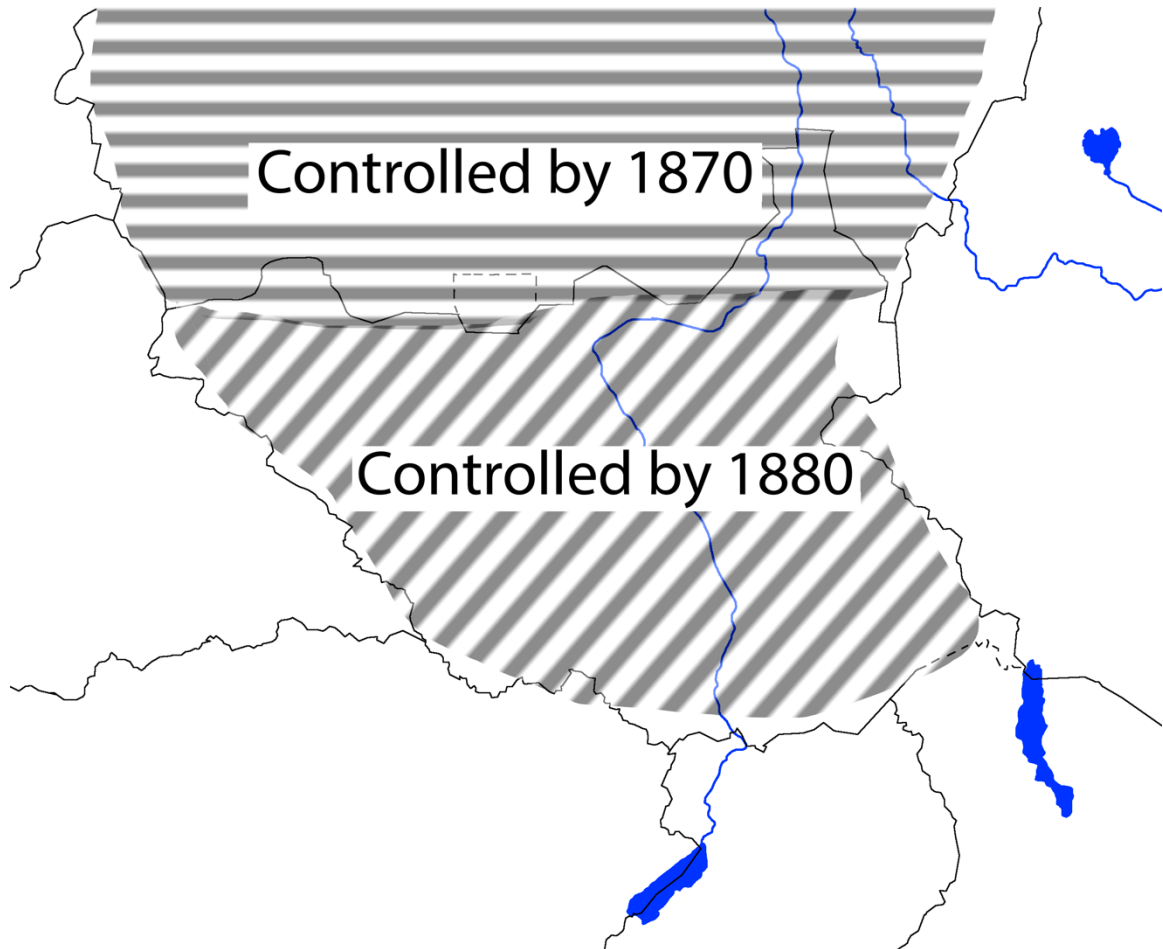
Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience, s.v. "Azande, Shilluk, Dinka, Nuer, Bari."

Contains modified Copernicus Service Information

Stephanie Beswick, *Sudan's Blood Memory*, xxviii

Appendix B

General Map of Egyptian Controlled Territory in Sudan



Sources:

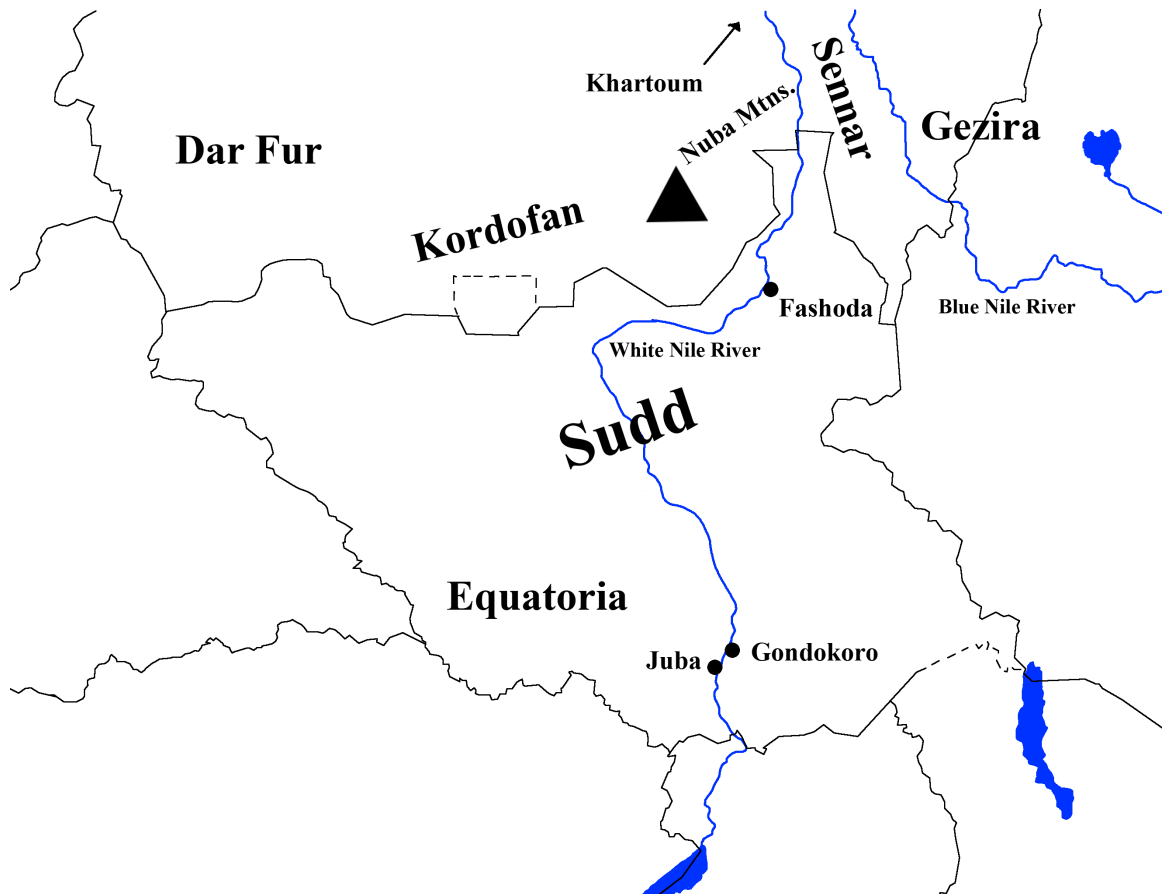
Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt in the reign of Muhammad Ali*.

Contains modified Copernicus Service Information

M. W. Daly, ed., *The Cambridge History of Egypt*.

Appendix C

General Geographic Map of South Sudan



Sources:

Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience, s.v. "Sudd, Equatoria, South Sudan, Sudan, Kordofan, Sennar."

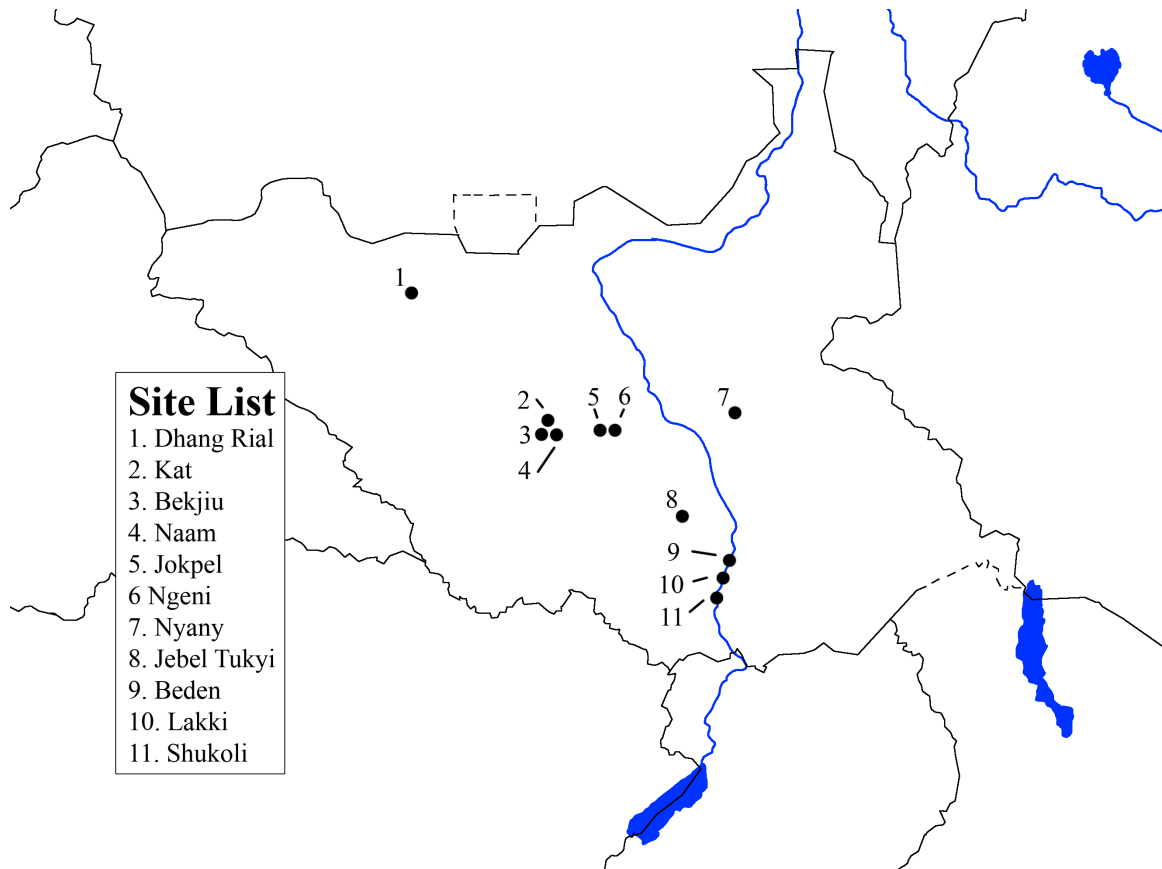
Contains modified Copernicus Service Information

Merriam-Webster's Geographical Dictionary

Robert S. Kramer, *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 2013.

Appendix D

Archeological Dig Sites in South Sudan



Sources:

Contains modified Copernicus Service Information

Matthew Davies, "Archeology in South Sudan Past and Present," *Sudan & Nubia Bulletin* 18 (2014):

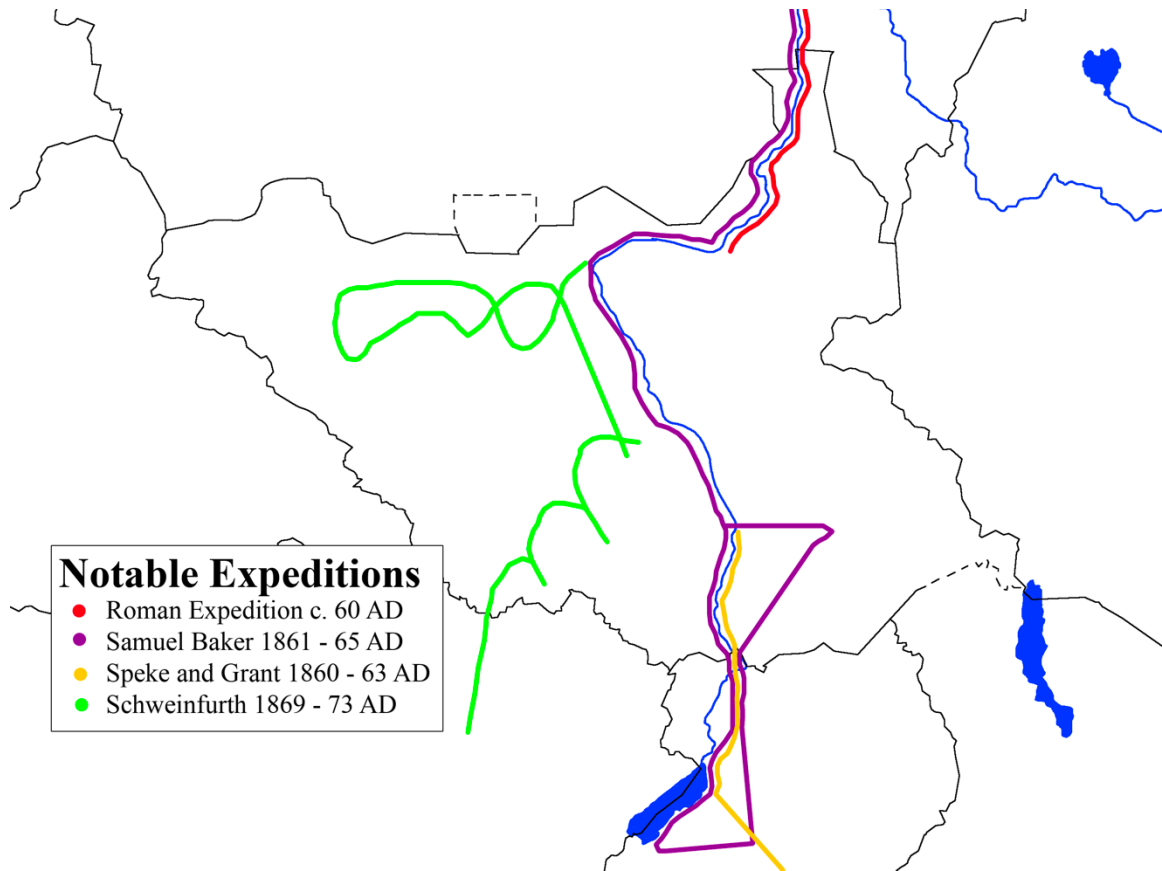
164.

Peter Robertshaw, "Prehistory in the Upper Nile Basin," *The Journal Of African History* 28, no. 2

(1987): 177-189.

Appendix E

Map of Notable Explorations into South Sudan



Sources:

Contains modified Copernicus Service Information

Oxford Atlas of Exploration (2008)

Appendix F

Map of South Sudan's General Location within Africa



Contains modified Copernicus Service Information