

A. Monem Mahjoub

Uncharted Ethnicities

Tebu People: Their Identity, Language, and Lost History

The Book of Tebu



Introduction by:
Abdullah Laban

Translated by:
Othman Mathlouthi



Tanit House



Tebu Studies Center

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General Authority for Information, Culture and Antiquities



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Čuhura larđa ka šeša

Birds of Earth have different languages

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PREFACE

Dr. A. Mahjoub is the first Arab researcher who dedicated himself to sit with Tebu tribes, listen to their concerns and stories, and learn their language. And once he appreciated their culture, he studied their life styles and rummaged in the ancient Greeks and Romans chronicles searching for material for his pioneering work.

Uncharted Ethnicities as is a book about the Tebus; actually the first Arabic publication dealing with a part of the heritage of our people who knows -by instinct- the untrod-den Sahara desert and frequents its remote places smoothly and easily just like you would do when you move around between the small rooms of your house. The Desert is our home, and we are proud of it.

Numerous are those who have written about the Tebus, but what distinguishes Mahjoub's book is its originality and novelty as well as its varied information as he moves gracefully between adjacent fields that used to appear un-connected: his work is interdisciplinary par –excellence.

For this reason, the Tebu Studies Center deemed it necessary to translate this book into English and French in order to answer the many questions now raised in the world about our people: the Tebus. This book is the best answer we can afford to the recurrent questions about our ethnic group.

When people left the Sahara Desert after the decline of the last ice-age, only scattered groups were left here and there. The Tebus were - and still are - the best ones to represent desert life. They committed themselves to stay in the Sahara and adapt to its gradual dry-out; and they adjusted their life pattern to it in such a way as to make the best of the rare godsend possibilities offered to them.

They have always had relationships with the neighboring folks who maintained their presence in the desert too. They have known the Garamantes, this is a fact- as the book says; and they have probably known the Berbers in the north and the Negroes in the south. Did Nubians exist at the time? I do not have the answer, but I know very well that the Tebus, at a later stage of their uncharted history, have had contacts with all those who happened to frequent the tracks of their transhumance orbits; ever since they learned from their Tadamansii ancestors the methods and ways of nomadic life in the desert: from Augila in the north, to Ghadames in the west, to the oases in the east, and to Lake Chad in the south. They settled along this vast tract and founded many villages and towns, including Kufra, Tazerbou, Rubyana, Qatron, Murzuq, Um-Aranib; and up to Tibesti highlands and down to Bahr- el-Ghazal.

The Tebus are distributed now into 36 clans; they permeate more than one country, and they have affinity relationships with many other tribes. Over time, coalition and affinity relationships formed new branches, and all the clans still inhabit the desert, its banks and oases... What

distinguishes the Tebus always is their language that Mahjoub traces the origin back to the Sumerian ... how interesting! And we hope that this study goes deeper in the future to reveal one of the mysteries of uncharted history.

The role of the Tebus does not seem clear from a historical point of view, but with the beginning of the twentieth century, when colonial outposts stirred all those social components in the Sahel and Sahara, the Tebus made their own history; and now we can hear of some of our fore-fathers who have dedicated their lives to the long and exhaustive struggle against the French and Italian armies. And I remind here, if I may, of the founding father Sultan Shahaï. I also do mention Mujahid Muhammad Malkanni, among others.

We -the Tebu Studies Center- seize this occasion, to extend our thanks to skillful translator Othman Mathlouthi who made an effort that we deem colossal and strenuous - but he sees as routine work- in order to offer our readership this valuable book in the best possible form and content. In fact, our thanks and appreciations go to both the author and the translator; and by the same token, we convey to them both the gratitude of the Tebu tribes who offer them a purely Bedouin greeting.

A. Laban

Director of the Tebu Studies Center

INTRODUCTION

The Arab library is almost devoid of anything meaningful about the history of the Tebus and their language; we hardly find any reference to them, and hardly anything has changed until the advent of the 18th century when the Great Sahara desert witnessed the arrival of European travelers who led several expeditions and crossed Libya towards the African interior jungles, and who happened to pass by Tebu tribes and describe their towns, language and their life-styles namely their food-production patterns ... and any other social and economic aspect they may have come across.

This book aims to contribute in rearranging the chapters and priorities of the cultural history of the Great Sahara desert by introducing Tebu people, studying their language, exploring their unknown history and presenting some folkloric patterns which reduce their social structure; it also aims to strip these topics from the modern aspect that often predominates them in the prevailing discourses and impressions nowadays, and this is by re-proposing the constituent coordinates of the Tebus and reassigning them into historical contexts and chronological order, and this applies necessarily to neighboring tribes as well.

The project for this survey was set forth early 2010,

when I sent the research summary for publication in 2011, but it was not published until early 2012, in *Ajman Journal of Studies and Research* (Volume 11, issue No 2) under the title: “Tebu Language (Tedaga) a Middle Link between Afro-Asiatic and Nilo-Saharan Languages – an Etymological Study”; a research limited to the linguistic aspect as the title shows, so I worked on completing it and bridging its gaps with relation to the social composition by a direct filed survey and investigation and comparing it with the results of travelers’ observations and accounts.

I have divided this book into three chapters: the first of which is dedicated to introducing the Tebus in their own geographical, demographic and ethnic milieu and reading through their origins based on the available and scarce signals left by old historians.

The second chapter deals with the social composition of the Tebu community, their class division; their customs, traditions, rituals, social practices, folk arts and skills in using the elements of the desert environment to make everyday tools and devices.

The third and final chapter deals with the Tebu language, and the two problems of its codification and classification; and it discusses the hypotheses related to its origin and early development, and an appended comparative linguistic glossary and some oral expressions.

At the end of this book, the reader will also find a sup-

plement with passages written by some travelers who came across the Tebu tribes and who wrote down their firsthand sightings and observations or deduced remarks from patterns that sum up similar works that date back to the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries.

The lexical material that I compiled in the comparative glossary of terms was based on consecutive meetings and sessions that I held with the Tebu delegates during the Afro-Asiatic linguistic seminar that was established in 2009 in the framework of the Socio-cultural Observatory, and these are: A. Laban and M. Kellikori (Mađana tribe), G. Allai Midi (Ahidda tribe), R. Bazin Yelwar (Arna tribe), A. Ellahi (Hoktiya tribe), A. Kwakwa (Ađbayya tribe). Their outstanding efforts had a significant impact on the corroboration of pronunciation versions and the tribal and local idiosyncrasies that often characterize them.

Recognition of scientific effort and contribution requires that I refer here to the philological (minimal-pair) - survey work carried out by late Dr. A. F. Khshaim while working on exploring Tedaga lexical items and their classical Arabic equivalents, and the efforts made by Dr. D. Rabi‘ and which facilitated the completion of this study according to its current shape as the reader is beholding now. My thanks and appreciation should go to them both.

A. Mahjoub

CHAPTER ONE

The Tebus and Their Uncharted History

The Great Saharan desert looks rather stable in terms of topography, but we can never – ever – confirm its demographic and social steadiness or stillness during any part of its past. Throughout its history, the desert was a fertile ground for demographic diversity, and a melting pot for races and languages. Greek historians' writings, since B.C. 4th, and Roman historians' writings later on, all tell of the gradual and sometimes abrupt changes that the desert has undergone. Indeed, the ancient writings of those historians - though they represented at the time important keys to the merchants in their countries and to their armies – they have nowadays become a controversial issue because of the overlap of their designations and the inaccuracy of their identification of the desert communities and their native places and localities; and this is an impression that may not be revoked except through an agreement among researchers that transhumance remains a hallmark of the desert folks, just as it is the case for their habitat characterized by displacement and shifting one time and another. Therefore, they can only be assigned accordingly to different places.

The writings of travelers beginning as of the 18th century, with the beginnings of exploration of Libya, which was a paved gateway towards the unknown risky interior of Africa, have been marked on their part with some kind of inaccuracies and blurry un-updated information; however, they remain the primary source to learn about the past of the desert, and the only means to stitch its historical epochs together, and to follow-up its inhabitants' diversity and overlap.

In spite of the so-much-lauded authenticity attributed to the Tebu tribes, archaeological data of the great Sahara desert does not help us much in talking accurately about their past, and this is due to their incessant transhumance and nomadic life patterns, and their dispersion across the oases of the Sahara and the peripheries of eastern and central Sudan (to the south of Libya, Chad and Niger)⁽¹⁾. Scrutiny of most of their historical epochs seems almost impossible, since the absence of written records that apply to all this type of research has led to the usual contentment of verbal accounts; and these are very rare in any case. Accounts from narrators other than the Tebus are usually a reflection of the extent of their agreements or differences with the Tebus, or are likely to be affected, one way or another, by common stereotypical images of the desert folks and especially the Tebu communities often seen as quasi, self-secluded or considered by many as a ghetto, which is difficult to penetrate or see through.

1.1: The Tebus in Their Geographical Milieu

The Tebus are geographically distributed to the east and south of Fezzan⁽²⁾. They pervade the south-east of the Libyan Desert, and permeate it as far south as the edge of Lake Chad, and as far east as the North-Eastern region of Niger. According to Reclus' encyclopedia published in 1892, the Tebus permeate "all the eastern part of the desert starting from a longitude of 12° to the Egyptian border, and in the direction of the south from Fezzan to Kanem⁽³⁾, Wadai⁽⁴⁾, and Darfur^{(5)''(6)}. In "*Frederick Horneman's Travels from Cairo to Mourzouk the Capital of the Kingdom of Fezzan*" in 1797, Horneman⁽⁷⁾ noticed that they live, and even govern the region located in the desert region between Fezzan and Egypt, and that "the nearest inhabited location to the north of the Tebus' homeland is Augila⁽⁸⁾ and Siwah⁽⁹⁾, and living to their proximity to the south are the Arab nomads, and to the west – beyond Fezzan – is the territory of the Tuaregs.^{(10)''(11)}

Nowadays, however, they are concentrated in different parts of Chad, Niger and Libya, and thus their presence is limited to some peripheral tracts of the Great Sahara desert and the eastern and central regions of Sudan, after having lived for several epochs as nomadic migratory communities in this vast geographical milieu without definite borders, and without knowing - or others knowing- accurately the date of their travels, and the records of their settlement.

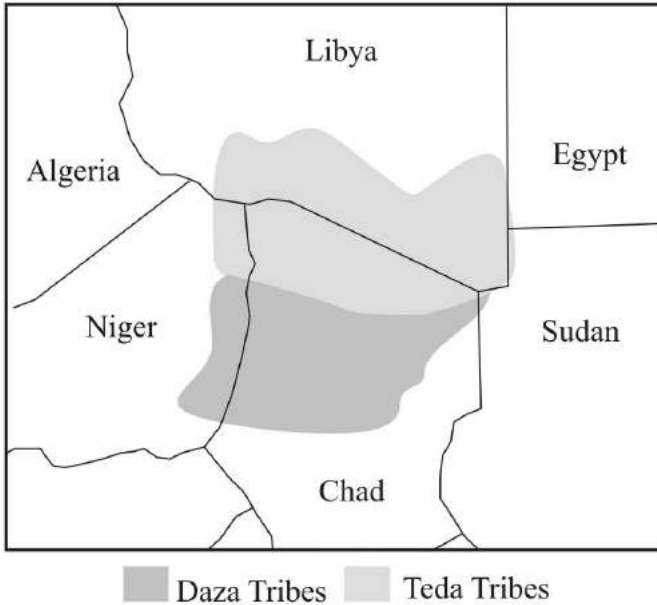
The Tebus are a community of herdsmen who belong to

the original desert tribes. In case of emergency or necessity, they used to seek fortification in the Tibesti Mountains⁽¹²⁾, and upon abatement of necessity or emergency, they disperse and walk away over the Mountain's passes and slopes, to settle in pasture stretches on the outskirts of towns and oases, tracking the traces of multitudes, and so they settle in valleys, leading their herds of camels, and pitching their tents where ever the seasons and climatic gales allowed them.

The Tebus do not call themselves by this name, as they call each tribe of them by a general name 'Arbi, a word that has a clear meaning of 'Arabi (Arab) in a local common accent in Africa for the word Arab, as the pharyngeal sound /ʕ/ ʕ ('Ain) usually fades away in glottal *Hamza* /ʔ/ ʔ sound in the Tebu pronunciation.

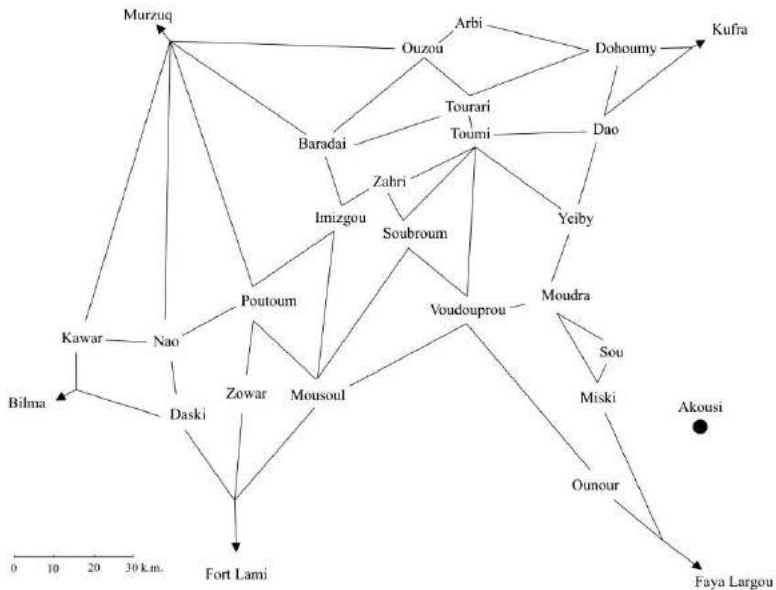
The ancient word Tebu likely means: the people of the mountain, or who live in the mountain, and consists of: "Tu": meaning "rock", or "mountain", or rather "the mountain" (with the determinant) to denote the Tibesti Mountain range in southern Libya and northern Chad; and "bu" meaning "habitat", "home".

Explorer Nachtigal was the first who spread this view citing the "Tebus" themselves, when he said that their name means: "Men of Tu", that is to say "rock or mountain dwellers."⁽¹³⁾



Tebu home in the Sahara desert, Teda Tribes (in northern Chad and southern Libya)
and Daza Tribes (in central Chad and eastern Niger)

In Arabic language, we find words of special significance that may evoke one of the social features of old Tebu tribes; the word “*taba*” تبا is not allocated in “*Lisān Al-‘Arab*” Dictionary in the narrative of Ibn ‘Arabi except for one single meaning: “invade, loot, and capture”⁽¹⁴⁾; and the Tebu tribes were known, across the Middle Ages and before, by their invasions of neighboring tribes in quest for spoils of war; some of them have also participated in the slave trade until the 18th and 19th centuries, and these facts are well-preserved in the current Tebu oral narratives.



Tibesti on the border area between Libya and Chad

In the old historical writings, there are no satisfactory answers about the original home of the Tebu tribes, so a number of hypotheses have emerged to explain their presence on the foothills of the Tibesti Mountains. It is difficult to outweigh any of these hypotheses against the other due to the absence of linguistic and social evidence; such hypotheses cannot stand out in front of confirmed link that existed between the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula and East Africa, including the “biological resemblance effect by the people of the Arabian Peninsula on those of

the Horn of Africa, as it is seen on the peoples of this region: Somalis, Ethiopians, etc... But also – undoubtedly – as seen on the Tebu, Foulani, Songhai, Hausa ... etc.”⁽¹⁵⁾, and the strange diversity in “African genetic characters” indicates “a long-term evolution in this continent, and the fossilized remnants from pre-historic times show a widespread dispersion of the sub-Saharan pattern, from South Africa’s north and up to the northern part of the Sahara Desert; the Sudan region used to have major role as crossroads for this widespread diffusion”.⁽¹⁶⁾

Resorting to the “resemblance biological effect” may seem a non-scientific method marred by guessing, as it may lead nowhere but to unverified generalizations that may be subject to modification or refutation; but the past of North Africa and the Great Sahara desert has always been a scene for all kinds of interactions. Ethnic and cultural interblending is considered a completely logical result of these interactions, and therefore, we can only talk of diversity in the “genetic characteristics” that developed over this long period of history.

We might not be able to talk about a specific desert model for example, that is according to a fixed racial and ethnic scale that does not change, but we can – certainly – talk about a model influenced by the Sahara Desert’s natural, cultural or social environment, as to constitute aspects of a convergent (proximate) identity even if it is not exactly identical.

1.2: The Tebus in Their Ethnic Environment

In his essay “*Eastern Libyans*”⁽¹⁷⁾, Oric Bates tried to be more moderate in his quest to discern the ethnic features of the Tebu identity; he did not associate them to the Negroes or to the Negroid but to dark Hamites⁽¹⁸⁾ who “may have been a mix of desert Hamites and Sudanese Negroes”; however, his map to redefine the locations of Hamites was comprehensive despite the overlap of ethnic and cultural peculiarities.

Bates “re-mapped” the populations of North Africa and the Sahara Desert, as follows⁽¹⁹⁾:

- 1- Guanches (Canary Islands).
- 2- Atlantic Hamites (Bates likens them to Haratin and the Trarza Moors).
- 3- Mediterranean Hamites (fused with various foreign races such as Nordic and Semitic Arab).
- 4- Saharan Hamites (Slight Negro and Arab admixture, but purer and more typical than any other Hamitic people of the present time).
- 5- Peulhs (a mixed race containing Berber and Negro elements, and with a Semitic and Arab infusion; their original home is East Africa).
- 6- Tebu (Dark Hamitics, probably a fusion of Saharan Hamites and Sudanese Negroes).

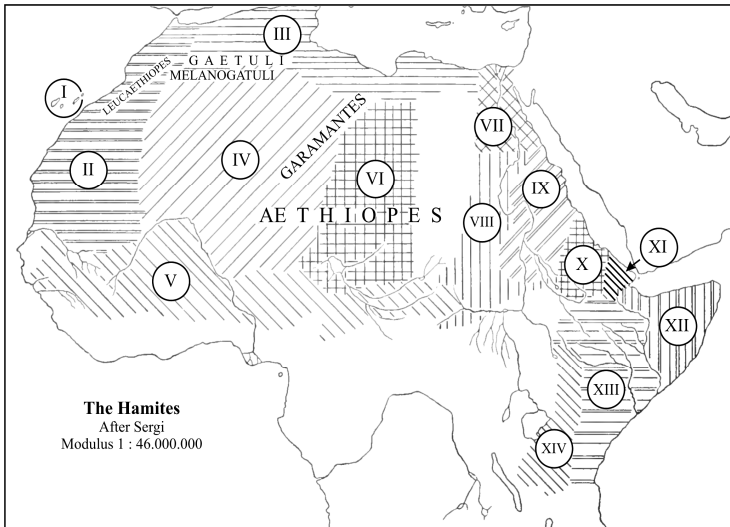
- 7- Egyptians (a race mixed since very early times, having strains of Saharan Hamites, Nilotic Negroes, and Semites).
- 8- Nubians (a people resembling Tebu, but perhaps, with a greater degree of Negrism).
- 9- Begas (product of a fusion of Saharan Hamites, Nubians and Semites).
- 10- Ethiopians (the same with higher percentage of Negro).
- 11- Danakils (the same with of Semite).
- 12- Somalis (the same with higher percentage of Negro).
- 13- Gallas (the same with small Semite admixture)
- 14- Masai (a strongly negroid stock, perhaps containing a slight Hamitic, and an old Semitic strain, the ethnology of this people is doubtful).

However, Bates suggests a reclassification of this grouping and its subdivision into four major groups subdivided into smaller units, namely:

- 1- Western or Libyan Hamites (Guanches, Atlantic Hamites, Mediterranean Hamites, and Tebus).
- 2- North-Eastern or Semito-Hamites: (Egyptians, Begas, Danakils).
- 3- Eastern or Ethiopian Hamites: (Ethiopians, Somalis, Gallas, Nubians).

4- Mixed Southern Hamites: (Massai, Pelluhs or Negro Berbers).

Despite the generalization and inaccuracy that taint these comprehensive classifications, namely that Afro-Asiatic classification is replacing efficiently the once common Hamito-Semitic classification, what distinguishes these classifications is that they do not differ greatly from the subsequent ethno-linguistic classification which kept these groupings within its greater units.



Bates' ethnic map of the Hamito-Semitic stocks in Africa – Tebu occupy Section VI

(Source: Eastern Libyans p. 45)

No matter what the truth of these ethno-linguistic divisions is, this does not in any way invalidate the predominant opinion about the primitiveness of the Tebus, and the

fact that they are one of the founding ethnicities, within their geographical scope, of the ethnic and linguistic structures in Africa.

1.2.a: The Troglodae

Some researchers believe that the ancestors of the Tebus are the “Troglodae” (or troglodyte dwellers), whose original place used is to be in the south of the Garamantes’ homeland ⁽²⁰⁾, they are Ethiopians (viz. blacks) ⁽²¹⁾. Herodotus (4:183) reports that the Garamantes used to chase the Troglodae Ethiopians who “ran faster than any people we have ever heard of”. He says: “They live on snakes and lizards and semi-reptiles, and heir tongue does not resemble any other tongue in the world; it is like bats’ screeching”. Strabo (2:33) described their land as “mostly rocky and sandy desert”. However, Pliny the Elder (5:5) refers to business relationships that existed between the Troglodae and the Romans. It is clear that the Troglodae have received the protection of the Romans who strived to eradicate the Garamantes who were actually the enemies of the Troglodae. Pliny says: “Cave dwellers are the ones with whom our relationship is restricted to trade in precious stones fetched from Ethiopia, which we call red agate”. They were mentioned by Herodotus (4,181); Pliny (2:228) and (5: 34, 43); and Ptolemy (4: 4: 6). ⁽²²⁾

Presumably, the assumption that the Tebus are the Trogladae mentioned by Greek and Roman historians is only a guess based merely on skin color and cave dwell-

ling; because this trait has become like a historical tradition considered as self-evident whenever a historian speaks of Troglodae. For example - we find in *The journey of Hannon to the Libyan Quarters beyond the Pillars of Hercules*, that beyond River Lexus on the Atlantic coast, the region is inhabited by Ethiopians who live in the slopes of the mountains and “in the vicinity of the mountains; there live the Troglodae who come in different forms and guises”. They are also described as capable to “run faster than horses”. The narrative of the journey also depicts them as “non-hospitable”, and that Phoenicians “found difficulty in getting translators from among them”.⁽²³⁾

Perhaps this and other similar examples contain evidence of some sort of tradition that prevailed among ancient historians who used to easily designate black tribes that live in the mountainous regions with the name or quality of “Troglodae”, whether those people lived in the Great Sahara desert or on its edges from the Atlantic Ocean in the west up to the west of River Nile in the east.

1.2.b: Tedomansii

E. Reclus (1830 - 1905) pointed out to the possibility of resembling Teda (viz. the northern Tebus) to the Garamantes “Tedomansii” tribe whose location was –according to him – as identified by Ptolemy to be in Tripoli.⁽²⁴⁾ Tedomansii is an old Libyan tribe that probably was “one of Ghadamsi tribes in Fezzan, and may have been one of

Gaetuli tribe, and they were mentioned by Ptolemy (4: 3: 6)⁽²⁵⁾. Despite the apparent difficulty in establishing these connections for the time being, the proximity between the name “Teda” and “Tadamansii” still has a connotative load; and if we adopt Ptolemy’s suggestion, we will have, in this case, to move their original location further toward the northwest. Ptolemy located Tadamansii to the south of Samamukii, and the home of the Samamukii tribe was located “to the northeast of the western mountain where the Macae were, and they were cited by Ptolemy (4: 3: 6) and (4: 3:11), and said that they used to live to the proximity of Cinyphii tribe⁽²⁶⁾; a “tribe that owes its name to Cinyph (Cinpe, Cinyps) River (K‘ām River), and this was located near the eastern and southern parts of Leptis Magna, and they are of the Macae too; and he described Cinyphii men in Hannibal’s army as Macae. They were also mentioned by Silius Italicus (2: 60) and also in Ptolemy (4: 6: 3)⁽²⁷⁾”.

Comparing this with what we find in Bates in terms of putting together the Tebus and several other stocks namely the Guanches, the Atlantic Hamites, and the Mediterranean Hamites under the same naming: “Libyan or Western Hamites“, we may not vacillate at all in saying that the Tebus (or Teda in particular) have settled at an earlier stage much further to the north-west than what is now believed; a fact that suggests the preponderance of the connection of the Tadamansii tribe that settled Ghadames with

the northern Tebus (Teda) who settled in the Tibesti Mountains.

This inscrutable history of the Tebus is partly due to the nature of the permanent nomadic life of ancient Libyan tribes whose habitat was identified by Greek geographers and historians for the first time in B.C. 4th century; after centuries marked by the spread of Neolithic patterns, which were dominated by food collecting and hunting. This phase was characterized by the absence of recording means (like inscription or writing) and lack of stability, and which could only be achieved after the spread of agriculture and the advent of the Canaanites (Phoenicians). With regards to Tebus also, we cannot but expect their continued transhumance to the south-east until they settled in the Tibesti uplands, that is to say, those uplands formed in this case the second cradle for the Tebus, which was occupied by the Romans' incursion into the south, and after Septimus Severus, who ruled the Roman empire from A.D. 193 to A.D. 211, by subjugating the Libyan tribes, and particularly the Garamantes and Nassamones tribes, and after deploying outposts and erected fortresses and garrisons in the interior known as Limes Tripolitanus, which is in the form of an arc that extends from Libyan Leptis to Tunisian Gabes,⁽²⁸⁾ passing through Ghadames (home of the Tadamansii) in which a Roman fortress was established and thus making it one of the largest defense lookouts and outposts in the country.

Combined, the data of this hypothesis suggest also a presumable link between Teda and the Garamantes; that is to say that Teda was a branch of the Garamantes who were forced to leave their original habitat, which was located to the northwest, and to settle in southern Fezzan, to the south of the capital city of the Garamantes who “controlled a vast area of Libya that extends from Hamada Hamra to the north and up to Akakus Mountains and Tadrart in the west, Tibesti Mountains in the south, Awaynet Mountains, and Kufra Oases in the east”.⁽²⁹⁾ These regions were not ethnically typical, as “archaeological research conducted on necropolis tend to say that the Garamantes belonged to four Ethnological groups: two of them white, one Negro and the fourth a fusion of these stocks”.⁽³⁰⁾

The Troglodae that Herodotus (4: 183) – who lived between B.C. 484 - 424 – said were chased by the Garamantes, are chronologically remote from the Teda’s movement to the south by about 650 years. And we consider more probably that they were the ancestors of the Negro tribes, who lived near Lake Chad (Bornu, Kanem, etc...) after they had been pushed further south and their territories occupied by Teda tribes; and when Teda’s travel to the north –to their original places- and penetration of the Roman defense lines named “Limes Tripolitanus” became impossible without entering into a losing war with the Imperial detachment.

For all these reasons, the primacy of the name “Teda”

over “Tebu” is justified as several epochs have preceded their settlement in the Tibesti Heights from which they got their new name “Tebu” without being known before that for any older name other than “Teda” which was a short version of their oldest name: “Tadamansii”. Furthermore, the link of this tribe with the Garamantes supports the belief that Teda are the offspring of the Garamantes, and urges us to look for the Garamantes’ missing language exclusively in the Teda language.

Some ancient Libyan tribes have kept their original names but slightly modified in one way or another, whereas most of the tribes have changed their names overtime; and scarce are the tribes that retained their first names without change. Through the above analysis, we may deduce that the name that has prevailed throughout history -I mean “Tadamansii” and which was then reduced to “Teda”- had lived up to shortly before the 7th century. But, with the start of the spread of Islam in North Africa, the word “Tebu” emerged to designate “Teda” tribes and other tribal sub-branches due to the word’s combination of “Teda” and Arabic languages in meanings indicative of the most striking features of this people: In Arabic language, it denotes the meaning of invasion, looting and spoils; in Teda language, it denotes the meaning of dwelling and settling in mountains; in such a way, this name is a collective noun accepted by the clans and tribes nearby at the same time, and thus it has become common and widely

used to include the original Teda people and the tribes that migrated later to the south in an attempt to join Lake Chad or the savannah plains suitable for settlement and grazing; and so they formed an independent offshoot that grew out and increased in terms of population numbers until it has become much larger than the original, and which fortified itself in the Tibesti Heights without ever venturing beyond the oases and valleys lying in proximity of their quarters.

1.3: The Tebus in Their Demographic Milieu

During his rambles in the desert in 1797, German explorer Nachtigal⁽³¹⁾ refers to the aspect of great diversity in the population of Fezzan; he says: “The inhabitants of Fezzan today represent a real admixture; it is likely that analyzing and clarifying that would create great difficulties for the traveler. In the south, in Tejerhi⁽³²⁾, Medrousa⁽³³⁾, Bakhi⁽³⁴⁾, and Qatrun⁽³⁵⁾, there are the authentic Tebus of Tibesti; in the south-west, where Wadi al-Gharbi⁽³⁶⁾ is, there are the inveterate Tuaregs; and in the north and east, (mainly Sukna⁽³⁷⁾, Waddan⁽³⁸⁾, and Temissa⁽³⁹⁾), there is a separate homeland for the northern Berbers. The settled purebred Arabs and nomadic Arabs and Berbers, as well as the slaves from Bornu⁽⁴⁰⁾ and Hausa⁽⁴¹⁾ provinces, and inland Africa countries, and their descendents – both slaves and free men – are all dispersed all over the country. Finally, we see everywhere unidentified people who do not belong to any of these groups, but they look like a lot of them. Those - likely – represent the small core of

purebred Fezzani and have changed over time.”⁽⁴²⁾

Nachtigal then adds: “The Garamantes, the indigenous inhabitants of the country, have created along with other tribes of the Desert, the second wave of the Libyans, and thus represent a new layer or level of overlap. They used to be the neighbors of the Ethiopians, who lived to the south of their region, and they also resembled them to a large extent. And they have made a clear gradual transition from the population of the Sahel countries to the tribes that live on the southern edge of the Sahara desert. The stages of this transition were a cause of the appearance of the phrase Melanogaetuli⁽⁴³⁾ among the ancients, and led Duveyrier⁽⁴⁴⁾ to talk about Sub-Ethiopian tribes; and by going upwards to the Upper Nile, one can see for himself how the inhabitants of Upper Egypt integrate gradually and perfectly with the Berbers or barbarians⁽⁴⁵⁾, and Baja⁽⁴⁶⁾, and those in turn integrate with the Sudanese.

The southern Tebus (Daza) represent a close link to the Negroes more than that represented by the northerner Tebus (Teda). There is a degree of difficulty in how Zoghawa⁽⁴⁷⁾ in Northern Darfur should be identified. Yet, they are very close to a clear extent and sufficiently to be considered part of the Tuaregs and Berbers of the Sahel regions. And thus, we have a series of gradients and transitions that represent the fine lines of the borders that are usually too difficult to delineate”.⁽⁴⁸⁾

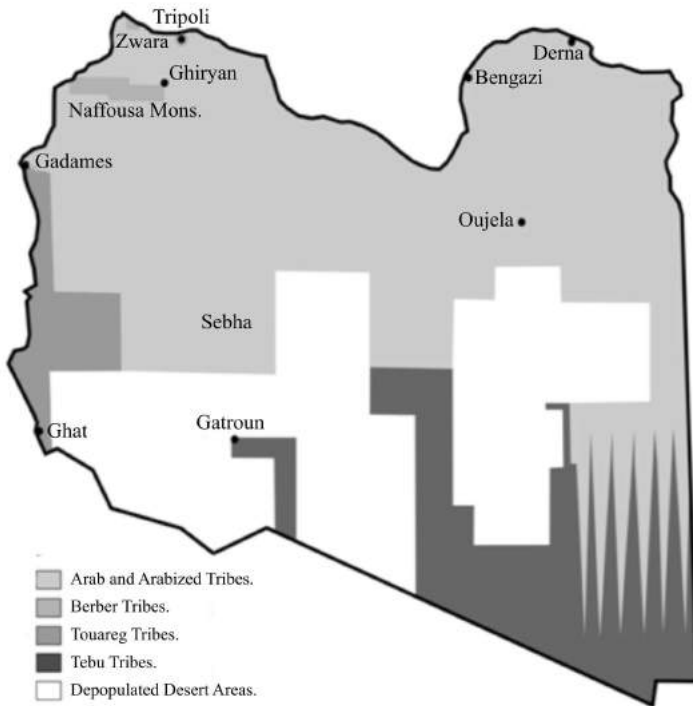
The demographic mobility of Tebu tribes seems to have

intertwined tracks; if we assume the precedence of the northern Tebu over the southern Tebu, this would only support the presumable link of Teda to ancient Tadamansii tribe, to indicate that Tibesti Mountains were in this case a second cradle for the Tebus who settled there between B.C. 193 and 211 as we mentioned earlier. Yet, this hypothesis does not rule out the permanent nomadic nature that distinguished Teda tribes, and which made Daza tribes more stable and settled compared to them.

By deciphering the texture of the admixture mentioned by Nachtigal, we may trace back –one way or another – any stock to its original homeland. Nachtigal talks of: Northern Tebus, Southern Tebus, the Tuaregs, settled Arabs, nomad Arabs, northern Berbers, Berber nomads, slaves and freemen from Bornu and Hausa, and Zoghawa; but for him, the Fezzani (with reference to Fezzan) look as: “unidentified and do not belong to any of these groups”. And if it is possible for any of these groups to be included some way or another under the adjective of “Libyan”, it is because of the elasticity of this naming from a historical perspective; it may include North Africa, and may include the entire continent -Egypt excepted- according to the time of its usage. However, when we talk about “the Libyan Sahara Desert”, the needle of the compass would point directly to that part of the Sahara Desert located to the west of the Nile, and which then gradually fades away as we move westward. In other words, the Li-

byan Desert looks like if it were a historical term (crisscrossed by ethnic and linguistic tracks) before it is a geographical term; but Fezzan is a miniature geographic image for the Desert's historic entity.

Returning to Nachtigal's admixture in Fezzan, ethnic groups appear to have settled in the Sahara Desert after they arrived from their native homelands. We can talk of Agadez for the Tuaregs, and Atlas Mountains for Berbers. But, as for the slaves and free Negroes, they come from Bornu; while Zoghawas used to be and still are between Darfur and Chad; whereas Arabs make up the body of the demographic Afro-Asian basin as they are settled in North Africa and are dispersed in the form of tribal pockets throughout the Sahara Desert; Fezzanis are Arabs bearing African (genealogical) effects. The only group that we can exclude here is the Tebus, who, no historical sources ever indicated their departure from the Sahara Desert, since they settled in Tibesti Heights.



The Socio-linguistic texture of Libya

CHAPTER TWO

Social Structure and Customs

Tebu tribes form a tribal and clannish community that spreads over an inter-connected social milieu that extends from eastern Sudan, through southern Libya and up to northern Chad and Niger. However, they are concentrated in an evident manner in northern Chad. Their tribes' territories descend westward towards Niger without losing sight of Tibesti Heights from which -most hypotheses claim- their name is derived with the meaning of "Mountain dwellers".

All Tebus take Islam as their religion, despite fierce proselytizing campaigns that targeted them through camouflaged missions under the guise of humanitarian, social and scholastic missions with a view to penetrate them.

2.1: Social Structure

The Tebu community is estimated to consist of more than 300,000 people, and this is just an estimative census that used to be circulated among the Tebus in the late 20th century; however, the number of tribes amounts to thirty-one, as follows:

1. Arna; 2. Aderga; 3. Aḍobayya; 4. Amawiyah; 5. Ahid-

dah; 6. Bishrah; 7. Taoyah; 8. Tedimyya; 9. Tramāh; 10. Trindira; 11. Tersyah; 12. Tezeryah; 13. Tozobah; 14. Tshowadah; 15. Tega; 16. Tomara; 17. Tomortyah; 18. Dordakishi; 19. Zoyah; 20. Sardogya .21. Ğirsina; 22. Ğobadah; 23. Kasseh; 24. Kraseh; 25. Kosodah; 26. Gonah; 27. Madhah; 28. Mađana; 29. Mogadah; 30. Hortonah; 31. Hoktiya.

The Tebus are divided into two large groups in which these tribes fuse; and it is socially common among these two groups to say that they belong to “one single stock” namely:

- **Teda:** It consists of about 50.000 people who practice grazing and trade between the tribes of Libya, Chad and Sudan. Their dialect is “Tedaga” or “Teda tongue”, and they call themselves after their language “Tedagada” or (Tedaga speakers).

- **Daza:** It is the largest tribe with a population of about 250.000 people. They exercise trade among the tribes of the Sahara desert, in addition to grazing and thus they often lead a nomadic life following pastures and water in the south of the Sahara Desert, on the slopes of Tibesti and in Niger. Their dialect is “Dazaga”, (or Daza tongue); and they call themselves after their “Dazagada” language (or Dazaga speakers).

Doza tribes also inhabit Faya⁽¹⁾ region; they are closer to the Tebus - or to be more precise - they are a transition-

al ethnic group that represents a middle link between Tebu and their other neighboring races. For the time being, they are the allies of the Tebu and their in-laws, according to Tebu customs that proscribe marriage among blood relatives up to the seventh grandfather. They also speak “Dazaga” dialect, while some of them speak “Tedaga” according to the kinship ties and proximity of settlement to either of the two main groups.

2.2: Social Stratification

The Tebus were known historically as nomads who practice grazing; and despite the intermarriage and alliance bonds that make Tebu tribes a distinct tribal mass in terms of social structure, they are, yet, subdivided under this large social umbrella into several branches according to the property they have such pastures and herds of camels and cattle, on one hand, and according to their tribal affiliations that pre-qualify them to assume their place within the following four categories:

1 - *Dignitaries*: The source of their wealth comes usually from trade, but they also represent the class of employers for the rest of merchants; and they rarely travel.

2 - *Traders*: They are a lower class than the *Dignitaries*, but they represent their tribes when they travel on business or meet neighboring tribes and regions adjacent to the Tebu homeland.

3 - *Peasants*: They are few in number in comparison to the

traders.

4 - *Blacksmiths*: They are also few in numbers. Blacksmithing is a despised profession among the Tebus, but blacksmiths are mostly feared due to their ties, according to the Tebus' belief, with witchcraft, and the ability to use supernatural powers.

5 - *Singers*: They are the fewest of all the previous categories, and they most often come from the peasant class.

2.3: Description of the Tebus

Most travelers and geographers tend to agree on a stereotype for the Tebu's individual and social behavior within a series of psychological and behavioral traits that distinguish them from other neighboring tribes, such as: craftiness, deceit, selfishness and distrust in others, treachery, fraud, decadence of values and ideals; in addition to these (negative) attributes, they are also described with opposite ones such as: freedom, recalcitrance, vitality, activity, self-reliance, patience and forethought.

There is no doubt that some of these features were attributed to them as a result of direct observation or accounts by Sahara Desert dwellers who had had direct contacts or trade with them, or who raided them or were exposed to raids by them; and in any case, no one disagrees that stereotyping by generalizing a trait to an entire community or people is completely wrong, because it tends to deprive the depicted community from the attribute of vari-

ation in individual differences, although that the predominance of the harsh desert environment has its own impact, undoubtedly.

The Tebus in Horneman's chronicles appear "as if they have vast natural potentials but do not have the opportunity to use them, as they are surrounded by Berber and Muslim communities; and Arabs often accuse them of being deceitful, treacherous and cunning; therefore, the people of Fezzan do not travel individually for fear of their cruelty".⁽²⁾

Reclus –who admires them without having seen them directly– thinks that "necessity and need -as mother of all creativity- have developed their mental abilities and honed their senses: They easily find their way through a never-trodden wilderness using a kind of inspiration which is confusing for the European man. In all circumstances, they demonstrate an amazing skill and craftsmanship distinguished by eloquence, cunning and great innovation." But, he does not hesitate to say also that "A Tebu man is always leery and suspicious".⁽³⁾

In his trip to Sudan through their regions, Egyptian traveler Hassanein says: "they are serious hardworking people, but they are very naive in their living and thinking lifestyle".⁽⁴⁾

Paul Marty describes them saying that a Tebu man: "either works in caravans or takes part in looting operations.

He is a cunning and energetic man, who loves gaining, and spends his life moving more than settled, and his hut is nothing but a haven where he returns between two journeys".⁽⁵⁾

2.4: The Sultan of the Tebus (*Dardai*)

In determining their social authority, Tebu tribes rely on rotation of chieftdom (Sultanate) between the known tribes; the Sheikh or Sultan (*Dardai*), who is elected for arbitration, becomes an authority for all tribes; they refer to him to look into any disputes that might arise and for advice and counsel. Actually, he is realistically very much like a judge as he exercises a judicial function, and since he does not practice more than the prerogatives we have mentioned, unless he has a charismatic character that qualifies him to lead the tribal elders and dignitaries and that vests him with an authority that wins loyalty of the Tebus, like Sultan Shahai for example.⁽⁶⁾ The Sultan is replaced only after his demise, however, everyone usually has to agree on naming his successor earlier on; and if the Chieftdom (Sultanate) shifts to another tribe, its sheikh becomes Sultan of all the tribes, and so on.

Rotation of power (or chieftdom) is restricted among the three families of Tomaghra tribe, namely:

- Lai Doga (descendants of Lai).
- Ordi Doga (descendants of Ordi).
- Armeh Doga (descendants Armeh).

The Ottoman Turks had once sought to control the Tebus since they were the first communities to settle in southern Fezzan, which was then under their control, for subjugation of the Teda tribes would open the road in front of their caravans to penetrate the interior of Africa. In the beginning, they tried to appoint a delegate in the rank of “Qaem-maqam” (governor), but the Tebus saw in him as a substitute for their own Sheikh or their tribal Sultan whom they used by tradition to choose among themselves, so they refused to accept this matter. The Turks, then, proposed on the Tedas either to accept a Sheikh from among them but appointed by the government of the principality (the Regency) in Tripoli, or to face military intervention to force them to do so. And the tension between the Tebus and the Turks did not end until the Tedas became opened on the Senussiya movement and most of the Tibesti Heights owed allegiance to it, thus forming some sort of religious cover and implied protection for them.

After the death of Sultan Shahai (from Tomaghra tribe an offshoot of Teda), his successor Salah faced similar tension with the French, who preferred to appoint governors themselves and based on their direct knowledge, but the insistence of the Tedas to stick to their own traditions, in addition to their invincibility and continuous entrenchment in the Tibesti Heights, on one hand, and the Dardai’s unwillingness to raise any major unrest in the face of the French, on the other hand, made this tension end up grad-

ually into the French's acquiescence and overlooking of the Tedas' choice.

The Tebus' resistance to any central authority, (whether in Fezzan, Tripoli, or the south), is considered a permanent hallmark and a part of the tradition of invincibility and autonomy that they have maintained throughout their history.⁽⁷⁾ For example, the Pasha of Tripoli, Ali Pasha bin Mohammed (ruled from 1754 to 1793) tried to subdue the Tebus to his authority, but he failed; so, he waged, in 1788, a punitive campaign against them and defeated them. They retreated to their safe haven in Tibesti Heights, but they soon revived their opposition to the Pashoah again. Then, Yusuf Pasha Quaramanli (ruled from 1795 to 1832) sent out a large punitive expedition against them to crush them completely. His expedition arrived in Tibesti Heights in 1805, but the Tebus inflicted a heavy defeat on them and killed most of his soldiers.

2.5: Kotoba Canon

Tebu tribes are governed by a written legislative code, known as *Kotoba*, or *Kotoma*, and also called (*Tokai* or *Tokai Teda*). Intellectuals among the Tedas call it "Tebu constitution". It was put together by Sultan Shahai (Boger) based on the provisions of Islamic Sharia law, to organize most of the transactions necessary for the pastoral Tebu community, especially in matters that require issuance of specific judicial / arbitration rulings, as in cases of dispute settlement, or reprisal of a killer and inflicting physical

penalties against persons guilty of an offense. Kotoba code was written in French, and the original version is still preserved until this time under the protection of Teda dignitaries.

2.6: Tebu Folk Arts

Tebu folk arts, songs, and musical heritage are distinguished by local color that make them different from what other tribes of the Sahara Desert have, even though general patterns may look somehow similar to each other. Among folk arts that have survived until nowadays, we can mention:

- “*Hami*”: It is a lyrical poetry art dedicated to eulogy and satire accompanied by drum beats and rhythms.
- “*Chili*”: It is a lyrical poetry art performed by Tebu elderly women in weddings and circumcision ceremonies.
- *Pure poetry* - without any accompanying rhythms or dancing - is a characteristic of manhood for the Tebus; and it is usually performed in a light form of singing. Its themes may vary as in Arabic poetry between vain-glorious poetry, boasting and recreational themes; and rarely does a poet tackle deliberately a love theme:

Among the musical instruments that Tebu use, we cite:

- “*Kidi*”: A drum known in other parts of the Sahara Desert and North Africa as “*Danga*”. Its rhythms can accompany a number of patterns of musical arts usually with

dancing. Among these patterns, we can cite “*Yuri*”: a rhythmic dance of war; and “*Tazza*”: a dance performed in weddings ceremonies; and “*Kidi adba*”: a dance for women and girls in a circle.

- “*Neggara*”: A smaller drum than “*kidi*”, with more stringent and sounding rhythms, usually used to announce events, or to call for a tribal meeting, or as an alert to prepare for war.

- “*Shagani*”: A stringed instrument that resembles “*raba-ba*” (guitar) made of palm fronds, and desert dried squash or metal bowl, and two adjacent strings.

- “*Kiki*”: A stringed instrument similar to the violin, made of wood, and may have more than two strings.⁽⁸⁾

2.7: Marriage Mores

Hardly do Tebu marriage customs and traditions differ from those of other Sahara Desert inhabitants, but their traditions prevent inbreeding up to the seventh grandfather; they require agreement between the two families of the betrothed and their tribes and that there is nothing that may prevent consummation of a marriage contract, such as revenge. The family of the young man desiring to marry undertakes all the anticipated marriage ceremony events, without requiring that the young man should meet the future wife or speak to her.

Agreement on the dowry is the first step, and it is cashed by the parents of the fiancée or her relatives such

as uncles and aunts from the father's or mother's side. The trousseau and ornaments are sent on camel back on a day called "*Al-'algah*" just before the feast day; then the bride shall be detained at home and forbidden from going out in public, in wait for the "*zaffa*" (wedding ceremony) which procession consists of camels, singers, drummers, incense-burner holders; and from time to time, the procession would stop, and women would stand in a semi-circular line around one of the dancers accompanied by drum beats until the dancer is done, and so on until the wedding procession reaches the house where the groom is waiting.

In Tebu habits, the groom would stand on the threshold of the house and gives her a lash with a whip in his right hand, believing that this would expel evil spirits⁽⁹⁾; and of their habits too, the couple would isolate themselves and do not get out of their house during the first week.

2.8: Circumcision

Circumcision is "a surgery to cut a part of the foreskin, either as an offering for fertility or for social distinction of the circumcised; and it is a practice known to ancient Egyptians and Phoenicians"⁽¹⁰⁾. It is likely that the Tebus have known it since ancient times, and then it was endorsed with the advent of Islam. Tebu circumcision rituals and ceremonies are no different from those of other tribes of the Sahara Desert.

2.9: Tebu Conventional Weapons

During his visit to the Tebus in 1797, traveler F. Horneman noted that their weapons consisted of “a six-foot lance and a 10 to 20-inch knife attached to the left shoulder, and they wear around their waist a leather belt where a three-inch pod is suspended”⁽¹¹⁾. This description befits a Tebu warrior equipped with a lance, which is one of the most famous conventional weapons among the Tebus. A Tebu lance comes in three shapes and sizes according to the throwing distance and methods of use.

The Tebus also used the bow for long-distances, and daggers for clash, but the most dangerous conventional weapon they have is the one they call “*šinger minger*”, and this is an anchor: a chucking weapon hurled from a distance. It is distinguished by its circular shape and the number of sharp dents it has and which often result in death or disability.

2.10: Teda Properties and Marks

Properties of the Tebu members and their wealth levels are determined by their flocks. Herds of camels are equated with herds of sheep by age; a “*hwar*” (a newly-born camel) for example is the equivalent of four sheep; a fully-mature camel is the equivalent of up to 15 sheep, and so on.

Each tribe uses a special mark or brand often placed on a specific body part of their camels. This brand or mark

differs in shape or location of branding from any other marks used by other tribes: camels are marked with an agreed brand placed on the side of the camel such as the upper back leg, or upper foreleg or the neck.

The Tebus' purposes of branding do not differ from those of other nomadic tribes in Africa and Asia. Branding is a means to determine a tribe's ownership of its animals, and thus their habitat, and which also implies their alliances, lineage and kinship. Identifying property in this way is a customary means that shall not be violated. Thus a tribe may not brand differently from its customary brands.

Some Tebu clans' brands may look very similar. A number of those brands are reduced into a drawing of a camel either standing or kneeling down as in the mark of "*Dorodro*" used by four clans with nuances that make them look dissimilar; or the mark "*Morzi*" used by seven clans with nuances also; and this indicates difference in ownership of camels on one hand, and indicates the ties among those clans, on the other hand, such as alliances, agreement in lineage, or sharing of habitat and locality.

List of Brands and Marks

Tribe	Symbol	Brand
Aderga	∨	Durudru
Arna	⌒	Artukun
Aḍobyya		Wāṣṣah
Amawiyah	⌒	Muzri
Ahiddah	∧∨	Yuḡu
Bishirah	∨∧	Wāṣṣah
Taoyah	∧⌒	Muzri
Tedimyya	∨	Durudru
Tramāh	∩	Darblāy
Trindira	∞	Yuḡu
Tersyah	⌒	Muzri
Tomortyah	⌒	Artukun
Tezeryah	∨	Durudru
Tozobah	∧∨∧	Muzri
Tshowadah		Nyeh
Tomara	⌒	Muzri

Tega	∨∧∨	Wāṣṣah
Dordakishi	∩	Artukun
Zoyah	∩	Artukun
Sardogya	∩	Artukun
Dhirsina	∨	Tumuri
Ġobadah	∩∪	Muzri
Kasseh	∩∪	Muzri
Kraseh	+	Truhi
Kosodah	∩∪	Muzri
Kattah	≡	Ağara
Madhah	∩∪	Anigdah
Mađana	∩∪	Nyeh
Mogadah	∩	Zar
Hortonah	∧∨	Durudru
Hoktiyah	∧	Gurti Dinga

Teda Camel Brand Symbols

CHAPTER THREE

Tedaga From a Linguistic and Historical Perspective

3.1: Codification Problem

Tebu language is not codified yet. Several attempts have been made to transcribe it in Latin alphabet, but they have not been successful, and this is due to a number of reasons; most notably transliteration which, by adopting the Latin alphabet, tends to eradicate African tongues from their historical and socio-linguistic milieu in order to forcibly settle them in a strange environment. Eventually, that attempt is only a tool for the inculcation of Western cultures and to spread their dominance with a view to obliterate Islamic, Afro-Arab cultures, which have so far formed the features of this historical socio-linguistic block of the inhabitants of the Sahara Desert and North Africa, under various denominations what so ever.

The following chart presents an alternative that springs from Tebu tribes' beliefs and tongues; and it is compatible with their pronunciation of words, their representation of connotations, as inspired from their heritage and faith. The Quranic patterned calligraphy of the Tebu tongue is irreplaceable, especially that all these tribes have embraced

Islamic faith since the 7th century, in addition to the compatibility of Quranic calligraphy with neighboring African languages.

Trans.	Tedaga	Kanuri	Tmašeq	Arabic
a	أ	أ	أ	أ
b	ب	ب	ب	ب
p	پ	پ		
t	ت	ت	ت	ت
<u>t</u>				ث
č	چ			
J	ج	ج	ج	ج
ḥ				ح
ḥ			خ	خ
d	د	د	د	د
<u>d</u>				ذ
r	ر	ر	ر	ر
z	ز		ز	ز
s	س		س	س
š	ش		ش	ش
ṣ	ص		ص	ص
ḍ	ض		ض	ض

t			ط	ط
z			ظ	ظ
‘				ع
ġ	غ		غ	غ
f		ف	ف	ف
q			ق	ق
k	ك	ك	ك	ك
g	گ	گ	گ	گ
l	ل	ل	ل	ل
m	م	م	م	م
n	ن	ن	ن	ن
ñ	ن			
h	ھ	ھ	ھ	ھ
w	و	و	و	و
y	ي	ي	ي	ي

In short vowels, tilt at the beginning of a word is expressed by letter *Alif* (ا) without *hamza*, which corresponds to /e/, while *hamza maftūħa* (ء) stands for /a/, and *hamza mađmūma* (آ) stands for /u/, and *hamza maksūra* (إ) stands for the sound /i/. But, in the middle of a word, these letters usually play the role of well-known Arabic “*harakat*” (diacritics).

Tebu language does not have sounds like: /ḥ/ ح; /t/ ت; /h/ ه; /d/ ذ; /ḡ/ غ; /f/ ف and /q/ ق and we notice how the sound /ṣ/ ص fades way in the sound /s/ س; and we also notice how vocabulary words that start with sound /f/ in Arabic start with sound /h/ in Tebu language; i.e.: Ar. *Fikr* فِكْر : T. *hukur* هُكْرُ meaning “thought” and Ar. *finjān* فِنْجَان : T. *hinjala* هِنْجَلَة meaning “cup”. Also, the sound /ṣ/ ص turns into /s/ س like for example in Ar. *ṣabr* صَبْر : T. *sabr* سَبْر “patience”, and /t/ ط into /t/ ت as in T. *tri* تْرِي to mean road Ar. *ṭarīq* طَرِيق with omission of /q/ ق.

The phenomenon that we have proven in most of the names we cited as examples here, as well as in verbs when isolated from their context, they all end in what we may call final ending sound /h/ ه. It is a very mild /h/ ه with which singular words end, but is not apparent in linking between words (such as in *yuzuh* (sun), and it is a mutant of Ar. *yudī* ’يُضِيء and is pronounced *yuzu* يُزْ without final /h/ sound as in the expression *yuzu čulukah* يُزْ تُشَلُّكَة: sunset.

3.2: Classification Problem

Tebu language with its two branches (Tedaga and Da-zaga) is classified under the Saharan language family of the Nilo-Saharan family group; however the older classification considered the Tebu language a part of an unidentified branch of the Hamite language group; it is a classification that has prevailed until recently, and was considered a basis to distinguish the languages of African neighboring stocks.

Reclus mentions that Tebu language (northern Teda and southern Daza) belong to a Hamite group neighboring Kanembu⁽¹⁾, Kanuri⁽²⁾, Zaghawa⁽³⁾, and Baili⁽⁴⁾ languages and negro and negroid (semi-negro) stocks and others settled in the Chad Basin and living in central and northern Sudan.⁽⁵⁾ He has tried to use what he termed as “succession of linguistic features” to explain the philological discrepancy he observed among those races, stressing that Teda language remains “pure and more genuine” than the languages of other neighboring stocks or tribes. And this is a feature that was corroborated by Nachtigal and reaffirmed by Reclus when he assumed the possibility that Teda language has no connection to Hamite group or Negro stocks.

The seclusion of the Tibesti Heights -cradle of the Tebus- allowed their language to develop in isolation and acquire some kind of singularity; and we can provide a collection of philological evidence to prove that Tebu language (or Tedaga specifically) represents “a nucleus of a linguistic family”, Reclus claimed. It can also be “a primitive linguistic model” that probably represents that unknown core, but it is most likely a model from which linguistic sub-branches have evolved and spread in Darfur, Waddai, Kanem, Bornu, and Bagirmi, as well as the dialects of most of central Sudan. In other words, languages that have evolved from this nucleus or - more precisely - the nucleus of this model (Tedaga), spread out and ex-

panded to become later known as a main division of the Hamite group.

Linguistic evidence traced and observed in the languages of African tribes and that denote the native speakers' "authenticity" -which is another word to express "timelessness" and "isolation"- is that Tedaga contains a first-level (or pure language) that was not subjected to alteration, induction or borrowing - as what happened later through borrowing from Arabic and French. This level which is the purest in terms of lexicography responds dramatically to etymological comparison with the oldest encoded language in the world: Sumerian,⁽⁶⁾ in such a way that proves to us that Tedaga dates way back to the same epoch when Sumerian language emerged in Mesopotamia. The best evidence on the timelessness and authenticity of Tedaga is that a number of its lexis is reduced lexically to the level of single phoneme. And a single phoneme - as we know - does not represent a specific linguistic meaning except in most primitive linguistic cases, which is what we clearly find in the Sumerian language. Hence, I do not hesitate to say that Tebu language (Tedaga) is the oldest African language that has ever been traced to date.

Classification of the Tebu language traces its origin way back to the Nilo-Saharan family; however, I have tried here to use the same approach I adopted in my book *Emegir: Sumerian: Proto-language Roots of Arabic and Afro-Asiatic Languages*⁽⁷⁾ to complete three applied tests:

- **First:** Appreciate the validity of the classification of Tebu tongue, on the basis of Landsberger's charts in African languages.
- **Second:** Appreciate the extent of impact and interaction (mutual borrowing) in which Tebu tongue has engaged across different times and the rooting of the lexicon by addressing the greatest number of vocabulary possible to discover the phases it had gone through and experienced until it settled in its present shape.
- **Third:** Juxtaposing the linguistic code with its social and historical counterpart, and develop the hypotheses that this juxtaposition leads to in terms of unknown pathways on the endemism of Tebu tribes.

3-3: The Genesis of Tedaga and Its Evolution over Time

We can trace three basic historical phases in Tebu accents, based on their vocabulary connotations and as follows:

Phase I: (up to the 7th century.)

Phase II: (from the 7th century up to late 18th century.)

Phase III: (from the 19th century up to the present time).

3.3.a: The First Phase

This stage dates way back in history and starts with the settlement of Tebu tribes in Tibesti Mountains, and proba-

bly much earlier - taking into account the theory of Teda connection with ancient Libyan Tedomansii tribe - and it extends up to the 7th century; that is to say until the Islamic conquest of North Africa.

The lexicon of this stage is characterized by the fact that it is most ancient, and dates back to what we might call the vocabulary of nature (as opposed to the vocabulary of culture), and we find in its lexicon all what is related to their primitive daily life: that is the names, especially those related to the environment, ancient tools, kinship ties, and desert lifestyles as known since ancient times. We also find in it a full record of wildlife which we assume that the Tebus have engaged in since B.C. times.

We can distinguish initial root-syllables ⁽⁸⁾ in the vocabulary of this phase. Its comparison with Sumerian language shows that the authenticity and primitivism of the Tebu tongue was shaped at a certain time since the fifth millennium B.C. Through the study of a number of its original vocabulary items, we have discovered that this tongue still retains old vocabulary items that have not changed in pronunciation and meaning, which allows us to assume unknown migration routes for the early phases of the emergence of this tongue and that start from Sumer (Mesopotamia) to Africa, or -on the other hand- assume alternating contact routes between the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa; its eastern part and desert part, either through Bab-el-Mandeb, or Sinai Desert; and the two propositions are equally very likely – so far. Though this

hypothesis seems currently strange enough, we do not find how to explain Teda and Sumerian languages' common primitive linguistic load but by assuming their contact or displacement from one common home that has, one day, pulled together in unity the Tebu ancestors with Sumerians or "blackheads" as they used to call themselves.

3.3.b: The Second Phase:

The second phase stretches from the date of the Islamic conquest of Africa through Egypt in the 7th century to the 19th century. In this stage, the Tebus borrowed a large number of vocabularies -about twenty percent of their current lexis I assume- of Islamic words related to the field of the religious creed, faith, shariah precepts and other cultural vocabulary of Arab-Muslim origin. These vocabulary items have been subjected to the local pronunciation rules and forms as necessitated by the absence of a number of sounds or letters in their tongue such as a the sound /f/ (as in the word هُكْر /*hukur*/ originally /*fikr*/), and the (Arabic glottal) sound (ق) /q/ as in the word كُكْغِلْهْ /*gulguleh*/ in the sense of thunder, and its origin is: قَقْلَهْ /*qalqalah*/), etc...

Among the vocabulary of this stage we have سَلِّيْ /*salli*/ with the meaning of Ar. صَلَّى /*ṣalla*/ or pray); اللَّهُزْ /*Allahar*/ prayer or Ar. عصر /*Asr*/ prayer; نِغَا /*Niga*/ marriage; or Ar. نِكَاح /*Nikah*/; كُدْرُهْ /*kudruh*/ as in Arabic قَدْر /*qadr*/ and قُدْرَهْ /*qudrah*/ or the price, estimated value or affordability... etc.⁽⁹⁾

3.3.c: The Third Phase:

This phase extends from the 19th century to the present time. During this phase, North Africa and the Sahara Desert have been exposed to a continued wave of explorative (Orientalist) journeys that have paved the way for the European invasion, and French colonialism in particular.

In this stage, we note that Tebu dialects have borrowed a number of French, and classical and colloquial Arabic vocabulary items. Several French words have permeated the Tebu tongue; but such words were so limited in number that we can identify and isolate them easily. Their tongue continued to be affected by the Arabic milieu that has become more dynamic and connected.

The lexicon of this stage was the smallest in terms of number, but was liable over time to acquire more vocabulary items, especially the names of modern tools as they also settled in the Arab lexicon (both classical and colloquial), and which now represents a major source of borrowing. Among the vocabulary of this stage: بُنْدُكْ /*bundug*/ for Arabic بندقية /*bunduqiya*/ or rifle; بَضَا /*baḍa*/ for Arabic بِضَاعَة /*biḍā'a*/ or merchandise; كَرَهَا /*karha*/ for Arabic word سَيَّارَة /*sayyara*/ or car, and it is originally كَرَهْبَة /*karahba*/ for car in the Libyan dialect; and finally هِنْجَلَة /*hinjalah*/ for Arabic word فَنجَان /*finjān*/ or cup. Among the words of French origin: تَشْمُسْ /*tšumis*/ or shirt, and the French origin is (chemise), despite the fact that this French word testifies unmistakably to its Arabic origin قَمِيص /*qamīṣ*/; كَوِيَار

/kwiyyār/ for French word (cuillère) or spoon, and so on.

We note that the Tebu tongue in its two branches (Tedaga and Dazaga) has borrowed a number of vocabulary items from other African languages and dialects such as Hausa, and namely lexicon related to agriculture and the names of flora. The reason for that -as it is evident- is that Tebu tribes were not familiar with Agriculture as a basic mode of production until later phases of their settling around the foothills of Tibesti ranges and around nearby oases, when the Tebu people finally reconciled themselves with settling down instead of their old lifestyles based on hunting, protection of caravans and the slave trade which was the only income source for the Tebu people that guarantees them provision of a lifeline in an almost barren environment that does not offer even the lowest of life conditions.

3.4: Tedaga from a Linguistic Historical Perspective

The substance of my book “*Emegir: Sumerian*” is to prove the existence of what I called an initial linguistic load that starts with Sumerian and then spreads out according to variable spread pathways to form a natural lexicon for all the languages of the Afro-Asiatic system, and even any of the neighboring languages that have come into contact with them. I made Arabic, as we know it nowadays - and as it is in its historical layers –the pivot of that spread movement. And in that book –*Emegir: Sumerian*- I noted that tracing the Sumerian section demonstrates vari-

ous pathways in which words have migrated, changed and mutated, remained latent or appeared, connected or secluded; and manifested themselves in all other forms of interaction and communication. This does not stop at the limits of phonological similarities and symmetries that can be found as an initial linguistic load in all languages in the region, but is also related to structural formations that have produced an important part of the vocabulary of the Arabic lexicon in particular, and that of the Afro-Asiatic lexicon in general.

I chose here to subject this approach to an applied exercise to verify the truth of what I hypothesized in the book “*Emegir: Sumerian*”, which was limited to Arabic and ancient Egyptian. The main conclusion was the presence, spread and mutation of the initial Sumerian linguistic load I referred to, as I mentioned, in the Tedaga language, and which is evidenced by the following comparative glossary. I am inclined to generalize this hypothesis to all languages and dialects that bordered, fell into, or were influenced by the old Afro-Asiatic system:

Sumerian	Tedaga
<i>Arua</i> : Sacrifice (of cattle).	<i>Arruh</i> : Goat (male).
<i>Bir</i> : Locusts.	^{am} <i>Birry</i> : Locusts.
<i>Buru</i> : Fruitful trees.	<i>Bāri^h</i> : Farm.
<i>Buru</i> : Any hot season.	<i>Burru^h</i> : Summer.
<i>Dāra</i> : Scarf.	<i>Dāru^h</i> : Sheet; scarf.
<i>Dida</i> : Bear.	<i>Daye^h</i> : Drink.
<i>Dili</i> : Single; alone.	<i>Dili</i> : Single; alone.

Dumu: Son; daughter, child.

Gaba: Chest; breast.

Gana: Form.

Gig: Illness.

Gu: Neck; nape.

Gu: sound.

Gu: Eat.

Gu, Gug: War; dispute.

Gug: Bread.

Guru: Cut into shares.

Ĝin: Stability; steadiness.

Háda: Dry out.

Hu: Fish.

Hub: Trench; abyss.

Hud: Morning.

Imi: Mud; a mud board.

Irm: Man; group; tribe.

Ka: Speech; mouth.

Ka: Speech; mouth.

Kin: Letter.

Niduba: Banquet; food.

Pa: Gather, brother.

Sanga: Make a decision.

Si: Stand.

Su: Go far away; far away.

Še: Rain.

Še: Cook.

Šig: Ice; hail.

Ti: Rib; side.

Tuk, Tuku: play a musical instrument.

Tutukte: Drum beating.

Uru: High.

Ḍamma^h: Girl; daughter.

Gube^h: Chest; breast.

Gine^h: Color; form.

Gugu: Fever.

Gu: Neck, collar.

Ka: Language.

Gu^h: Food; cooking pot.

Gu^h: War; dispute.

Gu^h: Food; cooking pot.

Guru: Some; part; share.

Guni: Urban; city.

Gude^h: Thirsty.

Husu: Fish.

Gibi: Grave; hole.

Huḍu: Sunrise.

Imme^h: Stone.

Arbi: Tribe.

Ka: Language.

Ku^h: Mouth.

Key: Send.

Ndube^h: Banquet; food.

Pa^h: Relatives.

Sanga: cut off (plural).

Šuṣ: Stop.

Šu^h: Leg; foot.

Šay: Spray.

Šey: Taste; flavor.

Šigi: Ice; hail.

Tuyi: Elbow.

Tukte: Dancer's movement.

Tukte: Dancer's movement.

Uru^h: Above.

The bottom line of these examples is that the Tebu tongue in its two branches (Teda and Daza) is a primitive tongue that dates way back to the settling of the foremost tribes in North Africa and the Sahara Desert. Sumerian singular and dual morphemes have been incorporated therein as they are now although they hit some change in pronunciation forms (phonological patterns), but that change did not deviate from their fundamental structure in terms of identical or similar consonants that have common or compatible contexts.

While we find that such root morphemes which constitute most of classical Arabic lexicon have been formed by addition and affixation and formed the “triple” roots known in Arabic lexicon,⁽¹⁰⁾ they remained in their initial state in the Tebu tongue. It is no secret that the main reason behind that is the isolation of the Tebu community and its presence in one of the outermost extremes of the major flow or mobility orbits in the Near East and Northern and Eastern Africa.

We take into account two major pathways here; the Tebu tongue, in its origin, dates way back, according to what we mentioned above, to Sumerian whose trajectories and migration pathways we could be absolutely certain of until it settled in the Sahara Desert; however, its continuance is attributed to borrowing / lending and interaction across various times where it has come into close contact with the tongues of African and Arab communities. This means,

from another perspective, that this tongue classified among the Saharan branch of the Nilo-Saharan family, encloses in its lexicon a good deal of Afro-Asiatic vocabulary items, while in terms of its (phonological/ morphological) aspect it remained under the impact of its isolation and self-seclusion just to develop its own morphological and then rhetorical systems.

3.5: Comparative Index (Teda-Arabic)

Tedaga	Arabic
<i>Abba</i> أَبَا : Father.	' <i>Ab</i> أب : Father.
<i>Abaw</i> أَبَوُ : Needle.	' <i>Ibrah</i> إبرة : Needle.
<i>Abuh</i> أَبُهُ (p. of 'Aba) : Finger.	' <i>Usbu</i> أُصْبِعُ : Finger.
<i>Adibi</i> أَدِيبِي : Woman.	<i>Dabba</i> إِمْرَأَةٌ دَبَّاءُ : Hairy woman.
<i>Allahar</i> أَلْهَزُ : Asr prayer time.	' <i>Al'asr</i> الْعَصْرُ : Asr prayer time.
<i>Am̄sono</i> امصُنُو : Young man.	<i>Ṣonw</i> صَنُو : Full of brother.
<i>Anba</i> أَنْبَا : Benefit.	<i>Naf</i> نَفْعُ : Benefit.
<i>Arruh</i> أَرُهُ : Goat.	' <i>Arwiyyah</i> أَرُوِيَّةُ : She-goat.
<i>Arruh</i> أَرُهُ : Spirit, Soul.	<i>Ar-Rūh</i> الرُّوحُ : Spirit, Soul.
<i>Bizzeḥ</i> بَزَّةُ : Poverty.	<i>al-Bazzu</i> البَزُّ : Plunder; extort.
<i>Bizzi</i> بَزِّي : Dome; hill.	<i>Basaqa</i> بَسَقَ : Grow high.
<i>Buh</i> بُهُ : Big; vast.	<i>Bahw</i> بَهُو : Vast open land.
<i>Buli</i> بُلِّي : Clean.	<i>Balij</i> بَلِيحُ : Bright.
<i>Burwa</i> بُرُوا : Rich.	<i>Barah</i> بَرَهُ : plump (women); strength; fat (in camels)
<i>Busāhu</i> بُسَاهُو : Sand.	<i>Bassa</i> بَسَّ : break up into fragments.

Ča (Cha) چَا : Drink.

Čak (Chak) چَاك : Run.

Čirri شَرِي : Beside.

Čub جُب : Stab.

Čubu جُبُو : Eat.

Čuhura چُهْرَا : Birds.

Čuruk چُرُك : Go out.

Dahu دَهُو : Head.

Do'ayyih دَائِيَه : Prayer call.

Durussu دُرُسُو : Tall and big.

Gabur گَبُر : Cavern.

Gāli كَالِي : valuable; expensive.

Gulguleh كَلْكَلِيَه : Thunder.

Guni كُنِي : City.

Hinjalah هِنَجَلَه : Cup.

Hhkur هُكُر : Thought.

Hwih هُوَه : Bottom; abyss.

Immi اِمِّي : Mountain; stones.

Ijeh اِيَجَه : Water.

Kidi كِيِي : Dog.

Kidih كِيِه : drum.

Basbas بَسْبَس : Waste land.

Ša', Ja' شَأْ، جَأْ : Order camel to drink water.

Ša'a شَأْآ : Go before.

Ša'w شَأْو : Race.

Šarīr شَرِير : Side.

Jabba جَبْ : Cut.

Bajja بَجْ : Stab and cut.

Ja'ba جَابْ : Gain.

Safir صَافِرْ : Birds.

Zuhār ظُهَار : Feathers.

Šuraki شُرَكِي : Rapid walking.

Dahw دَهُو : Brain.

Do'a' دُعَاء، **Da'wa** دُعَاة : Prayer call.

Dirwās دِرْوَاَس : Big-size camels.

Qabr قَبْر : Tomb.

Ġali غَالِي : valuable; expensive.

Qalqalah قَلْقَلَه : Thunder sound.

Kin كِن : Home.

Finjān فِنْجَان : Cup.

Kikr كِكر : Thought.

Huwwah هُوَه : Bottom; abyss.

'Amīm أَمِيم : Rock; stones.

'Ujāj أُجَاَج : Salty water.

Kadd كَدَّ : Dog disease.

Kadkadah كَدَكَدَه : Drum beat.

Kiṣī كِشِي : Belly.

Kiya كِيَا : Plain, Easy.

Kizān كَزَن : Illness.

Kubah كُبَّة : Hand.

Kudi كُدِي : Cloud.

Kudruh كُدْرَه : Price.

Kugaya كُغِيَّة : Hen.

Kuh كُه : Mouth.

Kuruh كُرَه : Short.

Kutuba كُتْبَا : Tribal constitution

Lam لَم : Blame.

Lamar لَمَر : Occasion; event;
incident.

Larḍu لَرَضُو : Country; Earth.

Lašs لَشَا : Isha time.

Lawu لَوُو : Side.

Mahar مَاهَر : Maghreb (sun-
set).

Midah مِدَه : Speech, Midi مِدِي :
word.

Mašah مَشَه : Food.

Malāw مَلَاو : Crowd of people.

Ndubeh نُدْبِه : Banquet.

Sabr سَبِر : Patience.

Kuṣya كُشِيَّة : Belly of a lizard.

Ki' كِيء , **Ka'** كَاء : Coward.

Kuzāz كُزَاز : Tetanus.

Qazal قَزَل : Worst lameness.

Kaff كَف : Hand.

'Akda أَكْدَى : To rain a little.

Qadr قَدْر : Value.

Qaddara قَدَّر : Estimate a value.

Quwayqah قُوَيْقَه : Egg.

Qayq قَيْق : Hens' sound.

Kuh كُه : Sniff ones mouth flavor.

'Akra أَكْرَى : To be short.

Kutub كُتُب : Books.

Lawm لَوْم : Blame.

Al-'amr الأَمْر : Occasion; event;
incident.

'Arḍ أَرْض : Earth.

'Išā' عِشَاء : Isha time.

'Alwa أَلْوَى : Turn one's head
side aside.

Maghreb مَغْرَب : Sunset time.

Mad' مَدْع : Telling.

Maš' مَشْع : Way of eating.

Mal' مَلَأ : Crowd of people.

M'adabah مَأْدِبَة : Banquet.

Ṣabr صَبِر : Patience.

Suh سُه : Leg.
Ṣalliyy صَلَّي : Prayer.
Ṣu (p. of Ṣama) صو : Eye.
Ṣuli صَلِّي : Egg.
Ṣeh شِهْ : Ear.
Ṣīdanu شِدَنُو : Fly.
Ṣīni شِنِي : Waterskin.
Ṭabah تَبَّه : Tobacco.
Ṭamannuh تَمَّئُه : Expensive.
Ṭat تَتَّ : Walk; go away.

Tazar تَازَة : Town.
Tibi تَبِّي : Food.

Tri طَرِيق : Road.
Tiri تَرِي : Beautiful.

Tuli تَلِي : Palm date.
Turi تُرِي : Bucket.
Ṭāṣuh طَاصُه : Plate.
Ṭuh طُهْ : Neck.
Umri أَمْرِي : Man.
Warradah وَرَدَّة : Camels drinking water.
Yala يَلَا : Family, household; kinship.
Yarkah يَرْكَهْ : Ravine; incision.

Sāq سَاق : Leg.
Salāt صَلَاة : Prayer.
Ṣabei صَبِي : Eye pupil.
ṢulṢul صَلَّصَل : Bird.
Ṣah صَهْ : Hush.
Ṣaydan صَيْدَن : Fly.
Ṣan شَن : Waterskin.
Ṭabġ تَبَّغ : Tobacco.
Ṭamīn تَمِين : Expensive.
Ta'a تَأَى : Go before or ahead; precede.
Tazir-bu (Ly.), Tozeur (Tu.).
Tabi تَبِّي : kind of dates.
Taba تَبَا : Spoil.
Ṭarīq طَرِيق : Road.
Tar تَار : Fine plump youth.
Tarrah تَرَّة : Beautiful lady.
Tal تَال : Small palm tree.
Turfah تُرْفَهْ : Drinking vessel.
Ṭās طَاس : Mug.
Ṭawq طَوَّق : Necklace.
'Imru' اِمْرُو : Man.
Wāridah وَارِدَة : Camels drinking water.
Āl آل (الرجل) : Family, household; kinship.
Raqwah رَقْوَة : Sand dunes beside ravine.

Yurum يُرُم : Lamb.

Yuzuh يَزُوه : Sun.

Zunduh زُنْدُوه : Bad guy.

Arima أَرِمَه : Fully feeded (for cattle).

Yuḍi يَضِيء : Shine.

Muzannad مُزَنَّد : Avaricious; moody. *Zindiq* زِنْدِيْق : heretic.

3.6: Summary of Main Points and Prospects

A - Tebu tongue is not yet codified; and it is an old primitive tongue. Its lexicon springs from two main sources: Sumerian singular and dual morphemes, Arabic language triple roots, along with variation of local speech forms. This book is, perhaps, the first attempt in Arabic language to codify and explore Tebu language lexical and phonological/morphological structure.

B - Tebu tongue consists of three basic stages. First: from its coming into being and until the 7th century (the Islamic conquest of North Africa); second: from the 7th century and until the 18th century (the European invasion); third: from the 18th century and up to the present. We can also expect a fourth phase in the future represented by a morphological merger of Tebu language into Arabic; that is to say without cancelling the Tebu lexicon, but rather by gradual substitution of Arabic morphological structures.

C - Writing Teda (as well as Daza) with Qur'an alphabet (Arabic formal letters) will resettle the Tebu tongue in its linguistic environment: (the Afro-Asiatic group); its

social environment (unity of origin of North Africa and Sahara Desert inhabitants); its historical environment (major mobility pathways), and doctrinal environment (Islam). It will also protect it against attempts of Westernization and Christianization represented in attempts to transliterate this tongue in Latin alphabet.

D - Tebu tongue cannot be written except by inscribing / uttering the four main diacritical marks / Arabic vowel points (“*Fatha*” vowel point for *a*, “*Damma*” vowel point for *u*, *Kasra* vowel point for *i*, and *Imāla*). “*Imāla*” achieves four indispensable pronunciation shades /cases in uttering; and these are located between “*imāla*” of vowel sounds and “*imāla*” of elated vowel sound (“*almad*”): (short *imāla* of *kasr* sound, prolonged *imāla* of *kasr*; short *imāla* of *Damm*, prolonged *imāla* of *Damm*); in all these seven vowel sounds there is enough to protect against recourse to vowels used in Latin transliteration.

E - In order to scrutinize the pronunciation of some compound phonemes in the Tebu tongue we have to trace them back to their basic elements: uvular nasal consonant /ġ/, for example, should be read as a vowelless /n/ *nun* (ن) followed by a Yemeni /q/ (ق), according to its occurrence in the word (نڨ، نڨ، نڨ، نڨ)، without considering it as one character, and without the need to invent new writing symbols strange to the typical well-known script. The same applies to the compound phoneme /ñ/ which we trace back to vowelless *nūn* (ن) followed by a vowelless

/ya/ (ي), according to its occurrence in the word (نَيّا, nya نِيّ, nyi نِيّ, nyu نِيّ, nye نِيّ).

F - A final note: Through my field and theoretical survey, I do not see any future for the Tebus tongue except by gradual and progressive reintegration / fusion into Arabic language. It is now the only mother source that has absorbed all old forms of interaction and borrowing / lending, and that has preserved its social effectiveness, and achieved the Tebu tribes' social entity ever since the 7th century.

APPENDICES

4.1 : Observations by Explorers and Geographers

4.1.a : Frederick Hornemann (1797)

4.1.b : Elisée Reclus (1868)

4.1.c : Mohamed A. Hassanein (1923)

4.2 : Sultan Shahai

4-1: The Tebus in Observations by Explorers and Geographers

Accounts of the Tebus were indirectly reported until they the first explorers and geographers who traversed the Libyan Sahara Desert towards unknown Africa in the 18th century came in direct contact with them; before that, we almost find nothing but a small number of signs that have probably indicated the Tebus' self- seclusion or their preference to stay away from aliens. Several travelers recounted their accommodation by the Desert tribes, however, we find no one talking of their accommodation by the Tebus, though some of them recounted incidents of being escorted by Tebu guides or of meeting them as visitors. For this reason, such writings usually content themselves by describing their outward appearance or through secondary sources. Explorers used to pass by Tebu tribes occasionally to depict their villages, language and mode of production of food in a highly austere and arid desert milieu, as well as their relationships with other neighboring peoples, and any other similar features that they perceive in their social and economic way of life. In this appendix, we will content with presenting samples of writings from the three last centuries that preceded the 20th century, and be restricted to three sources:

- Memoirs of great traveler Frederick Hornemann (1797)

- Sightings by geographer Elisée Reclus (1892)
- Memoirs of Mohamed Ahmed Hassanein (1923)

I will also correct a few mistakes in the original texts, comment thereupon, and correct some of the names of the towns (and regions), and stocks; and introduce them.

4-1: a- Hornemann's Observations (1797)⁽¹⁾

“Westward from Fezzan, and to the south and south-west, the country is inhabited by the Tebus, who command also the country from Fezzan towards Egypt, from which it is said to be separated by a large desert. The nearest inhabited places north of Tebu are Augila and Siwah. Qn the south they, are bounded by wandering Arabs; and on the west beyond Fezzan, by the dominions of the Tuaregs.

The Tebus are not quite black; their growth is slender; their limbs are well turned ; their walk is light and Swift; their eyes are quick, their lips thick, their nose is not turned up, and not large; their hair is very long, but less curled than that of the Negroes. They appear to have much natural capacity, but they have too few opportunities of improving it; being surrounded by barbarous nations or Mahometans. (...) they are accused of being mistrustful, treacherous, and deceitful. The Fezzanians do not travel singly with them, for they are afraid of being surprised and murdered at the instigation of the company with whom they travel.

Their clothing consists of sheep-skins, which they dress

with or without the wool; the former -for- winter, the latter for summer; (...) when they go to Fezzan clothe themselves like the Burmuans, in large blue shirts; their head is wrapt in a dark blue cloth in such a manner, that their eyes only are seen. Their weapons are lance about six feet long, and a knife from fifteen to twenty inches long, which. They carry on their left arm, the sheath being fastened to a ring of leather about three inches wide, which they bear on their wrist.

The Tebus are divided into several tribes, the principal of which are, the Tebu of Bilma⁽²⁾, whose chief resides at Dyrke⁽³⁾, one day's journey from Bilma. This tribe is a good deal mixed, having; established itself forcibly among the Negroes who lived in that district to this day, the inhabitants of Bilma are mostly Negroes; in Dyrke on the contrary, they are Tebu, This tribe carries on a commerce between Fezzan and Burnu, (...) for they travel in small companies of six or eight men ; but on account of their bad behavior, the slaves (...) , from Burnu; who have been freed do not return with them, as the poor people are afraid of being plundered and sold again, or murdered by them.

The religion of the Tebu of Bilma, is the Mahometan; but it is said they hold it very cheap.

The tribe of the Tebu Rschade, or the Rock Tebu⁽⁴⁾, “so called from their houses being built under rocks, and they frequently live even in caves, before which they build huts of rushes in a very coarse manner, for their summer resi-

dence. The chief⁽⁵⁾ of this tribe lives in Abo; next to which Tibesty is the largest place". The Tebu Rschade go in multitudes to Fezzan, at which time, they clothe themselves like the Tuareg; however, I have seen several wearing their sheepskins. This tribe is reported to be good Mahometans.

The Tebu Burgu⁽⁶⁾ are said to be still Pagans; they inhabit a place that abounds in dates, corn, and grass.

A company of Fezzanians having this year been plundered by some of the people of Burnu, as they were travelling from Bergami⁽⁷⁾ to Mourzouk, the sultan of Fezzan sent a small army into their country: it consisted of thirty-two men on horseback, seventy Arabs on foot, and about two hundred Tebus of the Rschade tribe.

The Arabs went from Mourzouk into Gatron, fifty-four miles south of that place; to Fegherie⁽⁸⁾ thirty-three miles south-south-west of Gatron ; then to Abo seven days, ... (reckoning a day's journey eighteen miles.) They stole about two hundred people, the greatest part of whom were sold in a treacherous manner.

Farther towards the east lies Arna⁽⁹⁾, the principal place of another Tebu tribe, at the distance of five or six days.

South-south-west of Augila dwell the Febabo⁽¹⁰⁾, who are exposed to the yearly depredations of the Arabs of Benghazi, who go out with the Arabs of Augila, to steal men and dates.

The distance to Febabo was stated to me by the Augilarians to be ten days journey, (twenty-one miles per day,) and that during the first six days no water is to be found. The most southerly of the Tebu tribes are the Nomadic Tebu, who live in the Bahr-el- Gazel⁽¹¹⁾ which is said to be a long and fruitful valley, seven days journey from Bergami northward. “

- Observations on Horneman’s Expedition

In his “*Geographical Observations on Horneman’s Expedition*”, Major Renell (pp.174-179) wrote:

“The empires of Houssa and Bornu consisting of various lesser states appear to divide the space along the Niger, from the quarter of Tombuctoo⁽¹²⁾, to that of Darfoor, eastward; and to extend a considerable way to the north, beyond the general line of the river.

Two considerable nations, also, the Tibbo and Tuarick, appear to divide the remainder of the space, northward, within the Deserts; embracing Fezzan on every side but the north; and closing on the maritime states along the Mediterranean, from the Desert which shuts up Egypt on the west, to Mount Atlas. Mr. Horneman appears to be the first person who has given these general ideas of the Tibbo and Tuarick; and they merit attention.

The Tibbo, or Tibbo possess the eastern, and the Tuarick the western, and most extensive part of this vast tract Fezzan separates them, on the north : and its meridian

forms nearly their common boundary, until they close southward on Kashna and Bornu.

According to Mr. Horneman, the settlements of the Tibbo, begin at the south and south-east of Fezzan, and extend from thence eastward, along the south of the Harutsch⁽¹³⁾ and of the Augilan Desert to the wide sandy Desert of the Lebetae- (Libya), which shuts up Egypt, on the west. This Desert forms the eastern boundary of the Tibbo. On the south, wandering Arabs possess the tract between them and the empire of Bournu; and on the west, are the Tuarick of Asben (Agades), Tagazee.

The Tibbo are said to be divided into the following 1. Rshade, (Rock) Tibbo. 2. Febabo. 3. Burgu, or Birgu. 4. Arna 5. Bilma. 6. Nomadic Tibbo.

1. The Rshade⁽¹⁴⁾ -This tribe possesses the country adjoining to the south and south-east of Fezzan (...) the Rock Tibbo, are Abo and Tibesty; (...) , by means of a route given by Mr. Horneman.

The Tibbo Rsbade, or Rock Tibbo, are so denominated from their building their habitations under rocks, or living in caves ; before which they build huts of rushes, for their summer's residence.

Some idea of the tract inhabited by this tribe, may be collected from Mr. Beaufoy's account of the country between Fezzan and Bounu, ... and from Mr. Homeman's description of the white Harutsch. The road (...) from Te-

missa⁽¹⁵⁾; from which town, seven journies bring us to the plain of Tibesty said to be inhabited by Mahomedans; which is indeed the religion of the Rock Tibbo. The last four days lead across what is termed as a hilly desert of sand." So far Mr. Beaufoy's informant.

The white Harutsch, crossed by Mr. Horneman, is in this vicinity, and extends southward, (...) from Augila to Mourzouk: so that it is not improbable that the (...) "hilly desert" just mentioned, is a continuation of the white Harutsch. What renders it more probable is, that Mr. Horneman was told, that certain black mountains, which he suspected to be a part of the black Harutsch, are crossed in the way from Fezzan to Bournu. And it has been shown, that the black Harutsch adjoins to the white Harutsch on the east; and this arrangement may continue, southward: in which direction Mr. Horneman was informed the black Harutsch stretched, beyond the line of his route.

This gentleman describes the hilly part of the white Harutsch to consist of "loose friable limestone" in which *small creature fossils* are imbedded so loosely, that they may be taken out with ease. No rocks therefore are more likely to contain natural caves or are more easily excavated, when wanted. This tract, therefore, seems, as much from description, as position, to be that inhabited by the Rock Tibbo.

A circumstance in Herodotus, leads one to conclude, that these are the Ethiopian Troglodyte⁽¹⁶⁾ hunted by the

Qaramantes. The Garamantes, I trust, I have made to appear, are the Fezzaners ; and here are a tribe of Troglodytae, on their very borders. They are said, in the same place, to be very swift of foot Mr. Horneman says, that the walk of the Tibbos is light and swift ; as if remarkably so : but then he speaks of the Tibbo, collectively ; and not of any particular tribe. But, on the other hand, it appears that he saw more of the Rock Tibbo, than any other : for he says, “they go in multitudes to Fezzan” ; and it may be that his opinion of the nation at large was, in a great measure, formed by what he saw of this tribe.

A Strange particular is related of the Troglodytae, by Herodotus. He says that their language bears some resemblance to the screaming of bats.

2. The Febabo⁽¹⁷⁾ - This tribe is found at 10 journies SW from Augila ; between which territories, on the side of Augila, is a desert (...) void of water. And notwithstanding this circumstance, and the distance from the sea coast of Bengasi (20 days, at least), they are annually exposed to the depredations of the people of Bengasi, who, joined with those of Augila, go to steal men and dates. ...

3. Burgu or Birgu⁽¹⁸⁾ - (This must not be mistaken for Bergoo, a state situated in tee quarter of Darfoor.) It appears in D'Anville and Delisle, as well as in Leo⁽¹⁹⁾, under the name of Berdoa⁽²⁰⁾; but the name is too often repeated by Mr. Horneman to be a mistake of his. This tribe resides to the south of Febabo, at the distance of some days; and

at eighteen, eastward from Tibesty. Hence the Burgu tribe may be placed S a little W from Augila, and about the parallel of the south of Fezzan.

Their territory is said to be fertile, but they bear the character of (...) robbers. A caravan of Fezzanners, from Begarmi and Bournu, about the time of Mr. Horneman's visit, was plundered by them. The Sultan of Fezzan sent a force to punish them; the smallness of which, seems to prove that the Burgu are either not numerous, or are very much dispersed. (...)

Mr. Beaufoy relates (ch. iv. 1790,) that on another occasion, the Tibbo of Tibesty plundered a caravan of Fezzan ... It appears by the geography, that the caravans from the SE are much exposed to the attacks by Burgu and Tibesty, in their route to Fezzan. (...)

4. Arna⁽²¹⁾ - This tribe is said to live five or six journeys to the eastward of the Burgu; and must therefore border on the sandy Desert of the Libya. Mr. Horneman appears to have known them only by name.

5. Bilma⁽²²⁾ - This is the principal tribe of the Tibbo. They occupy the middle space, between Fezzan and Bournu, adjacent to the great Desert of Bilma. Their capital of Dyrke is said to be one journey from Bilma; which may be the Balmala of Edrisi. They carry on commerce between Boumu and Fezzan. The Billa of Ptolemy may possibly be meant for Bilma; but is too far to the eastward.

Mr. Beaufoy states the distance to be 45 days of the salt caravans from Agadez⁽²³⁾ to the lake of Dumboo; which is situated within the Desert of Bilna. These, at 13 G. miles per day, give a total of 585 miles. The interval on the construction is about 60 less. Either then, Agadez is more to the west, or Dumboo more to the east. Two circumstances render it probable that Agadez should be more to the west: Mr. Magrah was told that it lay S 50''' W from Fezzan: and that it lay N from Kashna. That part of the General Map of 1798 has not been altered. ...

6. Nomadic Tibbo⁽²⁴⁾ - These are the most southerly of the tribes that are seated in the Babr-el-Gazel, which, Mr. Horneman was told was a long and fruitful valley, 7 jour-nies north of Begarmi. ... Their distance of 7 journies N of Begarmi would place the Nomadic Tibbo within the empire of Bournu. Perhaps, in Bounu, as in *times* both ancient and modern. Nomadic tribes find plenty of room: but whether so far southward, may be a doubt, for a river of the name of Wadi-el-Gazel, is said to flow even into the Desert of Bilma⁽²⁵⁾.”

4-1-b: Observations by Elisée Reclus⁽²⁶⁾ (1868)

a- Hamito Group- Tebu Branch⁽²⁷⁾

The real Tebu links connections are a subject of debate among anthropologists, and perhaps we can now identify them in light of modern material brought recently by Dr. Nachtigal to Europe, and published partly in his memorial

work: “Sahara and Sudan”.

Tebu range includes all the Sahara Desert east from 12th longitudinal degree to the Egyptian border, and southward in from Fezzan to Kanem, Addai, and Darfur. Tebu are branches:

1. The Tedas or northern Tebus, and they are analogous to the “Tadamansii”, the Garamantes’ tribe that Ptolemy identified the location in Tripolitania (Tripoli).
2. The Dazas or southern Tebus, who have gradually integrated into Kanembu, Kanuri, Zoghawa, Baele, and other Negro and semi-Negro stocks in central and eastern Sudan.

Tebu language fits into this context perfectly, starting from primitive northern Tedas to the more civilized Dazas, and to Kanuri and other tribes that inhabit Chad Basin. But natural and linguistic features usually alternate. I mean that dissonance – at different levels – is a clear between ethnic and philological situations. And it can be found in its pure and most authentic state among northern Tedas; a property that Nachtigal has unmistakably demonstrated; however, we must not distinguish Tedas’ natural pattern from the pattern of *Imuhagh* adjacent to Tuareg (Hamitic Berbers) in the west of the Sahara Desert.

Teda language does not show any link either with Hamito or Negro groups. It sounds unique ⁽²⁸⁾ in such a way as to form a nucleus of a widespread Language Family, with branches scattered in Darfur, Addai, Kanem, Bornu,

Bakarme; and in general in most of central Sudan. In this region, it seems deeply influenced by Negro traits, but such effects cannot be detected in Tibesti Heights which may have once been the cradle of the Tebu race and center for the spread of their language.

Tebus must be regarded as a branch of the Hamito stump; actually, during their long isolation in Tibesti, the Tebus have had enough time to develop their independent dialect that cannot be is tracked down up to the source of Tebu: Berber vernacular. ⁽²⁹⁾

b – Tebus: Inhabitants of Tibesti ⁽³⁰⁾

“The Tebu, or rather Tubus, according to Nachtigal, are the " Men of Tu," that is, of the rocks, and their Arab name, Tebu Reshadeh, is merely a repetition of the same designation, “Reshad” having the meaning of "rock" or "mountain".

The Tebus, called also Tedas in the north, are in fact essentially rock-dwellers, and a large number are even troglodytes, inhabiting natural caverns, or else spaces amid the boulders roofed in with branches of the palm or acacia.

The Tebus range over a vast extent of the Eastern Sahara, where they are the dominant race from, the southern part of the Kebabo oasis in Kufra to Fezzan, and from Wa-

janga to Kouwar, on the route between Murzuk and Kuka. Their domain thus exceeds 200,000 square miles in extent.

The race appears to have undergone a general displacement in the direction from north to south. At least they formerly possessed the Kufra oases, where they now hold only a few poor tributary villages their settlements have also become rare in Fezzan, whereas in the south their emigrants have established themselves in large numbers in Kanem and Bornu⁽³¹⁾.

But ever since the name has been known to the Arabs, the centre of their power has been the mountains of Tibesti, the country of "rocks". In these highlands they have dwelt probably from the remotest times, for no warlike expeditions ever penetrate to these isolated uplands. Here they are surrounded on all sides by deserts of difficult access, far removed from all the great caravan routes, and holding out little attraction to aggressive or marauding tribes.

For any other people suddenly transported to these barren highlands existence would be impossible, so deficient is the country in supplies. Even for the natives, certain valleys, amongst others those opening towards the north-west are quite uninhabitable. In this arid region scarcity is the normal condition for months together."

After the summer rains the goats find the necessary pasture, and then yield in abundance the milk which forms

the staple food of the Tedas. They also gather the berries of certain plants, raise a few crops, and collect the fruit of the dum-palm, elsewhere held in small account. Nor is even the coloquintida despised, which mixed with various ingredients to remove its bitterness, is ground to a flour and kneaded with dates, in this form constituting one of their chief alimentary resources. During the date season the Tedas resort to the palm groves to gather the "fallings" which are the common property of all, or to purchase provisions in exchange for animals, arms, and woven goods. Meat they rarely eat, never killing their animals except when old, diseased, or wounded; but then the whole carcass is consumed. After being dried in the sun, it is pounded with stones so as to crush the bones and soften the sinews. The very skins are eaten, and during Nachtigal's visit the shoes stolen from him while asleep served to regale some daring thieves. Condemned by the scarcity of supplies to a life of extreme frugality, the Tedas can nevertheless occasionally consume enormous quantities of food without any inconvenience; but such gastronomic exploits are censured by all who pride themselves on their good manners.

Almost constantly living on such a frugal diet, the natives of Tibesti are naturally far from stout; nevertheless all are robust and surprisingly agile. The stranger is amazed to see them bounding along and keeping pace with the swiftest camels during forced marches of several days.

Mostly of middle size, they are perfectly proportioned in all their limbs, except the hands and feet, which seem rather too small. The complexion is lighter than that of the blacks of the southern plains, nor do their features present the flat nose, thick lips, or other marked characteristics of the true Negro. The hair is longer and less crisp, and the beard fuller than that of the Sudanese peoples. Their women are charming while still in the bloom of youth, unrivalled amongst their sisters of North Africa for their physical beauty, pliant and graceful figures.

Amongst these hardy highlanders diseases are rare, the Guinea worm, the Abyssinian tenia, the leprosy so common amongst the Arabs, the affections of the liver so prevalent in most hot countries, infectious fevers and dysentery, so dreaded on the African coastlands, being disorders almost unknown in Tibesti. They are also exempt from syphilis, scrofula, rickets, and all epidemics except small-pox.

Without being absolutely unknown, diseases of the chest are at all events extremely rare probably more so than amongst any other people, thanks to their forced sobriety and life of hardship, passed mostly in the open air.

The Tedas resist hunger for days together; when lost in the desert without food or water, they pass the day in the shade, travelling only at night. If they come upon the bone of a camel it is pounded to a sort of paste, which they mix with blood drawn from the veins of their mounts. Their

last resource, when the stupor of hunger begins to creep over them, is to lash themselves firmly to the back of the animal and trust to its instinct to discover the nearest camping-ground.

No less remarkable than their physical strength and beauty is the shrewdness and intelligence of the Tibbus. Necessity, the great educator, has developed their mental faculties while sharpening their senses. They find their way across the trackless wilderness by a sort of inspiration quite unintelligible to the European, and in all ordinary transactions they display surprising tact and skill, combined with great eloquence, cunning, and invention. Those who settle as traders in the surrounding oases easily get the better of their Negro or Arab competitors. Even their characteristic personal vanity never leads them so far as to lose sight of the main chance. The severe struggle for existence has rendered them harsh, greedy, and suspicious, sentiments reflected in their hard features and cruel expression. "Everyone for himself", seems to be stamped on the countenance of the Tibbu, who is seldom seen to laugh or unbend with his associates. The national feasts are not, like the Negro merrymakings, enlivened with song and dance, but serve rather as the pretext for rival extempore recitations and verbal contention.

The Tibbu is always distrustful; hence, meeting a fellow-countryman in the desert, he is careful not to draw near without due precaution. At sight of each other both

generally stop suddenly; then crouching and throwing the litzam over the lower part of the face in Tuareg fashion, they grasp the inseparable spear in their right, and the shanger-mangor, or bill-hook, in their left hand. After these preliminaries they begin to interchange compliments, inquiries after each other's health and family connections, receiving every answer with expressions of thanksgiving to Allah.

These formalities usually last some minutes, during which time they take the opportunity of studying their mutual appearance, and considering the safest course to be adopted towards each other.

In their usages the Tibbus betray the various influences of the different races: Negroes, Arabs, Tuaregs— with whom they come in contact. Like the Shilluks⁽³²⁾ of the White Nile, they mark the temple with a few scars; like the Tuaregs, they wear the veil, in any case required by an existence passed in the dusty and parching atmosphere of the desert; lastly, with the religion of the Arabs they have also adopted many customs of that race. But fundamentally they seem very probably to belong to the true Negro stock.

They are the kinsmen of the Dazas, who dwell farther south in Borku and in the districts bordering on Lake Tsad. The two languages are related, and also closely allied to that of the Kanuri, who occupy the western shores of the lake, constituting a distinct linguistic family, of

which the dialects of the Baeles and Zoghawas on the Dar-For frontier are outlying members.

Of this group the oldest and most archaic appears to be that spoken by the Tedas, or northern Tibbus, who may consequently be regarded as the typical representatives of the race. In any case they are the least mixed, the inhabitants of Tibesti being perfectly homogeneous, and entirely free from intermixture with Arab or Berber immigrants. But this remarkable race, one of the most important in North Africa, at least for the extent of its domain, and altogether one of the most characteristic groups in the human family, is numerically one of the most insignificant on the continent. According to Nachtigal, the whole nation can scarcely comprise more than twenty-eight thousand souls, of whom not more than twelve thousand are scattered over the extensive Tibesti uplands.

The Dazas of Borku are even still less numerous than the kindred Tedas of Tibesti⁽³³⁾, although their territory might support a far larger population. Nachtigal estimates them at five thousand at the utmost, while the nomads of the same region, mostly belonging to the Bulgeda nation, may number, perhaps, from five thousand to seven thousand. Partly agriculturists, partly stockbreeders, the Dazas and Bulgeda differ little from the Tibesti highlanders. Like them they are thin, energetic, and intelligent, usually exempt from disease, but less favoured with physical beauty. In this respect they form, from the ethnological standpoint,

the transition between the Tibbus and the true Negroes bordering on Lake Tsad. Their speech also resembles that of the Tibbus, Zoghawas, and other branches of this group. The Dazas score the temples with two vertical incisions scarcely differing in appearance from those used by the neighbouring peoples, yet sufficient for the experienced eye to recognise their true origin. The Dazas have also the custom of removing the uvula and the first incisors from their children at a very early age.

Both Tibbus and Dazas are supposed to have been converted to Mohammedanism about two or three centuries ago. They are very zealous Mussulmans, and recite the daily prayers with great regularity. At the time of Nachtigal's visit in 1869, they had already been brought under the influence of the Senusiya⁽³⁴⁾, and some of them had undertaken the difficult journey to the Wau oasis in order to visit the branch of the order there stationed, consult them on questions of dogma, and appeal to their decision on points of law. If the Dazas are frequently described as pagans by the neighbouring tribes, the reason is because under this term of reproach the good followers of the Prophet feel themselves justified in plundering them without remorse and reducing them to slavery. At the same time there can be no doubt that a few superstitions—that is to say, some survivals of the older religions—still persist amongst them. Thus sacrifices continue to be made in honour of the springs; spells, also, of pagan origin, besides

verses from the Koran and amulets derived from their Semitic neighbours, are still in use; while many of their religious observances resemble those practised by the heathen populations of Sudan.

The blacksmiths are much dreaded as potent magicians, and at the same time regarded as outcasts. No Tibbu with any sense of self-respect would ever give his daughter in marriage to a worker in iron, or even condescend to treat him as a friend. The word "smith" is one of the most insulting in the language; but it is never applied to those following this industry, the people being careful not to abuse or offend them in any way through fear of some supernatural vengeance.

The Tibbu social system is not based on the principle of equality. Every village has its *dardai*, or chiefs, its main, or nobles, and its common folk. At the same time, the upper classes have practically very little power, the unwritten law of custom being the true sovereign. They neither keep any troops to enforce their decrees, nor maintain any system of taxation by which they might surround themselves with sycophantic retainers. But they act as judges in all cases not requiring to be settled by the law of vendetta; they also discuss questions of peace and war, and their counsel is generally received with respect. The only privilege enjoyed by many of the nobles over their inferiors is the empty glory of being able to boast of their "blue blood."

Nor is the family governed more despotically than the community. The wife, who is generally distinguished for the domestic virtues of order, cleanliness, good management, and fidelity, is held as an equal by her husband. Even the polygamy authorized by Islam is seldom practiced, although temporary emigrants usually contract a second alliance in foreign lands. Marriage is commonly preceded by a long period of betrothal, which is held to be as binding as the marriage tie itself. At the death of the groom the betrothed is united to his brother or nearest relative.

As amongst the *Kafirs* and several other African peoples, the change of state produced by marriage is an event of such importance that all must keep the secret. The wife especially being forbidden by social etiquette to make the remotest allusion to the subject. She neither addresses her husband in public, nor eats with him ; nor has he on his part any longer the right to let his glance fall on his father-in law or mother-in-law. In fact, he ignores his wife's relations, and is even required to change his name, like those guilty of murder.”

c- Topography

“The chief centre of population in Tibesti is Bardai, situated in a valley on the north-east slope of the mountains, about the middle course of a *tenere*, or wady, which after receiving several tributaries flows northwards in the direction of Wau. The thermal waters of the famous *Yerikeh*⁽³⁵⁾, or "Fountain", belong to the basin of this torrent. Around

Bardai stretch the most extensive palm groves in Tibesti; hence this district is visited by nearly all the Tedas in search of dates. They also frequent the surrounding hills with their flocks, and most of their traders hold commercial relations with Murzuk in Fezzan. Others migrate to the southern oases of Borku and the neighboring territories ; but they have lost the route to the mysterious *Wadikur* oasis, which lay five days' journey to the south-west of Kufra, and which is described in legend as abounding in a rich vegetation.

Like all the oases the route to which has been forgotten, it is a "paradise lost". In Borku, oases fed by sweet or brackish waters fill all the depressions, and yield better dates than those of Tibesti. The dum-palm also flourishes, and several Sudanese plants might here be successfully cultivated. But at the time of Nachtigal's visit the gardens were mostly abandoned, the palm groves in many places invaded by the sands, the villages forsaken by their inhabitants, and their huts made of matting overturned by the wild beasts. The Aulad-Slimans, and even the Tuaregs of the western steppes and the Mahamids of Waday, pay regular visits to these oases, plundering the granaries, capturing women and children, slaying all who resist their attacks. Thus deprived of all their effects, the Dazas either set to work again, or else take to marauding in their turn in order to collect enough money to ransom their enslaved families."

4. 1. c: Tebus in Sightings by Hassanein⁽³⁶⁾ (1923)

- Kufra oases in the days of Bedouin “Zuwai” tribe who grabbed it from black Tebu tribe used to be an important center for robbery and murder in the Libyan Sahara Desert. The members of this rebel tribe used to be inclined to fighting and never subdue to any power or law, and they do not show mercy for anyone crossing their lands. No caravan passing Kufra oases was secure from looting or paying a tribute. Then, the Mahdi [Senoussi] came over and made them relinquish asking for such tribute because he wanted to secure the road extending across the Libyan Sahara desert from the north to the south, and to develop the trade of those remote areas, and he worked on that diligently to the extent that, as “Matari” (one of the elders of “Zuwai” tribe in Kufra) told me, women were able to walk from Barqa (Cyrenaica to Addai and without being exposed to any threat”. (P. 57-58)

- “A Nomad distinguishes the traces of his camels and see whether the camels preceding him on the road belong to people from a neighboring tribe or not; he also knows the Tebus’ camels from the hoof prints and by tracing their steps. Tebus’ camels are the most enduring among Bedouins’ camels for travel, and they can be used in the north in the desert of Cyrenaica and in the south in the lands of Sudan”. (P. 144)

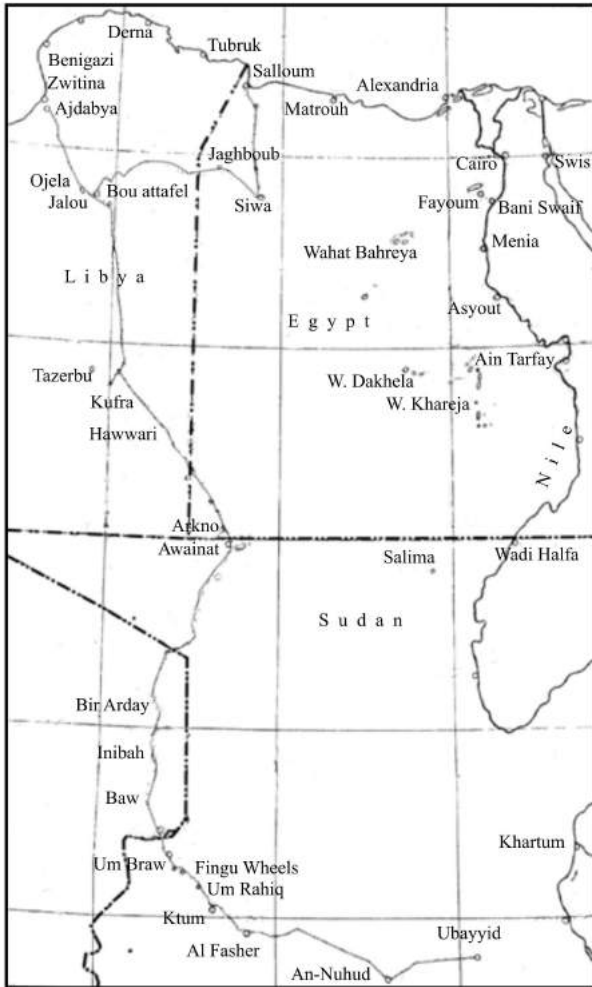
- Tebus “rarely use fire to prepare their meals, although they are familiar with it and rejoice using it in drying up

the bark of palm trees at its top, and they used to grind it to make of it a powder to which they add grinded dates and locusts”. (P. 149).

- “Tebus deliberately make sure not to leave anything of their personal effects on the way because they are fear a superstition, the myth of which says: that he who finds something that fell from them, would certainly one day seize them.

-Tebus are folks with strong bodies, and they are hard working people, but they are very naive in their life style and way of thinking. However, nowadays, they mingle more and more with Bedouins and thus resemble them in many of their natural dispositions”. (P. 149).

- “I knew well that “Awaynat” was the stopping place of Tebu and Gor’an tribes on their way eastward to attack Kababich tribe and kill them. Arknu and Awaynat were suitable sites for the purpose because of the abundance of water much needed by these raiding tribes. These two oases lie far away from the Kababich at a distance that makes it difficult for them to attempt revenge or recover what was taken from them.” (P. 232)



Route of Mohammed Ahmed Hassanein's journey. Source: Hassanein (1923)

(Note the difference in the boundary line and the occurrence of Jaghboub and Arkno within the Egyptian border, and Awaynet within Sudan's border)

4.2: Sultan Shahai

He is one of the most prominent Sultans of Tebus' Teda subdivisions. He comes from Tomaghera tribe, a branch of Ardai Doga (descendants of Ardai), who have the privilege along with (the descendants of Lai and Arami) to alternate on the position of Sultan and chieftom. Shahai has assumed the Sultanate since he was a young man young in the late 19th century, and until he died in the 1940's. His grave is in Bardai in northern Chad. He used to be called "Kundodi" that is to say "proud man".

Tebu people know him as "Shahai Boger", or "Dardai Shahai" that is to say Sultan Shahai . Paul Marty uses the name often cited by the French: "Mai Chafamé", and is considered the "most prominent leader in Tibesti", but also a "bandit", and this is a stereotype attribute used by the French and the Italians to depict the fighters of the national liberation movement and resistance to colonization⁽³⁷⁾. Shahai has had greater roles in resisting French colonialism and the occupation of Chad and Fezzan, although he was not initially known to the French, it appears that they were surprised by his charismatic leadership role in organizing the Tebu militarily. Marty says: "Until 1900, we did not have any significant relationships with the leader of Tibesti, but that year, our troops appeared around Chad and we met him each time during armed clashes". Then he goes on to say: "Talking of the details of our confrontations with Mai Chafamé may take very long as it

would require recounting the entire history of Chad”.⁽³⁸⁾
“This man who roved the desert during 50 years, faced our incursion with all possible forms of resistance, but he had enough wisdom and freedom that made him realize that the times have changed and that he should fall back on us”.⁽³⁹⁾

Sultan Shahai’s reign was characterized by efforts to stabilize Tebu tribes and to transform them into an autonomous entity. Thanks to his unifying efforts and hard work to rally and unify Tebu tribes and reunite Teda and Daza, he has been able to gather them round him. In such a way, he brought them to harmony and fostered their reconciliation and accord. Tebu under his reign were nearest to an independent entity that combines southern Libya, northern Chad, and eastern Niger. However, the leader of southern Tebu (Getty), was vexed that his people follow a leader (Dardai) from the north, so he strived to foil Shahai’s alliance with the French, who gave him the title of “The Man of France in Chad”.

In the context of his regulatory policy, Shahai put down “Kotoba”: it consists of the sum of customary laws used by Tebus; he also strived to form army of Tebu people in view to resist French colonialism, and to support the Libyan struggle movement against Italian colonization.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter One

- 1- Arabs put the name Sudan to combine all Sub-Saharan stocks from Ghana in the west to modern Sudan in the east without accurate determination of its end in the countries of Negroes. The name was also used by the French to mean the African Sahel region, or what came to be known as French Sudan (Mali, Chad and Niger). When Britain used this name in the 19th century to designate what was known as Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and we use it here with its Arab connotation within the following divisions: western Sudan (Senegal, Gambia, Burkina Faso, Central Niger); Central Sudan (areas around Lake Chad and it extends as far north as the Tibesti mountains and its neighboring regions east and west); and eastern or African Sudan (regions of the Nile and its tributaries to the south of Nubia).
- 2- South-Western region of modern Libya, stretching from Fezzan –as depicted in historical writings- to the borders of western Egypt. In old times, it used to include the Kingdom of Germa, and it became part of the Kingdom of Kanem in the 13th century, and then it got its independence and became known as the "State of Ouled 'Mhammed" (1550-1813) with its Murzuq as its capital, until it came under the domination of the Ottomans in the 17th century.
- 3 - Kanem: The Islamic Kingdom of Kanem was founded in A.D. 800 by the Arabs and Negroes, and it persisted until the late 19th century. Its sultans descended from Saif bin Dhi Yazin, and its boundaries used to stretch until Fezzan in the north, and from the Nile in the west to Niger to the east. Nowadays, it is a Chadian province to the north of Lake Chad.

- 4- Wadai: It is located to the east of Lake Chad on the route of caravans that used to deal in slaves and skins from Africa and Sudan to Kufra and Benghazi. In the 16th century, it became an autonomous Muslim sultanate. It was supported by Senoussi movement to resist the French colonialism for several decades.
5. Darfur: It is a province in modern Sudan. It borders Kordofan and Bahr-el-Ghazal; and it borders south-eastern Libya, north-eastern Chad, and central Africa in the south.
6. Horneman: 117. (cf. 4. 1. a).
7. German traveler Frederick Horneman visited Fezzan in 1798; and published his memoirs in 1797. (cf. 4.1. a).
- 8- Augila is located 400 km away from the Libyan coast to the south of Cyrenaica. Its old name is "Ougila". It was visited by Herodotus (B.C. 400) to see the Temple of Amun. Augila is known for its palm groves where ancient Libyan tribes used to spend the harvest season. Reclus talks of ancient Augila located not far from the modern city.
- 9- Siwa: An oasis famous for its freshwater springs and fountains. It is located 300 km far from the Egyptian coast to the south of Marsa Matrouh. It was visited by Alexander the Great in B.C. 333; and the priests inaugurated him as the son of Deity Amun, and they offered him a religious crown decorated with two horns. Reclus depicts ancient Siwa as a group of ruins lying not far from modern Siwa center.
- 10- Tuaregs (or *Imuhagh*) are a people of nomads who speak Tamasheq: a southern Berber branch. Historical Tuareg kingdoms used to scattered between Algeria, Mali, Niger, and Burkina Faso, and southwestern Libya. Nowadays, they take Libyan Ghat as their main location along with a small portion of other ethnic groups; and they distributed in southwestern Libya in symmetry with Tebus in sou-

theastern Libya.

11- Reclus: 468. See: 1. 4. b.

12- A mountain range in the Sahara desert that stretches over an area of 100,000 sq. km. It is actually a group of extinct volcanoes. Emi Kosi summit (3415 m) is the highest of its peak. It is located mostly in north of Chad; whereas a small part of it lies and the far south of Libya. Despite the old age of these mountains as the home of traditional Tebus; ancient historians did not mention the name of these tribes clearly; but the use of the name “Tibesti” by Pliny the Elder (5: 5) (cf. *Tanit Lexicon*: Tibesti entry) indicates the presence of these tribes since that time. And it is likely to occur in Greek language as “Tibestae”: mountain dwellers, or Tibestians.

13- cf: 1. 4. b.

14- *Lisān Al'arab*: entry on: *t.b.a.*

15- Theories related to ethnicities and races and the history of Africa. *African Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, p. 278.

16- Ibid.

17- Bates, Oric. *The Eastern Libyans, an Essay*, Macmillan and Co. London, 1914.

18- Bates, p. 45.

19- Ibid.

20- The Garamantes are the ancient inhabitants of southern Libya. Their capital is Garma (refined as Gharma and pronounced as Jarma). Archaeological researches conducted on the remains of graves tend to claim that Garamantes used to belong to four ancestral groups: two of them white, one Negro and the fourth a blend of these breeds.

- 21- The word “Ethiopians” dates back to a Greek origin that means: those with burned faces.
- 22- *Tanit Lexicon*: entry on Troglodae
- 23- Hanon’s journey, p. 44.
- 24- Reclus: p. 468.
25. *Tanit Lexicon*: entry on Tedamin.
- 26- Ibid: entry on Samamuk.
- 27- Ibid: entry on Knif.
- 28- Ibid: entry on Septimus.
- 29- Ibid: entry on Garamantes.
- 30- Ibid.
- 31- Gustav Nachtigal (1834 - 1885): A German traveler who led an exploratory expedition to central and western Africa: Togo and Cameroon, which later became the first German colonies on the continent. He became Chancellor of the empire in Tunisia and West African regions. He published *Sahara and Sudan*, in several volumes. The first volume was printed in Germany in 1879; the second in 1881, and the third in 1889. We cite this passage from the English translation: *Sahara and Sudan*, Translated by: Allan Fisher and Humphrey Fisher, Billing and Sons, London, 1974.
- 32- Tejerhi: a town in the province of Murzuq (Libya).
- 33- Medrusa: a town of the province of Qatrun (Libya); different from Algerian Medrusa.
- 34- Bakhi: a town in Qatrun (Libya).
- 35- Qatrun: the last of southern Libya towns. It is located 1100 km south of Tripoli.

- 36- Wadi el-Gharbi: a region in southeastern Libya located near Edri and inhabited by the Tuaregs.
- 37- Sokna: a town of Waddan (Libya); located on the north-east of the Black Mountains, 600 kilometers southeast of Tripoli.
- 38- Waddan: the historic name for nowadays' Jufrah region (Libya).
- 39- Temissa: a village in Waddan (Libya), located to the east of archaeological site of Zuwayla near Black Haruj. Modern Temissa lies 1.5 km far from the old village.
- 40- Bornu: A province in the north-east of Nigeria, to the west of Lake Chad. Bornu tribes come from Kanuri; they converted to Islam in the 11th century.
- 41- Hausa (Hausawah): one of the largest Afro-Asian peoples in west Africa. They inhabit northern Nigeria and southern Niger.
- 42 - *Sahara and Sudan*, p. 170.
- 43 - Melanogaetuli: Black gaetuli; and they are a group of ancient Libyan tribes contemporaneous to the Garamantes along their boundaries towards the west and north-west.
- 44- Henri Duveyrier (1840 - 1892): A French explorer who led in his early youth a three-year journey to the northern parts of the Sahara Desert. His works include: "*Exploring the Sahara: the Northern Tuaregs*" which earned him an honor award from the Geographic Society.
- 45- Berbers, (or Berabra): Nachtigal uses this name in a general sense to mean Berber language speakers and they are the oldest Afro-Asian peoples in North Africa. He uses this name here in the context of talking about Negro folks which he believes have Berber origins.
- 46- Baja (Bajians): An African people from Sudan and that lives between the Nile and the Red Sea coast, it spreads from Halayib in the

north Massawa in the south.

- 47- Zoghawa: An African tribe between Sudan and Chad, they have Tebus as in-laws. Their African name is Berri. Their towns include Anka ('Anqa) in Sudan, and Bahia in Chad.
- 48- *Sahara and Sudan*, p 171. These geographical and ethnic designations have -later- contributed to the development of European political maps for North African countries as they are known nowadays.

Chapter Two

- 1- Faya: one of the towns in northern Chad; it is also called Faya Lar-go.
- 2- Horneman. P. 117, cf: 4. 1. a.
- 3- Reclus. P. 469, cf: 1. 4. b.
- 4- Hassanein. P. 149, cf: 1. 4. c.
- 5- Marty. P. 38.
- 6- Cf: 4-2.
- 7- The invincibility of Tibesti Mountains and highlands granted the population full independence against any external authority. Troglodae (or cave dwellers) who preceded Teda used to defy central authority in Germa that was also hostile to them as depicted in Herodotus. See *Tanit Lexicon* (entry on Troglodae).
- 8- Author's dialogues with Tebu tribes. Recourse was also made to "Introduction to Tebu tribes" manuscript by Abdulsalam Ellehi.
- 9- Ibidem.
- 10- *Tanit Lexicon*, entry on circumcision.
- 11- Horneman: Ibid.

Chapter Three

- 1- Kanembu: They are located northeast of Lake Chad and in Begar-mi. They are the founders of Kanem-Bornu Empire. They speak Kanembu, considered a dialect of Kanuri, and their religion is Islam.
- 2- Kanuri: Kanuri people live to the east of Lake Chad in the border areas between Chad, Niger and Nigeria, the regions that have in old times represented the old Bornu Empire. They are Muslims. Kanuri language is divided into several local dialects.
- 3- See definition above: 1-3.
- 4- A Zoghawa dialect; it may sometimes be used in parallel when speaking it in western Darfur and eastern Bardai.
- 5- Reclus: p. 468.
- 6- Sumer (Sumerian language) in southern Mesopotamia is the oldest of the codified languages so far. It dates way back as far as the fourth millennium B.C. It has continued within narrow limits until the first century B.C. Then it went extinct, and rediscovered in the 19th century. The researcher considers its syllables as the first and original grains that have produced the roots of Acadian language and then branched out into the Afro-Asian system of languages and dialects, and thus he refuted the theory arguing of its isolation and final decline. See: “*Proto-Language: Sumerian Roots of Arabic and Afro-Asiatic Languages*”, Tanit Publishing House, ed. 1: 2008.
- 7-The first edition of the book: *Proto-Language: Sumerian Roots of Arabic and Afro-Asiatic Languages*” was published by Tanit Publishing House, (Tripoli- Tunisia) in 2008; and the second edition was printed by Scientific Books Publishing House (Beirut - Lebanon) in 2013.
- 8- Root-syllable: a meaningful syllable denoting specified meaning

compared to speech units. It is the smallest unit in speech context, and it is similar to the word in the context of a sentence compared to its units. It can be resembled to the Morpheme: the smallest, abstract and meaningful linguistic unit. See: *Proto- Language*, p. 19.

9- fā' (ف) and qāf (ق) sounds are non-existent in Sumerian. Šād (ص) sound fades away into Sīn (س); and there are as well many other phonological features common to both languages: Tedaga and Sumerian. This aspect is the subject of a separate applied acoustic study.

10- See: *Proto- Language*, Chapter VI, pp. 215-237.

APPENDICES

1- F. Hornemann (1772 - 1801) is a German traveler German who joined in 1796 the African Society in London, and learned Arabic in preparation for his journey to Africa. He arrived in Egypt in 1797. In 1798, he joined a caravan heading to Morocco, claiming to be an Egyptian *mamluk* called Joseph and that he came to trade; and then he went to Fezzan and was the first European to reach the Black Haruj coming from Augila to Temissa. In 1789, he arrived in Murzuq, and after several months later, he arrived in Tripoli. Then, he returned again to Murzuq. He visited the country of Hausa, and thus, he was the first European to reach those places. Horneman was able to gather valuable intelligence on the people of the Great Saharan Desert, and Central Sudan. His letters and news stopped abruptly in 1801; the year he presumably died, but later, witnesses saw him in 1819 in northern Nigeria. He It was ported that people consider him as a blessed man “a Marabout”; he was said to have remained there until he died in 1819. Horneman wrote his memoirs in German and published them in 1801. A translation into English appeared in London in 1802. We cite an excerpt of its Arabic translation: “*The Journal of Frederick Horneman’s Travels from Cairo to Mourzouk,*

the Capital of the Kingdom of Fezzan in Africa in the Years 1797-8", Arabization by Mustafa Mohamed Jouda, Ferjany library, Tripoli - Libya, 1968, p. 117 -

- 2- Bilma is an oasis inhabited by Daza Tebu tribes, and it is located in Agadez in northern Niger.
- 3- Dyrke is one of the oases of Agadez region in Niger. It lies a one-day journey from Bilma.
- 4- "Tebu Reshad" is not a name of a tribe, but an expression in Libyan dialect that means Tebus who live among the rocks (mountains) and this refers to all Tebu tribes.
- 5- Horneman talks here of "Zitimi" or "Zitini" or "Zeituni" as some people prefer to call the chieftain of the western region of Tibesti Mountains. He used to be an ally of Sultan Chahaï; then he joined him in resisting the French until he was captured. He was an elderly man and was forced to declare his submission to France.
- 6- Borku or Borgou is not a tribe but the name of steppes located to the south of Tibesti and frequented by Tebu shepherds.
- 7- Bergami or Baguirmi is situated to the southeast of Lake Chad. Sultan Bernie Bessie founded the Kingdom Baguirmi circa 1513. He used to be a pagan, and then Sultan Abdullah bin Malo (1561 to 1602) converted to Islam. Arabs settled in the Kingdom of Baguirmi along with to Kanur, Fallat and Ketko tribes.
- 8- It is Alfuqarah or Fughara in Traghen in southern Libya. From here A traditional water network used to run underground for a distance of 50 km in the form of vertical wells connected horizontally to provide the neighboring areas with water.
- 9- Arna is one of the tribes of Teda (Tebu); now this tribe lives in Kufra.

- 10- In other writings it is called Kibabo. Its location was not determined; and it is likely to be one of the ancient oases of Kufra.
- 11- Bahr-el-Ghazal: It is now a Chadian province located to the east of Kanem province. This does not mean Bahr-el-Ghazal in southern Sudan or the Nile tributary known by this name. In a letter he wrote in Tripoli, August 19, 1899 (p. 134), Horneman says: “Bahr-el-Ghazal, however, is not a sea but a fertile valley inhabited by Tebu where they build their homes of animal skin”.
- 12- Timbuktu or Timbkt: It is the most famous city in West Africa from a historical perspective. Nowadays, it is one of the deserted barren cities of Mali. This city played a major role in spreading Islam. It was occupied by the French in the early 19th century. Its population consisted of Tuaregs and other Arab and African tribes such as Idrissi and Songhai.
- 13- Harutsch, or Harouj, is a group of about 150 dormant volcanic mountains that stretch from southern Qattara Depression to the north of Wadi al-Hayat. It is the largest of its kind in North Africa, and it is divided into Black Haruj (called so because of the color of its basaltic rocks), and its peaks contain lakes, flora and fauna; and White Haruj (called so because of the color of limestone rocks).
- 14- “Tebu Reshad”: A Libyan dialect phrase that means Tebu of the rocks that is who live among the rocks; and it is not the name of a specific tribe.
- 15- Temissa is located to the east Zuwayla archaeological site near Black Haruj.
- 16- For more on Troglodyte or cave dwellers see: 1. 2. a.
- 17- Febabu is not a Tebu tribe, and is likely to be one of ancient Kufra oases. We have already said that it is located precisely at the present time.

- 18- Borgou or Borkou, is not a tribe but steppes located to the south of Tibesti and frequented by Tebu shepherds.
- 19- Hassan bin Mohammed Al-Wazzan, author of: *Description of Africa*. He was born in the city of Granada in A.H. 901 (A.D. 1495); some set his birth in A.H. 906 (A.D. 1500). He was captured by the European pirates and taken to Rome, so Pope Leo X kept him to teach Arabic language, and then forced him to convert to Christianity.
- 20- This means Berdoa, often called Bardayah. Wazzan attributed Berdoa population to the Berbers, and depicted it as follows: "It extends eastward to the wilderness Augila, and it borders Fezzan and Cyrenaica deserts to the north; and it stretches south to the outskirts of Bornu desert. The land is severely arid in this region, and this country cannot be penetrated safely. Only Ghadamsi people can do so because they are friends of Berdoan; they get from Fezzan their supplies, clothes and any other things that may be necessary for travel". (*Description of Africa*: P. 154, c2).
- 21- Arna is one of northern Tebu tribes, and now in they live in Kufra in the south of Libya. However, Major Rennell's observation is attributed to transhumance that used to be a prevailing feature among most of Tebu tribes until the mid-20th century.
- 22- Bilma is an oasis where Daza Tebu tribe has settled. It is located in Agadez province in northern Niger
- 23- Agadez city is located in the north Niger and it is the capital of Agadez province that consists of Teneri Desert and Iyer mountains
- 24- Nomadic Tebus were not a specific tribe as transhumance used to be a feature of most Teda Tebu tribes until the mid-20th century, whereas Tebu Daza tribes seemed to be more stable.
- 25- Bahr-el-Ghazal is not located in the desert of Bilma unless we

considered it an extension of it on the eastern side. Bilma is located to the east of Kanem province.

26- Élisée Reclus (1830 - 1905) is a French geographer and photographer. He authored his main work *Universal Geography* in 19 volumes between 1876 and 1894. Paris honored him for his major work, and was punished at the same time due to his extreme political views. Reclus did not visit Africa or the Sahara, but he relied on the observations and views of European explorers who actually visited them and in particular Nachtigal. This excerpt is a translation from the first and second volumes from his major work entitled: *The Earth and its Inhabitants*.

27- Élisée Reclus, *The Earth and its Inhabitants, Africa*, Vol. 1. North-East Africa. Ed. Keane. New York, D. Appleton and Company. 1892. P. 468 - 469.

28- For reasons related to the geographical, environmental and social isolation of Teda throughout the various stages of history, their language is the “purest” because it remained clearly unaffected by other languages, whereas, we find that Teda language was influenced by the languages of neighboring tribes. Cf.: 3-2.

29- Reclus presupposes a direct link between the two languages, but the assumed Berber –Tebu language cannot be traced but through a series of Afro-Asian comparisons to extract the triple root morphemes underpinning “Nature vocabulary items” in these languages. C.f. 3-3.

30- Élisée Reclus, *The Earth and its Inhabitants, Africa*, Vol. 2. North-West Africa. Ed. Keane. New York, D. Appleton and Company. 1892. P. 428 - 433.

31- See chunk related to demographic mobility: 1-3.

32- Shilluks or Shluks are a Sudanese tribe of Elluh or Lou people,

who along with Dinka and Nuer people represent the people of current southern Sudan State.

- 33- This is true with respect to the time when Reclus wrote his observations (1893), but at the present time (2013), Daza people outnumber Teda, and this is for several reasons, the most important of which is that Daza are more willing and desirous to intermingling with other races, unlike Teda who live almost in isolation in the desert.
- 34- In the second half of 19th century, Senoussi community penetrated into Kouar and further through Tibesti; and in order to ensure their religious control of the locals, they waged a military campaign in 1895 that found any form of resistance whatsoever.
- 35- Yerikeh is a Tebu term that means: spring, fountain or water source.
- 36- Egyptian explorer Ahmed Mohammed Hassanein went in 1923 on a journey on camel back into the Great Sahara Desert, in view to collect and prepare cartographic, distance and astronomical and meteorological data. He went to Salloum on the Mediterranean coast, to Abyadh the capital of Kordofan Directorate in Sudan, passing through the Jalu and Jaghbob desert oases to Kufra and Owaynat, before he penetrated into Sudan; a distance estimated at three thousand and five hundred kilometers. In the introduction of his book, Hassanein says: "My biggest concern all my life long was to travel through the Libyan Sahara desert and arrive in Kufra; a group of oases in the desert of Libya that have not been visited before except by one Explorer. Brave German explorer Rolfs made it in 1879 and conducted such a journey, but he narrowly saved his skin after he lost his most of notes and the results of his scientific observations" (pp.14- 15). The traveler could not devote one single comprehensive chapter to Tebu, but he only scattered his remarks on them in the

folds of his book entitled: “*In the Desert of Libya*”.

37. Marty: p. 54.

38- Ibidem.

39- Ibid, p: 47

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Personal Archive:

- Personal Encounters and Interviews conducted by the author with Tebu tribes in the years 2009-2010.

UK £ 9.99

Numerous are those who have written about the Tebus, but what distinguishes Mahjoub's book is its originality and novelty as well as its varied information as he moves gracefully between adjacent fields that used to appear unconnected: his work is interdisciplinary par-excellence.

This book is the best answer we can afford to the recurrent questions about our ethnic group.

A. Laban