

# FULBE

IN THE BLUE NILE AREA OF SUDAN

FIELD NOTES AND INTERVIEWS

[Günther Schlee and Al-Amin Abu-Manga]



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MAX PLANCK INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY  
**DEPARTMENT 'INTEGRATION AND CONFLICT'**  
FIELD NOTES AND RESEARCH PROJECTS XVI

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(Sudan), 2010 © Günther Schlee

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# SERIES EDITOR'S PREFACE

(GÜNTHER SCHLEE)

## ABOUT THE SERIES

This series of *Field Notes and Research Projects* does not aim to compete with high-impact, peer-reviewed books and journal articles, which are the main ambition of scholars seeking to publish their research. Rather, contributions to this series complement such publications. They serve a number of different purposes.

In recent decades, anthropological publications have often been purely discursive – that is, they have consisted only of words. Often, pictures, tables, and maps have not found their way into them. In this series, we want to devote more space to visual aspects of our data.

Data are often referred to in publications without being presented systematically. Here, we want to make the paths we take in proceeding from data to conclusions more transparent by devoting sufficient space to the documentation of data.

In addition to facilitating critical evaluation of our work by members of the scholarly community, stimulating comparative research within the institute and beyond, and providing citable references for books and articles in which only a limited amount of data can be presented, these volumes serve an important function in retaining connections to field sites and in maintaining the involvement of the people living there in the research process. Those who have helped us to collect data and provided us with information can be given these books and booklets as small tokens of our gratitude and as tangible evidence of their cooperation with us. When the results of our research are sown in the field, new discussions and fresh perspectives might sprout.

Especially in their electronic form, these volumes can also be used in the production of power points for teaching; and, as they are open-access and free of charge, they can serve an important public outreach function by arousing interest in our research among members of a wider audience.

# INTRODUCTION

GÜNTHER SCHLEE

The interview transcriptions compiled in this volume have been made in the early years of my research project ‘Ethnicity in new contexts: emergent boundaries and pluri-ethnic networks in the East of the Republic of Sudan’, financed by the German Research Board (grant SCHL 186/9–1). A number of publications have resulted from this project (e.g., Feyissa and Schlee 2009; Schlee 2000, 2009), and a book manuscript is still living a shadow life in the shape of a growing number of documents on my computer, many of them undergoing constant growth and revision, since I have not managed to stop going back to Sudan year after year. Data and research materials, abundant as they are, can in the meantime be made available for whoever wants to work with them.

All the interviews included in the present volume were carried out with Fulbe (Fulani) interlocutors between 1996 and 1998. Most of these interviews were conducted in Sudanese Arabic. We (Al-Amin Abu-Manga and I) developed a rather elaborate format for their transcriptions with three columns, from right to left: Arabic in Arabic characters, Arabic in Latin characters, English translation. Both Arabic columns render the language actually spoken, not any written standard, although knowledge of Standard Arabic might have an influence since, doing a transcription, one often hears what one expects to hear. The middle column contains additional information because here vowels are rendered in their actual values; so here we have e and o, while in Arabic short vowels, unless in words of foreign origin, are not written and letters only exist for ā, ī, and ū, as e and o are absent in Standard Arabic. Without the information in this middle column a reader not familiar with the local dialect would only succeed to read the text aloud in the form of a somewhat remote approximation.

The project did not have a special focus on Fulbe. It was about ethnicities evolving through interaction with each other and could therefore not take any given ethnicity as its starting point.<sup>1</sup> Using another approach, we (e.g., Diallo and Schlee 2000) have not examined interaction in a given regional context, but have compared different ways to be Fulbe across Africa in different ethnic contexts as our starting point.<sup>2</sup> In the present context, the Fulbe identity of the interlocutors has just been taken as the criterion for the selection of the interviews to be published in this volume. Interviews with non-Fulbe have been omitted here. There would have been many other possibilities, but

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<sup>1</sup> A project report in German can be found under <http://www.eth.mpg.de/3660065/sudan01.html> (‘Abschlußbericht zum Projekt ‘Ethnizitäten in neuen Kontexten: Abgrenzungsprozesse und pluriethnische Vernetzungen im Osten der Republik Sudan’’).

<sup>2</sup> See also Schlee (2011), Schlee and Guichard (2007, 2013).

choices needed to be made.

In a later volume in this series ('Old Fulani in the Sennar Area (Sudan)'), Al-Amin Abu-Manga will present another set of interviews in the same fashion.

The next section of this volume entails excerpts from the field notes I wrote during trips to Eastern Sudan and to Western Ethiopia,<sup>3</sup> where Fulbe pastoralists of the Blue Nile area have been moving seasonally with their livestock in the 1990s. The section with field notes will help to situate the interviews in their context. It is followed by the transcriptions of the interviews which are themselves organised in chronological order. An index at the end allows searches in the volume.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On the trip undertaken in summer 1996, my first field research in the Sudan, I was accompanied by my 11-year-old son Hassan because I thought that to have a child in one's company would be a door opener and ease access. I was right in thinking so. Some of the photographs in this volume were taken by Hassan.

On one trip to Damazin, we were accompanied by Al-Amin Abu-Manga's much younger brother Anwar who was of great help.

Much appreciation is due to Martine Guichard for her editorial work on the material compiled in this volume and her valuable suggestions for improving its readability.

The texts in Arabic have profited greatly from the critical reading by Kim-Eileen Endrikat.

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<sup>3</sup> See also Schlee (2013).



Map 1: The Blue Nile area and the neighbouring regions





# THE CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT

GÜNTHER SCHLEE

## TRIP 1 – EASTERN SUDAN (JULY – AUGUST 1996)

MONDAY, JULY 22, 1996

DAMAZIN

In the Suq of Damazin my Fulfulde-speaking companion, Anwar Abu-Manga, and I, accompanied by my 11-year-old son Hassan, are able to identify some Mbororo on the basis of their appearance. They direct us to their local spokesman, Sheikh Baabo Umar, who agrees to accompany us to a nomadic Mbororo hamlet. A taxi takes us northwards on the tarmac road for about 25 km; then we hire a tractor which takes us eight km to the west, across the open range. Herds are driven away as we approach. An old man under a tree begins ablutions for his *‘asr* prayers (afternoon prayers) just as we arrive, apparently in order to gain time; he trusts that we will not take any belligerent action against him while he is praying. After the prescribed prostrations, he takes his rosary and mumbles “God help me” in Fulfulde over and over. Reassured by the presence of Sheikh Baabo Umar, more and more people gather around us.

The semi-spherical huts are covered by plastic sheets. The lower arms of the women are laden with brass bracelets, and the young men have their hair plaited backwards in thick tresses – conspicuous deviations from the standard northern Sudanese Muslim dress code. Hassan Schlee takes photographs. The old man answers a couple of questions, but soon Sheikh Baabo takes over as the respondent.



Photo 1 (H255\_014): Sheikh Baabo Umar (with the white turban) and Anwar Abu-Manga (blue trousers). The photograph was taken on our first visit to a camp of nomadic Fulbe in the Blue Nile area of Sudan. (HASSAN SCHLEE, 1996)

JUL 22, 1996



Photo 2 (H255\_004): The area for women and their belongings in a camp of nomadic Fulbe in the Blue Nile area (HASSAN SCHLEE, 1996)

TUESDAY, JULY 23, 1996

Anwar and I conduct a taped interview in Arabic with Sheikh Baabo Umar in a hotel in Damazin. He states that his father left the Sokoto area of northern Nigeria when the British arrived. His group moved via Maiduguri and Yarwa into Cameroon and then into Chad, north of N'Djamena, close to the Lake. They stayed for nine years near the rivers Saadi (Chari?) and Kuuri (?) and then crossed with the Sultan Mai-Wurno, a descendant of °Uthmaan dan Fodio, into Sudan, by way of Nyala. They moved at the pace of livestock, pausing frequently, so that the whole relocation from Sokoto to the Nilotic Sudan took decades.

The name of their breed of cattle is *kuuri hamra* ('red *kuuri*' or big red zebus with relatively long horns). They sell them only for slaughter. Arabs or Dinka do not want to acquire them for breeding because they are not well adapted to their husbandry practices. They are large, demanding animals, which need much pasture and have to follow the rains. They are not suitable for being kept around villages. "Their bull is close in height to a camel."

Next they will go north to Wad an-Nail which is their turning point (some actually move up to Abu Na'ama), and then they will move south again to Malakal (Upper Nile). Sheikh Baabo mentions Jaasir (= Jaasira?), Beeke (Begi on maps), Rumbela, and Baamaasa as place names, the last as a crossing point into Ethiopia. Ethnic groups the Mbororo encounter on their southern migration include Oromo and "Tirikaaka" (?). The latter live close to Kenya and are on bad terms with the Oromo.

There are always problems with Dinka, "because they are Southerners". Sheikh Baabo mentions a major cattle raid by Dinka against Mbororo in the

region of Nasir. In such cases the Mbororo call the (northern Sudanese) army for help. Relationships with the Oromo are peaceful. They are mixed farmers and do not compete directly with the nomadic Mbororo. The Mbororo buy calves from them. Sheikh Baabo claims that, otherwise, the cattle of the Mbororo (whose specialty is cattle herding!) would be depleted.

Arabic serves as the language of communication with Oromo and others in the Beni Shangul area, although it is only spoken by part of the population. On the Sudanese side of the Sudanese-Ethiopian border, there are frequent fights with Gumuz. Only where Oromo are in charge, there are no problems. The category 'Gumuz' comprises many groups such as the Funj, the Gawaala, the Jabalawiin (= "Mountain people"), Berta, Ragaarig (= "Blacks"), Falaatik, and Junjumaana (= Jumjum). So much for the interview with Sheikh Baabo.

(For the full text of the interview, see pp. 51–68)

The Oromo mentioned here may be settlers on the western fringe of the agricultural expansion of the Oromo or refugees living in camps under the control of the OLF (Oromo Liberation Front). The latter had a marked presence in the Sudan at this period. The OLF suspected the Sudanese government of trying to appropriate aid from Europe and America that was intended for the Oromo, and there was a struggle for control.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1996

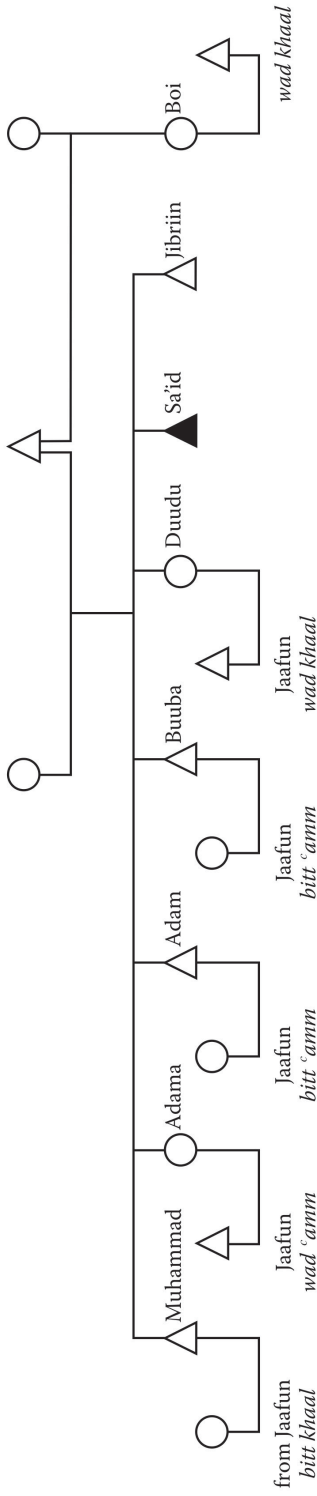
MAIURNO

Interview with Sa'id Adam, Jaafun, about the composition of the Fulbe community in the Sudan.

Sa'id is a Pullo (sing. of Fulbe) from the Central African Republic. He came to Sudan two years ago via Nyala. He heard of Maiurno on the radio in the Sudan and he wants to study the Qur'an here and then return to the Central African Republic.

In the Central African Republic Sa'id lived in Buar. He tended livestock, either his own or his father's. He wants to study the Qur'an out of interest, and he wants to preach Islam in the Central African Republic to those who know little about it and to non-Muslims.

Sa'id is 30 years old and unmarried. His father has long since urged him to get married, but Sa'id wanted to study the Qur'an first. According to him, the Jaafun often intermarry with other Fulbe. However, his father and mother are both Jaafun. The *wuro* (hamlet) in which Sa'id lived with his father often changed in size, ranging from 5–20 houses. It was not only inhabited by Jaafun. Even though Sa'id states that there have been many marriages between Jaafun and other Fulbe from that hamlet, the marriage practices of his siblings suggest otherwise.



(*bitt khaal* = MBD; *wad khaal* = MBS; *wad 'amm* = FBS; *bitt 'amm* = FBD)

Fig. 1: Marriages of Sa'id's siblings

In Maiurno, he has relatives and he found good study opportunities. All those who are Muslim and speak Fulfulde are here referred to as relatives by Sa'id. He cannot identify any closer ties to anyone in the Sudan.

In Damazin, to where he travelled in order to visit a friend and fellow Qur'an student, he met some Jaafun. There are none of them in Maiurno. None of Sa'id's family had ever been in the Sudan. Not even in connection with nomadic movements. Sa'id had never left the Central African Republic before.

His father had been born in Nigeria. He belonged to the *Fulbe ladde* ('bush Fulbe') who follow the pasture conditions. That is how his father came to the Central African Republic as a grown-up herd owner.

*EASTWARD-DRIFT*: Nomads from Sudan bring livestock to the Central African Republic for sale. There are, however, no nomadic migration from the south. Newcomers always come from the west: from Nigeria and Cameroon. When Sa'id's family came to the Central African Republic, there were already other *Fulbe ladde* there, Ijje.

There are also Umm Bororo (Mbororo) with braids, who recently came from Chad to the Central African Republic. The Fulbe, who have already been settling there for a longer period, are not Umm Bororo but other *Fulbe ladde*: Jaafun, Ijje, Daneeji, Ba'en, Gambiranko'en, Gootanko'en ("the united ones").

Among the Fulbe in the Central African Republic there are Qur'anic teachers who move around with their groups of origin. This evening a bright fire serves as a reading light. The *lauha* (wooden tablets for writing and studying the Qur'an) here are shorter than among the Somali.

Sa'id states that the *Fulbe ladde* have no camels, but use oxen as pack animals for their belongings. He heard from Fulbe Jaafun, whom he had met in Damazin, that the area they cover during their seasonal movements comprise Yabus (Ethiopia), Juba and Dindiro (between Damazin and Kurmuk). These Fulbe say that the civil war affects them and that they are attacked by the "Blacks".

TUESDAY, AUGUST 20, 1996

WAD AN-NAIL

Awad, a helpful younger colleague from the University of Sennar, Abu Na'ama, and I try to contact Mbororo in Wad an-Nail. Women who are selling milk from house to house are easily recognisable as Mbororo by their naked shoulders, their bead ornaments, their brass bracelets, their tresses, and the milk containers on their heads; but they know little Arabic and are very shy. We meet these Mbororo women in a Southern Sudanese neighbourhood where their evasive reactions to the researchers or to a 'helpful' mediator they encounter in the street evoke condescending laughter among the local women.

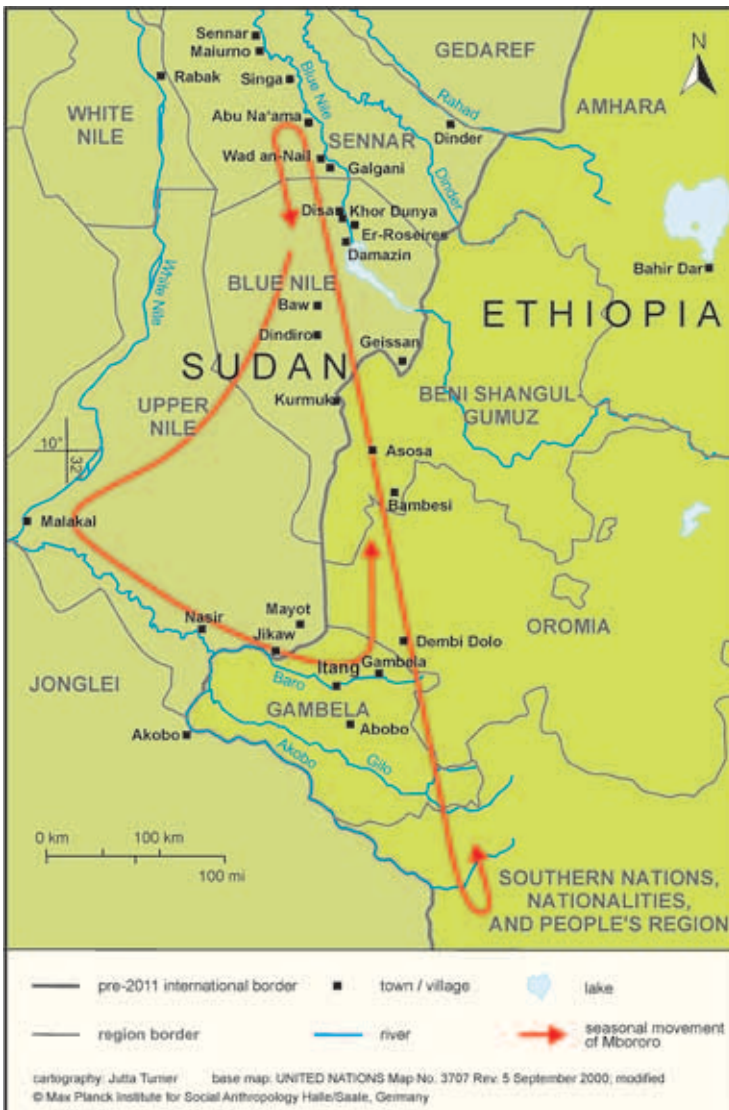
Mbororo men are also conspicuous from afar by their shape and colour. While Arabs and those who have adopted Arab ways of life wear wide, white

AUG 20, 1996

garments, the Mbororo have a preference for close-fitting vests and for the colour blue. (There is a beautiful example of the silhouette as a cultural marker in Klumpp and Kratz [1993: 204], which shows the Maasai female silhouette.)

Through a medical practitioner, we finally make contact with two Mbororo men, one of whom has come to town for treatment. The other one has heard about me from Sheikh Baabo Umar, who is his mother's brother. An appointment is made for the next day, the 21<sup>st</sup> of August.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 21, 1996



Map 2: Seasonal movements of Mbororo (Adaamu's group)

We are joined by a young Mbororo man called Adaamu who speaks fluent Oromo and tells me, in this language, about the migratory route of his residential cluster. He asks me where I learned my Oromo. The answer is “in Kenya”. Adaamu then replies that he has travelled almost as far as Kenya as well. He has crossed the rivers Baro, Gilo, and Akobo in Ethiopian territory (see map 2). In their seasonal migration, the members of his group travel about 700 km, as the crow flies, from the northern turning point, which is located here, to the southern turning point.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 22, 1996

Today Awad and I come again from Abu Na'ama to Wad an-Nail. The patient, a certain Maahi Bello, who had had sleeping sickness, is cured and has been sent home. He wants to show us his home, but feels too weak to walk. We rent a Landrover, but later the driver turns back without us because he is afraid of getting stuck in the mud. After a walk of one and a half hours, we hear human voices and the lowing of cattle. We meet a migrating group of Mbororo with bent sticks, which are used as frames in building houses, loaded in bundles on the back of oxen. The Somali transport their houses on camel-back in a similar way. Small children are sitting on top of these loads or riding on donkeys. A little later we meet the group to which Maahi Bello, the cured patient, belongs. Women are just beginning to drive stakes, to which housing frames and storage scaffolding will be tied, into the ground. Men are twisting leather strips into rope; smaller strings for tethering calves will be attached to such ropes. After the greetings, we are offered *angarebs* (stretchers), which are of the same type as those of sedentary villagers, though quite a bit smaller. People unloading their animals of burden in the neighbourhood greet each other rather formally. They appear not to have settled together at the previous location. Women bring us tea without sugar. Sugar is the largest single item of expenditure in many Sudanese households, and its absence seems to be an indicator of relatively weak market integration. They also bring half calabashes filled with milk.

After their playful attempts to communicate with me in Fulfulde and Oromo, which are largely unsuccessful (in the case of Fulfulde because of my limitations, and in the case of Oromo because of the limitations of my hosts), we continue the conversation in Arabic. The inhabitants of the hamlets that are clustered together here do not have fixed seasonal routes; rather, they decide, depending on the conditions of the pasture, whether to move into Upper Nile province or to cross into Ethiopian territory. In the south, there are frequent conflicts with Dinka, who capture cattle and women, then withdraw quickly and to a great distance, so that they cannot be held accountable for their actions. In one case, Dinka captured Mbororo women. The Mbororo then fled from the Dinka, going to Ethiopia. Later, some of the captured women managed to escape from the Dinka and rejoin their families in

AUG 22, 1996

Ethiopia, but others stayed with their captors. The man who tells this story says that he came to Sudan as a small boy in the 1950s from West Africa.

The night sky above us inspires me to ask some questions about the names of stars and their significance. The man, who came to Sudan in the 1950s, knows no such names or stories. But he says that his father once told him that the French had written down that kind of information in Niger. There seems to be some awareness of Marguerite Dupire's work on the Wodaabe (1962).

Awad repeatedly stresses how respectfully the Mbororo treat each other and contrasts their conduct with that of Arabs. When an elderly man approaches, everyone gets up from his *angareb*, crouches down, and mumbles some benedictions. Tea is poured in the order of the seniority of the recipients. The Mbororo explain this behaviour with reference to the fear that younger men have of the curse of their seniors. Arabs regard the conduct of the Mbororo with some admiration, apparently because it conforms to ideals that they hold, but do not themselves achieve.

A young man with long tresses stands upright against the starlit sky, looking over the tethered herd. He plays the lyre (*rabaaba*) all night long and sings – apparently for the cows, which are thought to have the ability to warn and to protect human beings from dangers coming from the bush. Nevertheless, he might also have human females on his mind while singing. On the occasion of marriage the tresses are shorn off. Longitudinal folds remain visible in the scalp for a long time in the places where the skin has been pulled together by tight plaiting.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 23, 1996

In the morning we leave Maahi Bello's settlement. The walk back to Wad an-Nail takes four hours and 15 minutes at a good pace. The distance may have been about 25 km. Some women come with us, balancing large calabashes full of milk on their heads. We had been warned of Arabs on the way who occasionally rob and beat passers-by.





Photos 3–4 (G230\_2002Sudan\_136; G230\_2002Sudan\_166): Nomadic Fulbe of the Blue Nile area (GÜNTHER SCHLEE, 1996)



Photos 5–6 (G230\_2002Sudan\_152); G230\_2002Sudan\_107); Nomadic Fulbe of the Blue Nile area (GÜNTHER SCHLEE, 1996)



Photos 7–8 (G230\_2002Sudan\_158; G230\_2002Sudan\_101): Nomadic Fulbe of the Blue Nile area (GÜNTHER. SCHLEE, 1996)



Photo 9 (G230\_2002Sudan\_106): In a camp of nomadic Fulbe in the Blue Nile area  
(GÜNTHER SCHLEE, 1996)

## TRIP 2 – EASTERN SUDAN (DECEMBER 1996)

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1996

SHAIKH TALHA



(Sketch) Map 3: Maiurno and surroundings

Interview with Mustafa al-Makki Ali about the history of Shaikh Talha, the village opposite to Maiurno on the right bank of the Blue Nile (see map 3). The focus is on the arrival of the people who were going to found Maiurno and the relationship between the two settlements.

(For the full text of the interview, see pp. 69–88)

MONDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1996

MAIURNO

Al-Amin Abu-Manga has gone to Wad Medani and to interview Fulbe men about the history of Maiurno. These men are Abdurahman Ali Baabikir Jaafun, Abdalmoneim Isma'il Abu-Bakr al-Qadi and Abu-Bakr Ahmad Orabi. Their account offers a Maiurno perspective on the relationship between Maiurno and Shaikh Talha. It also offers rich insight into the settlement history and the development of urban professions.

(For the full text of the interview, see pp. 89–152)

### TRIP 3 – EASTERN SUDAN (MARCH 1998)

THURSDAY, MARCH 5, 1998

ABU NA'AMA

In the preceding year, northern Sudanese oppositional forces, in alliance with the SPLA (Sudan People's Liberation Army), invaded the Kurmuk region, up-river from the research area. I was advised not to come because I might not receive a travel permit. Awad reports that in 1997, just as in 1996, the Mbororo stayed in the area from about the end August to early December before moving south again. The women, if they got a lift in a car, sold milk as far north as Abu Hujaar and Singa. Some women, including some with children, stayed around Singa and offer services such as fetching water. From the bus, I have seen herds of cattle in which the red and brown colours predominate. Awad comments on this by pointing out that Mbororo have sold young bulls to traders. In both 1996 and 1997, the southern migration did not lead far beyond Damazin. Beyond that, land mines have been planted.

SATURDAY, MARCH 14, 1998

Professor Al-Amin Abu-Manga and I undertake a trip to the villages along the Blue Nile between Wad an-Nail and Damazin. In Sireu, we interview Abdullahi Muhammad Sa'id al-Qarawi, a settled Pullo (sing. of Fulbe) whose family was originally from Adamawa, Cameroon. He is a learned man, 80 years of age. The Mbororo are featured only incidentally in this interview, which concerns, mainly, the history of the village of Sireu and other villages of settled Fulbe that were founded by its inhabitants. In the Sudan, these two Fulbe groups are lumped together with other groups originating from West Africa, such as Hausa and Kanuri, under the category 'Fellata' (also 'Fallaata' or 'Fallata'). In all the interviews included in this documentation as well as in the present text, however, the terms 'Fellata', 'Fallaata' and 'Fallata' are only used to refer to Fulbe.

(For the full text of the interview, see pp. 153–203)

MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1998

Al-Amin Abu-Manga and I meet Mbororo in Sireu. An interview is conducted with a group of men, including Abdu Umar, who does most of the talking. Since he turns out to be the older brother of Sheikh Baabo Umar, I ask him to convey my greetings to him. The interview is later transcribed in Fulfulde and translated into English.

Armed conflicts with a warlike character have prevented the members of this group from taking their usual route of southward migration. Localities they have frequented in earlier years include the following: Khor Dunya,

Agagir, Gargade, Abu Garib, Bagis, Burgub, Bangas, Salbul, Fadumiyya, Deral, Jabal Marafa, Dunduru (Dindiro on maps), Kukuli, Shali, Lelel. Abank'uru (= Abankuru on p. 206), Yabus Ghaba, Kubri Yabus ("the bridge over the Yabus"), Gosha, Pampam, and Dugubele. From Kubri Yabus, a route is said to lead into Ethiopia, specifically to Kabanga, Bambashi (Bambesi on map 1, map 2, map 5, and in the following), and Jaasira, the farthest point they reach in that direction. Another route leads from Dugubele to Garsuma, Dote, Bailo, Dajo, Kikile, Disa, Mayyut (Mayot), Nyiligel, Jikaw, Telus, Yika, and finally Gambela. They used to arrive in Gambela around May, having left the Damazin area in September. Other people whom we interviewed, and who were also members of Abdu Umar's group, sometimes stayed on the Sudanese side, in Upper Nile Province, when the conditions were favorable there.

The Mbororo occasionally had to make payments for water to "Burun, Ingessana, Dawwala, Uduk, Koma, and the Southerners." Later, Burun and Uduk used to shoot at Mbororo on sight. This led the Mbororo to avoid these groups by going into Ethiopia. With the proliferation of low level administrative authorities, life has become more difficult for Mbororo, even in the relatively peaceful areas of the Sudan. All types of taxes are extorted from them wherever they go.

(For the full text of the interview with Abdu Umar and several Fulbe men belonging to his group [Mbeewe'en], see pp. 205–221)

MONDAY, MARCH 23, 1998

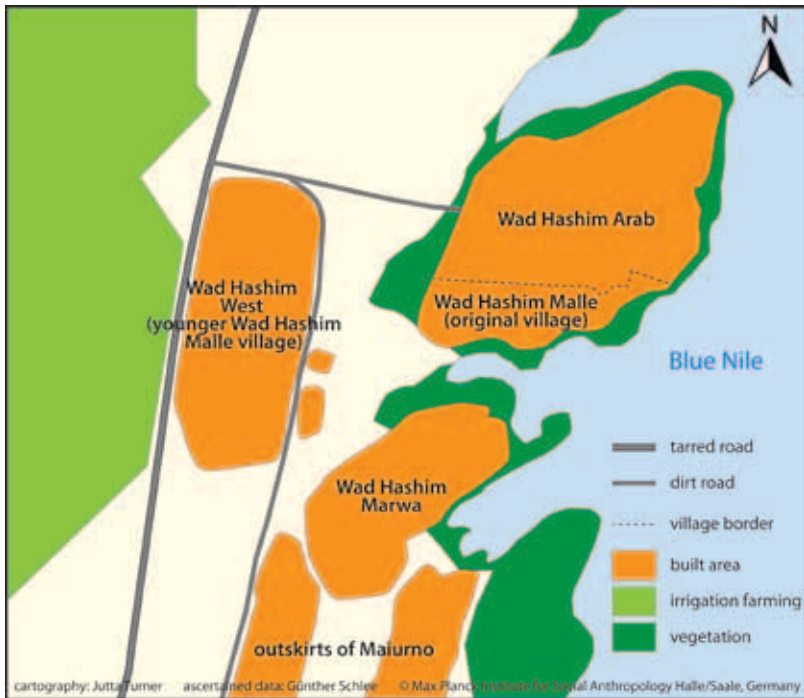
WAD HASHIM ARAB, WAD HASHIM

Wad Hashim evolved from four smaller villages that have grown together over the years. However, only two of these smaller villages are now completely contiguous: Wad Hashim Arab and the original village of Wad Hashim Malle (see map 4).

Interview with Ahmad Idris Wad Um Dam and Fadl as-Siid Muhammad Fadl as-Siid about the early history of the Fulbe settlements along the Blue Nile.

(For the full text of the interview, see pp. 223–235)

MAR 23, 1998



(Sketch) Map 4: Wad Hashim

TUESDAY, MARCH 24, 1998

#### YOUNGER WAD HASHIM MALLE VILLAGE, WAD HASHIM

As shown on map 4, two of the four villages from which Wad Hashim has grown are locally called “Wad Hashim Malle”. The Wad Hashim Malle located south of Wad Hashim Arab fissioned into an additional part some decades ago. The latter part is that referred to here as younger Wad Hashim Malle village (and which also corresponds to Wad Hashim West on the map).

Interview with Al-Amin Ahmad Yousif and Ahmad Yahya Abdullahi about the migrations of these “Fallata Malle” from Mali and their economic history in the Sudan. Al-Amin Ahmad Yousif’s life of a trader has taken him across a large part of East and Central Africa.

(For the full text of the interview, see pp. 237–266)



#### **TRIP 4 – EASTERN SUDAN (SEPTEMBER 1998)**

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1998

ABU NA'AMA, UNIVERSITY OF SENNAR

The dean of the Faculty of Agriculture, Dr. Salah el-Din Abd el-Gayoum, has spoken with an old Mbororo lady who was beaten by the militia of an organisation called BLO (?) in the area south of Damazin. All of the other inhabitants of her camp were massacred. The Mbororo no longer dare to move south.

#### **TRIP 5 – EASTERN SUDAN (MAY 2000)**

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 2000

ABU NA'AMA

During last year's rainy season (*khariif*), Awad met Maahi Bello, the convalescent of 1996, again. Maahi's settlement is quite close to the main road in order to protect agricultural fields, which have expanded in the area, from damage. That is why a donkey belonging to a woman who lives in his hamlet was hit by a lorry. Awad regrets that there is no proper range management. Pockets of agriculture are everywhere. There are no corridors for nomads.

#### **TRIP 6 – WESTERN ETHIOPIA (FEBRUARY 2001)**

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 2001

GAMBELA

While visiting Dereje, a doctoral student of mine in Gambela, I have the opportunity to meet with both a photographer, Amanuel, who had photographed Mbororo in Gambela, and Amtallaqa, a government worker from the Ministry of Agriculture, who had been in close contact with them (for a fuller account, see Schlee 2008, *Ethiopian Diary 2001–2002 / Tagebuch Äthiopien 2001–2002*, entry from February 2001, 19).

Amtallaqa had been very keen to meet me because Dereje had told him that I speak Spanish. Amtallaqa never misses an opportunity to speak that language. Amtallaqa was taken to Cuba at the age of 14. The Cuban experience and his belief in internationalism also seem to have shaped Amtallaqa's relationship to the Mbororo. Some words about his background may, therefore, be appropriate here.

Amtallaqa went to Cuba after his father, who had volunteered to fight in the Ogadeen war (1977–78), was killed in action. Cuba had offered to train war orphans. Amtallaqa's sister also went to Cuba, where she was trained as a pharmacist. Amtallaqa spent his formative years in Cuba, and his love for Cuba extends beyond the language to the leaders of the country and the martyr of the socialist revolution, Che Guevara. He is pleased to hear that I, like many Germans of my generation, at one stage had Che's picture on my wall.

Amtallaqa's interest in the Fellata who came here might be seen in connection with his socialist internationalism and his general interest in foreigners. After the change of government in 1991 he stored the equipment of a Japanese anthropologist for a whole year in his house, until this anthropologist found it safe to come back to Ethiopia. He is full of stories about other foreigners he has met.

Some of the Fellata speak Oromo, as I discovered to my delight when I met a group of them – possibly the same ones that Amtallaqa had already met – near Abu Na'ama in the Sudan. Unfortunately, Amtallaqa does not speak any Oromo, and the Fellata spoke neither Amharic nor Spanish. He hosted them in his house and became good friends with them, especially with a certain Usmaan, who gave him a bow and a quiver full of arrows, which he had brought along to show us (see photograph in Schlee 2008, *Ethiopian Diary 2001–2002 / Tagebuch Äthiopien 2001–2002*, entry from February 2001, 19). Others had tried in vain to purchase such items from the Mbororo. But communication between Amtallaqa and Fellata appears to have been very basic. He has no information about the migration routes of the Mbororo or the names of their sections.

The last time Fellata were here was in 1997–98. This was the only time that Amtallaqa met them. They had a single headman, “un solo jefe”.

The provincial administration tried to send them back to Sudan; but the local population was afraid to help implement this policy, because the Mbororo were believed to have magic ways to defend themselves.

As far as visual features are concerned, Amtallaqa noted the Mbororo preference for the colour blue, which is also illustrated by the photographs he had brought along.

The economic activities he recalled included the sale of milk and butter by Mbororo women. Through the sale of cattle for slaughter, which is a male activity, the Mbororo alone met the entire local demand for beef.

Amtallaqa had a number of stories about Mbororo magic. His name means ‘lieutenant’. This led a Fellata he met in a bar to believe, mistakenly, that he was a powerful person. The owner of the bar had been a prisoner of war in Somalia for 11 years and had learned some Arabic. The two managed to play a joke at the expense of the Fellata. Amtallaqa demanded a bribe for allowing the Fellata to stay. The Fellata asked him what it was that he wanted, and Amtallaqa asked for a love charm. The Fellata removed various kinds of medicine from their plastic wrapping and instructed Amtallaqa to rub his body with this mixture after bathing on three subsequent Fridays. Later, he tried the medicine to see if it was effective. Even married women agreed to go with him for the mere asking. (A proper testing procedure would, of course, also require making the same proposition to women *without* the love charm.) He then became afraid (of being accused of disturbing the social order?) and threw away the remainder of the medicine.

In another incident, somebody had insulted a Fellata in Oromo by calling him an “animal” (Oromo: *bines*). The offended Fellata took two nails, the length of Amtallaqa’s finger, out of his pockets and inhaled them through his nostrils. He then threatened to retrieve them through the penis of his offender. The latter did not delay in eating his words and in clarifying that the Fellata was by no means an animal. He was thus saved from having to endure the procedure.

On another day, a Mbororo woman came to Amtallaqa’s office. He gave her three Birr for tea. She asked him whether she could help him in any way. He replied that his wife had continuous pain in her left breast. The woman left, and Amtallaqa’s wife never had any pain of that sort again.

**TRIP 7 – WESTERN ETHIOPIA (NOVEMBER 2001)**  
**SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 2001**



Map 5: Part of a trip from western Wollega to Beni Shangul, undertaken in winter 2001 (waypoints 031–032, 062, 070, 077, 085, 091, 093, 097, 101, 112, 116)

Travelling through western Wollega and Beni Shangul from Gambela to Bambesi, I make some inquiries with the assistance of Getinet. In a number of localities, we try to find out what people remembered about the last visits of the Fellata to the region. We also meet a Pullo who had become the hired herdsman of a local Oromo sheikh. The picture that emerges of the migratory routes of the Mbororo is more differentiated here than the one conveyed to us by our Gambela informants. The attitudes of the local people towards the

Fellata correspond closely to what has been reported for Gambela.

Overnight stay in Shabal (a stopping-place on the way to Bambesi via Dambi Dolo [Dembi Dolo on map 1, map 2 and map 5; see entries for the following days).

#### SHABAL

*Waypoint 031: Lat. 8° 29' 16.79" N / Long. 34° 35' 3.52" E*

“Mbororo passed through here about five years ago. I saw two groups of about 50 persons, including women and children. They were travelling off-road through the forest. Their household items were loaded on donkeys and oxen. They stayed for some time below Shabal and then turned north-west through the lowlands, in an area called Anger. People mistrusted them because of their magic and, therefore, did not buy milk from them.”

#### SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 2001

##### MUGGI

*Waypoint 032: Lat. 8° 34' 18.26" N / Long. 34° 36' 10.43" E*

There is an inconsistency between the mapping provided here and some other maps. At the coordinates where I have located the town of Muggi, some maps give the place name “Gobi”.

“I saw some Fellata passing through Muggi seven or eight years ago. There were about 200 men in groups of eight to ten with lots of cattle. They came from Machaara (Mechara on some maps), beyond Dembi Dolo, and went down to the Gambela region. They stayed below Shabal before the checkpoint at the bridge to the west of the road. Other Mbororo came from the opposite direction. They had pants, which reached below the knee. They were tall and “brown” like Somali. Their cattle were huge. They had loaded some of their belongings on oxen and carried others on their heads. People were afraid of their magic and did not buy their milk.”

#### MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 2001

##### DEMBI DOLO

*Waypoint 062: Lat. 8° 31' 56.07" N / Long. 34° 47' 56.31" E*

“Five or six years ago, Mbororo stayed in the Dembi Dolo area for about a year (!). They had come from the north-east along the main road and were said to have moved on to Gambela via Muggi. They used to sell milk and oxen for slaughter.”

NOV 19, 2001

“In spite of the rural character of Dembi Dolo and even though many people keep some cows even in town, it is difficult to buy milk here. This may explain why the milk offered for sale by the Mbororo was in demand.”

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 2001

CHANQA TOWN

*Waypoint 070: Lat. 8° 51' 43.7" N / Long. 35° 4' 19.33" E*

“Eight or nine years ago, Mbororo passed through seven km north-west of here at Qaaqe (Kake on some maps). They had cattle, camels, sheep, and goats. They sold cattle to the local people, but these did not succeed in breeding with them. There are none left. They moved on, so it was said, to Begi.”

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 2001

ABRAAMO (Berta village)

*Waypoint 085: Lat. 9° 59' 22.46" N / Long. 34° 30' 36.06" E*

Most inhabitants have gone to the market in Asosa. Our interlocutor is 16 years old. He speaks Arabic (with me) and Amharic (with the others). He tells us that two years ago, in winter (*fii shittaa*<sup>c</sup>), there were Mbororo (Fel-lata, Umm Bororo) in the area. There were only men and boys. The other members of the families had been left on the Sudanese side, in the Yabus area. They had 3,000 to 4,000 cattle with them. They came to the village to sell milk, cattle for slaughter, and even heifers for breeding. These died later in an epidemic, but some of their mixed offspring from Berta bulls have survived among the Berta. The Mbororo cattle are not disease resistant.

The Mbororo stayed near Fufur, 30 km west of Asosa. Their cattle did not come closer than Abush, 20 km south-west of Asosa. Mbororo men came to the market in this village. They did not go to Asosa town because they were afraid of the administration and the police. They did not come to the mosque.

Local people were worried about overgrazing with so many cattle around. In the end the SPLA raided the Mbororo, killing some, and took all of the cattle at Kudush, west of Asosa.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 2001

FULBE CAMP NEAR THE BRIDGE ACROSS THE QASHMANDO

*Waypoint 091: Lat. 9° 35' 48.3" N / Long. 34° 40' 11.27" E*

Muhammad Zakariya, an impoverished Pullo, works here as a herdsman.

Muhammad Zakariya says that he is Woyla. The Woyla are one of the Fulbe groups, and as such comparable to Mbororo, Jaafun, Gamba (= Gambiranko'en?), Boodi, and Ngara. They originally come from Mali and are thus “Fallata Malle”. Muhammad knows Sheikh Baabo Umar in

Damazin. But his own sheikh there is Suleymaan Bello, the Woyla sheikh. According to Muhammad, Sheikh Baabo is in charge of the group referred to as “Mbororo” in the narrow sense of the term.

As implied in the preceding passage the term ‘Mbororo’ is sometimes used in a broader sense and applied to various groups of nomadic Fulbe, as opposed to settled Fulbe. In some other situations, it has a more specific meaning and is just employed to refer to one section of nomadic Fulbe in particular (apparently Mbeewe’en; see also entries for September 23, and September 25, 2002).

Concerning the SPLA raid against nomadic Fulbe (or Mbororo in the wide sense of the term; see entry from November 24, 2001) Muhammad explains that it took place four years ago in the month of *Dahiyya* (= ‘*Arafa*). That was during the rainy season. Many of his own cattle were also taken. The cattle belonged to different Fulbe sections: Mbororo, Jaafun, Gamba, Woyla, and Fallaata Malle. All pack-oxen were killed or taken. The women had to carry the household items themselves. In one attack, there were 40 dead among the nomadic Fulbe; in another attack, 12 men, women, and children were killed. The police did not even come to look. The police themselves had tried before to expel the nomadic Fulbe, and they now seemed to welcome the SPLA action. The nomadic Fulbe then concluded an agreement with the SPLA. The SPLA received 100 sheep as payment for letting these Fulbe move away without further molestation. The SPLA took the sheep but attacked the nomadic Fulbe again nevertheless. Muhammad does not know how many lives were lost in this last raid.



Photo 10 (664\_024): Muhammad Zakariya

(GÜNTHER SCHLEE, 2001)

In earlier years, Muhammad’s residential group seems to have been moving regularly between the low-lying Yabus area and Beni Shangul. Muhammad decided seven years ago to stay here. For the others this form of transhumance found a violent end four years ago. (I found other members of the same group in a fully functional nomadic hamlet in October 2002 north of Damazin, Blue Nile State, Sudan; see below, entry for October 2, 2002)

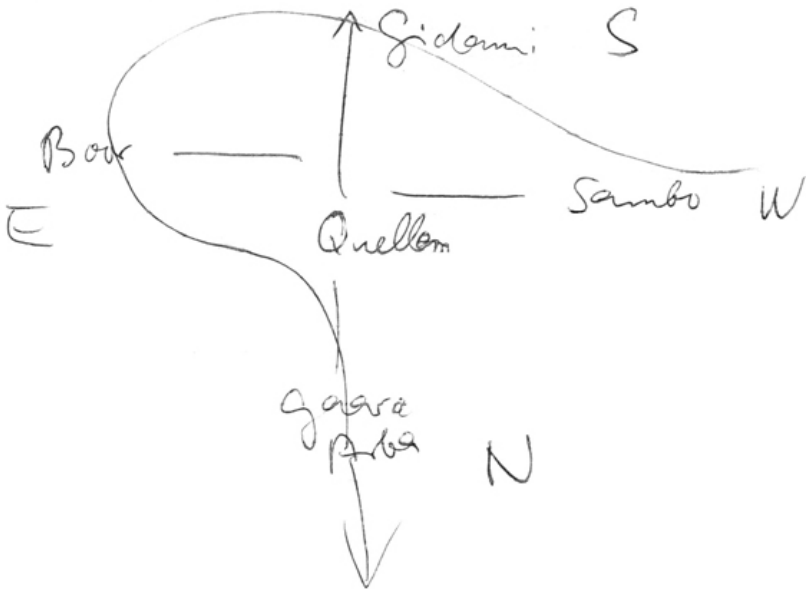
Muhammad’s six-year-old daughter was born after he had been here for a year. She knows both Oromo and Fulfulde and is to go to school. Four of his children live with Muhammad; other children live with his other wife near Yabus. Muhammad has not heard from them in seven years. But he seems confident that they are still alive.

**BEGI**

*Waypoint 097: Lat. 9° 20' 53.25" N / Long. 34° 31' 46.9" E*

“Fellata were around here in the forest from 1993 to 1997. They sold butter and cattle for slaughter. Both were cheaper than the products of the local Oromo. The taste of the meat was different. The butter was a bit watery and only fetched 8 Birr/kg as compared to 10 to 12 Birr/kg.

Then the Fellata moved back towards Kurmuk. They came and went in small groups. On the average there were 50 to 60 families in the area who owned 50 to 60 cattle each.”



(Sketch) Map 6: Seasonal migration routes of Mbororo around Qelem



## QELEM MANAMO

*Waypoint 101: Lat. 9° 10' 45.94" N / Long. 34° 31' 42.11" E*

“The Fellata moved in three quarters of a circle around Qelem. They came from Sambo in the west, moved on to Gidami south of here and on to Gaara Arba in the north. They were here for four years, until 1992. There were around 500 men (500 household heads). They had many cattle, mostly around 100 each. The very rich ones had up to 4,000 head. They sold cattle, butter, and sheep.

In that period the OLF controlled the region. The local population urged them to expel the Fellata. The reason was overgrazing and erosion. The red earth was lying bare. The Fellata then lingered for a while in the mountains before gathering at Gaara Arba and migrating towards Bambesi in the Berta area. On their migration they passed Cha’i, Qanqalca, Sambo.”

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 2001

QAAQE (Kake on map 5 and some other maps)

*Waypoint 116: Lat. 8° 55' 42.2" N / Long. 35° 2' 33.82" E*

“The Mbororo were last here in 1993. They mostly stayed in the Qeeto area below Dembi Dolo. The local population complained about overgrazing. Mbororo cattle are very destructive. They ate and even uprooted the high, hard savannah grass, which is not touched at all by the local cows. The Mbororo had much butter, which they sold.”

## TRIP 8 – EASTERN SUDAN (SEPTEMBER – OCTOBER 2002)

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 2002

### WAD AN-NAIL

On the market place of Wad an-Nail, Awad and I meet Abdullahi, the *daamin* for the Mbororo, or “guarantee man”, as Awad translates this term (see contributions to Schlee, 2004, for similar functions in livestock markets elsewhere). The security officer who had quizzed us at the bus stop had already pointed him out to us, identifying him as *sheekum*, or “their sheikh”.

Abdullahi explains to me that he is a Rufa’a Arab, but that he has had dealings with the Mbororo since 1963. They come here every rainy season, and he is responsible for them as a *daamin*, i.e., he has to guarantee that the animals they come to sell have not been stolen. He claims to speak Fulfulde perfectly.

He explains that the Mbororo will move south again in October/November in spite of the war. According to Abdullahi, the following sections (*khashm al beyt*) are now present in the area:

- Mbororo (in the narrow sense of the term);
- Weyla (= Woyla);
- Daneeji (*bagar abyad* – [Fulbe group with] “white cattle”);
- Uuda;
- Fallaata Malle;
- Dagara;
- Boodi.

Abdullahi says that the nomadic Fulbe (Mbororo in the wide sense of the term) who spend the rainy season in the Wad an-Nail area come from the south, from Yabus, Jikaw, and Gambela. (In fact, they come from quite a few different areas, and we met none who have been inside Gambela State, Ethiopia, this year.)

Abdullahi himself was with Mbororo in Jikaw during the last dry season (*seef*), as he has been for the last three years. He accompanies them as a trader, selling salt and medicines.

He describes his route, which leads along the road to Geesan (Geissan), then to Musay, Gooja, Baabar, Undu, Ahmar Dallu, Raaba, Kashan Karo, Khartoum be l Leel (literally: “Khartoum by night”), Khor ad-Dahab (= Khor ad-Dhahab; “Gold Valley”), Jabal Faabo, and Musai. All these locations are within Blue Nile State, Sudan. In Musai one crosses into Ethiopia. He claims that there are no problems on the Ethiopian side with the population or the authorities.

(In this Abdullahi agrees with Mbororo informants, who never report difficulties encountered in Ethiopia or say explicitly that there were none. Oddly, this contradicts information collected from Ethiopians, who emphasise the ecological damage caused by Mbororo and report attempts to expel them. A possible explanation for this apparent contradiction is that the difficulties

experienced by the Mbororo in Ethiopia pale in comparison with what they have to face in the southern parts of the Sudan [Southern Blue Nile and Upper Nile] each year and, therefore, soon fade from memory.)

The Mbororo only go to Jikaw in the dry season. I tell Abdullahi that Nuer cattle there wade in the flood in the rainy season and graze under water. He confirms that he has heard this, but he has never seen it himself.

We rent an old Toyota Landcruiser, with a certain Ya'aquub as owner/driver, and, taking a Mbororo named Derdi along, set out to find the hamlet of Maahi Bello, our old acquaintance.

His brother, Harun Bello, addresses me in Oromo. He says that he (and that applies, basically, to the other members of this hamlet) was in Oromia for three years. He first went there nine years ago and stayed for three years, but he has not gone there for the past six years. Later he says seven years. He names the following locations:

Place names	Coordinates, if found on map(s) or located by GPS (+ waypoint No.)	Comments
Dambi Dolo (Dembi Dolo on some maps)	Lat. 8° 31' N Long. 34° 47' E	
Gabba Arabi		See notes from November 26, 2001. Probably Gaara Arba, north of Qelem Manamo (waypoint 101: Lat. 9° 10' 45.94" N / Long. 34° 31' 42.11" E). But: the information gathered in Qelem Manamo in November 2001 refers to the time before 1992.
Sambata Gudda		
Waldurra		
Walbaata		
Jimmaata		
Jimma (near Dembi Dolo)	Lat. 8° 57' 19.99" N Long. 34° 44' 38.12" E Waypoint 112	

Sonka		
Beeki (Begi)	Lat. 9° 20' 53.25" N Long. 34° 31' 46.9" E Waypoint 097	
Kobor Dafinno	Lat. 9° 28' 41.8" N Long. 34° 33' 35.4" E Waypoint 093	

▫ In another enumeration:

Place names	Coordinates, if found on map(s) or located by GPS (+ waypoint No.)	Comments
Baye Ndogo		
Waddo Goodere		
Guddu Julu		
Baddeesa		
Gunfi		
Mandi (Mendi on some maps)	Lat. 9° 48' N Long. 35° 6' E	
Gaara Korma		
Gaar Arba		
Jichaw (Jikaw on some maps)	Lat. 8° 22' N Long. 33° 46' E	
Warr Ababo		
Gabba Arabi		Gaara Arba (questionable identification)
Jimmaata		
Walbaata		
Sambal Durra		
Sambata Gudda		
Aboote		
Sonqa		

Gabba Arbi		
Dambi Dolo (Dembi Dolo)	Lat. 8° 31' N Long. 34° 47' E	
Gambela	Lat. 8° 14' N Long. 35° 15' E	
Bongo	Lat. 8° 10' N Long. 34° 50' E	The identity with Bonga on the map is almost certain. The Uduk refugee camp there is known to the informant.
Itang	Lat. 8° 12' N Long. 15° 42' E	
Wadisa		
Teebo		
Daajo (Dago or Dago Post on some maps)	Lat. 9° 12' 6" N Long. 33° 57' 29" E	
Pachume		
Yeng'o		
Ganzo		
Beeki (Begi)	Lat. 9° 20' 53.25" N Long. 34° 31' 46.9" E Waypoint 097	
Dargo		
Kubri Yaabus (Kubri Yabus on some maps)	Lat. 9° 57' N Long. 34° 10' E	

These places have all been mentioned as stopover points in the migration of the camps with their herds. Individuals, of course, have a wider range of mobility. In addition to the above-mentioned localities, Harun Bello has visited the markets in the following towns:

Place names	Coordinates, if found on map(s) or located by GPS (+ waypoint No.)	Comments
Najo	Lat. 9° 30' 34.11" N Long. 35° 29' 47.93" E Waypoint 077	
Naqamte (Nek'emte on some maps)	Lat. 9° 5' N Long. 36° 32' E	Trip by car
Gambela	Lat. 8° 14' N Long. 35° 15' E	
Abobo	Lat. 7° 53' N Long. 34° 32' E	Informant claims to have seen the lake.

In 1997, when the northern National Alliance, jointly with the SPLA, took possession of Kurmuk, this group was on the Ethiopian side of the Sudanese-Ethiopian border. They fled back into Sudan.

There seems to be some reluctance to talk about losses in people and animals in connections with these events, but there appear to have been such losses. Since then (presumably he means in these eastern reaches), Harun's and Maahi Bello's people have not been further south than Khor Bakoori, south of Damazin.

In the dry season (*seef*) of this year, they have been in Adaariyel (Ad-Dariel on map 8), an oil area in Upper Nile. The oil people have drilled wells there and have allowed the herds to drink.

At one point Harun says that they have never paid any fees to anyone for water and grazing. Only *zakat* and the herd tax were paid to agencies of the Government of the Sudan (GoS). But later he mentions that, some four or five years ago, they had to make payments to Shayoor, a Nuer militia leader who delivered the payments to Nasir, to Riek Machar. That was before Zubair Mohamed Salih, the second man in the GoS, was shot down with his aeroplane.

In this area there is a water problem. (Access to the Nile is blocked by settlements and gardens. Nomads rely on natural and artificial ponds, which collect rain water.) When the water here is gone, they want to go south, but not to the areas of Geissan and Kurmuk because mines have been planted there. They will probably take a more westerly route and then cross the border with Ethiopia near the Takaamul Scheme.

Elhadi, a young lecturer at the University of Sennar (see in the meantime Osman 2009, 2013; Osman and Schlee 2014), Abu Na'ama, tells me about Saaleh Bank, a Mbororo leader who was killed three months ago near Malkan, in the Funj region, by the SPLA. That was before Geissan was recaptured from the SPLA by the GoS.

Saaleh Bank had three wives, one in Mazmum, one in Boot, and one with the cattle. He had fought more than a hundred battles. He was rich in cattle. He loved war. The GoS supported him. The opposition accused him of killing civilians. The government knew about his death before the news had spread locally. This shows how much the GoS depended on him.

Harun Bello told Elhadi that the Mbororo hold the GoS responsible for the death of Saaleh Bank. They did not give him sufficient logistical support, failing to supply him with the necessary ammunition and water, for example. Recently, after the occupation of Torit by the SPLA, the GoS wanted to recruit *mujaahidiin* among the Fellata to recapture that Equatorian town. This request was at first denied. In the end, 50 fighters were named reluctantly.

At this point, I depart from the chronological order and continue with more information on Saaleh Bank. He appears to be a legendary figure. On the evening of October 2, 2002, in a camp west of Khor Dunya occupied by Woyla, another nomadic Fulbe group, a man who has just come back from the fighting reported how Saaleh Bank and his group ran out of water and were encircled. He insisted that there was no bullet hole in Saaleh Bank's body, but that he was struck down by the explosion of a bomb. This appears to be important because of the belief that he was "bullet proof" as a result of some magic – which, of course, is of little help if one is killed by the impact of something other than a bullet.

Back to my notes on September 25.

*RELIGIOUS PRACTICES:* Others have described the Mbororo as less literate and less well versed in Islamic practice than other Fulbe cattle nomads (see the interview with Abdullahi Muhammad Sa'id al-Qarawi, March 14, 1998, who contrasts Mbororo with Jaafun, Boodi and Duga). Therefore, I ask Maahi Bello about religious instruction for the children. He says that there is a *khalwa* (Qur'anic school) with a Qur'anic teacher named Faki Muhammad, a Mbororo. (It seems to be some distance away, since we do not hear or see anything of it later in the night.) The grown-ups in this group cannot read or write. He knows some *suras* by heart. The children do not know much about reading and writing either, but they have made a start. The other tribes in the area (I ask about Jaafun, Boodi and Duga) are roughly on the same level.

Some individuals are literate, others not.

A middle-aged man – the youthfulness of his face is somewhat contradicted by the white stubble of the beard surrounding it – carries a whole bundle of *hijbaat* (amulets) around with him. Some of these leather pouches with Qur’anic writings sewn into them – the Somali would call them *hersii* – are pretty big, almost the size of an A6 pocket calendar. I ask him why he carries so many. He has inherited two of them from his father.

He seems to be proud of his knowledge about medicine and magic. He draws our attention to the man next to him who is uttering magical formulas over a rope, which is meant to protect a cow from miscarrying.

The middle-aged man does not seem to like Sheikh Baabo Umar. He tells me that Sheikh Baabo was rejected and “got lost to Khartoum” (*waddar lee al Khartuum*). He might look for some other occupation there.

*DISEASES AND PARASITES:* According to Awad, miscarriages in cows can be caused by brucellosis. He believes this disease to be widespread here. Not only the frequent miscarriages among cows, but also the symptoms about which many people complain (fever, headache) support this assumption.

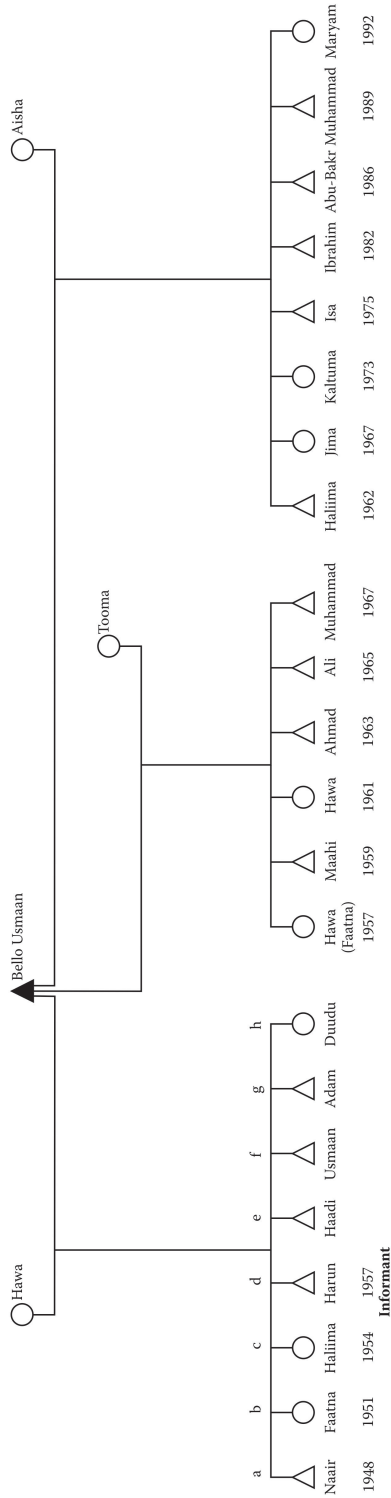
Near the path, I see a heap of human faeces that is full of large worms. Repeatedly, ticks have to be removed from my body.

Awad is surprised that the Mbororo care little about diseases. Several of the Mbororo visitors at the market in Wad an-Nail told him that they felt sick, but they had not sought medical care or even gone to a pharmacy. Several of Maahi Bello’s children are suffering, presumably from malaria.

In the genealogies that I have collected (see below), no mention is made of children who have died, and birth spacing looks suspiciously regular. But there must be considerable child mortality.

*COMPOSITION OF THE SETTLEMENT:* I collect some genealogical data, then ask where the people mentioned are living. Then I proceed the other way round, listing the houses which are visible from where I am sitting and asking who is living there and how they are related to the others, in order to get some rough ideas about residential and marital patterns and group composition.





The letters a-c and e-h stand for the full siblings of the informant, Harun Bello (d). These letters facilitate cross-references with the section containing information about the residence and occupation of Harun Bello's full siblings (see below).

Fig. 2: The father of Maahi and Harun, the late Bello Usmaan, and his wives and children

The first summary statements, according to which all of Bello Usmaan’s children were in the same area and staying with the cattle, was not quite true for this set of full siblings, the only one for which data about residence and occupation was gathered systematically.

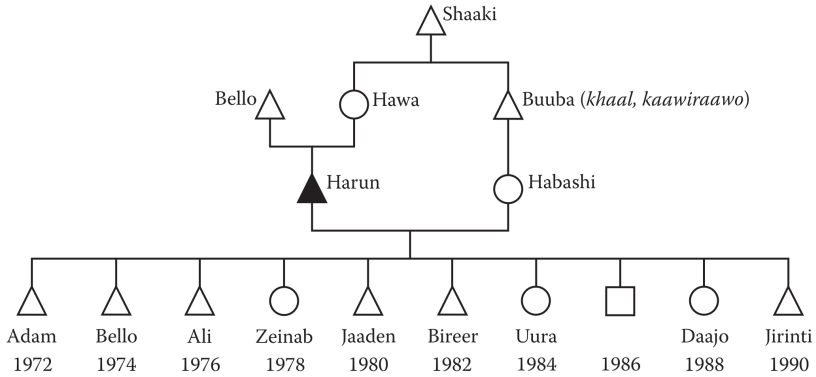


Fig. 3: Harun Bello’s own family

Harun has only one wife. He was 15 when he got married. As the diagram shows, his wife is the daughter of his MB (*khaal*; Fulfulde: *kaawiraawo*). All his children are in the area and occupied with the cattle. The first four of them are married. Adam has a child of three years; the others do not have any children yet.

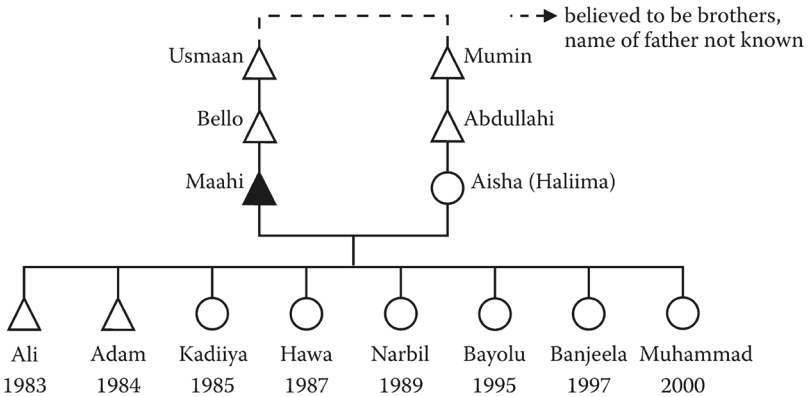
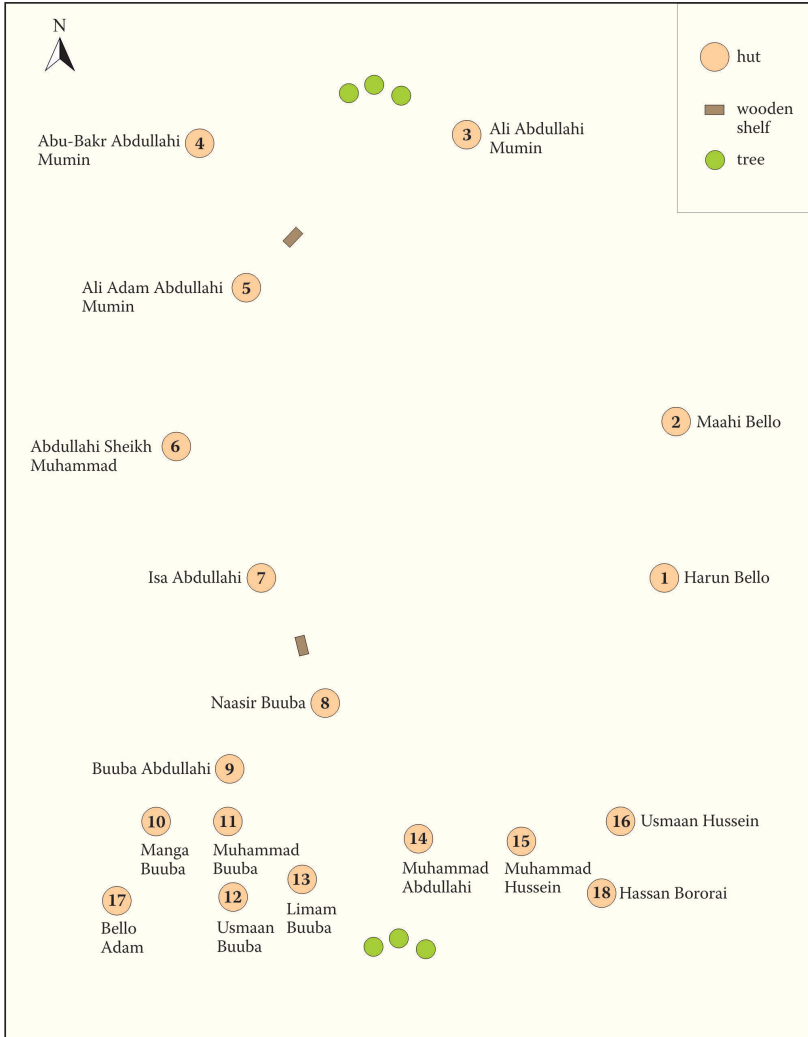


Fig. 4: Maahi Bello’s own family

Usmaan and Mumin, the FFs of the couple, are believed to be brothers, which would make Maahi and Aisha *wad ‘amm/bitt ‘amm* (i.e., patrilateral parallel second cousins) to each other.

The name of the putative shared father of Usmaan and Mumin is not remembered.

Chronological clues for estimating the children’s years of birth were the construction of the highway to Damazin, 1990, and the attack on Kubri Yabus, 1995.



(Sketch) Map 7: The neighbourhood of Maahi and Harun Bello

*RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE HOUSEHOLDS:*

- No. 1, Harun Bello, is a half-brother of No. 2, Maahi Bello.
- No. 2, Maahi Bello, is married to Aisha, daughter of No. 3, Ali Abdullahi Mumin.
- No. 3, Ali Abdullahi, and No. 4, Abu-Bakr Abdullahi, are FBs of No. 5, Ali Adam.
- No. 5, Ali Adam, is married to Hawa, sister of Maahi Bello, No. 2.
- No. 8, Naasir Buuba, is FZSS of Maahi Bello, No. 2.

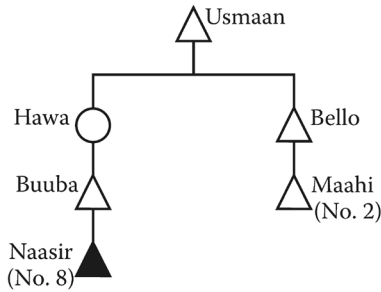


Fig. 5: Kinship relationship between households No. 8 and No. 2

- No. 8 is FBS of No. 7, Isa Abdullahi.
- No. 9, Buuba Abdullahi, is the father of No. 8. His other sons (No. 10, No. 11, No. 13 and No. 14) are located behind him (from Maahi’s house, near which the ethnographer was sitting, to the south).

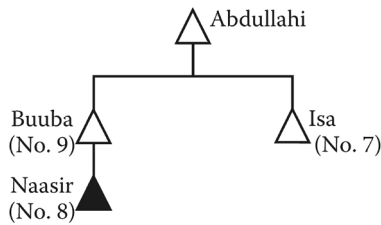


Fig. 6: Kinship relationship between households No. 8 and No. 7

▫ No. 9, Buuba Abdullahi, is FZS of No. 1 and No. 2.

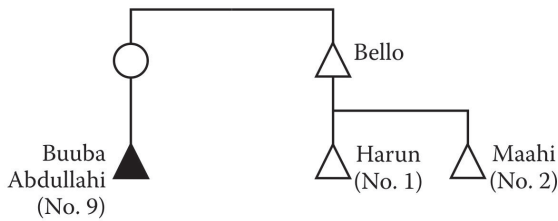


Fig. 7: Kinship relationship between household No. 9 and households No. 1 and No. 2

*RESIDENCE AND OCCUPATION OF SIBLINGS:* I then ask Harun about the residence and occupation of his full siblings. He cannot give me the same information about his half-siblings and other sets of siblings with any certainty, but, as systematic questioning is a bit tedious, I decide that it has been enough for one evening and let free conversation take its course. The letters a-c and e-h refer to fig. 2 above (Bello Usmaan, his wives, and their children)

- a) Naair Bello lives a bit further north, beyond the trees. His first wife, Tooma, is said to be a remote patrilineal parallel cousin. In the case of his second wife, Kaltuma, as well, the relationship cannot be traced to named ancestors. Naair's MF and Kaltuma's FF are believed to be related somehow, which makes her a type of *bitt khaal* (MBD).

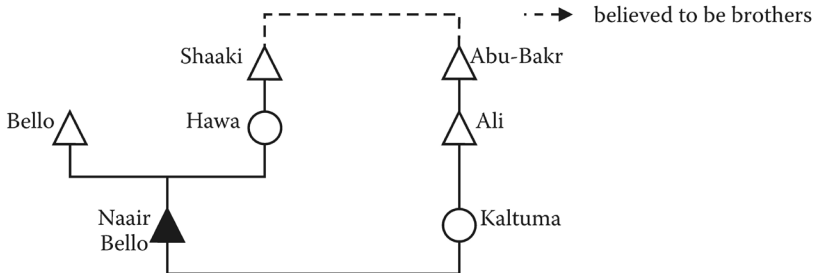


Fig. 8: Kinship relationship between Naair and his second wife Kaltuma

b) Faatna is likewise living beyond the trees (further north). She is married to Isa Abdullahi, her FZS.

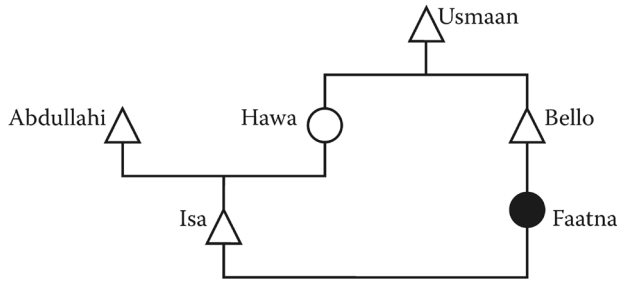


Fig. 9: Kinship relationship between Faatna and her husband Isa Abdullahi

c) Haliima lives in Agade, south-west of Damazin. She is related to her husband, Isma'il, through the brother of a co-wife of her mother. This makes her husband a sort of *wad khaal* (MBS) to her. They are nomadic cattle pastoralists.

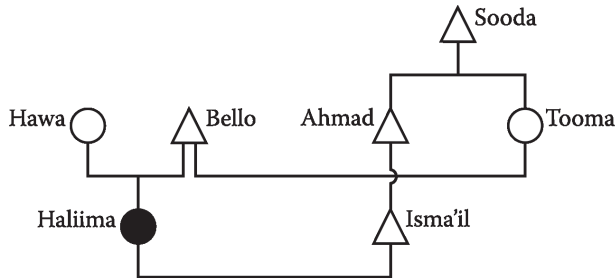


Fig. 10: Kinship relationship between Haliima and her husband Isma'il

e) Haadi Bello is now staying with his cattle at Kumai, near Agade. His wife, Aisha Abu-Bakr, is Mbororo, but not a traceable relative.

f) Usmaan Bello lives in the Ingessana Hills. He is a sedentary farmer in a village. His wife, Baakiita, might be a matrilineal second cousin.

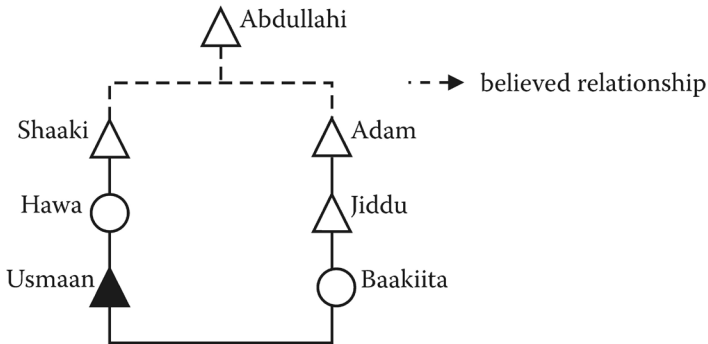


Fig. 11: Kinship relationship between Usmaan and his wife Baakiita

The mother of Usmaan (and of his entire set of full siblings) is very old and can no longer move with this nomadic hamlet. For four years now, Usmaan has lived with her in the Ingessana village. Most of his cattle are here, but he keeps some milk cows for his household. The milk cows are exchanged for fresh ones from the nomadic herd each time the latter passes through the vicinity.

g) Adam lives next to his brother Naair (a). His wife Narba is his FFBSSD.

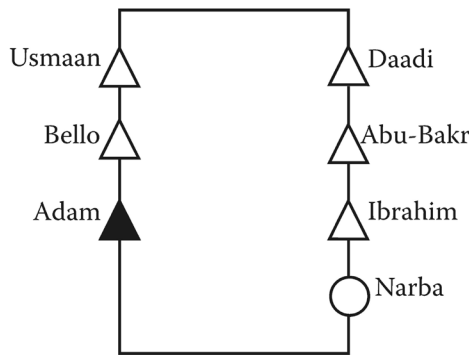


Fig. 12: Kinship relationship between Adam and his wife Narba

h) Duudu lives close to here. She is married to Ali, a type of *wad khaal* through the co-wife of her mother, another mother so to say. The same figuration as c (see fig. 9 above).

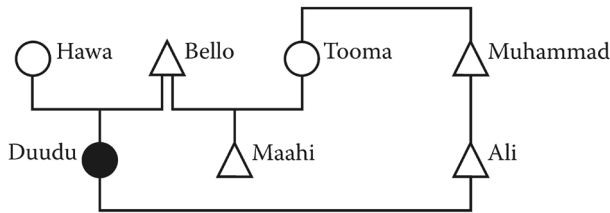


Fig. 13: Kinship relationship between Duudu and her husband Ali

From the perspective of alliance theory (i.e., of the men involved), one can see this as a delayed exchange: Muhammad gives his sister, Tooma, to Bello, and the latter reciprocates by giving his daughter, Duudu, to Muhammad’s son, Ali.

From a female perspective one might theorise that such an arrangement limits rivalry between co-wives. Any parental investment of the shared husband in his children by a co-wife becomes more tolerable to a woman if, ultimately, a relative of her own benefits from these investments by marrying one of these children.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 2002

Some 300 m to the south of the settlement of Maahi and Harun Bello, there is a group of Daneeji (Fulbe with “white cattle”). This group comprises four households. I film the white cattle and photograph some members of that group of Daneeji; the topics include: collecting blood-sucking flies and heating butter to produce ghee.

These Daneeji are originally from Mali and are therefore included into the wider category ‘Fallaata Malle’. The last place they stayed before coming to Sudan was Nigeria. The man who tells me this is in his mid-forties. The migration took place when he was an infant.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 2002

MBORORO CAMP SOUTH OF MAAHI AND HARUN BELLO’S PLACE

This Mbororo camp is quite close to the tarmac road, just to the east of it.

A young man tells me that they spent the *şeef* (dry season) between Jikaw and Nasir. They had many problems with Nuer and SPLA, who simply took cattle. Presumably on an earlier occasion, he has gone as far as Abobo.



We move on to another camp (*farig*) west of the road and the defunct railway line, which now is used for nomadic migrations, since it is straight and clear of vegetation and allows herds and pack animals to move more quickly. Harun Ibrahim Barka, who has accompanied us from Wad an-Nail, originally planned to visit someone further west, but we would not have gotten there before sunset.

The members of this camp were also in Adaariyel during the dry season. The old man who appears to head this hamlet, Sheikh Muhammad Saaleh Muhammad Abu-Bakr, tells us about problems they had with Nuer in the south. They do not accept any law. The Mbororo would go to the *qaadi* (Islamic judge, and by extension Islamic court), but whatever verdict is passed it has no effect on the Nuer. They continue to take cattle by violent means.

Sheikh Muhammad Saaleh Muhammad Abu-Bakr also tells Awad that some Nuer are good. They bring veterinary drugs from Kenya and sell them to the Mbororo for a lower price than they have here.

Later Ali Umar Saaleh from the same group tells us that there is an organisation which brings human and veterinary medicinal drugs and food from Kenya into the Southern Sudan (Lifeline Sudan?). The Nuer do not want to share these services with the Fellata. He himself has been prevented by Nuer from getting in touch with this organisation.

If the Nuer sell drugs to the Fellata, the prices are about half of what they are here. The Nuer themselves get the drugs for free.

A young man shows us his membership card in a militia. It is called *Katiibat al Haqq al Mubiin* – “Clear Truth Militia”. The card is sealed in plastic. This militia consists entirely of Mbororo. Its leader, named Baabikir Barka, lives in Agade.

The Woyla have their own militia, whose leader was Saaleh Bank.

#### SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 2002

In the night it rained, so we decide to go back to the asphalt road. There we meet Adam Jibriil, a MBS of Harun Ibrahim Barka. Notes from the conversation by the roadside:

*ADAM JIBRIIL:* His group has been to Girinti, Nasir, and Lungushu in the *seef*. For the last several years, they have gone to this area during that season. There are Nuer there. Nasir itself is under GoS control, but a location called Keek, just to the north of it, is under the control of Riek Machar.

They pay fees to GoS authorities or to the Nuer, depending on where they are. Payments are made to the *mahaliyya* councils (*mahaliyya* = district, locality), irrespective of who control them. In each location, separate payments must be made. Normally, each camp must pay 500 Dinar or a big sheep or goat.

The Nuer rustle cattle and kill Mbororo each year. Recently, a camp close to here lost one woman and six men. The authorities to whom they pay taxes and fees do not take any action in such cases.

*HARUN IBRAHIM BARKA:* In Subat on the Yabus, the Burun have attacked Fellata. (In a later conversation, his brother, Ali, says that the attacks occurred at Daanaja on the Yabus.) He himself narrowly escaped. His son was shot through the thigh (and taken by a military plane to Khartoum for treatment. Now he is back in the camp). Forty-five of his cows were killed. His paternal cousin, who was in the *Difa<sup>c</sup> ash Sha<sup>c</sup>bi* (“Popular Defense Force”), was killed and his gun was taken.

This happened in spite of the presence of government forces in the area.

*ALI UMAR SAALEH:* Some Mbororo are now returning to the south. On the way to Adaariyel, there is a two-day stretch without water (Harun: three days). One has to pass it while the grass is green.

*ADAM BELLO:* From a nearby mobile residential group, the members of which are now on the move to the south again, six people were killed near Nasir earlier this year. Some of the Nuer raiders wore uniforms. They looted the camp at ten o'clock in the morning. The youths were not near the settlement at this time. When they heard of the attack, they followed the raiders and retrieved some of the stock. The net loss in the end was about 50 cows and 100 head of small stock.

The day before, the same Nuer had come and asked for small stock for slaughter. The Mbororo gave them nine.

Back to the cluster of hamlets west of Wad an-Nail: Just to the north-east of Harun Ibrahim Barka's own place, we find his brother Ali. There are five brothers and four sisters in the neighbourhood. Ali is a member of the *Mu<sup>c</sup>tammār al Watani*, the government party, and he is its deputy chairman in the Omodiyya of Sireu ('Omodiyya' refers here primarily to an administrative unit organised on a tribal basis).

In the *ṣeef*, this group was at Bunj. There are vast lakes throughout the region.

Jumjum, Burun, Uduk, Dawwala, Ragaarig, and Surkum are those who kill many “Sudanese”.

With Harun, I draw a map of these southern movements. He draws the dots and I add the names (see map 8). The serial ordering reminds one of Rendille and Gabra perceptions of space (see my paper entitled ‘Policies and Boundaries’, Schlee 1990). The “17” north of Adaariyel stands for a location with that name: Sabaat<sup>c</sup>ashr.



(Sketch) Map 8: Seasonal movements of Mbororo (Harun Ibrahim Barka's group)

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 2, 2002

#### WOYLA HAMLET WEST OF KHOR DUNYA

After the greetings and some small talk under the shade tree, I mention that I have been to Qashmando (see entry from November 26, 2001). This immediately gets the attention of everybody there. When I mention the name of Muhammad Zakariya, the Woyla man I have met there, I am corrected: the man in question is Muhammad Jibriil. Our main interlocutor, Abu-Bakr Ahmad Jibriil says that Muhammad is his FB. The story fits: the man in question was separated from his group before the SPLA attack five years ago (they specify that it was after the first attack against Kubri Yabus in 1994 or 1995); he herds the animals of a rich Oromo; his Fulbe family is in the Yabus area, etc. Certainly, there are not two Muhammads in the same group and with the same biography living in Qashmando (those who pointed him out to us described him as the only Pullo far and wide). For now, it is a mystery to me why I have Zakariya as his father's name in my notes. Did he find it convenient in Ethiopia to affiliate himself with someone named Zakariya? Did I mishear the name?

The men where we are all have two scars from apparently deep incisions from the corner of the mouth to the ears. I ask them whether all Woyla men have such scars. Muhammad in Qashmando did not appear to have any. The answer is in the affirmative. Muhammad has small scars such as these too.



Portrait of a Woyla man

My interlocutors report that there are SPLA attacks against them every year. In one year, there are ten dead and in another five, counting only the Woyla casualties. In the south, one can no longer be sure of one's life. At any time, one can be shot or deprived of one's cattle. Fellata are known for their ability to suffer without lamenting, but what can one say now?

Here, all along the Nile, Hausa have made gardens so that the cattle have no access to the water. Further south, in the Southern Blue Nile area of the Sudan (*Saa'id*), it is the same. In other places, the Woyla have to pay Arabs for water. But they cannot even rely on these sources. If they come a second time, the Arabs might refuse to sell them water.

In Ethiopia they received medicine for their cattle free cost. Here, they have to pay for it. Sometimes a bull, sometimes small stock needs to be sold to cover these expenses.

Abu-Bakr has much linguistic agility. When I ask him in Oromo whether he speaks Oromo, he answers in Amharic, saying that his Amharic is quite alright but that he only speaks a little Oromo. He also has an English vocabulary of a few dozen words and phrases, although he did not go to school. It would not be enough for a conversation, but he demonstrates his knowledge of vocabulary by enumerating the words he knows. He also claims to speak Ingessana and Burun. Of course, I understand nothing of his demonstrations. That everyone here speaks fluent Sudan Arabic, in addition to their native Fulfulde, goes without saying.

The Woyla sheikh in Damazin is said to be Hassan Abu-Bakr Riiri. Muhammad in Qashmando had given another name: Suleymaan Bello.

Muhammad might, of course, be referring to an earlier period.

A man named Idris Abu-Bakr Usmaan says that his younger brother, Muhammad Abu-Bakr, was with Muhammad Jibriil in Gambela. The group of Abu-Bakr Ahmad, our main interlocutor, went to Gambela-Begi-Qashmando for three years, but has not done so for the last seven years.

Not everyone here is a full-time herder. An elderly man, Usmaan Ahmad Saaleh, says that he has a farm in Sinja Nabaag, near Damazin. There he has a wife, children and a part of his cattle. Here, he has a junior wife, children, and more cattle. He came to Sudan 30 years ago.

Ahmad Abu-Bakr explains three routes to *seef* pastures, one to the south, one to the south-west, and one to the west.

▫ The route to the south:

Place names	Coordinates, if found on map(s) or located by GPS (+ waypoint No.)	Comments
Gamberda		
Dunduru (Dindiro)	Lat. 11° 4' N Long. 34° 7' 11" E	
Saali		
Keeli (Kayli on some maps)	Lat. 10° 50' 42" N Long. 34° 19' 26" E	
Kurmuk	Lat. 10° 33' N Long. 34° 17' E	
Khor Boodi		
Deem		

▫ The route to the west:

Place names	Coordinates, if found on map(s) or located by GPS (+ waypoint No.)	Comments
Rooro		
Jammaam		
Jirewa	Lat. 11° 4' N Long. 34° 7' 11" E	
Gulli		
Amgar		
Buut		
Dungulawi		
Latam		
Joogdiik		
Gosalbiit		
Karaw		
Goos Damib		
Turuk		
Daw (Baw on some maps)	Lat. 11° 19' 39.88" N Long. 34° 5' 28" E	
Baar		
Sheer		
Falloj		
Adaariyel		
Bandallu		Water pools in Adaariyel
Galgug		
Tonpoloori		
Kosuga		
Dandal		
Mashru <sup>c</sup> bita <sup>c</sup> gism		The name means: “project belonging to a unit (of the army)”.

Girinti Jua		All sorts of wild animals live there, including lions.
Nasir	Lat. 8° 36' N Long. 33° 4' E	

▫ The route to the south-west:

Place names	Coordinates, if found on map(s) or located by GPS (+ waypoint No.)	Comments
Buuk		
Al-Ahmar (Sidak)		
Wad Dabook		
Sillak		
Malkan		
Uulu		
Fooj		
Seeda		
Zarzura		
Donki Deleeb		
Jammaam al-Gahnam		
Kidwa		
Dabanyaawa		
Jine'oob		
Maaber		
Longushu		
Daajo (Dago or Dago Post on some maps)	Lat. 9° 12' 6" N Long. 33° 57' 29" E	
Teebo		
Mayyut (Mayot)	Lat. 8° 36' N Long. 33° 55' E	

Uriel		
Ng'elegel		
Malwal		
Jikaw	Lat. 8° 22' N Long. 33° 46' E	
Nasir	Lat. 8° 36' N Long. 33° 4' E	
Faashimi		
Sonka		
Akulla		
Itang	Lat. 8° 12' N Long. 34° 15' E	
Abol		
Gambela	Lat. 8° 14' N Long. 35° 15' E	
Bonga	Lat. 8° 10' N Long. 34° 50' E	
Mangist Dirsha		
Aloro		
Giilo		
Funyudo	Lat. 7° 40' N Long. 34° 14' E	Also Pinyudo, Funyido, etc. – the location of a large refugee camp
Fashala		







# INTERVIEW: SHEIKH BAABO UMAR

FULBE (FULANI) MBORORO, CA. 40 YEARS

## DATE AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW:

July 23, 1996; Damazin

INTERVIEWER: Günther Schlee

FIELD ASSISTANT: Anwar Abu-Manga

TRANSCRIPTION, TRANSLITERATION (ARABIC): Günther Schlee

TRANSLATION: Günther Schlee & Anwar Abu-Manga

## SHEIKH BAABO

I was born in the Sudan, here in Damazin. And my father was born in Nigeria. And he was very young (when he came here). The reason (for the migration) was that the British came to Nigeria.

And the Sultan Mai-Wurno<sup>1</sup> came straight to Maiurno with his relatives and villagers.

When we came from there, there was lack (of water), there was no water.

And we lived in the bush. The government at that time consisted of districts, each of which had its own self-administration.

They had a *naazir*<sup>2</sup> (Nazir) who was responsible for the villages.

And all Fallaata (Fulbe/Fulani) belonged to °Uthmaan ibn Fodio (°Uthmaan dan Fodio). And he lived by a river called Gobir in the

Anaa mawluud fii as Suudaan hina fii ad Damazin. Wa abii mawluud fii Naajiriya. Wa kaan umruh ṣaghayyir as sabab Ingliis khashsha (= dakhal) fii Naajiriya.

Wa as Sulṭaan Mai-Wurno ṭawaalii khashsha fii Maiurno wa l ahal bitaa°inuu al baadiya.

Wagit gumna min hinaak kaan al °adam kaan mooya maafi.

Wa niḥna °aishiin fii l khalaa°. Kaan zaman kull wilaaya °indahaa ḥukuuma baraahaa min al °aaṣima.

°Indahaa naazir mas°uul °an al bilaad.

Wa kaan al Fallaata(h) kullahum taabi°in li °Uthmaan ibn Fodio. Wa kaan fii baḥar fii shamaal Kano ismuhu Gobir.

شيخ بأبو  
انا مولود في السودان هنا في الدمازين. وابي مولود في نجيريا. وكان عمره صغير. السبب الإنجليز خش (= دخل) في نجيريا.

والسلطان ميورنو طوالي خش في مايرنو والأهل بتاعينو الباديا.

وقت قمنا من هناك كان العدم كان موية مافي.

ونحن عيشين في الخلاء. كان زمن كل ولاية عندها حكومة براها من العاصمة.

عندها ناظر مسئول عن البلاد.

وكان الفلاتة كلهم تابعين لعثمان ابن فوديو. وكان في بحر في شمال كانوا اسمه قوير. لقينا السلطان ميورنو قعد في شيخ طلحة.

<sup>1</sup> The Sultan in question was a son of Attahiru (At-Tahir), the last ruler to assume the position of Caliph in Sokoto before British rule.

<sup>2</sup> *Naazir*: head of the highest administrative unit in the British colonial Native Administration system, a unit usually constituted by a tribe with traditional tribal land.

north of Kano. We found Sultan Mai-Wurno staying in Shaikh Talha (town).

Ligiinaa s Sulṭan Mai-Wurno ga°id fii Sheekh Ṭalḥa.

*Q1: Before he (Mai-Wurno) reached there which route did he take?*

(And) he was coming by way of Cameroon. He started from Maiduguri, from a village by the name of Yarwa. He entered from Yarwa into Cameroon and stayed there for four years.

With their cattle and their goats they went to Cameroon having entered into the country in the north near the Chad border.

Wa kaan jaa°a bi ṭariig al Kamaruun. Qaam min Maiduguri min balad ismuh Yarwa(h). Khashsha min Yarwah le l Kamaruun wa ga°ad arba°a sanawaat.

Bee bagarahum wa ghanamahum marro fii Kamaruun khashshoo fii balad fii shamal fii ḥuduud Tashaad.

س1: قبل أن جاء إلى شيخ طلحة جاء بأي طريق؟

وكان جاء بطريق الكمرون. قام من مي دقري من بلد اسمه يروه. خش من يروه للكمرون وقعد اربعة سنوات.

بي بقرهم وغنمهم مروا في كمرون خشوا في بلد في شمال حدود تشاد.

*Q2: In Adamawa?*

Yes, that's it.

There is a lake in the north of Cameroon called Lake Chad.

And there is a river by the name of Saadi (Chari?), a big river. Kisira is to the west of the river. Of course, there was no bridge.

When they came into Chad, they stayed to the south of N°Djamena.

And after that they stayed nine years near the rivers Saadi and Kuuri (?). And from there, there was a Sultan by the name of Sultan Mai-Wurno, and the villages belonged to him. And further on there was a

Aiwa bas.

Fii baḥar fii shamaal Kamaruun ismuh baḥar Tashaad.

Wa fii baḥar ismuhu Saadii, baḥar kabiir. Kisira gharb al baḥar. Taba°an kubri maafi.

°Indamaa jaa°uu fii Tashaad ga°adoo fii januub Injameena.

Wa ba°ad dhaalik ga°adoo tis°a sanawaat gurb baḥar Saadii wa Kuurii. Wa min hinaak fii s Sulṭan ismuh as Sulṭan Mai-Wurno wa bitaa°a l baadiya hagu wa min hinaak fii l wakiil °ibaara °an mushrif al baadiya

س2: في أدماوة؟

أبوا، بس. في بحر في شمال كمرون اسمه بحر تشاد.

وفي بحر اسمه بحر صادي بحر كبير. كسرى غرب البحر. طبعاً كبري مافي.

عندما جاوا في تشاد قعدوا في جنوب انجمينا.

ويعد ذلك قعدوا تسع سنوات قرب بحر صادي وكوري. ومن هناك في السلطان اسمه السلطان ميورنو ويتاع البادية حقه ومن هناك في الوكيل عبارة عن مشرف البادية اسمه مؤمن يتابعوا.

deputy in charge of the villages by the name of Mu'min.

Five elders of the Umm Bororo (Mbororo) were prepared to go to Maiurno. They started to come here (i.e., in this region, Sudan) from a place within the borders of Zalingei.

And they came by way of Nyala, west of Andako (Um Dafoog) and some of them entered by Gaabah.

ismuhu Mu'min bitaabi'uu.

Khamsa min kibaar al Umm Bororo ista'addo le dukhuul Maiurno. Gamoo dakharoo fii mantiga fii huduud az Zaalinjee [= Zaalingee].

Wa joo 'an tariig Nyaala gharb Andaakoo (= Um Dafoog) wa juz'u minhum khashsha fii Gaabah.

خمسة من كبار الأم برورو استعدوا لدخول مايرنو. قاموا دخلا في منطقة في حدود الزالنجي.

وجوا عن طريق نياالا غرب انداكوا (= أم دافوق) وجزء منهم خش في قابه.

*Q3: And your father and family came by which route?*

They went to Nyala and spent three years there.

From there my father went straight to El Obeid and founded the village Um Hajar, west of the White Nile Province. From there they moved in the area around the river for 14 years. From there they went to Kosti, and from there to Maiurno.

Joo fi Nyaala 'amaluu fiihi talaata (= thalaatha) sanawaat.

Min hinaak abuy 'adda (= dhahab) tawaali jaa'a fii al Ubayyid 'amalu hilla Um Hajar gharb wilaayat an Niil al Abyad. Minnu 'abaru bi l bahar arba'ata 'ashara sanna. Minnu 'addu ila Kosti wa minnu ila Maiurno.

س3: وابوك وعائلتكم جاء من أي طريق؟

جوا [= جاوا] في نياالا عملوا فيه ثلاث (= ثلاث) سنوات.

من هناك ابوي عد (= ذهب) طوالي جاء في الأبيض عملوا حلة أم حجر غرب ولاية النيل الأبيض. منوا عبروا بالبحر اربعة عشر سنة. منو عدوا الى كوستي ومنو الى مايرنو.

*Q4: Did you all travel together with Sultan Mai-Wurno?*

From this point, from here to Malakal the leadership of all of the Fallaata (Fulani) belonged to Mai-Wurno.

Min hina khalaas, min hinaa ism Fallaata lee Malakaan ri'aasa kullu bitaa'u Mai-Wurno.

س4: جنيتكم كلكم مع السلطان ميورنو؟

من هنا خلاص من هنا اسم فلاتة لي ملكان رئاسة كلو بتاعو ميورنو.

*Q5: From your departure from Nigeria until you reached Maiurno, how many years did it take?*

They started from Sokoto. To Cameroon (it took them) 21 years. They went slowly at the pace of the livestock (which needed) rest. From Cameroon to Chad (it took) 24 years.

In the area between Chad and Sudan they stayed eight years.

Then they entered Nyala. Then, of course, they entered Sudan finally.

Up to today, some of our people live there, in Nyala. And some of them entered Kosti when the British left or before they left Sudan two years later.

Gaamu min Sokoto hatta Kamaruun waahid wa °ishriin sanna. Maashiin beraaḥa laggait al bahaaim tartaah. Min Kamaruun hatta Tshaad [= Tashaad] arba°a wa °ishriin sanna.

Min Tshaad ilaa as Suudaan tammo tamaaniya sanna.

Ba°ad daak khashshuu Nyaala. Taba°an ba°ad daak khashshuu as Suudaan khalaas.

Lee hasse° fii naas ga°idiin fii Nyaala hinaak. Wa juz°u dakhloo Kosti lamma al Ingliizi khalluu as Suudaan ba°ad maa akhaduu sanateen al Ingliiz ghaadaru as Suudaan.

س5: منذ أن قاموا من نايجيريا حتى مايرنو كم سنة؟

قاموا من سكتو حتى كمرون واحد وعشرين سنة. ماشين براحة لقايت البهايم ترتاح. من كمرون حتى تشاد أربع وعشرين سنة.

من تشاد الى السودان تموا ثمانية سنة.

بعد داك خشوا نيالا. تبعاً بعد داك خشوا السودان خلاص.

لي هسع في ناس قعدين في نيالا هناك. وجزء دخلوا كوستي لماً الإنجليز خلوا السودان بعد ما أخذوا سنتين الإنجليز غادروا السودان.

*Q6: Did they come before the Mahdiyya or during the time of the Mahdiyya?*<sup>3</sup>

They came six years before the Mahdiyya.

Joo gabla al Mahdiyya bee sitta sanna.

س6: هل جاؤا قبل المهديية او في وقت المهديية؟

جوا قبل المهديية بي ستة سنة.

*Q7: What did they do during the Mahdiyya? And did the tribes join the Mahdiyya?*

When we came, four tribes joined the Mahdiyya. But the remainder did not join

Wakit ji°inaa arba°a gabaa°il inḍammat ma°a al Mahdiyya. Laakin al baagi

س7: ماذا فعلوا عن المهديية؟ وهل القبائل انضمت مع المهديية؟

وقت جننا اربع قبائل إنضمت مع المهديية. لكن الباقي لم ينضموا مع المهديية.

<sup>3</sup> The term 'Mahdiyya' refers here to the Mahdist era (1882–1898).

the Mahdiyya.

lam yanɗammuu ma<sup>°</sup>a l  
Mahdiyya.

*Q8: What were the names of the four tribes that joined the Mahdiyya?*

س8: إسم القبائل الأربع التي انضمت مع المهديّة؟

One is Duga, (then there is) Jaafun, (Fallaata) Malle called Gamba, (and) the last one is Ngara.

Waaḥid Duga, Jaafuun, Malle, biguuluu lee Gamba, al aakhir Ngara.<sup>4</sup>

واحد دوقا، جافون، ملي، بقولوا ليه قмба، الأخر نقرا.

*Q9: Were all of them Fulani? Was their Sultan Attahiru?*<sup>5</sup>

س9: كلهم فولاني سلطانهم الطاهر؟

All of them were Fulani. And their Sultan was (first) Attahiru. But after they arrived in Sudan, they had no Sultan (for some time) and (then) Mai-Wurno became their Sultan.

Kulluhum Fulani, wa Sulṭaanuhum kaan aṭ Ṭaahiru. Laakin min maa dakhluu s Suudaan bagaa maafii Sulṭan wa bagaa Sulṭaanuhum as Sulṭaan Mai-Wurno.

كلهم فولاني وسلطانهم كان الطاهر لكن من ما دخلوا السودان بقى مافي سلطان وبقى سلطانهم السلطان ميورنو.

The first (Fulani) tribes to enter Sudan were the Mbororo.

Awwala al gabaa<sup>°</sup>il al dakhlat as Suudaan Umm Bororo.

اول القبائل دخلت السودان ام برورو.

*Q10: Are the Duga and the Fallaata Malle also Mbororo?*

س10: هل الدقا والفلاتة ملي ايضاً ام برورو؟

Mbororo. But any people who are of the same grouping and have the same cattle and the same customs and the same traditions (would be called Umm Bororo – i.e., Mbororo).

Umm Bororo. Laakin ayyu naas baraaḥum wa bagarhum waaḥid wa ṭabii<sup>°</sup>a waaḥid wa at tagaliid waaḥid.

أم برورو. لكن أي ناس براهم وبقرهم واحد وطبيعة واحد والتقاليد واحد.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Ng’ in Fulfulde becomes نق in Arab transcription.

<sup>5</sup> Attahiru (At-Tahir) advocated emigration from Sokoto after the British forces defeated the armies of the Sokoto Caliphate in the battle of Sokoto in March 1903. He then headed east with a number of followers before being killed by the British at Burmi in July 1903. After his death Mai-Wurno became the new leader of the migratory movement that started with the fall of the Caliphate.

*Q11: When they left there, did every one of them have enough cattle to make a living? And particularly did the scholars and the town dwellers among them have enough cattle to get along?*

There were no towns and no trade, but there were cattle and sheep, and there were donkeys for transporting things they needed for their livelihood.

*Q12: How did you obtain camels?*

The camels were found with the Arabs, and we used to buy camels because we carried our things, and because of the water (we needed) and because the town was far away, and the camels were bred just to carry our water.

*Q13: I have seen Fallaata (Fulani) in northern Benin and they were afraid of camels.*

Camels are found in the borderlands of the Sudan between Libya and Chad. And when the Fallaata (Fulani) came into Sudan, there were tribes called Hamar in Kordofan. But the other tribes did not have camels. And we also came to know camels in the

Maafi al mudun wa t tijaara kaanat fii al bagar wa kaanat fii al ḍaan wa l ma<sup>ci</sup>iisha hiya al ḥimaar.

Al jimaal wujidat °and al °Arab wa kunna nashtarii al jimaal, °ashaan nashid fiihaa ashyaa<sup>naa</sup>, wa kamaan °ashaan al mooya wa l madiina ba<sup>ida</sup> wa kaan al jimaal nurabiihaa bas °ashaan nangul beehaa al mooya.

Al jimaal mutawaajida fii ḥuduud as Suudaan beena [= been] Liibiya wa Tashaad. Wa l Fallaata wagit dakhalu as Suudaan fii gabaa<sup>il</sup> ismahaa l Ḥamar fii Kurduufaan wa laakin bagii al gabaa<sup>il</sup> fii shamaal Kurduufaan maa °indahaa jimaal wa niḥna aīdan

س11: عندما خرجوا من هناك كان كل واحد معه بقر كافة لمعشئة خاصة وهل كان العلماء والسكان المدن بينهم بقر كافي لمعيشتهم؟

مافي المدن والتجارة كانت في البقر وكانت في الضان والمعيشة هي الحمار.

س12: كيف تحصلتم على الجمال؟

الجمال وجدت عند العرب وكنا نشترى الجمال، عشان نشد فيها أشياءنا وكمان عشان الموية والمدينة بعيدة وكان الجمال نربيهما بس عشان نقل بيها الموية.

س13: رايت الفلاتة في شمال بينين وهم يخافون الجمال.

الجمال متواجدة في حدود السودان بين ليبيا وتشاد والفلاتة وقت دخلوا السودان في قبائل إسماها الحمر في كردفان ولكن بقي القبائل في شمال كردفان ما عندها جمال ونحن ايضاً عرفنا الجمال في السودان من قبائل الحمر تسكن قريب منا في البادية.



Sudan from the Hamar tribes living near us in the nomadic lands.

Much like the house to which we went yesterday (the Mbororo settlement we visited), there was a house belonging to Arabs near us. For that reason we came to know camels.

And there were people who did not purchase camels because their children were afraid of them.

And they used to buy one or two in order to fetch water for themselves.

At first they were afraid to ride camels.

°arifnaa l jimaal fii s  
Suudaan min gabaa°il l  
Hamar taskun gariib  
minanaa fii l baadiya.

Zey al beet al masheena fii  
amis fii beet bitaa° arabii  
jambanaa. °Ashaan kiidaa  
nihna waalafna l jimaal.

Wa fii naas maa akhadu l  
jimaal la°anuu awlaaduhum  
yukhaafuuna minhaa.

Wa kaan yashtaruuna  
waahid wa °itneen °ashaan  
yashiil al mooya bitaa°um.

Wa fii awwal marra  
khaafuu min rukuub aj  
jamal.

زي البيت المشينا في امس في  
بيت بتاع عربي جمينا. عشان  
كدا نحن والفنا الجمال.

وفي ناس ما أخذوا الجمال لأن  
اولادهم يخافون منها.

وكان يشترون واحد وإثنين  
عشان يشيل الموية بتاعم.

وفي اول مرة خافوا من ركوب  
الجمال.

*Q14: And how did you learn to ride camels?*

From our fathers. And our fathers learned it from our grandfathers. They used to buy some (camels) and train them by taking the camels to pasture, telling us upon their return to mount the camels.

Min abahaatinaa. Wa  
abahaatinaa it°allamuu min  
ajdaadinaa. Kaan bishtaru  
basiit wa kaan bihanisuunaa  
°ashaan nasrah aj jamal wa  
kaan lamma najii biguuluu  
leenaa narkab aj jamal.

س14: وكيف تعلمتم ركوب  
الجمال؟

من ابهاتنا وابهاتنا اتعلموا من  
اجدادنا. كان يشتروا بسيط  
وكان بحنسونا عشان نسرح  
الجمال وكان لما نجي يقولوا  
لينا نركب الجمل.

*Q15: And the goats and the cattle? Is their origin Nigerian?*

They are from Nigeria.

Min Naajiiriya.

من نجيريا.

*Q16: Livestock have different tribes like people; are there Fulani cattle?*

س15: والغنم والبقر اصله من  
نجيريا؟

س16: والمال عنده قبائل  
معينة مثل الناس؛ في بقر  
فولاني؟

There are four kinds of cattle that belong to the Fallaata (Fulani).

Those with white ears and black horns are called *kuuri beeḍa* ('white *kuuri*'<sup>6</sup>). The tribe (to which they belong) is called Daneeji.

Fii bagar bitaa<sup>a</sup> Fallaata bee arba<sup>a</sup> nuu<sup>c</sup>.

Abyaḍ al aḍaan, aswad al garin biguuluu lee kuuri beeḍa. Gabiila biguuluu lee Daneeji.

في بقر بتاع الفلاتة بي اربعة نوع.

ابيض الأضان أسود القرن بقولوا ليه كوري بيضة. قبيلة بقولوا ليه دنيجي.

*Q17: To which tribe do the kuuri beeḍa belong? Do all the Fallaata (Fulani) have the kuuri beeḍa?*

No, Daneeji. The cattle that belong to the Fallaata Mbororo are called *kuuri ḥamra* ('red *kuuri*'). Another kind is called *baudi*. They are small in size and have big horns. The tribe (i.e., strain of cattle) to which they belong is *gudaali*. The colour of the cattle of the Kuuda (Fulani [= Uuda?]) is white. It is called *booteeji*. Their dew laps are long.

The small stock is of 41 kinds.

Laa, Daneeji. Bagar bitaa<sup>a</sup> Fallaata Umm Bororo biguuluu lee kuuri ḥamra. Nu<sup>c</sup> taanii biguuluu lee baudi. Ḥajimu ṣaghayyir wa garin kabiir. Al gabiila bitaa<sup>u</sup> baudi. Gabaa<sup>i</sup>il gudaali. Kuuda loon bagarhum abiyad. Ism bitaa<sup>u</sup> booteeji. Al ragabtu hagu tawiil.

Aḍḍaan waahid wa arba<sup>i</sup>in nu<sup>c</sup>.

س17: كوري بيضة من أي قبيلة فلاتة كلهم بكوري بيضة؟

لا دنيجي. بقر بتاع فلاتة ام برورو بقولوا ليه كوري حمرة. نوع ثاني بقولوا ليه بودي. حجمو صغير وقرن كبير. القبيلة بتاعو بودي. قبائل قدالي. كودة لون بقرهم أبيض. اسم بتاعوا بوتيجي. الرقبته حقوا طويل.

الضان واحد و أربعين نوع.

*Q18: Have you seen kuuri ḥamra cattle with Arabs or Bornu?*

Only with Fallaata (Fulani).

Al Fallaata bas.

س18: رأيت البقر كوري حمرة مع العرب او مع البرنو؟

الفلاتة بس.

*Q19: Do tribes such as the Arabs or the Bornu or the Dinka try to buy them?*

Only for slaughter. They do not buy them (i.e., *kuuri*

Illa aj jizaara bas. Maa gaa<sup>i</sup>ida tishtaraii waa maa

س19: والقبائل مثل العرب والبرنو والدينكا يحاولون ان يشتروهم؟

الا الجزارة بس. ما قاعدة تشتري وما يبيعوا ليهم لأنهم ما

<sup>6</sup> *Kuuri* is itself a term that means 'cattle with big horns' in Fulfulde (see also Noye 1989: 210).

*hamra*) (otherwise) and we (i.e., the Mbororo) do not buy from them because they do not like these cattle that do not like the village.

Because they (*kuuri hamra*) like far away pastures. The Borgu and the Hausa all live in towns. The names 'Bornu' and 'Borgu' are similar, but they refer to different tribes. The Mbororo do not belong to these tribes. They are (all) different from one another.

bibii<sup>°</sup>uu leehum li<sup>°</sup>annahum ma itwajahuu li l bagar da wa maa daair hilla.

Laannu daair khalla. Al Borgu wa l Hausa kullu mada<sup>°</sup>in. Bornu wa Borgu ism gariib lee ba<sup>°</sup>aɗ laakin gabaa<sup>°</sup>il maafi. Umm Bororo maa waahid. Mukhtalifaat lee ba<sup>°</sup>aɗ.

اتوجهو للبقر دا وما داير حلة.

لأن داير حلة. البقر والهوسا كل مدائن. برنو ويرقو اسم قريب لي بعض لكن قبائل مافي. ام برورو ما واحد. مختلفات لي بعض.

*Q20: And now the kuuri hamra cattle is like an identity marker for you?*

س20: والان بقر كوري حمرة مثل علامتكم؟

[Sheikh Baabo has not understood the question, but he takes up the word <sup>°</sup>alaama ('sign').]

The sign and the name belong to the original cattle.

<sup>°</sup>Allaamaat wasm bita<sup>°</sup> bagar ašlii.

علامة وسم بتاع بقر أصلي.

*Q21: The cattle are a sign for you. When you see from afar a certain tribe, you see also a certain type of cattle. For example, the kuuri hamra, if you see them, does it mean that there is a certain tribe?*

س21: البقر علامة لك. عندما رايت من بعيد قبيلة معينة رايت بقر معينة. مثلاً زي كوري حمرة لو رايتها معناها في قبيلة معينة؟

They belong to one Fulani tribe. Woyla have *kuuri hamra*, but these have got long horns. There are also Woyla who have *kuuri hamra* but with different horns.

Bitaa<sup>°</sup> gabiila Fulani. Woyla zey kuuri hamra laakin <sup>°</sup>induh garin tawiiil. Taani Woyla zey kuuri hamra laakin <sup>°</sup>induh ikhtilaaf fii l garin.

بتاع قبيلة فولاني. ويلة زي كوري حمرة لكن عنده قرن طويل. ثاني ويلة زي كوري حمرة لكن عنده اختلاف في القرن.

Woyla have got them (i.e., *kuuri hamra* cattle) going

Woyla zey talaata mitir maashii foog. Laakin bitaa<sup>°</sup>

ويلة زي ثلاث متر ماشي فوق لكن بتاع كوري حمرة اصلي

up three metres (from the ground to the tips of their horns?). But the horns belonging to the original *kuuri hamra* are small, although their body size is big.

The bull belonging to the original *kuuri hamra* – i.e., the bull which is not mixed – is of a size close to the height of the camel.

The legs are thin, the size is big, the horns are small, and the ears are so small.

kuuri hamra ašlii biguum ṣaghayyir laakin ḥajim bikuun kabiir.

At tuur bitaa° kuuri hamra ašlii, maa mujannas, bisawii gariib le ṭuul aj jamal.

Al kur°een hagguu rigeyguun wa ḥajmuh kabiir wa garin ṣaghayyir wa l adaan (= aḍaan) ṣaghayyir kida.

بقوم صغير لكن حجم بكون كبير.

التور بتاع كوري حمرة اصلي ما مجنس بساوي قريب لطول الجمل.

الكرعين حقو رقيقون وحجمه كبير وقرن صغير والادان (= الاضان) صغير كدا.

*Q22: The cattle with long horns and weak legs belong to which tribe?*

Fallaata Woyla. The Fallaata who have got these facial scars.

Fallaata Woyla have got three facial scars [informant makes horizontal movement across the cheek].

But, all the same, originally they have such holes (perforated earlobes).

As to the other tribes, they do have scars, but not originally.

Fallaata Woyla. Fallaata °indahum shiluukh kida.

Fallaata Woyla °indahum talaata shiluukh kida.

Da kullu saaii laakin °alaa ṭ ṭabii°a asaas °indahum gadda kida.

Amma gabaa°il taanii bi°amluu shiluukh laakin maa °alaa ṭ ṭabii°a.

س22: البقر القرنها طويل ورجلينها ضعيف بتنتمي لي ياتي قبيلة؟

فلاتة ويلة. فلاتة عندهم شلوخ كدا.

الفلاتة ويلة عندهم ثلاث شلوخ كدا.

دى كل ساي لكن على الطبيعة اساس عندهم قدة كدا.

اما قبائل تانيي بعملوا شلوخ لكن ما على الطبيعة.

*Q23: If the original kuuri hamra stay close to town, is there enough grass for them?*

By their nature the *kuuri hamra* like much pasture in the rainy season, and in the summer they like dry grass.

Tabii°i kuuri hamra da daair gash katiir fii l khariif wa fii ṣ ṣeef daair gash naashif.

س23: الكوري حمرة اصلي عندما تكون قريباً من المدينة، في حشيش كافي يعيشوا هنا؟

طبيع كوري حمرة دا داير قش كتير في الخريف وفي الصيف داير قش ناشف.

Q24: *Now you are in Damazin; where do you go in the other months?*

People now are in the Damazin area, but in a little while they will go to another area. Their activities in Damazin last for three months.

And after these three months they turn this way (north). They stay there for three months.

Mawjudiin fii daakhil araadii ad Damaaziin al leyla laakin baa'd shuwayya biguumuu bimshuu balad taani. Bi'aamaluu fii d Daamazin talaata shuhaar.

Wa fii zarf talaata shuhaar da hum raj'iin kida. Yamkuthuuna talaata shuhaar.

س24: الان انتم في الدمازين، اين تذهبون في باقي الشهور؟

موجديين في داخل اراضي الدمازين الليلة لكن هم بعد شوية يقوموا بمشوا بلد تاني. بعملوا في الدمازين ثلاث شهور.

وفي زرف ثلاث شهور دا هم راجعين كدا. يمكنون ثلاث شهور.

Q25: *And where in the north?*

Wad an-Nail.

Wad an Nayyal.

ود النيل.

Q26: *How many kilometres is Wad an-Nail from here?*

From here to Wad an-Nail there are about like 50-something kilometres.

Min hina lee Wad an Nayyal tagriiban kida biya' mal kam wu khamsiin kilumitir.

س26: ود النيل كم كيلومتر من هنا؟

من هنالي ود النيل تقريباً كدا بيعمل كم وخمسين كيلومتر.

Q27: *And after that?*

After that they advance to Malakal in the south. They go to Ethiopia. And (after Malakal) to Nasir.

After that they enter the area called Baajo, at the border. It is in the Sudan but at the border. After that they enter Baamaasa in Abyssinian land.

Ba'adeen fii j januub bikhushshuu lee Malakaan. Bimshuu lee Asyuubiya (= Ithyuubiya). Wa an Naasir.

Ba'adeen bikhushshuu fii mantiga biguuluu leehaa Baajoo. Huduud, fii s Suudaan laakin huduud. Ba'adeen fii mantiga Habash bikhushshuu fii Baamaasa.

س27: وبعدين؟

بعدين في الجنوب بخشوا لي ملكان. بمشوا لي اسيوبية (= ايثيوبية). والناصر.

بعدين بخشوا في منطقة بقولوا ليها باجو. حدود، في السودان لكن حدود. بعدين في منطقة حبش بخشوا في باماسة.

Q28: *And which tribe is there in Ethiopia?*

س28: وفي اي قبيلة في ايثيوبية؟

There are nomadic Fallaata (Fulani) in an area called Jaasir (= Jaasira?).

From there onwards they go to Begi and Gambela. They move about there for six months, and after six months they return.

Fii Fallaata bitaa<sup>c</sup>iin khala zaatuu fii h̄itta biguuluu leeha Jaasir.

Minuu ṭawaalii bimshuu Beeke wa Rumbeela. Bimshu hina sitta shuhaar wa ba<sup>c</sup>ad as sitta shuhaar di hum raj<sup>c</sup>iin ṭawaalli.

في فلاتة بتاعين خلا ذاتو في حنة بقولوا ليها جاسر.

منو طوالي بمشوا بيكي ورمبيلة. بمشوا هنا ستة شهر وبعد السنة شهر دي هم راجعين طوالي.

*Q29: Is there a tribe called Oromo?*

There is a tribe called Oromo, partly from Gamba, and there is a tribe called Galla and Tirikaaka (?) at the border between Ethiopia and Kenya.

But there are Oromo going with cattle like us on the pastures.

Fii gabiila hinnaak ismahaa Oromo, juz<sup>o</sup> min Gamba, fii gabiila biguuluu leeha Galla wa Tirikaaka fii ḥuduud beena Ithyuubiya wa Kenya.

Laakin fii Oromo maashiin ma<sup>a</sup> l bagar zeyyanaa kida fii l khala.

س29: في قبيلة واحدة سمى أرومو؟

في قبيلة هناك اسمها أرومو، جزء من قمبا، في قبيلة بقولوا ليها قلة وتريكاكا في حدود بين اثيوبية وكينيا.

لكن في الأرومو ماشين مع البقر زينا كدا في الخلا.

*Q30: Do problems occur between the tribes on the pastures because of grazing?*

There are problems between the Tirikaaka and Oromo on the border between Ethiopia and Kenya. There are tribes belonging to the Oromo using these places who do not like any other cattle to enter there.

The Dinka have things such as the Jazira (Gezira; i.e., such as an island). During the rainy season they block it like a forest reserve.

No cattle enter there, except their own.

The cattle go to the pasture by themselves.

Fii mashaakil taḥṣal beena gabaa<sup>o</sup>il Tirikaaka wa l Oromo fii l ḥuduud beena Ithyuubiya wa Kenya. Fii gabaa<sup>o</sup>il bitaa<sup>c</sup>at Oromo bi<sup>c</sup>amluu maḥal kida ma daaiir taanii ayyu bagar bikhushshuu fihu.

Wa Deenka <sup>c</sup>indu ḥaajaat kida bi<sup>c</sup>amalu zee Jaziira kadii min al khariif kida biḥjiz ghaabaat kida.

Ayyu bagar maa yakhushsh fihu illa bagarhum zaatuu.

Bikhalli bagar mashii baraahu kida.

س30: في مشاكل تحصل بين قبائل بين قبائل في الخلا بسبب المرعى؟

في مشاكل تحصل بين قبائل تركاكا والارومو في الحدود بين اثيوبية وكينيا. في قبائل بتاعة أرومو بعملوا محل كدا ما داير تاني أي بقر بخشوا فيه.

ودينكا عند حاجات كدا بعملوا زي جزيرة كدي من الخريف كدا بحجز غابات كدا.

أي بقر ما يخش فيه الا بقرهم ذاتو.

بخلي بقر ماشي براهو كدا.

These Dinka are Southerners and because of that they always cause problems.

Deel Deenka janubiyyiin °ashaan kida daa°iman bisabbib al mashaakil.

ديل دينكا جنوبيين عشان كذا دائماً بسبب المشاكل.

*Q31: Are those Dinka in Ethiopia?*

س31: الدينكا ديل في اثيوبية؟

There are Dinka who are nationals of Ethiopia, apart from their 'brothers' in the Sudan.

Fii Deenka muwaaṭiiniin fii Ithyuubiya baagii ikhwaanum fii s Suudaan.

في دينكا مواطنين في اثيوبية باقي اخوانهم في السودان.

*Q32: Are there problems between the nomads?*

س32: في مشاكل بين الرحال؟

The Dinka are nomads; the Oromo are nomads; the Mbororo are nomads.

Deenka ruḥal; Oromo ruḥal; Umm Bororo ruḥal.

دينكا رحل، أرومو رحل، أم برورو رحل.

These are three tribes. The Dinka and the Oromo are close to the border. Here, in the Sudan, they move in the vicinity of each other, and that is why there are always problems.

Talaata gabaa°il deel. Deenka wa l Oromo gariibaat ḥuduud. Hina hum fii s Suudaan maashiin gariibaat ba°aḍ bisabibuu mashaakil ṭawaalii.

ثلاث قبائل ديل. دينكا والأرومو قريبات حدود. هنا هم في السودان ماشين قريبات بعض بسببو مشاكل طوالي.

*Q33: When do these problems occur?*

س33: المشاكل دي بتحصل متين؟

After the nomadic tribes go to Ethiopia.

Ba°ad maa al gabaa°il ar ra°awiyya yimshuu lee Istyuubiya (= Ithyuubiya).

بعدما القبائل الرعوية يمشوا لي استيوبية (= اثيوبية).

*Q34: Can you give us an example of problems about water or grazing between the Dinka, Oromo and Mbororo tribes?*

س34: القبائل الدينكا والأرومو والأم برورو ممكن تعطينا مثال للمشاكل حصلت. عن الماء والحشيش بينهم؟

There are problems to the extent that people die every year.

Ḥaṣal mashaakil laḥaddii maa fii naas maatoo kullu sanna.

حصل مشاكل لحدي ما في ناس ماتو كل سنة.

Now there is a court case

Hasse° fii gaḍiyya fii

هسع في قضية في ملكان بين

in Malakal between Dinka and Fallaata, because of pasture and water.

These Fallaata are Mbororo.

Malakaan beena ad Deenka wa l Fallaata bisabab al gash wa l mooya.

Al Fallaata deel, Umm Bororo.

الدينكا والفالاتة بسبب القش والموية.

الفالاتة ديل أم برورو.

*Q35: Where do these problems occur?*

In a place called Um Jalahaat. Because of pasture and waters.

Fii h̄itta biguuluu leeha Umm Jalahaat. Sababo al gash wa l mooya.

س35: المشاكل دي حصلت وين؟

في حتة بيقلو ليها ام جلهاات. سببو القش والموية.

*Q36: Where is this Um Jalahaat?*

In Southern Sudan. In a place called Jikaw there is now a problem because of water. Three million head of cattle died and five million head of small stock have been taken.

The livestock were in Nasir; the Southerners took them (there). And the small stock may be about five million. All have been taken to Nasir. And now we have started with negotiations.

Fii januuḅ as Suudaan. Fii mant̄iga biguuluu leehaa Jikau fii mushkila hasse<sup>c</sup> ghaaiim bisababi al mooya wa l gash. Laḥaddii maa fii bahaaiim maatat zey talaata malyoon min al bagar wa aḍ ḍaan zey khamisa malyoon kullu shaaloo.

Al bahaaiim mawjuuda fii n Naasir, saagoo Januubiin. Wa ḍ ḍaan bijii zey khamisa malyoon kullu saagoo lee Naasir. Wa niḥna hasse<sup>c</sup> gaaiimiyyiin li l gaḍiyya di.

س36: أم جلحات دي في وين؟

في جنوب السودان في منطقة بقولوا ليها جكو في مشكلة هسع غايم بسبب الموية والقش. لحدى ما في بهاييم ماتت زي ثلاث مليون من البقر والضان زي خمسة مليون كلو شالو.

البهاييم موجودة في ناصر ساقو جنوبيين. والضان بجي زي خمسة مليون كل ساقو لي ناصر ونحن هسع قايمين للقضية دي.

*Q37: Who is solving this problem, the police or the army?*

Only the army.

When that problem occurred, there were four men with us. They started from here and went there (i.e.,

Illa aj jeysh.

Wagit al mushkila di ḥaṣalat <sup>c</sup>indanaa arba<sup>a</sup> rijaal. Gaamoo min hina mashoo hinaak adoo

س37: المشكلة دي بحلها البوليس ولا الجيش؟

إلا الجيش. وقت المشكلة دي حصلت عندنا أربع رجال قاموا من هنا مشوا هناك أدوا (= أعطوا) مية وستين رأس بقر وقت عدوا من



Southern Sudan) and gave 160 head of cattle (to the soldiers). When they left here, they (i.e., the four men) went with some 50 soldiers.

They (i.e., the soldiers) took them to a place called Baanshuure and afterwards the government (i.e., the soldiers) left.

But many animals died on the way.

The place is far away. They walked three days. And the rest of the cattle were left in Damazin because no water could be found in that place.

(= a<sup>o</sup>oo) mia wa sittiin raas bagar. Wagit <sup>o</sup>adoo min hina saagoo min hina bee kam wa khamsiin <sup>o</sup>asaakir.

Saagoo waddoo lee balad biguuluu lee Baanshuuree ḥattan al ḥukuuma raja<sup>o</sup>at.

Laakin bahaa<sup>i</sup>im katiir matoo fii ad darib.

Balad ṭawiiil. Mashiin talaata yoom bi l kur<sup>o</sup>een. Wa baagii bagar da khalloo fii ad Damaaziin laḥaddi maa yikuun fii mooya yuwaddoo hinaak.

هنا ساقوا من هنا بكم وخمسين  
عساكر.

ساقوا ودوا لي بلد بقلوا لي  
بانشوري حتا الحكومة رجعت.

لكن بهاييم كثير ماتوا في  
الدرب.  
بلد طويل. ماشين ثلاث يوم  
بالكرعين وباقي البقر دا خلوا  
في الدمازين لحدي ما يكون في  
موية يودوا هناك.

*Q38: Are there problems of a similar kind with the Oromo?*

We are neighbours 100%, and there are no problems.

*Q39: Are those Oromo farmers?*

They are agriculturalists, and there are people who own cattle among them.

*Q40: What did you buy from the Oromo?*

Little calves.

*Q41: But you have many cattle!*

Every year there are cattle that die. If we did not buy

Jaraniin mia l mia, mashaakil maafi.

Ziraa<sup>o</sup>iin wa <sup>o</sup>indahum naas bitaa<sup>o</sup>iin bagar baraahum.

Al <sup>o</sup>ijjuul aṣ ṣuḡhaar.

Kulli sanna fii bagar yamuut. Idha maa nashtarii yamuutuu

س38: في مشاكل مثل نوع مع  
الأرومو؟

جرانين مية المية، مشاكل  
مافي.

س39: الأرومو ديل فلاحين؟

زراعين وعندهم ناس بتاعين  
بقر براهم.

س40: أنتم تشترون شنو من  
الأرومو؟

العجول الصغار.

س41: لكن عندكم بقر كثير!

كل سنة في بقر يموت. إذا ما  
نشترى يموتوا كلهم.

them, they would all die. kullahum.

*Q42: Your kuuri ḥamra cattle will change if you buy from them.*

س42: بقرکم الکوری الحمرة  
بختلف إذا إشتريتمو منهم!

If these cattle (we bought) interbreed with *kuuri ḥamra*, their colour will change (to that of the *kuuri ḥamra*).

Bagarna da lau wilid ma<sup>°</sup>a kuuri ḥamra loon bikhtalif.

بقرنا دا لو ولد مع كوري حمرة  
لون بختلف.

[Günther Schlee asks Sheikh Baabo in Oromo language whether he knows any Oromo. The result is negative. The question was repeated in Arabic and the fact that the informant does not know any Oromo is confirmed by him.]

*Q43: How do you speak with them?*

س43: كيف تتكلم معهم؟

We speak with them in the Arabic language; all the schools are in Arabic.

Natakallam ma<sup>°</sup>ahum bi l luga [= lugha] l <sup>°</sup>arabiyya, madaaris kullu bi l <sup>°</sup>arabii.

نتكلم معهم باللغة العربية،  
مدارس كل بالعربي.

*Q44: The Oromo in Ethiopia speak Arabic?*

س44: الأرومو في اثيوبية  
يتحدثون اللغة العربية؟

In Beni Shanguul all the schools are in Arabic.

Fii Banii Shanguul madaaris kullu bi l <sup>°</sup>arabii.

في بني شنقول مدارس كل  
بالعربي.

*Q45: And are they all Muslims?*

س45: وكلهم مسلمين؟

Muslims.

Muslimiin.

مسلمين.

*Q46: Do they speak Arabic well or just a bit?*

س46: يتحدثون العربي كويس  
او قليلا قليلا؟

Not all of them; some of them know Arabic.

Maa kullahum, juz<sup>°</sup>u minhum bi<sup>°</sup>arif al <sup>°</sup>arabii.

ما كلهم جزء منهم بعرف  
العربي.

*Q47: And are there any problems with the Ethiopian government – and, if so, of which kind?*

س47: وفي مشاكل مع  
الحكومة الإثيوبية – وأي نوع؟

There are no problems, but there are Bani Shangul and Gumuz who keep on attacking us, naturally on this side of the Sudanese border.

And any place where there is an Oromo leadership there are no problems. That's it.

Between the two sides, Bani Shangul and Gumuz – between them there are problems.

Between the Fallaata, and the Gumuz there are problems.

Between the Fallaata, the Oromo, and the Ethiopian government there are none.

Maafii mashaakil laakin fii Bani Shanguul kaan ga<sup>a</sup>adeen yaɗarbuunaa wa Gumus, laakin tab<sup>a</sup>an min ḥuduud as Suudaan hinna.

Wa ayyi ḥitta fiiha sulṭa Oromo maafii mashaakil khalaas.

Fii janibeen, Bani Shanguul wa Gumus, beenaatum fii mashaakil.

Beena l Fallaata wa Gumus fii mashaakil.

Beena al Fallaata, Oromo wa l ḥukuma Istyuubiya maafi.

مافي مشاكل لكن في بني شنقول كان قعدين يضربونا وقمس لكن طبعا من حدود السودان هنا.

وأي حنة فيها سلطة أرومو مافي مشاكل خلاص.

في جانبين بني شنقول، قمس، بيناتم في مشاكل.

بين الفلاتة وقمس في مشاكل.

بين فلاتة أرومو والحكومة استيوية مافي.

*Q48: Are the Bani Shangul a tribe?*

س48: بني شنقول قبيلة؟

It is a name of a tribe, but within this tribe there are differences.

There are Funj, Dawwala, Jabalawiin (“Mountain people”), there are Berta, Ragaarig (‘Black people’), Falaatik, Junjumaana (= Jumjum), and all of them are Bani Shangul.

And also the Gumuz are Bani Shangul.

Ism gabiila zeey, laakin juuwa fii farik (= fariq).

Fii Foonj, Dawwaala, aj Jabalawiin, fii Barta, Ragaariig, Falaatiik, Junjumaana, wa fii jumla kullu Bani Shanguul.

Wa Gumus bardu Bani Shanguul.

اسم قبيلة زي لكن جوة في فرك (= فرق).

في فونج، دواله، الجبلوين، في برنة، رقاريق فلاتيك جنجومانة وفي جملة كل بني شنقول.

وقمس بردو بني شنقول.

*Q49: And what does ‘Bani Shangul’ mean?*

س49: وبني شنقول دا معناه شنو؟

It is the name of an area (i.e., Beni Shangul) like Damazin here.

Ism balad zey Damaaziin da.

إسم بلد زي دمازين دا.

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*Q50: Why are they called this?*

س50: بسموهم كذا ليه؟

From the colonial times on, they stayed in an area half way between Ethiopia and Sudan, and in this area there is a collection of tribes with different vernaculars.

Min zaman al isti<sup>o</sup>mar ga<sup>o</sup>adoo fii mantiga fii nus beena Istyuubiya wa s Suudaan wa mantiga bitlim gabaa<sup>o</sup>il bitaa<sup>o</sup>at ruṭaana.

من زمن الاستعمار قعدوا في منطقة في نس بين استيوبية والسودان ومنطقة بتلم قبائل بتاعة رطانة.

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*Q51: And there are many vernaculars in the area of Beni Shangul?*

س51: ومنطقة بتاعة بني شنقول دي بتاعة رطانة؟

There are many languages. Some of them are also spoken in Ethiopia.

Fii katiir min al lughaat, wa juz<sup>o</sup>u fii Istyuubiya.

في كثير من اللغات وجزء في استيوبية.

End

An-nihaaya

النهاية

# INTERVIEW: MUSTAFA AL-MAKKI ALI

FULANI, 71 YEARS

## DATE AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW:

December 5, 1996; Shaikh Talha

## IN THE PRESENCE OF:

Abdalrahman Abbakar, ca. 70 years, Fulani

INTERVIEWERS: Günther Schlee & Al-Amin Abu-Manga

TRANSCRIPTION, transliteration and translation (ARABIC):

Al-Amin Abu-Manga

*Q1: When and how did Shaikh Talha village come to be established?*

## MUSTAFA

What I know is the following: before his death, Sheikh Talha<sup>1</sup> came to Maiurno<sup>2</sup> and married Hali-ma, a daughter of Hajj at-Tahir.<sup>3</sup> Of course, the first person (Fulani) to settle on the western bank (of the Blue Nile – in this area) was Hajj at-Tahir; he stayed in a village called Al-Fiteh.<sup>4</sup> His forefathers, according to what we heard, were in the Old Sennar area. He then moved from there with his family and stayed

Al-ḥaaja l-li ana °aarifaa, ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa gabli maa yitawaffa kaan ja Maayirno itzawwaj Ḥaliima bitt Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir. Ṭaba°an awwal zool sakan be ḍ-ḍaffa l-gharbiyya l-Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir fii ḥilla isimaa l-Fiteeh. Ṭaba°an al-Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir aslaafu, °ala ḥasab maa simi°na, kaano fii mantigat Sinnaar al-gadiiima. Fa minnaha l-Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir raḥal hina wa istaqarra hina huwa wa °usratu janb al-khoor al-kabiir, wa

س1: حلة الشيخ طلحة دي قامت كيف ومين؟

## مصطفى

الحاجة اللي أنا عارفها، الشيخ طلحة قبل ما يتوفى كان جا مايرنو اتزوج حليلة بت حاج الطاهر. طبعا أول زول سكن بالضفة الغربية الحاج الطاهر في حلة اسمها الفتية. طبعا الحاج الطاهر أسلافه، على حسب ما سمعنا، كانوا في منطقة سنار القديمة. فمنها الحاج الطاهر رحل هنا واستقر هنا هو وأسرته جنب الخور الكبير، والمقبرة دي مقبرتهم ذاتها، وهو هسع حاليا مدفون فيها. دا كان في زمن الفونج. الحاج الطاهر ذاته متزوج أم كئن بت سليمان، اتزوجها

<sup>1</sup> For clarity purpose, the village founded by Sheikh Talha will be referred to as 'Shaikh Talha' in this interview.

<sup>2</sup> The informant referred here to events having taken place before Maiurno even existed as a village. The location he thus improperly called 'Maiurno' is, in fact, a settlement that is assumed to have been once established on the north-eastern edges of present-day Maiurno, close to the river (Blue Nile).

<sup>3</sup> Hajj at-Tahir is notably an important historical figure for Fulani in the Sudan because of the significant role he played in spreading religious (Islamic) education in the Sennar area during the last decades of the Funj Sultanate (see also Abu-Manga in press).

<sup>4</sup> Later on, Al-Fiteh was moved a little up the river and its name changed into Wad Hashim (Arab).

in the present Maiurno site, near the big *khoor* (stream). This very graveyard was theirs; he is now buried in it. That was during the Funj era (i.e., before 1821). He was married to Um Kanan, the daughter of Suleiman. He married her in Al-Wasliyya and then settled with her here in Al-Fiteh.

According to what we heard, those people entered Sudan via North Africa. They claimed to be descendants of Uqba.<sup>5</sup> When I was a child, I asked them (about their tribe). I found that they didn't speak the vernacular language (Fulfulde). They claimed to be Arabs. They said that they migrated to Sudan for *da'wa* (Islamic mission). They settled in Sennar, and Hajj at-Tahir settled in the village of Al-Fiteh. After some time Sheikh Talha came and married Halima, a daughter of Hajj at-Tahir. That was in about the last decades of the Funj era.

l-maqbara di maqbaratum zaataa, wa hu [= huwa] hassa<sup>o</sup> ḥaaliyan madfuun fiha. Da kaan fii zaman al-Fuunj. Al-Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir zaatu mutzawwij Um Kanan bitt Sileemaan; itzawwajaa hinaak min al-Waaṣliyya wa ja sakan beeha fi l-Fiteh<sup>h</sup> hina.

Hu<sup>o</sup> ala ḥasab maa simi<sup>o</sup> na zamaan aṣlu n-naas deel jo<sup>o</sup> an ṭariig Shimaal Afriiqiya wa khashshu s-Suudaan. Humma gaalo bintamu –<sup>o</sup> ala ḥasab al-kalaam... lee<sup>o</sup> Uqba. Ḥatta ana sa<sup>o</sup> altahum lamma kunta ṣaghayyir ligiit maafi lahja; gaal ley: “Niḥna ahalna hinaak<sup>o</sup> Arab fi l-mantiḡa diik wa khashsho hina.” Gaal ley humma asaasan lamma jo, jo<sup>o</sup> ashaan tabshiiir islaami, da<sup>o</sup> wa islaamiyya. Fa istaqarro fii Sinnaar; minnahum al-Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir da ja hina sakan fi l-Fiteh<sup>h</sup> di zaataa. Fa ba<sup>o</sup> ad fatra ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa ja itzawwaj Ḥaliima bitt Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir fii awaakhir ayyaam al-Fuunj.

هناك من الواصلية وجا سكن بيها في الفتيح هنا.

هو على حسب ما سمعنا زمان أصله الناس ديل جوا عن طريق شمال أفريقيا وخشوا السودان. هم قالوا بنتموا – على حسب الكلام... لي عقبة. حتى أنا سألتهم لما كنت صغير لقيت مافي لهجة، قال لي: "نحن أهلنا هناك عرب في المنطقة ديك وخشوا هنا." قال لي هم أساساً لما جوا جوا عشان تبشير إسلامي، دعوة إسلامية. فاستقروا في سنار، منهم الحاج الطاهر دا جا هنا سكن في الفتيح دي ذاتها. فيعد فترة الشيخ طلحة جا اتزوج حليلة بت حاج الطاهر في أواخر أيام الفونج.

*Q2: From where did Sheikh Talha himself come?*

He, too, came via North Africa, according to what they say. He settled here and married the daughter of

Barḍu jo<sup>o</sup> an ṭariig Shimaal Afriiqiya; da<sup>o</sup> ala ḥasab kalaamum. Istaqarra hina gaam itzawwaj Ḥaliima bitt

س2: الشيخ طلحة نفسه جا من وين؟

برضو جوا عن طريق شمال أفريقيا، دا على حسب كلامهم. استقر هنا قام اتزوج حليلة بت حاج الطاهر، أنا جدي

<sup>5</sup> See also question No. 3.

Hajj at-Tahir. My grandfather Mustafa married Fatna, a(nother) daughter of Hajj at-Tahir. He, too, came from Al-Wasliyya. Al-Wasliyya is located near Hajj Abdalla town. When you pass it (on your way northwards), there are tombs on the western side of the road. Hussein is buried there. I even remember that some time ago our maternal uncle Sheikh Talha went (there) and bought bricks; he just left them without making any building. This (Hussein) was Sheikh Talha's grandfather. His (i.e., Sheikh Talha's) father, on the other hand, is buried in a place called Al-Itesh, near Al-Garawat.

So, Sheikh Talha married Halima, Hajj at-Tahir's daughter, and my grandfather Mustafa married Fatna, another daughter of Hajj at-Tahir, and they settled here (in Shaikh Talha). Even the Sabonabi people (i.e., Funj from Sabonabi) used to visit them on joyful and sorrowful occasions. This was so until the Dinka came and killed the Sabonabi people.<sup>6</sup> After some time Hajj at-Tahir died. After that came the people of Wad an-Na'im... Of course, this western side (of the Blue

Haaj at-Ṭaahir; ana jiddi Muṣṭafa itzawwaj Faatna bitt Haaj at-Ṭaahir; jiddi Muṣṭafa zaatu ja min al-Waaṣliyya. Al-Waaṣliyya di hasa<sup>c</sup> bitaga<sup>c</sup> janb al-Ḥaaj °Abdalla. Fi gubab hasa<sup>c</sup> hinaak lamma taji maashi maḥallaa gharib kida; hasa<sup>c</sup> Ḥiseen madfuun hinaak. Ḥatta itzakkar zamaan khaalna sh-Sheekh Ṭalḥa masha ishtara leehu ṭuub wu khatta wu maa shayyad fihu ḥaaja. Da jidd ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa; amma abuuha fa madfuun fii ḥitta isimaa l-°Iṭeesh °ala l-Garawaat hinaak.

Fa sh-Sheekh Ṭalḥa itzawwaj Ḥaliima bitt Haaj at-Ṭaahir wa jiddi Muṣṭafa itzawwaj Faatna bitt Haaj at-Ṭaahir wa istaqarro hina. Ḥatta naas aṣ-Ṣaabunaabi deel kaanu bijuuhum fi l-°afraḥ wa fi l-°atraḥ, wa laghaayit maa jo d-Deenka wa katalo naas aṣ-Ṣaabunaabi. Wa ba<sup>c</sup>ad fatra al-Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir itwaffa. Ba<sup>c</sup>ad wafaat al-Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir jo naas Wadd an-Na<sup>c</sup>iim... Ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an al-gharib da maa kaan ma<sup>o</sup>huul; kaan shadar wu hinaay. Ba<sup>c</sup>deen hina naas Wadd an-Na<sup>c</sup>iim

مصطفى تزوج فاطنة بت حاج الطاهر، جدي مصطفى ذاته جا من الواصلية. الواصلية دي هسع بتقع جنب الحاج عبدالله. في قبب هسع هناك لما تجي ماشي محلها غرب كدا، هسع حسين مدفون هناك. حتى أتذكر زمان خالنا الشيخ طلحة مشى اشتري ليه طوب وخت<sup>o</sup> وما شيد فيه حاجة. دا جد الشيخ طلحة، أما أبوه فمدفون في حنة اسمها العطيش على القروات هناك.

فالشيخ طلحة تزوج حليلة بت حاج الطاهر وجدي مصطفى تزوج فاطنة بت حاج الطاهر واستقروا هنا. حتى ناس الصابونابي ديل كانوا بجوهم في الأفراح وفي الأتراح، ولغاية ما جوا الدينكا وكتلوا ناس الصابونابي. وبعد فترة الحاج الطاهر اتوفى. بعد وفاة الحاج الطاهر جوا ناس ود النعيم... طبعا الغرب دا ما كان مأهول، كان شدر وهناي. بعدين هنا ناس ود النعيم ديل عندهم علاقة رحمية (مع ناس الشيخ طلحة) لكن أنا ما عارفها شنو. لأنه الشيخ طلحة دا أمه عزلة بت نور الدين كاهلية، وحبوبته ذاتها من الكواهلة، يعني

<sup>6</sup> These people were most probably Shilluk; the latter had many wars with the Funj. 'Dinka' is sometimes used as a generic term in reference to people of Southern Sudan in general.

Nile) was not inhabited; rather, it was a jungle. The Wad an-Na'im people had some kinship relations (with the members of Sheikh's Talha family), the degree of which I don't know exactly. Because Sheikh Talha's mother, Azla, daughter of Nour ad-Din, was from the Kawahla tribe. His grandmother, too, was from the Kawahla. So, they were mixed with the Kawahla.

deel °indahum °alaaqa rahmiyya (ma°a naas ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa) laakin ana maa °aarifaa shinu. La°annu sh-Sheekh Ṭalḥa da ummu °Azla bitt Nuur ad-Diin Kaahliyya, wa ḥabboobtu zaataa min al-Kawaahla; ya°ni mulakhbaṭiin ma°a l-Kawaahla.

ملخبطين مع الكوهلة.

*Q3: And they claim to be descendants of Uqba ibn Nafi!*

In fact, the children of Hajj at-Tahir used to say that they were descendants of Uqba without specifying which Uqba. As for these here (i.e., the members of Sheikh Talha's family), I don't know anything about them (regarding their descent claim).<sup>8</sup> However, the two of them (Hajj at-Tahir and Sheikh Talha) were, at that time, one family, and linked by marriage ties. After the death of Hajj at-Tahir, the Wad an-Na'im people came and asked Sheikh Talha to move to the eastern side of

Awlaad Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir zamaan biguulu hum aḥfaad °Uqba; amma deel maa °aarifum buguulu shinu. Deelaak biguulu aḥfaad °Uqba wu maa biwarruuk °Uqba minu; amma naas ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa deel ana maa °aarif °annahum ayyi ḥaaja. Laakin °usra waahda wa naas waahid wa mutzawwijiin waahid wa ayyi ḥaaja waahid fi l-fatra diik. Fa fi l-fatra diik jo naas Wadd an-Na°iim le sh-Sheekh Ṭalḥa wu gaalo le: "Yaakhi taju tarḥalu hina." Gaam Ḥijeer da ḥaddad

س3: وهم بقولوا أحفاد عقبة بن نافع!

أولاد حاج الطاهر زمان بقولوا هم أحفاد عقبة، أما ديل ما عارفهم بقولوا شنو. ديلك بقولوا أحفاد عقبة وما بورك عقبة منو، أما ناس الشيخ طلحة ديل أنا ما عارف عنهم أي حاجة. لكن أسرة واحدة وناس واحد ومنتزوجين واحد وأي حاجة واحد في الفترة ديك. ففي الفترة ديك جوا ناس ود النعيم للشيخ طلحة وقالوا ليه: "ياخي تجوا ترحلوا هنا". قام حجير دا حدد ليه من حجيرات هنا لغاية العردية ودي كدا لغاية العلب قال ليه: "دي تكون ليكم تسكنوا فيها".

<sup>7</sup> Uqba ibn Nafi (ca. 622–683) was an Arab general under the Umayyad dynasty who began the Islamic conquest of the Maghreb, including present-day western Algeria and Morocco, before moving south across the Sahara.

<sup>8</sup> For one reason or another, the informant seemed to have decided right from the beginning to avoid speaking about the ethnic affiliation of Sheikh Talha's family. Since he was part of that family, it was very unlikely that he didn't know *anything* about it.



the river. (A man called) Hijer delimited an area for them: from Hijerat to Ardeba (Irediba) and from this side up to Al-Ilab. He said to Sheihk Talha: "This land is for you to settle on."

After that, they lived there until Sheikh Talha died in 1293 Hijri, i.e., five or six years before the Mahdiyya (or Mahdist rule [1882–1898]). Because the Mahdi came here during his wanderings and found Sheikh Talha. Sheikh Talha told his people that this man was so-and-so; he would be a great man. After some time Sheikh Talha died and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Tom, who died in 1912 in Medina. So Shaikh Talha (village) remained stable.

But during Sheikh Talha's time the village was simple; it didn't include very many people. It was even said that its people and the Irediba people were closely linked with one another, as if they were one family. The first sheikh in the Turkish era<sup>9</sup> was Isma'il, a son of Hajj at-Tahir.<sup>10</sup> My grandmother

leehu min Hijeerat hina laghaayit al-<sup>c</sup>Ardeeba wa di kida laghaayit al-<sup>c</sup>Ilab gaalle: "Di takuun leekum taskinu fiha."

Fa min al-fatra di aşbaḥo sakano fi l-maḥalla di wa istaqarro laghaayit ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa tawaffa sanat alf wu miiteen wu talaata wu tis<sup>c</sup>iin (1293 Hijri); ya<sup>c</sup>ni gabl al-Mahdiyya beekhamsa sitta sana kida, la<sup>c</sup>annu l-Mahdi fii asnaa<sup>c</sup> ṭawaafu ja hina liga ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa mawjuud, wa warraahum ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa <sup>c</sup>ala annu r-rajul da kida kida – <sup>c</sup>ala ḥasab maa biḥku leena – yikuun leehu sha<sup>c</sup>n kida kida. Fa ba<sup>c</sup>ad fatra ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa tawaffa wa khalafu waladu sh-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom; wa da itwaffa sanat alf wu tus<sup>c</sup>umiyya wa iṭnaashar fi l-Madiina. Fa aşbaḥat Ṭalḥa di mustaqirra.

Laakin fii zaman ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa al-ḥilla kaanat basiṭa; maa kaan <sup>c</sup>adadaa kabiir; ḥatta gaalo ma<sup>c</sup>naas <sup>c</sup>Ireediiba deel ka<sup>c</sup>annahum <sup>c</sup>usra waahdi. Ba<sup>c</sup>deen fii zaman at-Turkiyya awwal sheekh fi l-ḥilla di kaan Ismaa<sup>c</sup>iin Wadd Ḥaaj Ṭaahir; ḥatta ana sa<sup>c</sup>alta ḥabboobti gaalat

فمن الفترة دي أصبحوا سكنوا في المحلة دي واستقروا لغاية الشيخ طلحة توفي سنة ألف وميتين وثلاثة وتسعين (1293هـ)، يعني قبل المهديّة بي خمسة سنة سنة كدا، لأنه المهدي في أثناء طوافه جا هنا لقي الشيخ طلحة موجود ووراهم الشيخ طلحة على أنه الرجل دا كدا كدا – على حسب ما بحكوا لي نا – يكون ليه شأن كدا كدا. فيعد فترة الشيخ طلحة توفي وخلفه ولده الشيخ محمد توم، ودا توفي سنة الف وتسعمية وانتاشر في المدينة. فأصبحت طلحة دي مستقرة.

لكن في زمن الشيخ طلحة الحلة كانت بسيطة، ما كان عددها كبير، حتى قالوا مع ناس عريديبة ديل كأنهم أسرة واحدي. بعدين في زمن التركية أول شيخ في الحلة دي كان إسماعين ود حاج طاهر، حتى أنا سألت حبوبتي قالت لي: "نحن كان جماعتنا بوردوا الطلبة في سنار القديمة". استقروا لغاية ما انتهت التركية

<sup>9</sup>The 'Turkish era' corresponds to the period between 1821 and 1882.

<sup>10</sup>This Isma'il was, in fact, a grandson of Hajj at-Tahir.

told me: “At that time our people used to pay their taxes in Old Sennar.” They continued like this until the end of the Turkish rule and the advent of the British rule. The first sheikh in the British time was our paternal uncle Umar Muhammad Ali. He assumed this function for some time and was then followed by Abdul-Wahab, and then Saroor, from the Sawarda group. When Sheikh Muhammad Tom died in Medina in 1912, he was succeeded by (his son) Ahmad al-Badawi, who continued for seven years. He was then succeeded by Sheikh Suleiman, who remained in office from 1919 until his death in October 1935. He was succeeded by Sheikh Muhammad Tom (the Second),<sup>11</sup> who remained in office until his death in the 1980s. Muhammad Tom was succeeded by Sheikh as-Sammaani, who died last year (1995). Now the *khalaafa* (i.e., function of Caliph) is in the hands of Sheikh Hussein.

But (once) I asked my grandfather – I usually didn’t ask anybody else: “Why don’t you speak the vernacular

ley: “Niḥna kaan jamaa’atna biwarridu ṭ-ṭulba fii Sinnaar al-gadiima.” Istaqarro laghaayit maa intahat at-Turkiyya wa jaat al-ḥakuuma l-Ingliiziyya. Awwal kamaan sheekh fi l-ḥakuuma l-Ingliiziyya kaan ‘ammaana ‘Umar Maḥammad ‘Ali. Akhad fiiha fatra masak ‘Abdulwahaab, ba’adu ja Saroor, min aṣ-Ṣawaarda deel. Lamma itwaffa sh-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom fi l-Madiina fi sanat alf wu tus’umiyya wu iṭnaashar masak ba’adu sh-Sheekh Aḥmad al-Badawi wa akhad fi l-khalaafa ḥawaali saba’a sana. Ba’adu masak ash-Sheekh Sileemaan wa bardu akhad fatra min sanat alf wu tus’umiyya wa tisa’ṭaashar laghaayit tawaffa sanat alf wu tus’umiyya wu khamisa wa talaatiin fii shahr ‘ashara. Ba’adu masak ash-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom laghaayit maa itwaffa sanat kam wu tamaaniin. Ba’adu ṭaba’an masak ash-Sheekh as-Sammaani wa itwaffa ṭaba’an gabli sana. Hassa’ ḥaaliyyan maasik al-khalaafa sh-Sheekh Ḥiseen.

Laakin sa’alta jiddi – ana maa bas’al zool (khilaafu) – gulta le: “Yaa jiddi intu leeh maa btaṭunu?” Gaal

وجات الحكومة الإنجليزية، أول كمان شيخ في الحكومة الإنجليزية كان عمنا عمر محمد علي. أخذ فيها فترة مسك عبدالوهاب، بعده جا سرور، من الصواردة ديل. لما اتوفى الشيخ محمد توم في المدينة في سنة الف وتسعمية وانتاشر مسك بعده الشيخ أحمد البدوي وأخذ في الخلافة حوالي سبعة سنة. بعده مسك الشيخ سليمان ويرضو أخذ فترة من سنة ألف وتسعمية وتسعناشر لغاية توفى سنة ألف وتسعمية خمسة وتلاتين في شهر عشرة. بعده مسك الشيخ محمد توم، لغاية ما اتوفى سنة كم وتمانين. بعده طبعا مسك الشيخ السمانى واتوفى طبعا قبل سنة. هسع حاليا ماسك الخلافة الشيخ حسين.

لكن سألت جدي – أنا ما بسأل زول (خلافه) – قلت ليه: "يا جدي إنتو ليه ما بترطنو؟" قال لي "نحن أهلنا هناك ما

<sup>11</sup> This Muhammad Tom was a son of Ahmad al-Badawi and a grandson of Muhammad Tom the First.

language (i.e., Fulfulde)?" He said to me: "Our people back there didn't have Fulfulde as a vernacular." He said to me that, there, they were taken to be Arabs. My own grandfather is buried in a place called Ar-Rokab, near Bara. My name is Mustafa, son of Makki, son of Ali, son of Al-Mustafa, son of Mukhtar, son of Al-Faki Muhammad. This Al-Faki Muhammad was buried in Ar-Rokab. They (i.e., Al-Faki Muhammad and his family) came (to Sudan) during the Funj era. He, i.e., Al-Faki Muhammad, established Qur'anic schools and settled there (in Ar-Rokab).

ley: "Niḥna ahalna hinaak maa birṭunu." Gaal ley kaan mowqi<sup>u</sup>m mowqi<sup>u</sup> °Arab. Hassa<sup>u</sup> ana jiddi min jaanib abuu madfuun fii ḥitta isimaa r-Rookab. Ṭaba<sup>u</sup>an ana ismi Muṣṭafa Wadd Makki Wadd °Ali Wadd al-Muṣṭafa Wadd Mukhtaar Wadd al-Faki Maḥammad. Al-Faki Maḥammad da madfuun fii ḥitta isimaa r-Rookab janb Baara. Jo min zaman al-Fuunj ṭaba<sup>u</sup>an. Fataḥ khalaawi hinaak wa istaqarra hinaak.

برطنو". قال لي كان موقعهم موقع عرب. هسع أنا جدي من جانب أبوي مدفون في حنة اسمها الروكب. طبعا أنا اسمي مصطفى ود مكي ود علي ود المصطفى ود مختار ود الفكي محمد. الفكي محمد دا مدفون في حنة اسمها الروكب جنب بارا. جوا من زمن الفونج طبعا. فتح خلاوي هناك واستقر هناك.

*Q4: Do you know why Sheikh Muhammad Tom (the First) traveled to Medina and stayed there until he died?*

I remember a story told to me by someone while I was in Malolaha. He told me that when Sheikh Muhammad Tom (the First) decided to leave (for Hijaz – Holy Land in Saudi Arabia), the British didn't want him to leave. Because at that time the Mahdiyya... So, (a notable known as) Sherif Yousif<sup>12</sup> came to him from Singa to convince him (to stay), but he couldn't. At

Bitzakkar giṣṣa ḥakaaha ley waaḥid ana kunta fii Maloolaha. Gaal ley ash-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom da lamma ja maashi fi l-wakit daak al-Ingliiz maa daayrinnu yimshi la<sup>u</sup>annu z-zaman daak al-balad ba<sup>u</sup>ad al-Mahdiyya... Fa jaahu sh-Shariif Yuusif min Sinja yinṣaḥu. Akhiiran ash-Shariif Yuusif gaal leehum: "Az-zool da maafi zool bigdar yimna<sup>u</sup>." Laakin maa °aarif

س4: سمعت ليه الشيخ محمد توم سافر المدينة وقعد هناك ما رجع لامن مات؟

بتذكر قصة حكاها لي واحد أنا كنت في ملولحة. قال لي الشيخ محمد توم دا لما جا ماشي في الوقت داك الإنجليز ما دايرنه يمشي لأنه الزمن داك البلد بعد المهديّة... فجاه الشريف يوسف من سنجة ينصحه. أخيراً الشريف يوسف قال ليهم: "الزول دا مافي زول بقدر يمنعه". لكن ما عارف السبب الخلاه يمشي هناك شنو.

<sup>12</sup> Sherif Yousif was probably a very pious person.

last he (Sherif Yousif) said: “Nobody can prevent him (from leaving).” Otherwise, I don’t know exactly the reason for his leaving.

as-sabab al-khallaahu yimshi hinaak shinu.

*Q5: Can you say something about the tribes living in Shaikh Talha?*

The tribes living in Shaikh Talha since our childhood were Sawarda, such as the people of Mugaddam Ibrahim; these were the first people who came with Sheikh Talha. Mugaddam Bakhit was the *mugaddam* (personal secretary) of Sheikh Talha. They were followed after some time by the Ja’liyyin; these were the people of As-Sunni Hajj Medani. Their quarter was here, and we used to play with them. Now they have moved from here (to As-Suki<sup>13</sup>). Then came some Arakiyyin; now they have moved away from here. Then came (Fulani) groups from the Zarruugaab clan; they are now living in As-Suki. Very many tribes gathered in Shaikh Talha after the Mahdiyya. My father told me that, after the number of people became very large in Shaikh Talha, it was proposed to disperse them spatially. So, some of them went to Azaza, some to

Mimmaa gumna °aarif min beenum fi ş-Şawaarda zey naas al-Mugaddam Ibraahiim; deel awwal naas jo ma°a sh-Sheekh Ṭalḥa. Al-Mugaddam Bakhit da ṭaba°an kaan mugaddam ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa. Yaluuhum taani ba°ad fatra jo ahalna j-Ja°liyyiin deel; deel hassa° naas as-Sunni Ḥaaj Madani deel. Kaan fariigum hina laghaayit niḥna kunna binal°ab ma°aahum. Barḍu ba°aḍ min al-°Arakiiyyiin; hassa° raḥalo min hina. Wu ba°deen ba°aḍ gabaayil barḍu min z-Zarruugaab; hassa° saakniin fi s-Suuki. Wu ba°deen gabaayil katiira. Ṭalḥa di kaanat fi l-Mahdiyya jaad°a gabaayil katiira; ya°ni gabaayil katiira ijtama°at ba°ad al-Mahdiyya. Ḥatta abuyy gaal ley: “Ba°ad maa l-°adad biga kabiir ḥabbo yiwazzi°uuhum, fa itwazza°o.” Ba°aḍ minnahum masho l-°Azaaza, wa ba°aḍahum °Asalaanga, Minhaaza, Wadd Daa°uud,

س5: تقدر تذكر لنا القبائل العايشة في الشيخ طلحة؟

مما قمنا عارف من بينهم في الصوارة زي ناس المقدم إبراهيم، ديل أول ناس جوا مع الشيخ طلحة. المقدم بخيت دا طبعاً كان مقدم الشيخ طلحة. يلوهم ثاني بعد فترة جوا أهلنا الجعليين ديل، ديل هسع ناس السني حاج مدني ديل. كان فريقهم هنا لغاية نحن كنا بنلعب معاهم. برضو بعض من العركيين، هسع رحلوا من هنا. وبعدين بعض قبائل برضو من الزروقاب، هسع ساكنين في السوكي. وبعدين قبائل كتيرة. طلحة دي كانت في المهديّة جادعة قبائل كتيرة، يعني قبائل كتيرة اجتمعت بعد المهديّة. حتى أبوي قال لي، "بعد ما العدد بقى كبير حبوا يوزعوهم، فاتوزعوا". بعض منهم مشوا العزازة، وبعضهم عسلانقة، منهازا، ود داوود، ومسرة العجوز، كلهم بعد المهديّة كانوا أساساً مركزين هنا.

<sup>13</sup> Es-Suki or as-Suuki on some maps.

Asalanga, Manhaza, Wad Da'ud, and Masarra al-Ajuz. They had all concentrated here (immediately) after the Mahdiyya.

Massara l-<sup>c</sup>Ajuuz; kullahum ba<sup>c</sup>ad al-Mahdiyya kaano asaasan murakkaziin hina.

*Q6: Why did they come here?*

By God, I don't know. Of course, Sheikh Talha was a distinguished personality, so people gathered around him. After the Mahdiyya they dispersed.

Wallaahi maa <sup>c</sup>arif. Ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa da kaan leehu shakhṣiyya gawiiyya kida, lizaalik jo sakano ma<sup>c</sup>aahu hina. Ba<sup>c</sup>ad al-Mahdiyya farro.

س6: طيب ليه جوا هنا؟

والله ما عارف. طبعاً الشيخ طلحة دا كان ليه شخصية قوية كدا، ولذلك جوا سكنوا معاه هنا. بعد المهديّة فروا.

*Q7: It seems to me that there were mixed tribes (in Shaikh Talha) even before the Mahdiyya!*

Before the Mahdiyya, I don't think so. When Sheikh Talha moved to this place, he was accompanied only by his cross-cousins; there were not many other people. Gradually, others started to join in, attracted by Sufism; Sheikh Talha was a follower of the Sammaniyya *ṭariiga* (*ṭariiqā*; brotherhood), which was passed to him by Sheikh at-Tom Wad Bannaga – that was during the Funj time. Sheikh Wad-Hashim<sup>14</sup> got the *ṭariiqā* from Sheikh at-Tom Wad Bannaga as well. The former did not lead a sedentary life; he used to wander; it was only in 1901

Gabl al-Mahdiyya maa aẓin. Ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa lamma raḥal hina aṣlu raḥal asaasan hu awlaad <sup>c</sup>ammatu deel; maa ma<sup>c</sup>aahum naas katiira ya<sup>c</sup>ni. Ṭalḥa di kaanat basiiṭa ya<sup>c</sup>ni. Ba<sup>c</sup>deen shuwayyateen ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an <sup>c</sup>ala ḥasab aṭ-ṭurug – ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an sheekhu kaan ash-Sheekh at-Toom Wad Baannaga, aṭ-ṭariiga s-Sammaaniyya; wa l-kalaam da fi s-Salṭana z-Zarga wu kida. Barḍu ash-Sheekh Wad-Haashim shaalaa min ash-Sheekh at-Toom Wad Baannaga. Ba<sup>c</sup>deen ash-Sheekh Wad-Haashim da maa kaan mustaqir; kaan bitjawwal,

س7: أنا يبدو لي قبل المهديّة برضو في قبائل مختلطة!

قبل المهديّة ما أظن. طبعاً الشيخ طلحة لما رحل هنا أصله رحل أساساً هو أولاد عمته ديل، ما معاهم ناس كتيرة يعني. طلحة دي كانت بسيطة يعني. بعدين شويتين طبعاً على حسب الطرق – الشيخ طلحة طبعاً شيخه كان الشيخ التوم ود بانقا، الطريقة السمانية، والكلام دا في السلطنة الزرقا وكدا. برضو الشيخ ودهاشم شالها من الشيخ التوم ود بانقا. بعدين الشيخ ودهاشم دا ما كان مستقر، كان بتحوّل، بمشي سايح ويجي. بعدين آخر حاجة استقر في ود هاشم دي سنة ألف وتسعمية وواحد. برضو جمع عدد كبير من القبائل.

<sup>14</sup>In this interview, as well as in the followings interviews, the form 'Wad-Hashim' is used to refer to the presumed founder of the village called Wad Hashim.

that he settled down in Wad Hashim village. Many tribes gathered around him as well.

When (Sheikh) Wad-Hashim became ill and was about (to die), he said to his people: “If I die here (in Wad Hashim), it will create problems; my relatives will come from there (Shaikh Talha) and say that they will not allow their father<sup>15</sup> (to be buried here).” Of course, all his family was here (including Sheikh Talha). Of course, Hajj at-Tahir was his paternal uncle, his father’s full brother. So, he (Wad-Hashim) said: “Now if I die here, the children of Hajj at-Tahir will come and say this is our father.<sup>16</sup> Please, take me there (to Shaikh Talha).” So, he was brought ahead to our own house; he died in our house. Of course, to my grandfather he was a maternal uncle; my grandfather’s mother was Hajj at-Tahir’s daughter. So, he (Sheikh Wad-Hashim) stayed here for some time and died in our house.

bimshi saayih wu biji. Ba<sup>c</sup>deen aahkir haaja istagarra fii Wad Haashim di sanat alf wu tus<sup>c</sup>umiyya wu waahid. Barḍu jama<sup>c</sup> adad kabiir min al-gabaayil.

Fa lamma Wad-Haashim biga<sup>c</sup> iya wu khalaas ya<sup>c</sup> ni... gaal leehum: “Yaa jamaa<sup>c</sup> ana hassa<sup>c</sup> law mutta hina ba<sup>c</sup>mal mushkila; hassa<sup>c</sup> law jiiit mutta hina j-jamaa<sup>c</sup> a yiguulu... ahali hinaak yiju abuuna maa binkhalli.” Ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an<sup>c</sup> usratu kullaha hina. Ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an<sup>c</sup> Haaj at-Ṭaahir le Wad-Haashim da bibga le<sup>c</sup> ammu akhu abu ṭawwaali. Fa gaal: “Hassa<sup>c</sup> ana law mutta awalaad Haaj Ṭaahir deel yiju yiguulu da abuuna. Daḥiin wadduuni hinaak.” Fa Wad-Haashim gaamo ṭawwaali jaabo beetna niḥna. Aşlu Wad-Haashim tawaffa fii beetna niḥna. Jiddi ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an bibga le khaalu. Jiddi ummu bitt Haaj Ṭaahir. Fa istaqarra fatra wa twaffa fii beetna.

فلما ودهاشم بقى عي وخلص يعني... قال ليهم: "يا جماعة أنا هسع لو مُتّ هنا بعمل مشكلة، هسع لو جيت مُتّ هنا الجماعة يقولوا... أهلي هناك يجوا أبونا ما بنخليه". طبعاً أسرته كلها هنا. طبعاً حاج الطاهر لي ودهاشم دا ببقى ليه عمه أخ أبوه طوالي. فقال: "هسع أنا لو مُتّ أولاد حاج طاهر ديل يجوا يقولوا دا أبونا. دحين ودوني هناك". فودهاشم قاموا طوالي جابوه بيتنا نحن. أصلو ودهاشم توفى في بيتنا نحن. جدي طبعاً ببقى ليه خاله. جدي أمه بت حاج طاهر. فاستقر فترة واتوفى في بيتنا.

Q8: What is your relation with Hillat Isma'il village?

س8: وعلاقتكم شنو بي حلة إسماعيل؟

<sup>15</sup> The term ‘father’ is here used loosely to refer to a distant uncle.

<sup>16</sup> Same remark regarding the use of the term ‘father’ as in footnote 15.

They (i.e., the inhabitants of the village of Hillat Isma'il) initially moved there from here; the founder was Isma'il Issa Hajj at-Tahir. According to what we were told, Hajj at-Tahir was living here during the Funj time. Then the Funj came and asked them to leave here because the land didn't belong to him. He told them that the land is God's land. Anyway, something happened, but I don't know what.<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, Hajj at-Tahir was offered land extending from there (former site) up to Ardeba Ab-Garin (Irediba/Ardeba) near Sennar,<sup>18</sup> and eastwards to a place called Al-Hafira Um Timsah. They gave him something called *kurukki* (sketch map). He settled there. Of course, his children were all here. In 1925 they asked whoever had maps to show them in order to have their land registered. That map was found, and the area No. 10 was registered under 'Hajj at-Tahir'.

Of course, in 1925 all this area was inhabited by Fallaata (Fulani). So, on the map, No. 10 was marked 'Fallaata' under the name of Hajj at-Tahir Muhammad Hashim (also simply known

Raḥalo min hina; Ismaa'iiil Wad °Iisa Wad Ḥaaj Ṭaahir. Ḥasab maa biḥku leena zamaan fii zaman al-Fuunj kaan al-Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir saakin hina. Ba°deen jo l-Fuunj gaalo leehum taguumu min hina; al-°arid di maa ḥaggatak wu hinaay. Ba°deen gaal leehum yaa jamaa°a al-°arḍ arḍ Allah. Ba°deen ḥasal ḥaaja kida ana maa °aarifaa shinu. Fa gaamu ṭawwaali addo Ḥaaj Ṭaahir al-mantiḡa di: awwalan min hinaak; wu kida laghaayit °Ardeeba Ab-Garin hinaak gariib Sinnaar; sharig hinaak ḥitta isimaa l-Ḥafiira Um Timsaah. Fa gaamo zamaan fi ḥaaja isimaa kurukki; gaamo addo l-kurukki. Fa Ḥaaj Ṭaahir istaqarra. Ba°deen awlaadu ṭaba°an kaano hina; hinaak maa fi zool khaalish. Lamma jaat sanat khamsa wu °ishriin ṭalabo °ala annu ayyi zool °indu kurukki gadiim yisajjilu leehu l-°arḍ. Fa ligo l-kurukki da wa masho sajjalo nimra °ashara l-Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir.

Ṭaba°an sanat khamsa wu °ishriin kull al-mantiḡa di saakinnaha Fallaata. Fa nimra °ashara Fallaata be ism al-Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir Maḥammad Haashim. Jiddana Ismaa°iin da gaam

رحلوا من هنا، إسماعيل وعيسى ود حاج طاهر. حسب ما بحكوا لنا زمان في زمن الفونج كان الحاج الطاهر ساكن هنا. بعدين جوا الفونج قالوا ليهم تقوموا من هنا، الأرض دي ما حقتك وهناني. بعدين قال ليهم يا جماعة الأرض أرض الله. بعدين حصل حاجة كدا، أنا ما عارفها شنو. فقاموا طوالي أدوا حاج طاهر المنطقة دي: أولا من هناك، وكدا لغاية عردبية أب قرن هناك قريب سنار، شرق هناك حنة اسمها الحفيرة أم تمساح. فقاموا زمان في حاجة إسمها كروكي، قاموا أدوه الكروكي. فحاج طاهر استقر. بعدين أولاده طبعا كانوا هنا، هناك ما في زول خالص. لما جات سنة خمسة وعشرين طلبوا على أنه أي زول عنده كروكي قديم يسجلوا ليه الأرض. فلقوا الكروكي دا ومشوا سجلوا نمرة عشرة الحاج الطاهر.

طبعا سنة خمسة وعشرين كل المنطقة دي ساكنينها فلاتة. فنمرة عشرة فلاتة باسم الحاج الطاهر محمد هاشم. جدنا اسماعين دا قام طوالي مشى عمّر الحلة دي. عمّرهما قبل ما يجي التسجيل. فقعده في الحلة

<sup>17</sup>Or the informant may not have wished to say what actually happened.

<sup>18</sup>Ardeba Ab-Garin (Irediba/Ardeba) is, in fact, located 3–4km south of the centre of Maiurno.

as Hajj at-Tahir). Our grandfather<sup>19</sup> Isma'il (Isma'il Issa Hajj at-Tahir, a grandson of Hajj at-Tahir) had moved here (i.e, in this area on the western side of the Blue Nile and developed this village (Hillat Isma'il). In fact, he developed it before the registration. He settled in this village. He didn't have children. He stayed there until he died. After some time the current inhabitants came and stayed here. So, now there are only two or three families from the descendants of Hajj at-Tahir, and the rest are their relatives.

And then (Sheikh) Wad-Hashim's tomb is here. I also remember another event that took place in 1953 when the river was flooding. Some people came and said that Wad-Hashim should be exhumed from his tomb.<sup>20</sup> I witnessed this event. So, he was exhumed and removed to a more distant location.

ṭawwaali masha °amar al-ḥilla di. °Amaraa gabli maa yiji t-tasjiil. Fa ga°ad fi l-ḥilla di istaqarra fiiha. Hu ṭaba°an maa anjab. Fa ga°ad fiiha laghaayit maa itwaffa. Fa ba°ad fatra jo ahalna l-ḥaaliin deel wa sakano fiiha. Ya°ni hassa° min awlaad Ḥaaj aṭ-Taahir hinaak beeten talaata, wa l-baagiin ahalum ya°ni.

دي استقر فيها. هو طبعا ما أنجب. ففعد فيها لغاية ما اتوفى. فبعد فترة جوا أهلنا الحاليين ديل وسكنوا فيها. يعني هسع من أولاد حاج طاهر هناك بيتين تلاتة والباقيين أهلهم يعني.

Ba°deen Wad-Haashim maqbartu hina. Barḍu itzakkar fi ḥaaja ḥaṣalat sanat talaata wu khamsiin; kaan ja baḥar. Fa gaamo jo jamaa°a gaalo Wad-Haashim illa yinshuruuhu. Al-ḥagiiga ana l-ḥikaaya di ḥaaḍiraa. Fa gaamo ṭaba°an nasharooḥu min hina wa nagalooḥu giddaam.

بعدين ودهاشم مقبرته هنا. برضو اتذكر في حاجة حصلت سنة تلاتة وخمسين، كان جا بحر. فقاموا جوا جماعة قالوا ودهاشم إلا ينشروه. الحقيقة أنا الحكاية دي حاضرها. فقاموا طبعا نشروه من هنا ونقلوه قدام.

*Q9: There were many stories about his exhumation. Is there anything that you remember?*

س9: في روايات بتحكي عن نشره دا ذاته، ما متذكر؟

<sup>19</sup> The term 'grandfather' is here used loosely to refer to a relative of a more distant ascending generation.

<sup>20</sup> According to traditions, these people came and said that they had seen Sheikh Wad-Hashim in a dream saying to them: "You have seen the flood approaching me and no measures have been taken towards my removal!"



By God, I didn't enter (into the tomb). There was Sheikh Muhammad Tom (the Second), As-Sadig, maybe At-Tahir, and some two or three other people. (Sheikh) Wad-Hashim was exhumed exactly at 6.00 p.m. We were given the body, wrapped; it was very heavy (as if he had just died). We put it on the bed. As far as I remember, of course, he had a bandage on his leg. I saw that bandage still fixed on the leg. We exhumed him on Wednesday. On the same day our brother Hamid Baabikir sent a telegramme saying that Sheikh Wad-Hashim had been taken out of his tomb, 47 years after his death, and that his body had been found intact, and that he would be reburied on Friday at 10.00 a.m. People started crowding around like hordes of locusts from everywhere. The body was taken to the *khalwa* (reception room) of Sheikh Muhammad Tom. It (i.e., the body) spent Thursday awaiting reburial on Friday.

My father was there; he participated in digging the (new) tomb where the body was to be reburied at 10.00 a.m. (on Friday). At around 7.30–8.00 a.m., my father

Wallaahi be amaana ana maa khashsheet juwwa. Awwalan kaan ash-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom, Aṣ-Ṣaadig, wu ba<sup>°</sup>deen fi ṭ-Ṭaahir yaa rabbi! Taani ma<sup>°</sup>aahum nafareen talaata kida. Nasharoohu be ḍ-ḍabṭi ḥawaali s-saa<sup>°</sup>a sitta misaa<sup>°</sup>an kida. Addoona l-hinaay (aj-jusmaan) da malfuuf: jisim tagiil, ma<sup>°</sup>naaha jusmaan bitaa<sup>°</sup> zool tagiil. Khatteenaahu fi s-sariir. <sup>°</sup>Alaa maa azkur ṭaba<sup>°</sup>an rijlu di fiilha laffa. Ana shuufṭa l-laffa fii nafs ar-rijil raakba. Fi<sup>°</sup>lan shiilnaahu yoom al-Arbi<sup>°</sup>, aṣbaḥ yoom al-khamiis. Bitzakkar fii nafs al-yoom kaan akhuuna Ḥamid Baabikir <sup>°</sup>amal barqiyya <sup>°</sup>alaa anna sh-Sheekh Wad-Haashim nushir ba<sup>°</sup>ad saba<sup>°</sup>a wa arba<sup>°</sup>iin sana wujid jusmaanu kaamil maa fi ayyi ḥaaja, ḥayitwaara jusmaanu yoom aj-juma<sup>°</sup>a s-saa<sup>°</sup>a <sup>°</sup>ashara. Aṣbaḥna ṣ-ṣabaḥ... an-naas <sup>°</sup>ibaara <sup>°</sup>an jaraad. Ba<sup>°</sup>deen waddo j-jusmaan khalwat ash-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom. Akhad yoom al-khamiis <sup>°</sup>alaa asaas kawnu yitwaara yoom aj-juma<sup>°</sup>a.

Waalidna ṭaba<sup>°</sup>an gaa<sup>°</sup>id ma<sup>°</sup>a n-naas, gaamo masho ḥafaro gabru wa ayyi ḥaaja <sup>°</sup>alaa asaas bukra s-saa<sup>°</sup>a <sup>°</sup>ashara yiwaaruuhu. As-saa<sup>°</sup>a saba<sup>°</sup>a wu nuṣ tamaaniya

والله بأمانة أنا ما خشيت جوة. أولاً كان الشيخ محمد توم، الصادق، وبعدين في الطاهر يا ربي! ثاني معاهم نفرين ثلاثة كدا. نشروه بالضببط حوالي الساعة ستة مساءً كدا. أدونا الهناي (الجسمان) دا ملفوف: جسم تقيل، معناها جسمان بتاع زول تقيل. ختينااه في السرير. على ما أذكر طبعاً رجله دي فيها لفة. أنا شوفت اللفة في نفس الرجل راكبة. فعلاً شيلناه يوم الأربعاء، أصبح يوم الخميس. بتذكر في نفس اليوم كان أخونا حامد بابكر عمل برقية على أن الشيخ ودهاشم نشر بعد سبعة وأربعين سنة وجد جسمانه كامل ما في أي حاجة، حيتواري جسمانه يوم الجمعة الساعة عشرة. أصبنا الصباح... الناس عبارة عن جراد. بعدين ودوا الجسمان خلوة الشيخ محمد توم. أخذ يوم الخميس على أساس كونه يتواري يوم الجمعة.

والدنا طبعاً قاعد مع الناس، قاموا مشوا حفروا قبره وأي حاجة على أساس بكرة الساعة عشرة يواروه. الساعة سبعة ونص تمانية والدنا شعر ليه بي حمة. طبعاً نحن جايطين

had a fever. Of course, we were busy attending to the guests under very difficult conditions (because of the crowd). My father sent for me and asked me not to leave him. At 12.00 (midnight) he died. At that time Sheikh Abdurahman was present in our house. He said: "If we leave this body (of Wad-Hashim) until tomorrow, it will be too difficult to take it to the graveyard." So, they went and buried Wad-Hashim at around 3.00 a.m. (Friday, instead of 10.00 a.m.). At 10.00 a.m. my father was buried. Thousands of people prayed at his funeral.

waalidna sha<sup>ar</sup> le bee ḥumma. Ṭaba<sup>an</sup> niḥna jaaytiin ma<sup>a</sup> n-naas, al-ḥikaaya ṣa<sup>aba</sup>. Gaam rassal ley. Jiit gaal ley: "Maa tamshi." As-saa<sup>a</sup> iṭnaashar waalidna itwaffa. Fii nafs al-wakit kaan ash-Sheekh <sup>Abduraḥmaan</sup> mawjuud fii beetna. Gaalo: "Yaa jamaa<sup>a</sup> niḥna n-naas al-mawjuuda di law taraknaahum le ṣ-ṣabaah aj-jusmaan da maa bnagdar nawaddi l-maqaabir." Gaamo ḥawaali s-saa<sup>a</sup> talaata ṣabaahan kida wa masho dafano Wad-Haashim. As-saa<sup>a</sup> ashara yoom aj-jum<sup>a</sup> indafan abuu. Ba<sup>deen</sup> al-<sup>adad</sup> aṣ-ṣalla <sup>alehu</sup> Allaahu ya<sup>lam</sup> yarbuu <sup>an</sup> kazaa alf.

مع الناس، الحكاية صعبة. قام رسل لي. جيت قال لي: "ما تمشي". الساعة إتناشر والدنا اتوفى. في نفس الوقت كان الشيخ عبدالرحمن موجود في بيتنا. قالوا: "يا جماعة نحن الناس الموجودة دي لو تركناهم للصباح الجسمان دا ما ينقدر نوديه المقابر". قاموا حوالي الساعة ثلاثة صباحا كذا ومشوا دفنوا ودهاشم. الساعة عشرة يوم الجمعة اندفن أبوي. بعدين العدد الصلي عليه الله يعلم يريو عن كذا ألف.

*Q10: When our people arrived with the hijra, whom among of the (above-mentioned) sheikhs did they find?*

They found Sheikh Muhammad Tom (the First). From what I heard, they arrived at the beginning of the rainy season in 1904.<sup>21</sup> I remember that Wali and his family were hosted in our house; Mai-Wurno was hosted in the Sheikh's house; and all the others

Ligo sh-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom. Al-ḥaaja l-<sup>ana</sup> si<sup>mitaa</sup> gaalo jo fi r-rushaash sanat alf wu tus<sup>umiyya</sup> wu araba<sup>a</sup>. Fa ḥatta itzakkar kaan fii beetna fi naas Waali; wa Mai-Wurno ga<sup>ad</sup> fii beet ash-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom; wu ba<sup>deen</sup> jamaa<sup>atum</sup>

س10: هجرة أهلنا لما جات لقت ياتو من الشيوخ؟

لقوا الشيخ محمد توم. الحاجة الأنا سمعتها قالوا جوا في الرشااش سنة ألف وتسعمية وأربعة. فحتى اتذكر كان في بيتنا في ناس والي، وميورنو قعد في بيت الشيخ محمد توم، وبعدين جماعتهم كلهم اتوزعوا على الأهل، كل ناس أدوهم على حسب استطاعتهم. فلما جات الدرت مشى الشيخ محمد

<sup>21</sup> This date cannot be correct because the *hijra* (migration) restarted from Burmi after July 1903 (the date of the final battle), and we know that the mainstream of the migration stayed in 'Borgo' land (Wadai) for almost one year.

were distributed among the Sheikh's relatives. Every family was assigned people according to its ability (to accommodate them). In the dry season, Sheikh Muhammad Tom crossed the river together with the Sultan (Mai-Wurno) and gave him the site on which he was to establish his village. Our people even helped the migrants to prepare the place. Because he (i.e., Mai-Wurno) was the (great) grandson of Sheikh Usman (dan Fodio), Sheikh Muhammad Tom offered them all kinds of assistance. Moreover, there was affection between the two sheikhs.

kullahum itwazza°o °ala l-°ahal; kullu naas addoohum °ala ḥasab istiṭaa°atum. Fa lamma jaat ad-darat masha sh-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom ṭawwaali adda s-Sulṭaan sakan: °addo ma°aahum wa ishtaghalo ma°aahum. Fa ḥasab da beet ash-Sheekh °Usmaan kull al-musaa°adaat gaddamaa leehum ash-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom. Wu kaan beenaatum maḥabba shadiida.

توم طَوَّالِي أَدَّ السُّلْطَانَ سَكْنَ: عَدُّوا مَعَاهُمْ وَاسْتَعْلَوْا مَعَاهُمْ. فَحَسَبَ دَا بَيْتَ الشَّيْخِ عُثْمَانَ كُلَّ الْمَسَاعِدَاتِ قَدَمَهَا لِيَهُمُ الشَّيْخُ مُحَمَّدُ تَوْمَ. وَكَانَ بَيْنَاتِهِمْ مَحَبَّةً شَدِيدَةً.

*Q11: When they crossed the river, was there any settlement on the other side (i.e., western side of the Blue Nile)?*

There was nothing at all except the graveyard of Hajj at-Tahir and the relics of their houses.

Khaaliṣ maafi; bas illa l-maqaabir ḥaggaat Ḥaaj Ṭaahir wa asar buyuutum al-hinaak.

س11: طيب لما قطعوا البحر كان بي جاي في عمار؟

خالص مافي، بس إلا المقابر حقات حاج الطاهر وأثر بيوتهم الهناك.

*Q12: But we heard that Wad Zarwalli (a man of Turkish origin) had a hut on that side (i.e., western side of the Blue Nile)!*

No, this was after they had moved. The people of Wad Zarwalli were living here at first. When the Sultan

La, da ba°ad maa raḥalo. Naas Zarwalli zaatu awwal kaano saakniin bee hina. Awwal ma s-Sulṭaan raḥal

س12: لكن سمعنا ود زَرَوَّلِي كان عنده قطية بي غادي!

لا، دا بعد ما رحلوا. ناس زرولي ذاته أول كانوا ساكنين بي هنا. أول ما السلطان رحل هم أول ناس سكنوا معاه، عندهم جزء

(Mai-Wurno) moved, they were the first people to move with him. So, some of them were living on this side (of the Blue Nile) and some on that side. But before the Sultan there was nobody at all.

humma awwal naas sakano ma<sup>a</sup>aahu; <sup>o</sup>indahum juzu saakin bee hina wa juzu saakin bee hinaak. Laakin gabl as-Sulṭaan maa kaan fi zool khaalīṣ.

ساكن بي هنا وجزء ساكن بي هناك. لكن قبل السلطان ما كان في زول خالص.

*Q13: Usually when people are living in a place and then move away, some of them remain behind. Did any of the hijra people remain behind (in Shaikh Talha)?*

Yes, there were some. It was said that the father of the people of Bello Abbakar Atiq remained behind. But even these, I think, arrived shortly before the Sultan. These were Ansar (i.e., adepts of the Mahdiyya brotherhood).

Fi. Gaalo waalid naas Bello Abbakar <sup>o</sup>Atiig. Deel zaatum <sup>o</sup>alaa maa i<sup>o</sup>taqid jo gabl as-Sulṭaan bee shuwayya. Humma deel anṣaar.

س13: عادة لما يجوا ناس ينزلوا في مكان ويرحلوا منه غالبا يتخلفوا منّهم ناس. لما جا ميورنو يرحل ما في ناس من الهجرة اتخلفوا هنا؟

في. قالوا والد ناس بيلو أبكر عتيق. ديل ذاتهم على ما اعتقد جوا قبل السلطان بي شوية. همّ ديل أنصار.

*Q14: Were there Fallaata Futa who came from Darfur and settled in Shaikh Talha?*

(There was nobody) except the family of Abu-Hawwa. It was said that, during the Mahdiyya, Usman al-Fanjari and his four brothers and even their mother knew the Qur’an by heart. My father said to me: “When we went to recite (it)...” – they spoke the Fur language (i.e., the Darfur variety of Arabic) – (they often told us:) “Children! Don’t distort the

Illa <sup>o</sup>aaylat naas Abu-Hawwa deel. Ḥatta gaalo fi l-Mahdiyya <sup>o</sup>Usmaan al-Fanjari wa akhuuhu hum al-<sup>o</sup>arba<sup>a</sup> ḥatta ummahum gaalo ḥaafza al-Qur<sup>o</sup>aan. Biyaḥki ley abuuy, gaal ley: “Ḥatta niḥna lamma naji hina namshi nagfir...” – ba<sup>o</sup>deen humma kaano bitkallamu lughat al-Foor (<sup>o</sup>Arabi Daarfoor): “Yaa iyaal maa takassir al-

س14: في فلاتة فوتا قاموا من دارفور وجوا سكنوا في الشيخ طلحة؟

إلا عائلة ناس أبوحوة ديل. حتى قالوا في المهدية عثمان الفنجري وأخوه هم الأربعة حتى أمهم قالوا حافظة القرآن. بيحكي لي أبي قال لي: "حتى نحن لما نجي هنا نمشي نقفر..." – بعدين همّ كانوا بتكلموا لغة الفور – (عربي دارفور): "يا إيال ما تكسر القرآن". فديل كانوا من هناك.

Qur'an!" So, they were from there.

Qur'aan." Fa deel kaano min hinaak.

*Q15: Can you tell us why there was no intermarriage between the family of Sheikh Talha and that of Mai-Wurno in order to strengthen relations?*

س15: تقدر تعرف ليه ما حصل تزواج بين أسرة الشيخ طلحة وأسرّة سلطان ميورنو عشان يمتثوا العلاقة؟

By God, I don't know.

Wallaahi maa °aarif.

والله ما عارف.

*Q16: Regardless of the fact that intermarriage didn't take place, how were the relations between them?*

س16: طيب رغم إنه ما تمّ الزواج دا، الصلة كانت كيف؟

By God, relations were very cordial, but I don't know why intermarriage didn't take place.

Wallaahi ş-şila ḥamiima, laakin maa tamma z-zawaaj da as-sabab maa °aarif shinu.

والله الصلة حميمة، لكن ما تمّ الزواج دا السبب ما عارف شنو.

*Q17: And why are there no men from here who married women from Maiurno?*

س17: وليه ما في ناس من هنا اتزوجوا في مايرنو؟

By God, I don't know. Maybe because of the language barrier, as (someone) mentioned before; but language is (in itself) not a sufficient barrier (to intermarriage). Ab-Na'oof was a Shaygi (pl. Shaygiyya).<sup>22</sup> He came and married Mai-Wurno's sister. Wad ash-Shami came from Wad Medani and got married to a woman from Maiurno. So, language is not a real problem, but I

Wallaahi maa °aarif. Zey maa gaal gibeel al-lugha, laakin mas°alat al-lugha di bardu maa ḥaajiz. Laakin maa ta°arif al-°asbaab shinu. Ab-Na°oof Shaaygi ja itzawwaj ukhut Mai-Wurno; Wadd ash-Shami ja min Madani itzawwaj fii Maayirno. Fa l-lugha di maa maani°, laakin maa tagdar taguul.

والله ما عارف. زي ما قال قبيل اللغة، لكن مسألة اللغة دي برضو ما حاجز. لكن ما تعرف الأسباب شنو. أبنعوف شايقي جا اتزوج أخت ميورنو، ود الشامي جا من مدني اتزوج في مايرنو. فاللغة دي ما مانع، لكن ما تقدر تقول.

<sup>22</sup> Although he carried the Shaygiyya tribal marks (three horizontal scars on each cheek), Ab-Na'oof was a Dongolese. This fact was confirmed by members of his family as well as by his relative, Professor Mahdi Amin at-Tom (University of Khartoum).

can't really explain.

*Q18: When people come from Maiurno seeking marriage here, do your people distinguish between the Fulani and the Hausa?*

By God, the majority doesn't know the difference. Only few of them do.

Wallaahi ghaaliban maa bi°arfu illa naadir, illa l-galiil minnahum.

س18: لما يجوا الناس من مايرنو عشان يعرّسوا هنا جماعتكم بعرفوا حكاية دا فلاتي ودا هوساوي؟

والله هنا غالبا ما بعرفوا إلا نادر، إلا القليل منهم.

*Q19: Do those who know the difference have any reservations?*

Yes, those who know (the difference) may have some reservations.

Aayi, al-bi°rif da bikuun fi tahaffuzaat.

س19: اللي بميّز دا بتكون في تحفظات؟

آي، البعرف دا بكون في تحفظات.

*Q20: In Shaikh Talha, are there families that don't offer their girls to certain other families?*

By God, this has never happened here. All the tribes intermarry with one another because of the long period of integration.

Wallaahi hina maa haṣal; ayyi noo°iyya bitzawwaju min shatta l-qabaa°il be ḥukmi fatratum; inṣihaar ṭawwaali.

س20: طيب داخل شيخ طلحة ذاتها في أسر ما بتعرّس لي أسر؟

والله هنا ما حصل، آي نوعية بتزوجوا من شتى القبائل، بحكم فترتهم، انصهار طوالي.

*Q21: Do the original people of Shaikh Talha marry the daughters of the Maiurno people who have themselves married women from here?*

Yes; for example, the son of Omda al-Awad married the daughter of Hajj Baabikir Wau.

Aayi, Haaj Baabikir Waaw, walad al-°Umda l-°Awaḍ itzawwaj bittu.

س21: من الناس الجوا من مايرنو واتزوجوا هنا وولدوا بنات، هل في ناس من أهل الشيخ طلحة اتزوجوا من البنات ديل؟

آي، حاج بابكر واو، ولد العمدة العوض اتزوج بيته.

س22: العمة العوض ما من  
الشيخ طلحة!

Q22: *But Omda al-Awad is not originally from Shaikh Talha!*

#### ABDALRAHMAN

I know of only three girls who were married by typical Shaikh Talha citizens. But I find this number negligible. More than 70 or 80 people from Maiurno married to women from Shaikh Talha. They have had not less than a thousand daughters. I know that Sheikh Muhammad Tom (the Second) married Zeinab, the daughter of Khalil; Adam Abdullahi married the daughter of Khalil; and recently Husham Ya'qub married the daughter of Mustafa Musa. Apart from that, there aren't any other cases. Three out of a thousand is a very low rate. That means that there is little integration between Maiurno and Shaikh Talha.

Ana ba<sup>o</sup>rif talaata banaat bas min banaat naas Maayirno l-hina itzawwajoohin muwaatiniin min ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa. Laakin ana bashuuf an-nisba zaataa maa kaafiya la<sup>o</sup>annu n-naas aj-jo itzawwaju hina maa agalla min saba<sup>o</sup>iin tamaniin, wa <sup>o</sup>indahum banaat <sup>o</sup>amalan be l-<sup>o</sup>aalaaf. Ana <sup>o</sup>aarif ash-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom itzawwaj Zeinab bitt Khaliil; <sup>o</sup>aarif Adam <sup>o</sup>Abdullaahi itzawwaj bitt Khaliil; <sup>o</sup>aarif fi l-<sup>o</sup>ahd al-gariib da Hushaam Wad Ya<sup>o</sup>guub itzawwaj bitt Muṣṭafa Muusa. Laakin taani fi? Talaata min alf ya<sup>o</sup>ni shinu! Nisba basiiṭa. Maa fi inṣihaar been Maayirno wa Ṭalḥa be ṣ-ṣuura l-maṭluuba.

عبدالرحمن  
أنا بعرف ثلاثة بنات بس  
من بنات ناس مايرنو الهنا  
اتزوجهن مواطنين من الشيخ  
طلحة. لكن أنا بشوف النسبة  
ذاتها ما كافية لأنه الناس الجوا  
اتزوجوا هنا ما أقل من سبعين  
ثمانين، وعندهم بنات عملن  
بالآلاف. أنا عارف الشيخ  
محمد توم اتزوج زينب بت  
خليل، عارف آدم عبدالله اتزوج  
بت خليل، عارف في العهد  
القريب دا هشام ود يعقوب  
اتزوج بت مصطفى موسى.  
لكن تاني في؟ ثلاثة من ألف  
يعني شنو! نسبة بسيطة. ما  
في انصهار بين مايرنو وطلحة  
بالصورة المطلوبة.

Q23 (Abdalrahman to Mustafa): *We always hear in writings and praise singing about "Sheikh Talha the Fallaati...!"*<sup>23</sup>

Ṭayyib fi l-kutub wa l-madaayih kullaha binasma<sup>o</sup> "Sheekh Ṭalḥa al-Fallaati...!"

س23 (عبدالرحمن لمصطفى):  
طبيب، في الكتب والمدائح كلها  
بنسمع "شيخ طلحة الفلاتي...!"

#### MUSTAFA

By God, I don't know anything about them.

Wallaahi ana maa <sup>o</sup>aarif <sup>o</sup>annahum ayyi ḥaaja.

مصطفى  
والله أنا ما عارف عنهم أي  
حاجة.

<sup>23</sup> 'Fallaati' is the singular form of 'Fallaata'.

Q24 (Abdalrahman to *Fi n-nihaaya mush* س24 (عبدالرحمن لمصطفى): *Mustafa*): *But isn't he, in the end, your grandfather?* في النهاية مش جدكم؟

#### MUSTAFA

Sheikh Talha is my direct grandmother's father, but I don't really know,<sup>24</sup> because their claim is something that... In fact, you can't say anything about somebody whom you don't know. You are supposed to ask *him*. Moreover, this is well known in history; everybody knows that...<sup>25</sup>

Abu ḥabboobi ṭawwaali sh-Sheekh Ṭalḥa, laakin maa °aarif la°annu waḍ°ahum kida... Al-ḥagiiga z-zool inta maa bita°rifu maa bitagdar taguul fiihu ḥaaja. Al-mafruḍ tawajjih leehu s-su°aal hu zaatu. Ba°deen at-taariikh zaatu bi°rif; wa ba°deen ayyi zool °aarif...

مصطفى  
أب حبوبتي طوالي الشيخ  
طلحة، لكن ما عارف لأنه  
وضعهم كدا... الحقيقة الزول  
إنت ما بتعرفه ما بتقدر تقول  
فيه حاجة. المفروض توجّه ليه  
السؤال هو ذاته. بعدين التاريخ  
ذاته بعرف، وبعدين أي زول  
عارف...

End

An-nihaaya

النهاية

<sup>24</sup> It was quite clear that the informant did not want to yield any information on this issue.

<sup>25</sup> Al-Amin Abu-Manga learned that the new generations do not like the elders to associate them with the Fallaata (Fulani). Instead, they decided to claim an Arab origin and a new pedigree, namely, Husseiniyya (see also Abu-Manga in press).



# INTERVIEW WITH FULANI MEN ORIGINATING FROM MAIURNO

DATE AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW:

December 9, 1996; Wad Medani

INTERVIEWEES:

- Abdurahman Ali Baabikir Jaafun, born in 1933 in Maiurno
- Abdalmoneim Isma'il Abu-Bakr al-Qadi, born in 1963 in Maiurno
- Abu-Bakr Ahmad Orabi, 55 years, born in Maiurno

INTERVIEWER: Al-Amin Abu-Manga

TRANSCRIPTION, TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION (ARABIC AND FULFULDE): Al-Amin Abu-Manga

*Q1: According to what you heard, when the hijra (migration) led by Mai-Wurno arrived in Shaikh Talha,<sup>1</sup> did all its members stay in one place or were they distributed among the families already living in that village?*

ABDURAHMAN

What I heard is the following: when Mai-Wurno came with his people, they were hosted in one place; they were not distributed among the families already living in Shaikh Talha. What we heard from our elders is that they were too numerous to be distributed among these families. They came under a tribal leader. The people of Shaikh Talha welcomed them, showed them hospitality, and showed them the place (where they were to stay). So, whatever they

Ash-shi l-<sup>o</sup>ana simi<sup>o</sup>tu,  
<sup>o</sup>indama ja s-Sulṭaan ma<sup>a</sup>  
naasu nazzaloohum fii ḥitta  
mu<sup>o</sup>ayyana baraahum, maa  
wazza<sup>o</sup>oohum <sup>o</sup>ale l-<sup>o</sup>usar.  
Ash-shi s-simi<sup>o</sup>naahu min  
abbahaatna hum akbar  
mimmaa yiwazzi<sup>o</sup>uuhum  
<sup>o</sup>ale l-<sup>o</sup>usar. Hum jo, insaan  
ma<sup>a</sup> naasu, za<sup>o</sup>iim gabiila,  
naas ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa  
nazzaloohum wa  
akramoohum wa warroohum  
al-maḥal; iza kaan fi ayyi  
ḥaaja jaatum jaatum ka  
majmuu<sup>o</sup>a bi waasṭat as-  
Sulṭaan, ba<sup>o</sup>deen yiwazzi<sup>o</sup>aa

س1: حسب ما بتسمع،  
الهجرة بتاعة ميورنو دي لما  
جات نزلت في الشيخ طلحة،  
هل كانوا نازلين في حنة  
معينة كلهم وللا وزعوهم على  
الأسر؟

عبدالرحمن

الشئ الأنا سمعته، عندما  
جا السلطان مع ناسه نزلوهم  
في حنة معينة براهم، ما  
وزعوهم على الأسر. الشئ  
السمعناه من أبهاتنا هم أكبر  
مما يوزعوهم على الأسر. هم  
جوا، إنسان مع ناسه، زعيم  
قبيلة، ناس الشيخ طلحة نزلوهم  
وأكرمهم وورؤهم المحل؛ إذا  
كان في أي حاجة جاتهم جاتهم  
كمجموعة بواسطة السلطان،  
بعدين يوزعها لي ناسه، والناس  
التكافل تم، ناس المنطقة في  
تكافل، وفي من الأهل من  
قبائل الفلاتة المجاورين بروضو.

<sup>1</sup> The village named after Sheikh Talha, its presumed founder (see below).

obtained, they obtained it as a group through the Sultan (Mai-Wurno), who, in turn, gave it to his people. There was mutual assistance between the people (Fulani) living in this area (i.e., Maiurno), and assistance was also largely received from Fallaata (Fulani) relatives<sup>2</sup> living in the surrounding areas.

lee naasu, wa n-naas at-takaaful tamma, naas al-mantiga fi takaaful, wa fi min al-<sup>o</sup>ahal min gabaayil al-Fallaata l-mujaawiriin bardu.

*Q2: After they had crossed to this side (i.e., western side of the Blue Nile), how were they distributed spatially? Was the distribution at random or was every clan leader assigned a place for his people?*

In fact, when they arrived, there was someone called Ahmad Um Baushi. According to what we learned from our elders, this man did not cross to the eastern side (i.e., to Shaikh Talha); he stayed in (the present) Maiurno site near the place where Maccudo's house stands. His daughter was Wali's wife and their house was near the wood-selling centre of Yousif Sharom. This man (Ahmad Um Baushi) never crossed to the eastern side of the Blue Nile. So, they (the *hijra* members) used to come and clear the land and

Aşlan  indamaa waşalu l-mantiga di fi rajul ismu Aħmad Um Baushi; ash-shi s-simi<sup>o</sup>naahu min ajdaadna innu da maa  adda be sh-sharig, ga<sup>o</sup>ad fii Maayirno, yaahu hasa<sup>o</sup> janb naas Maccido da; bittu hiya kaanat zawjat Waali, beetum janb al-moorada bitaa<sup>o</sup>at Yuusif Sharoom. Ar-rajul da aşlu maa  adda be ash-sharig, wa hum kaanu n-naas deel biju wa bimshu bishtaghlu wu biju. An-naas al-maaskiin al-maraakib: Alla-Yaa-Fi, wa fi naas  Ibeed, wa Fađl al-Muula wa akhuuhu Maħammad wa abnaa<sup>o</sup>u; hum deel kaanu kubaar

س2: طيب بعد ما عبروا البحر كيف كان توزيعهم هنا؟ هل توزيع عشوائى وللا اى زعيم بطن قبيلة اذوه محل لى ناسه؟

اصلاً عندما وصلوا المنطقة دي في رجل اسمه أحمد أم بوشي - الشى السمعناه من اجدادنا إنه دا ما عدّ بالشرق، قعد في مايرنو، ياهو هسع جنب ناس مشطو دا، بنه هي كانت زوجة والى، بيتهم جنب الموردة بتاعة يوسف شروم. الرجل دا اصلو ما عدّ بالشرق، وهم كانوا الناس ديل بجوا ويمشوا بشتغلوا وبجوا. الناس الماسكين المراكب: الله يافى وفي ناس عبيد وفضل المولى وأخوهم محمد وأبناؤه؛ هم ديل كانوا كبار بعدوا بالمراكب. برضو اشتغل معاهم أبو ناس دبلو وناس عثمان حندادي. الشى البسمعه الله يافى دا ذاته معاه نفرين تلاتة من جماعتنا لكن نسيتهم.

<sup>2</sup>The term 'relatives' is used loosely here to stress shared ethnic background.

return. The boat people (i.e., the people operating the boat used to cross the river) included: Allah-Yaa-Fi, Ibeid, Fadl al-Moula, and his brother Muhammad and his sons. These were the elderly people who operated boats to cross the river. Dabalo's father and Usman Handaadi also worked with them. I also learned that, besides Allah-Yaa-Fi, there were also two or three other persons from our group, but I have forgotten them (i.e., their names).

When the *hijra* started and people heard about the departure of Amir al-Mu'minin (the 'Commander of the Faithful'<sup>3</sup>) from Sokoto, people with their entire families would join his *hijra*, when he passed through their area. Usually when they presented themselves to pay homage, he would ask them: "Who are you?" "We are so-and-so." "What is your clan? Who is your leader?" He would then record (this information). It was like that until they reached Burmi and the well-known events took place.<sup>4</sup> They paid homage

bi<sup>o</sup>addu be l-maraakib. Barḍu ishtaghal ma<sup>o</sup>aahum abu naas Dabalo, wa naas <sup>o</sup>Usmaan Ḥandaadi. Ash-shi l-basma<sup>o</sup>u Alla-Yaa-Fi da zaatu ma<sup>o</sup>aahu nafareen talaata min jamaa<sup>o</sup>atna laakin nisiitum.

Ba<sup>o</sup>deen Maayirno di, min hinaak lamma gaamat al-hijra, an-naas sim<sup>o</sup>u be giyaam Amiir al-Mu<sup>o</sup>miniin, kulli manṭiga lamma yiji fiiha biguumu bee ḥaalum be <sup>o</sup>usarum wa yiju muttabi<sup>o</sup>iin al-hijra. Lamma yiju yibaay<sup>o</sup>u bis<sup>o</sup>alum, "Intu minum?" "Niḥna kida." "Khashum beetkum shinu? Za<sup>o</sup>iimkum minu?" Ṭawwaali yisajjil. Be ṭ-ṭariiga di laamin waṣal Burmi wa ḥaṣal maa ḥaṣal. Baaya<sup>o</sup>o Maḥammad Bello wa waaṣalo laghaayit maa waṣalo.

بعدين مايرنو دي، من هناك لما قامت الهجرة، الناس سمعوا بقيام أمير المؤمنين، كل منطقة لما يجي فيها بقوموا بحالهم بأسرهم ويجوا متبعين الهجرة. لما يجوا يبائعوا بسألهم، "انتو من؟" "نحن كدا." "خشم بيتكم شنو؟ زعيمكم منو؟" طوالي يسجل. بالطريقة دي لامن وصل برمي وحصل ما حصل. بايعوا محمد بلو وواصلوا لغاية ما وصلوا.

<sup>3</sup> This title refers to Attahiru (At-Tahir); see also footnote 4.

<sup>4</sup> The events in question relate to the famous Burmi battle (in northern Nigeria) between the *hijra* people and the British army, which took place on 27 July 1903. Attahiru (At-Tahir), the leader of the *hijra* from Sokoto, was martyred in this battle and leadership was passed to his son, Mai-Wurno. For more information on this battle, see Duffield (1981: 27).

to Muhammad Bello<sup>5</sup> and continued (under his leadership) up to here.

When they crossed (to the western side of the river<sup>6</sup>), clan leaders were told: “Go and find an area and clear it for yourself and your people.” So, he (Mai-Wurno) let the migrants living in these quarters disperse in this way, according to clan leaders, telling the leader: “Whenever I need your people, I will summon them through you.” This is why the Borno Fulani families are very numerous. He gave each of them a separate place, although they all belonged to the same (Fulani) subsection. For example, Jawro Hamma, Dukka Yeenga, and Jawro Maanu were all Borno Fulani. Faruq was a Katsina Fulani and Malam Maanu was a Dukku Fulani. And then you have the Nafada quarter and the Dagara (Daura) and Damagara (Damagar-am) quarters. So, Maiurno was established in this way. And then there was Ayyub there in that northern quarter; there was Malam Koyne, Malam Jaḅḅo, Mad-awaki, and the Barguube (known as Sidibeeḅe – or

Fa lamman °addo ayyi insaan naadoohu gaalo leehu: “Inta wa jamaa°tak shuufu leekum ḥitta akburu fiiha.” Fa gassam al-°ahyaa° di be ṣ-ṣuura di; ḥasab az- zu°amaa°, kullu zool bee naasu yiguul leehu, “Naasak deel ayyi wakit baduurum bajiibum °an ṭariigak inta.” °Ashaan kida hassa° buyuut al-Barnanko°en buyuut katiira jiddan jiddan. Fa kullu naas addaahum maḥal baraahum raghmi innahum min khashum beet waahid. Khud misaal zey Jawro Hamma, zey Dukka Yeenga, zey Jarma Kitir, zey Jawro Maanu, deel kullahum min al-Bornanko°en. Bad°een hina Faruuku Katsinanko°en, wa Maalam Maanu Dukkanko°en. Wa ba°deen fariig Naafada, wu ba°deen Dagaranko°en wu Damagaranko°en. Fa tamma ta°siis Maayirno be ṣ-ṣuura di. Ba°deen fi Ayuuba hinaak fi l-fariig as-Saafilaani da; fi Maalam Koyne wu Maalam Jaḅḅo wu fi Madawaaki, wu naas Barguube (naas biguulu leehum Sidibeeḅe). Wu ba°deen al-Marwa ingasamu °itneen: fi Marwa Wad

فلمن عدوا أي إنسان نادوه قالوا ليه: “إنت وجماعتك شوفوا ليكم حتة أكبروا فيها.” فقسّم الأحياء دي بالصورة دي؛ حسب الزعماء، كل زول بي ناسه، يقول ليه: “ناسك ديل أي وكت بدورهم بجيبهم عن طريقك انت.” عشان كدا هسع بيوت البرننكوئن بيوت كتيرة جداً جداً، فكل ناس أدهم محل براهم رغم إنهم من خشم بيت واحد. خد مثال زي جورو هم، زي دك جينقا، زي جرمة كتير، زي جورو مانو، ديل كلهم من البرننكوئن. بعدين هنا فاروق كاتسبينكوئن، ومالم مانو دكنكوئن. وبعدين فريقتان، وبعدين دغرنكوئن ودمغرنكوئن. فتم تأسيس مايرنو بالصورة دي. بعدين في أيوب هناك في الفريق السافلاني دا، في مالم كويني ومالم جبو وفي مادواكي، وناس برغوبي (ناس بقولوا ليهم سدبيني). وبعدين المروة انقسموا إثنين، في مروة ود هاشم ومروة أردبية، في منهم جوا بعد الهجرة وفي منهم جوا مع الهجرة. بعدين في دغرا؛ دغرا ديل كمان هم ناس عمر دامنة وناس غيا. أحمد توطو كمان من الأدموا؛ وبعدين مرافا جولاً، طبعاً دا من الأسرة، فريق مرافا دا فريقهم لكن طبعاً بعد داك رحلوا مشوا الصعيد.

<sup>5</sup> Muhammad Bello (Mai-Wurno) was the son of Attahiru (At-Tahir) and named after another Muhammad Bello, i.e., after a Sultan of Sokoto, who, in turn, was the son of Sheikh Usman dan Fodio.

<sup>6</sup> At that time Maiurno was still to be established on the western side of the Blue Nile.

Sidibe). And then the Marwa people<sup>7</sup> were divided into two groups: the Marwa of Wad Hashim and those of Ardeba (Irediba; 3–4 km south of the centre of Maiurno). Some of them arrived after the *hijra*, and some of them came along with the *hijra*. And then there were the Dagara (Fulani), the Umar Damana and the Gaya people. Ahmad Towdo was an Adamawa Fulani. And, of course, Marafa Yola belonged to the ruling family; the Marafa quarter (in Maiurno) used to be theirs, but they moved to Southern Blue Nile.

In short, the distribution of Maiurno people was not by lot or something like that, but according to previous occurrences, i.e., according to their organisational order prior to their arrival. In fact, the first Omda of the village, i.e., the direct manager of the Sultan's business, was Omda Magaji.<sup>8</sup> After his departure, he was succeeded by Turaki, who was from the Borno Fulani.<sup>9</sup>

Hashim wu Marwa  
 °Ardeeba; fi minnahum jo  
 ba°ad al-hijra wu fi  
 minnahum jo ma°a al-hijra.  
 Ba°deen fi Dagara; Dagara  
 deel kamaan hum naas  
 °Umar Daamana wu naas  
 Gaya. Aḥmad Towdo  
 kamaan min al-Adamawa;  
 wu ba°deen Maraafa Yoola  
 ṭaba°an da min al-°usra;  
 Fariig Maraafa da fariigum  
 laakin ṭaba°an ba°ad daak  
 raḥalu masho ṣ-Ṣa°iid.

Ya°ni tagsiim muwaṭiniin  
 Maayirno huwa maa ja °ala  
 asaas gur°a walla ḥaaja, ja  
 °an tariig khalfiyya saabga  
 ḥasab an-naas ḥasab maa jo.  
 Fa kaan al-°umda l-°awwal  
 zaatu fi l-balad huwa  
 l-°Umda Magaaji aw al-  
 mubaashir le a°maal as-  
 sulṭan; ba°di minnu lamma  
 faat min al-balad jaabo  
 Turaaki; wa Turaaki  
 ṭaba°an min al-Bornanko°en.

يعني تقسيم مواطنين مايرنو هو  
 ما جا على أساس قرعة وللا  
 حاجة، جا عن طريق خلفية  
 سابقة حسب الناس حسب ما  
 جوا. فكان العمدة الأول ذاته  
 في البلد هو العمدة مقاجي  
 أو المباشر لأعمال السلطان،  
 بعد منه لما فات من البلد  
 جاوا تراكي؛ وتراكي طبعاً من  
 البرننكوئن.

<sup>7</sup>Marwa people = Fulani having migrated from the region of Maroua (in present-day northern Cameroon).

<sup>8</sup>'Omda' is a title within the Native Administration system introduced by the British. It is held by the head of an Omodiyya which, in turn, corresponds to the second highest administrative unit within this system.

<sup>9</sup>Some people say that Turaki was of Kanuri origin; he spoke Kanuri (besides Fulfulde and Hausa). I 'witnessed' him but I cannot remember the details of his face. However, his son, Tahir Turaki (now dead), carried a Kanuri tribal mark (a vertical thin scar along the nose). Our ►

Q3: Now we have discussed the Fulani groups that came along with the hijra. Didn't you notice that the size of the Sokoto Fulani group was small compared with the other groups? The hijra itself started from Sokoto, yet the size of the Sokoto Fulani group is far smaller than that of the Katsina and Borno Fulani groups!

Well, first, the Sokoto Fulani in Maiurno are very numerous, but people don't know them.

Ṭayyib, awwalan Sokkotanko'en fii Maayirno hum kutaar maa shuwayya, laakin an-naas maa bi°arfuuhum.

س3: هسع شوفنا بطون الفولانيين اللي جات مع الهجرة. ما بتلاحظ إنه حجم السككتكوئن ما بتناسب مع أحجام المجموعات الثانية؟ الهجرة نفسها طلعت من سكتو، ولكن لما تقارن السككتكوئن مع البرننكوئن والكتسينكوئن تلقى ديلاك عدد أصابع اليد!

طيب، أولًا سكتتكوئن في مايرنو هم كتار ما شوية لكن الناس ما بيعرفوهم.

Q4: Let me correct my question. I mean the Sokoto Fulani who just speak Hausa, I don't mean people like Saajo and Buubey Jabbo. These people constitute a different group!

When these were in power there (Sokoto), they divided over the issue of the hijra – according to what we heard from our elders. Some of them supported the hijra while others said: “We will not abandon our land for a white man (British), a foreigner; we

Deel lamma kaanu maaskiin as-sulṭa hinaak ingasamu – ash-shi s-simi°naahu min ajdaadna – fi innu yihaajru walla maa yihaajru ingasamu. Fi man gaalu: “Niḥna maa mumkin nakhalli baladna lee zool ajnabi Batuure, min ḍaccantaa leddi amin kaado non saakit; min njoodoto

س4: أنا أصلح ليك سؤالي. أنا أقصد السككتكوئن اللي ما برطنوا إلا هوسا؛ ما بقصد ناس ساجو وناس بويي جبو؛ دليل براهم!

دليل لما كانوا ماسكين السلطة هناك انقسموا – الشيء السمعناه من أجدادنا – في أنه يهاجروا وللا ما يهاجروا انقسموا. في من قالوا: “نحن ما ممكن نخلي بلدنا لي زول أجنبي بتوري min ḍaccanta leddi amin kaado non saakit; min njoodoto min laamoo ممكن نفوت كلنا”.

◀ informant may not be wrong in associating Turaki to the Fallaata (Fulani) from the Borno subsection (Bornanko'en). Many urbanised Borno Fulani (e.g., the descendants of Sultan Ahmad Misau, i.e., the ruling family in Galgani and Abdel Khallag), have already been almost totally assimilated to Kanuri culture (including their language). This is similar to the way in which the urbanised Fulani in Hausa land (including Mai-Wurno himself) underwent total assimilation into Hausa culture (including a total shift of language to Hausa).

will stay and rule; we should not all go away.” *min laamoo* [Fulfulde]; *maa mumkin nafuut kullana.*”

*Q5: Did you hear that after the Burmi battle (of 1903) some people returned (to Sokoto)?*

س5: طيب انتو بتسمعو إنه بعد المعركة بتاعة برمي في ناس رجعوا؟

Yes, there were people who returned. *Fi naas raja°o.*

في ناس رجعوا.

*Q6: Did Sultan Ahmad's<sup>10</sup> marriage with Mai-Wurno's sister take place here or there (in West Africa)?*

س6: زواج سلطان أحمد من أخت ميورنو تمّ هناك وللا هنا؟

He married her here. It was the Sultan (Mai-Wurno) who married her to him. And, after the death of Waziri Hassan, he arranged other marriages too, including the marriage of our other grandmother to our grandfather Ab-Na'oof.<sup>11</sup> This marriage took place here.

*Itzawwajaa hina, zawwajaa leehu s-Sulṭaan zaatu. Wa min ḍimn az-ziijaat di ba°ad wafaat Waziiri Ḥasan zawwaj ḥabbootna t-taaniya di lee jaddana Ab-Na°oof. Az-zawaaj da ḥaṣal hina.*

اتزوجها هنا، زوجها ليه السلطان ذاته. ومن ضمن الزيجات دي بعد وفاة وزيرى حسن زوج حبوبتنا الثانية دي لي جدنا أبنعوف. الزواج دا حصل هنا.

*Q7: This means that Sultan Ahmad stayed here before going on pilgrimage!<sup>12</sup>*

س7: معناها سلطان أحمد قعد هنا قبل ما يمشي الحج!

<sup>10</sup> This is Sultan Ahmad Misau, a well-known leader of the Borno Fulani. At the time of the *hijra* he was regarded as the second most important leader (after Mai-Wurno) of the eastward-migrating Fulani. Once back from Hijaz (Holy Land in Saudi Arabia) in 1915, he led his followers out of Maiurno and established the independent settlements of Galgani and Abdel Khallag, ca. 80 and 85 km away respectively, south of Maiurno on the Blue Nile near Wad an-Nail (Wad an-Nayyal).

<sup>11</sup> Ab-Na'oof was a Dongolese from Northern Sudan. He was the first outsider to marry a Fulani woman in Maiurno. He got married in the Sultan's ruling family, and later his son from his first (non-Fulani) wife also married into a big Maiurno family of Ansar (followers of the Mahdi). Ab-Na'oof's descendants still live in Maiurno. They are regarded more as Fallaata (Fulani) than as Dongolese.

<sup>12</sup> My assumption here turned out to be *wrong*. In fact, Sultan Ahmad (Misau) separated from the mainstream of the *hijra* and proceeded to Mecca leaving his people to continue with Mai-Wurno. In 1915, he came back from Mecca, got married to Mai-Wurno's sister in Maiurno, and then collected his people and went to establish the villages of Galgani and Abdel Khallag.

In fact, he came after the *hijra*, according to what we heard from our grandfather Turaki.<sup>13</sup> And we are quite sure that Sultan Ahmad came after these people here had completely settled. When he came, they welcomed him and honoured him. At that time the colonial administration offered land to the Sultan – given that he had many people who were skilled farmers... They said to him: “You can expand along the Blue Nile, beyond Singa.” Because he (Sultan Ahmad) also had a problem with Mek Hassan,<sup>14</sup> the area in question was cut from his (i.e., Mek’s) land. Afterwards he (Sultan Ahmad) was taken to found Galgani (village), which they named Damaturu. It was after the marriage.

Hu [= huwa] zaatu ja ba<sup>°</sup>ad al-hijra; ash-shi s-simi<sup>°</sup>naahu min naas jaddana Turaaki wu mut<sup>°</sup>akkidiin minu, hum deel illa ba<sup>°</sup>ad maa jo wa istaqarra beehum al-maqaam ḥatta *laamiido* [Fulfulde] Borno ja. Lamma ja karramoohu wa ga<sup>°</sup>adoohu, wa z-zaman daak al-isti<sup>°</sup>maar adda s-Sulṭaan – ḥasab shaaf <sup>°</sup>indu naas wu naasu naas filaaḥa wu kida – addaahu... gaal leehu: “An-Niil al-Azrag timtadda fihu, tafuut mantigat Sinja” – la<sup>°</sup>annu bardu kaan fi kees beenu wu been Al-Makk Ḥasan, la<sup>°</sup>annu istagṭa<sup>°</sup>ooha min araadi l-Makk Ḥasan. Ba<sup>°</sup>ad daak shaalohu waddoohu <sup>°</sup>amal Jalgani di sammooaha Damatuuru ba<sup>°</sup>ad maa itzawwaj.

هو ذاته جا بعد الهجرة؛ الشي السمعناه من ناس جدنا تراكي ومتأكدين منه، هم ديل الا بعد ما جوا واستقر بيهم المقام حتى لامطو برنو جا. لما جا كزموه وقعدوه، والزمن داك الاستعمار أد السلطان – حسب شاف عنده ناس وناسه ناس فلاحه وكدا أداه... قال ليه: “النيل الأزرق تمتد فيه، تقوت منطقة سنجة”، لأنه يرضو كان في كيس بينه وبين الملك حسن، لأنه استقطعوها من أراضي الملك حسن. بعد داك شالوه وذوه عمل جلقتي دي سموها دمتورو بعد ما اتزوج.

*Q8: What circumstances made some people move from Maiurno and create villages in Southern Blue Nile?*

There were instances of famine in Maiurno, so some people moved and opened villages in Southern Blue Nile. Examples of these were Jibo Kaltanga

Kan ḥaşal ba<sup>°</sup>ad al-majaa<sup>°</sup>aat fi Maayirno; al-ba<sup>°</sup>ad minnahum haajaro wu masho fataḥo ḥallaal fi aṣ-Ṣa<sup>°</sup>iid, zey Jibo Kaltanga masalan. Ma<sup>°</sup>aahum

س8: الناس القاموا من مايرنو ومشوا فتحوا حلال الصعيد، إيه الظروف الخلتهم يرحلوا؟

كان حصل بعض المجاعات في مايرنو، البعض متهم هاجروا ومشوا فتحوا حلال في الصعيد، زي جبو كلتتغا مثلا. معاهم زادوا، أحفاده هنا ناس بوللا. الحلال زي ناس بيضا

<sup>13</sup> In this interview, kinship terms such as ‘grandfather’ and ‘uncle’ are primarily used as terms of respect when preceded by the possessive pronoun ‘our’; these kinship terms are used in a narrower sense when preceded by the possessive pronoun ‘my’.

<sup>14</sup> Mek Hassan Adlan was then the Nazir (*naazir*: paramount chief) of the Funj.



and Zadawa; his (i.e., Jibo Kaltanga's) descendants here (in Maiurno) are the people of Bolilla.<sup>15</sup> Villages such as Beida (and so on) were opened by Marafa, who moved with his people from Maiurno. Actually, there were instances of famine that obliged people to move. Some other people were sent by the Sultan (Mai-Wurno) (to other places) because they (i.e., the colonial administration) asked him to open these places; he sent those people in the same way as he sent Majidaadi to the Sifawa area (in the eastern part of present-day Gedaref State).

Zaadaawa; aḥfaadu hina naas Boolilla. Al-ḥallaal zey naas Beeḍa raḥalo leeha naas Maraafa min Maayirno wa intasharu hinaak. Fi°lan ḥaṣalat majaa°aat be sababaa naas gaamo. Waahdiin kamaan ba°atum as-Sulṭaan la°annu gaalo leehu taftaḥ al-maḥallaat di zey maa wadda naas Majidaadi fii mantigat Siifaawa.

رحلوا ليها ناس مرافا من مايرنو وانتشروا هناك. فعلاً حصلت مجاعات بسببها ناس قاموا. واحدين كمان بعثهم السلطان لأنه قالوا ليه تفتح المحلات دي زي ما وُدّ ناس مجدادي في منطقة سيفاوا.

*Q9: But the opening of (new) villages in Southern Blue Nile took place differently than in the Sifawa area.<sup>16</sup> At that time a leader derived his power from the number of people under his authority. Don't you think that the departure of such a large number of people from Maiurno could*

س9: لكن فتح حلال الصعيد يختلف من فتح منطقة سيفاوا. الأيام ديك الزعيم بيقيم بعدد ناسه. ما بتفتكر طلوع الناس من مايرنو بالأعداد الكبيرة دي بيقلل من قوة السلطان وبالتالي بيحز من نفسه؟

<sup>15</sup> The fact that the informant said 'here' to refer to Maiurno is better understandable if one keeps in mind that he is a citizen of Maiurno who just happened to work in Wad Medani at the time of the interview, which was indeed largely about Maiurno.

<sup>16</sup> The processes leading to the creation of new (Fulani) villages in Southern Blue Nile were indeed different from those leading to the creation of new villages in the Sifawa area. As indicated above, the latter area was given to the Sultan (Mai-Wurno) by the colonial administration to open new villages. In the Sifawa area, the creation of such villages was thus mostly organised by the Sultan. In Southern Blue Nile, by contrast, the creation of new villages was more largely the result of attempts to escape the secular school system (in opposition to the Qur'anic school system) regarded at that time as an 'unbelievers' thing', as well as the result of conflicts among leading personalities within the Maiurno community and attempts to escape from famine.

*have decreased the Sultan's power and might have been against his will?*

In fact, when these people came, they wanted to 'expand on land'. They knew that their number was very large. And don't forget that many Fulani families already living in other parts of the Sudan migrated to join them. These families still bear the names of the areas from which they came: for example, Ali Gedaref, Hamma Sawakin, Muhammad Rahad, Umar Kassala and their fathers, Muhammad Kassala and Abbakar Kassala, Bappa Sinkat, and so on. Such people were previously scattered in different parts of the Sudan. Then, this village (Maiurno) became too small for all these people, and the intention of the Sultan was to 'expand on land'.

Also, don't forget that there were people who moved from here and founded Hillat Baka near Ar-Rahad. There was also a wise man whose house was near At-Tayyib Mahmoud's house; they, too, moved to that area. What I know is that there was an agreement on

Maa hu aṣlu lamman an-naas di jaat hum daayriin yitwassa<sup>o</sup>u fi l-<sup>o</sup>arḍ, wa<sup>o</sup> aarfiin al-<sup>o</sup>adadiyya l-<sup>o</sup>indahum maa shuwayya, wu maa tansa innu tawaafadat be khilaaf al-muhaajiriin <sup>o</sup>usar katiira min anḥaa<sup>o</sup> as-Suudaan min al-Fulaaniyyiin al-kaanu muntashiriin fii manaatiḡ, laḥaddi hassa<sup>o</sup> fi naas bitsammu be l-manaatiḡ aj-jo minnaha: zey naas <sup>o</sup>Ali Gaḍaarif masalan; zey naas Hamma Sawaakin masalan; zey naas Maḥammad Rahad; zey naas <sup>o</sup>Umar Kassala, abbahaatum deel Maḥammad Kassala wa Abbakar Kassala, zey Bappa Sinkaat masalan. Deel kullahum kaanu shataat fi anḥaa<sup>o</sup> as-Suudaan. Fa n-naas zaataa l-ḥitta di bigat ḍayga be n-nisba leehum. Fa s-Sulṭaan kaan (gharaḍu) t-tawassu<sup>o</sup> fi l-<sup>o</sup>araadi.

Wu ba<sup>o</sup>adeen maa tansa barḍu fi naas gaamo min hina masho <sup>o</sup>amalo Ḥillat Baka bitaa<sup>o</sup>at ar-Rahad. Wu fi rajul waa<sup>o</sup>i barḍu beetum janb beet naas aṭ-Tayyib Maḥmuud nazaḥo ila l-mantiḡa diik. Ash-shi l-<sup>o</sup>ana ba<sup>o</sup>rifu innu fi ittifaag fii mas<sup>o</sup>alat al-hijra di; maa

ما هو أصلو لمن الناس دي جات هم دايرين يتوسعوا في الأرض، وعارفين العددية عندهم ما شوية، وما تنسى إنه توافدت بخلاف المهاجرين أسر كثيرة من أنحاء السودان من الفولانيين الكانوا منتشرين في مناطق، لحدّي هسع في ناس بتسموا بالمناطق الجو منها: زي ناس علي قضارف مثلاً زي ناس همّ سواكن مثلاً، زي ناس محمد رهد زي ناس عمر كسلا، أبهاتهم ديل محمد كسلا وأبكر كسلا، زي ببا سنكات مثلاً... ديل كلهم كانوا شتات في أنحاء السودان. فالناس ذاتها الحثة دي بقت ضيقة بالنسبة ليهم، فالسلطان كان (غرضه) التوسع في الأراضي.

ويعدين ما تنسى برضو في ناس قاموا من هنا مشوا عملوا حلة بكا بتاعة الرهد. وفي رجل واعي برضو بيتهم جنب بيت ناس الطيب محمود نزحوا إلى المنطقة ديك. الشي الأنا بعرفه إنه في إتفاق في مسألة الهجرة دي، ما كان في غضاضة. ويعدين دا زعيم وعنده ناسه وما ممكن زعامتين في حثة واحدة،

this (intra-Sudanese) migration and that there was nothing against it. Moreover, this was a leader and the other, too, was a leader; two leaders can never stay in one place. They have to expand. Though that one (Sultan Ahmad) was a leader, he was under this one (Mai-Wurno). So, there was nothing against their departure. This is what I understood from our elders anyway.

kaan fi ghaḍaaḍa. Wu ba<sup>o</sup>deen da za<sup>o</sup>iim <sup>o</sup>indunaasu wu maa mumkin za<sup>o</sup>aamateen fii hitta waaḥda, laabudda yitwassa<sup>o</sup>u. Wa in kaan daak za<sup>o</sup>iim laakin taabi<sup>o</sup> leehu, huwa tiḥtu. Fa lizaalik huwa maa kaan biyara fi ghaḍaaḍa innu yirḥalu. Da sh-shi l-<sup>o</sup>ana fihimtu min kubarna ghaaytu.

لايد يتوسعوا. وإن كان داك زعيم لكن تابع ليه هو تحته، فلذلك هو ما كان بيبرى في غضاضة إنه يرحلوا. دا الشى الأنا فهمته من كبارنا غايوتو.

*Q10: Arranged marriages have been common since the time of the Prophet – Peace be upon him. The Mahdi married into different tribes; Rabeh<sup>17</sup> had his daughter marry Sheikh Hayatu in order to commit him (to his side). Now, our people were first hosted in Shaikh Talha, and Shaikh Talha was a famous tuggaaba (fireplace for learning the Qur'an) in the entire Sudan, and some of its inhabitants are Fulani too. So, I had expected that either the Sultan, especially Mai-Wurno, would have married a woman from Sheikh Talha's family, or that they (i.e., members of Sheikh Talha's family) would have marry women from the Sultan's family, in*

س10: في العادة بتحصل زيجات موجهة من زمن الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم، والإمام المهدي اتزوج من قبائل متعددة، وشيخ حباتو، رايح عرس ليه بئنه عشان يريظه. طيب نحن جماعتنا جوا نزلوا في الشيخ طلحة، والشيخ طلحة تقابة مشهورة على نطاق السودان، وبعض أهلها فلاتة برضو. كنت أول حاجة بتخيّلها، السلطان دا، ميورنو بالذات، يا اتزوج منهم أو هم اتزوجوا منه عشان يريظوا نفسهم ببعض يعني. لكن ما حصل. السلطان ميورنو أصلو ما حصل أتزوج من شيخ طلحة رغم إنه في يوم من الأيام عنده أزمة زوجات. عرس بت قدح الدم في أمدرمان، وطلقها، يمكن برضو عشان بعد المسافة. وبعد داك عرس أربعة من بنات الزعماء في مايرنو في وقت واحد. أنا سؤالي، ما كان ممكن يعرس ثلاثة من

<sup>17</sup> Rabeh (ca. 1842–1900) was a Sudanese warlord who established a powerful empire west of Lake Chad. He was an ally of Sheikh Hayatu, a grandson of Sheikh Usman dan Fodio, who became one of his lieutenants after his departure from Sokoto.

order to strengthen links with one another. But this didn't happen. Sultan Mai-Wurno never got married to a woman from Shaikh Talha, though he had a few wives. He married Gadah ad-Dam's daughter (in Omdurman) and divorced her, maybe because of the distance. He then married four daughters of clan leaders in Maiurno at one time. My question is: was it not possible for him to take three wives in Maiurno and one in Shaikh Talha so as to strengthen links between relatives?<sup>18</sup> In your opinion, why didn't it happen?

It didn't happen because they thought that the others would never harmonise with them due to differences in customs and traditions at that time. Our people found that they would not accept the customs and traditions of the others (i.e., people of Shaikh Talha). Our people were very committed to religion, whereas the women from the other group could go out freely (i.e., were not secluded). Their custom didn't suit them. So, they preferred to get married within their own community, where even the woman's relatives favoured this custom (seclusion).

مايرنو وواحدة مثلاً من الشيخ  
طلحة عشان يربط الأهل؟ في  
تقديرك ليه ما تمت؟

Maa tammam la<sup>o</sup>annahum  
biyaru deel maa mumkin  
yitjaanasu ma<sup>o</sup>aahum li  
ikhtilaaf <sup>o</sup>aadaatum wa  
tagaaliidum fi zaalik az-  
zaman. Naasna biyaru maa  
birḍu be <sup>o</sup>adaat deelaak wa  
tagaaliidum. La<sup>o</sup>annu naasna  
kaanu mutmassikiin be  
d-diin shadiid wu bishuufu  
deelaak niswaanum biyitla<sup>o</sup>u;  
hum al-<sup>o</sup>aada maa bitinsajim  
ma<sup>o</sup>aahum. Fa lizaalik  
humma bifadḍilu yaakhdu  
min <sup>o</sup>indahum alli hiya  
asaasan ahalaa zaatum al-  
waḍe<sup>o</sup> da biyarḍiihum.

ما تمت لأنهم بيروا دليل  
ما ممكن يتجانسوا معاهم  
لاختلاف عاداتهم وتقاليدهم  
في ذلك الزمن. ناسنا بيروا  
ما برضو بعادات ديلاك  
وتقاليدهم. لأنه ناسنا كانوا  
متمسكين بالدين شديد ويشوفوا  
ديلاك نسوانهم بيطلعوا، هم  
العادة ما يتنسجم معاهم. فذلك  
هم بفضّلوا ياخذوا من عندهم  
اللي هي أساساً أهلها ذاتهم  
الوضع دا بيرضيههم.

<sup>18</sup> Here too, the term 'relatives' is used loosely to stress shared ethnic background.

I think that the failure of the first marriage (of Mai-Wurno with the daughter of Gadah ad-Dam) in Omdurman might have been due to this factor. There (in Omdurman), people had Sudanese (Arab) customs, which our people used to regard as *tabarruj* (display of charms by women), lack of control and lack of observance of the Shari'a (Islamic Law). This is why they didn't try to marry (there). The Sultan married into different (Fulani) subsections: the daughter of Faruq, a Katsina Fulani; the daughter of Dukka Yeenga, a Borno Fulani; the daughter of Buubey Jabbo, and the daughter of Jawro Hamma. Dukka Yeenga and Jawro Hamma were paternal cousins. Buubey Jabbo was a Sokoto Fulani, but from the other group, the 'bush' Fulani.<sup>19</sup>

#### ABDALMONEIM

Another possibility for me is that perhaps the first immigrant generations who stayed in Shaikh Talha were offered marriage opportunities, but they might have refused because they had no intention to settle permanently (in the Sudan). Their intention was to continue further. This

Wa azinnu °adam najaah az-ziija l-°uula zaataa (bitt Gadah ad-Dam) bitaa°at Umdurmaan qad yirja° le nafs al-khalfiyyaat di bitaa°at at-tamassuk... Hum (fii Umdurmaan) °indahum al-°aadaat as-Suudaaniyya alli hiya naasna biyaruuha tabarruj, biyarruha °adam in°ibaat wa °adam tamassuk be sh-shar°. Fa °ashaan kida ya°ni hum maa haawalu yitzawwaju. As-Sultaan al-qabaa°il di be ikhtilaafaa akhad minnaha. Gaam akhad masalan bitt Faaruug min al-Katsina; gaam akhad bitt Dukka Yeenga min al-Borno; wa taani akhad bitt Buubey Jabbo; wu taani akhad bitt Jawro Hamma min al-Borno – Dukka Yeenga wa Jawro Hamma awlaad °amm. Wa Buubey Jabbo min as-Sokotaawa laakin as-Sokotaawa t-taaniin naas al-khala.

وأظن عدم نجاح الزيجة الأولى ذاتها (بت قدح الدم) بتاعة أمدرمان قد يرجع لنفس الخلفيات دي بتاعة التمسك... هم (في أمدرمان) عندهم العادات السودانية اللي هي ناسنا بيروها تبرج، بيروها عدم انضباط وعدم تمسك بالشرع. فعشان كذا يعني هم ما حاولوا يتزوجوا. السلطان القبائل دي باختلافها أخذ منها. قام أخذ مثلاً بت فاروق من الكاتسينا؛ قام أخذ بت دُكا جينغا من البرنو؛ وتاني أخذ بت بوبي جَبُو؛ وتاني أخذ بت جورو هَم من البرنو. ودُكا جينغا وجورو هَم أولاد عم. وبوبي جَبُو من السكتاوا لكن السكتاوا التانيين ناس الخلا.

#### عبدالمنعم

الاحتمال اللي أنا ممكن استنتجه إنه الرعيل الأول من المهاجرين اللي جوا قعدوا في طلحة احتمال يكونوا عرضوا عليهم الزواج لكن يمكن لأنهم ما كان عندهم فكرة الاستقرار وكانوا عاوزين يواصلوا لي قدام. احتمال دا برضو يكون عامل ما ساعد على الزواج.

<sup>19</sup> The 'bush' Fulani are usually opposed to the so-called 'town' Fulani.

might also have been a factor which did not favor intermarriage.

#### ABDURAHMAN

As you know, during its early time Maiurno was very strict (with regard to the matter of seclusion) to the extent that nobody could cross it riding a camel. So, although the Maiurno people were (ethnically) related to those of Shaikh Talha, they found that the latter's way of life didn't suit theirs. Therefore, until recently there was no active interaction between the two groups of people. It is only recently that they have started to associate with one another on rare occasions. So, apart from the general commercial interactions, connections are restricted to individuals.

Inta ʿaarif Maayirno fi saabig ʿahdaha bani adam maa mumkin yishuggaha wa huwa raakib aj-jamal. Fa raghmi innu bitlimmahum (maʿa naas Ṭalḥa) ṣilat riḥim laakin hum biyaru taṣarrufaatum al-ʿaayshinnaha maa bititnaasab maʿa ḥayaatum. ʿAshaan kida ḥatta Maayirno zaatu laḥaddi al-ʿahd al-akhiir ḥatta bigo naas Maayirno yindamju maʿa naas Ṭalḥa; yitwaaṣalu fii ashyaaʾ naadra yaʿni. Illa ʿalaaqaat tijaariyya ʿalaaqaat beeʿ wu shira, laakin ʿalaaqaat tawaasul fii ashyaaʾ... illa min afraad.

#### عبدالرحمن

إنت عارف مايرنو في سابق عهدها بني آدم ما ممكن يشقها وهو راكب الجمّل. فرغم إنه بتلّمهم (مع ناس طلحة) صلة رحم لكن هم ببروا تصرفاتهم العايشنها ما بتتناسب مع حياتهم. عشان كذا حتى مايرنو ذاته لحدي العهد الأخير حتى بقوا ناس مايرنو يندمجوا مع ناس طلحة؛ يتواصلوا في أشياء نادرة يعني. إلا علاقات تجارية علاقات بيع وشراء، لكن علاقات تواصل في أشياء... إلا من أفراد.

*Q11: The first person to marry a woman from Shaikh Talha was Khalil, followed by Abarshi and then followed by Abbakar Wau. Khalil was a butcher, Abarshi was a merchant, and Abbakar Wau was a(n) (traditional) eye doctor. What do you notice about the marriages of these three persons?*

Of course, right after his arrival Khalil started to interact with these people (from Shaikh Talha) as a butcher.

Khalilil ṭabaʿan mimma ja gaʿad hina ṭabaʿan aṣḥaḥ yitʿaamal maʿa j-jamaaʿa deel kajazaar; aẓinnu

س11: أول زول اتزوج من طلحة كان خليل، وتلاه أبرشي وتلاه أبكر واو. خليل كان جزار وأبرشي كان تاجر وأبكر واو كان شلاق (ملاوي). تلاحظ شنو في زيجات الناس الثلاثة ديل؟

خليل طبعاً مما جا قعد هنا طبعاً أصبح يتعامل مع الجماعة ديل كجزار، أظن خشوا فيه وقدروا... يعني أعجب بيهم

It seems that they became pleased with him. He was attracted by them and married into their group. Abarshi (a Hausa) was a merchant who married many wives, but he never married in his own tribe. He first married Hajja, the mother of An-Nour (i.e., the mother of An-Nour Abarshi), a Fulani. He then married another woman called Adda Fallaatiyya. He then married the daughter of Ali Konni, sister of Tahir Ali; she was the mother of Bashir Abarshi. He then married Az-Zuwara, the granddaughter of Usman Bara, the mother of Mustafa and Baabo Abarshi. These were, of course, from the Yillaga Fulani clan.

khashsho fiihu wa gidro...  
ya<sup>o</sup>ni u<sup>o</sup>jib beehum wa  
akhad minnahum. Wa  
Abarshi kaan taajir wa rajul  
kaan bitzawwaj katiir.  
Ziijaatu kullaha maa  
itzawwaj min gabiiltu.  
Tazawwaj awwal H̄aaja  
umm naas an-Nuur  
(Abarshi), Fallaatiyya; wa  
tazawwaj mar<sup>o</sup>a taaniya  
isimaha Adda Fallaatiyya;  
summa tazawwaj bitt <sup>o</sup>Ali  
Konni ukhut naas aṭ-Taahir  
<sup>o</sup>Ali alli hiya umm naas  
Bashiir Abarshi; summa  
tazawwaj az-Zuwaara  
ḥafidat <sup>o</sup>Usmaan Baara,  
umm naas Muṣṭafa wu  
Baabo Abarshi. Ṭaba<sup>o</sup>an  
deel Yilliga min Fallaata  
Borno.

وأخذ منهم. وأبرشي كان تاجر  
ورجل كان يتزوج كثير؛ زيجاته  
كلها ما اتزوج من قبيلته.  
تزوج أول حاجة أم ناس  
النور (أبرشي) فلاتية، وتزوج  
مرأة ثانية اسمها أد فلاتية،  
ثم تزوج بت علي فني أخت  
ناس الطاهر علي، اللي هي  
أم ناس بشير أبرشي، ثم تزوج  
الزواره حفيدة عثمان بارا أم  
ناس مصطفى وبابو أبرشي.  
طبعاً ديل يلقا Yilliga من  
فلاتة برنو.

*Q12: What I meant to say is that the three men were not ordinary people. By the way, the profession of a butcher is despicable among the Fulani. The Fulani are cattle people; therefore they don't like the one who slaughters cattle!*

All these first people (to marry women from Shaikh Talha) were distinguished. Even my father married the sister of Abarshi's wife. That was in 1953.

An-naas al-<sup>o</sup>awaa<sup>o</sup>il deel  
kullahum baarziin; waaldi  
zaatu akhad minnahum,  
ukhut marat Abarshi di  
zaataa. Itzawwaj sanat  
talaata wu khamsiin.

س12: الشئ الذي أقوله،  
لو لاحظت ديل كلهم ما  
ناس عاديين، ما ناس عامة.  
بالمناسبة نحن عندنا الفلاتة  
مهنة الجزار ما محبوبة؛ الفلاتة  
ناس بقر وما بحبو الزول  
البضبحه!

الناس الأوائل ديل كلهم بارزين،  
والذي ذاته أخذ منهم، أخت مرة  
أبرشي دي ذاتها. اتزوج سنة  
ثلاثة وخمسين.

*Q13: About 80% of the first people who married women from Shaikh Talha were distinguished. Why? Didn't they (i.e., Shaikh Talha people) tend to offer their girls to ordinary people, or did ordinary people themselves not seek women in that village?*

Our people tend to be reserved. They didn't use to associate with these (Shaikh Talha) people. Those Maiurno people who married women from Shaikh Talha were socially open. The people of Shaikh Talha didn't mind giving them their daughters in marriage. In fact, some of them offer to do so because they are pleased with the way Maiurno people care for their wives, to the extent that a father may wish to give his daughter in marriage to a Maiurno man. Because he respects her, he doesn't make her suffer; he neither makes her fetch fire wood nor go to the river to fetch water. In short, the Maiurno husbands are highly esteemed by the people of Shaikh Talha.

An-naas bitaa<sup>°</sup>innana  
<sup>°</sup>indahum al-inṭiwa<sup>°</sup>iyya  
katiir. Maa kaanu  
mudaakhliin an-naas deel.  
Amma n-naas al-akhadu  
minnahum deel min an-naas  
al-kaanu munfaṭhiin <sup>°</sup>ala  
l-mujtama<sup>°</sup>. Humma maa  
kaano bimaan<sup>°</sup>u deel  
yitzawwaju minnahum, bal  
kaano l-ba<sup>°</sup>d minnahum  
biya<sup>°</sup>riḍ, la<sup>°</sup>annahum kaano  
mu<sup>°</sup>jabiin be naas Maayirno  
wa i<sup>°</sup>aalatum le n-nissa<sup>°</sup>  
ya<sup>°</sup>ni kafaalat an-nissa<sup>°</sup> al-  
gaaymiin beeha fii Maayirno  
hum bitmannu l-waaḥid  
yiddi bittu lee naas Maayirno  
la<sup>°</sup>annu biḥtarimaa wu maa  
bikhalliha tat<sup>°</sup>ab, maa  
bikhalliha tajiib ḥaṭab, maa  
bitanzil al-baḥar tajiib  
mooya. Ya<sup>°</sup>ni naas Maayirno  
mumayyaziin <sup>°</sup>ind naas  
Ṭalḥa.

س13: حوالي ثمانين في المية من الناس الأوائل اللي اتزوجوا من هناك ناس مميزين. عشان شنو؟ هل هم ما بدوا العامة وللا العامة ذاتهم ما بمشوا؟

الناس بتاعينا عندهم الإنطوائية كثير. ما كانوا مداخلين الناس ديل. أما الناس الأخدوا مننهم ديل من الناس الكانو منفتحين على المجتمع. هم ما كانوا بمانعوا ديل يتزوجوا مننهم، بل كانوا البعض مننهم بيعرض، لأنهم كانوا معجبين بناس مايرنو وإعالتهم للنساء، يعني كفالة النساء القايمين بيها في مايرنو هم بتمنوا الواحد يدّي بته لي ناس مايرنو، لأنه بحترمها وما بخليها تتعب، ما بخليها تجيب حطب، ما بتنزّل البحر تجيب موية. يعني ناس مايرنو مميزين عند ناس طلحة.

*Q14: Well, Abu-Bakr, why didn't anybody from your family (the Sultan's family) take a wife from the Shaikh Talha people? Even your*

س14: طيب يا أوبكر ليه ما في أي زول من أسرتكم (أسرة السلطان) متزوج مننهم؟ يعني حتى خالك النور الله يرحمه في ودهاشم مؤكد ما



maternal uncle An-Nour (Hassan) – may God have mercy on him – did not marry a woman from Wad Hashim with the intention of strengthening links between Maiurno and that village. He just saw a woman, he admired her, and he married her!

كان زواج موجة، يعني ما كان اتزوجها عشان يربط ود هاشم بمايرنو، إنما شاف امرأة وأعجب بيها واتزوجها!

ABU-BAKR

And did the others who married women from Shaikh Talha do that to strengthen links? It was just a matter of personal desire.

Wa hal zawaaj at-taaniin deel fii Talha ʿashaan ar-rawaabit? Nazawaat shakhṣiyya bas.

أبوبكر  
وهل زواج التانيين دليل في طلحة عشان الروابط؟ نزوات شخصية بس.

*Q15: But ruling families usually think of contracting such marriages!*

س15: لكن البيت الحاكم دا عادة يفكر يعمل زيجات زي دي!

It didn't happen.

Maa tamma.

ما تم.

*Q16: Well, Abdalmoneim, why, in your opinion, do the people of Shaikh Talha never marry women in our village? Only one person did it, someone who didn't get children before. They said that it was because he liked the Fallaata, but I imagine that he had seen one sheikh who advised him to 'try' a Fallaatiyya<sup>20</sup> (in order to have children). He married the daughter of Usman Gaaji and still didn't get children. At last he divorced her. There isn't any other*

س16: طيب، يا عبدالمنعم، ليه تفتكر ناس طلحة أصلو ما يعرّسوا مننا، لا سابقاً لا حالياً؟ ما عرّس منهم في مايرنو غير زول واحد بس. وهو ذاته ما كان والد. هو قالوا بحب الفلاتة، ولكن أنا يُحِيل لي مشى ليه لي شيخ وقال ليه "تعرس فلاتية" (عشان الولادة)! عرّس بت عثمان قاجي وما ولد معاها وفكاها. بس ثاني ما في. في تقديرك ليه؟

<sup>20</sup> Literally: Fallaata woman.

case. In your opinion, what is the reason for this?

#### ABDALMONEIM

In my opinion, the Shaikh Talha people, after having settled in this area, intermarried with the Arab tribes of the area and produced a crossbreed known as *al-Fallaata al-Mawaaliid*. So, they seek intermarriages with the surrounding Sudanese tribes that speak Standard (i.e., unbroken) Arabic and avoid going backward once again. They might have already lost their tribal language. They consider themselves to be superior; they don't speak the vernacular (i.e., Fulfulde), and they acquired Arab blood – though the Fallaata themselves are (originally) Arabs who intermarried with African tribes in West Africa. So, they consider themselves more sophisticated. They already intermarried with the Ja'liyyin in Kassab and so forth.

#### ABDURAHMAN

What he has said is acceptable. In fact, some of them deny that they are Fallaata. Some of them have denied it for a long time because they are mixed. When Sheikh Talha al-Fallaati and Sheikh Wad-Hashim al-Fallaati became famous

Fii taqdiiri naas Talḥa ba'ad maa istaqarru fi l-mantiga itzaawaju ma'a l-qabaa'il al-<sup>o</sup>arabiyya l-mawjuuda fi l-mantiga wu jaabo hajiin alli hum bisammuhum al-Fallaata l-Mawaaliid. Be t-taali bitḥalla<sup>o</sup>u yitzaawaju ma'a l-qabaa'il as-Suudaaniyya l-mawjuuda janbahum al-bititkallam be l-lugha l-<sup>o</sup>arabiyya l-fuṣṣa, yitjannabu taani yirja<sup>o</sup>u lee wara. Bigo hum yimkin maa bi'arfu yirṭunu. Bishuufu nafsahum bigo a'la, maa birṭunu, wa iktasabu dam <sup>o</sup>Arabi – wa in kaan al-Fallaata zaatum <sup>o</sup>Arab wa laakin fi tazaawuj ma'a gabaayil Ifriiqiyya fii Gharb Ifriiqiya. Be t-taali hum biyaru humma aktar tamaddunan. Itzaawaju ma'a j-Ja'liyyiin fii Kassaab wu kida.

Al-kalaam al-gaalu da kalaam wajiih. Wa ḥaagiigatan fi ba'ḍi minnahum bitnakkaru yiguulu Fallaata. Min zamaan al-ba'ḍi minnahum bitnakkar la'annu hum khaliit barḍu. La'annu lamma baraz ash-Sheekh Talḥa al-Fallaati wa sh-Sheekh Wad-Haashim

#### عبدالمنعم

في تقديري ناس طلحة بعد ما استقروا في المنطقة اتزواجوا مع القبائل العربية الموجودة في المنطقة وجابوا هجين اللي هم بسموهم الفلاتة المواليد. بالتالي بتطلعوا يتزواجوا مع القبائل السودانية الموجودة جنبهم بيتكلم باللغة العربية الفصحى، يتجنبوا ثاني يرجعوا لي ورا. بقوا هم يمكن ما بعرفوا برطنوا. بشوفوا نفسهم بقوا أعلى، ما برطنوا واكتسبوا دم عربي – وإن كان الفلاتة ذاتهم عرب ولكن في تزواج مع قبائل إفريقية في غرب إفريقيا. بالتالي هم بيروا هم أكثر تمدناً. اتزواجوا مع الجعليين في كساب وكدا.

#### عبدالرحمن

الكلام القاله دا كلام وجيه. وحقيقة في بعض منكم بيتنكروا يقولوا فلاتة. من زمان البعض منكم بيتنكر لأنه هم خليط برضو. لأنه لما برز الشيخ طلحة الفلاتي والشيخ ودهاشم الفلاتي وفدت عليهم قبائل كثيرة جداً.

(as saints), very many tribes moved to join them.

al-Fallaati wafadat °aleechum gabaayil katiira jiddan.

*Q17: Is this the popular nickname,<sup>21</sup> or is it written as such somewhere?*

In some places it is written ‘Ash-Sheikh Talha al-Fallaati’. There was one Sheikh Bashir whom we ‘witnessed’. He was an elderly man, the imam of Wad Hashim mosque. He was my father’s friend and was a disciple of Sheikh Wad-Hashim. He ‘witnessed’ Sheikh Wad-Hashim and used to listen to his talk; he also ‘witnessed’ Sheikh Talha and used to listen to his talk. He personally told us this, and he used to refer to them as such (i.e., as ‘Ash-Sheikh Talha al-Fallaati’ and ‘Ash-Sheikh Wad-Hashim al-Fallaati’). But I didn’t find it written. But he told us that very many tribes used to come as disciples, including the Mahas, the Ja’liyyin, all the northern Sudan tribes, the Bideriyya, the Musabba’at, and so on. At last, when it was time to have children, the Sheikh started to marry this one to that one. This is why Shaikh Talha village became a mixed community.

Fi maħallaat maktuub ash-Sheekh Ṭalħa l-Fallaati. Kaan °indana Sheekh Bashiir. Ash-Sheekh Bashiir da kaan ḥaḍarnaahu rajul kabiir, kaan imaam masjid Wad Haashim, ya°ni huwa ṣadiig abuu wa hu kaan min ḥiiraan ash-Sheekh Wad-Haashim wa hu ḥaḍar ash-Sheekh Wad-Haashim wa bisma° kalaam ash-Sheekh Wad-Haashim, wu kaan ḥaḍar ash-Sheekh Ṭalħa wa bisma° kalaamu, wa ana ḥaḍartu; bee khashmu biguul leena l-kalaam da wu bisammiihum kida (ash-Sheekh Ṭalħa l-Fallaati wa sh-Sheekh Wad-Haashim al-Fallaati). Laakin maa ligiitu maktuub. Laakin warraana innu fi gabaayil masalan min al-Maħas, fi gabaayil min aj-Ja°liyyiin, gabaayil ash-Shimaaliyya di kullaha, wa l-Bideeriyya wa l-Musabba°aat... gabaayil katiira jiddan jiddan biju fii shakli ḥiiraan. Wa akhiiran lamma tawaaladu wu kida faḍal ash-Sheekh yizawwij da lee da. Fa °ashaan kida ḥillat ash-Sheekh Ṭalħa di

س17: هل دا اللقب الشايح وللا في محلات مكتوب كدا؟

في محلات مكتوب الشيخ طلحة الفلاتي. كان عندنا شيخ بشير. الشيخ بشير دا كان حضرناه رجل كبير، كان إمام مسجد ود هاشم، يعني هو صديق أبوي وهو كان من حيران الشيخ ودهاشم، وهو حضر الشيخ ودهاشم، ويسمع كلام الشيخ ودهاشم، وكان حضر الشيخ طلحة ويسمع كلامه، وأنا حضرته، بي خشمه بقول لبنا الكلام دا ويسميه كدا (الشيخ طلحة الفلاتي والشيخ ودهاشم الفلاتي). لكن ما لقينته مكتوب. لكن ورانا إنه في قبائل مثلاً من المحس، في قبائل من الجعليين قبائل الشمالية دي كلها، والبيديرية والمسبعات... قبائل كثيرة جداً جداً بجوا في شكل حيران. وأخيراً لما توالدوا وكدا فضل الشيخ بزواج دا لي دا. فعشان كدا حلة الشيخ طلحة دي أصبحت خليط. فيهم الأتراك زي ناس فضل المولى وفيهم المغاربة زي ناس اليسع وفي مناكير زي ناس ود المنقوري مثلاً، (هم ديل) أولاد الريف، يعني الريف المصري.

<sup>21</sup> The nickname in question is ‘al-Fallaati’ (sing. of Fallaata – i.e., Fulani) following the names ‘Sheikh Talha’ and ‘Wad-Hashim’.

It included Turks, such as Fadl al-Moula; people of Maghreban origin (Magharba), such as Al-Yasa; and Managir, such as Wad al-Manguuri. These (Managir) were from Lower Egypt.

aşbaḥat khaliiṭ. Fiihum al-Atraak zey naas Faḍl al-Muula, wa fiihum al-Maghaarba zey naas al-Yasa°, wu fi Manaagiir zey naas Wad al-Manguuri masalan, (hum deel) awlaad ar-Riif ya°ni, ar-riif al-Maşri.

*Q18: But why didn't they come and marry among us?*<sup>22</sup>

They don't because they still describe us as *al-Fallaata °ujam* (non-Arabic-speaking Fallaata). We witnessed such an incident in connection with the ferryboat in the year when it was brought by Abboud's government (1958–1964). They called the boat 'Maiurno/Talha Ferryboat'. The people of Shaikh Talha complained that, given that Mai-Wurno had come and was welcomed (hosted) by Sheikh Talha, the crossing station should not have Mai-Wurno's name! So, there were hot debates on this matter, including speeches. Our brother Sheikh at-Tayyib delivered a speech entitled 'The philosophy of the ferryboat', citing Sheikh Bashir Ahmad and saying: "What is Maiurno? Maiurno/Talha

Maa jo itzawwajo la°anu hum lee hassa° biguulu l-Fallaata l-°ijam. Niḥna fi l-banṭoon waajahatna; sanat naas °Abbuud jaabo l-banṭoon. Sammooḥu min hinaak Banṭoon Maayirno/Ṭalḥa. Gaalo Mai-Wurno da zaatu ja Ṭalḥa raḥḥab beehu wu yiji l-leela l-mushra° yithawwal badal Ṭalḥa/Maayirno yikuun Maayirno/Ṭalḥa? Fi l-ḥitta di akhadat jazb wu radd laamin °amalo khuṭab, akhuuna Sheekh aṭ-Ṭayyib algha kalma taḥt °unwaan "Falsafat al-Banṭoon" – wa jaab kalaam min naas ash-Sheekh Bashiir Aḥmad wu gaal: "Maa hiya Maayirno? Maayirno/Ṭalḥa wa Ṭalḥa/Maayirno °indana waahid. In shi°tum °amaluuha Ṭalḥa/Maayirno wa in shi°tum °amaluuha Maayirno/Ṭalḥa; niḥna

س18: لكن هم ليه ما جوا اتزوجوا معنا؟

ما جوا اتزوجوا لأنه هم لي هسع بقولوا الفلانة العجم. نحن في البنطون واجهتنا، سنة ناس عبود جابوا البنطون؛ سموه من هناك بنطون مايرنو/طلحة. قالوا ميورنو دا ذاته جا طلحة رعب بيه ويجي الليلة المشرع يتحول بدل طلحة/مايرنو يكون مايرنو/طلحة؟ في الحنة دي أخذت جذب ورد لامن عملوا خطب أخونا شيخ الطيب ألقى كلمة تحت عنوان "فلسفة البنطون"، وجاب كلام من ناس الشيخ بشير أحمد وقال: "ما هي مايرنو؟ مايرنو/طلحة وطلحة/مايرنو عندنا واحد. إن شئتم اعملوها مايرنو وإن شئتم اعملوها مايرنو/طلحة، نحن نعتبر ميورنو الفلاتي وطلحة الفلاتي كلهم أجداننا، البتختوه فوق ما عندنا مانع". حتن حسموا الموضوع دا. هم بيروا أي حاجة في الحنة دي لو جات باسم مايرنو ما بقبولوا، لأنهم بيروا هم أفضل منا وهم دليل ليهم الحق في كل شئ أكثر منا، إذا كان جات أي

<sup>22</sup> The use of the object pronoun 'us' reflects the fact that the interviewer is also originating from Maiurno.

and Talha/Maiurno mean the same to us. Call it Talha/Maiurno or Maiurno/Talha, as you like. We consider both Mai-Wurno al-Fallaati and Talha al-Fallaati as our grandfathers; we have no objection whoever you place on top of the other.” In this way they were then able to settle the matter. They (i.e., the people of Shaikh Talha) don’t accept what is done in Maiurno’s name because they think that they are better than we are and that they have more rights to things than we do; therefore they have to take their share first, and we come afterwards. So, they place themselves in the first class and place us in the second class. This is why they don’t marry among us.

bini<sup>c</sup>tabir Mai-Wurno l-Fallaati wa Ṭalḥa l-Fallaati kullahum ajdaadna; al-bitkhuttu foog maa <sup>c</sup>indana maani<sup>c</sup>.” Ḥattan ḥasamu almawḍuu<sup>c</sup> da. Humma biyaru ayyi ḥaaja fi l-ḥitta di law jaat be isim Maayirno humma maa bigbalu, la<sup>o</sup>annahum biyaru hum afḍal minnana wa hum deel leehum al-ḥagg fii kulli shi aktar minnana, iza kann jaat ayyi ḥaaja hum yaakhdu naṣiibum fi l-<sup>o</sup>awwal ḥatta niḥna nakuun fi l-martaba t-taaniya. Fa lizaalik hum biyaru nafsahum al-awwal wu niḥna fi d-daraja t-taaniya. Lizaalik maa biyaakhdu minnana.

حاجة هم ياخذوا نصيبهم في الأول حتى نحن نكون في المرتبة الثانية. فلذلك هم يبروا أنفسهم الأول ونحن في الدرجة الثانية. لذلك ما يباخذوا معنا.

*Q19: The Maiurno people married to women from Shaikh Talha are divided into two groups: one is biased in favour of the Shaikh Talha people and the other is biased against them. The first group explains the lack of marriage ties between Shaikh Talha and Maiurno in terms of the language barrier. They say this, even though there were people from other Arab tribes – for example, Kawahla – who got married in Maiurno. Please, tell us about the*

س19: الناس المتزوجين من طلحة مجموعتين: مجموعة بتحابي ناس طلحة، ومجموعة غير كدا. المجموعة الأولى دي بتفسر عدم زواج ناس طلحة في مايرنو بالحاجز اللغوي. بينما إنه في ناس من قبائل عربية تانية اتزوجوا من مايرنو – الكواهلة مثلا. كدي أحكي لينا قصة زواج عمدة الكواهلة في مايرنو!

*marriage of the Kawahla  
Omda in Maiurno!*

He was my father's friend. At that time there was a Fulani woman living near our house, a divorcee. This Ahmad Wad ad-Daw used to come to my father. One day he said (to my father): "By God, Hajj Ali, I want a wife from your people." My father said: "No problem, we will marry you to one." So, he (Ahmad Wad ad-Daw) married her and lived with her until he died. She didn't have any children. Ahmad Wad ad-Daw was from Al-Muraffa; he was well known; he was the direct paternal cousin of the Omda.

**ABDALMONEIM**

Abu-Nafissa also came to Maiurno and married our aunt Khadija, but she didn't have children with him. He was a close relative of Baabikir Awadalla. She never had any children.

Kaan şadiig abuu, wu ba<sup>o</sup>deen fi mara jaaratna hina kaan janb beetna, Fulaaniyya. Ba<sup>o</sup>deen Aħmad Wadd ađ-Đaw da şadiig abuu. Hi <sup>o</sup>azaba wu ba<sup>o</sup>deen biji lee abuu. Fa gaal: "Wallaahi ya Ĥaaj <sup>o</sup>Ali ana daayir mara minnakum." Gaal le: "Khalaas, binzawwijk." Fi<sup>o</sup>lan <sup>o</sup>arrasaa leehu wa <sup>o</sup>aash ma<sup>o</sup>aaha laħaddi maa maat hiya fii ĥibaalu. Maa wildat. Aħmad Wadd ađ-Đaw min al-Maraffa<sup>o</sup> wa mashhuur, wadd <sup>o</sup>amm al-<sup>o</sup>Umda řawwaali.

Abu-Nafiisa barđu kaan ja Maayirno wu <sup>o</sup>arras<sup>o</sup>amatna Khadiija laakin ma wildat ma<sup>o</sup>aahu. Da gariib Baabikir <sup>o</sup>Awađalla řawwaali. Hi maa wildat ařlu.

كان صديق أبوي، وبعدين في مرة جارتنا هنا كان جنب بيتنا، فلاتية. بعدين أحمد ود الضو دا صديق أبوي. هي عزية وبعدين بجي لي أبوي. فقال: "والله يا حاج على أنا داير مرة منكم". قال لي: "خلاص، بنزواجك". فعلاً عرسها ليه وعاش معاها لحدّي ما مات هي في حباله. ما ولدت. أحمد ود الضو من المرّفِع ومشهور، ود عم العمدة طوالي.

**عبدالمنعم**

أبو نفيسة برضو كان جا مايرنو وعرّس عمتنا خديجة لكن ما ولدت معاه. دا قريب بابكر عوض الله طوالي. هي ما ولدت أصلو.

*Q20: Abdurahman, of course, you have seen the list of the Maiurno people who married in Shaikh Talha. These people, of course, had children and formed (large) families. If everyone, on the average, had three daughters, then, by now, these 60 people would have 180 daughters. How many of*

س20: عبدالرحمن، طبعاً شوفت القائمة بتاعة ناس مايرنو المتزوجين في طلحة؛ ديل طبعاً ولدوا وعملوا أسر. لو كان الواحد فيهم في المتوسط ولد ثلاثة بنات فهم الستين ديل يكون عندهم مية وتمانين بت. في المية وتمانين بت ديل تفنكر كم واحدة اتزوجت من أهالي شيخ طلحة ذاتهم؟ تتوقع كم؟ عدد بسيط جداً. في أي

do you think got married to men who were originally from Shaikh Talha? A very small number. Is there any additional explanation, apart from what we have already mentioned?

ABDURAHMAN

They (Shaikh Talha people) don't tend to marry them (i.e., their daughters) – with men from Maiurno – because they consider themselves to be number one and Maiurno number two.

Maa mayyaaliin  
yaakhduhum la'annahum  
biyaru r-rajul al-'awwal  
hum wa Maayirno t-taaniya.

عبدالرحمن  
ما ميالين ياخدوهم لأنهم  
بيروا الرجل الأول هم ومايرنو  
الثانية.

*Q21: When the first Maiurno market on the riverbank was established, Sheikh Ahmad al-Badawi (a grandson of Sheikh Talha) claimed ownership of the place. Have you heard about this?*

س21: لما اتوضع سوق  
مايرنو الأول التحت البحر  
إدعى الشيخ أحمد البدوي  
بأنه الحقة دي حفته. سمعت  
بالقصة دي؟

By God, we heard about it. He claimed that it was his place and that it was registered as such. At last the matter was settled, and it was recognised as part of Maiurno land. In other words, he couldn't support his claim by evidence.

Wallaahi simi'na beeha.  
Idda'a innaha ḥaggatu wu  
muḥajjara. Wa akhiran  
ḥasamooha wa tabba'ooha  
lee araadi Maayirno, aw  
maa gidir yijiib ma yuthbit  
zaalik.

والله سمعنا بيها. إدعى إنها  
حفته ومحجرة. وأخيراً حسموها  
وتبعوها لي أراضي مايرنو. أو  
ما قدر يجيب ما يثبت ذلك.

*Q22: What means and strategies did Maiurno people use to keep their links with the neighbouring villages, including the villages created by people having moved out of Maiurno*

س22: ما هي السبل  
والاستراتيجيات اللي اتخذتها  
مايرنو عشان تحافظ على  
روابطها مع الحلال المجاورة؟  
بما فيها الحلال اللي طلعت  
منها؟ في أي قنوات واضحة؟

(i.e., villages which are offshoots of Maiurno)? Were there any clear channels?

By God, these villages used to intermarry with Maiurno until recently. Their people used to come, or someone from here might go and bring his (female) maternal cousin from Southern Blue Nile and get married to her in Maiurno. They, too, come, marry women from here, and take them back. Of course, the family relations have not been severed. There was someone who went, married a woman there (in one of the villages in Southern Blue Nile that is an offshoot of Maiurno), and stayed for a period of time – as if he were staying permanently – and then came back with his wife. So, there are family ties between these people and Maiurno to this day.

Wallaahi laḥaddi gariib kaan al-ḥallaal deel bitzaawaju. Biju laḥaddi hina, waahid yimshi wa yijiib bitt<sup>°</sup>ammatu walla bitt khaaltu min aṣ-Ṣa<sup>°</sup>iid yitzawwajaa fii Maayirno. Wa hum bardahum biju yaakhdu min Maayirno yiwaddu hinaak. Ṭaba<sup>°</sup>an al-<sup>°</sup>alaaqaat al-<sup>°</sup>usariyya ya<sup>°</sup>ni maa ingaṭa<sup>°</sup>at. Fi man masha akhad hinaak wa akhad fatra, zey raḥal, taani shaal zawjatu wa raja<sup>°</sup>. Ya<sup>°</sup>ni fi tawaasul<sup>°</sup> usari been anaas deel ma<sup>°</sup>a Maayirno ilaa yawmina haaza.

والله لحدّي قريب كان الحلّال ديل بتزاوجوا. بجوا لحدّي هنا، واحد يمشي ويجيب بت عمته وللا بت خالته من الصعيد يتزوجها في مايرنو. وهم برضهم بجوا ياخذوا من مايرنو يودوا هناك، طبعاً العلاقات الأسرية يعني ما انقطعت. في من مشى أخذ هناك وأخذ فترة، زي رحل، تاني شال زوجته ورجع. يعني في تواصل أسري بين الناس ديل مع مايرنو إلى يومنا هذا.

Q23: And officially (i.e., administratively)?

Officially (administratively), yes (there are links). All these areas were under the authority of the Sultan, and administratively under Maiurno. This was during colonial times and after that. It was only after the May Revolution,<sup>23</sup> after the

Min an-naaḥiya r-rasmiyya aywa; kaanat al-manaaṭig di kullaha taab<sup>°</sup>a le s-Sulṭaan; idaariyyan kaano taab<sup>°</sup>iin le Maayirno. Laḥaddi zaman al-isti<sup>°</sup>maar wa maa ba<sup>°</sup>ad al-isti<sup>°</sup>maar. Allaahumma illa ba<sup>°</sup>ad Maayu, ba<sup>°</sup>ad taṣfiyat al-

س23: طيب من الناحية الرسمية؟

من الناحية الرسمية أيو؛ كانت المناطق دي كلها تابعة للسلطان، إدارياً كانوا تابعين لمايرنو. لحدّي زمن الاستعمار وما بعد الاستعمار. اللهم إلا بعد مايو بعد تصفية الإدارة الأهلية بمعناها الأول حتى بدت الاتصالات تنقطع. أما قبلها كانت الإدارة بالنسبة

<sup>23</sup> The ‘May Revolution’ is actually the coup d’état that brought General Numeiri to power. Numeri’s regime lasted for 16 years (1969–1985).



liquidation of the Native Administration system in its first sense, that these links started to get severed. But before that, the administrative centre of the Fallaata tribe was Maiurno, at least for those who moved from Maiurno. Even from as far as Sifawa some family cases were taken to Maiurno for settlement. Whenever the Fulani were found, they were administratively and judicially linked with Maiurno. The Sultan also used to send his people to certain areas to collect taxes on houses, animals, and crops.

Idaara l-°Ahliyya be ma°naaha l-°awwal ḥatta badat al-°ittiṣaalaat tingaṭi°. Amma gablaha kaanat al-idaara be n-nisba le gabiilat al-Fallaata Maayirno, an-naas an-nazaḥo min Maayirno. Ḥatta naas Siifaawa hinaak ba°aḍ al-ḡaḍaaya l-°usariyya biyaakhduuha min hinaak taji tuḥsam fii Maayirno. Kull al-Fulaaniyyiin maḥal maa yibgu fi irtibaat̄ idaari wa qaḍaa°i beenum wu been Maayirno. Wu fi manaatiḡ kaan as-Sulṭaan biwaddi naasu °ashaan yijiibu leehu ḍ-ḍaraayib wa l-ḡuṭ°aan wa l-°ushuur.

لقبيلة الفلاتة مايرنو، الناس النزحوا من مايرنو. حتى ناس سيفاوا هناك بعض القضايا الأسرية يباخذوها من هناك تجي تحسم في مايرنو. كل الفلانيين محل ما يبقوا في ارتباط إداري وقضائي بينهم وبين مايرنو. وفي مناطق كان السلطان بوذي ناسه عشان يجيبوا ليه الضرايب والقطعان والعشور.

*Q24: But weren't there any specific policies which Mai-Wurno or Alhaji<sup>24</sup> adopted through which they could maintain ties with the villages under them? For instance, (arranged) marriages? By the way, Abu-Bakr, can Tatuwa's marriage to Ahmad Ali be taken as example of such a marriage, or was it just by accident?*

ABU-BAKR

It could not be by accident because he was a person of position; his father was Omda. In fact, when I considered this question, I found that it has more to do with administration than

Maa mumkin yikuun muṣaadafa, la°annu zool leehu waznu; abuuhu °umda. Al-ḡagiiga lamma ana °aayanta le s-su°aal da, wajadta innu su°aal idaari aktar min mas°alat rabṭ aw

س24: لكن ما في سياسات محددة كذا اتبعها ميورنو وللا الهجي عشان يربط بيها الحلال التابعة ليه، مثلاً زواج... بالمناسبة، أبوبكر ممكن زواج تاتوا من أحمد على يكون ليه صلة ربط أسرة عمدة حلة البير مع مايرنو وللا مصادفة؟

أبوبكر

ما ممكن يكون مصادفة، لأنه زول ليه وزنه، أبوه عمدة. الحقيقة لما أنا عاينت للسؤال دا، وجدت إنه سؤال إداري أكثر من مسألة ربط أو كدا. في المرحلة الأولى، في الفترة بتاعة الاستعمار يعني معظم

<sup>24</sup> 'Alhaji' is/was the nickname of Muhammad Tahir; he was the sole son of Mai-Wurno and his successor; his reign lasted for 25 years (1944–1969).

with just simple links. In the first phase, during the colonial period most of the Fallaata (Fulani) were ‘spiritually’ linked with Maiurno, and some of them initially came from Maiurno. And also the British administration used to refer directly to Maiurno in whatever concerned the Fallaata (Fulani). In this case, there was a genuine link that made the people loyal to the Sultan. But then, with time and the new administrative divisions, people’s problems were solved where they lived, and their interests became linked with their place of residence. So, what remained was just the ‘spiritual’ link; but the administrative aspects were diminished.

Take Southern Blue Nile as example. When the entire area was under one state, i.e., the Blue Nile State, the links were stronger. But since Sennar State has become separate from the Blue Nile State, you find that the Fallaata villages in Southern Blue Nile turn to their state with their problems (whereas Maiurno belongs to Sennar State). Even their local councils are there, and people’s interests are directly connected with the local councils. So, this decreased

kida. Fi l-marḥala l-<sup>o</sup>uula, fi l-fatra bitaa<sup>c</sup>at al-isti<sup>c</sup>maar ya<sup>c</sup>ni mu<sup>c</sup>zam al-Fallaata kaanu marbuuṭiin bee Maayirno ruuḥiyyan, wa waaḥdiin minnahum asaasan gaamu min Maayirno wa masho. Wu ba<sup>c</sup>deen al-Ingiliiz kaanu bit<sup>c</sup>aamalu mubaasharatan ma<sup>a</sup> Maayirno fii kulli shi yikhuṣṣ al-Fallaata. Yibga hina fi raabiṭ fi<sup>c</sup>lan yakhalli n-naas walaa<sup>u</sup>m yikuun le s-Sulṭaan. Be muruur az-zaman wa t-taḡsiimaat al-<sup>o</sup>idaariyya l-ḥaṣalat fa aṣbaḥat ya<sup>c</sup>ni n-naas fii mawqi<sup>c</sup>um bitkuun mashaakilum bitinḥalla wa maṣlaḥatum aṣbahat bee hinaak. Fa aṣbaḥ bas al-<sup>o</sup>irtibaat ar-ruuḥi, amma j-jawaanib al-<sup>o</sup>idaariyya fa aṣbaḥat shibhi gallat ya<sup>c</sup>ni.

Masalan hassa<sup>c</sup> zey aṣ-Ṣa<sup>c</sup>iid, lamma kaanat an-Niil al-Azarag waaḥda kaanat ar-rawaabiṭ agwa. Wa lamma bigat an-Niil Al-Azrag wilaaya baraaaha wa Sinnaar wilaaya baraaaha bitaji talga l-marja<sup>c</sup>iyya bitkhalliha hinaak. Hatta l-majaalis, la<sup>o</sup>anu maṣaaliḥ an-naas marbuuṭa be l-majaalis wu kida. Fa di gallalat min al-<sup>o</sup>irtibaat al-<sup>o</sup>idaari, laakin al-<sup>o</sup>irtibaat ar-ruuḥi yikuun mawjuud.

الفلاتة كانوا مربوطين بمايرنو روحياً، وواحدین منهم أساساً قاموا من مايرنو ومشوا. وبعدين الإنجليز كانوا بتعاملوا مباشرة مع مايرنو في كل شيء يخص الفلاتة. يبقى هنا في رابط فعلاً يخلي الناس ولاؤهم يكون للسultan. بمرور الزمن والتقسيمات الإدارية حصلت فأصبحت يعني الناس في موقعهم... بتكون مشاكلهم بتتحل ومصلحتهم أصبحت بي هناك. فأصبح بس الارتباط الروحي، أما الجوانب الإدارية فأصبحت شبه قلت يعني.

مثلاً هسع زي الصعيد، لما كانت النيل الأزرق واحدة كانت الروابط أقوى. ولما بقت النيل الأزرق ولاية براها وسنار ولاية براها بتجي تلقى المرجعية بتخليها هناك. حتى المجالس، لأنه مصالح الناس مربوطة بالمجالس وكدا، فدي قلتت من الإرتباط الإداري، لكن الإرتباط الروحي يكون موجود.

the administrative connections, but the 'spiritual' link may still be there.

*Q25: When the administrative link decreases, will this cancel the 'spiritual' link?*

No doubt, it will cancel it. We may reach a stage... There will appear generations which will have no concern for such problems.

ABDURAHMAN

With regard to the point we previously discussed about 'planned marriages', we said that the senior Sultan (Mai-Wurno) married the daughter of Jawro Hamma. Ahmad Ali Jawro Hamma married Taatuwa, Arabo's daughter (i.e., Ahmad Orabi's daughter). At the same time also Usman al-Omda approached us through the mediation of Turaki and married my sister Fatna. They came again and married my second and third sisters. So, it is true that there was a plan to connect all the big families (through marriage).

*Q26: How about Dindir (Kawli)?*

Of course, Omda Faruq was sent to Dindir Kawli together with Buubey Jabbo. They (i.e., the two

Biyilghi akiid. Bitaşal marħala ya<sup>c</sup>ni... Fi ajyaal bitaji maa <sup>c</sup>indaha irtibaat be l-masaa<sup>o</sup>il di ya<sup>c</sup>ni.

Ba<sup>c</sup>ad al-khalfiyya bitaa<sup>c</sup>at az-zawaaj le rabṭ al-<sup>o</sup>usar gibeel ḥakeena ya<sup>c</sup>ni s-Sulṭaan al-kabiir tazawwaj bitt Jawro Hamma. Aḥmad Ali Jawro Hamma alli huwa itzawwaj Taatuwa bitt Aaraabo. Fii nafs al-wagt ya<sup>c</sup>ni bardu <sup>c</sup>Usmaan Wadd al-<sup>c</sup>Umda ja be waasṭat Turaaki itzawwaj ukhti ana alli hiya Faatna; raja<sup>o</sup> taani akhadu ukhti t-taaniya wa t-taalta. Fa fi<sup>c</sup>lan fi ḥaaja zey di, la<sup>o</sup>annahum hum biḥaawlu l-buyuutaat al-kabiira di kullaha yarbuṭuuha be ba<sup>c</sup>ḍaha.

Ad-Dindir Kawli ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an shaalo l-<sup>c</sup>umda Faaruuq min Maayirno waddoohu Dindir Kawli ma<sup>c</sup>aahu Buubey

س25: الارتباط الإداري لما يقل برضو بيلغي الارتباط الروحي؟

بيلغي أكيد. بتصل مرحلة يعني... في أجيال بتجي ما عندها ارتباط بالمسائل دي يعني.

عبدالرحمن  
بعد الخلفية بتاعة الزواج لربط الأسر قبيل حكينا يعني السلطان الكبير تزوج بت جورو هم. أحمد علي جورو هم اللي هو اتزوج تاتوا بت أرابو. في نفس الوقت يعني برضو عثمان ود العمدة جا بواسطة تراكي اتزوج أختي أنا اللي هي فاطنة، رجعوا تاني أخذوا أختي الثانية والثالثة. ففعلاً في حاجة زي دي، لأنهم هم بحاولوا البيوتات الكبيرة دي كلها يربطوها ببعضها.

س26: الدندر (كولي) كيف؟

الدندر كولي طبعاً شالوا العمدة فاروق من مايرنو وُدوه دندر كولي معاه بوبي جبُو. طبعاً أخذوا فيها تناوب

families) administered the ‘Omdaship’ by alternation. Its Omda at a certain time was called Nafoushi. We were already grown up when this Nafoushi hanged himself, thus committing suicide. I don’t know why, but in the end he committed suicide. I think that he belonged to the family of Buubey Jaḅḅo. Dindir Kawli is to this day connected with Maiurno. Because the Daura families – called Sullubawa or Sisilḅe – have links with people of Dindir (Kawli). There are intermarriages between them and us; they are the people who are particularly loyal to Maiurno. To this day, they are administratively under Maiurno. Even after Independence their administrative representative in Sennar Council was from Maiurno: sometime Faki Bashir and sometime Al-Amin Kaagu. At the first stage, when it was by appointment, Faki Bashir was appointed to represent Dindir (Kawli), Al-Amin Kaagu to represent Maiurno, and An-Nour Hassan to represent Hillat al-Beer. Later on, when it was by elections, Al-Amin Kaagu was elected for Dindir (Kawli) and An-Nour Hassan for Maiurno.

Jaḅḅo. Ṭaba°an akhado fiiha tanaawub fi l-°umuudiyyaat; ḥatta fii fatra min al-fatraat kaan al-°umda fiiha ismu Nafuushi. Nafuushi da ṭaba°an niḥna kunna kubaar lamma shanag nafsu, intaḥar. Maa °aarif leeh laakin bas intaḥar fi n-nihaaya. Fa da aẓinnu min °aa°ilat naas Buubey Jaḅḅo. Dindir Kawli laḥaddi hassa° marbuuṭa bee Maayirno. La°annu naas Daura-Daura deel – biguulu leehum Sullubawa aw Sisilḅe – hum deel murtabṭiin ma°a naas Dindir. Wa hassa° hum deel biyaakhdu minnana wa n-naas bitaakhud minnahum. Ba°deen hum aktar naas °indahum wallaa° lee Maayirno be z-zaat. Laḥaddi hassa° hum idariyyan taab°iin lee Maayirno. Ḥatta kamaan ba°ad al-°istighlaal al-mumassil al-°idaari bitaa°um fii majlis Sinnaar kaan min Maayirno: taaratan l-Faki Bashiir wa taaratan al-Lamiin Kaagu. Fi l-marḥala l-°uula ayyaam at-ta°yiin kaan Faki Bashiir yimassil ad-Dindir wa al-Lamiin Kaagu yimassil Maayirno wa n-Nuur Ḥasan yimassil Ḥillat al-Biir. Fi l-marḥala l-°akhiira ba°ad al-intikhaabaat biga al-Lamiin Kaagu yimassil ad-Dindir wa n-Nuur Ḥasan yimassil Maayirno.

في العموديات؛ حتى في فترة من الفترات كان العمدة فيها اسمه نفوشي. نفوشي دا نحن طبعاً كنا كبار لما شئق نفسه، انتحر. ما عارف ليه لكن بس انتحر في النهاية. فدا أظن من عائلة ناس بويي جَبُو. دندر كولي لحدّي هسع مربوطة بي مايرنو، لأنه ناس دورا دورا ديل – بقولوا ليهم سَلَبُوا أو سيسلبي – هم ديل مرتبطين مع ناس دندر. وهسع هم ديل بياخدوا مننا والناس بتأخذ منّهم. بعدين هم أكثر ناس عندهم ولاء لمايرنو بالذات. لحدّي هسع هم إدارياً تابعين لمايرنو؛ حتى كمان بعد الاستقلال الممثل الإداري بتاعهم في مجلس سنار كان من مايرنو: تارة الفكي بشير، وتارة الأمين كاغو. في المرحلة الأولى أيام التعيين كان فكي بشير يمثل الدندر، والأمين كاغو يمثل مايرنو والنور حسن يمثل حلة البير. في المرحلة الأخيرة بعد الانتخابات بقي الأمين كاغو يمثل الدندر والنور حسن يمثل مايرنو.

*Q27: When you (Abdurahman) grew up, who were the decision makers in Maiurno? I mean those who occupied well-defined and important posts!*

First, when we grew up, Maiurno was, of course, under the senior Sultan (Mai-Wurno). Around him were people like our grandfather Wali (the successor of Waziri Hassan); and there was our grandfather Umar Shaayib, Baasambo Umar, and Baasambo Sheehu. All these were surrounding the Sultan (as councilors). This is in addition to people such as Malam Aliyu Aaga. There was also Qadi Abu-Bakr (an Islamic judge). This Malam Aliyu Aaga was the imam before Malam Adamu.<sup>25</sup> Before him there was Imam Gabaari.<sup>26</sup> Bello Abdu-Razig's father was the deputy imam. The actual imam was the father of Usman Liiman who was living near your house (i.e., the house of Abu-Bakr, one of our informants).

Awwal haaja niḥna lamma gumna fii Maayirno ṭaba°an kaan fiiha s-Sulṭaan al-kabiir, fii ṣiḡharna. Wu kaan ḥawaleehu naas jiddana Waali (al-Waziir ba°ad Waziiri Ḥasan), wa jiddana °Umar Shaayib, wa Baasambo °Umar wu Baasambo Sheehu; deel kullahum giddaam as-Sulṭaan. Ilaa jaanib naas Mallam Aliyu Aaga. Wu fi al-Qaadi Abu-Bakr. Mallam Aliyu Aaga da ṭaba°an kaan imaam gabli Mallam Adamu; wu barḍu gabli minnu kaan imaam Gabaari. Abu naas Bello °Abdurraazig kaan imaam munaawib. Wa l-°imaan al-awwal kaan abu °Usmaan Liimaan alli janb beetkum (Abu-Bakr).

س27: لما قمتمو (يا عبدالرحمن) الناس الكانوا قاييمين بأمر إدارة مايرنو منم؟ الناس العندهموظائف ملموسة ومرموقة!

أول حاجة نحن لما قمنا في مايرنو طبعاً كان فيها السلطان الكبير، في صغرتنا. وكان حواليه ناس جدنا والي (الوزير بعد وزيره حسن)، وجدنا عمر شايب، وباسمبو عمر، وباسمبو شيهو؛ ديل كلهم قدام السلطان. إلى جانب ناس ملّم عليّ آغا، وفي القاضي أبوبكر. ملّم عليّ آغا دا طبعاً كان إمام قبل ملّم آدمو، ويرضو قبل منه كان في إمام غباري. أبو ناس بيلو عبدالرازق كان إمام مناوب. والإمام الأول كان أبو عثمان لييمان اللي جنب بيتكم (أبوبكر).

<sup>25</sup> Malam Adamu was succeeded by his son Al-Amin. The latter was himself succeeded by his son Faruq who was the imam in office at the time of the interview (December 1996).

<sup>26</sup> Imam Gabaari was the paternal grandfather of Professor Al-Amin Abu-Manga.

Q28: *Can you remember the chronological order of the imams of Maiurno?*<sup>27</sup>

I think that the first (imam) was Imam Gabaari, followed by Usman Liiman, and then followed by Malam Aliyu Aaga and Faki Adam Koiranga (Malam Adamu).<sup>28</sup> Abdu-Razig acted as deputy of all these imams. He was like the supervisor of the mosque, and his house was close to it. He was a learned person.<sup>29</sup>

Awwal imaam °alaa maa azkur Imaam Gabaari; wu ba°di minnu °Usmaan Liimaan; hatta ba°ad daak nihna wajadna Mallam Aliyu Aaga; wa ba°ad da ja Faki Adam Koiranga. Kull al-°a°imma deel kaan yinuub °annahum °Abdurraazig; hu zey mulaazim al-masjid wa beetu janb al-masjid; mutfaqqih.

س28: تذكر تسلسل أئمة مسجد مايرنو الكبير؟

أول إمام على ما أنكر إمام غباري؛ ويعد منه عثمان ليمان؛ حتى بعد ذلك نحن وجدنا مأم علي آغا؛ وبعد ذلك فكي آدم كويرانغا. كل الأئمة دليل كان ينوب عنهم عبدالرازق؛ هو زي ملازم المسجد وبيته جنب المسجد، متفقه.

Q29: *Let us continue speaking about the decision makers in Maiurno!*

These were the decision makers in Maiurno until 1941–42, when the Sultan (i.e., Mai-Wurno) became ill and his duties were taken over by his son Muhammad Tahir, referred to at that time as ‘Al-Amir’. Closest to Muhammad Tahir were people like Arabo and Faki Bashir. The latter was his right hand in everything.

Wa ba°deen an-naas deel kaano gaaymiin be amri Maayirno, laħaddi °itneen wa arba°iin waaħid wu arb°iin as-Sulṭaan miriḍ. Fa awkal mahaamu lee waladu alli huwa l-Amiir Maħammad Ṭaahir; az-zaman daak biguulu leehu l-Amiir, wu daak as-Sulṭaan. Aha gaam be l-mahaam, wa aktar naas

س29: نواصل الحديث عن القائمين بأمر مايرنو!

ويعدّين الناس دليل كانوا قائمين بأمر مايرنو، لحدّي إثنين وأربعين واحد وأربعين السلطان مرض فأوكل مهامه لي ولده اللي هو الأمير محمد طاهر، الزمن ذلك بقولوا ليه الأمير وذلك السلطان. أها قام بالمهام، وأكثر ناس ملازمته وكانوا بتعاملوا معاه أهو ناس آرابو وناس فكي بشير، دا كان ساعد أيمن ليه في كل الحالات، حتى أولادهم

<sup>27</sup> Following the West African tradition, the imam (leader in prayer) was among the decision makers within the administrative machinery at the town/village level. His duties, besides leading the prayer in the main mosque, include making *fatwa* (legal opinion), officially declaring of the beginning and end of fasting, etc. The function of imam may remain in one family for a long period of time until there is nobody in that family capable of performing these duties.

<sup>28</sup> I have the impression that the office of the imam in Maiurno was allocated to members of a particular Fulani subsection in a locally negotiated system of distribution of power among the different groups of Fulani living in the village; all the above-mentioned imams were indeed Fulani from the Borno subsection.

<sup>29</sup> Abdu-Razig was a descendant of a famous scholar in Sokoto, Abd al-Qadir ibn al-Mustafa. Now his son Bello Abdu-Razig assumes the same duty. We found a document of the *hijra* in his possession (see also Abu-Manga 1989).

Their sons (i.e., Faki Bashir's and Muhammad Tahir's sons) were even circumcised together and married together (i.e., their wedding ceremonies took place) on the same day. They did everything together – Usman and Al-Amin – they used to go around together. Among Muhammad Tahir's councilors was also my father. He was a member of the council, but many people didn't know that. Because when he was in Kurmuk, the senior Sultan (Mai-Wurno) went and brought him to Maiurno and had him settle in Malam Maanu's quarter near the present house of Al-Amin Hassan Ibrahim. The house neighbouring his (Al-Amin's) house from the southern side used to be ours, constructed for us by Mai-Wurno, the senior Sultan. He constructed it and brought my father there. He and Alhaji (i.e., Muhammad Tahir) used to do things together and go to Dindir (Kawli) together. Even when it was burnt, the Sultan had it reconstructed before my father's return. Then Wali said to Mai-Wurno: "You brought Ali here and gave him a house in that quarter and they burned it. Give me Ali and I will give him a house." So, they

mulaazminnu wu kaano bit<sup>o</sup>aamalu ma<sup>o</sup>aahu aahu naas Araabo wu naas Faki Bashiir. Da kaan saa<sup>o</sup>id ayman leehu fii kulli l-ħaalaat, ħatta awlaadum ṭahharoohum sawa wa <sup>o</sup>arraso leehum fii yoom waaħid sawa, wa kaan ayyi ħaaja bitaa<sup>o</sup>tum – <sup>o</sup>Usmaan wa l-Lamiin – yiṭla<sup>o</sup>u wa yinzilu sawa. Wu ba<sup>o</sup>deen min al-muḥtakkiin ma<sup>o</sup>aahu fi l-faada waaldi ana zaatu fi l-faada di laakin katiiriin maa kaanu <sup>o</sup>arfiin. La<sup>o</sup>annu hu lamma kaan fi l-Kurmuk hina wa ja shaalu s-Sulṭaan waddaahu Maayirno ga<sup>o</sup>adu fii Fariig Maalam Maanu, janb beet al-Lamiin Ḥasan Ibraahiim. Al-beet aṣ-ṣa<sup>o</sup>iid min beetu da kaan beetna, banaahu leena s-Sulṭaan al-kabiir Mai-Wurno. Banaahu wu jaab abuuy biga hu wa Alhaji biṭla<sup>o</sup>u wu binzilu sawa wa bimshu d-Dindir wa sh-Sharig. Ḥatta lamma ḥarago beetu banaahu taani gabli maa yiĵi abuuy. Ḥattan Waali gaal lee Mai-Wurno: "Inta jiiḃta <sup>o</sup>Ali addeetu beet fi l-fariig daak wu ḥaragoohu, addiini <sup>o</sup>Ali ana addi beet." Addoohu beetna l-hassa<sup>o</sup> da. Raḥḥaloona min hina waddoona hinaak. Fa ḥatta abbahaatna niḥna kaano min n-naas almulaazmiin fii beet as-Sulṭaan wa kaano ayyi shoora humma fiha. Baga

طهروهم سوا وعرّسوا ليهم في يوم واحد سوا، وكان أيّ حاجة بتاعتهم – عثمان والأمين – يطلعوا وينزلوا سوا. وبعدين من المحتكّين معاه في الفادا والدي أنا ذاته كان في الفادا دي لكن كتيرين ما كانوا عارفين. لأنه هو لما كان في الكرمك هنا وجا شاله السلطان ودّاه مايرنو قعدو في فريق مالم مانو، جنب بيت الأمين حسن إبراهيم. البيت الصعيد من بيته دا كان بيتنا، بناه لنا السلطان الكبير ميورنو. بناه وجاب أبوي بقي هو والهجي بطلعوا وينزلوا سوا وبمشوا الدندر والشرق. حتى لما حرقوا بيته بناه تاني قبل ما يجي أبوي. حتن والي قال لي ميورنو: "إنت جيبت علي أدبته بيت في الفريق داك وحرقوه، أدبني علي أنا أدبته بيت". أدوه بيتنا الهسع دا. رحّلونا من هنا ودّونا هناك. فحتى أبهاتنا نحن كانوا من الناس الملازمين في بيت السلطان وكانوا أيّ شورة هم فيها. بقي ناس بيلو بخاري.

gave him our present house. They made us move from there to here. So, even our fathers were among those who were frequently present in the Sultan's house, and were involved in any decision-making. Also included was Bello Bukhari.

When the function of Sultan was completely passed to him (Alhaji, i.e., Muhammad Tahir) in 1943, he brought to his council Baasambo Umar and he retained people like Shantali; (he brought people like) our paternal uncle Umar and our paternal uncle Usman Dan Yaaya. Of course, at that time Arabo (Ahmad Orabi) was the 'trustee' of Mai-Wurno and he continued to be so with Muhammad Tahir. He occupied the post of treasurer of the ruling family. There was also Shaamaki, and there was Daaro, Usta and Usman Jekada (as his guards).

naas Bello Bukhaari.

Fa ba<sup>o</sup>ad maa intaqalat al-imaara kulliyatan lee Alhaji sanat talaata wa arba<sup>o</sup>iin fa kaano hawaaleehu naas Baasambo <sup>o</sup>Umar, wu jaab naas Shantali barḍu fii maḥallatum maa faatu, wu naas <sup>o</sup>ammaana <sup>o</sup>Umar, wu naas <sup>o</sup>ammaana <sup>o</sup>Usmaan Dan Yaaya. Zaman Mai-Wurno ṭaba<sup>o</sup>an al-majidaadi bitaa<sup>o</sup>u kaan <sup>o</sup>ammaana Aḥmad <sup>o</sup>Uraabi; wu fi<sup>o</sup>lan nafs al-mahaam uukilat leehu (zaman Maḥammad Ṭaahir), be masaabat amiin al-maal aw amiin al-khaziina; wu Shaamaki, wu ṭaba<sup>o</sup>an amaamu naas Daaro wu naas Usta wu naas <sup>o</sup>Usmaan Jeekaada.

فبعد ما انتقلت الإمارة كلية لي الهجي سنة ثلاثة وأربعين فكانوا حواليه ناس باسمبو عمر وجاب ناس شنتلي برضو في محلتم ما فاتوا وناس عمنا عمر وناس عمنا عثمان دان يايا. زمن ميورنو طبعاً المجدادي بتاعه كان عمنا أحمد عربي، وفعلاً نفس المهام أوكلت ليه (زمن محمد طاهر)، بمثابة أمين المال أو أمين الخزينة. وناس شامكي، وطبعاً أمامه ناس دارو وناس أوسطى وناس عثمان جيكاادا.

*Q30: Do you have an idea about the functions of each of these (men)?*

Faki Bashir was the court scribe and a kind of consultant in some judicial cases. He was later succeeded by his brother, Faki Mahmoud. The others constituted a kind of consultative-advisory council and at the

Faki Bashiir kaatib maḥkama wa mustashaar kida fi l-halaat al-qaḍaa<sup>o</sup>iyya, ba<sup>o</sup>ad daak ḥatta ja akhuuhu Faki Maḥmuud. At-taaniin bishakkilu zey majlis istishaari. Wu fii nafs al-wakih aḥyaanan bitshaffa<sup>o</sup>u

س30: عندك فكرة أي واحد في ديل كانت مهمته شنو؟

فكي بشير كاتب محكمة ومستشار كدا في الحالات القضائية، بعد داك حتى جا أخوه فكي محمود. التانيين بشكلوا زي مجلس استشاري. وفي نفس الوقت أحياناً يتشققوا... إذا شافوا الزول الحصار ضرب عليه بحاولوا



same time they used to intercede on the side of the accused, when they saw that he had been under too much pressure. And in case the accused misbehaved, they would react harshly against him and try to correct and discipline him. Because they tended to follow the customary law rather than the formal law. Law and order were observed, yet, as they were versed in Islamic injunctions, they tended to solve problems through ‘reconciliation’ and ‘forgiveness’. Yet, they were never indulgent in religiously serious cases. Otherwise, they usually intervened to simplify problems. And if the Sultan became furious (against the accused), they would pacify him. Briefly speaking, (they were a kind of) consultative-advisory council.

izaa shaafu z-zool al-ḥiṣaar ḍurab °aleehu beḥaawlu yitdakhkhalu. Wu fii ḥaalat al-°insaana kamaan biga shaaz wu kida humma biguumu °aleehu wu binziruuhu wu yihazzibuuhu, la°annahum hum kaano mayyaaliin le l-°urf aktar min al-ḥukm al-qaanuuni. Fa biḥaawlu yimiilu naḥw at-tasaamuḥ. Hum ṭaba°an binṭalgu min an-nuṣṣuuṣ ash-shar°iyya. Ragħmi innu kaan al-qaanuun saa°id laakin hum turaasum wa °ala ḥasab tashabbu°um be l-Islaam kaano mayyaaliin le ḥasm al-gaḍaaya (be t-tasaamuḥ). Bas maa bitsaahalu fi l-gaḍaaya alli tu°tabar gaḍaaya ḥaddiyya; di kaano ṣa°abiin fiha jiddan jiddan, wu ma bitsaahalu itḷaaqan. Ammaa maa siwaaha fa katiir min al-°ashyaa° masalan biḥaawlu yitdakhkhalu kida yibassiṭu l-mawḍuu° ḥatta law as-Sulṭaan zi°il biḥaawlu yiraaj°uuhu. Ya°ni majlis shuura.

يتدخلوا. وفي حالة الإنسان كمان بقى شاذ وكذا هم بقوموا عليه وينذروه ويهدّبوه، لأنهم هم كانوا ميالين للعرف أكثر من الحكم القانوني. فبحاولوا يميلوا نحو التسامح. هم طبعاً ينطلقوا من النصوص الشرعية. رغم إنه كان القانون سائد لكن هم على حسب تراثهم وعلى حسب تشبعهم بالإسلام كانوا ميالين لحسم القضايا (بالتسامح). بس ما يتساهلوا في القضايا اللي تعتبر قضايا حدية، دي كانوا صعبين فيها جداً وما يتساهلوا إطلاقاً. أما ما سواها فكتير من الأشياء مثلاً بحاولوا يتدخلوا كذا يبسطوا الموضوع حتى لو السلطان زعل بحاولوا يراجعوه. يعني مجلس شورى.

*Q31: You said that the Sultan (Muhammad Tahir) and Faki Bashir<sup>30</sup> were very good friends. But in the end*

س31: قلت السلطان وفكي بشير كانوا حالة واحدة، طبعاً أخيراً حصل انشقاق وعدااء بينهم. إنت تفنكر الأسباب

<sup>30</sup> Faki Bashir was the son of the ruler of the region of Maroua at the time of the *hijra*. His father was said to have been executed by the German colonial authorities for his resistance to colonialism. Faki Bashir was Sultan Muhammad Tahir’s court scribe, but he entered in a series of conflicts with the Sultan, culminating in the 1968 (?) elections for membership in Sennar Rural Council, in which his son stood against the Sultan’s cross-cousin, i.e., his father’s sister’s son (henceforth ‘the elections sedition’). Our data include abundant and detailed information on this sedition and its aftermath.

they became very hostile to one another. What do you think the reasons might be?

The causes were intentionally instigated by someone. I am sure that the Sultan himself bore no hatred to anybody. There are always people who like to get close to someone by ‘distantiating’ (displacing) others. For me, all what had happened in Maiurno was a result of political intrigues and wickedness. So, things got aggravated. This issue of ‘Fulani’ and ‘Hausa’ itself was non-existent, but people created it (anew). Because even after worst had come to worst, when I came back from Gedaréf I found An-Nour (Hassan) himself in Al-Amin Bashir’s house.<sup>31</sup>

*Q32: Do you think that all these problems started just with the problem between An-Nour Hassan and Al-Amin Bashir (a son of Faki Bashir)?*

Their aggravation was due to the elections issue. Because I know that one day Faki Bashir himself was part and parcel of the Sultan’s house (family). He was married to Goggo

Al-°asbaab fi°li faa°il. Ana mut°akkid as-Sulṭaan nafsu maa bihmil ḥiqd le zeyd min an-naas. Fi naas yiḥibbu yitqarrabu ila l-gheer °an ṭariig ib°aad aakhariin. Ana bi°tabir ash-shi t-tamma da kullu fii Maayirno kaan maa hiya illa nataaj le ḥaajaat siyaasiyya wa mukaayadaat. Fa istafḥalat. La°annu ḥikaayat al-Fulaani wa Hawsa di zaataa maa kaanat waarda; fi naas khalagooha. La°annu niḥna ligiina ba°ad daak ḥaṣalat maa ḥaṣalat wa jarjar wu sawwa beynamaa ana jiit min al-Gaḍaarif jiit ligiit an-Nuur zaatu fii beet naas al-Lamiin Bashiir.

الأسباب فعل فاعل. أنا متأكد السلطان نفسه ما بحمل حقد لزيد من الناس. في ناس يحبوا يتقربوا إلى الغير عن طريق إبعاد آخرين. أنا بعتر الشيء التّم دا كله في مايرنو كان ما هي إلا نتاج لحاجات سياسية ومكيدات. فاستفحلت. لأنه حكاية الفولاني وهوسا دي ذاتها ما كانت واردة، في ناس خلقوها. لأنه نحن لقينا بعد داك حصلت ما حصلت وجرجر وسوّ بينما أنا جيت من القصارف جيت لقيت النور ذاته في بيت ناس الأمين بشير.

س32: تفنكر المشاكل دي كلها بدت بس مع مشاكل النور والأمين؟

Al-istifḥaal biga fii mawḍuu° al-intikhaabaat, la°annu ana °aarif fii yoom min al-°ayyaam Faki Bashiir da zaatu juzu° laa yatajazza° min beet as-Sulṭaan, la°annu hu zaatu kaan mutzawwij

الاستفحال بقي في موضوع الانتخابات. لأنه أنا عارف في يوم من الأيام فكي بشير دا ذاته جزء لا يتجزأ من بيت السلطان، لأنه هو ذاته كان متزوج فوقو أردبية. كانوا عاملين ليه ألف حساب. فكي

<sup>31</sup> An-Nour Hassan and Al-Amin Bashir competed with each other in the elections in question.

Ardeba.<sup>32</sup> So, they (i.e., the Sultan's family) had great respect for him. He was even empowered by the Sultan to detain or release an accused (literally: 'if he ties you, you are tied, and if he releases you, you are released'). So, until the 1960s there was nothing wrong between them, and even if there were hostilities – as people have said – these were still due to intrigues made by some other people. Because I also noticed that some people tried to instigate problems between the Sultan and (Abbakar) Nigeria.<sup>33</sup> One day at the market (Abbakar) Nigeria was shouted at (like a thief – to humiliate him);<sup>34</sup> I was at the market (at that time). That was in 1957–58.

At the Eid festival the Sultan said (to the people): "This time I want to consult you. I am used to appoint (representatives), but now I see that some people want to stand for elections. So, this time I am giving you

Goggo °Ardeeba. Kaanu °aamliin leehu alfi hisaab. Faki Bashiir waşal darajat kaan al-bifikku itfakka wa l-birbuţu itrabaţ, be amri min as-Sulţan. Fa laħaddi s-sittiinaat kaan maafi ħaaja beenaatum khaalif. Laakin ħatta iza kaan fi ħatta l-biguuluuha n-naas di bardu mukaayadaat ba°ad an-naas sawwooha. La°annu laaħazta innu fi ħaajaat been (Abbakar) Niijeeriya wa s-Sulţaan bardu biħaawlu n-naas yitadakhkhalu. Marra Niijeeriya da n-naas koorako fihu fi s-suug, wa ana gaa°id fi s-suug; al-kalaam da sanat saba°a wu khamsiin tamaaniya wu khamsiin.

Fi l-°iid as-Sulţaan gaal: "Indi shoora d-door da ma°aakum. Kullu wakıt ba°ayyin, wu shaayif zey fi aşwaat bititkallam be annu hum daayriin yitrashshaĥu, laakin ad-door da addeetkum ash-shoora. Ba°ad fatra

بشير وصل درجة كان bifkhe اتفك والبريطه اتربط، بأمر من السلطان. فلحددي الستينات كان مافي حاجة بيناتهم خالص، لكن حتى إذا كان في حتى بقولوها الناس دي برضو مكايادات بعض الناس سووها. لأنه لاحظت إنه في حاجات بين (أبكر) نجيريا والسلطان، برضو بحاولوا الناس يتدخلوا. مرة نجيريا دا الناس كوركوا فيه في السوق، وأنا قاعد في السوق، الكلام دا سنة سبعة وخمسين ثمانية وخمسين.

في العيد السلطان قال: "عندي شورة الدور دا معاكم. كل وقت بعين، وشايف زي في أصوات بتتكلم بأنه هم دايرين يترشحوا، لكن الدور دا أدبتكم الشورة. بعد فترة امشوا اتشاوروا وجيبوا لي..."

<sup>32</sup> This was Hawwa (nicknamed 'Goggo Ardeba'), the daughter of Sheikh Hayatu ibn Sa'id ibn Muhammad Bello ibn Usman ibn Fodio. Her father was the *amil* (representative) of the Mahdi for West Africa, and the head of the Mahdist movement in northern Nigeria and northern Cameroon. She lived as a member of the Maiurno ruling family and died in Maiurno.

<sup>33</sup> Abbakar Nigeria was a Hausa politician based in Khartoum who had influential connections with the leading political figures in the country. He used to assume the role of the Sultan's political advisor at the national level, acting as a bridge between the Sultan and the ruling circles in Khartoum.

<sup>34</sup> This is an old tradition in Maiurno (and perhaps among the other Fulani communities in the Sudan), whereby children are instigated by elders to 'shout at someone', especially thieves, saying "yaahu, yaahu," in order to humiliate them. This tradition is now dying out.

the choice. Go and discuss the matter among yourselves and bring me (the result)!”

#### ABU-BAKR

(This happened) after it had been heard that they didn't want (to be represented by) a Hausa. Let us be frank.

#### ABDURAHMAN

I just want to bring you to the point that I know. At that time I was not in Maiurno. When I heard of this matter, I was in Gedaref and only came back after (the end of) the elections. Our teacher, Sheikh Umar Malle (known as Umar Shashoga), came to me; Umar Malle had reached a point where it became difficult for him to stay in Maiurno. He came to me in Gedaref and resided with me. He was, of course, a relative of the Sultan's wife, Hawwa. He said to me: “My son, Abdurahman, I am coming from there. Thanks to God that I know how dear your father is to the Sultan, and God made him absent.” My father was absent from Maiurno, and I was in Gedaref. He said to me: “Don't go to Maiurno until you hear that their elections are entirely over.” So, it was the first time for me to be absent from

amshu itshaawaru wa jiiibu ley...”

Ba°ad maa n-naghama di zāharat innu hum maa daayriin al-Hawsa. Niḥna nakuun waḍḥiin.

Daayir awaṣṣilak bas al-ḥitta l-°ana ba°rifaa. Az-zaman daak ana maa mutwaajid fii Maayirno. Lamma simi°ta l-kalaam da ana saafarta ila l-Gaḍaarif, raja°ta ba°ad al-intikhaabaat. Ana jaani l-°ustaaaz bitaa°na, ash-Sheekh °Umar Malle (°Umar Shaashooga); °Umar Malle ḥaṣal waṣal darajat Maayirno bigat leehu ṣa°aba jaani fi l-Gaḍaarif nazal °indi. Ṭaba°an hu gariib Hawwa zawjat as-Sulṭaan. Gaal ley: “Ya °Abdurahmaan yaa waladi ana jiiṭ min hinaak. Alḥamdu lillaahi abuuk ana °aarif makaantu °inda as-Sulṭaan, wu rabbana subḥaanahu wu ta°aalaa ja°alu maafi.” Abuuy kaan ghaayib min Maayirno zaataa wa ana fi l-Gaḍaarif. Gaal ley: “Maa tamshi Maayirno illa ba°ad maa tasma° intikhaabaatum di intahat tab.” Fi°lan awwal marra ana aakhud tis°a shuuhur maa jiiṭ Maayirno. Lamman intahat al-

#### أبو بكر

بعد ما النغمة دي ما ظهرت إنه هم ما دايرين الهوسا، نحن نكون واضحين.

#### عبدالرحمن

داير أوصلك بس الحطة الأنا بعرفها. الزمن داك أنا ما متواجد في مايرنو. لما سمعت الكلام دا أنا سافرت إلى القصارف، رجعت بعد الانتخابات. أنا جاني الأستاذ بتاعنا الشيخ عمر ملى (عمر شاشوقا)؛ عمر ملى حصل وصل درجة مايرنو بقت ليه صعبة. جاني في القصارف نزل عندي، طبعاً هو قريب حوة زوجة السلطان. قال لي: “يا عبدالرحمن يا ولدي أنا جيت من هناك. الحمد لله أبوك أنا عارف مكانته عند السلطان، وربنا سبحانه وتعالى جعله مافي.” أبوي كان غايب من مايرنو ذاتها وأنا في القصارف. قال لي: “ما تمشي مايرنو إلا بعد ما تسمع انتخاباتهم دي انتهت تب.” فعلاً أول مرة أنا أخذ تسعه شهور ما جيت مايرنو، لمن انتهت الانتخابات ورجعوا بعد داك حتن أنا جيت. الحقيقة في خلفيات الحاجات الدارت في الحطة دي أنا ما حضرتها.

Maiurno for nine months. I didn't go back until the elections were over and the two parties had reconciled. In fact, there were background details in this matter that I didn't witness.

#### ABU-BAKR

As you said, the matter was moving smoothly, i.e., by appointment. They were two people: our paternal uncle (Faki) Bashir and our paternal uncle (Al-Amin) Kaagu; they went automatically (as representatives). But then a new tone was introduced (Fulani versus Hausa).

#### ABU-MANGA

In fact, it was only one term; it was not a matter of “automatically”. When the first term was over, some people showed their interest to stand for elections for the following term.<sup>35</sup>

#### ABDURAHMAN

Yes, I do agree; you are right.

#### ABU-BAKR

In fact, Doctor, what I want to say is the following: the Sultan having appointed (representatives) was a precedent. So, as I said, the first (new) ‘tone’ was their saying: “We don't want to

intikhaabaat wa raja°o ba°ad daak hattan ana jii. Al-hagiiga fii khalfiyyaat al-haajaat ad-darat fi l-hitta di ana maa haɗartaa.

Fi°lan inta zey maa gulta l-masa°ala kaanaat maashsha *smoothly* ya°ni be t-ta°yiin. Aşlan hum nafareen: °ammaana Bashiir wa °ammaana Kaagu, hum bimshu tilqaa°iyyan. Fa zaharat naghama fii annu...

Aşlan kaanat dawra waaħda, maa mas°alat tilqaa°iyyan. Ad-dawra l-°uula kaanat ta°yiin, wu lamma intahat ad-dawra ba°ad an-naas gaalo l-marra di °aayziin tarshiiħ.

Khalaas ittafagna, kalaamak saah.

Hu yaa Diktoor ash-shaahid shinu? Ash-shaahid alli ana °aayiz aguuu... hi ka saabiqa ya°ni, as-Sulṭaan kaan °ayyan. Zey maa inta gulta, an-naghama l-°uula gaalu: “Aniħna maa

#### أبو بكر

فعلاً إنت زي ما قلت المسألة كانت ماشة *smoothly* يعني بالتعيين. أصلاً هم نفرين: عمنا بشير وعمنا كاغو، هم بمشوا تلقائياً. فظهرت نغمة في أنه...

#### أبومنقة

أصلاً كانت دورة واحدة، ما مسألة تلقائياً. الدورة الأولى كانت تعيين، ولما انتهت الدورة بعض الناس قالوا المرة دي عايزين ترشيح.

#### عبدالرحمن

خلاص اتفقنا، كلامك صاح.

#### أبو بكر

هو يا دكتور الشاهد شنو؟ الشاهد اللي أنا عايز أقوله... هي كسابقة يعني، السلطان كان عيّن. زي ما انت قلت، النغمة الأولى قالوا: "أنحن ما دايرين هوساوي". قام قال طيب أنا أجيب ليكم النور. برضو

<sup>35</sup> The interviewer, being a citizen of Maiurno, was also involved in the events of these elections.

be represented by a Hausa.” He then offered to appoint An-Nour for them.<sup>36</sup> Again, I think that people were not satisfied. And, of course, he (the Sultan), too, had his people who brought him (gossip or news). When he felt that people were still not satisfied with the appointment of my maternal uncle An-Nour, he said, well... He told them that he wanted to consult them. Of course, it was a kind of wisdom on his part. For there were two possibilities: either the people would say: “We accept your decision” or they could also say: “No.”

daayriin Hawsaawi.” Gaam gaal tayyib ana ajiib leekum an-Nuur. Barḍu n-naas azin kaan °indahum ra°y. Ba°deen hu barḍu ṭaba°an °indu naasu l-bijiibu leehu. Wakit sha°ar al-mas°ala bitaa°at khaali n-Nuur di ka ta°yiin barḍu maa daayrinnaha gaal khalaas... Yaahu l-ḥitta gaalaa leekum innu daayir yistashiir. Ṭaba°an noo° min al-ḥikma minnu. Ya°ni kaan fi ihtimaaleen: yimkin anaas yiguulu: “Riḍiina be l-waḍ°iyya bitaa°tak di,” wu mumkin yuguulu: “La.”

الناس أظن كان عندهم رأي. بعدين هو برضو طبعاً عنده ناسه البجيبو ليه. وكت شعر المسألة بتاعة خالي النور دي كتعيين برضو ما دايرينها قال خلاص – ياهو الحنة قالها ليكم إنه داير يستشير، طبعاً نوع من الحكمة منه... يعني كان في احتمالين: يمكن الناس يقولوا: "رضينا بالوضعية بتاعتك دي" وممكن يقولو: "لا".

*Q33 (Abdalmoneim): It is well known that any Islamic state has three powers: the leadership power; the judicial power; and the executive or administrative power. When Mai-Wurno established this area, were all these powers in his hands? If he distributed them to individuals, how were they performed? And when the function of Sultan was passed to Muhammad Tahir, did he still keep powers in his hands that made him the judge, the Emir, and the administrator and that*

*Ma°ruuf ayyi dawla Islaamiyya fiha sulṭaat talaata: qiyaadiyya, fi s-sulṭa l-qaḍaa°iyya wu fi s-sulṭa t-tanfiziyya alli hiya l-°idaariyya. Hal lamma Mai-Wurno ja wa assas al-mantiga hal as-sulṭaat di kullaha fi yadd as-Sulṭaan al-°awwal? Wa iza kaan wazza°aa le ashkhaas keef kaanat al-mumaarasa? Wa lamma aalat al-khalaafa le s-Sulṭaan Maḥammad Ṭahir hal amsak as-sulṭaat at-talaata di fii yaddu mimmaa ja°al biga huwa l-qaḍi wa huwa l-amiir wa*

س33 (عبدالمنعم): معروف أي دولة إسلامية فيها سلطات ثلاثة: قيادية، في السلطة القضائية، وفي السلطة التنفيذية التي هي الإدارية. هل لما ميورنو جا وأسس المنطقة هل السلطات دي كلها في يد السلطان الأول؟ وإذا كان ورعها لأشخاص كيف كانت الممارسة؟ ولما آلت الخلافة للسلطان محمد طاهر هل أمسك السلطات الثلاثة دي في يده مما جعل بقى هو القاضي وهو الأمير وهو الإداري مما دعى بعض الناس أو أصوات تبدأ تسأل عن حقوقها في الشورى والديمقراطية؟

<sup>36</sup> An-Nour Hassan, being the Sultan’s paternal cousin, is ethnically Fulani. But the Sultan’s family was regarded at that time as Hausa on linguistic and cultural bases (as its members used to speak more Hausa than Fulfulde).

*made some voices rise and start to ask for their rights to (participate in) consultation and democracy?*

*huwa l-<sup>o</sup>idaari mimmaa da<sup>a</sup> ba<sup>a</sup>ad an-naas aw a<sup>o</sup>shaat tabda tas<sup>al</sup> <sup>o</sup>an <sup>h</sup>uguugaa fi sh-shoora wa d-dimughraatiyya?*

#### ABU-MANGA

The distribution during Mai-Wurno's time was clear: the judicial power was in the hands of your grandfather (i.e., Abdalmoneim's grandfather). I don't think that Mai-Wurno looked into judicial cases; he used to send them to Abu-Bakr al-Qadi (also known as Qadi Abu-Bakr), following the system of the Sokoto Caliphate. And it is true that the administrative power was distributed to people such as Magaji, Wali, Turaki and Arabo (Ahmad Orabi). Only the legislative power was in his hands, and thus also in those of his councilors.

Ayyaam Mai-Wurno t-tawzii<sup>o</sup> kaan waadih: al-qadaa<sup>o</sup>iyya <sup>o</sup>ind jiddak inta (Abdalmoneim). Maa a<sup>o</sup>zin kaan Mai-Wurno biyahkim. Ayyi ga<sup>o</sup>diyya kaan bilizaa lee Abu-Bakr al-Qaa<sup>o</sup>di, zey maa kaan fi l-Khalaafa (s-Sokotiyya). Sa<sup>o</sup>hiih innu s-sul<sup>ta</sup> t-tanfiiziyya muwazza<sup>a</sup> <sup>o</sup>ind naas Magaaji wa Waali wa naas Turaaki wa j-jamaa<sup>a</sup> deel wa <sup>o</sup>Uraabi. Wa t-tashri<sup>o</sup>iyya, kaanat yaahu <sup>o</sup>indu huwa wa l-councilors al-ma<sup>a</sup>aahu.

#### أبومنقة

أيام ميورنو التوزيع كان واضح: القضاية عند جدك إنت (عبدالمنعم)؛ ما أظن كان ميورنو يبحكم، أي قضية كان بلزها لي أبوبكر القاضي، زي ما كان في الخلافة (الصكتية). صحيح إنه السلطة التنفيذية موزعة عند ناس مقاجي ووالي وناس تراكي والجماعة ديل وعرابي. والتشريعية كانت ياهو عنده هو وال councilors المعاه.

#### ABU-BAKR

Of course, until that time they were following the ruling system that they had brought with them as an Islamic caliphate. But the turning point was when the colonial administration brought about administrative changes, including the Native Administration system and the secular law.

Hu <sup>o</sup>taba<sup>a</sup>an la<sup>o</sup>haddi hina <sup>o</sup>taba<sup>a</sup>an an-nizaam aj-jo beehu min hinaak ka khalaafa islaamiyya. Laakin nug<sup>o</sup>tat at-tahawwul jaat ba<sup>a</sup>ad maa l-musta<sup>o</sup>mir itmakkan wu jaat al-mutaghayyiraat wa l-Idaara l-<sup>o</sup>Ahliyya wa l-ghaanuun al-<sup>o</sup>ilmaani.

#### أبوبكر

هو طبعا<sup>o</sup> لحد<sup>o</sup>ي هنا طبعا<sup>o</sup> النظام الجوا بيه<sup>o</sup> من هناك كخلافة إسلامية. لكن نقطة التحول جات بعد ما المستعمر اتمكن وجات المتغيرات والإدارة الأهلية والقانون العلماني.

## ABDURAHMAN

As far as I know, when the secular law was introduced, Qadi Abu-Bakr said: "I will not treat cases in accordance with the secular law," citing the Qur'anic verse, "He who doesn't rule in accordance with what God revealed..." So, they replaced him with Bello Badur. Of course, the administrative system changed; there was the court chief, and the traditional judge was replaced by a court scribe. It was the Native Administration head that judged, together with members (of the court). This was the system followed in all the native courts, whether they were headed by a Nazir<sup>37</sup> or by an Omda. Sheikh al-Khatt<sup>38</sup> was given three powers: judicial power, administrative power, and responsibility for general security, i.e., administrative power. So, he was the ruler, the judge, and the administrator. And he was to appoint assistants in a hierarchical order: Sheikh al-Khatt had 10 Omdas under him; each Omda was directly answerable to him. And then all the sheikhs were connected

Ana ma<sup>c</sup>luumaati lamma jaabu l-ghaanuun al-<sup>c</sup>ilmaani al-Qaadi Abu-Bakr gaal: "Ana maa baħkim be l-ghaanuun al-<sup>c</sup>ilmaani," wa jaab al-<sup>o</sup>aaya taŵwaali, "Wa man lam yaħkum bi maa anzal Allah..." Ilaa aakhir al-<sup>o</sup>aaya. Fa huwa itnaħħa <sup>c</sup>an al-qaɗaa<sup>o</sup>. Fa gaamu jaabu Bello Baduru ishtagal... taɓa<sup>c</sup>an an-nizaam al-<sup>o</sup>idaari itghayyar, yikuun ra<sup>o</sup>iis maħkama, wa makaanat al-qaadi yikuun ka kaatib; bitaa<sup>c</sup> al-Idaara l-<sup>o</sup>Ahliyya huwa l-biyahkim, wa yikuunu ma<sup>c</sup>aahu a<sup>c</sup>ɗaa<sup>o</sup>. Da kaan al-ma<sup>c</sup>muul beehu fi l-maħaakim al-<sup>o</sup>ahliyya kullaha, an-naazir aw al-<sup>c</sup>umda. Wa sheekh al-khatt bidduuhu talaata sulṭaat: sulṭaat qaɗaa<sup>o</sup>iyya wa sulṭaat idaariyya wa sulṭaat ka<sup>o</sup>annu huwa ra<sup>o</sup>s al-<sup>o</sup>amni kullu, ya<sup>c</sup>ni sulṭaat tanfiiziyya; huwa l-ħaakim wa huwa l-qaadi wa huwa l-<sup>o</sup>idaari. Ba<sup>c</sup>deen yista<sup>c</sup>iin be mu<sup>c</sup>aawniin. Be taariiga haramiyya: sheekh al-khatt yikuun tiħtu <sup>c</sup>ashara <sup>c</sup>umad; sheekh al-khatt huwa l-<sup>c</sup>indu l-<sup>o</sup>ittiṣaal al-mubaashir ma<sup>c</sup>a l-<sup>c</sup>umda. Ba<sup>c</sup>deen ash-shuyuukh kullahum marbuuṭiin ma<sup>c</sup>a

## عبدالرحمن

أنا معلوماتي لما جابوا القانون العلماني القاضي أبو بكر قال: "أنا ما بحكم بالقانون العلماني"، وجاب الآية طوالي "ومن لم يحكم بما أنزل الله..." إلى آخر الآية. فهو اتحنى عن القضاء. فقاموا جابوا بيلو بدر اشتغل - طبعاً النظام الإداري تتغير، يكون رئيس محكمة، ومكانة القاضي يكون ككاتب؛ بتاع الإدارة الأهلية هو البيحكم، ويكونوا معاه أعضاء. دا كان المعمول بييه في المحاكم الأهلية كلها، الناظر أو العمدة. وشيخ الخط بدوه ثلاثة سلطات: سلطات قضائية وسلطات إدارية وسلطات كأنه هو رأس الأمن كله، يعني سلطات تنفيذية؛ هو الحاكم وهو القاضي وهو الإداري. بعدين يستعين بمعاونين بطريقة هرمية: شيخ الخط يكون تحته عشرة عمد. شيخ الخط هو العنده الاتصال المباشر مع العمدة. بعدين الشيوخ كلهم مربوطين مع العمدة، العمدة بخاطب الشيوخ. مجموعة عمد بخاطبوا شيخ الخط، شيخ الخط هو كمان برفع الأمر للناظر.

<sup>37</sup> 'Nazir' (Ar. *naazir*): title held by the head of the highest administrative unit within the Native Administration system introduced by the British.

<sup>38</sup> Al-Khatt (Ar. *al-khatt*) was a rather large administrative unit within the British colonial Native Administrative system.



with the Omda; they were answerable to him. A number of Omdas were under Sheikh al-Khatt, and Sheikh al-Khatt, in turn, would raise the matter to the Nazir.

In some distant areas the Omdas themselves had powers. The Omda of Hillat al-Ber, for example, used to look into cases; the Omda of Al-Muraffa had a court; in Dindir (Kawli), the Omda had a court, but sometimes the Sultan would go there once a week (to look into cases). After a short period Bello Badur resigned, and Umar Bashkatib was appointed, all still under the senior Sultan (Mai-Wurno). After Umar Bashkatib had resigned too, came Faki Bashir, still during the lifetime of the senior Sultan. After the senior Sultan had renounced his power, passing it on to his son because of illness, Al-Amir Muhammad Tahir carried on with the assistance of Faki Bashir and the consultative council. (Things continued to be) like this even after the office of Sultan had completely passed (into the hands of Muhammad Tahir). The judicial and administrative powers were under his control, but some people were mandated power (in certain areas): for instance,

l-°umda; al-°umda bikhaatib ash-shuyuukh. Majmuu°at °umad bikhaatbu sheekh al-khatt; sheekh al-khatt hu kamaan birfa° al-°amr le n-naazir.

Fi ba°aḍ al-°amaakin al-ba°iida al-°umad zaatum °indahum sulṭaat; zey al-°umda bitaa° Hillat al-Biir kaan biyaḥkim; zey al-°umda bitaa° al-Maraffa° kaan °indu maḥkama; zey Dindir al-°umda °indu maḥkama wu ba°aḍ marraat as-Sulṭaan bimshi yaḥkim fi l-°usbuu° marra. Fa lamma Bello Baduru akhad fatra basiiṭa tanaḥḥa barḍu wu jaabo °Umar Bashkaatib ja ishtaghal barḍu fi l-maḥilla di ma°a s-Sulṭaan al-kabiir. Ba°ad maa da barḍu itnaḥḥa ḥatta ja Faki Bashiir, barḍu be ḥayaat as-Sulṭaan al-kabiir. Lamma s-Sulṭaan al-kabiir itnaazal °an as-sulṭa lee waladu be sabab al-maraḍ kaan bibaashir mahaamu l-Amiir Maḥammad Ṭaahir Maayirno be mu°aawanat Faki Bashiir wa ma°aahu l-faadaawa – al-majlis al-istishaari. Ilaa an intaqalat as-sulṭaat (le Maḥammad Ṭaahir) wa aṣḥaḥat al-ḥikaaya zey maa hiya. As-sulṭaat al-qaḍaa°iyya wa l-°idaariyya as-Sulṭaan kaan huwa l-muḥaymin °aleeha laakin ayyi

في بعض الأماكن البيعة العمد ذاتهم عندهم سلطات. زي العمدة بتاع حلة البير كان بيحكم، زي العمدة بتاع المرفع كان عنده محكمة، زي دندر العمدة عنده محكمة وبعض مرات السلطان بمشي يحكم في الأسبوع مرة. فلما بيلو بدر أخذ فترة بسيطة تتحى برضو وجابوا عمر باشكاتب جاء اشتغل برضو في المحلة دي مع السلطان الكبير. بعد ما دا برضو اتتحى حتى جاء فكي بشير برضو بحياة السلطان الكبير. لما السلطان الكبير انتازل عن السلطة لولده بسبب المرض كان بياشر مهامه الأمير محمد طاهر مايرنو بمعاونة فكي بشير ومعاة الفاداوا – المجلس الاستشاري. إلى أن انتقلت السلطات (لمحمد طاهر) وأصبحت الحكاية زي ما هي. السلطات القضائية والإدارية السلطان كان هو المهيم عليها، لكن أي منطقة... الخلا موزع، يعني عمدة غربة عمدة إداري، عثمان دان يايا مئينو حنة بالشرق، وفي كساب بودوا عمر ملاح وعثمان دان يايا. فدي كانت موزعة إدارياً. أما السلطات القضائية فكلها عنده (السلطان) وفكي بشير بشارك فيها ككاتب.

Omda Garba was an administrative Omda; Usman Dan Yaaya was given an area on the eastern side of the Blue Nile (to supervise); Umar Mulah and Usman Dan Yaaya were usually sent to Kassab. So, these areas were administratively distributed (to assistants). As for the judicial power, it was in the Sultan's hands, and Faki Bashir shared this power with him, since he was the court scribe.

So, people (citizens) didn't use to intervene in this area. And there were also sheikhs for the farms, who usually went and made records of the crop taxes, each with his own register (book). There were 44 sheikhs, each of whom was assigned a certain section of land. He would collect taxes from its people and bring them to the Sultan. So, this corresponds to the (administrative) system followed at that time.

mantiga... al-khala muwazza<sup>c</sup>, ya<sup>c</sup>ni <sup>c</sup>Umda Garba <sup>c</sup>umda idaari; <sup>c</sup>Usmaan Dan Yaaya maddinnu hitta be sh-sharig; wa fii Kassaab biwaddu <sup>c</sup>Umar Mulaah wa <sup>c</sup>Usmaan Dan Yaaya. Fa di kaanat muwaazza<sup>c</sup>a idariyyan. Amma s-Sulṭaat al-qaḍaa<sup>i</sup>yya fa kullaha <sup>c</sup>indu (as-Sulṭaan) wa Faki Bashir bishtarik fiha ka kaatib.

Fa n-naas maa kaanu bitdakhkhalu fi l-ḥitta di. Ba<sup>c</sup>deen al-bilḍaat barḍu fi shuyukh hum al-bimshu biktibu l-gut<sup>c</sup>aan (al-<sup>c</sup>ushuur?), kullu zool bee daftaru wu ayyi shi, arba<sup>c</sup>a wu arba<sup>c</sup>iin sheekh, kullu zool <sup>c</sup>indu arḍiyya ma<sup>c</sup>ruufa bidaffi<sup>c</sup> naasu wu biji yiwarrid le s-Sulṭaan. Da n-niẓaam al-kaan ma<sup>c</sup>muul beehu.

فالناس ما كانوا يتدخلوا في الحنة دي. بعدين البلديات برضو في شيوخ هم اليمشوا بكتبوا القطعان (العشور؟)، كل زول بي دفتره وأي شي، أربعة وأربعين شيخ. كل زول عنده أرضية معروفة بدفع ناسه ويجي يورد للسلطان. دا النظام الكان معمول بيّه.

*Q34 (Abu-Bakr): Let us go back a little, if you will allow it. Did the people of our paternal uncle Faki Bashir migrate together with our people (from West Africa), or did they come to Maiurno later? This point is not clear to me.*

*Law samaḥtu narja<sup>c</sup> lee wara shuwayya. Naas <sup>c</sup>amma Faki Bashir deel hijratum ma<sup>c</sup>a naasna walla hum jo mu<sup>3</sup>akhkharan Maayirno? Al-ḥitta di maa waadha ley.*

س34 (أبو بكر): لو سمحتوا نرجع لي ورا شوية. ناس عمنا فكي بشير ديل، هجرتهم مع ناسنا وللا هم جوا مؤخرًا مايرنوا؟ الحنة دي ما واضحة لي.

ABDURAHMAN

They didn't all come together. Some people of our paternal uncle Faki Bashir came later,<sup>39</sup> but others came earlier. Because when the colonial powers arrived in their country (i.e., Cameroon), Faki Bashir's father was himself the Sultan of Maroua, and he had opponents. So, the others (i.e., the opponents) succumbed to the colonial powers, while he refused to do so. So, the Germans arrested him and killed him. In other words, he was arrested and executed for political reasons, and then many of Faki Bashir's people escaped with his grandfather (Moodibbo) Abdu.

*Q35 (Abdalmoneim): There is a question that imposes itself. You said that their father (i.e., Faki Bashir's father, Ahmad) was a Sultan and that their grandfather was called Moodi Abdu or Moodibbo Abdu. Was access to power there by succession, whereby Abdu renounced it in favor of his son? Or how did Ahmad acquire the power (i.e., how did he become Sultan)?*

ABDURAHMAN

By God, maybe. We don't

Maa jaayiin sawa; hum jo mut°akhhiriin, wa minnahum jo badri. La°annu hum al-isti°maar lamma waşal °indahum abuuhum huwa s-Sulṭaan bitaa° Marwa zaatu wa fi naas mu°aarḍinnu. Ba°deen lamma l-isti°maar ja deelaak zey khaḍa°o le l-isti°maar wa huwa da rafaḍ. Fa masakoohu l-Almaan wa kataloohu, ya°ni i°taqaloohu i°tiqaal siyaasi wa kataloohu. Hum kamaan harabo, naas Faki Bashiir deel ma°a jiddahum °Abdu.

*Fi su°aal biṭraḥ nafsū. Inta gulta abuuhum (Aḥmad) kaan Sulṭaan wa jiddahum ismu Moodi °Abdu aw Moodibbo °Abdu. Hal al-ḥukm da kaan wiraathi, innu °Abdu da itnaazal lee waladu walla Aḥmad da jaab as-sulṭa (di keef)?*

عبدالرحمن

ما جايين سوا، هم جو متأخرين، ومتهم جوا بدري. لأنه هم الاستعمار لما وصل عندهم أبوهم هو السلطان بتاع مروة ذاته وفي ناس معارضنه. بعدين لما الاستعمار جا ديلاك زي خضعوا للاستعمار وهو دا رفض. فمسكوه الألمان وكتلوه، يعني اعتقلوه اعتقال سياسي وكتلوه. هم كمان هريوا، ناس فكي بشير ديل مع جدتهم عبده.

س35 (عبدالمنعم): في سؤال بطرح نفسه. إنت قلت أبوهم (أحمد) كان سلطان وجدتهم اسمه مودي عبده أو مودبو عبده. هل الحكم دا كان وراثي إنه عبده دا إبتازل لي ولده وللا أحمد دا جاب السلطة (دي كيف)؟

عبدالرحمن

والله احتمال. نحن ما عارفين

<sup>39</sup> Ahmad Idris Wad Um Dam, a Fulani man born ca. 1883 and interviewed in Wad Hashim Arab in 1998, also stressed that some people already came to the Maiurno area before Mai-Wurno's *hijra*.

know how it happened, but it is said that he (Faki Bashir's father, Ahmad) was an important personality and that it was the colonial powers that killed him.

#### ABU-MANGA

He might have just been an opponent. I think that he was a judge.

#### ABDURAHMAN

When they say "the Sultan, the Sultan (*laamiido*) of Maroua," what can that mean in their speech?

#### ABDALMONEIM

Al-Amin Bashir (a son of Faki Bashir) went there and stayed for some time; he was not even welcomed (properly).

#### ABDURAHMAN

The Fallaata's attitude differs from that of the other people. Such a killing by the colonial powers of someone defending the cause of his land could be compared to the killing of Ali Abd al-Latif,<sup>40</sup> for example. Didn't he deserve to be crowned (i.e., honoured)? But our people (still) say that he (Faki Bashir's father) got killed because he was a trouble

maa °aarfiin haşal keef laakin yuqaal kida la°annu hu zool mas°uul kabiir wa l-isti°maar huwa l-li katalu.

Hu bas jaayiz yikuun mu°aariḍ. Ana iftakir kaan qaadi.

*To dum wi'ii laamiido kam, laamiido Marwa [Fulfulde], fii kalaamum yikuun shinu?*

Al-Lamiin Bashiiir masha hinaak ga°ad fatra ḥatta ma ustuuqbil.

Al-Fallaata usluubum wa usluub an-naas at-taaniin bikhtalif. Ya°ni katla zey di katla siyaasiyya, al-musta°mir katal insaan tanaşşar lee baladu di bi°tibaaraa zey katlat °Ali °Abd al-Laṭiif masalan; mush mafruuḍ yutawwaj? Laakin naasna yakhduuha: "Ay *fitina maako wadi be paddi mo* [Fulfulde]." Da l-kalaam alli yuqaal laḥaddi hasa°, aw: "Ay *Almaaniya faddi*

حصل كيف لكن يقال كذا، لأنه هو زول مسئول كبير والاستعمار هو اللي كتله.

هو بس جايز يكون معارض. أنا افتكر كان قاضي.

*عبدالرحمن*  
To dum wi'ii laamiido  
في kam, laamiido Marwa  
كلامهم يكون شنو؟

*عبدالمنعم*  
الأمين بشير مشى هناك قعد فترة، حتى ما استقبل.

*عبدالرحمن*  
الفلاة أسلوبهم وأسلوب الناس التانين بختلف. يعني كتلة زي دي كتلة سياسية، المستعمر كتل إنسان تتصّر لي بلده دي باعتبارها زي كتلة على عبداللطيف مثلاً، مش مفروض يتّوج؟ لكن ناسنا ياخدوها ay fitina maako wadi be paddi mo. Da l-kalaam ay Almaaniya faddi mo gam rikishi maako. مش كذا؟

<sup>40</sup> A Sudanese leader of the White Flag Revolution (1924). The revolution was aborted by the British colonial army, and Ali Abd al-Latif was killed. After Independence he was celebrated as a national hero.

maker. Instead of honouring him, our people say up to now: “He got killed by the Germans because he was a trouble maker.” Isn’t that what they are saying?

#### ABU-BAKR

It is not a problem that he was an opponent or... Still, struggling against the colonial powers is not an easy thing. So, someone struggling against colonialism for the sake of his land definitely did not do a simple thing.

#### ABDURAHMAN

Against whom did you stand? Who killed you? It was the colonial powers that arrested him and killed him, i.e., the Germans. Until World War II [the informant means World War I], their country was a German colony.

*mo gam rikishi maako [Fulfulde].” Walla mush kida?*

Maa mushkila kownu kaan mu<sup>o</sup>araḍa walla... barḍu zool ḍidd al-isti<sup>o</sup>maar ya<sup>o</sup>ni ḥaaja maa saahla. Ya<sup>o</sup>ni barḍu zool fii waṭanu yigiif ḍidd al-isti<sup>o</sup>maar ḥaaja maa saahla.

Az-zool al-<sup>o</sup>inta bitgiif ḍiddu da minu? Al-katalak minu? Maa masaku l-isti<sup>o</sup>maar wa katalu. Al-isti<sup>o</sup>maar hu alli katalu, alli hum al-Almaan. Maa aṣlu hinaak laḥaddi l-ḥarb al-<sup>o</sup>aalamiyya l-taaniya kaanat musta<sup>o</sup>mara Almaaniyya.

أبو بكر  
ما مشكلة كونه كان معارضة  
ولل... برضو زول ضد  
الاستعمار يعني حاجة ما  
ساهلة. يعني برضو زول في  
وطنه يقيف ضد الاستعمار  
حاجة ما ساهلة.

عبدالرحمن  
الزول الإبت بتقيف ضده دا  
منو؟ الكتلك منو؟ ما مسكه  
الاستعمار وكتله. الاستعمار  
هو اللي كتله، اللي هم الالمان.  
ما أصلو هناك لحدي الحرب  
العالمية الثانية كانت مستعمرة  
ألمانية.

*Q36: Did Maiurno have strong relations with Sennar and Singa in the past?*

Yes. First, there was Sheikh Gafar. He was a Kanuri, but he was the sheikh of all the Fallaata tribes in Sennar. And he was under the Sultan. I even remember that, when Maiurno school was closed, Usman Muhammad Tahir and Bello Muhammad Tahir were taken to

Fi. Ṭabii<sup>o</sup>at ar-rawaabit awwalan zamaan kaan <sup>o</sup>indana Sheekh Ja<sup>o</sup>far, huwa min al-Barno laakin kaan Sheekh <sup>o</sup>alaa kulli qabiilat al-Fallaata fi Sinnaar. Wu kaan huwa taabi<sup>o</sup> le s-Sulṭaan – ḥatta itzakkar <sup>o</sup>Usmaan Maḥammad Ṭaahir wu Bello Maḥammad Ṭaahir

س36: زمان مايرنو عندها صلات وثيقة بسنار وسنجة؟

في. طبيعة الروابط أولاً زمان كان عندنا شيخ جعفر، هو من البرنو لكن كان شيخ على كل قبيلة الفلاتة في سنار. وكان هو تابع للسultan. حتى انتذكر عثمان محمد طاهر وبيلو محمد طاهر مايرنو في الفترة اللي قفلوا منهم المدرسة كان ودهم هناك في بيت شيخ جعفر كانوا بقروا في المدرسة بتاعة سنار.

Sheikh Gafar's house to continue their schooling at Sennar school. In Singa, too, there was the sheikh of the Fallaata of Singa, a relative of An-Nour Umar, called Sheikh Yahya or whatever, I don't (really) know (his exact name). He, too, was under Maiurno. They were loyal to the Sultan here and had direct ties with him.

#### ABU-BAKR

Even this Sheikh Gafar, as far as I remember, came regularly to perform the Eid prayer here, together with his people.

Maayirno fi l-fatra alli gafalu minnahum al-madrasa kaan waddoohum hinaak fii beet Sheekh Ja'far kaanu bigru fi l-madrasa bitaa'at Sinnar. Ba'deen Sinja barðu fi Sheekh al-Fallaata bitaa'iin Sinja, ahal naas an-Nuur Umar deel, biguulu leehu Sheekh Yahya walla minu maa' aarif. Barðu taabi' lee Maayirno, wa fi walaa' wa ittisaal mubaashir beenum hum wu been as-Sulṭaan hina.

Ḥatta Sheekh Ja'far da alaa ma azkur fi l-a'yaad biji yiṣalli ṣalaat al-iid hina bee jamaa'tu.

بعدين سنجة برضو في شيخ الفلاتة بتاعين سنجة، أهل ناس النور عمر ديل، يقولوا ليه شيخ يحيى وللا منو ما عارف. برضو تابع لمايرنو، وفي ولاء واتصال مباشر بينهم هم وبين السلطان هنا.

#### أبو بكر

حتى شيخ جعفر دا على ما أذكر في الأعياد بجي يصلي صلاة العيد هنا، بي جماعته.

*Q37 (Abdalmoneim): At the time when Maiurno was established, what did Sennar itself look like?*

#### ABDURAHMAN

(When Maiurno was established) in 1906, the Sennar people were in a small village called Makwar. This Sennar was a *saggaay* (water supply center?) of Muhammad Najmi, and there were some Aswan people, these reddish and short people, working with him. They used to fry fish and take it to Sennar at-Tagatu (for sale). The town was in At-Tagatu. Here, it (Makwar, i.e., the

*Lamma it'assasat Maayirno keef kaanat Sinnaar zaataa'?*

(Lamma Maayirno it'assasat) sanat alf wu tus'umiyya wu sitta naas Sinnaar kaanu fii ḥileela ismaa Makwaar. Makwaar di fiiha saggaay bitaa' Maḥammad Najmi. Wu fi naas min al-Aswanliyya deel biṣifuuhum guṣaar guṣaar al-ḥumur deel kaanu shaghghaaliin ma'aahu. Ya'ni aamliin rawaakiib fii Makwaar di hina. Ba'deen biya'milu samak

س37 (عبدالمعتم): لما اتأسست مايرنو كيف كانت سنار ذاتها؟

#### عبد الرحمن

(لما مايرنو اتأسست) سنة ألف وتسعمية وستة ناس سنار كانوا في حليلة اسمها مكوار. مكوار دي فيها سقاي بتاع محمد نجمي، وفي ناس من الاسوانلية ديل بصفهوم قصار قصار الحمر ديل كانوا شغالين معاه. يعني عاملين رواكيب في مكوار دي هنا. بعدين بيعملوا سمك بودوه التقاطع - المدينة الكبيرة هناك في التقاطع. هنا دي حليلة صغيرة ما فيها شي يذكر؛ هي ما عمرت مع الخزان بس. وأكثر ناس فيها

present town of Sennar<sup>41</sup>) was just a small village with nothing significant. It only developed with (the construction) of the dam. The majority of the people living in its centre were Borno (Kanuri) and Fallaata. Later, they were put under pressure and pushed away. But the actual old site of Sennar was inhabited by Fallaata such as the Gidilli people, and so on. All of those carriages' owners, such as Jeyli's paternal uncle, were living in the heart of Sennar. Their area was the original site of Sennar) and its inhabitants were people such as Adam Khawaja and Abbakar Na-Issa.

biwadduuhu t-Tagaatu<sup>c</sup>. Al-Madiina al-kabiira hinaak fi t-Tagaatu<sup>c</sup>. Hina di hileela şaghayra maa fiiha shi yuzkar; hi maa °amarat ma<sup>a</sup> l-khazzaan bas. Wa aktar naas fiiha fi l-ħitta l-°asaasiyya law laahazta al-Barno wa l-Fallaata. Fiimaa ba<sup>c</sup>ad lamma gaamo °aleehum zahħoohum. Laakin Sinnaar al-ħitta zaataa fiiha l-Fallaata, naas Gidilli deel wa hinaay. Naas al-kawaarro deel kullahum °amm naas Jeyli deel maa humman fi qalbi Sinnaar. Ĥittatum di hiya asli Sinnaar zaataa wa aktar sukkaanaa l-Fallaata; naas Adam Khawaja, naas Abbakar Na-Iisa.

في الحطة الأساسية لو لاحظت البرنو والفلاتة. فيما بعد لما قاموا عليهم زحومهم. لكن سنار الحطة ذاتها فيها الفلاتة، ناس قدلي ديل وهناي. ناس الكوارو ديل كلهم عم ناس جيلي ديل ما هُمَن في قلب سنار. حنتهم دي هي أصل سنار ذاتها وأكثر سكانها الفلاتة، ناس آدم خواجه، ناس أبكر نعيسى.

*Q38: I want you to tell me about the social classes in the different successive periods in Maiurno. Because in every period one feels that there were kinds of classes based on professions or families!*

(The people in) Maiurno were divided into five classes: the ruling entourage who had the power; and then the merchants, i.e., the 'rich people'; then there were the cattle owners, i.e., the herdsmen; and there were the farmers. These

Maayirno kaano bingasmu ilaa khamsa ṭabaqaat: Awwalan al-ħaashiya alli hiya °indaha s-sulṭa wa l-imaara °indaha; ba<sup>c</sup>deen fi t-tujjaar wa aṣhaab al-amwaal; wa fi aṣhaab al-mawaashi naas ru<sup>a</sup>; wa fi l-muzaar<sup>c</sup>iin. Al-muzaar<sup>c</sup>iin

س38: انا عايزك تحكي لي عن الطبقات الاجتماعية في الفترات المتعاقبة في مايرنو. لأنه كل فترة بتحس في ناس في شكل طبقات، من حيث المهنة أو البيوتات!

مايرنو كان ينقسموا إلى خمس طبقات: أولا الحاشية اللي هي عندها السلطة والإمارة عندها، بعدين في التجار وأصحاب الأموال، وفي أصحاب المواشي ناس رعاة، وفي المزارعين. المزارعين ديل ذاتهم مصنفيين إلى إثنين: في مزارعين كبار وفي صغار، وفي عامة

<sup>41</sup> The present town of Sennar is located ca. 10 km east of Old Sennar, i.e., Sennar at-Tagatu.

were divided into two groups: big farmers and small farmers. And then there were common people.

deel zaatum muşannafiin ilaa ʾitneen: fi muzaarʾiin kubaar wa şughaar; wa fi ʾaammata ash-shaʿab.

الشعب.

*Q39: In what period was that? How old were you at that time?*

We were very, very young. That was when Maiurno was just beginning.

Kunna fi s-sinn aṣ-ṣaghayra khaalīṣ khaalīṣ, fii bidaayat Maayirno.

س39: الكلام دا بتتكلم في ياتي فترة؟ كنتو في سن كم؟

كنا في السن الصغيرة خالص، في بداية مايرنو.

*Q40: Please, speak about the class of the merchants! Who were the distinguished among them?*

The first among the distinguished merchants in Maiurno were Ahmad Mai-Saje and Abarshi. These were the people who had shops in Maiurno. And then there were people such as Dunshe and Bello Badur. Turaki also had a shop in the market. And then there was Abbakar Dabalo; and then Muhammad Saani and his brother Lawwal; and then Shuʾaib Rabeh. Ibrahim Musa, the father of Jeyli Nga-Soorooji, was also among the old merchants. This is in addition to people such as Wad Nayil (an Arab).

The herdsmen were people like Umar Damana, Gaya and Yuuse; these were the Dagara people. And then,

Awwal at-tujjaar al-kaanu baarziin fii Maayirno kaan Aḥmad Mai-Saaje wa Abarshi, deel al-ʿindahum dakaakiin fi Maayirno; wu baʿdeen naas Dunshe, wu baʿdeen naas Bello Baduru, wa Turaaki ʿindu barḍu dukkaan fi s-suug, wu baʿdeen naas Abbakar Dabalo, wu baʿdeen naas Maḥammad Saani wa Lawwal akhuhu, wu baʿdeen Shuʿayb Raabiḥ da barḍu kaan taajir fi s-suug, wu baʿdeen zey Ibraahiim Muusa abu Jeyli Nga-Soorooji kaan taajir min at-tujjaar al-gudaam. Baʿad daak ilaa jaanib naas Wad Naayil (min al-ʿArab).

Aṣḥaab al-mawaashi taji hina ʿUmar Daamana, wa naas Gaya, wa naas Yuuse, deel ad-Dagara. Baʿdeen

س40: اذكر لنا طبقة التجار – البارزين فيهم ناس منو؟

أول التجار الكانو بارزين في مايرنو كان أحمد ميساجي وأبرشي، ديل العندهم دكاكين في مايرنو، وبعدين ناس دنشي، وبعدين ناس بيلو بدر، وتراكي عنده برضو دكان في السوق، وبعدين ناس أبكر دبلو، وبعدين ناس محمد ثاني ولول أخوه، وبعدين شعيب رابح دا برضو كان تاجر في السوق، وبعدين زي إبراهيم موسى أبو جيلي نغسوروجي. كان تاجر من التجار القدام. بعد داك إلى جانب ناس ود نايل (من العرب).

أصحاب المواشي تجي هنا عمر دامنة، وناس غيا، وناس يوسي، ديل الدقرا. بعدين تمشي الجانب الثاني داك ناس



on the other hand, there were people such as Saajo, Abba Burgu, and Ladan. In the past, there was someone called Arđo; and then there was Bello Gaynaako, belonging also to Saajo's family. Hamman Kik appeared later. And then there were Faki Muhammad Moodi and the Bande people. These were Barguuḃe; they constituted an independent class.

And then we come to the farmers' class: there was Ishiaka Mai-Karfi,<sup>42</sup> and then Mai-Baliila; and then Baĸo and Mai-Yaaki; and then Issa Jaamaari; and then Jarma Kitir; and Ahmad Murna; and then Jawro Maanu and his brother, Jawro Hamma; and then Mallum, Bello Mugaddam, and Mugaddam Buuba; and then Umar Dagajam; and then Abu-Digin, the father of Ibrahim Yaa-Zool. These are examples of farmers. These were the big farmers.

tamshi j-jaanib at-taani daak naas Saajo, naas Abba Burgu, naas Laadaan, ba<sup>o</sup>deen fi waaḥid zamaan biguulu le Arđo, wu ba<sup>o</sup>deen fi Bello Gaynaako hina fii <sup>o</sup>usrat naas Saajo barđu, wu naas Hamman Kiik deel fi l-<sup>o</sup>aakhir, wu ba<sup>o</sup>deen hinaak <sup>o</sup>indak naas Faki Maḥammad Moodi, wa naas Bande deel Barguuḃe hinaak. Fa deel ṭabaqa baraaha.

Ba<sup>o</sup>deen naji le z-zurraa<sup>o</sup>: Fi Ishyaaka Mai-Karfi, wa taji hina taguul Mai-Baliila wa ba<sup>o</sup>deen Baĸo, wa Mai-Yaaki, wa ba<sup>o</sup>deen Iisa Jaamaari, wu ba<sup>o</sup>deen Jarma Kitir, wu ba<sup>o</sup>deen Aḥmad Murna, wu ba<sup>o</sup>deen Jawro Maanu wa akhuuhu Jawro Hamma, wa naas Mallum, wa ba<sup>o</sup>deen Bello Mugaddam wa Mugaddam Buuba, wu ba<sup>o</sup>deen <sup>o</sup>Umar Dagajam, wu ba<sup>o</sup>deen Abu-Digin alli huwa abu Ibraahim Yaa-Zool. Deel al-muzaar<sup>o</sup>iin <sup>o</sup>alaa sabiil al-misaal la l-ḥaṣr. Deel al-muzaar<sup>o</sup>iin al-kubaar.

ساجو، ناس أبه برغو، ناس لادان، بعدين في واحد زمان بقولوا لي أرطو، وبعدين في بيلو غيناكو هنا في أسرة ناس ساجو برضو، وناس همن كيك ديل في الآخر، وبعدين هناك عندك ناس فكي محمد مودي، وناس بندي ديل يرغوبي هناك. فديل طبقة براها.

بعدين نجي للزراع: في إشيأك ميغرفي، وتجي هنا تقول مييليلة، وبعدين باقو، ومي ياقى، وبعدين عيسى جاماري، وبعدين جرمة كتر، وبعدين أحمد مزنة، وبعدين جورو مانو وأخوه جورو هم، وبعدين ناس مئم، وبعدين بيلو مقدم ومقدم بوية، وبعدين عمر دعجم، وبعدين أبودقن اللي هو أبو إبراهيم يازول. ديل المزارعين على سبيل المثال لا الحصر. ديل المزارعين الكبار.

*Q41: How about the artisans? Were there no skilled people?*

Yes, there were some skilled workers. There was someone called Baabo; he was one of the first carpenters.

Fi mahaaraat. Fi waaḥid ismu Baabo, min awaa<sup>o</sup>il an-najjaariin. Law shaahadta l-<sup>o</sup>abwaaḃ bitaa<sup>o</sup>at beet as-

س41: الصنّاع كيف؟ ما في ناس عندهم مهارات؟

في مهارات. في واحد اسمه بابو، من أوائل النجارين. لو شاهدت الأبواب بتاعة بيت السلطان مايرنو المعمولة

<sup>42</sup>This Ishiaka was the maternal grandfather of Professor Al-Amin Abu-Manga.

Did you see the doors in the Sultan's house, made in a modern (European) fashion? Now one rarely finds a carpenter who can make doors like those. They were made by someone called Baabo, a carpenter from Maiurno. And there was Ma'keeri (as blacksmith); and then Salih Bahillo; and then Munyal; and then Abba Bahillo; and then Da'oud, the father of Muhammad Da'oud, who was skilled enough to make fire arms, i.e., rifles; and then Jibir Bahillo, Damji's father.

And then there was the class of weavers, such as our paternal uncle Manzo, Adam Kumunda's father. This man was a weaver who used to weave the *ganja* type of cloth. There were some others, whose names I cannot remember. They used to make thread out of cotton and weave these *ganja* clothes. And then there was Mai-Kudi, who made caps and some other things.

There were also tailors, who worked both with sewing machines and by hand. Before the introduction of sewing machines, Abarshi himself was a tailor. He used to make *folo-folo* (West African type of gowns). He continued to be a tailor even after the

Sulṭaan Maayirno l-ma<sup>o</sup>muula afranjiyya di. Shuufaa ma<sup>o</sup>muula bee yaatu kayfiyya. Hassa<sup>o</sup> min anaadir innak tajiib najjaar yaşna<sup>o</sup> zeyyaha. Al-<sup>o</sup>abwaab di sawwaaha waahid ismu Baabo, najjaar min Maayirno. Ba<sup>o</sup>deen fi Ma'keeri, wu ba<sup>o</sup>deen fi Saale (Salih) Bahillo, wu fi Munyal, wu fi Abba Bahillo, wu fi Daa<sup>o</sup>uud abu naas Maḥammad Daa<sup>o</sup>uud da. Da zool bişna<sup>o</sup> asliḥa naariyya, biya<sup>o</sup>mil bundugiyya. Ba<sup>o</sup>deen fi Jibir Bahillo abu naas Damji.

Ba<sup>o</sup>deen fi ṭabaqa bitaa<sup>o</sup>at nassaajiin zey<sup>o</sup> ammana Manzo abu naas Adam Kumunda; ar-rajul da kaan nassaaj binsij al-ganjaat di. Gheeru fi kutaar laakin maa bitzakkarum la<sup>o</sup>annahum kaan bitirru l-guṭun wa binsiju l-ganjaat di. Wu ba<sup>o</sup>deen fi Mai-Kudi biya<sup>o</sup>mal ṭawaagi wa biya<sup>o</sup>mal ḥaajaat.

Barḍu fi khayyaatiin, be l-makana wa be l-yadd. Gabli maa takhush al-makanaat Abarshi da zaatu kaan tarzi bifaşsil al-folofofoo da, ilaa maa ba<sup>o</sup>ad al-makanaat barḍu kaan bikhayyiṭ. Wa l-bikhayyiṭu be l-yadd deel kutaar: naas Mai-Kano deel.

أفرنجية دي. شوفها معمولة بي ياتو كيفية. هسع من النادر إنك تجيب نجار يصنع زيها. الأبواب دي سواها واحد اسمه بابو، نجار من مايرنو. بعدين في مقيري، وبعدين في سالي (صالح) بهلو، وفي منيال، وفي أبي بهلو، وفي داود أبو ناس محمد داود دا. دا زول بصنع أسلحة نارية، بيعمل بندقية، بعدين في جبر بهلو أبو ناس دمجي.

بعدين في طبقة بتاعة نساجين زي عمنا منزو أبو ناس آدم كمندا؛ الرجل دا كان نساج بنسج القنجات دي. غيره في كتار لكن ما بتذكرهم لأنهم كان بيترؤ القطن وينسجوا القنجات دي. وبعدين في ميكودي بيعمل طواقي وبيعلم حاجات.

برضو في خياطين، بالمكنة وباليد. قبل ما تخش المكناات أبرشي دا ذاته كان ترزي بفصل الفولولو دا، إلى ما بعد المكناات برضو كان بخيط. والبخيطوا باليد ديل كتار: ناس ميكنو ديل.

introduction of sewing machines. Those who stitched by hand were very numerous, including people such as Mai-Kano.

Shoemakers were very numerous. First, all the people of Bello Badur's house were shoemakers. Faki Mahmoud was a shoemaker. My father worked in shoemaking. And then Faki Usta Adam, someone with a wooden leg, was also a shoemaker. The grandfather of Muhammad al-Ihemir was a shoemaker; and then Kari, the father of Usman Kari; and then Muhammad Bello and his brother Hamza; and then Abdullahi Bakari and his brother; and then Usman Daggaga.

Al-°iskaafiyya kutaar jiddan jiddan. Awwalan beet naas Bello Badur deel kullahum iskaafiyya. Faki Maḥmuud kaan iskaafi. Abuuy ishtaghal fi l-iskaafiyya di; ba°deen Faki Usta Adam kaan °indu kuraa° bitaa°at °uud kida, da barḍu kaan iskaafi; naas Maḥammad al-Iheemir da kaan jiddahum iskaafi; wu ba°deen naas °Usmaan Kari, abuuhum Kari zaatu, wu Maḥammad Bello wa akhuuhum Ḥamza, wu °Abdullahi Bakari wa akhuuhu; wu ba°deen fi °Usmaan Daggaga.

الإسكافية كتار جداً. أولاً بيت ناس بيلو بدر ديل كلهم إسكافية. فكي محمود كان إسكافي. أبوي اشتغل في الإسكافية دي، بعدين فكي أسطي آدم كان عنده كراع بتاعة عود كدا، دا برضو كان إسكافي؛ ناس محمد الإحيمر دا كان جدهم إسكافي؛ وبعدين ناس عثمان كاري، أبوهم كاري ذاته، ومحمد بيلو وأخوهم حمزة، وعبدالله بكري وأخوه؛ وبعدين في عثمان دقاقة.

*Q42 (Abdalmoneim): We notice that most of the shoemakers you mentioned were Ansar. Did their having been once in Gezira Aba have anything to do with that, or did they come from there (West Africa) with the craft of shoemaker?*

*Mulaahaz innu mu°zam al-°iskaafiyya az-zakartahum deel anṣaar. Hal wujuudum fi j-Jaziira Aba leehu asar walla jo beeha min hinaak?*

س42 (عبدالمونيم): ملاحظ إنه معظم الإسكافية الذكرتهم ديل أنصار، هل وجودهم في الجزيرة أبا له أثر وللا جوا بيها من هناك؟

#### ABDURAHMAN

No. In fact, to be precise, the Adamawa people (Fulani) took up this profession in Darfur. Because my father learned it in Darfur. When he came here, he abandoned shoemaking and

La. Aṣlu °usrat naas al-Adamawa deel be z-zaat jo beeha min Daarfoor. La°annu abuuy it°allam minnahum al-khiyaata di fii Daarfoor. Wu ba°deen lamma ja hina aṣlu

عبدالرحمن لا. أصلو أسرة ناس الآدماوا ديل بالذات جوا بيها من دارفور. لأنه أبوي إتعلّم منهم الخياطة دي في دارفور. وبعدين لما جا هنا أصلوا عندهم الحكمة دي. خلاها (الإسكافية) واشتغل بي حكمته دي بتاعة التشليق. فكي

reverted to his original skill of (traditional) eye surgery. Faki Mahmoud was a shoemaker; and then Ali Balewa of Irediba. Shoemaking was a very widespread profession in Maiurno. There was also Baabo Keeri, Abu-Manga (the senior<sup>43</sup>), and Laamiido. Abu-Manga learned it from his maternal uncles; we have forgotten to mention that these two maternal uncles, Sheefu and Umar, were also shoemakers.

indahum al-hikma di Khallaaha (al-°iskaafiyya) wa ishtaghal bee hikmatu di bitaa°at at-tashliig. Faki Maḥmuud da kaan iskaafi; ba°deen naas Ali Balewa bitaa° Ardeeba. Al-°iskaafiyya kaanat be tariiga waas°a jiddan jiddan fii Maayirno. Wa ba°deen ba°ad daak Baabo Keeri, Abu-Manga, naas Laamiido. Abu-Manga da akhadaa min kheelaanu; kheelaanu nisiinaahum; al-°itneen Sheefu wu Umar bardahum kaanu iskaafiyya.

محمود دا كان إسكافي؛ بعدين ناس على بليوا بتاع أردبية. الإسكافية كانت بطريقة واسعة جداً في مايرنو. وبعدين بعد داك بابو كيري، أبومنقة، ناس لاميطو. أبومنقة دا أخذ من خيلانه؛ خيلانه نسيناهم، الإثنين شيفو وعمر برضهم كانوا إسكافية.

*Q43: With time the classes also change. We have seen how it was for the first generation. We expect the second generation to differ. How do you describe the second generation in terms of social classes?*

First comes the class of the rulers; and then the merchants; and then the farmers, followed by the herdsmen, followed by the artisans; and then last come the common people, i.e., the small farmers.

Awwalan taji ṭabaqat al-ḥukkaam, summa t-tujjaar, wa yiju l-muzaar°iin ḥatta yiju naas al-bahaayim, ba°adeen aṣ ṣunnaa°, ba°deen al-°amma alli hum ṣiḡhaar al-muzaar°iin.

س43: مع الزمن الطبقات برضها بتتغير. دا الجيل الأول. أكيد الجيل الثاني بختلف. فلو قلت ليك رتب الجيل الثاني من حيث المكانة الاجتماعية، كيف ترتبهم؟

أولاً تجي طبقة الحكّام، ثم التجار، ويجوا المزارعين حتى يجوا ناس البهايم، بعدين الصناع، وبعدين العامة اللي هم صغار المزارعين.

*Q44: And the following generation?*

Then people such as Dabalo, Isma'il al-Qadi, Bello Bukhari, Tahir Dabalo,

Ba°ad daak khashshu s-suug naas Dabalo, naas Isma°iil al-Qaadi, naas Bello

س44: والجيل البعدهم؟

بعد داك خشوا السوق ناس دبلو، ناس إسماعيل القاضي، ناس بيلو بخاري، ناس طاهر

<sup>43</sup> This is the father of Professor Al-Amin Abu-Manga.

Koiranga,<sup>44</sup> and Mustafa Abarshi entered the market (as merchants). So, the class of merchants is still on top (after that of rulers). The sewing machines were introduced in as early as the 1920s. The (first) tailors came from outside; (when we grew up) we found some of them (still in Maiurno), and we found some others in Gedaref, after they had left Maiurno.

Bukhaari, naas Ṭaahir akhu Dabalo, naas Koiraanga, naas Muṣṭafa Abarshi. Barḍu t-tujjaar (fi l-muqaddima). Ba<sup>°</sup>deen jaat makanaat al-khiyaata; hi mutagaddima shuwayya, min sanat <sup>°</sup>ishriin. La<sup>°</sup>annu t-tarziyya zaatum jo min barra. Al-ba<sup>°</sup>aḍ minnahum ligiinaahum wa l-ba<sup>°</sup>aḍ minnahum ligiinaahum fi l-Gaḍaarif ba<sup>°</sup>ad maa faatu min Maayirno.

أخو دبلو، ناس كويرانغا، ناس مصطفى أبرشي. برضو التجار (في المقدمة). مكناات الخياطة، هي متقدمة شوية، من سنة عشرين. لأنه الترزية ذاتهم جوا من برة. البعض منهم لقيناهم والبعض منهم لقيناهم في القصارف بعد ما فاتوا من مايرنو.

*Q45: A question before you continue: what came first, the sewing machine or the lorry?*

The sewing machine preceded the lorry. Among the early tailors from whom people (in Maiurno) learned was someone called Ab-Jakanena; this one even died in Maiurno. There was also another one called Hummeida, a Kanuri, whom I found in Gedaref. And then afterwards, the first people to learn machine sewing in Maiurno were Umar Labbo, Dabalo, and his brother Tahir, as well as Abarshi. These were followed by people such as Aj-Jaak, Da'oud Yousif, Da'oud Umar, An-Nour Hassan, Abdin Hassan, Ibrahim Jeylani, and Ahmad Muhammad, who

Sabagat al-makanaat. Kibaar al-khayyaatiin alli it<sup>°</sup>allamu minnahum fi waaḥid ismu Ab Jakaneena, wu da maat fii Maayirno zaataa. Wu fi waaḥid ismu Himmeeda barḍu min al-Barno ana ligiitu fi l-Gaḍaarif. Hatta ba<sup>°</sup>ad daak awwal naas it<sup>°</sup>allamu l-khiyaata fii Maayirno <sup>°</sup>Umar Labbo wa Dabalo wu Ṭahir akhuuhu wu aj-Jaak wu naas Daa<sup>°</sup>uud Yuusif wu Daa<sup>°</sup>uud <sup>°</sup>Umar wu n-Nuur Ḥasan wa <sup>°</sup>Aabdiin Ḥasan wa naas Ibraahiim Jeylaani wa ustaazi l-kabiir Aḥmad Maḥammad akhu Abu-Manga, ba<sup>°</sup>deen <sup>°</sup>Umar Nikeer. Uṣṭa Aḥmad da huwa l-<sup>°</sup>allamni l-khiyaata wu biriidni jiddan jiddan

س45: سؤال قبل ما تواصل. السبق شنو المكناات وللا العريات؟

سبقت المكناات. كبار الخياطين اللي اتعلموا منهم في واحد اسمه أبجكينا ودا مات في مايرنو ذاتها. وفي واحد اسمه حميدة برضو من البرنو أنا لقيته في القصارف. حتى بعد داك أول ناس اتعلموا الخياطة في مايرنو عمر لبو ودبلو وطاهر أخوه والجاك وناس داعود يوسف وداعود عمر والنور حسن وعابدين حسن وناس إبراهيم جيلاني وأستاذي الكبير أحمد محمد أخو أبومنقة بعدين عمر نكير. أسطى أحمد دا هو العلمني الخياطة وبريدي جداً يعني. وناس آدم علي.

<sup>44</sup> Another man than Faki Adam Koiranga mentioned above.

was my main teacher and a brother of Abu-Manga,<sup>45</sup> and then Umar Niker. Usta Ahmad was the one who taught me machine sewing and he liked me very much. (This generation also included) Adam Ali.

ya<sup>c</sup>ni; wu naas Adam Ali.

*Q46 (Abdalmoneim): Did they learn this profession outside or in Maiurno itself?*

*Aş-şin<sup>a</sup> di it<sup>c</sup>allamooha barra walla gabalum fii Maayirno?*

س46 (عبدالمنعم): الصنعة دي اتعلموها برة وللا قبلهم في مايرنو؟

ABDURAHMAN

No, the tailors from whom they learned first came to them in Maiurno. In other words, two or three people taught the rest of the people. After that, the lorries were introduced in Maiurno by the Sultan. The Sultan brought lorries when they first appeared in 1936.

Laala, joohum at-tarziyya fii Maayirno wa hum it<sup>c</sup>allamu minnahum: ya<sup>c</sup>ni nafareen talaata <sup>c</sup>allamu baagi l-majmuu<sup>a</sup>. Ba<sup>c</sup>ad daak al-<sup>c</sup>arabaat ašlahā khashshat Maayirno <sup>c</sup>an ṭariig as-Sulṭaan. As-Sulṭaan jaab <sup>c</sup>arabaat awwal maa ṭala<sup>c</sup>at sanat sitta wu talaatiin.

عبدالرحمن  
لا لا، جوهم التريزية في مايرنو وهم اتعلموا منهم، يعني نفرين ثلاثة علموا باقي المجموعة. بعد داك العربيات أصلها خشت مايرنو عن طريق السلطان. السلطان جاب عربيات أول ما طلعت سنة ستة وثلاثين.

*Q47: Then how do you rank the social classes during the sewing machine era, before the introduction of the lorry?*

First, the ruling class and the class of merchants remained in their places. And then the class of the tailors emerged as an enlightened class distinguished from the unskilled people.

Awwalan al-ḥukkaam fii maḥallahum, wa t-tujjaar fii maḥallahum, ba<sup>c</sup>deen al-khayyaatīn massalu naas ka ṭabaqa mustaniira mumayyaziin <sup>c</sup>ale baqiyyat ash-sha<sup>c</sup>b al-maa<sup>c</sup>indu ṣin<sup>a</sup>.

س47: طيب كيف تعيد ترتيب الطبقات في فترة المكينات قبل دخول العربيات؟

أولاً الحكام في محلهم والتجار في محلهم، بعدين الخياطين مثلوا ناس كطبقة مستتيرة مميزين على بقية الشعب الما عندهم صنعة.

*Q48: My question is now: do they (i.e., the tailors) come before or after the class of the (big) farmers?*

س48: سؤالي كالاتي: حتختهم قبل المزارعين وللا بعدهم؟

<sup>45</sup> This Ahmad Muhammad is a paternal uncle of Professor Al-Amin Abu-Manga.

No, they came after the farmers. They (i.e., the tailors), too, used to combine farming and *şinna*<sup>a</sup> (skilled work). So, the farmers also remained in their place.

La, ba<sup>a</sup>ad al-muzaar<sup>a</sup>iin. Hum zaatum bishtaghlu be z-ziraa<sup>a</sup> ba<sup>a</sup>ad daak be ş-şinna<sup>a</sup>. Al-muzaar<sup>a</sup>iin fii maḥallhum.

لا، بعد المزارعين. هم ذاتهم بشتغلوا بالزراعة بعد داك بالصناعة. المزارعين في محلهم.

*Q49: Do they come before or after the herdsmen?*

By God, the herdsmen, too, remained in their place, though they were not of an influential number.

Wallaahi naas al-bahaayim barḍu fii maḥallahum, wa in kaan naas al-bahaayim maa be l-katara alli yi<sup>3</sup>assiru.

س49: قبل ناس البهايم وللا بعدهم؟

والله ناس البهايم برضو في محلهم، وإن كان ناس البهايم هم ما بالكثرة اللي يأتروا.

*Q50: I mean in degrees of social esteem!*

By God, the herdsmen were esteemed.

Wallaahi naas al-bahaayim ṭaba<sup>a</sup>an muqaddariin.

س50: لا بقصد تقدير الناس (للاثنين)!

والله ناس البهايم طبعاً مقدرين.

ABU-BAKR

Concerning this point, by the way... I find that an animals' owner can become a farmer, a tailor, and even a lorry driver. Therefore, there is a kind of overlap in this matter.

Al-ḥitta di be l-munaasaba daayra... la<sup>3</sup>annu asaasan ana balga z-zool al-<sup>a</sup>indu l-bahiima mumkin yikuun bizra<sup>a</sup> mumkin yikuun huwa l-biga tarzi wu fii marḥala taaniya mumkin yibga sawwaag zaatu ya<sup>a</sup>ni. <sup>a</sup>Ashaan kida l-mas<sup>a</sup>ala biga fiiha tadaakhul ya<sup>a</sup>ni.

أبو بكر  
الحتة دي بالمناسبة دايرة... لأنه أساساً أنا بلقى الزول العنده البهيمة ممكن يكون بزرع، ممكن يكون هو البقى ترزي وفي مرحلة ثانية ممكن يبقى سواق ذاته يعني. عشان كذا المسألة بقى فيها تداخل يعني.

*Q51: I mean when a farmer became a tailor, did his position become better?*

ABDURAHMAN

Yes, economically his position became better because he had a daily income. He became distinguished to the

Aayi iqtisaadiyyan biga aḥsan la<sup>3</sup>annu dakhlu biga yoomi. Bikuun mumayyaz ḥatta l-banaat bigu yighannu

س51: بقصد المزارع لما بقى ترزي وضعه بقى أحسن؟

عبدالرحمن  
أي اقتصادياً بقى أحسن لأنه دخله بقى يومي. بكون مميز حتى النبات بقوا يغنوا ليه.

extent that girls started to sing for him (in praise songs).

*Q52: Let me ask once again. With regard to social classes, did the tailors, by acquiring this (new) profession, become a higher class than that of the farmers?*

Yes, their class achieved a higher position. They come immediately after the merchants; of course, they were the merchants' colleagues. The tailors and the merchants were regarded as being equal.

And then (with regard to lorry drivers), the Sultan, of course, bought two lorries at a time; one was driven by Dan Tani and the other by someone called Abdul-Bagi. That was around 1936. Before these two men, there was also someone from Kassala called Ibrahim Bayaza, the father of Umar Bayaza. Duddu learned under them and became a driver. After them came Dan Tani, who was also a driver. Then again the Sultan brought Awad Salim; he was not a Fallaati (sing. of Fallaata – i.e., Fulani), but, still, he was among those who got married to Fallaata girls. He was Dongolese, but he married the sister of Hussein Ali Baabikir, and he also married the daughter

leehu.

Aywa bigu akbar; biju ba°ad at-tujjaar ṭawwaali; hum zumalaa°um ṭaba°an, bigu fii makaan at-tujjaar mutsaawiin, ma°a t-tujjaar bihsibuuhum sawa.

Ba°deen (be n-nisba) le s-sawwaagiin as-Sulṭaan ṭaba°an jaab °arabiiteen badal waaḥda – fii wakıt waaḥid; waaḥda kaan bisuugaa Dan Tani, wa waaḥda kaan bisuugaa waaḥid ismu °Abdulbaagi. Al-kalaam da sanat sitta wu talaatiin ḥaaja zey di. Wa fi waaḥid barḍu gablahum min naas Kassala ismu Ibraahiim Bayaaza, alli huwa abu °Umar Bayaaza da. Ba°deen gaam it°allam ma°aahum Duddu biga sawwaag. Ba°ad minnahum ja Dan Tani barḍu kaan sawwaag. Ḥatta taani s-Sulṭaan jaab °Awad Saalim, hu maa Fallaati wa min annaas alli itzawwaju banaat al-Fallaata; hu Dungulaawi wa laakin °arras ukhut naas Ḥiseen Ali Baabikir, wa

س52: أسأل تاني، بالنسبة للطبقات الاجتماعية، الخياطين لما اكتسبوا المهنة دي هل بقوا طبقة أعلى من المزارعين في وجه المجتمع؟

أبوة بقوا أكبر؛ بجوا بعد التجار طوالي، هم زملاؤهم طبعاً، بقوا في مكان التجار متساوين، مع التجار بحسبهم سوا.

بعدين (بالنسبة) للسواقين السلطان طبعاً جاب عربيتين بدل واحدة – في وقت واحد. واحدة كان بسوقها طن تني ووادة كان بسوقها واحد اسمه عبدالباقي. الكلام دا سنة ستة وثلاثين حاجة زي دي. وفي واحد برضو قبلهم من ناس كسلا اسمه إبراهيم بيازة، اللي هو أبو عمر بيازة دا. بعدين قام اتعلم معاهم دُو بقى سواق. بعد منهُم جا طن تني، برضو كان سواق. حتى تاني السلطان جاب عوض سالم، هو ما فلاتي ومن الناس اللي اتزوجوا بنات الفلاتة – هو دنقلاوي ولكن عرس أخت ناس حسين على بابكر، واتزوج بت على كرار أبو ناس آدم حسنة، بيتهم هناك جنب ناس بلو ميغندي – إتزوج برضو أختهم أم ناس محمد عوض اللي قرينا معاه. فمنهُم هم ديل حتى مرقوا ناس بَرَقَلِي، ناس أبكر كشالي، اللي هو أبكر بوصة، محمد بيلو



of Ali Karrar – the father of Adam Husna, whose house was near that of Bello Mai-Gandi; so, he also married their sister, the mother of Muhammad Awad, with whom we attended school. From these people (i.e., this generation) emerged Bazagalli, Abbakar Kashali, i.e., Abbakar Busa and Muhammad Bello Abdul-Wahab. Then afterwards emerged the generation of Shanuwa, Hamid Parapato, Mu'az Maza, Mai-Katuru, Muhammad Saajo, and Sanda Sawamil.

itzawwaj bitt Ali Karraar – abu naas Adam Husna, beetum hinaak janb naas Bello Mai-Gandi; itzawwaj barðu ukhutum um naas Maḥammad °Awaḍ alli gareena ma°aahu. Fa minnahum hum deel ḥatta marago naas Bazagalli, naas Abbakar Kashaali, alli huwa Abbakar Buusa, naas Maḥammad Bello °Abdulwahaab; ḥatta marago naas Shaanuwa deel, naas Ḥaamid Parapato, naas Mu°aazu Maza, naas Mai-Kaatuuru, barðu deel min al-°awaa°il, naas Maḥammad Saajo wa Sanda Sawaamiil.

عبدالوهاب، حتى مرقوا ناس شانوا ديل، ناس حامد برياتو، ناس معاذ مزا، ناس ميكاتورو، برضو ديل من الأوائل، ناس محمد ساجو وسندا صواميل.

*Q53: But these people learned (their profession) outside (Maiurno)!*

س53: ديل لكن اتعلموا برة!

They all started in Maiurno, but then they learned outside, worked outside, and then came back. When they came (back), lorry driving became the thing. This Bazagalli was among the people recruited in the World War II campaign and taken to Karan (in Ethiopia) – he and Abbakar Kashali. So, these were highly qualified lorry drivers. There was a popular song there. A'isha al-Fallaatiyya<sup>46</sup> was taken there to provide recreation for the Sudanese

Kullahum bidaayaatum hina fii Maayirno laakin masho it°allamo barra wa ishtaghalo barra wa jo. Lamman jo бага an-naas as-suwaaga ishtaghalat. Bazagalli da min an-naas al-°akhadoohum fi l-ḥamla bitaa°at al-ḥarb al-°aalamiyya t-taaniya; da min an-noo° al-waddoohum laḥaddi Karan, ma°aahu Abbakar Kashaali. Fa deel sawwaagiin mahara naas kubaar. Wu kaan fi ughniya hinaak shaay°a. °Aashsha l-Fallaatiyya waddooha hinaak °ashaan taraffeh le j-jeesh

كلهم بداياتهم هنا في مايرنو لكن مشوا اتعلموا برة واشتغلوا برة وجوا. لمن جوا بقى الناس السوافة اشتغلت. بزقلي دا من الناس الأخدوهم في الحملة بتاعة الحرب العالمية الثانية، دا من النوع الوُدوهم لحدّي كرن، معاه أبكر كشالي. فديل سواقين مهرة ناس كبار. وكان في أغنية هناك شايعة. عاشة الفلاتية ودوها هناك عشان ترفّه للجيش السوداني، بسموه قوة دفاع السودان. كان في أغنية بتقول، "أرجع تاني أرجع تاني غندر بعيدة يا أوسطي... الله". وفي مقطع بقول: "داس البنزين لمن رن، دقّ الفطيس

<sup>46</sup> A'isha al-Fallaatiyya was the first female singer to sing on Sudanese radio; she was Hausa by origin.

army, named the Sudan Defense Force. There was a song with the words: “Return once again, return once again, Gondar (in Ethiopia) is far, o *usta* (skilled driver)... Allah.” Another couplet says: “He pressed the accelerator until it rang and knocked the gear shift lever until it sang... Allah. Don’t let a small child overcome you, and don’t let the high hills overturn you (i.e., your lorry)... Allah.” And (there were) some more words ending with: “Its driver is from the *kai wannan*.”<sup>47</sup> We used to repeat this song when we were very young. So, these were our people to whom the song was addressed, because they took them from here to the campaign.

Among the people who were taken to as far as Az-Zahran (in Saudi Arabia) was Shindu Turaki; he was also among the qualified drivers. And then people such as Bazagalli were old drivers. In this way, at last, the Sultan brought lorries. The Sultan and Wad ash-Shami<sup>48</sup> shared costs and

as-Suudaani, bi sammuuhu Quwwat Difaa<sup>c</sup> as-Suudaan. Kaan fi ughniya bitguul, “Arja<sup>c</sup> taani arja<sup>c</sup> taani Gundar ba<sup>c</sup>iida ya usta... Allah.” Wa fi magṭa<sup>c</sup> biguul: “Daas al-banziin lamman ranna, dagga l-fiṭees lamman ghanna... Allah; Jaahil ṣaghiir aw<sup>c</sup>a yighalbak, <sup>c</sup>aali j-jibaaal awa<sup>c</sup> yigilbak... Allah.” Yiguul leek eeh kida: “Sawwaagu min naas *kai wannan*.” Ya<sup>c</sup>ni l-ughniya di kunna binraddidaa wu niḥna ṣughaar. Fa deel nafs awlaadna deel kaanu bighannu leehum, la<sup>c</sup>annu saagoohum hina ka sawwaagiin waddoohum al-ḥamla.

Wa min an-naas al-waddoohum laḥaddi z-ḥahraan Shindo Turaaki, barḍu min kibaar as-sawwaagiin. Fa ba<sup>c</sup>deen naas Bazagalli deel min qudaama s-sawwaagiin. <sup>c</sup>An aṭ-ṭariiga di ḥattan ja fi n-nihaaya s-Sulṭaan jaab al-<sup>c</sup>arabaat; as-Sulṭaan huwa ma<sup>c</sup>a Wadd ash-Shaami da ishtarako wa

لَمَنْ غنى... الله؛ جاهل صغير أوع يغليك، عالي الجبال أوع بيقليك... الله. يقول ليك إيه كدا: "سواقه من ناس كي وئ... يعني الأغنية دي كنا بنزرددها ونحن صغار. فديل نفس أولادنا ديل كانوا بغنوا ليهم، لأنه ساقوهم هنا كسواقين وئوهم الحملة.

ومن الناس الوئوهم لحدّي الظهران شندو تراكي، برضو من كبار السواقين. فيبعدين ناس بزقلي ديل من قدامي السواقين. عن الطريقة دي حتن جا في النهاية السلطان جاب العربيات؛ السلطان هو مع ود الشامي دا اشتركوا واشتروا العربية البنوا بيها شفخانة مايرنو دي، فارقيسون. اشتغلوا بيها شوية السلطان خلاها لي ود الشامي.

<sup>47</sup> A Hausa expression meaning ‘oh, you’. In the Sudan, it does not only symbolise the Hausa speakers, but also the Fallaata in the general sense of the term.

<sup>48</sup> Wad ash-Shami was a man of Syrian origin based in Wad Medani. In the 1940s, he came to Maiurno and took a second wife, who was the daughter of a famous Fulani scholar called Alame. He then once again married another wife of a distinguished descent; her mother was Mai-Wurno’s cross-cousin (i.e., his father’s sister’s daughter), and her father was a rich Arab merchant (Ab-Na’oof) from Northern Sudan. Wad ash-Shami established his business in Maiurno, and his family is now divided between Wad Medani and Maiurno.

bought the lorry, a Ferguson, and the profits (from the lorry) were used to build Maiurno dressing centre.<sup>49</sup> After a while the Sultan left it to Wad ash-Shami. After that, he shared with Mai-Katuru and Yousif Dunshe and brought in a lorry, a Chevrolet, with a green cabin. Then Dabalo brought in a lorry of the same model. Its price brand new was just 250 Sudanese pounds. So, this was the beginning of the introduction of lorries to Maiurno. After some time Wad ash-Shami sold his Pettel (lorry) to Shanuwa and bought a Leef (lorry model). Mai-Katuru and the Sultan liquidated their partnership and the lorry went to Mai-Katuru; Yousif Dunshe went and bought a similar one, and the Sultan bought a Ford. Before that, he bought a lorry that was driven by Usman Dabbagh, also a Chevrolet.

So the lorries were spreading. Then afterwards (the generation of) Suleiman Abu-Asba, Musa Hassan, and Abdul-Gadir Jeemis emerged. Before them, there was, of course, (a generation of) older drivers, such as Mooli and Siddig Saksaka. Baabo Keeri was

ishtaro l-<sup>o</sup>arabiyya l-bano beeha shafakhaanat Maayirno di – Fargison. Ishtaghalo beeha shuwayya as-Sulṭaan khallaaha lee Wadd ash-Shaami. Ba<sup>o</sup>ad daak ishtarak huwa wu Mai-Kaatuuru wa Yuusif Dunshe jaabu <sup>o</sup>arabiyya Shufurleet <sup>o</sup>indaa gabiina khadra kida. Ba<sup>o</sup>ad minnaha ṭawwaali nafs al-modeel masha jaab Dabalo waaḥdi minnaha; kaanat kullaha min ash-sharika bee miiteen wu khamsiin jineeh. Fa di bidaayat dukhuul al-<sup>o</sup>arabaat. Aaha ba<sup>o</sup>ad shuwayya Wadd ash-Shaami baa<sup>o</sup> Pettel di lee Shaanuwa wa hu masha ishtara modeel Liif. Aaha naas Mai-Kaatuuru infaṣalo ma<sup>o</sup>a s-Sulṭaan al-loori waga<sup>o</sup> lee Mai-Kaatuuru; wa Yuusif Dunshe masha jaab loori zeyyu wa s-Sulṭaan masha jaab Ford. Gabli minnu jaab <sup>o</sup>arabiyya kida <sup>o</sup>amal fiiha <sup>o</sup>Usmaan Dabbaagh – Shufurleet barḡaha.

<sup>o</sup>Aalam al-<sup>o</sup>arabaat бага intasharat. Ba<sup>o</sup>ad kida ḥattan barazo fiiha naas Sileemaan Abu-Aṣba<sup>o</sup> wu naas Muusa Ḥasan wu <sup>o</sup>Abdulgaadir Jeemis; wa min gablahum ṭaba<sup>o</sup>an fi sawwaagiin gudaam zey Mooli wu Ṣiddiig Saksaka, deel kullahum min as-sawwaagiin

بعد داك اشتراك هو وميكاتورو ويوسف دونشي جابوا عربية شفرليت عندها قبينة خضرا كدا. بعد منها طوالي نفس الموديل مشى جاب دبلو واحدي منها؛ كانت كلها من الشركة بي ميئين وخمسين جنيه. فدي بداية دخول العربيات. آها بعد شوية ود الشامي باع بتل دي لي شانوا وهو مشى اشتري موديل ليف. آها ناس ميكاتورو انفصلوا مع السلطان، اللوري وقع لي ميكاتورو؛ ويوسف دونشي مشى جاب لوري زيئه والسلطان مشى جاب فورد. قبل منه جاب عربية كدا عمل فيها عثمان دباغ، شفرليت برضاها.

عالم العربيات بقى انتشرت. بعد كدا حتن برزوا فيها ناس سليمان أبو أصعب وناس موسى حسن وعبد القادر جيمس. ومن قبلهم طبعاً في سواقين قدام زي مولي وصديق سكسكة، دبل كلهم من السواقين القدام. في زي بابو كيري كان سواق وترك السوافة اشتغل إسكافي بعد داك رجع للعربات. وزى بلو دارو

<sup>49</sup> A dressing centre is a dispensary. It is run by a medical assistant and a smaller medical unit than a centre run by a doctor.

once a driver, but he gave up driving and became a shoemaker, and then, later, he went back to driving. One such as Bello Daaro was a Sultan's guard; he gave up this job and went for lorry driving. In that period all the Abu-Mangas (i.e., Abu-Manga and the like) went back to lorries (i.e., lorry driving). Afterwards the model of Bedford called Abu-Gaddum with a small bonnet appeared, brought in by Singa people; Abu-Manga drove one and Sanda Sawamil drove one called Abu-Kulbeta. After a while another model with a wide bonnet, called Bidibadda, was brought in. Isma'il al-Qadi bought such a Bedford. That was in 1955, to be precise. He brought in a brand new lorry; that was before the Magiros. Muhammad 'Dan Tani went and brought a 'Hostin' (Austin) Ta'allumi jointly with Muhammad Saajo. (There was a song praising Isma'il al-Qadi with the following words:) "Isma'il, God has given to you. You owned the Bidibadda alone."

al-gudaam. Fi zey Baabo Keeri kaan sawwaag wu tarak as-suwaaga ishtaghal iskaafi ba'ad daak raja' le l-'arabaat. Wu zey Bello Daaro kaan ghafiir as-Sulṭaan barḍu, itkhalla 'an al-ghafara wa masha l-'arabaat. Fa fi l-fatra di naas Abba Manga kullahum raja'u le l-'arabaat. Hatta ba'ad daak zaharat al-'arabaat Bedford Abu-Gaddum ṣaghayyir kaan jaabo naas Sinja, Abu-Manga bisuug waahid, Sanda Sawaamiil bisuug waahid biguulu le Abu-Kulbeeta. Ba'ad shuwayya jaabo 'arabaat bisammuuha Bidibadda washshaha 'ariid; Ismaa'iil al-Qaadi jaab al-Bidford da. Al-kalaam da sanat khamsa wu khamsiin be t-tahadiid. Jaab 'arabiyya Bedford min ash-sharika gabl al-majaroosaat. Maḥammad 'Dan Tani masha jaab Hoostin Ta'allumi huwa wa Maḥammad Saajo. "Yaa Isma'iil Allah addaaka. Malakta l-Bidibadda baraaka."

كان غير السلطان برضو، اتخلى عن الغفرة ومشى العربات. في الفترة دي ناس أبه منفة كلهم رجعوا لعربات. حتى بعد داك ظهرت العربات بدفورد أبوقدوم صغير كان جابوه ناس سنجة أبومنقة بسوق واحد، سندا صواميل بسوق واحد بقول ليه أبوكليبية. بعد شوية جابوا عربات بسموها بديداً وشها عريض؛ إسماعيل القاضي جاب البدفورد دا. الكلام دا سنة خمسة وخمسين بالتحديد. جاب عربية بدفورد من الشركة قبل المجروسات. محمد طن تتي مشى جاب هوستن تألمي هو ومحمد ساجو. "يا إسماعيل الله أداك. ملكت البديداً براك".

Q54 (Abdalmoneim): But he (Isma'il) had a partner in Sennar!

Laakin 'indu shariik fii Sinnar!

س54 (عبدالمنعم): لكن عنده شريك في سنار!

## ABDURAHMAN

By God, we knew that the lorry belonged to Isma'il; he might have had a partner in Sennar. Maanuwa was working with him (as lorry assistant?), and he brought Suleiman Abu-Asba as a driver, and afterwards he brought Yahya Galadima. And then Atiku, this very Atiku, (the seller) of palm fronds, bought a brand new lorry. Al-Amin Bashir bought a brand new lorry. And Wad ash-Shami, too, bought brand new lorries. He hired Muhammad Bello Abdul-Wahab as a driver, and his (i.e., Muhammad Bello's) brothers, Siddig and Bashir, as assistants. So, when the lorries became widespread, the class of the lorry drivers became dominant; their income became high, and the drivers started to compete on equal footing with the tailors vis-à-vis the girls. Of course, at that time the generation of Wad aj-Jaabir, Ahmad Hajj Bello, i.e., Gudiyar, and so on, emerged.

Wallaahi niḥna bina<sup>c</sup>rif innu l-loori da bitaa<sup>c</sup> Isma<sup>c</sup>iil laakin<sup>c</sup> indu sharaaka ma<sup>c</sup>a taajir fii Sinnaar yuqaal. Maanuwa da shaghaal ma<sup>c</sup>aahu (musaa<sup>c</sup>id?) wa jaab Sileemaan Abu-Aṣba<sup>c</sup> sawwaag, ḥatta ba<sup>c</sup>ad daak jaab Yahya Galaadiima. Ba<sup>c</sup>deen Atiiku, Atiiku l-waaḥid da bitaa<sup>c</sup> az-za<sup>c</sup>af, barḍu jaab loori min ash-sharika. Al-Lamiin Bashiir jaab<sup>c</sup> arabiyya Ta<sup>c</sup>allumi min ash-sharika. Ba<sup>c</sup>deen Wadd ash-Shaami jaab barḍu<sup>c</sup> arabaat min ash-sharika. Jaab Maḥammad Bello<sup>c</sup> Abdalwahaab sawwaag wa Bashiir akhuuhu wa Siddiig akhuuhu musaa<sup>c</sup>diyya ma<sup>c</sup>aahu. Bagat lamman al-<sup>c</sup>arabaat itwassa<sup>c</sup>at ṭabagat as-sawwaagiin kamaan jaat haymanat, wa dukhuulum bigat koysa wa aṣbaḥu bitnaafasu jarr al-ḥabil been as-sawwaagiin wa t-tarziyya be n-nisba le l-banaat. Ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an zaharo dufa<sup>c</sup>at naas Wadd aj-Jaabir wa naas Aḥmad Ḥaaj Bello alli huwa Gudiyar... Ya<sup>c</sup>ni di kullaha fi z-zaman daak.

## عبدالرحمن

والله نحن بنعرف إنه اللوري دا بتاع إسماعيل لكن عنده شراكة مع تاجر في سنار يقال. مانوا دا شغال معاه (مساعد؟) وجاب سليمان أبو أصبع سواق، حتى بعد داك جاب يحيى غلاديم. بعدين أتيك، أتيك الواحد دا، بتاع الزعف، برضو جاب لوري من الشركة. الأمين بشير جاب عربية تألّمى من الشركة. بعدين ود الشامي جاب برضو عربات من الشركة. جاب محمد بلو عبدالوهاب سواق وبشير أخوه وصديق أخوه مساعدة معاه. بقت لمن العربات اتوسعت طبقة السواقين كمان جات هيمنت، ودخلهم بقت كويسة وأصبحوا بتنافسوا جر الحبل بين السواقين والترزية بالنسبة للبنات. طبعا ظهروا دفعة ناس ود الجابر وناس أحمد حاج بيلو اللي هو غوديار... يعني دي كلها في الزمن داك.

*Q55: It seems to me that the class of the lorry drivers became dominant, in comparison to that of the tailors!*

س55: أنا بيدو لي الطبقة بتاعة السواقين طغت على الترزية!

Of course, it became dominant. Suppose a tailor had bought a sewing machine, what does it cost? And the lorry driver had bought a lorry, what does it cost?

Taba°an ṭaghat. Ya°ni ma°naaha t-tarzi guul °amal makana ya°ni tamanaa kam? Wa s-sawwaag °amal arabiyya ya°ni tamanaa kam?

طبعاً طغت. يعني معناها التريزي قول عمل مكنة يعني تمناها كم؟ والسواق عمل عربية يعني تمناها كم؟

*Q56: No, my point is that these were the first people who sought marriage in Shaikh Talha as a class. Those who preceded them went there as individuals exerting different professions!*

They constituted a class. Why? Because the tailor possesses a sewing machine, and he (i.e., the lorry driver) possesses a lorry. Which is bigger? The lorry, of course. So, the class of the lorry drivers stood above that of the tailors.

Hum ka ṭabaqa, leeh? La°annu hum zaatum be ṭabii°at al-ḥaal at-tarzi bightani l-makana wa hu bightani l-loori; al-°akbar minu? Al-loori ṭaba°an. Khalaas ya°ni hina ṭ-ṭabaqa bitaa°at as-sawwagiin ṭaghat °ala ṭ-ṭabaga bitaa°at (at-tarziyya).

س56: لا أنا المؤشر بتاعي، دي أول طبقة اتزوجت في الشيخ طلحة! يعني (قبلهم) كانوا أفراد من مهن مختلفة لكن ديل بالذات لما خشوا خشوا كطبقة.

هم كطبقة، ليه؟ لأنه هم ذاتهم بطبيعة الحال التريزي بغنتي المكنة وهو بغنتي اللوري. الأكبر منو؟ اللوري طبعاً. خلاص يعني هنا الطبقة بتاعة السواقين طغت على الطبقة بتاعة (التريزية).

*Q57: How did they compete with the merchants as they emerged?*

Of course, even the new injury is attractive.<sup>50</sup> Thus, when people appear as a new class... Even merchants invested in lorries. An example is Basharu.

Ṭaba°an daa°iman aj-jadiid fi l-karo ḥilu. Ya°ni n-naas lamma yizharu ka ṭabaqa jadiida... at-tujjaar zaatum khashsho fii °aalam al-°arabaat. Zey Basharu masalan.

س57: طيب كيف منافستهم مع التجار؟ في بداية ظهورهم يعني؟

طبعاً دائماً الجديد في الكرو حلو. يعني الناس لما يظهروا كطبقة جديدة... التجار ذاتهم خشوا في عالم العربيات. زي بشرو مثلاً.

*Q58: I am not speaking of possessing a lorry but*

س58: أنا ما بتكلم عن اغتاء العربيات، أنا بتكلم عن الزول

<sup>50</sup> This is an Arabic saying, meaning that whatever is new is attractive, even if it is a new injury (with fresh [red] blood).

rather of the skill or ability to drive it. In the past, in Southern Blue Nile, people used to name their children after them (i.e., after the lorry drivers)!

People name their children after lorry drivers and sing their praises. The song called *Gunduwaare* is a song exclusively in praise of lorry drivers. The drivers from here to Galgani, such as Bello Mangi, Abu-Manga, Makana, and so on... they were placed in the position of the biggest government employee. What is a tailor and what is a merchant (in comparison with a lorry driver)? As soon as the driver stopped the lorry, took out the key and stepped down, people would start watching him. And also they used to wear trousers.

*Q59: While I was at the secondary school, I had a colleague from Ad-Dabkara, whose relatives lived in the Ad-Dali area. One day he said to me: "When I was young, we had a song which we used to repeat, and which said: "Ad-Dali is your beloved, Abu-Manga takes you (there), and Al-Khawaja brings you back". Of course, when he was telling me this, he*

كسواق بدوسها كدا يجي مارّي بيها. زمان في الصعيد حتى (السواقين) بسموا ليهم!

As-sawwaagiin deel bisammu leehum wa bighannu leehum; al-Gunduwaare di kullaha maa bitshakkir illa s-sawwaagiin. As-sawwaagiin kaan min hina lee Jalgani naas Bello Mangi wu naas Abu-Manga wu naas Makana wu naas hinaay... Kaan leehum ya<sup>o</sup>ni kaan bikhuttuuhum makaan akbar muwazzaf. Ya<sup>o</sup>ni tarzi shinu wu taajir shinu? As-sawwaag be mujarrad maa yiwaggif al-<sup>o</sup>arabiyya wu yi<sup>o</sup>talli<sup>o</sup> al-muftaah wu yinzil an-naas kullaha bititfarraj fiihu. Wu ba<sup>o</sup>deen kaano bilbasu l-banaatliin.

السواقين ديل بسموا ليهم ويغنوا ليهم؛ الغندواري دي كلها ما بتشكر إلا السواقين. السواقين كان من هنا لي جلقني ناس بلو منقي وناس أبومنقة وناس مكنة وناس هنائي... كان ليهم يعني كان بختوهم مكان أكبر موظف. يعني ترزي شنو وتاجر شنو؟ السواق بمجرد ما يوقّف العربية ويطلع المفتاح وينزل الناس كلها بتتفرج فيه. وبعدين كانوا بلبسوا البنطالين...

س59: أنا لما كنت في الثانوي عندي زميلي من الدبكرة لكن أهله في منطقة الدالي. فيوم قاعدين قال لي: "أيام كنت صغير زمان كنا عندنا أغنية قاعدين نقولها، "الدالي حبيبيك، أبومنقة يوديك والخوجة يجيبك". هو لما قال الكلام دا طبعاً ما مفنكر الكلام دا ليه أي صلة بي... (أبوي)، هو انتذكر اسمي بس وذكروا حاجة زي دي. قلت ليه: "طيب أبومنقة دا أبوي ذاته!"

*didn't know that this had something to do with my father. Just my name remind-ed him of that song. I said to him: "Well, that Abu-Manga is my own father!"*

Because he was well known. Abu-Manga and people such as Al-Limeelis were the ones known in the areas of Ad-Dali and Mazmum and the further hills. They used to transport gum, because the central gum market was in Singa,<sup>51</sup> Singa used to be more animated than Sennar.

So, these are the classes in their hierarchical order. Afterwards came the (cotton) farmers. The farmers (using irrigation) also started well, and their tenancy agreements started to bring them profits. But then the farmers were obliged to sell their tenancies. There were irregularities in the accounts.

La°annu kaan ma°ruuf. Abu-Manga huwa ma°a naas al-Limeelis hum al-ma°ruufiin fi l-khatṭ bitaa° ad-Daali wa l-Mazmuum laḥaddi j-Jibaa di. Hum bingulu ṣ-ṣamugh. La°annu kaan z-zariiba l-kabiira fi l-manṭiga kaanat fii Sinja; Sinja kaanat raayja aktar min Sinnaar.

Di ṭ-ṭabaghaat alli hiya mashat be ṭ-tariig al-harami da. Fa ba°ad daak ḥattan ja mawḍuu° al-muzaar°iin. Fa l-muzaar°iin barḍu raghmi innu z-ziraa°a kaanat leeha hinaay... al-ḥawaashaat di... laakin maa kaanat... La°annaha kaanat fi l-bidaaya badat tajiib guruush fi n-nuṣṣ idṭarru l-muzaar°iin baa°u l-ḥawaashaat zaataa la°annu maa kaanat fiiha°aayid. Fi zabzaba kida fi l-ḥisaabaat, fi lakhabaṭa.

لأنه كان معروف. أبومنقة هو مع ناس اللمليس هم المعروفين في الخط بتاع الدالي والمزموم لحدِّي الجبال دي. هم بنقلوا الصمغ. لأنه كان الزريبة الكبيرة في المنقة كانت سنجة؛ سنجة كانت في رابجة أكثر من سنار.

دي الطبقات اللي هي مشت بالطريق الهرمي دا. فيعد داك حتن جا موضوع المزارعين. فالمزارعين برضو رغم إنه الزراعة كانت ليها هناي... الحواشات دي... لكن ما كانت... لأنها كانت في البداية بدت تجيب قروش في النص اضظروا المزارعين باعوا الحواشات ذاتها لأنه ما كانت فيها عايد. في ذبذبة كدا في الحسابات، في لخبطة.

End

An-nihaaya

النهاية

<sup>51</sup> For more information on the involvement of Fulani of Maiurno in lorry driving, see Abu-Manga (2009).



# INTERVIEW: ABDULLAHI MUHAMMAD SA'ID AL-QARAWI

FULANI, CA 80 YEARS

DATE AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW:

May 14, 1998; Sireu

IN THE PRESENCE OF (PARTLY):

Labiib Abdurahman Jirewa, 25 years, Fulani

INTERVIEWERS: Günther Schlee & Al-Amin Abu-Manga

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*Q1: Why was this village called Sireu? From where did this name originate?*

ABDULLAHI

It was called Sireu – corrupted from *as-sirey*. The name belongs to these Rufa'a Arabs. *As-sirey* was a small stream; (its name reminds of the Qur'anic verse saying): "Thy Lord hath placed a rivulet beneath thee." Then the name was corrupted from *as-sirey* into Sireu. *As-sirey* was a stream (*khoor*) flowing between Ad-Disa (Disa) and Sireu. These (Rufa'a) Arabs used to go down there. (When asked) "Where are you going?" (they would answer:) "I am going towards that *sirey*." So, it means a small water run.

Summiyat be s-Sireew muḥarrafa min as-sirey. Ism al-°Arab Rufaa°a deel. As-sirey huwa majra mooya ṣaghayyir; "Qad ja°ala rabbuki taḥtaki sariyyan." Min as-sirey iṭharrafat ila s-Sireew. Wa hi aṣlaha s-sirey – koor hinaak been ad-Diisa wa s-Sireew hina fi majra, al-°Arab deel biju binzilu hinaak, "Inta naazil ween?" "Naazil °ala s-sirey daak." Ma°naahu l-majra ṣ-ṣaghiir le l-mooya.

س1: البلد دي سموها السريو ليه؟ الاسم راجع لي شنو؟

عبدالله

سميت بالسريو محرفة من السري، اسم العرب رفاة ديل. السري هو مجرى موية صغير؛ "قد جعل ربك تحتك سريا". من السري اتحرفت إلى السريو. وهي أصلها السري – خور هناك، بين الديسة، والسريو هنا في مجرى، العرب ديل بجوا بنزلوا هناك، "إنت نازل وين؟" "نازل على السري داك". معناه المجرى الصغير للموية.

*Q2: Well, when was this village (Sireu) founded and for what reasons did people move from another place to come here and found this village?*

Of course, when these people (Fallaata/Fulani), who founded Sireu, heard about the decision to construct the Sennar Dam, they thought of moving away from the Sennar area or Mukwar area (same area) because town dwellers or strangers would come (from all over the country). So, they thought of moving away from the Sennar area. (When the dam was to be constructed), they (i.e., Fallaata/Fulani) were in Sabun Galadima, in the area around Singa (town) and in Omdurman. After the end of the Mahdiyya,<sup>1</sup> they had (largely) moved from where they were previously living. Some of them (then) settled in Sabun Galadima while others settled in the area around Singa in the direction of Gishesh – these villages are known as Daharat as-Siddig. These were the Fallaata (Fulani) villages south-west of Singa. These (Fallaata) living in Sabun Galadima (Sennar area), upon hearing about the dam and actually seeing

An-naas deel, be n-nisba le s-Sireew ṭaba<sup>an</sup>, lamma sim<sup>o</sup> khabar binaa<sup>o</sup> Khazzaan Sinnaar fakkaro yibta<sup>idu</sup> <sup>an</sup> mantigat Sinnaar di aw mantigat Mukwaar di la<sup>annu</sup> biju naas madiina aw naas ajaanib. Wa fakkaro yibta<sup>idu</sup> ba<sup>iid</sup> minnaha. Kaano fii Ṣaabuun Galaadiima wa ḍahaari Sinja wa Umdurmaan al-Buga<sup>a</sup>. Ba<sup>ad</sup> al-Mahdiyya intahat itḥarrako min hinaak waaḥdiin minnahum sakano fii Ṣaabuun Galaadiima wa ba<sup>aḍ</sup> minnahum sakano fii ḍahaari Sinja jihat Gisheesh... al-ḥallaal di alli hiya hawaali Sinja alli hiya Dahrat as-Siddig bisammuuha. Di ḥallaal al-Fallaata, januub gharbi Sinja. Deel al-mawjuudiin fii Ṣaabuun Galaadiima sim<sup>u</sup> be l-khazzaan fi<sup>lan</sup> shaafu fi ḥaraka le l-khazzaan, wa fakkaro innahum yibta<sup>idu</sup> min al-mantiga di zaataa. Awwal haaja aktar minnahum naas ru<sup>a</sup>. Fa r-ru<sup>a</sup> daayman bihibbu ḥitta fala ba<sup>iida</sup>. Di waaḥda. At-taaniya inta

س2: طيب البلد دي اتأسست متين وإيه السبب الخلا الناس يتحركوا من حته تانية بجوا يأسسوها؟ ومن وين قاموا الناس؟

الناس ديل، بالنسبة للسريو طبعاً لما سمعوا خبر بناء خزان سنار فكروا بيتعدوا عن منطقة سنار دي او منطقة مكوار دي لأنه بجوا ناس مدينة أو ناس أجانب؛ فكروا بيتعدوا بعيد منها. كانوا في صابون قلاديا وضاهاري سنجة وأمدرمان البقعة. بعد المهديّة انتهت اتحركوا من هناك واحدين منهم سكنوا في صابون قلاديا، وبعض منهم سكنوا في ضاهاري سنجة جهة قشيش... الحلال دي اللي هي حوالي سنجة اللي هي ضهرة الصديق بسموها. دي حلال الفلاتة، جنوب غرب سنجة. ديل الموجودين في صابون قلاديا سمعوا بالخزان وفعلاً شافوا في حركة للخزان، فكروا إنهم بيتعدوا من المنطقة دي ذاتها. أول حاجة أكثر منهم ناس رعاة. فالرعاة دايماً بحبوا حته فلاة بعيدة. دي واحدة. الثانية، إنت عارف القبيلة دي، عندهم التزمت – تزمت ديني. فكروا الناس ديل بجوا من هناك ربما الطبايع تسرق الطبايع ويخسروا وليداتا في طبايعهم... الخواجات وكدا. واحدين منهم فكروا من هنا يتحركوا للجزيرة أبا. انقسموا فعلاً على قسمين: واحدين جوا جاي، لأنهم عندهم بهائم وعاوزين يزرعوا، وواحدين كمان

<sup>1</sup> Mahdiyya = Mahdism (1882–1898).

the preparations for its construction, decided to get far away from that area. First of all, the majority of them were nomads. The nomads always like to be in a distant and open bush. This is one thing. Second, you know that this tribe (Fallaata/Fulani) is ‘puritan’ in the matter of religion. So, (Fallaata/Fulani) people thought that these strangers, i.e., the Europeans and the like, might come and spoil their children morally. Some of them decided to move from there to Gezira Aba. Actually they divided into two groups: some of them moved towards this area (Sireu) because they had animals and they (also) wanted to practise farming; others moved in a large group and headed for Gezira Aba. At that time we were there (in Gezira Aba). In 1924 the work at the dam was just starting to pick up.

°aarif al-gabiila di °indahum at-tazammut, tazammut diini. Fakkaro n-naas deel biju min hinaak rubbamaa t-ṭibaa° tasrig at-ṭibaa° wa yikhassiru wuleedaatna fii ṭibaa°um... al-khawaajaat wu kida. Waaḥdiin minnahum fakkaro min hinaa yitharraku le j-Jaziira Aba. Ingasamo fi°lan °alaa gismeen. Waaḥdiin jo jaay, la°annahum °indahum bahaayim wa °aawziin yizra°u, wa waaḥdiin kamaan majmuu°a kabiira masho j-Jaziira Aba. Wakit masho j-Jaziira Aba hinaak wakit daak niḥna hinaak. Sanat arba°a wa °ishriin yaadaab al-khazzaan °amar.

مجموعة كبيرة مشوا الجزيرة أبا. وقت مشوا الجزيرة أبا هناك وقت داك نحن هناك. سنة أربعة وعشرين ياداب الخزان عمر.

*Q3: Well, now when we were coming to your house, we were told that you had gone for the ratib.<sup>2</sup> How many times a day do you recite it?*

س3: طيب، هسع وقت نحن جايبين عندكم قالوا مشيتوا للراتب. كم مرة في اليوم بتقروه؟

Twice – after the morning prayer and after the afternoon (°aṣr) prayer.

Marrateen, ba°ad ṣalaat aṣ-ṣubuḥ wa ba°ad ṣalaat al-°aṣur.

مرتين، بعد صلاة الصبح وبعد صلاة العصر.

<sup>2</sup> A collection of verses from the Qur’an, prayers, and litanies arranged together by the Mahdi and recited regularly by his followers.

Q4: This means that this village is a village of Ansar...<sup>3</sup>

All the people, without exception (are Ansar).

Q5: Well, are there families here that were not Ansar?

Not at all. We didn't witness them, nor did we see them. This village is divided into two groups: a group that came from Sabun Galadima and a group that came directly from the direction of Abu Zabad and West Africa. They heard that this village had developed. Those who came from Galadima (i.e., from Sabun Galadima) constituted the Ansar settlement. The others, too, were already Ansar even back (in West Africa); they moved from Abu Zabad, stopped in Maiurno for a year, and then continued on their way to this place (Sireu).

Q6: Where was their original home country in West Africa before the Mahdiyya?

Some of them had been here (in the Sudan) much earlier, even before the Mahdiyya. When the Mahdiyya started, they were already here. Some others

س4: معناها الحلة دي حلة بتاعة أنصار...

كلهم بدون استثناء.

س5: طيب، أبدأ في أسر ما كانوا أنصار؟

أبدأ، ما حضرناهم ما شفناهم. بعدين الحلة دي مقسمة على قسمين: واحد قسم جاي من صابون قلاديا، وواحد قسم جاي رأسا من جهة أبوزيد والغرب وسمعوا الحلة دي عمرت. اللي جات من قلاديا دي حلة أنصار، وهم كانوا أنصار هناك واتحركوا من أبوزيد وغشوا مايرنو أخذوا سنة واحدة وواصلوا هنا.

Kullahum biduun istisnaa°.

Abadan, maa ḥaḍarnaahum maa shuufnaahum. Ba°deen al-ḥilla di mugassama °alaa gismeen: waaḥid gisim jaayi min Ṣaabuun Galaadiima, wa waaḥid gisim jaayi ra°san min jihat Abu-Zabad wa l-gharib, was sim°u l-ḥilla di °imarat. Alli jaat min Galaadiima di ḥillat anṣaar, wa humma kaanu anṣaar hinaak wa itharrako min Abu-Zabad wa ghisho Maayirno akhado sana waaḥda wa waaṣalo hina.

س6: وأصلهم قبل المهديّة وبين في غرب إفريقيا؟

البعض منهم من بدري قبل المهديّة كانوا موجودين هنا. المهديّة وقت ظهرت لقتهم هنا. وفي البعض منهم كانوا هناك وسمعوا خبر المهدي وراسلوه زي دا... اللي هو حفيد الشيخ

<sup>3</sup> 'Ansar' means here adherents to the Mahdiyya ideology.

were still there (in West Africa); they heard about the Mahdi and corresponded with him... for example, the grandson of Sheikh Usman (dan Fodio), i.e., Sheikh Hayatu. He corresponded with the Mahdi and sent a delegation to visit him in Al-Buga'a (Omdurman). This was while others visited the Mahdi there in El Obeid. He (i.e., the Mahdi) got acquainted with them and wrote letters to the sheikh who had sent them (i.e., Sheikh Hayatu), telling him: "I prefer that you move and come (here)." Shortly after they (i.e., the delegation) departed, the Mahdi died. That was after the recapture of Khartoum. And then Khalifa Abdullahi became his successor.

When the Mahdi died, he (Sheikh Hayatu) sent them (i.e., his delegation) back (to Omdurman) to renew homage to Khalifa Abdullahi. The Khalifa changed his mind and said to them: "I prefer that, instead of coming back here, you return to your country, receive homage and propagate for Mahdism (there)." Sheikh Hayatu was in Maroua land (at that time). So, they went there (to Maroua land); but then not all of these people agreed to stay (there). Some of them

siim°o khabar al-Mahdi wa raasalooahu, zey da... alli huwa hafid ash-Sheekh °Usmaan – ash-Sheekh Hayaat. Kaatab al-Imaam al-Mahdi wa rassal wafd zaaro l-Imaam al-Mahdi fi l-Buga'a hinaak, wa l-ba°di minahum zaarooahu min hinaak fi l-Ubayyid. Wa it°arraf beehum wa katab jawaabaat le sheekhum alli rassalum min hinaak gaal leehum: "Uḥabbiz innakum tiḥarraku wa taju." Lamma faatu minnu mudda maa ṭaalat wa intagal, ya°ni maat – ba°ad istilaam al-Khartuum. Ba°deen biga l-Khaliifa °Abdullahi huwa khaliifat al-Imaam al-Mahdi.

Lamma l-Mahdi itwaffa rassal leehum fi ṭ-ṭariig gabli maa yawṣalu l-balad rajja°um min hinaak °ashaan yiju yijaddidu l-bey°a le l-Khaliifa. Wa l-Khaliifa ghayyar ra°yu gaal leehum: "Ana istahsin badal maa tiḥarraku kullakum taju hina, ya°ni nafs al-bey°a hina wa l-ḥaala wa kida a°maluuha fii baladkum hinaak" – ash-Sheekh Hayaatu fii bilaad Marwa. Bas masho hinaak; ma°a zaalik maa waafago n-naas kullahum yigo°du. Barḍu n-naas kullahum waaḥḍiin iṭḥarrako min

عثمان – الشيخ حياة. كاتب الإمام المهدي ورسل وفد زاروا الإمام المهدي في البقعة هناك، والبعض منهم زاروه من هناك في الأبيض. واتعرف بيهم وكتب جوابات لشيخهم اللي رسلهم من هناك قال ليهم: "أحبذ إنكم تتحركوا وتجو". لما فاتوا منه مدة ما طالت وانتقل يعني مات – بعد استلام الخرطوم. بعدين بقى للخليفة عبدالله هو خليفة الإمام المهدي.

لما المهدي اتوفى رسل ليهم في الطريق قبل ما يوصلوا البلد رجعهم من هناك عثمان يجوا يجددوا البيعة للخليفة. والخليفة غير رأيه قال ليهم: "أنا استحسن بدل ما تتحركوا كلكم تجوا هنا، يعني نفس البيعة هنا والحالة وكذا اعملوها في بلدكم هناك" – الشيخ حياة في بلاد مروة. بس مشوا هناك، مع ذلك ما وافقوا الناس كلهم يقعدوا. برضو الناس كلهم واحدين اتحركوا من هناك وجوا إلى خليفة المهدي هنا. واحدين كمان ظلوا في نفس بلاد مروة دي، اللي هي جزء من الكمرون.

indeed moved from there and came to the Khalifa here (in the Sudan), while some others remained in Maroua land, which is now part of Cameroon.

hinaak wa jo le khaliifat al-Mahdi hina. Waahdiin kamaan zallo fii nafsi bilaad Marwa di, alli hiya juzu<sup>c</sup>min al-Kamiruun.

*Q7: Do all the people here know their original home country?*

In this village all the people were originally from either Nigeria or Adamawa (Cameroon). Those from Nigeria moved from a place called Burmi, near Kano.<sup>4</sup>

Hina fi l-ḥilla di ya<sup>c</sup>ni kullahum imma min Nijiirya imma Adamaawa. Naas jaayiin min ḥitta isimaa Burmi, fa deel min Njiirya ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an, janbi Kano.

س7: هل يعرف كل الناس أصولهم من وين؟

هنا في الحلة دي يعني كلهم إما من نيجيريا إما آدماوا. ناس جايين من حطة اسمها برمي، فديل من نيجيريا طبعا، جنب كنو.

*Q8: You mentioned that this village was composed of two groups. Now, do the members of the two groups live together, or do the people of Abu Zabad and those of Galadima (each live in separate quarters)?*

Each group of people has its own sheikh. Formerly, we all had one sheikh, but after Sheikh Gadrinari died, the office of sheikh (*shayaakha*) was passed to his son Hassan and then Hassan rejected it and passed it to his son called Ibrahim. Ibrahim spent two years as sheikh; after that he rejected the *shayaakha*, saying: "I don't want it." When he left (the office), our people here [informant points to Jurara

Kullu naas <sup>c</sup>indahum sheekh baraahum. Kaan kulla l-ḥilla sheekh waahid laakin ba<sup>c</sup>ad maa sh-Sheekh Gadammaari tawaffa wa raḥalat ash-shayaakha lee waladu Ḥasan wa Ḥasan ba<sup>c</sup>deen ghayyar gaam ash-shayaakha addaaha lee waladu ismu Ibrahim. Akhad ka sheekh le muddat sanateen walla kida aba sh-shayaakha, rafaḍaa, gaal: "Ana maa <sup>c</sup>aawizaa." Lamma ṭala<sup>c</sup> gaal maa <sup>c</sup>aawiz

س8: هسع إنت ذكرت هنا في مجموعتين اللي جوا كوتوا الحلة دي. هسع هنا هل كلهم ساكنين سوا وللا اللي جوا من أبوزيد ساكنين في جهة واللي جوا من قلاديما ساكنين في جهة؟

كل ناس عندهم شيخ براهم. كان كل الحلة شيخ واحد، لكن بعد ما الشيخ قدرماري توفى ورحلت الشياخة لي ولده حسن وحسن بعدين غير قام الشياخة أداها لي ولده اسمه إبراهيم. أخذ كشيخ لمدة سنتين وللا كذا أبي الشياخة، رفضها، قال: "أنا ما عاوزها." لما طلع قال ما عاوزها جماعتنا الهنا ديل قالوا: "ما دام بقت كذا نحن كمان عاوزين شياختنا برانا"، ديل ناس إبراهيم بيلى - جورارا.

<sup>4</sup> Burmi is, in fact, near Gombe.

men] said: “Since it is like this, we, too, we want our own *shayaakha*,” these are the members of Ibrahim Beeli’s family – Jurara.

jamaa<sup>c</sup>atna l-hina deel gaalo: “Maa daam bigat kida niḥna kamaan <sup>c</sup>aawziin shayaakhatna baraana;” deel naas Ibrahim Beeli – Juuraara.

*Q9: What is the origin of these Jurara?*

In fact, Jurara is not their ethnic group. There was a pond near Kano called Jurara. The Jurara were a distinct tribe, with its own vernacular; they were not even Fallaata (Fulani); they were called Babir. They were living around Kano. In fact, they (i.e., the Jurara in Sireu) are Fallaata from Kano. After having heard that the colonizers had come and assaulted the Emir called Ya’qub, I think, these Fallaata decided to move away from Kano. They moved from Kano to this place called Jurara, where they stayed for only two years and not more.

When they (i.e., Fallaata/Fulani from Kano) arrived there (i.e., in Jurara), they heard that Ansar had appeared in Burmi (near Gombe). They sent a delegation from Jurara to meet Sheikh Jibril (in Burmi), whom you have already mentioned and who is also known as Moodibbo Zeidi. They met him and said to

Juuraara aṣlan maa jinsahum. Hinaak janb Kano fi may<sup>c</sup>a kabiira ismaha Juuraara. Wa Juuraara gabiila kaamla wa leeha ruṭanaanta l-khaaṣṣa; hum maa Fallaata zaatu, ismahum Babir. Wa deel kaano fii Kano. Hagiiga hum Fallaata min Kano. Ba<sup>c</sup>deen ba<sup>c</sup>ad maa sim<sup>c</sup>o innu l-musta<sup>c</sup>miriin jo ḍarabo l-amiir daak, ismu Ya<sup>c</sup>qubu aḷinnu, ba<sup>c</sup>deen min hinaak fakkaro yiṭharraku min janbi Kano yibta<sup>c</sup>idu min Kano shuwayya. Taḥarrako min Kano ilaa Juuraara di. Bas sakano fiiha sanateen faḡaḡ, maa zaado <sup>c</sup>an as-sanateen.

Lamma waṣalo hinaak sim<sup>c</sup>o innu ḡaharoo anṣaar fii Burmi. <sup>c</sup>Amalo wafd min Juuraara di gaabalo naas Sheikh Jibriil al-<sup>o</sup>inta gultu da, bisammuuhu Moodibbo Zeidi. Gaabaloohu wa gaalo: “Niḥna ṡala<sup>c</sup>na min Kano wa hassa<sup>c</sup> niḥna gaa<sup>c</sup>diin hina fii ḥiṣni Juuraara, wa niḥna l-ḥitta di maa <sup>c</sup>aajbaana” – la<sup>o</sup>annahum aḷinnu shibhi

س9: الجورارا ديل أصلهم شنو؟

جورارا أصلاً ما جنسهم. هناك جنب كنو في ميعة كبيرة اسمها جورارا. وجورارا قبيلة كاملة وليها رطانتها الخاصة، هم ما فلاتة ذاته، اسمهم ببر. وديل كانوا في كنو. حقيقة هم فلاتة من كنو. بعدين بعد ما سمعوا إنه المستعمرين جوا ضربوا الأمير داك اسمه يعقوب أظنه، بعدين من هناك فكروا يتحركوا من جنب كنو بيتعدوا من كنو شوية. تحركوا من كنو إلى جورارا دي. بس سكنوا فيها سنتين فقط، ما زادوا عن السننتين.

لما وصلوا هناك سمعوا أنه ظهروا أنصار في برمي. عملوا وفد من جورارا دي قابلوا ناس شيخ جبريل الإنترنت قلته دا، بسموه مودبو زيد. قابلوه وقالوا: “نحن طلعلنا من كنو وهسع نحن قاعدين هنا في حصن جورارا ونحن الحثة دي ما عاجبانا” – لأنهم أظنه شبه زنوج كدا. “فعاوزين نتحرك من هناك ونجيكم إنتو هنا”. قالوا: “حبايكم عشرة. فلكن اتأكدوا نحن ديل

him: “We left Kano and are now staying in the fortress of Jurara; this place doesn’t please us,” because (its inhabitants) were semi-Negroes. “So, we want to move from there and join you.” They (i.e., Sheikh Jibril and his people) said: “You are welcome, but remember that we are Ansar.” They (i.e., the visiting Fulani from Jurara) answered: “This is what we want. Are you not for the cause of the religion? This is what we desire.”

They moved from Jurara to Burmi. They reserved a large piece of land and said: “We want to stay at the outskirts (of Burmi) because we have livestock.” They reserved a piece of land and stayed at the outskirts of Burmi. The period between their movement from Kano to Jurara and from Jurara to Burmi did not exceed two years. (After the fall of Burmi, 1902<sup>5</sup>) they left. Some of them were martyred, and the remainder moved from there and headed in this direction. When they reached Abu Zabad, they decided to rest. And then they heard that there was some possibility that Ansarism would develop in the area. It was

Zunuuj kida. “Fa °aawziin niḥarrak min hinaak wa najiikum intu hina.” Gaalo: “Ḥabaabkum °ashara. Fa laakin it°akkadu niḥna deel anṣaar.” Gaalo: “Khalaas niḥna di d-daayrinnaa; intu mush naas diin? Di d-daayrinnaa.”

Taḥarraku min hinaak min Juuraara di wa jo fii Burmi laamin ikhtattu giṭa°at arḍ kabiira gaalo: “Niḥna °aawziin nago°od ṭaraf la°annu °indana bahaayim.” Gaṭa°o leehum arḍ wa sakano fiiha ṭaraf min Burmi. Wa mimmaa ṭala°o min Kano lee Juuraara, wa min Juuraara lee Burmi maa aktar min sanateen bas. (Wa lamma sagaṭat Burmi) iḥarrako min hinaak – al-°istushhidu hinaak istushhidu, wa l-faḍalo deel iḥarrako min hinaak ilaa jaayi. Lamma jo waṣalo fii Abu-Zabad ya°ni fakkaro yirtaaḥu shuwayya. Ba°deen sim°o khabar bi annu fi baṣiiṣ amal le l-anṣariyya. Gaalo l-anṣaar deel awwal ḥaaja fi

أنصار". قالوا: "خلاص نحن دي الدايرينا، إنتو مش ناس دين؟ دي الدايرينا".

تحركوا من هناك... من جورارا دي وجوا في برمي لامن اختطوا قطعة أرض كبيرة قالوا: "نحن عاوزين نقعد طرف لأنه عندنا بهائم". قطعوا ليهم أرض وسكنوا فيها طرف من برمي. ومما طلوعوا من كنو لي جورارا ومن جورارا لي برمي ما أكثر من سنتين بس. (ولما سقطت برمي) اتحركوا من هناك... الاستشهدوا هناك استشهدوا والفضلوا ديل اتحركوا من هناك إلى جاي. لما جوا وصلوا في أبوزيد يعني فكروا يرتاحوا شوية. بعدين سمعوا خبر بأنه في بصيص أمل للأنصارية. قالوا الأنصار ديل أول حاجة في جماعة منهم في الجزيرة أبا، اللي هو واحد ابن المهدي، الوقت داك اللي هو سيد عبدالرحمن. وهم فلاتة أصلهم أنصار حضروا المهدي هنا، وديل كانوا في قلاديما وقاعدين

<sup>5</sup> This date refers to the first battle which took place between the (West African) Ansar and the British before the arrival in Burmi of the *hijra* from Sokoto led by Attahiru (At-Tahir) and before the confrontation with the British in July 1903 during which Attahiru was deadly injured.



said that the Ansar were first found in Gezira Aba – a son of the Mahdi, i.e., Sayyid Abdurahman, was there at that time. And these Fallaata who witnessed the Mahdiyya (in the Sudan) were living in Galadima. When they arrived in Maiurno, they sent someone to Galadima to inquire, upon which they were told: “Your people are there; some of them are with us, but most of them went southwards to the area” known at that time as Er-Roseires. They moved from there (Maiurno) and then came here (Sireu). At that time this village was only one year old, and not more. While some Jurara remained behind for one year, the others (i.e., non-Jurara Fallaata) built up the village (Sireu). So, the following year, they (i.e., Jurara) arrived and stayed on that side [informant points to the north], i.e., in the Jurara quarter. Now they call themselves Jurara, but only for purposes of differentiation. Otherwise, they are not a tribe.

jamaa<sup>a</sup> minnahum fi j-Jaziira Aba; alli huwa waaḥid ibn al-Mahdi, al-wakit daak, alli huwa Sayyid °Abduraḥmaan. Wa hum Fallaata aṣlahum anṣaar ḥaḍaro l-Mahdiyya hina, wa deel kaano fii Galaadiima wa gaa<sup>o</sup>diin hinaak. Lamma jo waṣalo Maayirno rassalo lee Galaadiima, gaalo leehum: “Jamaa<sup>o</sup>atkum deel fi, wa nuṣṣahum mawjuudiin ma<sup>a</sup>aana wa laakin aktarum masho kida °ale jihat ṣa<sup>o</sup>iid kida mantigat” al-wakit daak bisammuuha r-Ruṣeerīṣ. Gaamo taḥarrako min hinaak jo hina ṭawwaali. Wakit daak al-ḥilla di akhadat sana waaḥda faqaṭ maa aktar. Al-muddaa l-it°akhkharo be wara deel °amaro zey sana, wa s-sana j-jaayya jo itkaamalo. Deelaak min hinaak jo sakano, laakin deel sakano tara j-jaanib da, al-ḥay da – alli huwa ḥay Juuraara, hassa<sup>o</sup> bitligu °alaa nafsahum Juuraara. Laakin le t-ta<sup>o</sup>arruf bas; maa gabiila.

هناك. لما جوا وصلوا مايرنو رسلوا لي قلاديما، قالوا ليهم: "جماعتكم ديل في ونصهم موجودين معنا ولكن أكثرهم مشوا كدا على جهة صعيد كدا منطقة" الوقت داك بسموها الروصيرص. قاموا تحركوا من هناك جوا هنا طوالي. وقت داك الحلة دي أخذت سنة واحدة فقط ما أكثر. المدة الإتاخروا بي ورا ديل عمروا زي سنة، والسنة الجاية جوا انكاملوا. ديلاك من هناك جوا سكنوا لكن ديل سكنوا ترا الجانب دا، الحي دا – اللي هو حي جورارا، هسع بطلقوا على نفسهم جورارا. لكن للتعرف بس، ما قبيلة.

(Switching to Fulfulde)

They were Kano Fulani. The Jurara are (otherwise) not Fulani; they are Babir. The Fulani have a saying: “The Babir is a circumciser; he circumcises, while he himself is not circumcised.” (In the past), there

Hambe dūm Fulbe Kano. Juuraara naa naa dūm Fulbe ay; dūm Babir°en. Woodi masal ay Fulbe mbi°ata: “Way ndemnoowa Babir nga remnay boo nga remnaaka.” Dum kaada nga ummoto ton e gure Fulbe nga

was a clumsy non-Fulani man who used to go around in the villages to circumcise Fulani children and get paid for that. One day he was not wearing pants, so it was discovered that he himself had not been circumcised. The matter was reported to the chief, who summoned him and said to him: “How can you practise circumcision while you yourself are not circumcised?” They forced him down and circumcised him. The chief took the charge of nursing him until his wound healed. And then the chief said to him: “Now you can circumcise as you like.” Thus, the story became a saying.

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*Q10: As far as you know, when was this village (Sireu) founded?*

Exactly in 1916; the year in which Ali Dinar (a well-known Sultan of Darfur) was killed.

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*Q11: I noticed that most of the families here are related to (Fulani) people from Galadima. How extensive is your interaction with the inhabitants of this village (Galadima)?*

The people of our quarter have links with Galadima because they intermarry... It was the Galadima people who came here. The relationship (between us) still exists; we intermarry with them. The people of our house (including the wife of Abdullahi, our informant) belong to them. They are from the Jurara (Fallaata).

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*Q12: Do you intermarry with them (i.e., the Jurara Fallaata/Fulani) frequently?*

Now frequently. Formerly never. Nobody ever married (women) from the other

yaha bacci Fulbe nga remna nga jaba ujra. Nyannde nden nga walaa sarla sey dum tawi nga remnaaka asee. Sey dum ballagnii ka laamiido. Laamiido wi'i noddee mo; dum noddii mo: “Aan maa a remnaaka mbi'aa a remnay yimbe.” Be mballini mo be ndemni mo bee sembe. Laamiido wadi ka jiyyaaki mo haa o hayri. O wi'i: “Too baadi kida taa yidi remnu.” Khalaas dum warti masal.

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*Q10: Tayib gelle dee sanat kam de tiggaa dow ko nanton?*

Be d-dabti dum sanat sittaashar; hitaande Ali Dinaar fadfaa.

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*Q11: Tayib, mi laahaznake jooni 'usar doo ko diuidi fuu woodi 'alaaqa bee Galaadiima. No tadaakhul moodon bee ton?*

Fattude amin doo be ngoodi sila bee Galaadiima la'annu be te'teetiray... Yimbe Galaadiima ben ngari doo; anndal ngal ngal don haa jooni; dum te'teetiray. Wa yimbe amin bee, be wuro amin zaatu dum nder ma'bbe; dum nafsi Juuraara'en ben.

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*Q12: Laakin on don kooshindira no diuidi?*

Jooni kam khalaas. Zamaan kam abadan walaa kooshoowo daga bandum be-l marra.

(group) at all (in the past). But in the last few years... since about 30 years or a little more, (we have been intermarrying). First of all, the entire village called Mirebi'a was founded by people from the Jurara quarter here.

Laakin diga duubi badiidi dīi... ḥajat talaatiin sana aw aktar seeda (dūm warti dūm hooshindiray). Fa awwal ḥaaja wuro bi'eteengo Mireebii'a ngo'o aṣlu ngo fuu maago nder Juuraara doo ngo wurtii.

(Switching to Arabic)

It (i.e., Mirebi'a) was built up by the father of Abdurahman Abu-Bakr. (This) Abdurahman (also known as Abdurahman Jirewa) is my sister's son; his father was a Jurara; they refer to themselves as Jurara or as Kano Fallaata. And we also married their women. But they make up a whole quarter; from our house here up to the end of the village (on the northern side), they belong to one and the same (Fulani) clan and refer to themselves as Jurara (Fallaata).

°Abdurahmaan Abubakar daak, °ammar al-ḥilla abuuḥu, ismu Abbakar. °Abdurahmaan da wadd ukhti shagiigti, beynamaa abuuḥu da Juuraara, biṭligu °alaa nafsahum Juuraara aw Fallaatat Kano. Wa niḥna itzawwajna minnahum barḍu. Laakin hum ḥay kaamil kida; min ḥooshna da laḥaddi aakhir al-ḥilla di gabiilatam waaḥdi biṭligu °ale nafsahum Juuraara.

عبدالرحمن أبوبكر داك، عمّر الحلة أبوه، اسمه أبكر. عبدالرحمن دا ود أختي شقيقتي، بينما أبوه دا جورارا بطلقوا على نفسهم جورارا أو فلاتة كنو. ونحن اتزوجنا منهم برضو. لكن هم حي كامل كدا، من حوشنا دا لحدّي آخر الحلة دي قبيلتهم واحدي بطلقوا على نفسهم جورارا.

*Q13: Well, apart from Mirebi'a, are there any other villages that are offshoots of this village (Sireu)?*

س13: طيب غير مريبعة تاني في حلال مرقت من هنا؟

Yes, there are. The family of the sheikh of Bijawi, i.e., the people of Adam Burma, went out of this village; they themselves belong to the Jurara. Now he (Adam Burma) is the sheikh of the entire village of Bijawi, or part of it. All the Bijawi people are Fallaata but not

Fi. Awwal ḥaaja Bijaawi ash-sheekh zaatu alli huwa naas Adam Burma deel ṭala°o min hina, min nafsi ḥay Juuraara da. Hassa° huwa sheekh fii ḥillat Bijaawi kullaha aw juzu° minnaha. Bijaawi chat Fallaata laakin maa anṣaar. Ya°ni n-naas alli ṭala°o min hina anṣaar

في. أول حاجة بجاوي الشيخ ذاته اللي هو ناس آدم برمّة ديل طلوعوا من هنا من نفس حي جورارا دا. هسع هو شيخ في حلة بجاوي كلها أو جزء منها. بجاوي شت فلاتة لكن ما أنصار. يعني الناس اللي طلوعوا من هنا أنصار ياهم اللي مرقوا من السريو مشوا هناك. بقوا شيوخ في الحلة لكن الحلة

Ansar. In other words, the Ansar (in Bijawi) are only those who left from Sireu as Ansar and went to settle there. They became sheikhs in the village, but the village was not theirs originally. The Sheikh left together with his paternal cousins – about 10 or 20 families – and went to stay there (in Bijawi). However, they came into possession of the *shayaakha*, and it became theirs; but I can't tell whether this *shayaakha* is still in their hands or whether it is shared by many other people. The entire village of Abu Hashim was settled by people from here, and more specifically from our quarter.

yaahum alli marago min as-Sireew mashu hinnak. Bigo shuyuukh fi l-ḥilla laakin al-ḥilla maa ḥillatum. Ṭala° ash-sheekh wa ma°aahu awlaad °ammu zey °ashara kida walla °ishriin °usra mashat ga°adat hinaak. Ghaaytu °ala ayyi ḥaal masakat ash-shayaakha, ash-shayaakha bigat °indahum. Laakin ma agdar at°akkad leek lee yoomna da ash-shayaakha °indahum walla gassamo sh-shayaakha ilaa naas kutaar, maa agdar a°rif. Abu-Hashiim kullaha ṭala°at min hina laakin min ḥayyana da.

ما حلتهم. طلع الشيخ ومعاه أولاد عمه زي عشرة كدا وللا عشرين أسرة، مشت قعدت هناك. غايثو على أي حال مسكت الشياخة، الشياخة بقت عندهم. لكن ما أقدر أتأكد ليك لي يومنا دا الشياخة عندهم وللا قسموا الشياخة إلى ناس كتار، ما أقدر أعرف. أبو هشيم كلها طلعت من هنا لكن من حيننا دا.

*Q14: What kinds of circumstances lead people to establish new villages?*

The circumstances... the people at that time... however, you know the nature of the Fallaata, or at least you may partly know it. The Fallaati (sing. of Fallaata) by nature – as soon as he becomes angry... his dignity is injured by even a single (unpleasant) word, he (then) leaves all his property behind and seeks another place to live. This is his nature. He never forgives an insult, however small it may be. This is

Az-ḥuuruuf... an-naas... az-zaman daak... inta ghaytu ṭabii°at al-Fallaata yijuuz bita°rif minnaha juzu°. Al-Fallaati bi ṭabii°tu mujarrad maa zi°il... ya°ni gulṭa le kalma waahḍa jaraḥatu kaan laammi maal ad-dunya da kullu yihitt al-maal da kullu yisiibu wa yirḥal... Di ṭabii°tum. Ya°ni aṣlu maa mumkin yitnaazal min isaa°a mahmaa kaanat. Fa hum da s-sabab. Aktar al-ḥallaal di °ashaan kida. Maa naas ṭala°o °ashaan shaafu l-

س14: طيب الظروف البيطّلّع الناس شنو يمشو يفتحو حلال جديدة؟

الظروف... الناس... الزمن داك... إنت غايثو طبيعة الفلاتة يجوز بتعرف منها جزء. الفلاتي بطبيعته مجرد ما زعل... يعني قلت لي كلمة واحدة جرحته كان لامّي مال الدنيا دا كله يحت المال دا كله يسيبه ويرحل... دي طبيعتهم. يعني أصلو ما ممكن يتنازل من إساءة مهما كانت. فهم دا السبب. أكثر الحلال دي عشان كدا. ما ناس طلّعو عشان شافوا المنطقة دي مثلا زراعتها بسيطة أو... أبدأ. مجرد ما زعل بقى بينه وبين الشيخ زعلة بسيطة هو من هنا

mostly the reason. Most of the (new) villages were established for this reason. The people did not leave because the land was not productive enough or something like that. No, not at all. Because of the least misunderstanding between them and the sheikh, they would leave. That is the reason.

mantiga di mathalan ziraa<sup>o</sup>ataa basii<sup>o</sup>ta aw... abadan. Mujarrad maa zi<sup>o</sup>il biga beenu wa been ash-sheekh za<sup>o</sup>la basii<sup>o</sup>ta huwa min hina itharrak ra<sup>o</sup>hal. Da l-haasil.

اتحرك رجل. دا الحاصل.

*Q15: Well, apart from Galadima people, did this village receive any other people coming from other places in the form of families or so?*

I don't think so; except for those of us here who refer to themselves as Jurara. These constitute one (Fulani) clan; they are all descended from the same (clan) founder.

Maa azin, illa jamaa<sup>o</sup>atna deel alli bi<sup>o</sup>ligu <sup>o</sup>alaa nafsahum Juuraara. Deel gabiila waa<sup>o</sup>hda kida jiddahum waa<sup>o</sup>hid.

س15: طيب غير ناس قلاديما هل الحلة دي دخلتها عناصر من حتات تانية كأسر وللا كدا؟

ما أظن، إلا جماعتنا ديل اللي بطلقوا على نفسهم جورارا. ديل قبيلة واحدة كدا، جدهم واحد.

*Q16: In your opinion, why don't people come to you from other villages such as Jibril?*

Oh, yes... This matter requires one to consider the people themselves with reference to the school of thought to which they adhere, i.e., the Ansar school of thought.

Aywa khalaas... Al-hikaaya di <sup>o</sup>aawza l-waa<sup>o</sup>hid yiraa<sup>o</sup>je... an-naas zaatum silatum kaan bi l... al-mazhab alli hum mutamazhibiin beehu aw mazhab al-an<sup>o</sup>saar.

س16: تفكر ليه ما بجوكم ناس من حلال تانية زي جبريل... الخ؟

أيوه خلاص... الحكاية دي عاوزة الواحد يراجع الناس ذاتهم صلتهم كان بال... المذهب اللي هم متمذهبين بيه أو مذهب الأنصار.

*Q17: There were many Ansar among the Baggara Arabs tribes. Are there intermarriages between Fulbe (Fulani) and Arabs?*

It never happened. They don't intermarry. In this area 'Arabs', for us, refers to the Rufa'a Arabs living with us. But there are Baggara Arabs such as the Kenana who intermarried with the Fallaata. Not only here, but even elsewhere you find Fallaata (Fulani) married with members of other tribes. But the Arabs living with us here are Bani Hussein, i.e., Rufa'a. These Rufa'a Arabs do not intermarry with any other tribe at all.

*Q18: Previously, before the end of the Mahdiyya, did the Fallaata intermarry with other Arabs such as the Ta'aisha (Baggara subgroup of the late Khalifa Abdullahi)?*

Yes, they intermarried with the Ta'aisha Baggara everywhere, especially during the Mahdiyya and especially with the Baggara: Ta'aisha, Bani Halba, Rizegat Ma'aliya, and so on. They married women from all of these (groups).

Maa ḥaṣal. Maa tazaawajo. Fi l-mantīga di niḥna binaṭliq °ala l-°Arab hina °Arab ar-Rufaa°a l-ma°aana deel. Laakin fi °Arab Baggaara zey al-Kinaana zey qabaa°il taaniya min qabaa°il Baggaara tazaawajo ma°a l-Fallaata; mush hina bas, lee barra barḍu talga Fallaata tazaawajo ma°a qabaa°il taaniya. Laakin al-°Arab al-°indana hina Bani Hiṣeen alli hum Rufaa°a. Rufaa°a deel maa bitzaawaju ma°a ayyi gabiila kullu kullu.

Aywa ma°a l-Baggaara t-Ta°aaysha itzaawajo; fii ayyi maḥal, khuṣuuṣan al-fii zaman al-Mahdiyya; khuṣuuṣan al-Baggaara: Ta°aaysha, Bani Halba, Rizeegaat Ma°aaliya... deel kullahum itzawwajo minnahum.

س17: زمان في الأنصار في قبائل كثيرة أكثرهم من البقارة، في تزوج بين الفلبي والعرب؟

ما حصل. ما تزوجوا. في المنطقة دي نحن بنطلق على العرب هنا الرفاعة المعانا ديل. لكن في عرب بقارة زي الكنانة زي قبائل تانية من قبائل بقارة تزوجوا مع الفلاتة، مش هنا بس، لي برة برضو تلقى فلاتة تزوجوا مع قبائل تانية. لكن العرب العندنا هنا بني حسين اللي هم رفاعة. رفاعة ديل ما بتزوجوا مع أي قبيلة كله كله.

س18: زمان قبل نهاية المهديّة هل الفلاتة إتزوجوا من العرب التانيين زي البقارة التعايشة؟

أيوه مع البقارة التعايشة اتزوجوا، في أي محل، خصوصا في زمن المهديّة، خصوصا البقارة: تعايشة، بني هلبة، رزيقات، معاليا... ديل كلهم اتزوجوا منهم.

Q19: *And now do they know their Arab grandfathers?*<sup>6</sup>

Yes, people know their Arab origins, i.e., their grandfathers<sup>7</sup> from their mother's side. They know that they originate from this or that Arab tribe. But this has no effect; they are treated like any other person.

Aywa, inta bi<sup>c</sup> arfu maşdarak juduudak al-gudaam min naahiyat al-<sup>3</sup>umm min al-gabiila l-fulaaniyya min al-<sup>c</sup>Arab... laakin barđu maa bi<sup>3</sup> assir, mitlak mitil gheerak.

س19: واللآن يعرفون أجدادهم العرب؟

أيوه، إنت بعرفوا مصدرك... جدوك القدام من ناحية الأم من القبيلة الفلانية من العرب... لكن برضو ما بأثر، متلك مثل غيرك.

Q20: *Now, does this village include people whose maternal uncles<sup>8</sup> belong to other tribes?*

Yes. First let me go back to the family of (Sheikh) Gadrimari. The mother of those people is from the Ja'liyyin. Gadrimari begot Hassan, and Hassan married (a woman) from the Ja'liyyin – Baabikir's mother; Baabikir's grandmother was a Ja<sup>c</sup>aliyya.<sup>9</sup> This (marriage) took place in Omdurman a long time ago. First, Baabikir's mother was Zeinab. Zeinab was the daughter of Ma'alla; her mother was called Ma'alla and she was from the Ja'liyyin. But her father was a Fallaata from

Fi. Awwal ĥaaja narja<sup>c</sup> leek le j-jammaa<sup>c</sup>a deel zaatum alli hum <sup>3</sup>usrat Gadammaari di zaataa; deel ummahum Ja<sup>c</sup>liyya, min aj-Ja<sup>c</sup>liyyiin. Gadammaari wilid Ĥasan, wa Ĥasan tazawwaj min aj-Ja<sup>c</sup>liyyiin deel – um Baabikir; Baabikir ĥabboobtu ja<sup>c</sup>aliyya. Min Umdurmaan al-ĥikaaya di, min ba<sup>c</sup>iid. Awwal ĥaaja ummu Baabikir da Zeinab, Zeinab di bitt Ma<sup>c</sup>alla, ummaha isimaa Ma<sup>c</sup>alla, Ja<sup>c</sup>liyya. Laakin Abuuha Fallaati umman wa aban. Wa gheerum fi barđu. Fi

س20: هسع الحلة دي فيها ناس خيلانهم من قبائل تانية؟

في. أول حاجة نرجع ليك للجماعة ديل ذاتهم اللي هم أسرة قدرماري دي ذاتها، ديل أمهم جعلية، من الجعليين. قدرماري ولد حسن، وحسن تزوج من الجعليين ديل. أم بابكر، بابكر حبويته جعلية. من أمدرمان الحكاية دي، من بعيد. أول حاجة أم بابكر دا زينب، زينب دي بت مغلًا، أمها اسمها مغلًا، جعلية. لكن أبوها فلاتي أمًا وأبًا. وغيرهم في برضو. في ناس برضو من هنا برضو أمهاتهم من قبيلة تانية، اللي هي قبيلة من قبائل البقارة.

<sup>6</sup> The term 'grandfather' is here used loosely and refers also to male relatives of more distant ascending generations.

<sup>7</sup> Same remark as in footnote 6.

<sup>8</sup> The term 'maternal uncle' is used very loosely here so as to include various classes of male relatives from the mother's side as well as men who are not genealogically related to one's mother but belong to the maternal tribe.

<sup>9</sup> Literally: Ja'liyyin (Ar. Ja<sup>c</sup>liyyiin) woman.

both the father's and the mother's side. There are also other people here whose mothers belong to another tribe – one of the Baggara tribes.

naas barḍu min hina barḍu ummahaatum min gabiila taaniya, alli hiya gabiila min gabaayil al-Baggaara.

*Q21: Well, are there inter-marriages with members of the Funj tribes?*

Just exceptional cases and only recently. Recently there were people who married into other tribes. First, there are Hamaj and Funj living near us. And these Hamaj conduct themselves very well – as well as one could expect. But as I told you at the beginning, the Fallaata (Fulani) are ‘puritans’; those there (i.e., the Hamaj) drink (alcohol)...

Illa ḥaalaat khaaṣṣa fi z-zaman al-gariib. Fi z-zaman al-gariib fi naas itzawwajo min al-gabaayil at-taaniya. Awwal ḥaaja janbana hina fi Hamaj wa fi Fuunj. Wa l-Hamaj deel akhlaagum kooyisa khalaas, min aḥsan maa yakuun. Wa laakin bas, zey maa gulṭa leek min al-<sup>o</sup>awwal, al-Fallaata ṭabii<sup>c</sup>atum mutzammitiin; deelak bishrabu (l-khamr)...

(Switching to Fulfulde)

They drink alcohol, and the Fulani do not tolerate that. They would not say: “It is up to him/her; I don’t care whether he drinks alcohol or not.”

‘Be njaray giya, fa Fulbe boo mbaawataa be munya: “Ya<sup>c</sup>ni oo kam to o yidi o yara giya hanko anndi.”

(Back to Arabic)

They (i.e., the Fulani) don’t accept that. This is the only reason. The lack of contact between Fulani and Hamaj is because of this and not because of anything tribal.

La maa bigbalu di. Bas da s-sabab. Aj-jafwa ḥaṣalat min aj-jaanib da, maa min jaanib ka<sup>o</sup>annu da Fallaati wa da Hamajaawi... abdan.

س21: طيب في تزواج من قبائل الفونج؟

إلا حالات خاصة في الزمن القريب. في الزمن القريب في ناس اتزوجوا من القبائل الثانية. أول حاجة جنبنا هنا في همج، وفي فونج. والهمج دليل أخلاقهم كويسة خلاص، من أحسن ما يكون. ولكن بس، زي ما قلت ليك من الأول، الفلاتة طبيعتهم مترمتين، ديلك بشربوا (الخمر)...

*Q22: Well, has any man from the Kenana Arabs*

س22: طيب، العرب الجنيكم، الكنانة الرجال أبداً حصل واحد



living in your area ever approached you about marriage (with one of your female relatives)?

جا عرس منكم هنا؟

(Switching to Fulfulde)

Has it ever happened in Sireu or in any other Fulani village?

Worbe woodi gardo hooshi debbo doo? Nder Sireu walla gelle Fulbe koo toye?

There are cases in some other places where you find Kenana Arabs getting married to Fulani women; in the area of Bijaawi there are such cases. But here in Sireu I don't think that there is a Kenana man (married to a Fulani woman).

Woodi e go'o kam; a tawaay Kinaana'en ya<sup>ni</sup> be te'ii diga Fulbe; heedi Bijaawi do'o ni woodi e be kawti bee Kinaana'en. Laakin Sireu doo kam mi hammaaki woodi Kinaanaajo...

Q23: Is there any man in Sireu who got married to a Kenana woman?

Q23: Woodi gorko hooshi diga Kinaana nder Sireu do'o?

I don't think so.

Mi hammaaki.

Q24: How about the Hausa?

Q24: Hausa'en boo na?

No, there isn't any intermarriage with the Hausa at all (in Sireu). There is not a single Hausa here.

Laa, Hausa'en kam walaa, kullu-kullu. (Nder Sireu) doo walaa Hausaajo.

(Switching to Arabic)

All of them are just Fallaata (Fulani).

Kullahum Fallaata bas.

كلهم فلاتة بس.

Q25: Are there any Mbororo here?

س25: في امبرو هنا؟

The Mbororo came recently. The Mbororo are nomadic Fulani; they came recently, about 40 or 50 years ago. Now they have gotten this far and settled. But, previously, they were living

Umbororo jo gariib hina. Umbororo deel Fallaata badawiyyiin wa jo gariib da, ya<sup>ni</sup> haajat arba<sup>iin</sup> khamsiin sana kida. Hassa<sup>o</sup> jo sakano waşalo laħaddi hina. Laakin gabli khamsiin

امبرو جوا قريب هنا. امبرو ديل فلاتة بدويين، وجوا قريب دا، يعني حاجة أربعين خمسين سنة كدا. هسع جوا سكنوا وصلوا لحدّي هنا. لكن قبل خمسين سنة دي ساكنين غرب النيل الأبيض حتة اسمها

on the western side of the White Nile in a place called Kirekirra, near Aj-Jabalein or beyond Aj-Jabalein. When I was young, we visited them, my father and I. They sent for my father from Aj-Jabalein, and he went and visited them. It was during Ramadan (fasting month); he went to lead them in *taraawiih* prayers.<sup>10</sup> We went and spent the month of Ramadan with them, my father leading them in *taraawiih* prayers, and so on. Surprisingly, these Fallaata are also Ansar; and there are Mbororo who are Ansar.<sup>11</sup> So, this was the reason why my father went and spent the month of Ramadan with them and returned to Aj-Jabalein and then to Gezira Aba. That was the first time that I saw some Mbororo and their big-horned cattle.

sana di sakniin gharb an-Niil al-Abyaḍ ḥitta isimaa Kireekirra janb aj-Jabaleen bee ghaadi min aj-Jabaleen. Ana kunta min ṣaghayyir zurnaahum ana wa waaldi. Arsalo lee waaldi min aj-Jabaleen masha zaarum hinaak; ad-dunya ramaḍaan °ashaan yiṣalli beehum at-taraawiih. Masheena hinaak ga°adna muddat ramaḍaan di biṣalli beehum at-taraawiih wa kida. Wa l-ghariiba l-Fallaata al-hinaak deel ḥattum anṣaar barḍu – fi Umbororo anṣaar. Fa da s-sabab waaldi masha hinaak tamma ma°aahum shahar ramaḍaan wa ba°ad daak raja° aj-Jabaleen, wa min aj-Jabaleen raja° beena Aba. Min al-wakit daak ana shuufu Umbororo deel wa shuufu bagarum umm al-guruun al-kabiira di.

كريكّرة جنب الجبلين بي غادي من الجبلين. أنا كنت من صغير زراهم أنا ووالدي. أرسلوا لي والدي من الجبلين مشى زارهم هناك، الدنيا رمضان عشان يصلي بيهم التراويح. مشينا هناك قعدنا مدة رمضان دي بصلي بيهم التراويح وكدا. والغريبة الفلاتة الهناك ديل حتهم أنصار برضو. في امبررو أنصار. فدا السبب والدي مشى هناك تم معاهم شهر رمضان ويعد داك رجع الجبلين، ومن الجبلين رجع بينا أبأ. من الوقت داك أنا شوفت امبررو ديل وشوفت بقرهم أم القرون الكبيرة دي.

*Q26: Do they come here every year during their seasonal migration to the south?*

س26: يجيئون هنا كل سنة في رحلتهم إلى الجنوب؟

Yes, they come here every year. They used to proceed to Ethiopia. But now there is not enough security. Now they have all gathered here.

Aywa fii kulli sana yarḥalu yaju hina. Kaano bimshu lee juwwa l-Ḥabash. Laakin bas al-°amaan biga maa katiir hassa°. Hasa° kullahum

أبوا في كل سنة يرحلوا يجوا هنا. كانوا بمشوا لي جوة الحبش. لكن بس الأمان بقى ما كتير هسع. هسع كلهم تجمعوا هنا، كل الفلاتة البديين أو

<sup>10</sup> Additional prayers during the month of Ramadan.

<sup>11</sup> Günther Schlee confirmed this by citing Sheikh Baabo Umar, one of his Mbororo informants, as a typical example. (Schlee: “There are Ansar among them; Sheikh Baabo Umar is an Ansar; he speaks a lot about the Ansar.”)

All the nomadic Fulani, or the great majority of them, have settled here, because there is no security (there).

tajamma<sup>o</sup> hina, kulla l-Fallaata l-badawiyiin aw ghaalibum al-<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>am sakano hina, la<sup>o</sup>annu maafi amaan.

غالبهم الأعم سكنوا هنا، لأنه مافي أمان.

*Q27: Do you intermarry with them?*

س27: في تزواج معاهم؟

Not at all. The Fallaata tend towards religious ‘puritanism’.

La abadan. Al-Fallaata <sup>o</sup>indahum at-tazammut.

لا أبدا. الفلاتة عندهم التزمت.

(Back to Fulfulde)

*Q28: But these (Mbororo) are also Fulbe (Fulani), just as they are!*

*Q28: Amma bee dum Fulbe iri mabbe ay!*

It is not a matter of ethnicity or tribalism; it is (a matter of) religious ‘puritanism’...

Naa naa dum lenyolku ay; naa dum qabaliyya. Tazammut diini. Fulbe...

*Q29: Why doesn't he (the husband) convert her (the Mbororo woman) to Islam and educate her?*

*Q29: Naa o nastina mo diina o ekkitina mo?*

Even if he did (educate her), people would annoy him by saying: “He brought a wife who doesn’t know how to pray.” It would take time to educate her and lead her on the right path, especially as she used to be allowed to move about freely, selling milk, and so on.

Ko o yaha o nastina diina dum yimbe najahnotoo mo: “O woddii debbo mo waawaa juuluki.” Khalaas sey tawaa ko o addabnoo mo haa o nanngina mo diina dum, hakko maa diga badri o joofanaado; o hooshay kosam maako dume dume o nastay gure o waansha.

(Switching to Arabic)

This is because the other Fallaata observe the seclusion of women. The man doesn't enter a house (that is not his) and the woman doesn't go out moving about freely. This is the only reason; but they both belong to the same ethnic group.

Deel kamman al-Fallaata l-baagiin maa bimrugu; ar-raajil maa bikhush fi l-hoosh wa l-mara maa bita<sup>o</sup>la<sup>o</sup> tamshi ta<sup>o</sup>huum. Fa bas da s-sabab, laakin aj-jinis waahid.

دليل كمان الفلاتة الباقيين ما بمرقوا، الرجل ما بخش في الحوش والمرّة ما بتطلع تمشي تحوم. فبس دا السبب، لكن الجنس واحد.

*Q30: I have the impression that they (Mbororo), if approached, would not offer their women either (in marriage to members of other groups)!*

That is true; the Mbororo don't offer (their women to members of other groups). They look upon people as Negroes – as Sheele's people. Sheele was the king of the Negroes. They (i.e., the Mbororo) don't see people (like us) as 100% Fallaata. It is true that the language is the same, but they think that the settled Fulani have maternal uncles from other tribes, while they, the Mbororo, only marry among themselves. Now you see their women with very long hair and their men too. Therefore, there is no intermarriage (between us) up to today. Now our Sheikh, Ibrahim, is one with whom they have very close contact. Whenever you go to his house, you regularly find about 10, 20 and 15 of them. Irrespective of all this, I don't think that he ever entertained the idea of marrying one (of their women to one of his relatives) or of giving them (one of his female relatives) in marriage. If he had tried to do so, his relatives would not have accepted it. And I

Al-Umbororo maa biddu ṣahīih. Binzuru le n-naas ka zunuuj *yimbe* [Fulfulde] Sheele; Sheele da malik az-zinj. Maa binzuru le n-naas ka Fallaata miyya fi l-miyya. Al-lugha waaḥda laakin bishuufu deel al-gaa<sup>°</sup>diin fi l-ḥilla deel <sup>°</sup>indahum akhwaal min gabiila taaniya, beynamaa Umbororo deel maa yitzawwaju illa minnahum. Hassa<sup>°</sup> tashuufum al-mara ḥaggatum sha<sup>°</sup>araa laḥaddi hina, wa r-raajil barḍu sha<sup>°</sup>aru laḥaddi hina. Fa lizaalik biga maafi tazaawuj lee yoom al-leela. Hassa<sup>°</sup> <sup>°</sup>indana sheekhna da, sheekhna Ibrahim da, ya<sup>°</sup>ni murtabṭiin beehu irtibaaṭ shadiid, wa lamma tamshi fii beetu fii ayyi wakit talgaahum <sup>°</sup>ashara <sup>°</sup>ishriin khamiṣṭaashar kullu yoom be istimraar. Ma<sup>°</sup>a zaalik maa azinnu khaal innu yizawwij minnahum waaḥid, walla kamaan fakkar innu yizawwijum waaḥda. Law fakkar yizawwijum waaḥda ahalu hina maa bigbalu. Wa hum zaatum law masha <sup>°</sup>aawiz yizawwij minnahum waaḥda maa i<sup>°</sup>taqid bigbalu.

س30: أنا يبدو لي هم ذاتهم كان طلبوا منهم ما بدوا!

الأمبرورو ما بدوا صحيح. بنظروا للناس كزنج *yimbe*؛ Sheele شيلي دا ملك الزنج. ما بنظروا للناس كفلاتة مية في المية. اللغة واحدة لكن بشوفوا ديل القاعدين في الحلة ديل عندهم أحوال من قبيلة تانية، بينما امبرورو ديل ما يتزواجوا إلا منهم. هسع تشوفهم المرة حقتهم شعرها لحدّي هنا، والراجل برضو شعرها لحدّي هنا. فلذلك بقى مافي تزواج لي يوم الليلة. هسع عندنا شيخنا دا، شيخنا إبراهيم دا، يعني مرتبطين بيه ارتباط شديد ولما تمشي في بيته في أيّ وقت تلقاهم عشرة عشرين خمسطاشر كل يوم باستمرار. مع ذلك ما أظن خال إنه يزوج منهم واحد، وللا كمان فكر إنه يزوجهم واحدة. لو فكر يزوجهم واحدة اهله هنا ما بقبلوا. وهم ذاتهم لو مشى عاوز يزوج منهم واحدة ما اعتقد بقبلوا. هم بشوفوا بإنهم آريين (بتاعين الفلاتة).

also don't think that these Mbororo would have accepted it, if he had approached them with the intention of having his relatives marry one of their women. They believe that they are the Aryans (among the Fulani).

Hum bishuufu bi°innahum Aariyyiin (bitaa°iin al-Fallaata).

*Q31: Are there (different Fulani) subsections (khashum buyuut) in this village?*

س31: في الحلة دي في خشم بيوت؟

(Switching to Fulfulde)

*For example, in Maiurno we have Sokoto Fulani, Borno Fulani, and so on. Do you have something like that here?*

*Masalan e Maayirno min ngoodi Sokkotanko'en, Bornanko'en... Onon dɔo on ngoodi iri maaajum?*

First of all, I am an Adamawa Fulani. So, here in Sireu there are Adamawa Fulani, but they are not numerous.

Awwal haaja miin oo mi Aadamankeejo. Fa do'o e Sireu ngo'o woodi Aadamanko'en laakin be duudaa.

(Switching to Arabic)

And because of our small number, we don't even speak the Adamawa dialect. We grew up in Gezira Aba, and these Fallaata Dagara came and settled with us in one of the quarters in Gezira Aba. We learned the Fulfulde language from them. (Previously) I didn't know it (i.e., the Fulfulde language) because our compound was in the Arabs' quarter. So, (in the past), we did not know (i.e., did not speak) the Fulfulde vernacular. It was only after the Dagara had come and

Laakin shinu? Nisbatan le °adadum basiiṭ ḥatta laḥjatum al-binṭugu beeha di maa bina°rifaa. Nasha°na fi j-Jaziira Aba wa jo Fallaata alli hum Fallaata Dagara deel anṣaar ga°ado ma°ana fii ḥay waahid fi j-Jaziira Aba, wa it°allamna lughat al-Fallaata di minnahum hum. (Fi fatra kida) maa ba°rifaa, la°annana ḥooshna baraana wa gaa°diin waṣṭ al-°Arab, ṭala°na maa °aarifiin ruṭaanaat al-Fallaata. Laamin ad-Dagara deel jo ga°ado ma°aana wa ḥayyana

لكن شنو؟ نسبة لعدددهم بسيط حتى لهجتهم البنطقوا بيها دي ما بنعرفها. نشأنا في الجزيرة أبا وجوا فلاتة اللي هم فلاتة دقرا ديل أنصار قعدوا معنا في حي واحد في الجزيرة أبا، واتعلمنا لغة الفلاتة دي منهم هم. (في فترة كدا) ما بعرفها، لأننا حوشنا برانا وقاعدين وسط العرب، طلعا ما عارفين رطانة الفلاتة. لامن الدقرا ديل جوا قعدوا معنا وحننا واحد واربتطنا بيهم حتى عرفنا رطانة الفلاتة دي، رطانة الدقرا. لكن في رطانة الأدموا دي معروفة عندنا نسبة لأن الوالدين بنضمو بيها لكن ما كنا بنعرفها.

settled with us in the same quarter, and after we had had contact with them, that I could learn Fulfulde – the Dagara dialect. But the Adamawa dialect (i.e., the way it sounds) was known to us. My parents used to speak it (the Adamawa dialect), but we (i.e., my siblings and I), we don't know it (i.e., we don't speak it).

waaḥid wa irtabaṅna  
beehum ḥatta ʿirifna  
ruṭaanat al-Fallaata di,  
ruṭaanat ad-Dagara. Laakin  
fi ruṭaanat al-Adamaawa di  
maʿruufa ʿindana nisbatan  
laʿanna al-waalideen  
binḍumu beeha laakin maa  
kunna binaʿrifha.

*Q32: Well, there are few Adamawa Fulani in this village. What other (Fulani) subsections do you have (here)?*

All the people of our quarter are Borno Fulani. And those here (the Jurara) are Kano Fulani. There are no other (Fulani) besides these; (there are) just three subsections, or let's say two. We (the Adamawa Fulani) are very few: about two or three families, not more than that.

Deel kullahum Fallaata  
Borno; ḥayyana da chat  
ʿaleehum Fallaata Borno. Wa  
deel kamaan (aj-Juuraara)  
Fallaatat Kano. Bas maafi  
taani. Talaata bas. Aw guul  
ʿitneen; niḥna deel (al-  
Aadamaawa) maa ʿadadna  
basiit: ʿusrateen aw talaata  
ʿusar, maa aktar min kida.

س32: طيب هسع البلاد دي  
الأدماوا شوية. تاني في ياتو  
خشم بيت؟

ديل كلهم فلاتة برنو، حِينًا دا  
شت عليهم فلاتة برنو. وديل  
كمان (الجورارا) فلاتة كنو. بس  
مافي تاني. تلاتة بس. أو قول  
إثنين، نحن ديل (الأدماوا) ما  
عددنا بسيط: أسرتين أو تلاتة  
أسر ما أكثر من كدا.

*Q33: Are there any Jaafun here?*

Yes, there are Jaafun but not here. There is only one family in Mirebi'a. And there is a whole group of nomadic Jaafun in the bush. They are Ansar; Jaafun, Boodi as well as Duga are Ansar.

Aywa Jaafuun fi laakin  
mush hina, ʿusra waaḥda fi  
l-Mireebiiʿa diik. Wa fi  
Jaafuun baadiya kaamla fi  
l-khala, laʿannahum  
Jaafuun deel anṣaar;  
Jaafuun wa Boodi wa Duga  
deel anṣaar.

س33: جافون في؟

أأيوا جافون في لكن مش  
هنا، أسرة واحدة في المريبية  
ديك. وفي جافون بادية كاملة  
في الخلا، لأنهم جافون ديل  
أنصار؛ جافون وبودي ودقا  
ديل أنصار.

Yes, the Jaafun are like the Mbororo, except that they are literate. They and the Boodi and the Duga can read and write, and they are good Muslims. There is no difference apart from that. They have cattle in the bush, and their animals are of the same breed (as those of the Mbororo) – red long-horned cattle. These Jaafun are all Ansar without exception. All the Boodi and all the Duga are also Ansar. The Ngara became Mbororo only by virtue of the cattle they possess, but they are really a different group (i.e., Fulani subsection). They are taken to be Mbororo only because of their cattle. The (Fallaata) Malle, here, are only one family – our neighbours on this side. Their father just came and married into Fallaata/Fulani Borno. He knew the Qur'an by heart, may his soul rest in peace. His name was Abbakar Nyoooro. He came from there (i.e., from West Africa), got married among the Fallaata Borno in Galadima, and moved from Galadima to settle in this Sireu village. I think that he became Ansar after leaving his country (in West Africa) and passing through

Aywa Jaafuun zey al-Umbororo, maa °adaa hum biya°rifu yigru; hum wa Boodi deel wa Duga deel wa Ngara deel, deel kullahum biya°rifu yiktubu wa yigru wa mutmassikiin be l-Islaam kooyis. Fa maafi gheer kida. Wa °indahum bahaayim fi l-khala. Wa bahaayimum nafs an-noo° – bahaayim humur wa guruunaa tuwaal. Aj-Jaafuun deel chat °aleehum anshaar duun istithnaa°. Wa ba°deen Boodi chat °aleehum, wa ba°deen Duga chat °aleehum. Wa Ngara deel bigo Umbororo be waastat al-bahaayim al-°indahum bas, laakin jinsahum barahahum. Bas al-bagar alli khallaahum yisammuhum °ala l-Umbororo. Malle hina fi °usra waahda faga; al-°usra di zaataa jeeraanna bee jaayi, ja abuum bas tazawwaj min Fallaatat al-Borno hina; wa abuum da, rahimahu l-Laah, kaan haafiz al-Qur°aan ismu Abbakar Nyoooro – ja min hinaak tazawwaj min Fallaatat al-Borno deel min Galaadiima wa rahalo min Galaadiima jo s-Sirew di. Wa hu [= huwa] ana i°taqid min baladu hinaak azinnu asbah anshaari min muruuru

ايوا جافون زي الامبرو، ما عدا هم بيعرفوا يقروا، هم وبودي ديل ودقا ديل ونغرا ديل، ديل كلهم بيعرفوا يكتبوا ويقروا و متمسكين بالاسلام كويس. فمافي غير كدا. وعندهم بهاييم في الخلا. وبهاييمهم نفس النوع، بهاييم حمر وقرونا طوال. الجافون ديل شت عليهم انصار دون استثناء. ويعدين بوذي شت عليهم ويعدين دقا شت عليهم. ونغرا ديل بقوا امبرو بواسطة البهاييم العندهم بس، لكن جنسهم براهيم. بس البقر اللي خلاهم بسموهم على الامبرو. ملّى هنا في أسرة واحدة فقط، الأسرة دي زانا جيرانا بي جاي جا أبوهم بس تزوج من فلاتة البرنو هنا، وابوهم دا رحمه الله كان حافظ القرآن اسمو ايكر نيورو Nyoooro جا من هناك تزوج من فلاتة البرنو ديل من قلاديمة، ورحلوا من قلاديمة جوا السريو دي. وهو انا اعتقد من بلدو هناك اظنو اصبح أنصارى من مرورو على الشيخ حياتو، لأنو ما أظنو كان حضر المهدي هنا أو المهديّة. لكن كان أظنو الأنصارية أخذنا من الشيخ حياتو بس، وأسرة واحدة.

Sheikh Hayatu; because I don't think that he witnessed the Mahdi or the Mahdiyya here. I think that he received Ansarism from Sheikh Hayatu. (There is only) one family from his group.

°ala sh-Sheekh Hayaatu, la°annu maa azinnu kaan haḍar al-Mahdi hina aw al-Mahdiyya. Laakin kaan azinnu al-anṣariyya akhadaa min ash-Sheekh Hayaatu bas, wa °usra waaḥda.

*Q35: Are there people from this village who work in Saudi Arabia?*

There are young people working there, but there are also Fallaata living in Medina in Saudi Arabia, such as the Adamawa Fulani. When we performed *hajj* (pilgrimage), we got acquainted with them. There are Fallaata living constantly in Medina, and most of them are Marwa Fulani<sup>12</sup> – they are Ngara. Once during a course, a Fulani from Saudi Arabia was brought here to teach *tawḥiid* (theology). I asked him, and he told me: “We are Ngara.”

Fi shubbaan mughtaribiin laakin fi Fallaata kamaan fi s-Sa°uudiyya fi l-Madiina l-Munawwara, zey Fallaata Aadamaawa. Niḥna wakit ḥajjeena hina it°arrafna beehum. Fi Fallaata saakniin °adiil fi l-Madiina al-Munawwara wa aktarum Marwa – Ngara deel. Marra niḥna fi koors jaaboohu min hinaak yidarris at-tawḥiid hina, sa°altu gaal ley: “Niḥna deel Ngara.”

س35: الحلة دي في مغتربين في للسعودية؟

في شبان مغتربين لكن في فلاتة كمان في السعودية في المدينة المنورة، زي فلاتة آدموا. نحن وكت حجينا هنا اتعرفنا بيهم. في فلاتة ساكنين عديل في المدينة المنورة واكترم مروة – نغرا ديل. مرة نحن في كورس جابوة من هناك يدرس التوحيد هنا سألتو قال لي: “نحن ديل نغرا.”

*Q36: Our host (in Sireu), i.e., Abdurahman Bello, has two sons working in Saudi Arabia. How many people from this village are working in Saudi Arabia?*

I can't count them, but (they constitute) a large number.

Maa agdar aḥṣir leek kam laakin majmuu°a kabiira,

س36: نحن محل نازلين – بيت عبدالرحمن بيلو – عندو اتنين مغتربين في السعودية. في الحلة دي كم مغترب في السعودية؟

ما أقدر احصر ليك كم لكن مجموعة كبيرة، يعني لما نجمع

<sup>12</sup> As the name already suggests, these Fulani are originally from the region of Maroua (Cameroon).



If we count the ones from this quarter and from that one, there are probably at least 50 at any rate. That is, in the Gulf countries in general (because people such as Dr. Al-Amin and Dr. Abdurahman – Jurara (Fallaata/Fulani) – have been in the Gulf countries for many years).

ya<sup>o</sup>ni lamma najma<sup>o</sup> min al-  
 ḥay da wa min l-ḥay at-  
 taani maa bikuunu agalla  
 min khamsiin mahmaa  
 kaan; fi l-khaliij be ṣuura  
 aamma (la<sup>o</sup>annu zey Dr.  
 Al-Amiin wa Dr.  
 Abduraḥmaan – Juuraara –  
 deel leehum siniin fi  
 l-khaliij).

من الحى دا ومن الحى التانى  
 ما يكونوا اقل من خمسين  
 مهما كان، في الخليج بصورة  
 عامة (لأنو زي د. الامين ود.  
 عبدالرحمن – جورارا – ديل  
 ليهم سنين في الخليج).

*Q37: Tell us the story of Imam Tukur!*

Imam Tukur came from Burmi, and before that he spent a long time with Moodibbo Hayatu (i.e., Sheikh Hayatu). Imam Tukur was blind, but he knew the Qur'an by heart and studied the Hadith (prophetic tradition) through dictation. He became a scholar even though he was blind. And then, when people thought of moving from Galadima to develop this village, they thought that their efforts would be meaningless without bringing Moodibbo Tukur (i.e., Imam Tukur) along with them. So, they moved from there and came to settle here. Do you see the compound which lies beyond ours? That was their compound.

Imaam Tukur jaayi min  
 Burmi, wa gabli kida akhad  
 zaman ṭawiil ma<sup>o</sup>a  
 Moodibbo Hayaatu. Imaam  
 Tukur zool ḍariir laakin  
 haafḻ al-Qur<sup>o</sup>aan wa gara  
 l-<sup>o</sup>Aḥaadiith be t-talqiin  
 saay, wa biga aalim ma<sup>o</sup>a  
 l-ilm huwa ḍariir. Ba<sup>o</sup>deen  
 wakit itharraku min  
 Galaadiima wa jo aawziin  
 yi<sup>o</sup>ammiru l-ḥilla di fakkaro  
 innu biduun maa yakhdu  
 ma<sup>o</sup>aahum Moodibbo Tukur  
 da ka<sup>o</sup>annahum maa sawwo  
 ḥaaja. Raḥalo min hinaak jo  
 sakano hina. Shuuf<sup>o</sup>ta l-ḥoosh  
 al-giddaam ḥooshna da? Da  
 kaan ḥooshum.

س37: أحكي لنا تاريخ إمام  
 تكرر؟

إمام تكرر جاي من برمي، وقبل  
 كدا أخذ زمن طويل مع مودبو  
 حياتو. إمام تكرر زول ضرير  
 لكن حافظ القرآن وقرأ الأحاديث  
 بالتلقين ساي، وبقي عالم مع  
 العلم هو ضرير. بعدين وكت  
 اتحركوا من قلاديمة وجوا  
 عاوزين يعمروا الحلة دي فكروا  
 انو بدون ما ياخدوا معاهم  
 مودبو تكرر دا كأنهم ما سوا  
 حاجة. رحلوا من هناك جوا  
 سكنوا هنا. شوفت الحوش  
 القدام حوشنا دا؟ دا كان حوشم.

Q38: *When Burmi fell in 1902,<sup>13</sup> was Faki Tukur (i.e., Moodibbo Tukur or Imam Tukur) there?*

I think that he was in Maroua. Our relations with the Burmi people were based on intermarriage. And this (man from) Maroua belonged to us, to the Adamawa Fulani. Faki Tukur was from there (i.e., from the Adamawa region). After Moodibbo Hayatu had been martyred, he (Faki Tukur) moved from there and came in this direction. He was not with (Sheikh) Jibril (of Burmi) at all; we are quite certain about this piece of information. He was with Moodibbo Hayatu, and when Hayatu was martyred, he (Faki Tukur) headed to Sudan. Sheikh (Moodibbo) Hayatu had a uterine nephew named Muhammad Tukur (Dan Binta), who composed many religious songs. Sheikh Hayatu said that Moodibbo Tukur was no less great than Muhammad Tukur; with God's blessing he was even able to go and meet the Mahdi.

Q39: *Well, if he did not stay in Burmi, then why was he called Moodibbo Tukur Burmi?*

<sup>13</sup> Same remark concerning the date (1902) as in footnote 5.

س38: لما سقطت برمي سنة 1902 كان فكي تكرر فيها؟

أنا أعتقد كان في مروة. ناس برمي صلطنا بيهم تزوجنا منهم وتزوجوا مننا، ومروة دي حقتنا، نحن آدمويين. وبعدين فكي تكرر دا من هناك. بعد ما مودبو حياتو استشهد اتحرك من هناك جا جاي. مودبو تكرر ما كان مع جبريل بالمره، نحن المعلومة دي متأكدين منا. هو كان مع مودبو حياتو، ولما استشهد اتحرك من هناك نحو السودان. شيخ حياتو عندو ود اختو اسمو محمد تكرر (دان بنتا) عندو قسايد كتيرة. شيخ حياتو بقول إنو مودبو تكرر ما اقل عظمة من محمد تكرر حقنا، دا كمان ربنا فتح ليه يمشي يقابل المهدي.

س39: طيب اذا كان ما قعد في برمي بسموه مودبو تكرر برمي ليه؟

By God, this might be because he spent part of this life in Burmi.

Wallaahi da kamaan illa iza °aash fatra min h̄ayaatu fii Burmi.

والله دا كمان الا إذا عاش فترة من حياتو في برمي.

*Q40: Where was he before he went to Galadima?*

س40: طيب قبل ما يمشي قلاديمة كان وين؟

From Maroua, he (Faki Tukur) came to Omdurman and then moved to Galadima after the battle of Karari.<sup>14</sup> Galadima was founded after Karari.

Min Marwa ja Umdurmaan h̄atta Galaadiima – ba°ad Karari. Galaadiima gaamat ba°ad Karari.

من مروة جا أمدرمان حتى قلاديمة – بعد كرري. قلاديمة قامت بعد كرري.

*Q41: Did our people in Galadima go straight from Karari to Galadima, or did they first stop somewhere in between?*

س41: ناسنا بتاعين قلاديمة ديل، بعد كرري مشوا قلاديمة طوالي وللا قعدوا في محل ك دا في النص؟

By God, one cannot be certain. I don't think that these people moved in one group. At that time they were in the jihad (against Europeans). When Khalifa Abdullahi left there after (the defeat in) Karari, he went to Gadir via Aj-Jabalein; and then from Gadir he went back for the battle of Um Dibekrat (1899, Kordofan), where he was martyred. Anyway, Imam (Faki) Tukur was in Galadima. When they (our people) heard that the (Sennar) dam was going to be constructed, they decided to leave there together with Faki Tukur and come here. They came

Wallaahi l-waaḥid maa yigdar yit°akkad. Maa azin an-naas deel taḥarraku kakul fii duf°a. Humma wakit daak fi j-jihad. Al-Khaliifa °Abdullaahi da lamma taḥarrak min hinaak ba°ad Karari masha °an tariig aj-Jabaleen lamma waṣal fii Gadiir, wa taḥarrak min Gadiir ja raaje° wa °amal al-ma°rika bitaa°at Um Dibeekrat h̄atta ustushhid hinaak. Ghaaytu °ala kulli ḥaal al-Imaam Tukur wujid fii Galaadiima di. Laamin sim°o khabar innu l-khazzan jaayi fakkaru yirḥalu min hinaak ma°a l-Faki Tukur da yiju hina. Jo fataḥo l-ḥilla di alli hiya s-Sireew.

والله الواحد ما يقدر يتأكد. ما أظن الناس ديل تحركوا ككل في دفعة. هم وكت دك في الجهاد. الخليفة عبدالله دا لما تحرك من هناك بعد كرري مشى عن طريق الجبلين لما وصل في قدير، وتحرك من قدير جا راجع وعمل المعركة بتاعة أم ديبكرات حتى استشهد هناك. غايقتو على كل حال الامام تكرر وجد في قلاديمة دي. لامن سمعوا خبر انو الخزان جاي فكروا يرحلوا من هناك مع فكي تكرر دا بجوا هنا. جوا فتحو الحلة دي اللي هي السريو.

<sup>14</sup> One of the battles (1898, central Sudan) in which the Ansar were defeated by the colonial army.

and founded the village of Sireu.

*Q42: Now, who are the descendants of Imam Tukur here (in Sireu)?*

Imam Tukur had two daughters only. We witnessed these two daughters (when we grew up) in Gezira Aba. I don't think that they lived here (in Sireu); even if they happened to live here, they left while they were still children. Faki Tukur died in Gezira Aba, and (at that time) my father was here. When he died, Imam Abdurahman sent for my father. He sent him a letter saying: "You go and take responsibility for Faki Tukur's mosque because Faki Tukur is now dead." He (i.e., Faki Tukur) had been the imam of the mosque of Al-Ghar at-Tihit (Lower Cave).

*Q43: Well, a European (i.e., Lethem) wrote that, when he came in 1924, Sayyid Abdurahman was gathering the Fallaata in Gezira Aba in coordination with Faki Tukur. And he said that Faki Tukur moved from Galadiima in the company of the founders of Sireu. Did he go to Gezira Aba afterwards?*

س42: هسع هنا من أحفاد إمام تكرر منو؟

Al-Imaam Tukur °indu binteen bas: al-binteen deel ḥaḍarnaahin fi j-Jaziira Aba. Maa aẓin ga°adan hina, law ga°adan hina maragan wa hin ṣuḡhaar. Faki Tukur maat fi j-Jaziira Aba wa kaan waaldi hina. Lamma maat rassal al-Imaam °Abduraḥmaan le abuu yi hina, rassal le jawaab gaal leeha: "Tamshi tamsik jaami° Faki Tukur, la°annu Faki Tukur khalaas maat." Huwa hinaak imaam jaami° al-Ghaar at-Tiḥit.

الإمام تكرر عندو بنتين بس: البننتين ديل حضرناهن في الجزيرة أبا. ما أظن قعدن هنا، لو قعدن هنا مرقن وهن صغار. فكي تكرر مات في الجزيرة أبا وكان والدي هنا. لما مات رسل الإمام عبدالرحمن لابي هنا، رسل لي جواب قال ليه: "تمشي تمسك جامع فكي تكرر، لأنو فكي تكرر خلاص مات." هو هناك كان إمام جامع الغار التحت.

س43: طيب الخواجة دا (ليثيم) كتب قال لما جا هنا سنة 1924 كان السيد عبدالرحمن قاعد يحشد الفلاتة في الجزيرة أبا وبالاتفاق مع الفكي تكرر. وقال قام من قلاديمة وجا مع المؤسسين للسريو. قام بعد داك مشى الجزيرة؟

It was the British who caught him (Faki Tukur). They wanted to arrest him and take him to Omdurman in the same way that they arrested Faki Muhammad Nour and took him (to Omdurman). But the people living in Gezira Aba were from the Marwa Fulani subsection. They reported to Sayyid Abdurahman (i.e., a son of the Mahdi), saying: “We heard that Moodibbo Tukur was arrested and is going to be taken to Omdurman. So, before it is too late, please contact the Governor of Singa.” Sayyid Abdurahman wrote to the Governor of Singa, saying: “I vouch for this man, and now let him be under my responsibility until I come and take him with me.” Someone called Yousif Wad al-Fallaati, the grandfather of Sherif at-Tuhami, his mother’s father...

So, Sayyid Abdurahman from there (i.e., Gezira Aba) wrote to the Governor of the Singa Province. Accordingly, they relocated him and brought him (to Gezira Aba).

Al-Ingiliiz hum al-gabaḍoohu, kaanu °aawziin yi°taqiluuhu ṭawwaali yiwadduuhu Umdurmaan. Jabu shurṭa °aawziin yi°taqiluuhu zey maa i°taqalu l-Faki Maḥammad Nuur waddoohu. Laakin an-naas al-mawjuudiin fi j-Jaziira Aba Fallaatat Marwa. Ablagho s-Sayyid °Abdurahmaan gaalo: “Balaghna khabar innu gabaḍo Moodibbo Tukur °aawziin yiwadduuhu Umdurmaan. Inta gabl al-ḥikaaya tafliit ittaṣil bee mudiir Sinja.” Fi°lan Sayyid °Abdurahmaan katab lee mudiir Sinja gaal: “Az-zool da ana aḍmanu, wa hassa° di khallu yikuun tiḥit ḍamaanti ilaa an aji arahḥilu.” Waahid ismu Yuusif Wad al-Fallaati, jidd naas ash-Sheriif at-Tuhaami, abu waalidtu...

Bas gaam as-Sayyid °Abdurahmaan min hinaak katab le Mudiir Midiiriyyat Sinja, bas raḥḥalo wa jaaboohu (aj-Jaziira Aba).

الانجليز هم القبضوه، كانوا عاوزين يعنقلوه طوالي يودوه امدرمان. جابوا شرطة عاوزين يعنقلوه زي ما اعتقلوا الفكي محمد نور وودوه. لكن الناس الموجودين في الجزيرة ابا - فلاتة مروة - ابلغوا السيد عبدالرحمن قالوا: "بلغنا خبر انو قبضوا مودبو تكرر عاوزين يودوه امدرمان. انت قبل الحكاية تقلت اتصل بي مدير سنجة". فعلا سيد عبدالرحمن كتب لي مدير سنجة قال: "الزول دا انا اضمنو، وهسع دي خلوه يكون تحت ضمانتي الى ان اجي ارحلوه". واحد اسمو يوسف ود الفلاتي، جد ناس الشريف التهامي، ابو والدتو...

بس قام السيد عبدالرحمن من هناك كتب لمدير مديرية سنجة، بس رخلوه وجابوه (الجزيرة ابا).

*Q44: And what role did Yousif Wad al-Fallaati play in this affair?*

س44: ويوسف (ود الفلاتي) دا علاقتو شنو بالموضوع دا؟

He was Sayyid Abdurahman's representative in Singa. Sayyid Abdurahman wrote to him, telling him: "I will contact the Governor of Singa, and then you should receive him (i.e., Imam Tukur) and you should not allow them (i.e., those who arrested him) to pass through with him." So, he received Faki Tukur and kept him in his house until Sayyid Abdurahman sent two people to escort him to Gezira Aba. At the time when he was escorted to Gezira Aba, our fathers were in Gezira Aba. At that time we were children; we do not recall this event, but, when we grew up, we learned of it. So, as I mentioned to you, our quarter was that of the Arabs, whereas Al-Ghar at-Tihit was entirely inhabited by Fallaata (Fulani). We lived in Al-Ghar al-Foog (Upper Cave), whose inhabitants were Arabs.

Afterwards when we moved from there, (Abdurahman) Jirewa's<sup>15</sup> father came to Gezira Aba, married my sister, and brought her here (in Sireu). And then he contacted the Ansar here. They said: "We want so-and-so (a specific person) to come here because

Da kaan wakiil al-Imaam fii Sinja. As-Sayyid °Abdurahmaan katab leehu gaal leehu: "Ana bittaṣil be mudiiir Sinja wa inta istalimu (Imaam Tukur) wa maa takhalliihum yifuutu beehu." Bas ṭawwaali istalam Faki Tukur wa khallaahu fii beetu laḥaddi ma s-Sayyid °Abdurahmaan rassal manduubeen min aj-Jaziira Aba raafaqo Faki Tukur le j-Jaziira Aba. Wakit raafagu waddoohu j-Jaziira Aba, wakit daak abbahaatna fi j-Jaziira Aba. Al-wakit daak niḥna ṣuḡhar, al-ḥikaaya di maa mustaḥḍirinnaa laakin lamma gumna ligiinaaha. Bas zey maa zakarta leek ḥayyana da ḥay °Arab wa l-Ghaar at-Tiḥit kullu Fallaata. Wa niḥna kunna fii ḥay al-Ghaar al-Foog wa kullahum kaanu °Arab.

Ba°ad daak lamma raḥalna min hinaak, ja Jireewa da, abuuḥu ja j-Jaziira Aba itzawwaj ukhti wa raḥḥalha min hinaak ilaa hina. Wa ba°deen ittaṣal be j-jamaa°a l-anṣaar hina, gaalo: "Fulaan al-fulaani °aawzinnu yiiji hina °ashaan ya°ni ya°rif °an al-Mahdiyya katiir wa

da kaan wakiil al-Imaam fii Sinja. As-Sayyid °Abdurahmaan katab leehu gaal leehu: "Ana bittaṣil be mudiiir Sinja wa inta istalimu (Imaam Tukur) wa maa takhalliihum yifuutu beehu." Bas ṭawwaali istalam Faki Tukur wa khallaahu fii beetu laḥaddi ma s-Sayyid °Abdurahmaan rassal manduubeen min aj-Jaziira Aba raafaqo Faki Tukur le j-Jaziira Aba. Wakit raafagu waddoohu j-Jaziira Aba, wakit daak abbahaatna fi j-Jaziira Aba. Al-wakit daak niḥna ṣuḡhar, al-ḥikaaya di maa mustaḥḍirinnaa laakin lamma gumna ligiinaaha. Bas zey maa zakarta leek ḥayyana da ḥay °Arab wa l-Ghaar at-Tiḥit kullu Fallaata. Wa niḥna kunna fii ḥay al-Ghaar al-Foog wa kullahum kaanu °Arab.

ba'd daak lamma raḥalna min hinaak, ja Jireewa da, abuuḥu ja j-Jaziira Aba itzawwaj ukhti wa raḥḥalha min hinaak ilaa hina. Wa ba°deen ittaṣal be j-jamaa°a l-anṣaar hina, gaalo: "Fulaan al-fulaani °aawzinnu yiiji hina °ashaan ya°ni ya°rif °an al-Mahdiyya katiir wa

<sup>15</sup> As already indicated (p. 163), Abdurahman Jirewa and the man referred to above as 'Abdurahman Abu-Bakr' are one and the same person.

he is very enlightened in the area of Mahdism...” From there my father came to Sireu just as a visitor. He stayed for about four years.

But then Faki Tukur died. When that occurred, my father was asked to return (to Gezira Aba) in order to replace him (i.e., Faki Tukur). He returned and remained in this position until he died in 1944. At that time I was here (in this area, precisely in Mirebi’a). I came and married in this Mirebi’a village developed by (Abdurahman) Jirewa’s father, who was married to my full sister. I married here with the intention of returning (home) in the same year or the following year. I established a Qur’anic school and continued to teach their children. But then my father died, and, at the same time, my family became too ‘heavy’ (large). So, these people decided to bring me here (to Sireu).

kida...” Abuuy min hinaak raḥal ja zaayir as-Sireew di. Ga°ad leehu yimkin ḥaaja bitaa°at arba°a sanawaat tagriiban.

Ba°deen min hina tawaffa Faki Tukur. Wa bas ṭawwaali raḥḥalo abuuyi rajja°oohu °ashaan yimsik maḥallu. Raja° laḥaddi ma tawaffa huwa sanat arba°a wa arba°iin. Wakit daak ana kunta hina; jiit itzawwajta hina fi ḥillat al-Mireebii°a di, alli hiya °ammaraa abu Jireewa, wa mutzawwij shagiigti. Itzawwajta hina, ka°annu arḥal as-sana di arḥal as-sana j-jaayya... wa °amalta khalwa ga°adta agarri awlaadum. Bas ṭawwaali tawaffa waaldi da, ba°ad da bigiit tagiil hina. Bas fakkaro deel yirahḥiluuni min hinaak (al-Mireebii°a) ilaa hina (as-Sireew).

اربعة سنوات تقريبا.

بعدين من هنا توفي فكي تكرر. وبس طوّالي رَحَلُوا ابوي رجّعوه عشان يمسك محلو. رجع لحدّي ما توفي هو سنة اربعة واربعين. وكنت داك انا كنت هنا، جيت اتزوجت هنا في حلة المربعة دي، اللي هي عمرا أبو جريوا، ومتزوج شقيقتي. اتزوجت هنا كأنو ارحل السنة دي ارحل السنة الجاية... وعملت خلوة قعدت أقري اولادم. بس طوّالي توفي والدي دا، بعد دا بقيت تقبل هنا. بس فكروا ديل يرحلوني من هناك (المربيعية) إلى هنا (السريو).

*Q45: What is the connection between your father’s death in Gezira Aba and your move to Sireu?*

First of all, I left Gezira Aba and came to stay in Mirebi’a because my full sister lived there. My intention was to return (to Gezira Aba), but I didn’t return

Awwal ḥaaja raḥalta min aj-Jaziira Aba wa jiit ga°adta fi l-Mireebii°a la°annaa fiiha ukhti shagiigti. Kunta °aawiz arja° Aj-Jaziira wa maa raja°ta laḥaddi maa tawaffa

س45: إيه العلاقة بين وفاة والدك في الجزيرة ابا وكونك ترحل تحي السريو؟

اول حاجة رحلت من الجزيرة ابا وجيت قعدت في المربعة لأنها فيها اختي شقيقتي. كنت عاوز ارجع الجزيرة وما رجعت لحددي ما توفي والدي. لما توفي والدي في نفس السنة أو

until my father died. In the same year, or during the mourning days after my father's death, Abdurahman Jirewa's father died too. So, there was no need for me to return to Gezira Aba or to stay in Mirebi'a any longer. Those people, i.e., Tunfaafe and a number of other people, insisted on bringing me to Sireu so that I could open a Qur'anic school and teach their children. At that time no school had been established here.

So, I moved from there (Mirebi'a) to here (Sireu) in 1945, i.e., a year after my father's death. In 1945, I came and opened a Qur'anic school (*khalwa*) and started teaching. That was in the same house where I am living now. I continued teaching until 1946, when Mr. Lands, i.e., the inspector of Er-Roseires, came. He came here on his own business. He came and found the people studying the Qur'an. He found that they were quite numerous – about a hundred. The British, like all the other Europeans, tend to pay attention to the least little thing. I saw the people murmuring, including the sheikh of the village, i.e., Gadrimari the senior. I saw the children murmuring. I looked and saw the inspector together

waaldi. Lamma tawaffa waaldi fii nafs as-sana aw gaa°diin fii nafs al-furaash tawaffa abu °Abdurahmaan Jirewa. Aşbah haaja tarajji°ni j-Jaziira Aba maafi; wa maa fi haaja taga°°idni fi l-Mireebii°a. Aj-jamaa°a deel, naas Tunfaafe wa jamaa°a katiiriin mut°alliqiin bey laazim yirahhiluuni aji hina °ashaan agarri awlaadum aftah khalwa agarri awlaadum; wakit daak madrasa maa jaat hina.

Bas taħarrakta min hinaak lee hina sanat khamsa wa arba°iin, ba°ad sana min wafaat waaldi. Bas sanat khamsa wa arba°iin jiit fataħta l-khalwa di agarri fiiha l-Qur°aan, fii nafs l-ħoosh da zaatu l-°ana fiihu l-°aan. Bas fa istamarreena laħaddi sanat sitta wa arba°iin ja l-Mistir Landis, alli huwa mufattish ar-Rušeeriş. Ja hina le gharadu l-khaaş, ja liga l-khalwa n-naas bigru l-Qur°aan. Shaafum ma°a l-miyya. Wa l-Ingiliiz mitlahum mitil naas al-afrañji deel, absaṭ haaja maa bifawwituuha. Ana shuufu n-naas shawwasho, ma°aahum sheekh al-ħilla, alli huwa Gadammaari – Gadammaari j-jidd al-kabiir. Shuufu l-awlaad shawwashu, °aayanta kida shuufu l-mufattish ma°aahu

قاعدین فی نفس الفراش توفی ابو عبدالرحمن جریوا. أصبح حاجة ترجعني الجزيرة أبا مافي؛ وما في حاجة تقعدني في المريبيعة. الجماعة ديل، ناس تنفافي وجماعة كتيرين متعلقين بي لازم يرحلوني أجي هنا عشان اقري اولادهم افتح خلوة اقري اولادهم، وكت داك مدرسة ما جات هنا.

بس تحركت من هناك لي هنا سنة خمسة واربعين، بعد سنة من وفاة والدي. بس سنة خمسة واربعين جيت فتحت الخلوة دي اقري فيها القرآن، في نفس الحوش دا زاتو الأنا فيه الآن. بس فاستمرينا لحد سنة ستة واربعين جا المستر لاندس، اللي هو مفتش الرصيرص. جا هنا لغرضو الخاص، جا لقي الخلوة الناس بقروا القرآن، شافهم مع المية. والانجليز مثلهم مثل ناس الأفرنجي ديل، أبسط حاجة ما بفوتوها. أنا شوفت الناس شوشوا، معاهم شيخ الحلة اللي هو قدرماري – قدرماري الجد الكبير. شوفت الاولاد شوشوا، عاينت كدا شوفت المفتش معاه الشيخ. قومت سلمت عليه قال: "كويس كويس، أقعد أقعد، بلد بتاكم دا كويس والقراية كويس ما زي جلقني. انا جلقني وديت المدرسة هناك ناس ما بجوا".



with the sheikh. I stood up and saluted him. He (Mr. Lands) said: “Good, good, sit down, sit down; your village is good and the learning is good, unlike in Galgani. I opened a school in Galgani, but people did not attend.”

Indeed, he (Mr. Lands) was not aware of the fact that people did not like secular education. And then there was someone called Tinnir Karrar, the paternal uncle of Karrar Ahmad Karrar – Ahmad Karrar is buried here. He (Tinnir) came and said to our people: “This British man, i.e., Mr. Lands, has come.” He (Mr. Lands) comes and asks a boy, for example, to write *katab* (vb.: “to write”); he writes it. Then he goes to the other and asks him, for example, to write *darab* (vb.: “to hit”); he writes it... He examined many boys, and they all wrote. He said: “In this case, this village is a good village. Tinnir has often applied for a school to be opened here, but I refused because I established a school in Galgani, and it didn’t succeed. Therefore, I would not have considered opening another school. I didn’t want to repeat this experience. But now your village is interested in learning.”

sh-sheekh. Gumta sallamta °alehu gal: “Kooyis kooyis, ago°od, ago°od, balad bitaakum da kooyis wa l-giraaya kooyis maa zey Jalgani. Ana Jalgani waddeet al-madrasa hinaak naas maa yiju.”

Ataari huwa maa °aarif an-naas l-°ilim al-madani maa daayrinnu. Di faatat °alehu. Ba°deen fi waaḥid taajir ismu Tinniir Karraar hina, alli huwa °am Karraar Aḥmad Karraar – Aḥmad Karraar madfuun °indana hina. Ja gaal le j-jamma°a deel: “Al-Ingiliizi ja Mistir Landis da.” Naas al-khalwa saakitiin... yiji le walad yiguul leehu aktib mathalan “katab” fi r-ramla. Al-walad yaktib. Yimshi lee daak yiguul leehu aktib mathalan “darab”, yaktib... Jarrab awlaad kutaar, kullahum katabu. Bas gaal: “Izan intu l-ḥilla di ḥilla kooysa. Daayman naas Tinniir ṭaalbiin yijiibu leehum madrasa hina laakin rafaḍta la°anni °amalta madrasa fii Jalgani maa najahat. Fa °ale kida maa mufakkir ajiib madrasa taani; at-tajriba di maa °aayiz a°iidaa taani. Laakin khalaas ḥillatukum bitriid al-giraaya.” Gaam ṭawwaali ṣaddag jaabo l-madrasa.

أتاري هو ما عارف الناس العلم المدني ما دايرنو. دي فاتت عليه. بعدين في واحد تاجر اسمو تنيير كرار هنا اللي هو عم كرار أحمد كرار – أحمد كرار مدفون عندنا هنا. جا قال للجماعة ديل: “الانجليزي جا، مستر لاندس دا”. ناس الخولة ساكتين... يجي للولد يقول ليه اكتب مثلا “كتب”، في الرملة. الولد يكتب. يمشي لي داك يقول ليه اكتب مثلا “ضرب”، يكتب... جرب اولاد كتار، كلهم كتبوا. بس قال: “اذا انتو الحلة دي حلة كويسة، دائما ناس تنيير طالبين يجيبوا ليه مدرسة هنا لكن رفضت لاني عملت مدرسة في جلقتي ما نجحت. فعلي كذا ما مفكر اجيب مدرسة تاني، التجربة دي ما عايز اعيدها تاني لكن خلاص حلنكم بتريد القرابة”. قام طوالي صدق جابوا المدرسة.

So, he immediately gave his approval for the establishment of a school.

The (secular) school was opened on 1 January 1946. The *khalwa* also continued functioning. You know the Fallaata: if they get a *khalwa* where they can learn, do they go anywhere else? They were not interested in secular education. That man (Mr. Lands) didn't realise this. When the school continued for a year, the number of pupils decreased. He thought that it was the influence of the *khalwa* which prevented the school from being successful. So, he came back very angry. He asked them (i.e., some Sireu people): "From where does this person (the *khalwa* teacher, i.e., our informant) come?" They answered: "He comes from Gezira Aba." He (Mr. Lands) was standing there, and he called me. With him was the son of (Sheikh) Gadrimari, a medical assistant (Hussein). He (Mr. Lands) said: "People tell me that you come from Gezira Aba!" I responded: "Yes, I come from Gezira Aba." "Well, I have seen your *khalwa*; it is good; Tinnir Karrar and his people said that your teaching is good; even their children study well there. But your *khalwa*

Fataḥu l-madrasa hina fi waahid waahid sanat sitta wa arba<sup>c</sup>iin. Wa l-khalwa di gaa<sup>c</sup>da mustamirra barḍu bitgarri. Inta <sup>c</sup>aarif al-Fallaata izaal ligo gaa<sup>c</sup>diin yigru l-khalwa bimshu maḥal taani? At-ta<sup>c</sup>liim al-madani maa daayrinnu. Daak maa <sup>c</sup>irif bas. Lamma l-madrasa di istamarrat sana kaan al-<sup>c</sup>adadiyya basiita jiddan jiddan. <sup>c</sup>Irif bi annu j-jamaa<sup>c</sup>a deel ta<sup>c</sup>siir al-khalwa huwa l-khalla l-madrasa di maa itagaddamat. Ja raaje<sup>c</sup> za<sup>c</sup>laan jiddan jiddan. Sa<sup>c</sup>alum gaal leehum: "Az-zool da jaayi min ween?" Gaalu leehu: "Jaayi min aj-Jaziira Aba." Waagif hinaak naadaani, kaan ma<sup>c</sup>aahu walad Gadarmari, kaan musaa<sup>c</sup>id ṭibbi (Hiseen). Bas masheet, "Gaalu inta min aj-Jaziira Aba." Gulta le: "Aayi, min aj-Jaziira Aba." "Ṭayyib, ana l-khalwa bitaa<sup>c</sup>ak shuufu, kooyis; al-awlaad kullu bigru kooyis. Wa naas Tinniir Karraar gaalu giraaya haggatak di kooyis, awlaadum zaatu bigru hina kooyis. Laakin khalwa bitaa<sup>c</sup>ak di yamna<sup>c</sup> al-madrasa maa titgaddam. Hassa<sup>c</sup> ana baddiik <sup>c</sup>itneen ra<sup>c</sup>y: inta bita<sup>c</sup>rif giraayat

فتحو المدرسة هنا في واحد واحد سنة سنة واربعين. والخوة دي قاعدة مستمرة برضو بتقري. انت عارف الفلاتة اذا لقوا قاعدين بقروا الخوة بمشوا محل ثاني؟ التعليم المدني ما دايرنو. دلك ما عرف بس. لما المدرسة دي استمرت سنة كان العددية بسيطة جدا جدا. عرف بأنو الجماعة ديل تأسير الخوة هو الخلا المدرسة دي ما اتقدمت. جا راجع زعلان جدا جدا. سألم قال ليهم: "الزول دا جاي من وين؟" قالوا ليه: "جاي من الجزيرة أبأ." واقف هناك ناداني، كان معاه ولد قدرماري كان مساعد طبي (حسين). بس مشيت، قالوا انت من الجزيرة أبأ." قلت ليه: "أي من الجزيرة أبأ." أنا الخوة بتاعك شوفتو كويس، الاولاد كلو بقرا كويس. وناس تنير كرار قالوا قرابة حقتك دي كويس أولادهم زاتو بقرو هنا كويس. لكن خلوه بتاعك دي بمنع المدرسة ما تتقدم. هسع أنا بديك إثنين رأي. إنت بتعرف قرابة المدرسة؟" قلت ليه: "أي." كنت قريب هناك في الجزيرة أبأ. "طيب انت تتضم للمدرسة دي عشان تدرّس في المدرسة عشان اهلك يرغبوا يدخلوا اولادهم، وكان رفضت انا بقبل الخوة بتاعك بالسلطة، بطردك من البلد دي ارجعك بلدكم." قلت ليه خلاص بدرس، كتب الحكاية دي وفات الرصيرص.

is preventing the (secular) school's progress. Now, I will give you two choices. Have you (also) received an education in (a secular) school?" I answered, "Yes." I attended (a secular) school in Gezira Aba. "Well, you (will also) join this (secular) school (in Sireu) to teach there, so that your people will be encouraged to bring their children to it. If you refuse, I will close your *khalwa* by law and send you back to your home region (Gezira Aba)." I told him that I would teach. He wrote this down and went back to Er-Roseires.

Then, suddenly, the Local Educational Inspector – as he was called at that time – arrived. He sent for me, and I went to meet him; it was someone called Abdurahman Habiib. I met him, and he said to me: "The inspector (of Er-Roseires) says such-and-such; he wishes that you join the (secular) school so that your people will be interested in it. Now, are you interested in teaching (there)?" I said to him: "What can I do? I have to teach." So, he wrote my name and said to me: "We will send for you so that you can attend a course in Rufa'a." At the specified date, they sent for me, and I went to Rufa'a (Gezira),

al-madrasa?" Gulta leehu: "Aayi." Kunta gareet hinaak fi j-Jaziira Aba. "Ṭayib, inta tinḍamma le l-madrasa di °ashaan tadarris fi l-madrasa °ashaan ahlak yarghabu yidakhhilu awlaadum. Wa kaan rafaḍta ana bagfil al-khalwa bitaa°ak be s-sulṭa; baṭrudak min al-balad di arajji°ak baladkum." Gulta le khalaas badariis. Katab al-ḥikaaya di wa faat ar-Ruṣeeris.

Fa iza ba bihii laamin ja – al-wakit daak bisammuh mufattish at-ta°liim al-mahalli. Rassal ley masheet gaabaltu – waaḥid ismu °Abduraḥmaan Ḥabiib. Gaabaltu gaal ley: "Al-mufattish biguul kida kida °indu raghba °ashaan tadhul tadarris fi l-madrasa °ashaan yirghabu ahlak deel al-madrasa. Wa hassa° indak ar-raghba °ashaan tadarris?" Gulta leehu: "A°mal shinu laabudda innu adarris." Bas fi°lan katab ismi gaal ley: "Niḥna binrassil leek taji hina °ashaan tadhul koors fi Rufaa°a." Fi mii°aadum da rassalo ley masheet Rufaa°a akhadta koors hinaak.

فإذا به لامن جا – الوكت داك بسموه مقتش التعليم المحلي. رسل لي مشيت قابلتو، واحد اسمو عبدالرحمن حبيب. قابلتو قال لي: "المفتش بقول كدا كدا عندو رغبة عشان تدخل تدرس في المدرسة عشان يرغبوا اهلك ديل المدرسة. وهسع عندك الرغبة عشان تدرس؟" قلت ليه: "اعمل شنو لايد انو ادرس". بس فعلا كتب اسمي قال لي: "نحن بنرسل ليك تجي هنا عشان تدخل كورس في رفاة". في ميعادهم دا رسلوا لي مشيت رفاة، أخذت كورس هناك.

where I attended the course.

The person who opened this (secular) school had been living in a place nearby, i.e., Disa (village) for a long time. He was well known to me. The (Disa) people are not Arabs, they are like *mawaaliid*.<sup>16</sup> Anyhow, I came and took responsibility for the (secular) school and continued teaching in it, together with someone named At-Tayyib Nassi, may his soul rest in peace. And then, in the following year, he was transferred to a place called Ura, and somebody else was brought from Er-Roseires. Meanwhile my *khalwa*, too, continued (to function). I taught in the *khalwa* here and also in the school.

Wa z-zool al-fataḥ al-madrasa di min badri kaan fii ḥilla janbana hina. Ad-Diisa – zool ma°ruuf °indi. (Ahalha) maa °Arab, naas mawaaliid kida. Aṣlahum jaayiin... Bas ba°deen °ala kulli ḥaal jiiṭ masakta al-madrasa ga°adta adarris fiiha, maa°ayi waaḥid ismu ṭ-Ṭayyib Nassi, raḥimahu l-Laah. Ba°adeen as-sana j-jaayya nuqil huwa min hina waddoohu ḥitta isimaa Ura, wa jaabo waaḥid min ar-Ruṣeerīṣ. Wa l-khalwa ḥaggati maa zaalat mustamirra, (adarris fi) l-khalwa hina wa amshi l-madrasa.

والزول الفتح المدرسة دي من بدري كان في حلة جنبنا هنا – الديسة، زول معروف عندي. (أهلها) ما عرب، ناس مواليد كدا. اصلهم جايين... بس بعدين على كل حال جيت مسكت المدرسة قعدت ادريس فيها، معاي واحد اسمو الطيب نسي، رحمه الله. بعدين السنة الجاية نقل هو من هنا ودوه حنة اسمها اورا، وجابوا واحد من الرصيرص. والخلوة حققي ما زالت مستمرة، (الدرس في) الخلوة هنا وامشي المدرسة.

*Q46: Did the number of pupils (in the secular school) increase when you started to teach there?*

They increased. You know (what)? All the members of Ibrahim Beeli's family – with the exception of Ibrahim Beeli the senior – studied first in my *khalwa* and then in the school. They used to go to the school in the morning and then come to my *khalwa* in the afternoon. The *khalwa* continued as it was, while the school

Zaadu. Inta °aarif? °Usrat naas Ibraahiim Beeli di, bas ukhud minnahum Ibraahiim al-kabiir bas; baagi akhwaanu deel chat °aleehum garo fi l-khalwa di wa masho l-madrasa. Bigru fi ṣ-ṣabaah fi l-madrasa wa fi ḍ-ḍuhur yiju °indi fi l-khalwa. Al-khalwa istamarrat fii ḥaalataa wa l-madrasa °amarat. Wa be

س46: والتلاميذ هنا زادوا بعدما انت جيت؟

زادوا. انت عارف؟ أسرة ناس إبراهيم بيلى دي، بس أخذ منهم إبراهيم الكبير بس، باقي اخوانو ديل شت عليهم قروا في الخلوة دي ومشوا المدرسة. بقروا في الصباح في المدرسة وفي الظهر يجوا عندي في الخلوة. الخلوة استمرت في حالتها والمدرسة عمرت. وبالحالة دي استمرت لمدة يمكن ثمانية سنوات. وكت داك نقلوا داك وخلوني ناظر في المدرسة

<sup>16</sup> *Mawaaliid*: people mixed with Arabs.

developed. In this situation, I continued for a period of about eight years. At that time the other person got transferred, and I was left alone as the headmaster of the school. I stayed until... Of course, they saw that the Galgani school was not successful. The inspector said: "We have to send so-and-so (a new teacher) there, because this first period of school development was a test. If the school still doesn't succeed, then we will have to close it."

I was transferred from here to Galgani. I went and spent two years in Galgani. In these two years, thank God, I succeeded in making it (the school) develop. Once again, they decided to transfer me, this time to a place called Wad al-Mahi – an area south of Er-Roseires. Its inhabitants are Watawit (tribe). There too, I was successful. And then from there I was transferred to a place called Abu Shaniina, on the western side of the river (Blue Nile). At-Tayyib Mahmoud was together with me in Galgani. When we were both transferred from Galgani southward, I went to Wad al-Mahi, and he went to Abu Shanina, where I later joined him. I stayed there until he (At-Tayyib) was

l-haala di istamarreet li muddat, yimkin tamaaniya sanawaat. Wakit daak ngalo daak wa khallooni naazir fi l-madrasa zaataa. Wa ga°adta laamin... Ṭaba°an madrasat Jalgani shaafo maa najahat. Al-Mufattish gaal, "Laazim nawaddi fulaan al-fulaani da hinaak °ashaan diik tajriba, ba°ad daak iza maa najaho nagfilaa."

Nagalooni min hina ilaa Jalgani. Masheet akhadta fi Jalgani sanateen. Fi sanateen fi°lan alḥamdu lillaah wuffiqta °amarat. Fakkaro taani yanguluuni ilaa ḥitta isimaa Wadd al-Maaḥi – mantiga janub ar-Ruṣeeris, ahalha Waṭaawiit. Akhadta ma°ahum arba°a sanawaat. Barḍu t-tawfiq kaan muḥaalifni. Ba°deen min °indahum nuqilta ilaa ḥitta isimaa Abu-Shaniina, gharb an-nahr. At-Ṭayyib Maḥmuud kaan ma°aay fi Jalgani. Lamma ngalooni kullana min Jalgani ila j-janub, ana masheet Wadd al-Maaḥi wa huwa masha Abu-Shaniina alli masheet leeha akhiiran. Ga°adta hinaak laḥaddi maa nagalooni ilaa ḥitta isimaa Ufud. Ghaaytu, Abu-Shaniina di sakanta fiiha

ذاتها. وقعدت لامن... طبعا مدرسة جلقني شافوا ما نجحت. المفتش قال، "لازم نودي فلان الفلاني دا هناك عشان ديك تجربة، بعد داك اذا ما نجحوا نقلها".

نقلوني من هنا إلى جلقني. مشيت أخذت في جلقني سنتين. وفي السنيتين فعلا الحمد لله وفقت عمرت. فكروا ثاني ينقلوني الى حطة اسما ود الماحي، منطقة جنوب الرصيرص، أهلها وطاويط. أخذت معاهم اربعة سنوات. برضو التوفيق كان محالفني. بعدين من عندهم نقلت الى حطة اسما ابوشنيينة، غرب النهر. الطيب محمود كان معاي في جلقني. لما نقلونا كلنا من جلقني الى الجنوب انا مشيت ود الماحي وهو مشى ابوشنيينة اللي مشيت ليها أخيرا. قعدت هناك لحدي ما نقلوه الى حطة اسما أفد. غايته ابوشنيينة دي سكنت فيها سكني – قعدت فيها عشرة سنوات. قدرني ما يجوا يحاولوا ينقلوني – المنطقة زاتا منطقة شدة – ما بلقوا زول عشان يودوه. والناس هناك متمسكين بي. يعني كانت عشرتهم بكل الدنيا. فإذا به قعدت عشرة سنوات. ومن

transferred to a place called Ufud. Anyway, I stayed for a long time in Abu Shanina – ten years. Whenever they tried to transfer me – the area itself was a ‘hardship area’ – they would not find anybody to replace me. And the people (there) insisted on retaining me. In fact, their friendship was invaluable. So, I found myself spending ten years (with them). And from there I came back to Sireu, where I stayed until I completed the prescribed period (of service) – about 13 years.

sukna. Ga°adta fiha °ashara sanawaat. Gadri maa yiju yihaawlu yanguluuni – al-mantiga zaataa mantigat shidda – maa bilgu zool °ashaan yiwadduuhu; wa n-naas hinaak mutmassikiin bey. Ya°ni kaanat °ushratum bi kulli d-dunya. Fa izaa bihi ga°adta °ashara sanawaat. Wa min hinaak raja°ta s-Sireew taani. Arja°a lli laamin tammeet al-mudda – zey talattaashar sana.

هناك رجعت السريو ثاني،  
الرجعة اللي لامن تميت المدة  
– زي تلتاشر سنة.

*Q47: How do you explain the high level of education and culture which characterises this village in comparison with the other surrounding villages?*

By God, I found the people of this village ready to acquire knowledge. Because of this I made the maximum effort I could (with them).

Wallaahi wajadta naas al-hilla hina musta°iddiin li talaqqi l-°ilm. Nisbatan la°anni wajadtahum musta°iddiin bazalta aakhir majhuud °indi.

س47: ما هو تفسيرك للمستوى  
العالي في العلم والثقافة الذي  
يميز هذه القرية مقارنة بالقرى  
المجاورة؟

والله وجدت ناس الحلة هنا  
مستعدين لتلقي العلم. نسبة  
لأني وجدتهم مستعدين بذلت  
آخر مجهود عندي.

*Q48: Did the school, for which you were responsible, play a major role in making the children learn?*

Well, some people joined the school from the *khalwa* without passing through the first year (of school) at all.

Ṭayib, an-naas al-gaamo min al-khalwa hina wa maa masho s-sana l-°uula kullu-kullu, wa minnahum

س48: المدرسة اللي إنت  
وقفت عليها دي هي اللي  
لعبت دور كبير في إبنو الأولاد  
يتعلموا؟

طيب الناس القاموا من الخوة  
هنا وما مشوا السنة الأولى  
كلو كلو، ومنهم أولاد ناس  
بيلي ديل، ومجموعة كبيرة.

Among them were the Ibrahim Beelis (brothers) and a large group of people. From the *khalwa* they went straight to the second school year... In the *khalwa*, I used to teach elementary arithmetic, *tawhiid* (theology), and some other basic things which the boys needed...

awlaad naas Beeli deel, wa majmuu<sup>a</sup> kabiira. Minnahum min al-khalwa le s-sana taaniya bas fi l-madrasa... Fi l-khalwa zaataa kunta badarris fiiha mabaadi<sup>o</sup> le l-hisaab wa fii nafs al-wakit barḍu t-tawhiid mathalan wa l-hajaat al-basiita l-bihtaajaa l-walad...

مئهم، من الخلوّة للسنة الثانية بس في المدرسة... في الخلوّة ذاتها كنت بدرّس فيها مبادئ للحساب وفي نفس الوقت برضو التوحيد مثلاً والحاجات البسيطة المحتاجا للولد...

*Q49: Well, was this your own initiative or had you found a certain curriculum which you followed?*

س49: طيب دا اجتهاد منك بس واللا وجدت منهج معين واتبعته؟

No, this was my own initiative. I also used to teach *fiqh* (jurisprudence). So, there were people who went from the *khalwa* directly to the second year (class) without passing through first year; a large number of them. And when they finished school here and proceeded to the *Zaat ar-Ra<sup>o</sup>seen* (double-branched) level, none of them returned (i.e., none were sent back for being unqualified). That is what they determined in Er-Roseires.

La, ijtihaad minni bas. Badarris fiqh barḍu. Fa fi naas min al-khalwa ṭawwaali khashsho sana taaniya, maa masho sana uula; majmuu<sup>a</sup> kabiira. Wa kamaan lamma intaho min hina marra waaḥda masho hinaak Zaat ar-Ra<sup>o</sup>seen zool fiihum ja raaje<sup>c</sup> maafi. Zaat ar-Ra<sup>o</sup>seen kaan fi r-Ruṣeeris.

لا، اجتهاد مني بس. بدرّس فقه برضو. ففي ناس من الخلوّة طوّالي خشوا سنة ثانية ما مشوا سنة أولى، مجموعة كبيرة. وكمان لما انتهوا من هنا مرة واحدة ومشوا هناك ذات الرأسين زول فيهم جا راجع مافي. ذات الرأسين كان في الروصيرص.

(In Er-Roseires), they used to be promoted to the fourth year (class), without repeating the third year (class). At first, they (i.e., the educational administrators) thought of allowing them (i.e., our children) to repeat the third year, but they realised that this was

Kanu bimshu ṭawwaali raaba<sup>a</sup> biduun maa yi<sup>i</sup>idutaalta. Kaanu fakkaru ya<sup>c</sup>malu l-<sup>o</sup>i<sup>a</sup>aada laakin ligooha maa min maṣlaḥatum hum (al-mas<sup>o</sup>uuliin), la<sup>o</sup>annu be mujarrad maa<sup>c</sup>aadu taani maafi zool bigdar yinaafisum wa yimshi

كانوا بمشوا طوّالي رابعة دون ما يعيدوا تالته. كانوا فكروا يعملوا الإعادة لكن لقوها ما من مصلحتهم هم (المسؤولين) لأنو بمجرد ما عادوا ثاني مافي زول بقدر ينافسهم ويمشي معاهم. ومن الناس القروا الخلوّة ومشوا المدرسة أبو دا (إبيب عبدالرحمن جريوا) وناس كتيرين.

against their interest (i.e., against the administrators' interest),<sup>17</sup> because if they were allowed to repeat (that year), no one else would (be able to) compete with them anymore. Among those who attended the *khalwa* and then went to school were the father of this chap (i.e., the father of Labiib Abdurahman Jirewa) and many others.

ma<sup>°</sup>aahum. Min an-naas al-garo l-khalwa wa masho l-madrasa abu da (Labiib <sup>°</sup>Abduraḥmaan Jireewa), wa naas katiirrin.

#### ABU-MANGA

We can consider the *khalwa* to have played a major role in the educational development which characterises this village.

Ya<sup>°</sup>ni mumkin naguul innu l-khalwa bitaa<sup>°</sup>tak di li<sup>°</sup>bat door kabiir fi t-taggadum alli ḥaṣal fi l-balad di fii majaal at-ta<sup>°</sup>liim.

#### أبومنقة

يعني ممكن نقول إنه الخلوة بتاعتك دي لعبت دور كبير في التقدم الحاصل في البلد دي في مجال التعليم.

[Abdullahi agrees]

*Q50: One notices that you are a scholar, and your father was a scholar too. Was scholarship a tradition in your family? And since when have your relatives been scholars?*

س50: الملاحظ إنك عالم ووالدك برضو كان عالم. طيب العلم دا كان تقليد في أسرته؟ ومن متين كان أهلکم علماء؟

#### ABDULLAHI

I can't tell. I don't know about scholarship, but they were *ḥafaṣa* (i.e., people who knew the Qur'an by heart) – in my family. I didn't witness anyone except my father. I didn't see the others with my own

Maa agdar aguul. Al-<sup>°</sup>ilim da maa <sup>°</sup>aarif laakin ḥafaṣa. Ana maa ligiit illa abuuy. Amma deelak maa shuufftahum bee <sup>°</sup>eeni, laakin ligiit abuuy wa warraani innu abuuhu kaan ḥaafiz barḍu – ḥaafiz al-

#### عبدالله

ما أقدر أقول. العلم دا ما عارف لكن حَفْظَة، أنا ما لقيت إلا أبوي. أما ديلك ما شوفتهم بي عيني، لكن لقيت أبوي ووراني إنو أبوه كان حافظ برضو – حافظ القرآن على ظهر قلب.

<sup>17</sup> Either because these administrators were Arabs and they did not want the Fallaata (Fulani) children to surpass their own children *or* because these administrators were striving for fair distribution of chances between the different ethnic groups living in the area.



eyes. I witnessed only my father and he told me that his father, too, was *haafiz* (pl. *hafaza*) – he knew the Qur'an by heart.

Qur'aan °alaa zahri qalb.

*Q51: Well, from among those who attended your khalwa, do you remember anyone with a good (social or financial) position?*

Ibrahim Beeli's family and Suleiman Hassan... Anyway, all these adult men were at this *khalwa* at first, and afterwards they went to school. So, Mr. Lands's view was correct, i.e., when these people study at the *khalwa*, they become interested in the school too, and this was what happened.

°Usrat Ibraahiim Beeli, wa Sileemaan Ḥasan da... °Ala kulli ḥaal kull al-awlaad al-kubaar deel kaanu fi l-khalwa di awwal ḥaaja hatta taani masha l-madrasa. Zey raay Landis zaatu, ya°ni n-naas deel lamma yigru fi l-khalwa di yarghabu fi l-madrasa zaataa, wa da l-ḥaşal.

س51: طيب من الناس اللي بدوا من الخلوة بتاعتك تذكر منو من الناس اللي هسع وضعهم كويس؟

أسرة إبراهيم بيلي، وسليمان حسن دا، على كل حال كل الأولاد الكبار ديل كانوا في الخلوة دي أول حاجة حتى تاني مشوا المدرسة. زي راي لاندس ذاته، يعني الناس ديل لما يقروا في الخلوة دي يرغبوا في المدرسة ذاتها، ودا الحصل.

*Q52: Among those working in Saudi Arabia, are there people employed in positions related to education or are they all labourers and professionals?*

By God, there are labourers, but not many. The majority of them are people working in offices.

Wallaahi yaakhi l-°ummaal fi laakin maa katiiriin. Aghlabhum naas makaatib.

س52: من المغتربين في السعودية في ناس في المجال الوظيفي اللي فيه صلة بالتعليم واللا كلهم عمال أو مهنيين؟

والله يا اخي العمال في لكن كثيرين. أغلبهم ناس مكاتب.

*Q53: Was there any or is there still any effect of Ibrahim Abdelhafiz's programme of ad-Da°wa sh-Shaamla (Comprehensive Enlightenment Programme) regarding adult education?*

س53: هل كان أو ما زال هناك أثر لبرنامج إبراهيم عبدالحفيظ بتاع الدعوة الشاملة فيما يتعلق بتعليم الكبار؟

There is a great effect. It has had a (positive) effect on adult education, especially for women.

Fi athar kabiir. Aththar (iijaaban) fii ta<sup>o</sup>liim al-kibaar, khaaṣṣatan an-niswaan.

في أثر كبير. أثر (إيجاباً) في تعليم الكبار، خاصة النسوان.

*Q54: How about the ad-Difaa<sup>o</sup> ash-Sha<sup>o</sup>bi (Public Defense Military Training)? Was there a high percentage of persons who were trained?*

س54: والتدريب بتاع الدفاع الشعبي كيف؟ الناس اللي اتدربوا نسبتهم كبيرة؟

Their number was high, but later on it decreased.

Kaan <sup>o</sup>adadum kabiir, laakin akhiiran fi<sup>o</sup>lan taqaaṣaru kida, itraaja<sup>o</sup>u.

كان عددهم كبير، لكن أخيراً فعلاً تقاصروا كذا، اترجعوا.

*Q55: I noticed that your ties to Maiurno, for example through interaction and intermarriage, are weak. How do you explain this?*

س55: لاحظت إنو صلنكم بمايرنو ضعيفة في التعامل والمداخلة والتزاوج. تفسر الحكاية دي بي شنو؟

But one cannot generalise. I...

Ghaaytu l-ḥikaaya maa shaamla bas, laakin ana...

غايتو الحكاية ما شاملة بس، لكن أنا...

*Q56: But you have relatives there (At-Tayyib Mahmoud's family).*

س56: إنت ما عندك أهل هناك، (ناس الطيب محمود).

When the senior Sultan of Maiurno (Mai-Wurno) died, I was in Gezira Aba. (Upon hearing of his death), I came to offer my condolences and even composed an elegy.

Lamma tawaffa as-Sulṭaan al-kabiir Maiurno wakit daak kunta fii Aba, jiit ṭawwaali le t-ta<sup>o</sup>aziyya hina wa katabta marthiyya.

لما توفي السلطان الكبير مايرنو وقت داك كنت في أبأ، جيت طوالي للتعزية هنا وكتبت مرثية.

*Q57: This is, of course, a special case, which concerns you as an individual. My question is the following: why are relations between Maiurno and Sireu*

س57: دي طبعا حالة خاصة ودا إنت كفرد. بسأل بصوره عامة ليه العلاقة بين مايرنو والسريو فاترة؟ يمكن لأنو ناس الحلة دي أنصار وناس مايرنو ما أنصار؟

*inactive? Was it, perhaps, because the people of this village (Sireu) are Ansar while the Maiurno people are not?*

If you know (the reason), why should I say it again?

#### LABIIB

Perhaps the groups of people living in the other (Fallaata) villages (in this area) originally moved from Maiurno... They settled first in Maiurno for a certain period of time, then proceeded to this area (i.e., Southern Blue Nile), whereas the Sireu people didn't. Moreover, the way some (Sireu) people are, especially the Ansar, is not acceptable to many others. They (i.e., the non-Sireu people) say (to the Sireu people): "When one comes to you with a system of beliefs different from yours, you consider him or her to be an (unbeliever)."

This is why, now, you don't find a single new person coming from outside to settle here. All the people living here have been here for a long time and their families have grown. In other words, the expansion was just a result of local reproduction and nothing else. This is (still true), even though the situation has

Izan inta °aarif, na°iid naguul shinu taani?

Jaayiz al-majmuu°aat as-sukkaaniyya bitaa°at al-qura diik (fi l-mantiga di wa °indaa tadaakhul ma°a Maayirno) nazaḥat min Maayirno aṣlan... kaan istaqarrat fatra fii Maayirno wa nazaḥat wa yikuunu naas as-Sireew deel maa kaanu mashu Maayirno. Wa kamaan waaḥdiin, wa khuuṣṣan al-anṣaar deel sum°atum kida maa magbuula °inda n-naas ataaniyiin katiir. Biguulu: "Intu l-waaḥid lamma yimshi °indakum hinaak leehum manḥajum al-khaaṣ. Fa bi°idduukum ka°annakum maa... kida."

Lizaaalik hassa° maa bitalga wala zool waaḥid ja sakan hina jadiid. Kull an-naas al-mawjuudiin deel min badri kaanu fi s-Sireew wa itwaaladu bas; ya°ni l-°ittisaa° bas be t-tawaalud maa aktar min kida. Wa bee da al-ḥaala itghayyarat. Kaan zamaan an-naas al-kubaar maa °indahum insijaam ma°a l-°aakhariin.

إذا إنت عارف، نعيد نقول شنو تاني؟

#### لبيب

جايز المجموعات السكانية بتاعة القرى ديك (في المنطقة دي وعندها تداخل مع مايرنو) نزحت من مايرنو أصلاً... كان استقرت فترة في مايرنو ونزحت، ويكونوا ناس السريو ديل ما كانوا مشوا مايرنو. وكمان واحدين، وخصوصاً الأنصار ديل سمعتهم كدا ما مقبولة عند الناس التانيين كتير. بقولوا: "نتو الواحد لما يمشي عندكم هناك ليهم منهجم الخاص. فبعدوكم كأنكم ما... كدا."

لذلك هسع ما بتلقى ولا زول واحد جا سكن هنا جديد. كل الناس الموجودين ديل من بدري كانوا في السريو واتوالدوا بس، يعني الاتساع بس بالتوالد ما أكثر من كدا. وبني دا الحالة اتغيرت. كان زمان الناس الكبار ما عندهم انسجام مع الآخرين. لكن نحن الزمن الأخير الانسجام دا يعني بنيناه خطوة خطوة وإن كان ما وصلنا الغرض المرجو.

changed. Formerly, the elders didn't have harmonious relations with other peoples. Recently, however, we have initiated amicable relations with others step by step, although these have not yet reached the level of our expectations.

Laakin niḥna z-zaman al-akhiir al-insijaam da ya'ni baneenaahu khaṭwa khaṭwa wa in kaan maa waṣalna l-għaraḍ al-marju.

*Q58: Which village – apart from Bijawi – is the most closely connected with Sireu?*

ABDULLAHI

Sirajiyya and Jibril; these two villages plus Bijawi. This is because (the inhabitants of) Sirajiyya and Jibril (and Bijawi) are of the same (Fulani) subsection as the Sireu people, i.e., Borno Fallaata.

Siraajiyya wa Jibriil. Al-ḥillateen deel wa ma'aahum Bijaawi. Allii khalla as-Siraajiyya wa naas Jibriil (yikuunu murtabtiin be s-Sireew) al-gabiila zaataa waahda, alli huwa Fallaataat Borno.

*Q59: But the Sirajiyya and Jibril people are linked to the hijra group led by (Sultan) Mai-Wurno and, in fact, they left from Maiurno. They have nothing to do with the people of Galadima.*

By God, these Sirajiyya people are related to (Sheikh) Gadrimari's people through the clan (i.e., through shared clan identity).

Wallaahi naas as-Siraajiyya deel ma'a naas Gadammaari al-gabiila kida raabtaahum.

*Q60: With which villages do you intermarry most frequently? Do you marry*

س58: طيب أكثر حلة مريوطة بالسريو – غير بجاوي – ياتي؟

عبدالله

سراجية وجبريل. الحلتين ديل ومعام بجاوي. اللي خَلَّ السراجية وناس جبريل (يكونوا مرتبطين بالسريو) القبيلة ذاتها واحدة، اللي هو فلاتة برنو.

س59: لكن ناس السراجية وجبريل ديل ليهم صلة بهجرة ميورنو وطلعوا منها، ما ليهم صلة بقلاديمة!

والله ناس السراجية ديل مع ناس قدرماري القبيلة كدا رابطاهم.

س60: أكثر الحلال اللي بنتزاورجوا معاها شنو؟ معظم التزواج داخل البلد واللا...؟

most frequently within the village or...?

Within the village. At present, is there anybody who takes two or three wives? Some people do not even have two. In fact, they usually get married to only one (woman). And those who become educated and travel take wives from outside the village; so there is a surplus of women here.

I lived and got married in Galgani; there is a big difference between here and Galgani in the matter of customs. I spent two years in Galgani and married a woman from there.

First, if one goes from Sireu to Galgani, I think that it is difficult for one to find an obedient wife. But there are also some differences in other aspects. In Galgani, one may want to marry a woman who has been married previously (*thayyib*).<sup>18</sup> If one lacks the means, they will allow one to take one's wife as soon as the marriage is contracted, and stay with her for a long time, until she gives birth. And then one takes her back to her family and brings her the customary gifts (supposed to have been given at marriage). In this case, people say: "She

Daakhil al-balad. Az-zaman da fi zool yitzawwaj °itneen wa talaata? Iteen zaatum bitalga naas maa °indahum; °indahum waahdi waahdi. Wa n-naas alli tashuufum al-hina bimshu yit°allamu aw bimshu yisaafru maa biju yitzawwaju min hina maa bi waffiru n-niswaan hina.

Ana °ishta wa itzawwajta min Jalgani. Fi fariq kabiir been al-°adaat al-mawjuuda hina wa Jalgani. Ana °ishta sanateen fii Jalgani wa haṣal itzawwajta minnahum.

Awwal haaja n-naas deel, naas as-Sireew hina, fimaa i°taqid, az-zool iza gaam min hina masha itzawwaj fii Jalgani min aṣ-ṣa°ab yilga mara mutii°a. Illa fi jawaanib taaniya kamaan talgaaha tikhtalif, la°annu °indana hinaak fii Jalgani l-waahid talgaahu °aawiz yitzawwaj le mara thayyib. Iza maa °indu gudra, be mujarrad maa °agad bidduuhu leha wa yigo°od ma°aaha mudda ṭawiila lighaayit maa talid. Ba°adeen min hinaak yijiibaa ahalaa, ba°adeen yijiib leha kull al-lawaaazim (alli mafruuḍ yijiibaa ayyaam az-zawaaj). Wa ba°adeen

داخل البلد. الزمن دا في زول يتزوج اتنين وثلاثة؟ إثنين ذاتهم بتلقى ناس ماعندهم، عندهم واحدي واحدي. والناس اللي تشوفهم هنا بمشوا يتعلموا أو بمشوا يسافروا ما بجوا يتزوجوا من هنا ما بوفروا النسوان هنا.

انا عشت واتزوجت من جلقني. في فرق كبير بين العادات الموجودة هنا وجلقني. أنا عشت سنتين في جلقني وحصل اتزوجت منهم.

أول حاجة الناس ديل ناس السريو هنا، فيما اعتقد، الزول إذا قام من هنا مشى اتزوج في جلقني من الصعب يلقي مرة مطيعة. إلا في جوانب تانية كمان تلقاها تختلف، لأنو عندنا هناك في جلقني الواحد تلقاه عاوز يتزوج لي مرة ثيب. إذا ما عندو قدرة، بمجرد ما عقد بدوه ليها ويقعد معاها مدة طويلة لغاية ما تلد. بعدين من هناك يجيبها أهلها، بعدين يجيب ليها كل اللوازم (اللي مفروض يجيبها أيام الزواج). وبعدين يقولوا سلفوها ياهو. ناس السراجية وجبريل عندها تأثر بالحكاية دي أكثر من ناس السريو، متأثرين بجلقني وعبدالخالق أكثر منا نحن. ديل الموجودين عندنا هنا شبه اللي بسموهم المواليدي، يعني

<sup>18</sup> A divorced woman or a widow.

has been lent to him.” In this respect, the people of Jibril and Sirajjiyya are more influenced by (the people of) Galgani than the people of Sireu. They are more influenced by Galgani and Abdel Khallag than we are (in Sireu). Those living here (in Sireu) are almost similar to the people referred to as *mawaaliid*; i.e., they have adopted the customs of the surrounding (non-Fulani) tribes.

yiguulu sallafoooha yaahu. Naas as-Siraajjiyya wa Jibriil °indaha ta°assur be l-hikaaya di aktar min naas as-Sireew; muta°assiriin be Jalgani wa °Abdal Khallaag aktar minnana niħna. Deel al-mawajuudiin °indana hina shibhi lli bisammuum al-mawaaliid; ya°ni maakhdiin min al-gabaayil al-mawjuuda hina °aadaatum.

ماخدين من القبائل الموجودة هنا عاداتهم.

*Q61: Where does this influence come from? From where have they received it?*

From living together (and interacting) with other tribes. (In this part of the Blue Nile area), they (Fulani) were in the minority among these tribes. You can see that even Sabun Galadima is surrounded by riverain Arabs (*awlaad balad*). When you come to Sireu, you also find that all the (surrounding) people are non-Fallaata. Apart from Sireu (and probably from here to Damazin), there is not any other Fallaata village. First, there is Sireu, and then there is Harun village, Disa, and so on. All these villages were already there when the Sireu people came. So, the Sireu people were a minority, whereas

Min gu°aadum ma°a gabaayil at-taaniya. Hum kaano aqalliyya ma°a l-gabaayil. Inta bitshuuf min Şaabuun Galaadiima zaataa maa kullaha muħaata be awlaad balad. Lamma taji hina barðu fi s-Sireew di talga n-naas kullahum maa hum Fallaata. Al-ħilla waaħda; min Sireew di taani l-ħallaalaat di kullaha mawjuudaa beinamaa ħillat Fallaata maa mawjuuda hina. Awwal ħaaja di s-Sireew, wa ba°adeen hinaak Ĥillat Haaruun, wa d-Diisa... Deel kullaha ħallaal naas as-Sireew ligoohum hina gaa°diin. Fa hum kaanu aqalliyya wa naas al-balad hina aw al-°Arab aw al-Baggaara kaanu

س61: الأثر دا جاهم من وين؟ أخذوه من وين؟

من قعادهم مع القبائل الثانية. هم كانوا أقلية مع القبائل. إنت بتشوف من صابون قلاديمة ذاتها ما كلها محاطة بأولاد بلد. لما تجي هنا برضو في السريو دي تلقى الناس كلهم ماهم فلاتة. الحلة واحدة من سريو دي تاني الحلالات دي كلها موجودة بينما حلة فلاتة ما موجودة هنا. أول حاجة دي السريو، وبعدين هناك حلة هارون، والديسة... ديل كلها حلال ناس السريو لقوهم هنا قاعدين، فهم كانوا أقلية وناس البلد هنا أو العرب أو البقارة كانوا كتار.

the riverain Arabs and the Baggara were numerous. kutaar.

*Q62: Are inter-cousin marriages frequent? Is a young man (in this area) obliged to marry his paternal cousin or is he free to marry as he pleases?*

LABIIB

He is free; he is not obliged to marry his paternal cousin. There is no restriction.

°Indu l-ḥurriyya, ma muqayyad be bitt °ammu. Maafi tagyiid.

س62: زواج بت العم عندكم هنا كثير؟ الزول لازم يتزوج بت عمو واللا عندو الحرية يتزوج من أي محل عايز؟

لبيب

عندو الحرية، ما مقيد ببت عمو. مافي تقييد.

*Q63: Well, even though there is no restriction, is this kind of marriage frequent among your people?*

It is not frequent. Among the youth, there are even some who married outside the tribe.

Maa katiir. Ash-shabaab al-gaaymiin deel fi naas itzawwaju min khaarj al-gabiila zaataa.

س63: طيب، رغم إنو ما في تقييد هل النوع دا من الزواج شايح عندكم؟

ما كثير. الشباب القايمين ديل في ناس اتزوجوا من خارج القبيلة ذاتها.

ABDULLAHI

In fact, this is what has decreased our daughters' chances to get married. Abdurahman Usman married a woman from Wad Medani; then there is An-Na'im; and there is Muhammad Sa'id, who married a woman from Abu Na'ama. Muhammad Abdurahman Bello got married to the daughter of Amin al-Badin.

Maa di l-bawwarat leena l-banaat zaatu. °Abduraḥmaan °Usmaan itzawwaj min Madani; fi n-Na°iim, wa fi Maḥammad Sa°iid itzawwaj min Abu-Na°aama; wa Maḥammad °Abduraḥmaan Beellu itzawwaj bitt Amiin al-Badiin.

عبدالله  
ما دي البورت لينا البنات زاتو. عبدالرحمن عثمان اتزوج من مدني، في النعيم وفي محمد سعيد اتزوج من أبونعامه، ومحمد عبدالرحمن بيلو اتزوج بت أمين البدين.

*Q64: This (woman) is, of course, considered to be a member of the (Fulani)*

س64: دي طبعا تعتبر من القبلية أمين البدين فلاتي!

tribe; Amin al-Badin is a Fulani.

Listen, it is not a matter of blood; the one who married Amin al-Badin's daughter has not married a Fulani woman. It is not a matter of blood, but rather of customs and traditions. The people of Amin al-Badin are not Fallaata (Fulani) who still preserve the Fallaata customs and traditions, even though they (i.e., their forefathers) really used to speak the vernacular (Fulfulde language) back there (i.e., in the last place they were before coming to the Blue Nile area). They came from Darfur, and so on. There are people among them who have not yet lost the use of the vernacular language (i.e., Fulfulde). There are people who are more *mawaaliid* than they are. The members of the Futa (Fulani) subsection have been in the Sudan longer than they are, i.e., than those living in Darfur. And the family of Sheikh (Talha) has also been in the Sudan longer than they (i.e., Amin al-Badin's people) have.

#### LABIIB

My father also married (a woman) from Gezira Aba, from the Kawahla (Arabs). And my paternal uncle Ali

Asma<sup>c</sup>, al-hikaaya maa dam; alli itzawwaj bitt Amiin al-Badiin maa itzawwaj min Fallaatiyya. Al-mawḍuu<sup>c</sup> maa mawḍuu<sup>c</sup> dam. Al-<sup>c</sup>aadaat wa t-taqaaliid (hiya l-<sup>o</sup>aham). Naas Amiin al-Badiin deel maa hum Fallaata muḥtafiiziin be <sup>c</sup>aadaat wa taqaaliid al-Fallaata, wa in kaan hum fi l-ḥagiiga hinaak wara birṭunu. Hum aṣlahum jaayiin min Darfoor kida. Hinaak fi naas minnahum ar-ruṭaana maa raaḥat minnahum. Fi naas mawaaliid aktar minnahum; awlaad Fuuṭa deel gadiimiin aktar minnahum, alli hum fii Darfoor deel. Wa awlaad as-Sheekh (Ṭalḥa) barḍahum fi s-Suudaan agdam min deel.

Ba<sup>c</sup>deen waaldi barḍu mutzawwij min aj-Jaziira Aba, min al-Kawaahla. <sup>c</sup>Ammi <sup>c</sup>Ali barḍu mutzawwij

اسمع، الحكاية ما دم، اللي أتزوج بت أمين البدين ما أتزوج من فلاتية. الموضوع ما موضوع دم. العادة والتقاليد (هي الأهم). ناس أمين البدين ديل ما هم فلاتة محتفظين بعبادات وتقاليد الفلاتة، وإن كان هم في الحقيقة هناك ورا برطنوا. هم أصلهم جاينين من دارفور كدا. هناك في ناس منهم الرطانة ما راحت منهم. في ناس مواليد أكثر منهم، أولاد فوطا ديل قديمين أكثر منهم، اللي هم في دارفور ديل. وأولاد الشيخ برضهم في السودان أقدم من ديل.

#### لبيب

بعدين والدي برضو متزوج من الجزيرة أبا، من الكواهلة. عمي علي برضو متزوج واحدة عربية من رفاعة.



is married to an Arab woman from the Rufa'a tribe.

waaḥda °Arabiyya min Rufaa°a.

*Q65: What was the effect of the introduction of the Native Administration system by the British in this village?*

ABDULLAHI

Is this Native Administration (NA) not for the tribes to administer themselves? Nobody here was given a NA post. Therefore, there is no way at all for the NA to have any effect on us, because the Omdas were not from the Fallaata (Fulani). They were from the Kamatir, and our particular Omda, i.e., Omda Saleh, was from the Ja'liyyin. The Fallaata were not given any chance to become Omdas. Therefore, there was no change (effectuated by the NA). Only the sheikh is from here. Only recently, under the present regime (*Al-Inqadh*), (could the Fallaata get some NA posts). The authority of the Sultan of Maiurno doesn't reach up to here; (it does), not even (reach) up to Galgani.

س65: ما هو أثر إدخال الإدارة الأهلية من قبل الإنجليز على البلد دي؟

عبدالله

الإدارة الأهلية دي مش عشان القبيلة تدير نفسها؟ ما أدوا أي زول هنا إدارة. فلذلك الإدارة الأهلية ما ممكن أصلو تأثر فينا، لأنو (العمد) ما كانوا فلاتة. العمد كانوا من الكماتير، والعمدة العندنا هنا دا، عمدة صالح، جعليين. ما أدوا الفلاتة أي فرصة عشان يكون عمدة. فمافي تغيير. شيخ القرية فقط من هنا. إلا أيام الجماعة ديل (الإنقاذ). سلطة سلطان مايرنو ما واصله هنا، ولا حتى وصلت جلقني.

*Q66: You said that now the system has changed. When did it change?*

س66: قلت هسع النظام اتغير. من متين اتغير؟

Just five or six years ago, after that NA conference (held in Khartoum). Baabikir (Tunfaafe) was appointed as Emir and five or six Omdas were appointed in the bush and villages; in other words, they allowed the appointment of Omdas from the Fallaata (Fulani). Muhammad Ahmad Kara (from Bijawi) and Usman, the son of the Sultan of Abdel Khallag, were appointed as Omdas. And Ibrahim Beeli was appointed as Omda (of the settled Fulani) in Sireu.

Bas gabli khamsa sitta sanawaat; min al-mu<sup>o</sup>tamar al-<sup>o</sup>amaloohu daak (Mu<sup>o</sup>tamar al-Idaara l-<sup>o</sup>Ahliyya). Baabikir da <sup>o</sup>amaloohu amiir wa <sup>o</sup>amalo khamsa sitta <sup>o</sup>umad fi l-baadiya wa fi l-quraa; aw samaḥo be tanṣiib <sup>o</sup>umad min al-Fallaata zaatum. Sawwo Maḥammad Aḥmad Kaara (Bijaawi) wa wad Sulṭaan <sup>o</sup>Abdal Khallaag, <sup>o</sup>Usmaan; deel sawwoohum <sup>o</sup>umad. Wa fi s-Sireew <sup>o</sup>amalo Ibrahim Beeli.

بس قبل خمسة ستة سنوات، من المؤتمر العمولة داك (مؤتمر الإدارة الأهلية). بابكر دا عملوه أمير وعملوا خمسة ستة عمد في البادية وفي القرى أو سمحوا بتتصيب عمد من الفلاتة ذاتهم. سوا محمد أحمد كارا (بجاوي) وود سلطان عبدالحلاق، عثمان، ديل سووهم عمد. وفي السريو عملوا إبراهيم بيلي.

*Q67: So, what was the effect of this action on the people here? Did the establishment of an imaara (Emirate) and the appointment of Omdas from the Fallaata (Fulani) bring about any change here?*

س67: طيب الحكاية دي أثرها شنو على الناس هنا؟ الإمارة والعمد بتاعين الفلاتة هل الحكاية دي جابت أي تغيير هنا؟

Only in one sense: this change has only a psychological effect. Otherwise, people have not gained anything out of it. Psychologically they may feel almost equal to other people, who were formerly superior to them in this regard. Previously, this Omodiyya of ours was called the ‘Omodiyya of the Kamatir’.<sup>19</sup> If all the Kamatir are calculated, they may not number

Fi ḥaaja waaḥda; at-taghyiir illa fi j-jawaanib an-nafsiyya faqaṭ. Maafi shay maḥsuus iktasaboohu. Annaas az-zamaan al-ba<sup>o</sup>iidiin alli maa kaan musaawiin leehum bigu gariibiin leehum. Bas kida. Kaan <sup>o</sup>umuudiyatna di bisammuuha <sup>o</sup>umuudiyat al-Kamaatiir. Lamma tajma<sup>o</sup> ayyi fard fiihum maa aktar min miyya. <sup>o</sup>Adad al-Kamaatiir kullahum agalla

في حاجة واحدة؛ التغيير إلا في الجوانب النفسية فقط. مافي شي محسوس اكتسبوه. الناس الزمان البعيدين اللي ما كان مساوين ليهم بقوا قريبين ليهم. بس كدا. كان عموديتنا دي بسموها عمودية الكماتير. لما تجمع أي فرد فيهم ما أكثر من مية. عدد الكماتير كلهم أقل من مية، رغم كدا كان دي عموديتهم.

<sup>19</sup>Here ‘Omodiyya’ primarily refers to an administrative unit organised on a tribal basis.

(locally) more than 100 people – or even less. Nevertheless, they (i.e., the Kamatir) used to have an Omodiyya.

Now we have Omda Shotal in Er-Roseires; we have that other Omda in Abu Gumai; and we have others... All the people under the Hamaj Omdas, i.e., the entire tribe, may likewise not number more than 200 or 300 people. Therefore, it (the Hamaj) looks like an aristocratic tribe, as stated by one of their members (Yousif al-Makk), when he was asked (in an interview in a daily newspaper).

min miyya; raghmi kida kaan di °umuudiyyatum.

Aahu °indana l-°Umda Shootaal daak fi r-Ruṣeeris, wa °indana daak fi Abu-Gumay; wa °indana gheerum... °Umad al-Hamaj deel kullahum, bardahum lamma tajma° naasum le n-nihaaya, algabiila kullaha talgaaha maa aktar min miiteen tultumiyya bas. Fa lizaalik ka°annu gabiila urustugraatiyya, zey maa gaal zoolum (Yuusif al-Makk) lamma sa°alooHu.

أهو عندنا العمدة شوتال داك في الرصيرص، وعندنا داك في أبو قمي، وعندنا غيرهم... عمد الهمج ديل كلهم، برضهم لما تجمع ناسهم للنهاية، القبيلة كلها تلقاها ما أكثر من ميتين تلتمية بس. فلذلك كأنه قبيلة ارستقراطية زي ما قال زولهم (يوسف المك) لما سألوه.

End

An-nihaaya

النهاية



# INTERVIEW: ABDU UMAR (DARWE)

FULANI OF THE MBEWEWE'EN CLAN, 44 YEARS

## DATE AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW:

May 14, 1998; Sireu

IN THE PRESENCE OF: Fulani men belonging to the Mbeewe'en clan:

- Jibriin Muhammad (Jibo), 70 years
- Riskuwa, ca. 75 years
- Barka Umar, 45 years
- Hassan Usman, 47 years
- Ali Abdullahi, 36 years
- Jaamel Abdu, 25 years
- Baabikir Muhammad, 37 years
- Ali Abbakar, 38 years
- Giiwa, 72 years
- Nduula Gaada, 78 years
- Mamman Abbakar, 65 years
- Abdu Abbakar (Bangi), 65 years
- Ali Abbakar (Jimiiḍo)
- Buuba Adam (Jawgel)

INTERVIEWERS: Günther Schlee & Al-Amin Abu-Manga

ACCOMPANIED BY: Sheikh Ibrahim Umar Musa (sheikh of the nomadic Fulani in Sireu, 81 years, Fulani) and Abdurahman A.A. Saajo (Fulani)

TRANSCRIPTION, TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION (FULFULDE AND ARABIC): Al-Amin Abu-Manga

*Q1: We want to know about your normal seasonal movement before the last war events!*

ABDU UMAR

First of all, we spend the rainy season here at the edge of Sireu; when it starts raining we are found here at the edge of Sireu; from here up to Agade. We have two routes. If we spend the rainy season here, we go and follow (the way to) Khor Dunya. (From) Khor Dunya we (follow the way to) Agagir; we head towards Gargade; we head towards Abu Garib, Bagis, Burgub, Bangas, Salbul, Fadumiyya, Deral, Jabal Marafa, Dindiro, Kukuli, Shali, Kurmuk,

*Q1: Min ngidl min anda haraka durngol moodon bee pelle de njahaton gabli konu ngu'u ummoo!*

ABDU UMAR

Awwal haaja to ruumii min ḍon nduuma ḍoo hoore Sireu; to ndiyam fuddii toḍuki e min ḍon ḍoo hoore Sireu; daga ḍoo faa Agade. Min ngoodi laabi didi. To min nduumii ḍoo min shoy'oo min tokka Koor Dunya ḍoo. Koor Dunya min tokka Agaagiir; min yíwa Gargade; min yíwa Abu Gariib, Bagiis, Burguub, Bangas, Salbul, Fadumiyya, Deeral, Jabal Maraafa, Dunduru, Kukuli, Shaali, Kurmuk, Koor Boode, Deem, Uura, Shaali, Leelel,

Khor Bode, Dem, Ura, Shali, Lelel, Abankuru, Yabus Ghaba, Kubri Yabus, Gosha, Pampam, Dugubele. When we come to Kubri Yabus there is a route that diverts to Ethiopia. (It leads to) Kabanga, Bambesi and Jasira. Here, we have entered Ethiopia. Our last spot is Jasira in Ethiopia.

The other route starts at Dugubele and leads to Garsuma, Dote, Bailo, Dajo, Kikile, Disa, Mayot, Nyiligel, Jikaw, Telus, Yika, to Gambela in Ethiopia. Here is our last stop. Part of Gambela is in the Sudan and part in Ethiopia.

Abankuru, Yaabuus Kaaba, Kubri Yaabuus, Goosha, Pampam, Dugubele. Min njehii Kubri Yaabuus woodi laawol selata yahata Habash. Kabanga, Bambashi, Jaasira. Doo boo nasti Habash kalaas. (Aakhir haaja) Jaasira nder leddi Habash.

Gootol boo daga Dugubele min yíwa Garsuuma, Doote, Baylo, Daajo, Kikile, Diisa, Mayyuut, Nyilegil, Jikau, Teelus, Yika, Gambeela (nder) Habash. Doo woni hadd amin. Gambeela juzu Suudaan juzu Habash.

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*Q2: In which month do you arrive in Gambela?*

*Q2: Bano shahri kam njottotoodon Gambeela?*

(Switching to Arabic)

Around May.

Laḥaddi shaari khamisa لحددي شهر خمسة كذا.  
kida.

(Back to Fulfulde)

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*Q3: And when do you start from here?*

*Q3: Daga doo boo zey shahri kam ummootoodon?*

We leave here in September and reach there in May.

Doo min shoy'oo zey shaari tis'a min njottoo haa shahri khamisa.

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*Q4: And when you arrive in Gambela or Jasira, do you stay for a long time there?*

*Q4: To on njottake ton Gambeela koo boo Jaasira ton boo on neebay?*

There are people who stay for two months in Jasira. People arrive in both Jasira and Gambela in February. We spend the months of March and April there. Then we start again the return journey following the same route until we reach the edge of Sireu in July. We stay here from July to September.

E Jaasira woodi wadaybe shahreen. Daga (shahri) °itneen min njahata; (shahri °itneen wobbe njottotoo Jaasira shahri °itneen wobbe boo njottotoo) Gambeela. Min njoodoo (shahri) talaata araba'a. Kadi boo min shoy'oo min tokka laawol ngol zaatu min njottoo hoore Sireu shahri saba'a. Min njoodoo don diga shahri sabaa haa shahri tis'a.

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*Q5: Supposed there were no (war) problems, where would you be at this time of the year (March)?*

Some would be in Jasira, others in Gambela and some others in Itang.

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*Q5: To wi'ee walaano konu, bano saa'iire nde'e to laatotoodon?*

Wodbe ton Jaasira, wodbe Gambeela, wodbe Yitan.

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*Q6: When you are on the Ethiopian side, in what language do you communicate with the people there?*

In Arabic; they speak Arabic.

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*Q6: To on naatii leddi Habash iri wolde ndeye mboldoton e mabbe?*

Aarabre; be mbolway nde.

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*Q7: Are there any among you who know an Ethiopian language?*

By God, here there is none; (they are) not even worth counting.<sup>1</sup>

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*Q7: Nder moodon woodi baawbe sedda go'o Habashiire?*

Wallaahi doo kam walaa; koo limngal.

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*Q8: Forget the Ethiopian languages! Are there among you people who know the language of places (within the Sudan) such as those of Khor Yabus?*

This man knows (i.e., speaks) Burun [informant points at a young man]; this one and that one understand Burun.

---

*Q8: Banda Habashiire! Woodi nder moodon waawbe wolde jihaaji Khood Yaabuus'en nihi?*

Oo i waawi Buruunre; oo i oo be nanay Buruunre.

THE PERSONS CONCERNED

A little (i.e., passively)... And this one can understand and respond.

WOR'BE FEERE

Seeda seeda... Oo nanay hooray.

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*Q9: When you move to Ethiopia, do your women go to settlements and sell milk and/or milk products?*

ABDU UMAR

Yes, they sell both sour and fresh milk. But they mostly sell sour milk and ghee.

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*Q9: To on don ngada jahaale moodon nder leddi Habash rewbe shooray kosam'en nder ci'eeji?*

ABDU UMAR

Ii, be shooray. Kosam lammudam e biraadam fuu be shooray. Amman lammudam be buri soorki bee nebbam.

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<sup>1</sup> Our guide, Sheikh Ibrahim, said that some of their youth might have known some (Ethiopian?) languages, but these youth were not there during our visit.

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*Q10: Do these women know (i.e., speak) the languages of these areas? Do they know how to count (in these languages)?*

Yes, the women who go there know (i.e., speak some of these languages), but they are not around now;<sup>2</sup> all those women who go there know (i.e., speak) these languages.

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*Q11: Did you take the same route every year, or did you sometimes go more to the east in Ethiopia and sometimes more to the west in the Sudan, depending on rainfall or whatever other circumstance?*

There is another (main) route that has not been described. This one goes from Agade to Buk and continues through But, Ulu, Malkan, Jarjura, Khawajat (originally called Adaruwat); we then arrive in Jirin; from Jirin (we go) to Nasir (and) from Nasir to Malwal. (Our route) ends here. In the Sudan.

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*Q12: Now let us go back to the previous question. Do you take the same route every year, or do you sometimes divert when the rainy season is not good?*

If the rainy season is not good, we usually divert and enter Ethiopia. But here on the (Blue) Nile there is no way for diverting. Even if we divert, we follow the way through Renk, (stay) near Renk and then go back in the opposite direction. But we (sometimes) divert from the latter route, enter Ethiopia and (then) return through Geissan.

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*Q13: Don't you enter the Dinka land?*

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*Q10: Rewbe ben mbaawi seeda go'o wolde pelle to dum yahata? Be mbaawi limgal?*

Ii, rewbe yahaybe ton i mbaawi amma be ngalaa don; yahaybe kam fu e mbaawi.

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*Q11: Dunngu fuu dum hangol ni laawol ngol no ngol tokkoton walla saa'i go'o to ndunngu woodaay walla woodi sabab goddum on beddiray fa'ugo fuuna nder Habash walla hiirna nder Suudaan?*

Woodi laawol ngol dum limtaay. Ngool boo daga Agade, Buk, tokka Buut, Uulu, Malkan, Jarjuura, Kawaajaat; baadeen yottoo Jirin; daga Jirin yottoo Naasir; daga Naasir Malwal. Hanngol boo haddi maagol doo. Nder Suudaan.

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*Q12: Sey nguytenen yamol meeden naane. Ndunngu fuu dum laabi din ni tokkoton walla saa'i go'o on shelay to ndunngu woodaay?*

To ndunngu woodaay min don shela min naata huduud araadi Habash. Laakin doo kam walaa to min shelata, dow maayo doo kam. To min sheli maa be tokkay dow Rank, ba gaa'e Rank sedda be shoyy'oroo gaa'e. Laakin doo min shelay min naata Habash haa min ngartira Geesaan.

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*Q13: On naatataa leddi Denka?*

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<sup>2</sup>These women might have been around, but the men would not have liked us to request their presence during the interview.



We don't know; we can't identify the Dinka land.

SAAJO<sup>3</sup>

This route passes across the Nuer and Shilluk lands; the Dinka are found as far as Bahr al-Ghazal.

ABDU UMAR

We grew up here (close to Sireu). There are others who grew up in Dinka land there, on the western side of the White Nile. Here, we have the Anuak. (These are those who grew up on the White Nile) who reach the Dinka land.

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*Q14: Do you know Sheikh Baabo Umar of Damazin?*

ANOTHER INFORMANT

He (Sheikh Baabo) is Abdu Umar's younger brother; same father, same mother.

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*Q15: What is the farthest spot north you can reach in your seasonal movement?*

ABDU UMAR

Mazmum, and we go as far as Abu Hujar.

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*Q16: What is (the name of) your (Fulani) subsection (khashum beet)? And what other Mbororo subsections are there?*

We are Mbororo, (members) of the clan called Mbeewe'en. The Mbororo clans include Fallaata Mbororo, Woyla...

Min anndaa; min kenndindiraay to Denka woni.

SAAJO

Ngo'ol kam d'um leddi Nueer bee Shuluk; Denka kam naa haa Bahr al Ghazal nihi.

ABDU UMAR

Minon kam doo ni min yoyi. Woodi yoyube leydi Denka ton be'e nihi hirna maayo ranewo. 'Do'o e min ngoodi Anywaak. (Yoyube maayo ranewo) hambe ben njottotoo leydi Denka.

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*Q14: On anndi Shaikh Baabo Umar mo Damazin?*

GOD'DO FEERE

'Dum minyiiko inna go'o abba go'o.

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*Q15: To on kuushii woyla haa toye njottotoodon?*

ABDU UMAR

Mazamuum, min njahay faa Abu Hujaar.

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*Q16: Ko woni khashim beet moodon? Leyyi diye kadi boo woodi nder Mbororo'en?*

Minon d'um Mbororo, nder don boo min Mbeewe'en. Leyyi Mbororo woodi Fallaata Mbororo, woodi Woyla...

[Objection]

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<sup>3</sup>Abdurahman A.A. Saajo.

### JIBO

We, i.e., all the Mbororo, are from the same navel (womb); their grandfather<sup>4</sup> is one and the same.

### SHEIKH IBRAHIM

Their subsections include Woyla, Jaafun and Duga.

### JIBO

The Woyla, Hanagamba, Jaafun, Boodi, Duga, Daneeji, Ngara, Uuda and Dindima are all different clans. They are not Mbororo. They all move with cattle, but they are not Mbororo. There are Mbororo known as Mbeewe'en (who occupy areas stretching) from West Africa up to here; a Mbeewejo (pl. Mbeewe'en) is a Mbororo.

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*Q17: What are then the subsections of the Mbeewe'en? (For clarification) Are there groups led by leaders, such as sheikhs?*

### ABDU UMAR

There are sheikhs; each of them has his relatives (i.e., lineage members) attached to him. There are the Yoŋanko'en, the Malanko'en and the Jappanko'en. These are Mbororo subsections.

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*Q18: Among the cattle Fulani, some are Ansar<sup>5</sup> and some are not. Do you know which of these groups are Ansar and which of them are not?*

### BARKA UMAR

We are followers of the Sultan of Maiurno; wherever he is, we are there too. There are Ansar: the Ngara, Jaafun and the Duga.

### JIBO

Min fuu, Mbororojo fuu dūm wuudu wooru; ɓe fuu maama maɓɓe go'o.

### SHEEKH IBRAHIM

Shuudi maɓɓe woodi Woyla, woodi Jaafun, woodi Duga'en.

### JIBO

Woyla'en feere; Hanagamba'en feere; Jaafun feere; Boodi'en feere; Duga'en feere; Daneeji feere; Ngara'en, Uuda'en. 'Be'e fuu kawtaa e Mbororo... Dindima'en... Fuu ɓe eggay bee na'i amma naa ɓe Mbororo. Mbororo boo Mbeewe wi'etee diga hirna faa do'o; Mbeewejo Mbororojo.

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*Q17: Too nder Mbeewe'en ɓen woodi kadi boo shuudi feere? Ba ɓiɓɓe suudu kaza walla shaikh'en kaza!*

### ABDU UMAR

Sek'en kam e ngoodi. Sek waane woodi ahal muudum ɓe limanta. Koo moye e jukkere mum nde limanta: woodi Yoŋanko'en, woodi Malanko'en, woodi Jappanko'en. Di ngoni shuudi Mbororo'en.

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*Q18: Nder Fulɓe ladde woodi wodɓe anɗaar wodɓe boo naa anɗaar. On anndi ɓeye ngoni anɗaar ɓeye ngoni naa anɗaar?*

### BARKA UMAR

Minon kam min tabaa Sulnaan Maayirno; to o woni fuu don min ngoni. Ansaar'en e woodi: Ngara, Jaafuun, Duga.

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<sup>4</sup>The term 'grandfather' is here used loosely to refer to a mythical ancestor.

<sup>5</sup>Ansar are followers of the Mahdi and adherents to Mahdist ideology.

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*Q19: Did your grandfathers<sup>6</sup> join the hijra (led by Attahiru<sup>7</sup>) or did they come later (to Sudan)?*

ABDU UMAR

They (our grandfathers<sup>8</sup>) left (from Sokoto) together (with Attahiru). When they arrived in Borno land, towards Gaidam and Yarwa (near Maiduguri), he (i.e., Mai-Wurno) continued and our grandfathers stayed behind. He left and (then) told them to join him on the Blue Nile.

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*Q20: Between the arrival of the hijra and that of your fathers, how long was it?*

Since our arrival (in the Sudan) I think that it has been about 50 years.

---

*Q21: On your movement northwards, what kind of inconveniences do you and your cattle encounter? Is it the spread of farms (at the expense of grazing land) or inconveniences linked to the payment of taxes?*

We are constrained by farms (*mashaarii*<sup>c</sup>, mechanised farms). They (i.e., their owners) refuse us water and passage; they prevent us from allowing our cattle to enter the forests and uncultivated farmlands. These are the causes of our unrest (*mujahjahiin*).

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*Q22: How do they prevent you (to enter these areas)? Do they bring policemen/soldiers?*

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*Q19: Maamiraabe moodon be ummidi e perol walla gada maagol be ummii?*

ABDU UMAR

'Be ummidi e maagol. Nde be ngari leydi Borno, Gaydam, Yarwa'en doo kanko o yaɓɓoyi kambe be njoodii. Kanko boo o dilli o wi'i be kewtoodon maayo balewo.

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*Q20: E ko nanton, hakkunde yottaaki Mai-Wurno bee yottaaki baabiraaɓe moodon ba duubi noye laatotoo?*

Ko min ngari min njokkii doo mi hammi min ngadii bano khamsiin sana.

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*Q21: To on ummake on pa'ay woyla ko woni ko welantaa on welantaa na'i moodon? Leddi fuu aawre walla hakuuma wi'ay sey to on ndokki sheedi walla dume?*

'Doo kam aawre ni billanta min, mashaarii; be don kaɗa min ndiyam; be don kaɗa min laabi; be don kaɗa min kaaba; be don kaɗa min buura. Min *mujahjahiin* do'o bas.

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*Q22: No be kaɗirta on? Askar'en na be ngaddata?*

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<sup>6</sup>The term 'grandfather' is used loosely here to refer to relatives belonging to at least to the second ascending generation.

<sup>7</sup>Attahiru (At-Tahir) was the first leader of the *hijra* (religious migration) that started with the fall of the Caliphate of Sokoto. After his death in the Burmi battle (July 1903) the *hijra* was led by his son, known as Mai-Wurno.

<sup>8</sup>Same remark with regard to the use of the term 'grandfather' as in footnote 6.

The traders (i.e., those who own large-scale farms) bring the ‘government’, i.e., soldiers, who carry rifles and shoot. They refuse us access to water, passage, and grazing in the forest and in uncultivated farmland.

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*Q23: By which government regulations do they prevent you? Do they tell you that according to such-and-such a law you are not allowed (to pass or graze), or do they just prevent you?*

They don’t explain it to us; they just prevent us.

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*Q24: Why don’t you send your sheikhs to government representatives in order to know why you are prevented?*

There are some who go and inquire but without success. They are told that uncultivated farmland is not forbidden; the forest is not forbidden; water is not forbidden. Cattle can be allowed to follow the trucks’ routes for watering and to come back and enter the forest, but it is not allowed to enter (cultivated) fields. This is what the law says, according to the government. But the guards (still) do not accept it.

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*Q25: Why don’t you take them to court?*

By God, they (i.e., our sheikhs) do. Since we don’t go (with them), we don’t know (what happens). They used to go to Damazin and raise cases against them (local people), but they are usually told by the authorities concerned: “Go back and wait until we decide what to do.” But when they come back (to recontact the authorities concerned), these authorities still haven’t

Tijaar’en ngaddata hakuuma, askar’en; (be) don njogii malfe e pidfa. Raa ndiyam, hada; raa laawol, hada; raa kaaba to hori, o wi’a: “La;” raa buura to o aawaay, o wi’a: “La.”

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*Q23: To be ngarii haduki on be kollay on ko be kadirta on walla be mbi’ay on to nastee tan?*

‘Be kollataa (daliila); be kaday tan.

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*Q24: Ko wadi on ngadataa mawbe moodon njaha ndaara haala kan bee hakuuma?*

E min ngoodi yahaybe e yama boo dum najahnaaki. ‘Dum don wi’a be buura walaa mamnuu, kaaba walaa mamnuu, ndiyam boo walaa mamnuu. ‘Don to shaarewol arabiya yiwi dum nodda na’i tokka don njaha njara shoy’oo naata kaaba, to naata ngesa. Nii kaanuun be mbi’i nde hakuuma wi’i. Laakin reenube njabaay.

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*Q25: Ko wadi on ngullataako be hambe deenoobe ben?*

Wallaahi e be ngulloo. Minon kam nde min njahataa min anndaa. E be don njaha Damaaziin e be ngulloo; dum shoy’ya be dum wi’a... be be ngulli shoy’ya, be mbi’a: “Shoy’ye faa min ndarwa.” ‘Bee boo to shoy’yake bee nde be ndarwata nden walaa. Kalaas min pashalnoo.

decided anything (in our favour). And thus we fail (lose).

---

*Q26: And when you move southwards, what kind of problems do you encounter?*

When we move to the south? There are some constraints: on our way back from there, there are some places to fetch water, in which we could water our wealth (i.e., animals). The problem is that we find that the local people have some cultivation here and there. They insist on leaving the crops residues in their fields after the harvest. They never touch the residues. And the farms are not surrounded by enclosures. So, they block all the passages.

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*Q27: Do you sometimes have to pay for the water?*

Sometimes we have to pay; the elders have to go and give (the local people) a heifer or an ox or money.

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*Q28: Which ethnic groups make such demands?*

Now they are Burun... They are Burun, Ingessana, Dawwala, Uduk, Koma and then Southerners. We pay them all.

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*Q29: But are there also places where you can get water without payment!*

Yes, there are; there are vacant spaces. If you are allowed to cross (the stream), you can get to vacant spaces. From there up to Damazin there is not any (problem)... There is water in the bush and wild pasture for the cattle. But when there is no more of this, it becomes difficult to reach

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*Q26: To on pa'ay fombina boo na, woodi ko billanta on dow laawol?*

To min shandake fombina? Woodi ko billanta min: ton boo to min shoyyake doo dow laawol, min ngoodi pelle to min ngarata to luttiri ndiyam, mushraaje to jawdi njardata. Hanjum boo min tawa himbe fombina ben e be ngoodi aawe sedfa sedfa. Hambe boo be mbi'a be ittataa. Koo jaaynii dayman be meyataa dum. Boo dum howaaka; yaani dum gaffalnii araadi fuu. Walaa e min tokkata.

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*Q27: Saa'i go'o on njobanay ndiyam?*

Saa'i go'o sey to min njobii; sey to mawbe ummaki njaarii kokkii naggel walla ngaari walla sheede.

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*Q28: Ba leyfi diye njobanton?*

Joon kam Buruun'en... E woodi Buruun, e woodi Ngasana doo, woodi Dawwaala; woodi Uduk, e woodi Kooma, nden Junuubi'en bee. Be fuu min njobanay be.

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*Q29: Ammaa saa'i go'o woodi pelle e kepton ndiyam naa sey to on njobii!*

E woodi; e woodi faraga faadi. Taa hebii be dalii ma a hultii a hebay faraga faadi; daga don faa Damaaziin dum walaa ayyi... 'Dum woodi ndiyam ladde; woodi ko na'i nyaamata ladde. Too to dum timmii dum kadi boo haawalnaaki min kewta bannye dum kan maa warta sa'ab. Daga doo

a (new) place where water and pasture can be found once again. (However), from here (Sireu) up to Damazin there is no (problem).

(Sireu) haa Damaaziin kam walaa (mushkila).

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*Q30: Are there places where you have to pass quickly, or do you move at the same speed all the time?*

*Q30: Woodi pelle e njaaloton laatoos don sey njaawdoodon gam pelle den walaa ko nyaame walla on njahay non no njeherton daga ummiidon?*

There are places that do not sustain us (i.e., places with not enough pasture and water to sustain our cattle). So, we have to increase our speed in order to reach a place with enough grazing for the cattle. There are places where there is no grazing for the cattle; for example, this place now (Sireu, in March) does not sustain us. There is water, but the cattle have nothing to eat. There is a place where they have something to eat, but still there is no water. So we must hurry up to reach a place where we can get some water and then take them (cattle) back for grazing; such a place can sustain the cattle to some degree. But we can't stay in a place where there is water but no pasture. We have to push forwards.

E woodi to jogataako min; sey min njaawa min keba min kewta to di nyaamata. Naa woodi to na'i ngalaa ko nyaamee; ba doo jooni naa jogataako min. Raa ndiyam, ko nge nyaama walaa. E woodi to nge woodi ko nyaamee bardu ndiyam walaa. Sey min njaawa to min kebata juzu min keba ndiyam min shoyyoo di keba ko di nyaami; doo jogoo nge sedfa. Laakin raa ndiyam, geene ngalaa, min njoodataako don. Sey min kabana kadi yeeso.

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*Q31: Do you know such problematic places and plan every year not to stay long in them, or does it depend on rainy seasons?*

*Q31: Ndunngu fuu on anndi pelle den on anndi laazim njaawon shaaloodon de walla saa'i go'o to ndunngu woodii de njogoto on – hasab ndunngu?*

If the rainy season is good, there are (many) places that sustain the cattle. But if the rainy season is not good, these places in the middle do not sustain (them); they have to descend to Yabus – Kubri Yabus. It depends on the rainy season.

Nde ndunngu woodi fuu woodi to jogotoo di. Laakin to ndunngu woodaay doo kam fii nus kam ni jogataako, sey di njippoyake ton Yabuus – Kubri Yaabuus. Hasab an ndunngu.

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*Q32: What are the problems that prevent you from moving to the south now?*

*Q32: Ko hadata on soyfaaki fombina jooni?*

Now we are prevented only by these problems, i.e., the war. There are animals that have already gone in the direction of Jarjura – following the western route. But not southwards. This is because of these problems.

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*Q33 (Saajo): But before, you used to go. Or did you stop after the creation of the Maa Binuum militia?<sup>9</sup>*

No, even before that there had been problems and everything.

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*Q34: What kinds of problems?*

When the local people came and found someone with his cattle grazing, they would kill him, without asking who he was or from where he came. They would take away the animals (sheep); if they found cattle, they would take them away. But no one ever called upon us and asked us: “Do you belong to such-and-such *katiiba* (militia) which supports the government?” You would just see this person carrying a bullet (i.e., a gun)... ‘tag’ (the sound of the bullet). (The shooter) might even not know who you were – whether a man or a woman. He just needed to see you, and then... ‘tag’. Even before the (last) problems occurred (i.e., before the war), they used to have fire arms.

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*Q35: To what ethnic groups do they belong?*

These are the Burun and Uduk. They joined (the rebels) a long time ago; they joined them around the time of the first rebellion of the Southerners, before the present

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<sup>9</sup>Militia of the cattle Fulani.

Jooni kam mashaakil bas hadāta min – habre. Woodi dabbaaji ndilli tokki Jarjuura dō – laawol hirnawol. (Ammaa fombina kam) walaa. Gam hasab al mashaakil dūm.

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*Q33 (Saajo): Zamaan habre nden nde don, on don boo njaha. Walla sey nde ngadɗon katiiba hagga Maa Binuum?*

Gubbaal maajum dūm woodi mashaakil, dūm woodi ayyi haaja.

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*Q34: Ko woni mashaakil maajum?*

Himbe muwaatiniin ton to ɓe ummoyake ɓe ngarii ɓe tawii tagu e dura na’i muudum ɓe mbaray bas; walaa ɓe yama dūm a dume walla to yiwoyda; ɓe mbaray bas. ‘Be ndiiway dabbaaji; ɓe keɓii na’i ɓe ndiiway. Amma katiiba walaa yamaydo min wari noddi min wi’i min: “On hizib e katiiba kazaa, ma’a hakuuma?” La, walaa. Taa yi’ii mo, bas no o jogorii talgaare makko... ‘tag’. O anndaa a moye maa, a debbo a gorko, o anndaa. Hasab al o yii maa e hitere bas... ‘tag’. Gabli mashaakil dūm ɓe ngoodi malfe.

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*Q35: Dum iri leyfi dɗi?*

‘Dum Buruun’en bee Uduk. Daga badiri (ɓe nasti). ‘Ben ton ummake badiri daga zamaan, daga ko Siidu’en, Bani Sheewa’en; dūm fa daga nden ɓe marrannii.

rebellion. The first rebellion occurred early with that of the Sidu and the Bani Shewa.

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*Q36: Is that why you sometimes prefer to enter Ethiopia?*

Yes, this is why we enter Ethiopia.

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*Q36: Hanjum wadāta saa'i go'o naatoton Habasha?*

Aayi, hanjum wadāta min naata Habasha.

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*Q37: Since the last fight (i.e., since the occupation by the rebels of part of the Southern Blue Nile region that started in 1996), you haven't gone to Ethiopia. Where did you go?*

Well, those (Fulani people) who were still (in that part of the Southern Blue Nile region at that time) now occupy (the area) between the Ingessana Hills and here (Sireu). Now part of the wealth (animals) – of the Fulani on the western side of the Blue Nile – has moved in the direction of Nasir and Girinti (for the dry season); now all the (small) animals (sheep) – of these Fulani – has moved to Girinti and Nasir (in Southern Sudan) given that this (other) area (i.e., the northern part to the Blue Nile region) does not sustain them.<sup>10</sup>

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*Q37: Jooni dow habre aakhirre nde'e nde Geesaan nde'e ummake on pa'ayy Habasha. Toye njaadon?*

Jooni kam joodiibe fuu doo ndarii gada Jubaal Ngasana wadōy gaa. 'Doo boo jawdi goddi ndillii kootii jiha Naasir, Jirinti; dabbaaji kam fuu jooni ndillii ngalaa doo, gam doo walaa to jogoo di; di kootii Jirinti, Naasir.

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*Q38: Now you only keep milkable animals, don't you?*

Yes.

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*Q38: Dum dabbaaji kosam tan jooni kam mardon?*

Ii.

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*Q39: Since the creation of the Maa Binuum militia do you find yourself in a better security position?*

The *Maa Binuum* militia did not start here; it came from the west. It arrived here recently, coming from Abu Jibeha (in the

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*Q39: Daga ngaddon Maa Binuum on kebii welnde sedfa go'o? Dum woodani on daama ko?*

Maa Binuum naa doo ummii; daga hirna ummii. 'Be ngari ko neebaay; Abu Jibeha be yiwi. Minon doo min ndanyaa; min

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<sup>10</sup>The unattractiveness of the northern part of the Blue Nile region of Sudan is more generally linked to the fact that it is an area where mechanised farming is particularly widespread.



Nuba Hills). We were born here (near Sireu); we don't have a *Maa Binuum* militia (here).

ngalaa Maa Binuum.

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*Q40: He (G. Schlee) said that he heard rumours that the roads towards Kurmuk have been mined. Did you hear that too?*

*Q40: O wi'i o nanii waje laawol Kurmuk nihi woodi laabi to be ngadl lagham, onon maa on nanii iri ka'a?*

Yes, we heard it.

Ii, ka woodi min nanii.

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*Q41: He (G. Schlee) said that he met your younger brother Baabo (i.e., Sheikh Baabo Umar) in Damazin two years ago (1996), and they went together to your people's camp. Where are they (i.e., your people) now?*

*Q41: O wi'i rowtani o yiidii bee minya Baabo e Damaaziin, be njaadii ton rumde mabbe ton. To be ngoni jooni?*

(Baabo) is still in Damazin.<sup>11</sup>

E mo don jooni e Damazin.

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*Q42: Usually, when you move together with your families, the women sell milk (products). Now, due to the present problems, the young men move alone (seasonally) with the cattle and the women stay behind. Do the young men also take milk for sale?*

*Q42: Naaneno saa'i walaa mashaakil wakkati eggoton bee dabbaaji moodon rewbe shoorata kosam. Jooni boo sukaabe shoggi na'i, rewbe boo don njoodii. Sukaabe ben ton be shooray kosam?*

No, we, the Mbororo, we don't have young men who sell milk.

Laala, minon Mbororo min ngalaa sukaabe soorata kosam.

SAAJO

They don't even milk (the cows).

SAAJO

'Be birataa dam maa.

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*Q43: Then what do the Mbororo do with the milk?*

*Q43: No be ngadanta dam koy?*

ABDU UMAR

They milk for their own consumption, and they leave the rest for the calves.

ABDU UMAR

'Be bira ko be njarata luttufam boo be dalana bikkon na'i njara.

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*Q44: When the women are around, is all the milking done by them?*

*Q44: To rewbe don hambe tan birata?*

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<sup>11</sup> Günther Schlee asked the informant to convey his greetings to that brother, and the informant promised to do so.

It is the women who do the milking. When the man takes the cattle for grazing and brings them back, it is only the woman who will then enter (the corral) and milk the cows as she sees fit.

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*Q45: In the absence of the women the young men are obliged to milk for their own consumption. So if there is no shame in milking, then why don't they sell the milk?*

They have no need (for selling).

SHEIKH IBRAHIM

They don't even have the time.

ABDU UMAR

The man has no needs for selling milk. This is not in the tradition. It is shameful. The man sells neither ghee, milk nor anything (like that). He milks for the guests; he drinks and keeps some milk for the guests. Even if a guest comes and asks to buy milk, he will milk and fill (the vessel) and say to him: "Take!"

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*Q46: If you need to sell cattle – oxen for slaughtering, and so on, where do you sell them?*

If we want to sell (cattle)? We bring them (by foot) to Damazin. If we don't bring them, the traders go to the camp; everybody will show him his ox, and he buys.

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*Q47: Do the traders come always from Damazin?*

By God, there are people who come from everywhere. Some people come from Damazin, some from Er-Roseires, some from Singa and some from Sennar.

Rewbe birata. Gorko kam to duroyii na'i mu'um wartirii di debbo tan naatata bira alee keef mu'um.

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*Q45: To rewbe ngalaa don sukaaabe ben be biray ko be njarata. Too to haa be biray ko njarata ko wadi be shoorataa dam?*

'Be ngalaa karad.

SHEEKH IBRAHIM

'Be ngalaa fada zaatu.

ABDU UMAR

Gorko walaa karad ko wadata soora kosam gam sooda dum. Yaani zey taareek dum walaa. 'Dum shemtudum. Gorko soraataa, walaa nebbam, walaa kosam, walaa haaja. O birana hobbe; o yara, o birana haggaa hobbe o resa. Kodo to warii maa wi'i yidi kosam o soorana dum, o bira o hebbina o wi'a dum: "Adu!"

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*Q46: To on shooray ga'i gam hirsuki... to shooroton di?*

To min shooray? Min laggoo min ngara Damaaziin. To min laggaay boo sabbaaba'en njaha wuro koowa lagga ngaari mum holla mo o sooda.

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*Q47: Tujjaar'en ben koo ndeye daga Damaaziin be yiftata?*

Wallaahi woodi yiwaybe daga koo'inaa. Wobbe yiwa Damaaziin, wobbe gada Riseeris, wobbe gada Sinja, wobbe gada Sinnaar.

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*Q48: Do Ethiopian traders, too, buy oxen from you?*

When we go there, they will buy. But they don't come (here).

*Q48: Habash'en don shooda ga'i waje moodon?*

To min njehii ton e be don shooda. Amma be ngarataa.

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*Q49: Are the prices better in the Sudan or in Ethiopia?*

We get better prices here in the Sudan.

*Q49: Buranii on sooranki Suudaan walla sooranki Habashi'en?*

Suudaan doo burii sheede duufde.

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*Q50: What do you need to buy, when you sell your animals?*

If we sell animals? The one without clothes will buy clothes, and the one who is not in need of clothes will keep the money in case he needs to buy grain for his consumption.

*Q50: To on shoorii dabbaaji ko shoodirton bee sheede maaji?*

To min coorii dabbaaji? Koludo don holta, mo holaay boo don jogoo de, to e woodi ko o yidi nyaamgo, gawri o sooda.

#### ANOTHER INFORMANT

You buy medicine for your cattle; you buy salt for them that they drink dissolved in water; they may cause damage (for example, to fields) and you need to pay for that. This is why you need to keep money.

#### GOD'DO FEERE

La, a soodanay na'i ma'a dawa; a soodanay di mile di nyaama e ndiyam; di mbonnay a hokkay sheede mbiyodaa. Kanjum wadta njogodaa sheede.

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*Q51: How do you pay the taxes?*

#### ABDU UMAR

Taxes payment? There are sheikhs who pay the taxes here in Damazin. But if we return there (in the bush), the local chiefs just levy whatever amount of money they like. The sheikhs pay here in Damazin and get papers certifying that and give them to us, each with his name on these papers. There are animal taxes (*gut'aan*) and *zakat* (religiously prescribed taxes); the latter is paid in oxen (i.e., in kind). As for the animal taxes, it is the sheikhs who collect them; each has his people. He then takes them to the Council Office in

*Q51: No njobirton sheede tulba boo?*

#### ABDU UMAR

Sheede tulba? Woodi sheekhu'en njobata sheede tulba Damaaziin doo. Ton kam to min shoyyake toon, joodiibe ton koo moye maa innay no yidi bas hokkee – ben ton himbe leydi. Sheekhu'en kam doo mbiyotoo Damaaziin be itta dereeji be ndokka on koowaa bee innde mum. E woodi gut'aan e woodi zaka. Zaka kam naa ngaari dum hokkata. Gut'aan boo sheekhuujo moobtata sheede; koo moye bee himbe mum. O ada o wara o warradnoo e majlis; be kokka dum dereeji; a hokkii o hokku maa derewol; oo hokkii o hokka

Damazin and gets receipts; if you have paid, he gives you your receipt. *dum dereeji.*

SAAJO

Apart from what they pay to the government here, they have to pay (once again) when they go to places like Maban.

SAAJO

Banda ko ɓe ndokkata hakuuma ɗoo to ɓe njehi pelle bano Mabaan'en sey to ɓe ndokkii.

[Confirmation by the informants]

ABDU UMAR

If we go from here (Sireu) to Kurmuk, we have to make a payment to the Kurmuk government (i.e., to the Kurmuk locality) when we arrive at the entrance (i.e., locality borders).

ABDU UMAR

Taa warii kashum al baab, min ndilli ɗoo min njehii Kurmuk min ndokka Kurmuk... hakuuma Kurmuk.

(Switching to Arabic)

SAAJO

You know, the problem is the following: the recent division (of areas) into localities (*maḥalliyyas*) has caused a kind of (administrative) dislocation. Formerly, you paid (the taxes) in one place; now any *maḥalliyya* (locality) without (enough) financial resources tries to find some. So, people like these (our informants) are told: "This is no longer your land; so you have to pay us." So, they are obliged to pay once again. They pay more than once, according to their need for pasture.

Maa hu [= huwa] aṣlu l-ḥikaaya di ba<sup>o</sup>ad at-tagsiim bitaa<sup>o</sup> al-maḥalliyyaat di ḥaṣal fiha khalal kadi. Ya<sup>o</sup>ni zamaan inta bi tadfa<sup>o</sup> ḥitta waahda hassa<sup>o</sup> ayyi maḥalliyya maa <sup>o</sup>indaa iiraadaat daayra iiraadaat. Al-biju zey deel yiguulu leehum: "Khalaas intu di maa waataatku; adfa<sup>o</sup>u leena." Fa biɗarru min marra ḥasab al-mar<sup>o</sup>a.

ساجو  
ما هو أصلو الحكاية دي بعد التقسيم بتاع المحليات دي حصل فيها خلل كدي. يعني زمان إنت بتدفع حته واحدة؛ هسع أي محلية ما عندها إيرادات دايرة إيرادات زي ديل يقولوا ليهم: "خلاص إنتو دي ما واطانكم، ادفعوا لينا". فيضطروا يدفعوا تاني. يدفعوا أكثر من مرة حسب المرعى.

End

Timmoode – An-nihaaya

النهاية

NB: UNRECORDED INFORMATION

The informants' other grievances were the following at the time of the interview (1998):

1. They are made to pay heavily for damages that are caused by other nomadic Fulani groups, the authorities being unable to distinguish among these different nomadic groups.
2. In hospitals they have to pay a lot of money and receive little medicine, but without any proper medical examination.
3. The poor have to pay *zakat*, (religiously prescribed) taxes.
4. When anybody among the nomadic Fulani people causes any damage, the authorities will detain the first person they come across and demand that he either deliver the guilty party or pay a fine (for the damages).



# INTERVIEW WITH FULANI MEN LIVING IN WAD HASHIM ARAB

DATE AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW:

May 23, 1998; Wad Hashim Arab

INTERVIEWEES:

- Ahmad Idris Wad Um Dam, 115 years, (born in Um Dam, Kordofan)
- Fadl as-Siid Muhammad Fadl as-Siid, 63 years (born in Wad Hashim)

INTERVIEWERS: Günther Schlee & Al-Amin Abu-Manga

TRANSCRIPTION, TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION (ARABIC):

Al-Amin Abu-Manga

*Q1: What circumstances brought you here (in Wad Hashim<sup>1</sup>)?*

AHMAD

My paternal uncle, my father's elder brother, was a follower of a (religious) brotherhood (*ṭariiga/ṭariiqā*) here in Wad Hashim. My father died during the Mahdiyya.<sup>2</sup> Then, this village developed. So, my paternal uncle said to Sheikh Wad-Hashim: "I have a nephew (brother's son) in Um Dam, in Kordofan; give me (your) *faaṭha* (blessed permission) so that I can go and bring him (here)." They came to me, three of them: my paternal uncle together with Abdullahi and Muhammad Wad-Suleiman. They came

Kaan °ammi akhu abuuy al-°akbar min abuuy, wa waaldi itwaffa fi l-Mahdiyya, wa ba°deen °ammi da maasik ṭariiga fii Wad Haashim. Ba°deen al-balad da °amar. Gaal le Wad-Haashim: "Ana °indi wadd akhuuy fii Um Dam hinaak fii Kurdufaan, daḥiin ya siidi sh-Sheekh taddiini l-faathā namshi najiibu." Ba°deen jooni hum tataala: °ammi wa ma°aahu °Abdullaahi wa Maḥammad Wad-Sileemaan. Jo lee waalitti, abuuy mitwaffi min al-Mahdiyya. Gaal le waalitti: "Ana jiit nasuug wadd akhuuy da yigannib ma°aay

س1: الظروف الجابتك هنا  
شئو (في ود هاشم)؟

أحمد

كان عمي أخو أبوي الأكبر من أبوي، ووالدي اتوفى في المهديّة، وبعدين عمي دا ماسك طريقة في ود هاشم. بعدين البلد دا عمّر. قال لي ودهاشم: "أنا عندي ود أخوي في أم دم هناك في كردفان، دحين يا سيدي الشيخ تديني الفاتحة نمشي نجيبه". بعدين جوني هم ثلاثة: عمي ومعه عبدالله ومحمد ود سليمان. جوا لي والدتي، أبوي متوفي من المهديّة. قال لي والدتي: "أنا جيت نسوق ود أخوي دا يقنّب معاي هناك". أمي قالت ليه: "خلاص سوق ولدك، دا ما ولدك، ما عنده أكثر منك". عمي جابني قعدت هنا.

<sup>1</sup> As will become clear below, this village is named after its presumed founder, Sheikh Wad-Hashim.

<sup>2</sup> Mahdiyya = Mahdism (1882–1898). Here reference is made to one of the battles that took place during the Mahdist era, but our informant knew neither the name of the battle nor its actual date.

to my mother, and my paternal uncle said to her: “I have come to take this nephew of mine (brother’s son) to stay there with me.” My mother answered him: “Well, you can take your son; it is your son; he doesn’t have someone better than you.” So, my paternal uncle brought me here and I stayed with him.

hinaaaak.” Ummi gaalat leehu: “Khalaas suug waladak, da maa waladak, maa ʿindu aktar minnak.” ʿAmmi jaabni gaʿadta hina.

*Q2: How old were you when you were brought here?*

س2: لما جابوك كان عمرك كم سنة؟

He (my paternal uncle) brought me to (Sheikh) Wad-Hashim (in Wad Hashim village) and he circumcised me there when I was about eight or nine years old. Wad-Hashim himself circumcised me in this mosque of Sheikh Muhammad Tom (the First).

Jaabni lee Wad-Haashim ṭahharni hina, ʿumri maa been taamaanya wa tisʿa sana kadi. Ṭahharni Wad-Haashim zaatu, ṭahharni fi j-jaamiʿ, jaamiʿ ash-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom da.

جابني لي ودهاشم طهرني هنا، عمري ما بين ثمانية وتسعة سنة كدي. ودهاشم ذاته طهرني في الجامع، جامع الشيخ محمد نوم دا.

*Q3: When you grew up, which tribes did you find in Wad Hashim?*

س3: لامن فتحت القبائل اللقيتها في ود هاشم دي شنو وشنو؟

I found Musabbaʿat, Jawamʿa, Jaʿliyyin, Danaagla, and Fallaata (Fulani). We, ourselves, are Fallaata.

Ligiit Musabbaʿaat wa Jawaamʿa wa Jaʿliyyiin wa Danaagla wa Fallaata. Niḥna zaatna Fallaata.

لقيت مسبعات، وجوامعة، وجعليين، ودناقلة، وفلاتة، نحن ذاتنا فلاتة.

*Q4: Which tribe was in the majority?*

س4: الأغلبية كانوا شنو؟

The majority? There was no majority; all the tribes were of equal standing. The Jawamʿa and Fallaata

Al-ʿaghlabiyya? Maafi aghlabiyya, kullahum sawiyyan. Jawaamʿa wa Fallaata deel maaskiin al-

الأغلبية؟ مافي أغلبية، كلهم سويًا. جوامعة وفلاتة ديل ماسكين الحلة، الأغلبية.



dominated the village hilla, al-<sup>o</sup>aghlabiyya. numerically (i.e., they constituted the majority).

*Q5: What is the relation between the Fallaata (Fulani) of Hillat Isma'il and those of Wad Hashim?*

Intermarriage: we marry women from their group, and they take wives from our group.

#### FADL AS-SIID

Our clan is Isa and that of (the Fallaata/Fulani of) Hillat Isma'il is Sambo;<sup>3</sup> and we are Sindiga; we share the same grandfather with the people of Al-Muraffa; our grandfather was Sheikh Umar, buried in Bara.

Al-nasab, akhadna fiihum wa yaakhdu fiina.

Aniḥna khashum beetna Isa, wa Hillat Ismaa' il Fallaata Sambo, wa aniḥna Sindiga; naas al-Maraffa<sup>c</sup> jiddana waaḥid. Jiddana sh-Sheekh <sup>o</sup>Umar, madfuun fii Baara.

س5: العلاقة بين الفلاتة بتاعين ود هاشم والفلاتة بتاعين حلة إسماعيل شنو؟

النسب، أخذنا فيهم وبأخذوا فينا.

#### فضل السيد

انحن خشم بيتنا إسا، وحلة اسماعيل فلاتة سمبو، وانحن سندقة، ناس المرفع جدنا واحد. جدنا الشيخ عمر، مدفون في بارا.

*Q6: What was the clan of Sheikh Wad-Hashim?*

AHMAD  
Fallaata Ngara.

*Q7: What was his relation to Sheikh Talha? Are they related to one another?*

The people of Sheikh Talha are Fallaata, like the people of (Sheikh) Wad-Hashim. Wad-Hashim, too, was a Fallaati (sing. of Fallaata). Wad-Hashim's clan was

Fallaata Ngara.

Naas ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa bardahum Fallaata, wa naas Wad-Haashim barḍu Fallaati. Wad-Haashim Ngara, wa deelaak naas ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa barḍu

س6: شيخ ودهاشم خشم بيتهم شنو؟

أحمد  
فلاتة نقرا.

س7: وعلاقته شنو بالشيخ طلحة؟ عندهم صلة مع بعض؟

ناس الشيخ طلحة برضهم فلاتة، وناس ودهاشم برضو فلاتي. ودهاشم نقرا، وديالك ناس الشيخ طلحة برضو خشم بيتهم فلاتة، أنا قايل إسا.

<sup>3</sup>No Fulani clan with this name is known to us so far. The Fulani of the village in question are more widely known to be from the Um Jibbo clan.

Ngara, whereas Sheikh Talha<sup>4</sup> was from the Fallaata Isa, I think.

khashum beetum Fallaata, ana gaayil Isa.

*Q8: Do you know when this village (Wad Hashim) was founded?*

س8: الحلة دي (ود هاشم) بتعرفوها قامت سنة كم؟

First, Sheikh Wad-Hashim was into 'wandering'; Sheikh Muhammad Tom (the First), the son of Sheikh Talha, applied (for the registration of Wad Hashim as a Fulani village) in 1008.<sup>5</sup> He (Wad-Hashim) stayed there (in Wad Hashim) for about 11 years. He died in 1953;<sup>6</sup> he has been in the grave now for 42 years. This village (Wad Hashim) was founded by Wad-Hashim himself.

Awwal yaabaadi ash-Sheekh Wad-Haashim kaan fi s-siyaaha; gaddam leeha sh-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom Wadd ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa sanat alf wu tamaaniya wa ga°ad fiha zey ḥidaashar sana. Sanat talaata wu khamsiin huwa itwaffa, raagid fi l-gabur itneen wu arb°iin sana. Assasaa sh-Sheekh Wad-Haashim zaatu.

أول يابادي الشيخ ودهاشم كان في السباحة، قدّم ليها الشيخ محمد نوم ود الشيخ طلحة سنة ألف وثمانية، وقعد فيها زي حداشر سنة. سنة تلاتة وخمسين هو اتوفى، راقد في القبر إثنين وأربعين سنة. أسسها الشيخ ودهاشم ذاته.

*Q9: Which tribes came first?*

س9: القبائل الجات أول للحلة دي ياتم؟

Musabba'at, Jawam'a, Ja'liyyin, Danagla, and Fallaata. The Musabba'at came very early, followed by the Fallaata and later by the Jawam'a, the Bideriyya, the Danagla, and then by

Musabba°aat wa Jawaam°a wa Ja°liyyiin wa Danaagla wa Fallaata. Musabba°aat deel sabago badri, ba°deen °agaboohum Fallaata wa °agaboohum Jawaam°a, al-Bideeriyya wa d-Danaagla

مسبعات وجوامعة وجعليين ودناقلة وفلاتة. مسبعات ديل سبقوا بدري، بعدين عقبوم فلاتة وعقبوم جوامعة، البديرية والدناقلة والجعليين. قبائل كتيرة، ودهاشم راجل ولي.

<sup>4</sup> Sheikh Talha is the founder of the village which, for the sake of clarity, is referred to as 'Shaikh Talha' in this interview.

<sup>5</sup> 1008, most probably Hijri (Islamic calendar), cannot be correct since it corresponds to ca. 1588 AD. By the time of the recording (i.e., 1998) the informant was 115 years old, which means that he was born in 1883, corresponding to 1303 Hijri. But then he said that he 'witnessed' Sheikh Wad-Hashim – and he definitely did. So, had Sheikh Wad-Hashim been born in 1008 Hijri, it would have not been possible for our informant (born in 1303 Hijri) to 'witness' him. Here, it is definitely Sheikh Wad-Hashim's birth date which is wrong (and not that of the informant).

<sup>6</sup> This date cannot be correct because Sheikh Wad-Hashim was exhumed from his first grave and transferred to another in 1952.

the Ja'liyyin. Many tribes came; Wad-Hashim was a saint (*wali*).

wa j-Ja°liyyiin. Gabaayil katiira, Wad-Haashim raajil wali.

*Q10: Did they come before or after the Mahdiyya?*

س10: جوا في المهديّة و لا بعد المهديّة؟

This was after the Mahdiyya; at the beginning of the Condominium.<sup>7</sup>

Al-kalaam da ba°ad al-Mahdiyya, awwal at-Turkiyya.

الكلام دا بعد المهديّة، أول التركيّة.

*Q11: Who has come since your arrival?*

س11: منو اللي جوا في حضورك؟

Musabba'at, Fallaata, and Jawam'a. I witnessed the coming of all these (tribes).

Musabba°aat, Fallaata, wa Jawaam°a, deel kullahum ana haadhirum.

مسبعات، فلاتة، وجوامعة ديل كلهم أنا حاضرهم.

*Q12: Do you remember the arrival of Sultan Mai-Wurno?*

س12: لما وصل سلطان ميورنو متذكر جيّته؟

First, it was said that his (great) grandfather, Sheikh Usman (dan Fodio), said to him: "At the end of time, my descendants will settle in Aradib in the village of Shaikh Talha."<sup>8</sup> So, according to his (great) grandfather's prophecy, Sultan Mai-Wurno came and settled on the eastern bank (of the Blue Nile) with Sheikh Muhammad Tom (the First). And then, after Fallaata from West Africa increased

Awwal tabaadi, gaalo jiddu sh-Sheekh °Usmaan gaal leehu: "Aakhir az-zaman zurriiti taskun al-°Araadiib bi Ḥillat ash-Sheekh Talḥa." Ba°deen °ale ḥasab kalaam jiddu da Sulṭaan Mai-Wurno ja nazal be sh-shaarig ma°a sh-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom. Ba°deen Fallaata kitro jo min al-gharib katiiriin. Ba°adeen ash-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom gaal leehu: "Tamshi ta°addi be l-gharib tago°od

أول تبادي، قالوا جده الشيخ عثمان قال ليه: "آخر الزمن ذريتي تسكن العرادييب بحلة الشيخ طلحة". بعدين على حسب كلام جده دا سلطان ميورنو جا نزل بالشرق مع الشيخ محمد توم. بعدين فلاتة كتروا جوا من الغرب كتيرين. بعدين الشيخ محمد توم قال ليه: "تمشي تعديّ بالغرب تقعد في المشرق". المكان دا كان مشرع ساكت، معدية بس. جا ميورنو قعد بالغرب.

<sup>7</sup> The elderly people refer to the Condominium era, i.e., the Anglo-Egyptian era (1898–1956) as *Turkiyya* (the Turkish era). They distinguish it from the actual Turkish era (1821–1882) by adding the Arabic modifier *as-saabga* ('the former') when speaking about the actual Turkish era, thus calling it *at-Turkiyya s-Saabga*, i.e., the former Turkish era.

<sup>8</sup> This is a version of a popular prophecy attributed to Sheikh Usman dan Fodio. Another version says: "My descendants will settle between two S's," i.e., between the town of Sennar and that of Singa where the present village of Maiurno is now located.

in number, Sheikh Muhammad Tom said to Mai-Wurno: “Cross to the western bank and settle on the *mushra*<sup>c</sup> (water-fetching spot).” That site was just a *mushra*<sup>c</sup>; with nothing except a boat. Mai-Wurno came and settled down on the western bank.

fi l-mushra<sup>c</sup>.” Al-makaan da kaan mushra<sup>c</sup> saakit, ma<sup>c</sup>addiyya bas. Ja Mai-Wurno ga<sup>c</sup>ad be l-gharib.

*Q13: How old were you, when Mai-Wurno came?*

س13: عمرک کم سنه لما جا ميورنو؟

I was young; between 10 and 12 years old.

Ana ṣaghayyir, maa been <sup>c</sup>ashara wa itnaashar sana.

أنا صغیر، ما بين عشرة واتناشر سنه.

*Q14: Did some of his people stay in Wad Hashim?*

س14: من جماعته في ناس جوا قعدوا في ود هاشم؟

Yes, the people of Malam Koyné did. The people of Faki Bashir and the people of Faki Mahmoud, too, were hosted by us.

Aayi, naas Maalam Koyné deel. Naas Faki Bashiir wa Faki Maḥmuud jo nazalo <sup>c</sup>indana.

آي، ناس مالم كويني ديل. ناس فكي بشير وفكي محمود جوا نزلوا عندنا.

*Q15: Did the people of Faki Bashir come with the Sultan or after him?*

س15: ناس فكي بشير جوا مع السلطان سوا وللا بعده؟

No, they came before the Sultan (Mai-Wurno). They were with us in this village, together with the people of Buuba Jawro. They came before the Sultan.

La, jo gabl as-Sulṭaan. Kaano ma<sup>c</sup>aana fi l-ḥilla sawa ma<sup>c</sup>a naas Buuba Jawro. Jo gubbaal as-Sulṭaan.

لا، جوا قبل السلطان. كانوا معانا في الحلة سوا مع ناس بوبا جورو. جوا قبل السلطان.

*Q16: What was the chronological order of the arrival of the different tribes in Wad Hashim?*

س16: كيف تسلسل وصول القبائل لود هاشم، حسب ما تسمعوا؟

## FADLAS-SIID

My paternal uncle himself told me that, at first, (Sheikh) Wad-Hashim was 'wandering'. When he settled down, he did that in a place between Singa and Shallal. The people there received the *ṭariiqa* (brotherhood) from him. He moved from there and founded Lower Wad Hashim (the old site). He was its first founder. After the Mahdiyya these people contacted Sheikh Wad-Hashim and Sheikh Talha and started to gather. But the major part of our clan is still living in the area of Tulus, down towards Darfur.

Kallamni °ammi zaatu gaal Wad-Haashim kaan fi s-siyaaha, lamma nazal nazal been Sinja wa sh-Shallaal. Akhado °aleehu hinaak aṭ-ṭariiqa. Raḥal min hinaak wa ja fataḥ Wad Haashim al-ḥilla t-tiḥtaaniyya. Wa huwa awwal waahid fataḥaa. An-naas deel ba°ad al-Mahdiyya ittaṣalo be sh-Sheekh Wad-Haashim wa sh-Sheekh Ṭalḥa wa bigo yitjamma°u. Laakin aghlab gabiilatna min jihat Tulus wu maashi Daarfoor wu maashi lee tiḥit di kullaha hassi° gabaayilna hinaak gaa°da.

## فضل السيد

كلمني عمي ذاته قال ودهاشم كان في السياحة، لما نزل نزل بين سنجة والشلال. أخذوا عليه هناك الطريقة. رحل من هناك وجا فتح ود هاشم الحلة التحتانية. وهو أول واحد فتحها. الناس ديل بعد المهديّة اتصلوا بالشيخ ودهاشم والشيخ طلحة وبقوا يتجمّعوا. لكن أغلب قبيلتنا من جهة تلس وماشي دارفور وماشي لي تحت دي كلها هسع قبيلنا هناك قاعدة.

*Q17: Where did Hajj at-Tahir live?*

He was Wad-Hashim's paternal uncle. He lived in Abdel Mahmoud village.

Da °amm Wad-Haashim akhu abuuḥu, wa kaan gaa°id fi Ḥillat °Abdul Maḥmuud.

س17: آه حاج الطاهر كان قاعد وين؟

دا عم ودهاشم أخو أبوه، وكان قاعد في حلة عبدالمحمود.

## AHMAD

Hajj at-Tahir died very early; we didn't 'witness' him, but he lived in the lower village. That was during the Funj Sultanate.<sup>9</sup> Then came the Mahdiyya and the land became spoilt; then Hajj at-Tahir died and was buried

Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭaahir itwafaa badri, niḥna maa ḥaḍaranaahu, laakin kaan gaa°id fi l-ḥilla t-tiḥtaaniyya. Kaan fi s-Saltana z-Zarga, ba°adeen al-Mahdiyya jaat wa l-waṭa khirbat wa hu [= huwa] itwaffa wa indafan fi

## أحمد

حاج الطاهر اتوفى بدري، نحن ما حضرناه، لكن كان قاعد في الحلة التحتانية، كان في السلطنة الزرقا. بعدين المهديّة جات والوطاة خربت وهو اتوفى واندفن في الخور.

<sup>9</sup>The Funj Sultanate of Sennar, thought to have been founded in 1504, came to an end in 1821.

on the *khoor*.<sup>10</sup>

l-khoor.

#### FADL AS-SIID

The Sheikh Talha's people came and took my paternal uncle (to the graveyard); he showed them (his grave), saying: "Here is the grave of Hajj at-Tahir."

Naas Sheekh Ṭalḥa jo saago  
°ammi min hina masha  
waraahum gaal leehum:  
"Da maḥal gabur Ḥaaj aṭ-  
Ṭaahir."

#### فضل السيد

ناس شيخ طلحة جوا ساقوا  
عمي من هنا مشى وراهم  
قال ليهم: "دا محل قبر حاج  
الطاهر."

*Q18: Is Abdel Mahmoud village the village developed by Hajj at-Tahir?*

س18: لحة اللي عمها حاج  
الطاهر، دي لحة عبدالمحمود؟

#### AHMAD

No, that was Lower Wad Hashim. That was during the former Turkish era,<sup>11</sup> before the Mahdiyya. Hajj at-Tahir had already died by that time. When Sheikh Wad-Hashim came, he developed his paternal uncle's (former) village.

La, Wad Haashim at-tiḥit.  
Da kaan fi t-Turkiyya  
s-Saabga, gabl al-Mahdiyya,  
wa itwaffa fi z-zaman daak.  
Lama ja sh-Sheekh Wad-  
Haashim ja °amar maḥal  
°ammu.

أحمد  
لا، ود هاشم التحت. دا كان  
في التركية السابقة، قبل  
المهدية، اتوفى في الزمن داك.  
لما جا الشيخ ودهاشم جا عم  
محل عمه.

*Q19: How are the Sheikh Talha's people related to him (Sheikh Wad-Hashim)?*

س19: علاقة ناس الشيخ  
طلحة بيه شنو؟

#### FADL AS-SIID

They are related through marriage; Sheikh Talha was

Al-°alaaga nasab. Ash-  
Sheekh Ṭalḥa maakhid

#### فضل السيد

العلاقة نسب. الشيخ طلحة  
ماخد أخت الشيخ ودهاشم

<sup>10</sup> *Khoor* was a big seasonal stream fed by rain that used to run from the bush (*khala*) into the river (Blue Nile). It crosses Maiurno village from west to east. The graveyard in which Hajj at-Tahir was buried extends some 30–40 meters from the edge of that stream (*khoor*) northwards. This is the oldest graveyard in Maiurno; in fact, it existed before the creation of the village. The stream itself has now almost disappeared following the construction of the asphalt road that passes between the village and the bush (*khala*). Sometime in the 1980s the people of Shaikh Talha came and identified the grave of Hajj at-Tahir (through our informant), and they put some signs (including a flag) around it. They occasionally visit it in a ceremonial procession, especially during the two Eids (Muslim festivals).

<sup>11</sup> Here reference is made to the actual Turkish era (1821–1882).

‘given’ Sheikh Wad-Hashim’s sister<sup>12</sup> and he begot his son, Sheikh Muhammad Tom (the First), with her.

ukhut ash-Sheekh Wad-Haashim jaab minnaha sh-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom Wadd ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa.

جاب منها الشيخ محمد توم ودالشيخ طلحة.

*Q20: Did the coming of the Sultan (Mai-Wurno) and his people have any effect in this area?*

س20: جية السلطان وجماعته أثروا في البلد هنا؟

AHMAD

Yes, it did. Now all the land southwards is occupied by them. When they came, they divided themselves into two groups; half of them stayed in Shaikh Talha, and half remained here.

Assaro, sakano hassa° aṣ-ṣa°iid da kullu hum. Lamma jo ingasamo, nuṣṣahum fii Ḥillat ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa wa nuṣṣahum biga hina.

أحمد  
أثروا، سكنوا هسع الصعيد دا كله هم. لما جوا انقسموا، نصهم في حلة الشيخ طلحة ونصهم بقى هنا.

*Q21: Did these Marwa<sup>13</sup> people come along with the hijra (migratory movement including many Fulani from Sokoto fleeing from British rule in Nigeria)?*

س21: ناس مروة ديل جوا مع الهجرة؟

No, they came along after it.

La, deel jo be waraahum katiir.

لا ديل جوا بي وراهم كثير .

*Q22: Where were the borders of this village before the arrival of the Sultan (Mai-Wurno)?*

س22: قبل ما يصل السلطان كان حدود الحلة دي وين؟

FADLAS-SIID

Our paternal uncles told us that Wad-Hashim delimited

A°maamna gaalo Wad-Haashim ḥaddad al-°arid.

فضل السيد  
أعمامنا قالوا ودهاشم حدد الأرض. من مقابر حلة

<sup>12</sup> ‘Sister’ stands here for ‘paternal cousin’ since Sheikh Talha actually married Hajj at-Tahir’s daughter, and Hajj at-Tahir was Sheikh Wad-Hashim’s paternal uncle.

<sup>13</sup> Marwa people ,= Fulani from the region of Maroua (Cameroon).

the borders. From the graveyard of Abdel Mahmoud village up to here is Wad Hashim. Now quarters reaching to this side, such as Wad Hashim Abbas, are within the territory of Wad Hashim.

Min maqaabir Ḥillat °Abd al-Maḥmuud laḥaddi hina di Ḥillat Wad Haashim. Hassa° al-ḥallaal zey Wad Haashim °Abbaas lee jaayi di kullaha khaashsha fii Wad Haashim.

عبدالمحمود لحدِّي هنا دي حلة ود هاشم. هسع الحلال زي ود هاشم عباس لي جاي دي كلها خاشة في ود هاشم.

*Q23: How did this village of Wad Hashim look before the arrival of the hijra?*

Our paternal uncles told us that the whole area was covered with forests and trees; it was full of elephants, lions, and everything.

Bizkuru leena a°maamna al-balad kullaha kaanat ghaabaat wa shidar wa fayala wa usudda wa kullu ḥaaja; al-maḥalla kullaha kaanat malyaana.

س23: حلة ود هاشم دي قبل الهجرة كان شكلها كيف؟

بنذكروا لبنا أعمامنا البلد كلها كانت غابات وشدر وفيلة وأسدة وكل حاجة، المحلة كلها كانت مليانة.

AHMAD

It was forests with lions, leopards, and elephants. There was a big tree surrounded by a fence. At sunset travelers used to enclose themselves in this fence for fear of lions and hyenas.

Kaanat ghaabaat fiiha l-°asad wa n-nimir wa l-fayala. Fi shadara kabiira ḥawlaa zariiba. An-naas al-misaafriin iza sh-shamis ghaabat leehum yidukhlu fi z-zariiba yisidduuha °aleehum min al-°asad wa l-marfa°iin.

أحمد  
كانت غابات، فيها الأسد والنمر والقيلة. في شجرة كبيرة حولها زريبة. الناس المسافرين إذا الشمس غابت ليهم يدخلوا في الزريبة يسدوها عليهم من الأسد والمرفعين.

*Q24: Did you witness that time?*

Yes, I did. Lions were there not long ago. The only developed places were Ardeba (Irediba; 3–4 km south of the centre of present-day Maiurno), Enekliba (half-way between Maiurno and Singa), and Singa. All these (inhabited) places

Haaḍiriin. Al-°asad maa gariib. Kaan al-°amaara °Ardeeba wa °Eneekliiba wa Sinja. Kaan ḥallaal wasaṭ maafi.

س24: إنت كنت حاضر الزمن داك؟

حاضرين، الأسد ما قريب. كان العمارة عردية وعنيكلية وسنجة. كان حلال وسط مافي.



(that are now) in between did not exist.

*Q25: At that time was it possible to walk from the lower village to Maiurno's market?*

What do you mean? It was very difficult. There were lions, leopards, and hyenas. It was only after the Fallaata (Fulani) came and developed this area that these things disappeared.

Yaa zool, yaa zool, ṣa<sup>ab</sup>; al-<sup>o</sup>usudda wa n-nimir wa l-marfa<sup>iin</sup>. Illa ba<sup>ad</sup> jo l-Fallaata, al-balad da <sup>o</sup>ammaroohu wa it<sup>amar</sup> ḥatta sh-shaghalaanaat deel sagaṭan.

س25: زمان من الحلة التحت دي لي سوق مايرنو في زول بقدر بمشي؟

يا زول يا زول صعب... الأُسُدَّة والنمر والمرفعين. إلا بعد جوا الفلاتة، البلد دا عَمْرُوه واتعمر حتى الشغلانات ديل سقطن.

*Q26: So, it was only after the Sultan (Mai-Wurno) came with his people that these (wild) animals disappeared!*

Yes, after the Sultan's arrival, they moved away and disappeared. The land was developed by the Fallaata. From here southward down to Galgani, and to Er-Roseires on both the eastern and western sides (of the Blue Nile), only the Fallaata dominate.

Aayi, maa khalaas ba<sup>ad</sup> maa ja s-Sulṭaan zaḥafat bigat maafi. Al-balad <sup>o</sup>ammaroohu l-Fallaata. Min hina lee Jalgani le r-Ruṣeeris Fallaata ṣar sharig wa gharib.

س26: يعني بعدما جا السلطان بي ناسه الحيوانات بقت تختفي!

آي، ما خلاص بعد ما جا السلطان زحفت بقت مافي. البلد عَمْرُوه الفلاتة. من هنا لي جلقني لي الروصيرص فلاتة صر شرق وغرب.

*Q27: Did the coming of the Sultan and his people improve life for the people of Wad Hashim, or did it result in a loss of land?*

It improved life for them; it did not cause them to lose land. Borders were drawn between them: from the

Ṣallaḥaa maa ḍayyagaa. <sup>o</sup>Amalo ḥuduud beenaatum. Min as-silik wa gharib Fallaata; wa min as-silik le

س27: لما جا السلطان بي ناسه، جيئتم دي صلحت الحياة هنا لي ناس ود هاشم واللا ضيقت عليهم؟

صلحها ما ضيقها. عملوا حدود بيناتهم. من السلك وغرب فلاتة ومن السلك لصباح عرب.

pole westward is the Fallaata (Fulani) land, and from the pole eastward is the Arabs land.

*Q28: What kind of social interactions were there between the people of Wad Hashim and those of Maiurno?*

There were interactions between them.

ṣabaḥ<sup>°</sup> Arab.

Fi mudaakhala.

س28: التداخل بين ناس ود هاشم وناس مايرنو كيف زمان؟

في مداخلة.

*Q29: But did the Fallaata speak Arabic at that time?*

Very few of them spoke Arabic; the majority spoke the vernacular language (Fulfulde). We learned some (vernacular) from them. Before (interacting with) them, I didn't know (speak) Fulfulde.

Galiil al-bi<sup>°</sup>rif; aghlabum birṭunu. Niḥna it<sup>°</sup>allamna minnahum shuwayya. Gubbaalum maa kunta ba<sup>°</sup>rif ar-ruṭaana.

س29: لكن الفلاتة في المدة ديك بعرفوا العربي؟

قليل البعرف، أغلبهم برطنوا. نحن اتعلمنا منّهم شوية. قُبّالهم ما كنت بعرف الرطانة.

#### FADL AS-SIID

Since the time of our grandfathers we have not known the vernacular (Fulfulde); but when one of us is asked about his ethnicity, he will say: "We are Fallaata, but we cannot speak the vernacular (language)."

Min juduudna lee jaay maa bina<sup>°</sup>rif ar-ruṭaana laakin al-waahid fii jinsu biguul leek: "Aniḥna Fallaata laakin maa ba<sup>°</sup>rif ar-ruṭaana."

فضل السيد  
من جدودنا لي جاي ما بعرف الرطانة، لكن الواحد في جنسه بقول ليك: "نحن فلاتة لكن ما بعرف الرطانة".

*Q30: When Sultan Mai-Wurno and his people came, how were they dressed and what kind of food did they eat?*

س30: لما جوا ناس سلطان ميورنو كان لبسهم كيف وبياكلوا شنو؟

AHMAD

Some of them used to wear their West African dress, and some others wore the dress of this country (Sudan). The Fallaata wore their West African dress, a big garment with large sleeves (*folo-folo*).

End

Waaḥdiin kaano bilbasu libis baladum, waaḥdiin kamaan jo laabsiin libs al-balad da. Fallaata bilbasu libis baladum, jallaabiyya kabiira leeha iideen (*folo-folo*).

An-nihaaya

أحمد

واحدین كانوا بلبسوا لبس بلدهم واحدین کمان جوا لابسين لبس البلد دا. فلاتة بلبسوا لبس بلدهم، جلايية كبيرة ليها ايدين (فولوفولو).

النهاية



# INTERVIEW WITH FULANI MEN LIVING IN WAD HASHIM MALLE

DATE AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW:

March 24, 1998; Wad Hashim Malle

INTERVIEWEES:

- Al-Amin Ahmad Yousif, 67 years
- Ahmad Yahya Abdullahi (Tijani), 42 years

INTERVIEWERS: Günther Schlee & Al-Amin Abu-Manga

TRANSCRIPTION, TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION (ARABIC):

Al-Amin Abu-Manga

*Q1: In the beginning when was this village (Wad Hashim Malle) founded?*

AL-AMIN

In the beginning, when our people came from the West, they stayed in Omdurman. From Omdurman they went to Saudi Arabia. When they returned from Saudi Arabia, they stayed in Omdurman. From Omdurman they moved – I think in 1916 – and came to Lower Wad Hashim near the river (Blue Nile) before the (construction of the Sennar) dam. The dam was built in 1918; in 1924 they moved from there to this place.

Aşlana niḥna naasna lamma jo min al-gharb sakano Umdurmaan. Min Umdurmaan raaḥo s-Su<sup>u</sup>udiyya. Raja<sup>o</sup> min as-Su<sup>u</sup>udiyya sakano Umdurmaan. Min Umdurmaan raḥalo – iftakir sanat siṭṭaashar, jo hina Wad Haashim tiḥit gabli l-khazzaan, janba l-baḥar. Amalo l-khazzaan sanat tamantashar, sanat arbaa wu ishriin raḥalna min hinaak raḥalna hina.

س1: في البداية الحلة (ود هاشم ملي) دي أسست متين؟

الأمين

أصلنا نحن ناسنا لما جوا من الغرب سكنوا أمدرمان، من أمدرمان راحوا السعودية. رجعوا من السعودية سكنوا أمدرمان. من أمدرمان رحلوا افتكر سنة سطاشر، جوا هنا ود هاشم تحت قبل الخزان، جنب البحر. عملوا الخزان سنة تمنطاشر، سنة أربعة وعشرين رحلنا من هناك رحلنا هنا.

*Q2: Well, from Omdurman why did they choose (to move to) this place specifically?*

By God, when they (our people) were staying in

Wallaahi humma mimmaa sakano Umdurmaan naas

س2: طيب من أمدرمان ليه اختاروا المحل دا بالذات؟

والله همّ مما سكنوا أمدرمان ناس زي بادية. بعدين أمدرمان

Omdurman, they were almost nomads. Of course, at that time Omdurman was already a town. Then they tried not to live in town; the elders didn't like the town. Of course, they were people who used to keep animals, and the town is not a place for animals. They had also some people whom they left behind. They tried to gather them here outside (the town) so that they would be in one place.

zey baadiya. Ba<sup>o</sup>deen Umdurmaan ṭaba<sup>o</sup>an madiina. Ba<sup>o</sup>deen ḥaawalo maa yaskunu l-madiina – al-kubaar maa daayriin al-madiina; ṭaba<sup>o</sup>an naas bitaa<sup>o</sup> bahaayim, al-madiina maa maḥal bahaayim. Ba<sup>o</sup>deen indahum baagi naas khalloohum wara. Ḥaawalo yijjammi<sup>o</sup>uuhum barra hina <sup>o</sup>ashaan kullahum yikuunu fi mantiga waḥdi.

طبعاً مدينة. بعدين حاولوا ما يسكنوا المدينة – الكبار ما دايرين المدينة، طبعاً ناس بتاع بهائم المدينة ما محل بهائم. بعدين عندهم باقي ناس خلّوهم ورا، حاولوا يجمعوهم برة هنا عشان كلهم يكونوا في منطقة وحدي.

*Q3: How was the (new) area chosen?*

They sent somebody from Omdurman who went beyond Damazin – to a village called Kharaba; they inspected (many) places and then came (back to Omdurman) and chose (to move to) a village called Bijawi in Southern Blue Nile. In the end, the move did not take place. They (came to this place and) were living here (in Wad Hashim Malle); they had animals. On the eastern bank (of the Blue Nile) there was abundant land for grazing. They went to Sherif Al-Hindi (to ask him for a place to stay on the eastern bank of the Blue Nile) and he offered them (to stay in) Abu Jeili, but they refused. He (then) told them to go to Dindir.

Rassalo zool. Min Umdurmaan masha ghaadi lee Damaaziin – ḥilla isimaa Kharaaba, kashafo maḥallaat. Ba<sup>o</sup>deen jo ikhtaaro fi ṣ-Ṣa<sup>o</sup>iid ḥilla isimaa Bijaawi. Fi l-<sup>o</sup>aakhirar ar-raḥiil maa tammāt. Saakniin hina; ba<sup>o</sup>deen <sup>o</sup>indahum bahaayim; ash-sharig da al-mar<sup>o</sup>a katiir. Masho le sh-Shariif al-Hindi addaahum Abu-Jeyli, rafaḍo. Gaal leehum: “Tamshu d-Dindir.” Baadeen rassalo Abu Haashim; masha liga l-mantiga mantigat <sup>o</sup>Arab... jumaal wu bagar wu hinaay, gaal leehum: “Al-mantiga di maa binfaa ma<sup>o</sup>aana.” An-naas ikhtaaro al-ḥilla be sh-sharig, ḥilla isimaa Riwiina – ligo l-mar<sup>o</sup>a. Al-

س3: كيف تمّ اختيار المنطقة؟

رسلوا زول. من أمدرمان مشى غادي لي دمازين – حلة اسمها خرابة، كشفوا محلات. بعدين جوا اختاروا في الصعيد حلة اسمها بجاوي. في الأخير الرحيل ما تمت. ساكنين هنا، بعدين عندهم بهائم، الشرق دا المرعى كثير. مشوا للشريف الهندي أدهم أبوجيلي، رفضوا. قال ليهم: “تمشوا الدندر.” بعدين رسلوا أبوهاشم، مشى لقي المنطقة منطقة عرب... جمال وبقر وهنابي، قال ليهم: “المنطقة دي ما بنفع معانا”. الناس اختاروا الحلة بالشرق، حلة اسمها رويينا – لقوا المرعى. الحلة كله قرروا يرحلوا هناك. جزّ منّا رحلوا وجزّ تاني اتأخر هنا.

They (our people) sent Hashim's father there; he went (there) and found the area full of Arabs... camels, cattle, and so on. He (Hashim's father) thus said to them (our people): "This place doesn't suit us." The people chose a village called Riwina on the eastern bank (of the Blue Nile) where there was abundant pasture. The entire village (i.e., all the Fallaata/Fulani families from our group that were then already living in Wad Hashim Malle) decided to move there. (But only) some of them (indeed) moved (to Riwina), and the rest stopped their migration here (in Wad Hashim Malle).

hilla kullu qarraro yarḥalu  
hinaak. Juzu minnaa raḥalo  
wu juzu tani it'akhkhar  
hina.

*Q4: From where do the inhabitants of this village (Wad Hashim Malle) originate?*

س4: السكان هذه القرية  
أصلهم من وين؟

Our origin is in Mali, in a place called Hamdullahi.

Aṣlana min Maali, min ḥitta  
ismaa Hamdullaahi.

أصلنا من مالي، من حطة  
اسمها حمد الله.

*Q5: And for what reasons did they come from Mali?*

س5: وجوا من مالي بأي  
سبب؟

With regard to our forefathers specifically, there was a dispute in the family which led them to move from Hamdullahi to Gao. Our forefathers in the fourth (ascending) generation were Alfa Zeeno, Muhamman Alfa, Hamma

Juduudna be z-zaat kunna  
fii Hamdullaahi, ḥaṣal  
mushkila been al-°aayla  
raḥalo min Hamdallaahi jo  
Gao – jiddana r-raabe°:  
Alfaa Zeeno, Muhamman  
Alfaa, Hamma Zeeno,  
Almutar (al-Mukhtaar).  
Almutar huwa r-raḥal min

جدودنا بالذات كنا في حمد الله،  
حصل مشكلة بين العايلة رحلوا  
من حمد الله جوا قاو – جدنا  
الرابع: ألفا زينو، مهمم ألفا، همم  
زينو، المُمتر (المختار). المُمتر  
هو الرجل من حمد الله جا  
قاو. وأصبح رطانتنا فلفدي،  
كان بتاع أجدادنا السابق. في  
قاو بقوا ينكلموا بالسنگاي. كترة

Zeeno, and Al-Mukhtar.<sup>1</sup> It was Al-Mukhtar who moved from Hamdullahi to Gao. The language of our forefathers used to be Fulfulde. In Gao they started to speak Songhai. In time Fulfulde disappeared and we shifted completely to Songhai. Those who remained (in Hamdullahi) maintained (Fulfulde as their vernacular language); now our relatives<sup>2</sup> in Um Kitir (village opposite to Wad Hashim Malle on the eastern side of the Blue Nile) speak Fulfulde; we belong to the same ‘family’ (subsection).

Hamdullaahi ja Gao. Wa aṣbaḥ ruṭaanatna Fulfulde, kaan bitaa° ajdaadna s-saabig. Fii Gaoo bigo yitkallamu be s-Songhai. Katarat az-zaman Fulfulde raah minnana, niḥna be z-zaat °aaylatna – °aayla waḥda aṣlan. Raahat minnana aṣbaḥna nitkallam be s-Songhai. Alli ga°ado hinaak... naas Um Kitir lee hassa° bitkallamu Fulfulde, hum ahalna, beet waaḥid.

الزمن فلفلدي را ح مئنا، نحن بالذات عايلتنا – عايلة واحدة أصلا. راحت مئنا أصبحنا نتكلم بالسغاغي. اللي قعدوا هناك... ناس أم كتر لي هسع بتكلموا فلفلدي، هم أهلنا، بيت واحد.

*Q6: How did your people move from the Gao area to here? What were the reasons (for this move)?*

س6: بعد دا كيف الناس قاموا من منطقة قاو ووصلوا هنا؟ السبب شنو؟

There was a war with France for seven years – according to what people said; we did not witness it. When the people saw that France surpassed them in force, they said: “Let us reach Mecca; we should not live with these people (in one place).” So, they moved in a great number. As soon as they entered Nigeria or Niger, they disagreed among themselves. Some of them said: “Let us

Ḥaṣal ḥarb been al-Fuuta wa Faransa le muddat saba°a sana – °ala ḥasab al-kalaam al-gaalooḥu; niḥna maa ḥaḍarna. An-naas lamma shaafo l-mushkila, Faransa itghawwa °aleehum gaalo: “Nalḥag Makka; an-naas deel maa naskunu ma°aahum.” Ṭawwaali gaamo °adad kabiir jiddan. Mimmaa khashsho Nijjiiriya aw Neejar ḥaṣal khilaaf: waḥdiin gaalo niḥna narja°u waḥdiin gaalo niḥna

حصل حرب بين الفوتا وفرنسا لمدة سبعة سنة – على حسب الكلام القالوه؛ نحن ما حضرنا. الناس لما شافوا المشكلة فرنسا اتغوى عليهم قالوا: “تلحق مكة، الناس ديل ما نسكنوا معاهم”. طوالي قاموا عدد كبير جداً. مما خشوا نجيريا أو نيجر حصل خلاف. وحدين قالوا نحن نرجعوا وحدين قالوا نحن نمشوا. اتحركوا جوا، جوا خشو نجيريا وقت داك الحاكم الطاهر.

<sup>1</sup> Some of these men were probably either full brothers or half-brothers.

<sup>2</sup> The term ‘relatives’ is used loosely here to stress shared subgroup affiliation.



return;” and others said: “Let us continue.” They entered Nigeria during the reign of At-Tahir.<sup>3</sup>

namshu. Itḥarraku jo. Jo khashsho Nijeeriya wakit daak al-ḥaakim aṭ-Ṭaahir.

*Q7: Who were your elders (leaders) at the time of the war?*

Sheikh Ahmad ibn Sa’id ibn Umar al-Futi... We (i.e., our forefathers) were in the same *hijra* group (from Mali [*Malle*] to Nigeria) as (Umar al-Futi’s) sons: Alfa Hashim<sup>4</sup> and Mubashshir of Dar es Salaam (near Sennar at-Tagatu in the Sudan). Alfa Hashim died in Medina; he had no sons.

Ash-Sheekh Aḥmad ibn Sa’iid ibn °Umar al-Fuuti (fi l-hijra ilaa Nijeeriya) awlaadu ma°aana: Alfaa Haashim wu Mubashshir bitaa° Daar as-Salaam da. Alfaa Haashim maat fi l-Madiina, maa °indu awlaad.

س7: وقت الحرب كباركم منو؟

الشيخ أحمد بن سعيد بن عمر الفوتي. (في الهجرة إلى نيجيريا) أولاده معنا: ألفا هاشم ومبشّر بتاع دار السلام دا. ألفا هاشم مات في المدينة، ما عنده أولاد.

*Q8: Where did your forefathers meet At-Tahir?*

It is said that they (our forefathers) sent him (At-Tahir) a message in Gombe, saying: “The Christians have invaded our country; what do you see?” At-Tahir disagreed with his cousins (from the paternal side) on the matter of fighting. They continued their way up to Gombe and further to a place called Burmi. Our people, too, disagreed on this matter. A learned person called Alkali Sindar – he had no sons, the last of his

Gaalo aṭ-Ṭaahir rassalo le jawaab fii Gombe gaalo: “An-Naṣaara dakhalo baladna; maa ra°yak?” Aṭ-Ṭaahir ikhtalaf ma°a awlaad °ammu, gaal leehum namshi naḥaarib. Jo nazalo laghaayit Gombe, min Gombe laghaayit ḥitta isimaa Burmi. Naasna zaatu ḥaṣal khilaaf: waaḥid ismu l-Gaaḍi – Alkaali Sindar, rajul kaan °aalim, maa °indu awlaad, aakhir bittu maatat fii Riwiina hina, da rafaḍ yikhush al-ḥarb.

س8: جنودكم لاقوا الطاهر وين؟

قالوا الطاهر رسلوا ليه جواب من قومي قالوا: "النصارى دخلوا بلدنا؛ ما رأيك؟" الطاهر اختلف مع أولاد عمه، قال ليههم نمشي نحارب. جوا نزلوا لغاية قومي، من قومي لغاية حنة اسمها برمي. ناسنا ذاته حصل خلاف: واحد اسمه القاضي – الكالي سنذر، رجل كان عالم ما عنده أولاد، آخر بته ماتت في روينا هنا، دا رفض يخش الحرب. واحد اسمه الفا جلالين – هسع أولاد أخته هنا في الحلة – دا خش مع جماعته الحرب، مع أغلب الناس، حتى نحن حبوتي بحكي لينا، ساعة

<sup>3</sup> At-Tahir (Attahiru) was the leader of the jihad (against the British) in Sokoto. He died in Burmi in 1903 (27 July).

<sup>4</sup> Alfa Hashim was, in fact, the nephew (brother’s son) of Al-Hajj Umar al-Futi (ca. 1796–1864).

daughters died in Riwina – this man refused to participate in the fight. Someone called Alfa Jalalin – his uterine nephews are now here in this village (Wad Hashim Malle) – participated (in the fight against the Europeans) with his followers and with the majority of the people. Our grandmother used to tell us that at the time of the war there was a white man with them – a British? I don't know his nationality. He was Arabized – a great scholar who pretended to be a *sherif*.<sup>5</sup> In the morning he took the youth around in prayer (shouting): “There is no God except Allah and no exalted except the Mahdi.” He (the *sherif*) took 40 adults, telling them that the Europeans had approached. He had a green piece of cloth, which he cut into small pieces and gave to 20 of them to wear as a sign. He said to them: “Whoever carries my sign will not be affected by ammunition.” The 20 adults to whom he gave the badges were shot by fake bullets and nothing happened to them, whereas the other 20 who did not carry the badges were shot by genuine bullets and got killed. The (20) people (who got killed) were At-Tahir’s people.

Waaḥid ismu Alfaa Jalaaleen – hasa<sup>c</sup> awlad ukhtu hina fi l-hilla – da khashsha maa jama<sup>c</sup>tu l-ḥarb, ma<sup>c</sup>a aghlab an-naas, ḥattaa niḥna ḥabboobti biḥki leena, saa<sup>c</sup>at al-ḥarb ma<sup>c</sup>aahum rajul... gaalo khawaja ghaaytu: Ingliizi? Jinsu shinu maa <sup>c</sup>aarfuu. Muta<sup>c</sup>arrib <sup>c</sup>aalim min al-<sup>c</sup>ulama, gaal hu [= huwa] shariifi. As-sabaa [= Aṣ-ṣabaaḥ] yesuug al-awlaad: *Laa ilaaha illa l-Laah, wala bangiido sey Mahdi.* Gaam saag minnahum arba<sup>c</sup>iin ṣabi gaal leehum al-khawaajaat jo gariibiin. <sup>c</sup>Indu gumaash khadra [= khadra], gaam gata<sup>c</sup>u [= gaṭa<sup>c</sup>u] bee magaṣ, kullu waahid ya<sup>c</sup>mal le <sup>c</sup>alaama khadra hina, lee <sup>c</sup>ishriin nafar. Gaal leehum: “Ayyu waahid laabis <sup>c</sup>alaamti da jabakhaana maa biyaaklu.” Al-<sup>c</sup>ishriin maa <sup>c</sup>amal leehum <sup>c</sup>alaama. Lamma masho gaabalo j-jamaa<sup>c</sup>a al-<sup>c</sup>ishriin alli foogum <sup>c</sup>alaama l-akhdar [= l-akhḍar] ḍaraboohum be silaaḥ mayyit maa jaatum ḥaaja, al-<sup>c</sup>ishriin at-taani maato. Deel ma<sup>c</sup>a aṭ-Ṭaahir zaatu.

الحرب معاهم رجل... قالوا خواجه غابتو انجليزي؟ جنسه شنو؟ ما عارفه. متعرب عالم من العلماء. قال هو شريفى. الصباح يسوق الأولاد: *Laa ilaaha illa l-Laah, wala bangiido sey Mahdi.* قام ساق منهم أربعين صبي قال ليهم الخواجات جوا قريبين، عنده قماش خضرا، قام قطعه بي مقص، كل واحد يعمل ليه علامة خضرا هنا، لي عشرين نفر. قال ليهم: “أي واحد لايس علامتي دا جبخانه ما بياكله”. العشرين ما عمل ليهم علامة لما مشوا قابلوا الجماعة العشرين اللي فوقهم علامة الأخضر ضربوهم بي سلاح ميت ما جاتهم حاجة، العشرين الثاني ماتوا. ديل مع الطاهر ذاته.

<sup>5</sup> *Sherif*: descendant of the Prophet Muhammad through his daughter Fatima.

So, in the night At-Tahir gathered his people and said to them: “After the morning prayer we will go out for the war.” So, in the night the man (the *sherif*) went out and contacted his people. As soon as the war started, the cannons worked on them. Of course, Burmi at that time was a walled city. Now, Yousif Banyā’s mother was shot by a bullet here. My grandmother Habsa (Hafsa) was carrying her sister’s daughter on her back; a bullet hit the child and killed it, and the mark (of that bullet) remained on the back of the old woman until she died.

Thus, the people dispersed. The grandfather of this Tijani (i.e., the grandfather of one of our informants) called Al-Faki Isma’il was the one responsible for our people; (he was) a man who knew the Qur’an by heart. He gathered people little by little and led them until he entered Sudan with them – to Omdurman, Khartoum, and then they went to Mecca.

*Q9: Where was Alfa Hashim at that time?*

Alfa Hashim was with them until they entered Sudan; the entire *hijra* (migration group) arrived in Mecca.

Aha, be l-leel aṭ-Taahir jama<sup>o</sup> an-naas gaal leehum: “Ba<sup>o</sup>ad maa naṣalli ṣ-ṣubuḥ naṭla<sup>o</sup> le l-ḥarb.” Khalaas be l-leel ar-raajil marag ittaṣal bee naasu. An-naas... Allaahu akbar... al-madaafe<sup>o</sup> ishtaghalat. Taba<sup>o</sup>an Burmi kaan birni. Hassa<sup>o</sup> Yuusif Banyā da ummu maḍruub ṭalga hina. <sup>o</sup>Indi ḥabboobti ismaa Ḥabṣa (= Ḥafṣa), afsahi shaayil bitt ukhtu fii ḍahru; aṭ-ṭalga ḍarab al-wad katalu, al-<sup>o</sup>alaama laamin maatat al-<sup>o</sup>ajuuza fi ḍaharu.

Aha, an-naas itshattato. Jid naas at-Tijani da ismu l-Faki Ismaa<sup>o</sup>iil hu l-mas<sup>o</sup>uul be n-naas – wu rajul ḥaafiz al-Qur<sup>o</sup>aan. Lamma j-jamaa<sup>o</sup>a shuwayya shuwayya maashi ma<sup>o</sup>aahum laghaayit khashsha beehum as-Suudaan, Umdurmaan, Khartuum masho Makka.

Alfaa Haashim kaan ma<sup>o</sup>aahum laghaayit maa dakhalo s-Suudaan; kullahum al-hijra dakhalo

أها، بالليل الطاهر جمع الناس قال ليهم: "بعد ما نصلّى الصبح نطلع للحرب". خلاص بالليل الراجل مرق اتصل بي ناسه. الناس... الله أكبر. المدافع اشتغلت. طبعاً برمي كان برني – هسع يوسف بنيا دا أمه مضروب طلقة هنا. عندي حيويتي اسمها حبسة (= حفصة)، هي شاييل بت أخته في ضهره، الطلقة ضرب الود قتله، العلامة لامن ماتت العجوزة في ضهره.

أها، الناس اتشتتوا. جد ناس التجاني دا اسمه الفكي اسماعيل هو المسؤول بالناس – ورجل حافظ القرآن. لم الجماعة شوية شوية ماش معاهم لغاية خش بيهم السودان، أمدرمان، خرطوم [= الخرطوم] مشوا مكة.

س9: وألفا هاشم كان وين في الوقت داك؟

ألفا هاشم كان معاهم لغاية ما دخلوا السودان، كلهم الهجرة دخلوا مكة. ألفا هاشم جلس في المدينة والبساطي في مكة. فكي

Alfa Hashim stayed in Medina while Al-Busaati and Al-Faki Isma'il remained in Mecca. However, they all reached Mecca. That was during the rule of Sherif (Hussein ibn Ali<sup>6</sup>). Then a war broke out between Saud<sup>7</sup> and Sherif (at the beginning of the twentieth century), and people started to suffer. The British brought in steamships and asked all the foreigners to leave (what is now Saudi Arabia). They (i.e., our people) left and asked to be taken to Tokar (Sudan). Then they went to Omdurman.

Our (Malle) people were under the leadership of the grandfather of that Mubashshir called Ahmad,<sup>8</sup> and our family was under the leadership of Al-Faki Isma'il. They all moved together until they reached Saudi Arabia.

In Omdurman they stayed in the Wad Nubawi quarter situated directly on the river (bank).

#### TIJANI

In fact, as soon as they arrived in Mecca, their

Makka. Alfaa Haashim jalas fi l-Madiina wa l-Busaati fii Makka; Faki Ismaa'iil da zaatu fii Makka. Kullahum waaşalo Makka, ligo ħukm ash-Shariif. Gaam ħarbi been as-Sa'uudi wa ash-Shariif. Annaas iđđaaayago. Al-Ingliiz jaabo leehum bawaabiir gaal leehum ayyi ghariib yaŋla°. Ťala°o gaalo yiwadduuhum Tookar. Naasna ŧawwaali jo Umdurmaan.

Naasna be qiyaadat jidd naas Mubashshir, ismu Aħmad, wa l-°usra be qiyaadat Faki Ismaa'iil. Masho ma°a ba°ađ laghaayit maa waşalo s-Sa'uudiyya.

Fi Umdurmaan ga°ado fi Wad Nuubaawi, ma°a l-baħar ŧawwaali.

Huwa ħagiigatan °indamaa waşalo Makka ya°ni kaanat

إسماعيل دا ذاته في مكة. كلهم وصلوا مكة لقوا حكم الشريف. قام حرب بين السعودي والشريف. الناس اضايقوا. الانجليز جابوا ليهم بوابير قال ليهم أي غريب يطلع. طلعا قالوا يودوهم طوكر. ناسنا طوالي جو أمدرمان.

ناسنا بقيادة جد ناس مبشر، اسمه أحمد، والأسرة بي قيادة فكي إسماعيل، مشوا مع بعض لغاية ما وصلوا السعودية.

في أمدرمان قعدوا في ود نوباوي، مع البحر طوالي.

تجاني هو حقيقة عندما وصلوا مكة يعني كانت النية ألا يجعلوا

<sup>6</sup>A descendant of the Prophet who was once the ruler of both Mecca and Medina.

<sup>7</sup>This man was the Saudi prince Abdul Aziz Al Saud who became internationally known as Ibn Saud. He defeated Hussein ibn Ali who then fled to Cyprus before retreating to Jordan where he eventually died.

<sup>8</sup>Ahmad was, in fact, the brother of Mubashshir. The latter was already mentioned in the answer to question No. 7 and referred to as a son of Al-Hajj Umar al-Futi, a leader of the Tijaniyya in Futa Toro.

intention was not to be separated from the Ka'aba<sup>9</sup> by a sea. So, as soon as they entered Mecca in the company of pilgrims, our grandfather Al-Faki Isma'il, also (then) known as Alfa Isma'il and the one responsible of our group (Fallaata Malle), immediately joined the caravan of Yemenite pilgrims; as soon as he had performed *hajj* (pilgrimage – to Mecca), he didn't proceed to Medina, but started towards Yemen. He went to find a place for this (Fallaata/Fulani) group in Yemen because there is no sea (hindrance) between Saudi Arabia and Yemen. So, his (i.e., Al-Faki Isma'il's) main concern was to get a place with enough pasture for the cattle, a place that was far from a town, but where the youth would be well educated and get the opportunity to learn the Qur'an, and so located that there would be no sea or any other natural hindrance when they needed to go to Mecca to perform *hajj*. So, he followed the Yemenite caravan to Yemen and returned the following year. Because at that time it was dangerous to travel at any time of the year. (In the past), people (widely) used

an-niyya allaa yaj'aluu beenahum wa been al-Ka'aba baħr. Fa °indamaa dakhaluu ma°a rakb al-ħajjiij ilaa Makka gaam jaddana, wa huwa l-Faki Ismaa°iil, Alfaa Ismaa°iil, al-mas°uul °an ar-rakbi da, iltahaq be rakb al-ħujjaaj al-Yamanii °ala tuul; be mujarrad maa adda l-fariida faqať lam yazhab ila l-Madiina l-Munawwara, bal taħarrak naħw al-Yaman. Wa raah yabħas °an makaan li haazihi l-qabiila fi l-Yaman, la°annu maafi baħar been as-Su°uudiyya wa l-Yaman. Fa kullu hammu an yajid makaan fiihu mar°a li l-maashiya wa makaan ba°iid °an al-madiina kadhaa, wa huwa hunaak ash-shabaab yatarabbu, yata°allamu wa yadrusu l-Qur°aan, wa idhaa araaduu an yaħujjuu ilaa Makka laa yakuun hunaalika baħr aw ayyi maani° tabii°ii. Fa dhahaba ma°a rakb al-ħajjiij ilaa al-Yaman wa °aada fi l-°aam ath-thaanii. La°annu °alaa tilka l-°ayyaam fi khuťuura fi l-mashi tuul al-°aam. Annaas yataħarrakuun ma°a rakb al-ħajjiij.

بينهم وبين الكعبة بحر. فعندما دخلوا مع ركب الحجج إلى مكة قام جدنا، وهو الفكي إسماعيل، ألفا إسماعيل، المسئول عن الركب دا، التحق بركب الحجج اليمني على طول. بمجرد ما أدى الفريضة فقط لم يذهب إلى المدينة المنورة بل تحرك نحو اليمن. وراح يبحث عن مكان لهذه القبيلة في اليمن لأنه مافي بحر بين السعودية واليمن. فكل همّه أن يجد مكان فيه مرعى للماشية ومكان بعيد عن المدينة كذا، وهو هناك الشباب يتربوا، يتعلموا ويدرسوا القرآن، وإذا أردوا أن يحجوا إلى مكة لا يكون هناك بحر أو أي مانع طبيعي. فذهب مع ركب الحجج إلى اليمن وعاد في العام الثاني لأنه على تلك الأيام في خطورة في المشي طول العام. الناس يتحركون مع ركب الحجج.

<sup>9</sup>The Ka'aba is the cube-shaped building located in the courtyard of Al-Masjid al-Haram Mosque in Mecca. It is also the most holy site in Islam.

to travel with pilgrimage caravans (for security reasons).

He went around in Yemen with the intention of finding an abode there and of returning to get the rest (of his people). But when he returned, he found the war of Sherif... the navies had already arrived to support... and there was a very acute famine. So, he contacted the British captain who was in charge of Jedda port, who prepared steamships for him, and he took his people to Musawwa and from there to Khartoum, to Omdurman, where they settled.

But life there did not suit them; Omdurman was a town and they had neither skilled labourers among them, nor mechanics, nor engineers, i.e., they weren't people who could live in urban centres. They arrived as herders, farmers and knowledge seekers. In the town they would neither find suitable grazing for their cattle nor extensive lands that they could cultivate. The town itself would constitute a danger for their children because it would mean a new (life style). If they stayed in the town, they would remain at the margin of life – they would not study, nor would they

Fa dhabab ila l-Yaman fa ṭaaf ʿala asaas an yajid maqar hinaak wa yaji yaakhud al-baqiyya. Fa laaman ʿaad ilaa Makka wajaad al-ḥarb bitaaʿat ash-Shariif, wa l-ʿasaatiil waṣalat li daʿm... Wa kaanat fi majaaʿa shadiida jiddan jiddan. Fa ittaṣal be l-kabtin al-Ingiliizi l-masʿuul ʿan miinaaʿ Jadda, fa jahhaz leehu bawaaabiir fa nazzal an-naas fii Maṣawwaʿ, wa min Maṣawwaʿ jo l-Khartuum, jo Umdurmaan, istagharro fiha.

Fa l-ḥaya wajadooha fi Umdurmaan yaʿni maa tunaasibum; Umdurmaan madiina wa humma... maafi ʿummaal mahara, maafiihum makaniikiyya, maafiihum muhanndisiin, maafiihum naas yigdaru yiʿiishu fii madiina; humma jo ruʿa, wa zurraaʿ wa ṭullaab ʿilm. Fa fi l-madiina laa yajidu akil munaasib le mawaashiihum wala araadi waasʿa ʿashaan yizraʿu. Al-madiina nafsaha kazaalik tushakkil khuṭuura ʿala l-ʿatfaal, laʿannu shi jadiid. Izaa jalasu fi l-madiina aw ʿaasho fi l-madiina ḥayazallu ʿalaa haamish al-ḥaya – maa ḥayitʿallamu, maa

فذهب إلى اليمن فطاف على أساس أن يجد مقر هناك ويجي يأخذ البقية. فلمن عاد إلى مكة وجد الحرب بتاعة الشريف، والأساطيل وصلت لدعم... وكانت في مجاعة شديدة جدا جدا. فاتصل بالكابتن الإنجليزي المسئول عن ميناء جدة فجهزّ له بوابير فزّل الناس في مصوع، ومن مصوع جوا الخرطوم، جوا امدرمان استقروا فيها.

فالحياة وجدوها في أمدرمان يعني ما تناسبهم، أمدرمان مدينة وهم... مافي عمال مهرة، مافيهم مكنيكية، مافيهم مهندسين، مافيهم ناس يقدروا يعيشوا في مدينة. همّ جوا رعاة وزراع وطلاب علم. ففي المدينة لا يجدوا أكل مناسب لمواشيهم ولا أراضي واسعة عشان يزرعوا. المدينة نفسها كذلك تشكل خطورة على الأطفال لأنه شي جديد، إذا جلسوا في المدينة أو عاشوا في المدينة حيظلوا على هامش الحياة، ما حيتعلموا، ما حيقوموا بأعمال مفيدة تتفهم في المستقبل. فالشيخ أرسل وفود، من ضمنهم الوفد المشي بجاوي واتصل بالسلطين والأمراء في المنطقة، وكل ناس كانوا رحبوا بيهم.

do any work that might be useful for their future. Therefore, the Sheikh (Al-Faki Isma'il) sent delegations, including the delegation that headed for Bijawi. He contacted the responsible authorities, i.e., kings and chiefs of the area, who all welcomed them.

At last their choice fell on this area (Wad Hashim) because it is in the centre of the Sudan: there were opportunities for farming, with a lot of land, enough water from the Nile, and it was also (farther) away from the (bigger) urban centres. So, they found what they wanted: (a place where) they could study, cultivate and keep their cattle; and if they needed (to visit) the (next smaller) town, it was (still) very near (Sennar). So, now people can move in any direction they like; we are in the centre of the Sudan.

ḥayiguumu be a<sup>c</sup>maal mufiida tanfa<sup>c</sup>um fi l-mustaqbal. Fa sh-sheekh arsal wufuud, min ḍimnahum al-wafd al-masha Bijaawi wa ittaṣal be s-salaatiin wa l-<sup>o</sup>umara fi l-mantiḡa, wa kulli naas kaanu raḥḥabu beehum.

Al-muhim fi n-nihaaya al-maqar waga<sup>c</sup> alaa haazihi l-mantiḡa la<sup>o</sup>annaha wasaṭ as-Suudaan: az-ziraa<sup>a</sup> mawjuuda, al-araaḍi shaasi<sup>a</sup>, al-miyaah min an-Niil mutawaffira, wa ba<sup>i</sup>iida min al-madiina kazaalik. Fa wajadu mubtaghaahum: dyata<sup>c</sup>allamu, wa yazra<sup>c</sup>u wa yimshu khalf al-mawaashi bitaa<sup>c</sup>atum. Wa izaaraadu l-madiina fa hiya gariiba. Fa l-<sup>o</sup>aan ya<sup>c</sup>ni n-naas tamshi wa taji sharghan wa gharban niḡna fii wasaṭ as-Suudaan.

المهم في النهاية المقر وقع على هذه المنطقة لأنها وسط السودان: الزراعة موجودة، الأراضي شاسعة، المياه من النيل متوفرة، وبعيدة من المدينة كذلك. فوجدوا مبتغاهم: يتعلموا ويزرعوا ويمشوا خلف المواشي بتاعتهم. وإذا أرادوا المدينة فهي قريبة. فالآن يعني الناس تمشي وتجي شرقا وغربا نحن في وسط السودان.

*Q10: Didn't the presence of the (great) grandson of Sheikh Usman (dan Fodio) (i.e., Mai-Wurno) in this place affect the choice made by your people?*

س10: وجود حفيد الشيخ عثمان بن فودي (ميورنو) ما لعب دور في اختيار أهلكم للمنطقة دي؟

This also played a great role.

Barḍu li<sup>c</sup>ib door kabiir jiddan.

برضو لعب دور كبير جدا.

AL-AMIN

When our people first

Naasna mimmaa jo maa

الأمين  
ناسنا مما جوا ما ضموا مع

arrived, they didn't join the Sultan (Mai-Wurno); they stayed away with the Arabs. Our grandfather<sup>10</sup> went to the Sultan and said to him: "We are paternal cousins (i.e., father's brother's sons); we will not (agree to) weed (others') farms or (work on) the government's roads (as forced labour); if there is war, you can call upon us (to render our service) as brothers." These were the first conditions (posed by our people). Then they moved to this place.

ḍammo ma<sup>°</sup>a s-Sulṭaan awaal marra, nazalo hinaak ma<sup>°</sup>a l-<sup>°</sup>arab. Jiddana ja le s-Sulṭaan gaal le: "Niḥna awlaad <sup>°</sup>amm; bilaad maa bnaḥish, shaare<sup>°</sup> ḥakuuna maa bnaḥishshu; ja ḥarb nadiina... ka akhwaan." Da sh-shuruuṭ al-awwal. Baad daak jo nazalo l-mahal da.

السلطان أول مرة، نزلوا هناك مع العرب. جدنا جا للسلطان قال ليه: "نحن أولاد عم، بلاد ما بنحش، جا حرب ناديننا... كأخوان". دا الشروط الأول. بعد داك جوا نزلوا المحل دا.

*Q11: Do the Fallaata Malle have subsections (khashum buyuut)?*

We have Sidibe, Gabeero and Baazi. All these groups are in this village, and they come from the same navel (womb). Until a year before Independence, our relatives (from West Africa) used to visit us regularly. We are Sidibe; the Gabeero are (however more numerous) in Hijerat.

However, Gabeero are not a tribe. For example, you and I are two brothers; you get angry and go and found your own village; we sarcastically call it "the big village". They are all from the same navel (womb).

Indana Sidibe, fi Gaabeero, wu fi Baazi. Da indana fi l-ḥilla di, illa kullu bitlamma fii surra [= ṣurra] waḥdi. Hassa<sup>°</sup> niḥna laghaayit gabl istighlaal as-Suudaan be sana ahalna bijuuna ṭawwaali. Niḥna as-Sidibe; Gaabeero fi l-Hijeeraat.

Ba<sup>°</sup>deen Gaabeero zaataa maa gabiila; niḥna zey ana wu inta akhwaan; inta zi<sup>°</sup>ilta wu masheet <sup>°</sup>amalta ḥilla; naḍḥak <sup>°</sup>aleek wu naguulu l-ḥilla l-kabiira. Kullahum surra waḥdi.

س11: في خشم البيت في فلاتة ملي؟

عندنا سدبي، في قابيرو، وفي بازي. دا عندنا في الحلة دي، إلا كل بتلم في صرة واحدي. هسع نحن لغاية قبل استغلال السودان بسنة أهلنا بجونا طوالي. نحن السدبي، قابيرو في الحجيرات.

بعدين قابيرو ذاتها ما قبيلة. نحن زي أنا وابت أخوان. إنت زعلت ومشيت عملت حلة، نضحك عليك وتقولوا الحلة الكبيرة. كلهم صرة واحدي.

<sup>10</sup> The term 'grandfather' is used loosely here as a term of respect.



Q12: *Are you all relatives in this village or are there strangers among you?*

THE TWO INFORMANTS

We are all relatives, maybe except for one or two families. They represent a part and we another part.

Kullana ahal ba<sup>o</sup>aḍ; <sup>o</sup>usra aw <sup>o</sup>usrateen jaayiz. Ahalna bimassilu jaanib wu humma deelak bimassilu jaanib.

Q13: *Are there many people from this village in Saudi Arabia?*

AL-AMIN

Some (remained behind in Saudi Arabia). At-Tahir az-Zamakhshari, that poet, is from our group.

Baghaaya. At-Taahir az-Zamakhshari, ash-shaa<sup>o</sup>ir da, minnana.

TIJANI

Our people living in Saudi Arabia are of two kinds. There are those from the first migration group who remained behind (in Saudi Arabia); these people constitute families that have become, over time, Saudi nationals. And there are the young people who went recently (to Saudi Arabia) in search of work; these are not numerous – about 20.

An-naas al-mawjuudiin fi s-Su<sup>o</sup>uudiyya noo<sup>o</sup>een, minnana niḥna. Fi naas istagharro min al-hijra al-uula – takhallaf maa kharaj. Wa da yimassil <sup>o</sup>usar al-aan tasa<sup>o</sup>wadat wa aṣḥaḥu Su<sup>o</sup>uudiyyiin be ḥukm al-fatra z-zamaniyya. Wu fi naas mashat ḥadiisan le l-<sup>o</sup>amal hinaak min ash-shabaab, (wu deel nisbatum) maa kabiira, zey <sup>o</sup>ishriin.

Q14: *How do you explain the high rate of education which characterises this village?*

By God, compared with the area in general, the level of education among us is very

Wallaahi iza quurinat be l-mantiga <sup>o</sup>aammatan nu<sup>o</sup>tabar niḥina ya<sup>o</sup>ni an-

س12: هل كلكم في الحلة دي أهل بعض وللا فيكم أغراب؟

المخبران الاثنان

كلنا أهل بعض، أسرة أو أسرتين جاييز. أهلنا يمثلوا جانب وهم ديك يمثلوا جانب.

س13: والحلة دي في ناس كثير في سعودي أريبيا؟

الأمين

بقايا. الطاهر الزمخشري الشاعر دا معنا.

تجاني

الناس الموجودين في السعودية نوعين، معنا نحن. في ناس استقروا من الهجرة الأولى – تخلف ما خرج، ودا يمثل أسر الآن تسعودت وأصبحوا سعوديين بحكم الفترة الزمنية. وفي ناس مشت حديثا للعمل هناك من الشباب، (وديل نسبتهم) ما كبيرة، زي عشرين.

س14: كيف تفسر النسبة العالية في التعليم اللي بتتميز بيها الحلة دي؟

والله إذا قورنت بالمنطقة عامة نعتبر نحن يعني النسبة عالية جدا في التعليم: التعليم الثانوي،

high: educated people up to the secondary, university and postgraduate levels are very numerous.

nisba °aaliya jiddan fi t-ta°liim: at-ta°liim ath-thaanawi, at-ta°liim al-jaami°i... °adad kabiir; wu maa fawq al-jaami°i barðu °adad kabiir.

التعليم الجامعي... عدد كبير، وما فوق الجامعي برضو عدد كبير.

*Q15: How do you explain that, given that the Fallaata (Fulani) used to associate (Western) school with 'unbelief' (kufr)?*

When our people came – as mentioned by my brother<sup>11</sup> Al-Amin – they generally stayed apart from the (other) Fallaata (Fulani); apart and tightly linked with one another and influenced by education and Arabic language. They also had wider contacts (with non-Fulani). For example when they came, they did not link their livelihood strongly with the land (farming); in other words, they did not stay long (in one place). They were influenced by the surrounding people, which resulted in the strengthening of their Arabic knowledge. So, they entered into the active life, and those who enter the active life will learn... school, university, and so on.

Naasna lamma jo – zey maa zakar akhuuy l-Lamiin da – humma munfašiliin ašlan °an al-Fallaata bi šifa °aamma; munfašiliin wa mutaraabtiin wa mut°aththiriin be t-taali be t-ta°liim wu be l-lugha l-°arabiyya. Wa kamaan taħarrukum nafsu waase°, wa be t-taali ḥašal iḥtikaak... aktar min gheerum; ya°ni laaman jo ma irtabaṭo be l-ard... be z-ziraa°a katiir, ya°ni maa ga°ado hina katiir. Ta°ththaro be man ḥawlahum min an-naas. Fa lughatum al-°Arabiyya taḥassanat; wa be t-taali iktasabo min an-naas – khashsho fi l-ḥaya; be t-taali man dakhil al-ḥaya biyata°allam... madrasa, wa al-jaama°a, ila l-°aakhir.

س15: كيف تفسّر الظاهرة دي علما بأنه الفلاتة بيعتبروا المدرسة كفر؟

ناسنا لما جوا – زي ما ذكر أخوي الأمين دا – هم منفصلين أصلا عن الفلاتة بصفة عامة، منفصلين ومترابطين ومتأثرين بالتالي بالتعليم وباللغة العربية. وكماتن تحركهم نفسه واسع وبالتالي حصل احتكاك... أكثر من غيرهم. يعني لامن جوا ما ارتبطوا بالأرض... بالزراعة كثير، يعني ما قعدوا هنا كثير. تأثروا بمن حولهم من الناس. فلغتهم العربية تحسنت وبالتالي اكتسبوا من الناس. خشوا في الحياة بالتالي من دخل الحياة بيتعلم... مدرسة، والجامعة إلى الأخر.

*Q16: For what reasons did/do your people engage in*

س16: ما هي الأسباب التي جعلت أهلكم يهتموا بالتجارة

<sup>11</sup>The term 'brother' is used loosely here to stress shared ethnic background.

trading activities to such a(n) (large) extent?

لهذا الحد؟

Whenever we discover a good place (for trade, we go there). For example, I go there, accumulate capital, and my brother<sup>12</sup> from the same village joins me; we help each other; exactly like what the *jallaaba* (Arab traders) do. Now if you go to Southern Sudan, you find a place like Meridi full of Shaygiyya Arabs; you go to Gogrial and find it full of Um Dom Arabs.

Kullu maa niḥna nakshifu balad nalga kooyis (namshi lechu). Ana masheet °amalta raasmaal kooyis, inta taji min al-ḥilla ana baji min al-ḥilla, binasaa°idu ba°ad kullana namshi fi l-mantiga; zey nizaam aj-jallaaba. Hassa° tamshi j-januub talga awlaad ash-Shaaygiyya... Mariidi di kullaa awlaad Shaaygiyya; tamshi Gogriyaal talga kulla l-awlaad min Um Doom.

كلما نحن نكشفوا بلد نلقاه كويس (نمشي ليه). أنا مشيت عملت راسمال كويس، إنت تجي من الحلة أنا بجي من الحلة. بنساعد بعض كلنا نمشي في المنطقة زي نظام الجلابة هسع تمشي الجنوب تلقى أولاد الشايقية... مردي دي كلها أولاد شايقية. تمشي غوغريال تلقى أولاد من أم دوم.

Q17: Do you have people who go to West Africa for trade?

س17: عندكم ناس يمشون لي غرب إفريقيا للتجارة؟

AL-AMIN

Now the richest people in Chad are our people from this very village.

°Indana hassa° min aghna l-°aghniya fi Tashaad; aghna naas fii Tashaad min awlaadna, min al-ghariya di zaatu.

الأمين  
عندنا هسع من أغنى الأغنياء في تشاد؛ أغنى ناس في تشاد من أولادنا، من القرية دي ذاته.

TIJANI

People around us say that we are the tribe whose members can pursue money until they get lost forever.

Fi masal barḍu l-°aakhariin bitlighu °aleena, ya°ni biguulu al-gabiila alli mumkin al-fardi fiiha yiruuḥ khalf al-maal – yiruuḥ yibḥas °an al-maal ilaa an yiruuḥ marra waḥda.

تجاني  
في مثل برضو الآخرين بطلقوا علينا، يعني بقولوا القبيلة اللي ممكن الفرد فيها يروح خلف المال... يروح يبحث عن المال إلى أن يروح مرة واحدة.

AL-AMIN

I went to Zaire (and saw

Ana masheet Zaa°iir, al-

الامين  
أنا مشيت زائير. المالبين ديل

<sup>12</sup> Same remark with regard to the use of the term 'brother' as in footnote 11.

that) Malians seek money more than any other people. There they are known as Senegalese. If a man among them hears about a place of gold mines, ten people will make their way to that place; eight may die so that the other two may come out with something.

Maaliyyiin deel aktar naas bikuus guruush. At-tujaar hinaak min Maali, hum biguulu leehum Seniqaaaliin. Ar-raajil hinaak lamma yikuun fi manaajim bitaa<sup>c</sup> zahab yimshu <sup>c</sup>ashara, tamaaniya yimuutu yiṭla<sup>c</sup>u l-<sup>o</sup>itneen be haaja.

أكثر ناس بكوسوا قروش. التجار هناك من مالي، هم يقولوا ليهم سنقاليين. الراجل هناك لما يكون في مناجم بتاع ذهب يمشوا عشرة، ثمانية يموتوا يطلعوا الإثنين بي حاجة.

*Q18: Where else can we find your people?*

(They are found in) Hijerat, Riwiina, Abu Jeili and Abu Laban, in addition to here – that makes five (locations). We also have a group (of people) in Bardab in the Nuba Hills; we also have others in Tulus near Nyala – one family, that of Hamid Hamma; we have others in Abu Matarig near Ad-Di'en; these families came later and stayed behind (i.e., in Abu Matarig).

Al-Hijeeraat, Riwiina, Abu-Jeyli, Abu-Laban, wu hina – khamisa. <sup>c</sup>Indana barḍu l-Bardaab fii Jibaaal an-Nuuba; wa <sup>c</sup>indana majmuu<sup>a</sup> fii Tulus, janb Niyaala – beet waahid, naas Haamid Hamma; <sup>c</sup>indana barḍu fi Abu-Maṭaarig janb aḍ-Di<sup>c</sup>een – fi <sup>o</sup>usar mustaqirra hinaak; fi ṭ-ṭariig humma jo mut<sup>a</sup>akhhiriin itkhallafo.

س18: وين تاني ممكن نلقى ناسكم؟

الحجيرات، روبينا، أبوجيلي، أبولبن وهنا – خمسة. عندنا برضو البرداب في جبال النوبة وعندنا مجموعة في تلس، جنب نيالا – بيت واحد، ناس حامد همه. عندنا برضو في أبومطارق جنب الضعين – في أسر مستقرة هناك، في الطريق هم جوا متأخرين اتخلفوا.

*Q19: Do you maintain links with your people in the related villages?*

They intermarry. The nearby villages interact with each other. They exchange visits on social occasions, such as marriages or funerals. Sometimes they also exchange visits and intermarry with (Fallaata Malle from) distant villages.

Biyatazaawaju. Al-ḥallaal al-gariiba biyatadaakhalu fi l-munaasabaat al-ijtimaa<sup>c</sup>iyya: fi moot fi zawaaj biyimshu. Wa l-ḥallaal al-ba<sup>c</sup>iida barḍu biyimshu leeha aḥyaanan wu fi tazaawuj.

س19: عندكم علاقة تواصل مع ناسكم في الحلال ذات الصلة بيكم؟

بيتزاوجوا. الحلال القريبة بيتدخلوا في المناسبات الاجتماعية: في موت، في زواج بيمشوا. والحلال البعيدة برضو بيمشوا ليها أحيانا وفي تزواج.

About five or six people

(Zawaaj min al-Bardaab)

(زواج من البرداب) زي خمسة

from this village (Wad Hashim Malle) married (women) from Bardab, but many people in Hijerat (have married women from there). The Bardab people (Fulani) have also taken wives from here, including the Omda's son himself.

zey khamisa sitta min al-  
hilla di, laakin fi l-Hijeeraat  
katiiriin. Naas al-Bardaab  
barḍu akhado min hina;  
wad al-°umda zaatu  
muzawwij min hina.

سنة من الحلة دي، لكن  
في الحجيرات كثيرين. ناس  
البرداب برضو أخذو من هنا.  
ود العمدة ذاته متزوج من هنا.

*Q20: Do all the people in this village know (i.e., speak) Songhai?*

س20: الحلة دي بيعرفوا كلهم  
اللغة سنغاي؟

They all know (i.e., speak) it; the children have started little by little to be influenced by Arabic.

Kullahum biya°rifu; al-  
awlaad, al-°Arabi bada  
yi°assir fiihum shuwayya  
shuwayya.

كلهم بيعرفوا، الأولاد العربي  
بدأ يؤثر فيهم شوية شوية.

*Q21: Do your people who stayed in Saudi Arabia still speak Songhai or have they already forgotten it?*

س21: وناسكم القعدوا في  
السعودية لسع بيعرفوا سنغاي  
وللا نسوها؟

#### TIJANI

The very elderly people still speak it. In fact, Mecca is a gathering place for migrations; every year people go there from Mali and others go from here. Then many would stay behind. Therefore, the (Songhai) language is widely spread; it is spoken specifically in the Jarwal quarter in Mecca.

Al-kibaar khaalish  
bi°arfuuha. Wa ba°deen  
Makka hiya ašlan tajammu°  
bitaa° hijraat; ya°ni  
sanawiyyan naas biju min  
Maali wa biju min hina,  
biyaḥşal takhalluf hinaak;  
fa l-lugha ya°ni shaayi°a  
hinaak; mawjuuda fii  
Makka fii ḥay Jarwal be  
z-zaat.

تجاني  
الكبار خالص بيعرفوا. وبعدين  
مكة هي أصلاً تجتمع بتاع  
هجرات، يعني سنوياً ناس  
بيجوا من مالي وبيجوا من هنا،  
بيحصل تخلف هناك. فاللغة  
يعني شايعة هناك، موجودة في  
مكة في حي جرول بالذات.

[Unrecorded – summarised by Günther Schlee: The response to the last question, whether there was new influx after the *hijra*, was 'yes'; there were individuals who came for the *ḥajj* (pilgrimage) and some of them stayed here (in Wad Hashim Malle).]

Q22: *What is the role played by the Tijaniyya tariiqa (tariiqā – i.e., Tijaniyya brotherhood) in this village?*

TIJANI

To begin with, the Sheikh himself (Al-Faki Isma'il), i.e., the leader of the *hijra*, was one of the Tijaniyya sheikhs. Therefore, all the people of the village are Tijaniyya without exception. But the question is whether they all observe the *wirds* (prayers); herein lies the difference.

AL-AMIN

Since the beginning our people took the *tariiqā* from the sons of Sheikh Umar al-Futi. Our grandfather,<sup>13</sup> Sheikh (Al-Faki) Isma'il, was a Tijani and we are all Tijaniyya followers.

Q23: *Were you able to establish relationships with other tribes based exclusively on common adherence to the Tijaniyya tariiqa?*

TIJANI

Here, the sheikh (i.e., Yahya Abdullahi, the informant's father) obtained the succession from Sheikh (Al-Faki) Isma'il, the leader

س22: الدور الذي يلعبه التجانية في هذه الحلة؟

تجاني

أصلاً الشيخ نفسه قائد الهجرة كان شيخ من شيوخ التجانية. فبالتالي كل البلد هم تجانية بلا نزاع. الحلة دي مافيهما أي فرد غير تجاني، دا مبدأ. لكن هل هو ملتزم بالأوراد كذا وكذا أم لا، هذا اختلاف الناس، لكن ما في غير كدا.

الأمين

أهلنا مما قاموا أخذوا الطريقة عن أبناء الشيخ عمر الفوتي. الشيخ إسماعيل جندا دا تجاني وكلنا تجانية.

س23: هل استطعتم من إقامة علاقات مع القبائل الأخرى قائمة فقط على الولاء للطريقة التجانية؟

تجاني

هنا الشيخ ورث الخلافة من الشيخ إسماعيل، قائد الهجرة. الآن والدنا الشيخ يحيى عبدالله... يعني لامن جوا أحفاد سيدي أحمد التجاني

<sup>13</sup> Here too, the term 'grandfather' is used loosely as a term of respect.

of the *hijra*. And now our father Sheikh Yahya Abdullahi... When the descendants of Sidi Ahmad at-Tijani (i.e., the descendants of Sheikh Ahmad at-Tijani) came from Morocco and Fez in 1945, they went around in the area and gave him (our father) the permission to pass the *ṭariiqa* to whomever wished to receive it; he was a *muqaddam*.<sup>14</sup> This (permission to pass the *ṭariiqa*) favoured the development of very strong links between us and other tribes, towns and villages. For example, from Dar es Salaam (Sennar State) near the border with the Gezira Province up to Shukkaaba Taha (a village in the Gezira Province located halfway between Wad Medani and Sennar), all the people took the *ṭariiqa* from my father, Sheikh Yahya Abdullahi, although there were no ethnic relations between us; nothing except common adherence to the (Tijaniyya) *ṭariiqa*.

*Q24: Do/did all the surrounding Arab villages usually take the ṭariiqa from your father?*

AL-AMIN

No, not exactly; everyone La maa be z-ḡabṭ, humma

<sup>14</sup> *Muqaddam* is a high title within the Tijaniyya.

من المغرب ومن فاس، جوا هنا سنة خمسة وأربعين، طافوا بالمنطقة وأدوه إذن بأنه يعطي الطريقة لمن يرغب. هو مقدم في الطريقة التجانية، وبالتالي المسألة دي خلقت علاقات قوية جدا بيننا وبين قبائل تانية وبين مدن تانية وبين قرى تانية. مثلا دار السلام هنا في أول محافظة الجزيرة وامتدادا إلى الشكابة طه ديل كلهم ماخدين الطريقة التجانية من الوالد الشيخ يحيى عبدالله، رغم إنهم مافي صلات عرق تربطنا بيهم، بس صلات الدين... الطريقة التجانية.

س24: هل كل القرى المجاورة عادة تاخذ الطريقة من والدك؟

الأمين

لا ما بالظبط. هم يعني كل

takes it from the nearest... There are people who take it from Dar es Salaam – we regard the Dar es Salaam people as leaders.

ya°ni kullu naas bi yaakhdu min agrab... Fi naas biyaakhdu min Daar as-Salaam – naas Daar as-Salaam deel niḥna bini°tabirum qiyaada.

ناس بياخدوا من أقرب... في ناس بياخدوا من دار السلام – ناس دار السلام ديل نحن بنعتبرهم قيادة.

*Q25: Then why did the people of Shukkaba (Taha) skip Dar es Salaam and came here for the ṭariiqa?*

TIJANI

Because from the beginning there were students who took the ṭariiqa from the Sheikh (Al-Faki Isma'il) here, spread it and sent their people back here. Also when our people first came, they settled here. People (usually) sought a means of livelihood. So, the Sheikh himself used to move around in the area together with his students.

La°annu fi ṭullaab aṣlan akhado ṭ-ṭariiqa min ash-Sheekh hina, wa humma waṣalo be ṭ-ṭariiqa hunaak wu lazzo naasum hina. Wu ba°deen kaan badri ya°ni ahalna awwal maa jo hina wu ga°ado al-°usra istagharat. Wa n-naas bifattishu °an subul li kasb al-°eesh. Fa kaan ash-Sheekh nafsu biṭharrak huwa wa ṭ-ṭullaab bitaa°innu; yigru wa sh-Sheekh nafsu biyiṭuuf fi l-mantiqa.

س25: طيب ليه ناس الشكابة طه نطروا دار السلام وجوا هنا لأخذ الطريقة؟

تجاني

لأنه في طلاب أصلا أخذوا الطريقة من الشيخ هنا، وهم وصلوا بالطريقة هناك ولزوا ناسهم هنا. وبعدين كان بدري يعني أهلنا أول ما جوا هنا وقعدوا الأسرة استقرت. والناس بفتشوا عن سبل لكسب العيش. وكان الشيخ نفسه بتحرك هو والطلاب بتاعنه، يقروا والشيخ نفسه بيطوف في المنطقة.

Moreover, our people, specifically here, in Wad Hashim, brought something which was not known – or very little known – to the Sudanese. They practised eye surgery on eyes with white water (cataract). They learned it in West Africa because eye diseases are widely spread there. They went around in the Sudan “as doctors” curing people through an operation which

Ba°deen barḍu ahlana be z-zaat, niḥna hina fii Wad Haashim Malle, jo bee shay maa kaan ma°ruuf lee ahl as-Suudaan, aw kaan qilla; alli huwa humma kaanu biguumu bee °amaliyyat faḥ al-°een al-fiiha l-mooya l-beeḍa; yaquumu be jiraaha. Wu di ta°allamooha min al-gharib hinaak, la°annu hinaak fi Gharbi Afriiqiya al-maraḍ bitaa° al-°uyuun katiir. Ṭaafu s-

بعدين برضو أهلنا بالذات نحن هنا في ود هاشم ملي جو بي شي ما كان معروف لي أهل السودان، أو كان قلة، اللي هو هم كانوا بيقوموا بعملية فتح العين فيها الموية البيضاء، يقوموا بجراحة. ودي تعلموها من الغرب هناك لأنه هناك في غرب افريقيا المرض بتاع العيون كثير. طافوا السودان as doctors. يعني يعالجوا الناس بي عملية شوفتها بي عيني. العدسة بتاعة العين الجوة دي مربوطة هنا ومربوطة هنا.



I saw with my own eyes. This eye lens is tied from here and from here. The doctor now has pincers; he holds here, cuts here and puts it aside (outside). You will then need to wear eye glasses in order to be able to see.

For them (our people) it is not like this; they have a needle “needle”. He (the ‘traditional’ doctor) cuts here and then uses the needle, moving it either to this side or to that side. An elderly person of 60 or 70 years of age is sick. So, when he (the ‘traditional’ doctor) cuts here and moves the eye lens to one side, the light will enter (the eye). He (the patient) thus becomes glad that he is able to see once again. The operation may remain successful for one, three, four or five years and then it (the problem) re-occurs. But the modern doctor will remove it (i.e., the eye lens) completely and insert (a new) internal lens or prescribes eye glasses. In this way you will get better. So, our grandfather, in addition to the fact that he knew the Qur’an (by heart) and spread the Tijaniyya *tariiqqa*,

Suudaan *as doctors*. Ya<sup>°</sup>ni yi<sup>°</sup>aalju n-naas be <sup>°</sup>amaliyya ana shuftaa be <sup>°</sup>eeni. Al-<sup>°</sup>adasa bitaa<sup>°</sup>at al-<sup>°</sup>een aj-juwwa di marbuuṭa hina wu marbuuṭa hina. Aṭ-ṭabiib al-<sup>°</sup>aan huwa <sup>°</sup>indu kammaasha yimsik hina, yigṭa<sup>°</sup> hina wu yigṭa<sup>°</sup> hina wu yishiil wu yikhut barra. Inta laazim ta<sup>°</sup>mal naḍḍaara ba<sup>°</sup>di kida <sup>°</sup>ashaan tashuuf; al-<sup>°</sup>adasa khalaas intahat barra.

Fa humma la; <sup>°</sup>indahum <sup>°</sup>ibra *needle*, ya<sup>°</sup>mal ‘tag’ yigṭa<sup>°</sup> hina; wa yiguum be l-<sup>°</sup>ibra imma yiruuḥ kida aw yiruuḥ kida. Fa l-insaan al-kabiir fi s-sin – sittiin saba<sup>°</sup>iin sana huwa mariid. Fa laaman yigṭa<sup>°</sup> min hina wu yizih al-<sup>°</sup>adasa aḍ-ḍaw yidkhul <sup>°</sup>ale, fa huwa yikuun mabsuut, shaaf khalaas. Wa ghad tastamir al-<sup>°</sup>amaliyya sana talaata arba<sup>°</sup>a khamsa sana yarja<sup>°</sup> taani. Laakin aṭ-ṭabiib al-ḥadiis al-<sup>°</sup>aan yishiilu barra wu ya<sup>°</sup>mal lak <sup>°</sup>adasa daakhiliyya aw yijiib naḍḍaara; khalaas inta bitabga kooyis. Fa kaan jaddana be z-zaat be l-iḍaafa ilaa annu kaan ḥaafiz le l-Qur<sup>°</sup>aan wa yidarris wa yanshur aṭ-tariiqqa t-Tijaniyya, kaan barḍu yaquum be <sup>°</sup>ilaa al-<sup>°</sup>uyuun bi haazihi l-<sup>°</sup>ibra aw be t-taraatiil al-Qur<sup>°</sup>aaniyya. Wa hu lamma raah manaatiq aj-Jaziira zey ash-

الطبيب الآن هو عنده كماشة يمسك هنا يقطع هنا ويقطع هنا ويشيل ويخت برة. إنت لازم تعمل نضارة بعد كدا عشان تشوف، العدسة خلاص انتهت برة.

فهم لا، عندهم إبرة *needle* يعمل "طق" يقطع هنا ويقوم بالإبرة إما يروح كدا أو يروح كدا. فالإنسان الكبير في السن، ستين سبعين سنة هو مريض. فلانم يقطع من هنا ويخ العدسة الضو يدخل عليه فهو يكون مبسوط، شاف خلاص. وقد تستمر العملية سنة ثلاثة أربعة خمسة سنة يرجع تاني. لكن الطبيب الحديث الآن يشيله برة ويعمل لك عدسة داخلية أو يجيب نضارة، خلاص إنت بتبقى كويس. فكان جدنا بالذات بالإضافة إلى أنه كان حافظ للقرآن ويدرس وينشر الطريقة التجانية كان برضو يقوم بعلاج العيون بهذه الإبرة أو بتراتيل قرآنية. وهو لما راح مناطق الجزيرة زي الشكابة طه الشيخ الحالي الموجود كان تلميذ معاه. فحصل معرفة بين الشيوخ والعلماء القاعدين هناك، فأصبحت المعرفة دي قديمة. بالتالي سهل على الشباب يواصل بنفس الطريقة، وإن كان بصورة مش مية في المية.

used to treat eyes either by the needle or by the Qur'anic verses. And when he went to the Gezira area and visited places such as Shukkaba Taha, the present sheikh was his apprentice. Therefore, he got acquainted with the sheikhs and scholars there. This made it easy for the young men to continue (maintaining the links) in the same manner, although not 100%.

Since 1916 they had travelled through the whole Sudan, in all directions; and our people were specifically engaged in trade and movement; they liked to discover (new places). So, they went up to Ethiopia: Tasanai, Asmara, and so on. Through their travels, they became influenced by some (other) tribes. This sheikh of ours knows some tribes in eastern Sudan... he speaks Hadendawa (Beja), in addition to Songhai and Arabic. And these people [informant points to Al-Amin] went to Southern Sudan for trade, and there they got to know a few languages of that area. Also our people who went back to Chad picked up some French and some (other languages)... by influence.

AL-AMIN

Most of the (Muslim)

Shukkaaba Ṭaaha ash-sheekh al-ḥali l-mawjuud kaan tilmiiz ma'aahu. Fa ḥaşal ma'rifa been ash-shuyukh wa l-ʿulama l-gaa'diin hinaak; fa aşbaḥat al-ma'rifa di gadiima. Be t-taali sahula ʿala sh-shabaab yawaasil be nafs at-tariiga, wa in kaan be şuura mush miyya fi l-miya.

Min alf wu tus'umiyya wa siṭṭaashar humma ṭaafos-Suudaan kullu, sharghan wa gharban; wa ahalna be z-zaat kaano fi t-tijaara wa t-taḥarruk yihibbu yiktashfu. Fa mashu ila l-Ḥabasha: Tasanai, Asmara... Wa ta'assaro bi ba'd al-qabaa'il; hasa' ash-sheekh al-ʿindana ya'rif qabaa'il sharg as-Suudaan... al-Hadandawa ya'rif kalaamum, be l-iḍaafa ilaa s-Songhai bitaa'tu wa l-ʿArabi; ya'rif be t-ta'assur. Deel ga'ado fi j-junuub le t-tijaara barḍu ya'arfu shuwayya min al-lughaat hunaak. Wa naasna r-raja'o Chaad barḍu ta'allamo kazaalik shuwayyat Faransaawi wa shuwayyat... ta'assur ya'ni.

من ألف وتسعمية وسطاشر هم طافوا السودان كله شرقا وغربا. وأهلنا بالذات كانوا في التجارة والتحرك يحبوا يكتشفوا. فمشوا الحبشة: تسني، أسمر... وتأثروا ببعض القبائل، هسع الشيخ العندنا يعرف قبائل شرق السودان... الهندوة يعرف كلامهم، بالإضافة إلى السنغي بتاعته والعربي، يعرف بالتأثر. ديل قعدوا في الجنوب للتجارة برضو يعرفوا شوية من اللغات هناك. وناسنا الرجعوا تشاد برضو تعلموا كذلك شوية فرنساوي وشوية... تأثر يعني.

الأمين

بعدين التجانية، الحبشة دي

Ethiopians are Tijaniyya. There was someone called Umar Bornawi in Ethiopia, whose position there was like that of Al-Mukashfi<sup>15</sup> in the Sudan; he died recently.

#### TIJANI

The descendants of Sheikh Ahmad at-Tijani used to go on tours; they used to come to Sudan and other African countries. So, when they came here, they usually stayed in Maiurno; they divided the area into centres: Dar es Salaam is a centre, Sennar is a centre and the whole Maiurno is a centre. When they came (here – Wad Hashim), it often happened that the meeting took place in this house (the house of the informant where the interview was conducted) because the Sheikh was very old – about 100 years of age.

*Q26: How frequently do you intermarry with the Maiurno people?*

#### AL-AMIN

Very infrequently; there are only a few cases. Five people from Maiurno got married here: Suleiman and his brother, Yunis Baabikir, Sahabi and Muhammad

Ḥabasha di mu<sup>o</sup>zamaa Tijaaniyya. Fi waahid ismu Aḥmad <sup>o</sup>Umar Bornaawi; fi l-Ḥabasha zey al-Mukaashfi fi s-Suudaan; maat gariib da.

Aḥfaad ash-Sheekh Aḥmad at-Tijaani nafsū yataḥarraku min al-Maghrib wu min Faas yiguumu be jawlaat yiju s-Suudaan wu yimshu duwal Afriighiya. Fa laaman yiju hina ya<sup>ni</sup> biyinzilu fii Maayirno hina, bi gassimu l-balad di li niqaat; Daar as-Salaam markaz, Sinnaar markaz, Maayirno kullaha markaz. Fa ḥaṣal kaza marra laamin yiju l-ijtimaa<sup>o</sup> yikuun hina fi haaza l-makaan, la<sup>o</sup>annu sh-Sheekh da kabiir fi s-sin... miyyat sana taghriiban.

معظمها تجانية. في واحد اسمه أحمد عمر برناوي، في الحيشة زي المكاشفي في السودان، مات قريب دا.

**تجاني**  
أحفاد الشيخ أحمد التجاني نفسه يتحركوا من المغرب ومن فاس يقوموا بجولات يجوا السودان ويمشوا دول افريقيا. فلامن يجوا هنا يعني بينزلوا في مايرنو هنا، بقسموا البلد دي لي نقاط: دار السلام مركز، سنار مركز، مايرنو كلها مركز. فحصل كذا مرة لامن يجوا الاجتماع يكون هنا في هذا المكان لأنه الشيخ دا كبير في السن، مية سنة تقريبا.

س26: كيف التزواج بينكم وبين ناس مايرنو؟

#### الأمين

ضعيف خالص، خمسة جوا من مايرنو ازوجوا هنا: سليمان وأخوه، يونس بابكر، صحابي ومحمد عمر لئو. ومن هنا الأمين الحاج بس مشى ازوج من مايرنو. يعني النسبة حقيقة

<sup>15</sup> Al-Mukashfi was a very famous Sufi sheikh. He belonged to the Qadiriyya brotherhood and was based in Tabat in the Gezira (central Sudan).

Umar Labbo. From here only Al-Amin al-Hajj is married to a woman from Maiurno. So, the percentage is actually not that high.

Lamiin al-Haaj bas masha izzawwaj min Maayirno. Ya<sup>o</sup>ni an-nisba haqiiqatan maa kabiira.

ما كبيرة.

*Q27: How much farming do you do?*

س27: كيف الزراعة عندكم؟

Our people do not care much about farming. They discovered that trade is more profitable and easier. So, they are more engaged in trading (than farming). Only the people in the surrounding quarters are engaged in farming. In this village, there are not more than 20 farmers.

Nihna ahalna ihtimaamum be z-ziraa<sup>a</sup> maa kabiir. Iktashafo annu t-tijaara arbaḥ wa <sup>o</sup>ashal; ya<sup>o</sup>ni ishtaghalo be t-tijaara aktar. Al-<sup>o</sup>ahyaa<sup>o</sup> ḥawaaleena hum alli ishtaghalo be z-ziraa<sup>a</sup>. Fi l-ḥilla di alli <sup>o</sup>indahum bildaat maa aktar min <sup>o</sup>ishriin.

نحن أهلنا اهتمامهم بالزراعة ما كبير. اكتشفوا أنه التجارة أرباح وأسهل، يعني اشتغلوا بالتجارة أكثر. الأحياء حولينا هم اللي اشتغلوا بالزراعة. في الحلة دي اللي عندهم بلدات ما أكثر من عشرين.

*Q28: What about irrigated cotton farming (ḥawaashaat)?*

س28: وزراعة الحواشات كيف؟

The percentage is also low. Distant trading does not allow them to be linked with (farming) land.

Barḍu nisbatna fiha basiīṭa. At-tijaara wa t-taḥarruk al-ba<sup>o</sup>iid maa yikhalliium yirtabṭu be l-arḍ.

برضو نسبتنا فيها بسيطة. التجارة والتحرك البعيد ما يخليهم يرتبطوا بالأرض.

*Q29: How about animals?*

س29: والبهائم؟

At first people came with animals, but they, too, discovered that trade (is more rewarding).

Jo fi l-bidaaya ma<sup>a</sup> l-bahaayim laakin barḍu iktashafo annu t-tijaara (aḥsan).

جوا في البداية مع البهائم لكن برضو اكتشفوا أنه التجارة (أحسن).

*Q30: In your (Fulani) subsection (Fallata Malle) are there any nomadic people?*

س30: في خشم بيتكم فلاتة ملّي في ناس بادية؟

(None), except those who remained behind among the

Illa kaan an-naas al-itkhallafo fi l-gharib fi r-Rizeegaat fii

إلا كان الناس الإتحلفوا في الغرب في الرزيقات في منطقة

Rizegat (Baggara Arabs) in the area of Abu Matarig and Ad-Di'en; one or two families were influenced by the way of life they found there.

mantigat Abu-Maṭaarig wa ḍ-Ḍi'een, fi ʿusra ʿusrateen taʿssaro be sh-shi l-mawjuud fi l-mantiga wu masho maʿaahum.

أبومطارق والضعين، في أسرة أسرتين تأثروا بالشبي الموجود في المنطقة ومشوا معاهم.

*Q31: Can you mention the exact dates of your people's movement from West Africa to Sudan, Saudi Arabia, and so on?*

TIJANI

They left there in 1903.<sup>16</sup> I am not sure about the dates, but it seems, according to what I heard, that by ca. 1911 they were in the area of Nyala; they entered (Sudan) via Um Dafoog. The dates of their travel from Um Dafoog to Beit al-Mal, Port Sudan and further to Mecca are linked with the war of Sherif. They left (Mecca) at the beginning of the war; it was the war that made them leave.

Huwa alf wu tus<sup>u</sup>umiyya wu talaata itharraku min hinaak. Wallaahi laa azkur at-tawaariikh laakin zey humma alf wu tus<sup>u</sup>umiyya wu hidaashar taqriiban – ḥasab maa asma<sup>o</sup> – kaano fii mantigat Niyaala, dakhalo ʿan ṭariig Um Dafoog. Wa been Um Dafoog wu Beet al-Maal wa Bor Suudaan wa Makka irtabaṭat be ḥarb ash-Shariif. Humma maa taḥarraku illa l-ḥarb; al-ḥarb hiya l-li ḥarrakatum min Makka.

س31: تقدر تذكر التواريخ بالتحديد لتحرك أهلکم من غرب افريقيا للسعودية... الخ؟

تجاني

هو ألف وتسعمية وثلاثة اتحركوا من هناك. والله لا اذكر التواريخ لكن زي همم ألف وتسعمية وحداشر تقريبا – حسب ما اسمع – كانوا في منطقة نيالا، دخلوا عن طريق أم دافوق. وبين أم دافوق وبيت المال وبورسودان ومكة ارتبطت بحرب الشريف. همم ما تحركو إلا الحرب، الحرب هي اللي حركتهم من مكة.

*Q32: When was this village (Wad Hashim Malle) established?*

AL-AMIN

In 1924.

Sanat arba<sup>a</sup> wa ʿishriin.

س32: متى تأسست هذه القرية؟

الأمين

سنة أربعة وعشرين.

TIJANI

No, not in 1924. They (our

La maa arba<sup>a</sup> wa ʿishriin.

تجاني

لا ما أربعة وعشرين. همم

<sup>16</sup> In fact, 1903 marked the beginning of the *hijra* from Sokoto (in March) which continued after the Burmi battle (July). The Malle Fulani took part in this battle and then joined the *hijra* group led by Mai-Wurno. Otherwise, the Malle Fulani actually started from farther west (Senegambia) at least three years earlier, i.e., after the fall of their country to the French in 1898.

people) worked on the construction of Sennar Dam, which started in 1913; among the youth there were some who worked as labourers on that dam. It is known that the work on the dam started in 1913 and was only finished in 1925 because of the World War I, which, I think, ended in 1918. However, by 1913 their forerunners might have already been here.

Humma ishtaghalo l-khazzaan bitaa° Sinnaar alli huwa bada sanat alf wu tus°umiyya wa talaṭṭaashar; fi min ash-shabaab man ishtaghalo °ummaal fi l-khazzaan da. Al-khazzaan ma°ruuf min alf wu tus°umiyya wa... wa intaha fi sanat alf wu tus°umiyya khamisa wa °ishriin be sabab al-ḥarb al-°aalamiyya alli hiya jaat fi alf wu tus°umiyya wu tamaṅṅaashar iftakir. Wa laakin humma ya°ni ṭalaayi°um al-°uula fii sanat alf wu tus°umiyya wu talaṭṭaashar jaayiz kaanat hina.

اشتغلوا الخزان بتاع سنار اللي هو بدا سنة ألف وتسعمية وتلطاشر، في من الشباب من اشتغلوا عمال في الخزان دا. الخزان معروف من ألف وتسعمية و... وانتهى في سنة ألف وتسعمية وخمسة وعشرين بسبب الحرب العالمية اللي هي جات في ألف وتسعمية وتمنطاشر افنكر. ولكن هم يعني طلابيهم الأولى في سنة ألف وتسعمية وتلطاشر جايز كانت هنا.

#### AL-AMIN

When Sheikh Wad-Hashim<sup>17</sup> was exhumed in 1951, we were in the old village. In 1952 we moved to this site. I am sure that Sheikh Wad-Hashim was exhumed in 1951. We were in the old village; we even went to see the bed (on which his dead body was laid).

Wakit nasharo Sheekh Wad-Haashim sanat waahid wu khamsiin kunna fi l-ḥilla t-tiḥit; °itneen wu khamsiin raḥalna l-ḥilla di. Mut°akkid Sheekh Wad-Haashim nasharo sanat waahid wu khamsiin; kunna fi l-ḥilla l-gadiima, masheena shuufna l-°angareeb zaatu.

الامين  
وكت نشروا شيخ ودهاشم سنة واحد وخمسين كنا في الحلة التحت: إثنين وخمسين رحلنا الحلة دي. متأكد شيخ ودهاشم نشروه سنة واحد وخمسين، كنا في الحلة القديمة، مشينا شوفنا العنقريب ذاته.

*Q33: Why did the water increase in 1951?*

#### TIJANI

Because of the construction of the Managil canal (for the extension of the Gezira Scheme). This increased

°Ashan tawsi°at Mashruu° al-Manaagil. Di tur°at al-Manaagil ar-rafa°at nisbat at-takhziin, wa l-ḥooḍ wisi°

س33: ليه الموية ارتفعت سنة 1951؟

تجاني  
عشان توسعة مشروع المناقل. دي ترعة المناقل الرفع نسية التخزين، والحوض وسع بالتالي.

<sup>17</sup> This Fulani sheikh, who became a saint, founded the village called Wad Hashim, later referred to as Wad Hashim Arab in distinction to Wad Hashim Malle.

the volume of water reserve and enlarged the water basin.

be t-taali.

#### AL-AMIN

We reserved the first houses in this (new) site in 1952, and the exhumation of (Sheikh) Wad-Hashim was in 1951. At that time I had just come back from Ethiopia.<sup>18</sup>

Awwal buyuut masaknaaha fi l-ḥilla sanat ʿitneen wu khamsiin, wu nashir Wad-Haashim sanat waahid wu khamsiin. Ana l-wakit daak jiit min al-Ḥabasha.

الأمين  
أول بيوت مسكنها في الحلة سنة إثنين وخمسين، ونشر ودهاشم سنة واحد وخمسين. أنا الوقت داك جيت من الحبشة.

*Q34 (to Al-Amin): What about your work? Tell us in detail about the history of your business activities!*

س34 (للأمين): ما هو عملك؟ حدثنا بالتفصيل عن تاريخ نشاطك التجاري!

#### AL-AMIN

I was in Riwina on the eastern bank (of the Blue Nile). I cultivated maize and gained 120 Sudanese pounds out of it. People were surprised how someone (could get such an amount of money). The price of a sack at that time was six pounds; that was the first time of hardship (high cost of living) in the Sudan towards the end of the World War II. I started trade. I had a paternal uncle in Ethiopia – he died there. I went and spent 18 months with him and came back. I spent some time here and proceeded to western

Kunta fi sh-sharig fii Riwiina. Zaraʿta ʿeesh ariif, ligiit fiha miyya wu ʿishriin jineeh. An-naas bistaghrabo keef al-waahid (yilga guruush katiira zey di). Shawwaal al-wakit daak be sitta jineeh; awwal ghala fi s-Suudaan, aakhir al-ḥarb al-ʿaalamiyya. Ibtadeet fi t-tijaara; itzawwajta. ʿIndi ʿammi akhu abuu fi l-Ḥabasha, tawaffa hinaak, masheet akhadta maʿaahu tamantaashar shahar jiit raajeʿ. Akhadta fatra hina masheet al-gharib jihat al-Mujlad wu Baabanuusa wu baʿdeen ruḥta j-junuub. Itzawwajta (Khadiija Abd

الأمين  
كنت في الشرق في روينيا. زرعت عيش الريف لقيت فيها مية وعشرين جنيه. الناس بستغريوا كيف الواحد (يلقى قروش كثيرة زي دي). شوال الوقت داك بي ستة جنيه، أول غلا في السودان، آخر الحرب العالمية. ابتديت في التجارة، أتزوجت. عندي عمي أخ أبوي في الحبشة، توفي هناك، مشيت أخذت معاه تمنناشر شهر جيت راجع. أخذت فترة هنا مشيت الغرب جهة المجلد وبابنوسة وبعدين رحنت الجنوب اتزوجت (خديجة عبدالكريم) في المجلد سنة سبعة وخمسين هي من فلاتة ملّي ترطن فلفلدي بس. أبهاتم ذاتهم طلغوا مع أهلنا من مكة جوا مشوا الغرب وديل قعدوا هنا، دا الفرع

<sup>18</sup> Informants in our sample disagreed on the exact year (1951 or 1952) of the exhumation of Sheikh Wad-Hashim from his former tomb. I (Abu-Manga) am inclined to accept the date given by the present informant, as he was able to link it with his return from abroad (which was a distinct event in and of itself).

Sudan towards Al-Mujlad and Babanusa. I married (Khadija Abd al-Karim) in Al-Mujlad in 1957; she belongs to the Fallaata Malle, but she spoke only Fulfulde. Her family came out of Mecca together with our people and proceeded to the West, whereas our people remained here. So, she belongs to our branch that does not speak Songhai; her clan is called Hammaduuruube. I went to Southern Sudan in 1953 during the British time. At that time licences were given only to the old traders and the Europeans.

A European living in the Dinka land gave me a shop in which I worked as a partner until my business advanced little by little. It was a Greek called Garguri based in Wau – i.e., in Gogrial, 60 miles from Wau. I spent about six years in Wau and afterwards I went to a place called Nzara – Zande land. The road was not good; the distance between Tambura and Nzara – ca. 90 miles – took us ten days by lorry. I came (to Nzara) and found that the town had developed, so I rented a shop (in that town) and stayed (there). After two years my family arrived in Juba, and at the same time things got worse

al-Kariim) fi l-Mujlad sanat saba<sup>a</sup> wu khamsiin; hi min Fallaata Malle tartun Fulfulde bas; abbahaatum zaatum ɬala<sup>o</sup> ma<sup>a</sup> ahalna min Makka jo masho l-gharib wu deel ga<sup>o</sup>ado hina; da al-fare<sup>o</sup> bitaa<sup>o</sup>na l-maa birtun (Songhai); khashum beetum ‘Hammaduuruube’. Ruɬta j-junuub sanat talaata wu khamsiin Ingliiz mawjuud. Ba<sup>o</sup>deen zool maa biddu rukhsa illa n-naas al-gudaam wa l-khawaajaat.

Waaɬid khawaaja<sup>o</sup> indu dukkaan fii Daar ad-Deenka addaani leehu shagaal fiihu be sh-sharaaka. Shuwayya shuwayya laghaayit maa (shogholi biga kooyis). Waaɬid Igrigi ismu Garguuri fii Waawu – Gogriyaal, barra min al-madiina sittiin meel. Akhadta zey sitta sana fii Waaw ba<sup>o</sup>ad daak masheet ɬitta isimaa Anzaara – az-Zaandi. Ligiina ɬ-ɬariig maa kooyis, zaman ɬarb; al-masaafa min Tambura lee Anzaara yimkin zey tis<sup>o</sup>iin meel akhadna fiiha<sup>o</sup> ashara yoom be l-<sup>o</sup>arabaat. Jiit ligiit al-madiina shuwayya bada yiɬsallaɬ ajjarta ley dukkaan ga<sup>o</sup>adta. Akhadta sanateen awlaadi jo fi Juba,

بتاعنا الما برطن (سنغي)، خشم بيتهم "همدوروي". رحنت الجنوب سنة ثلاثة وخمسين إنجليز موجودين. بعدين زول ما بدوه رخصة إلا الناس القدام والخواجات.

واحد خواجة عنده دكان في دار الدينكا أداني ليه شغال فيه بالشراكة. شوية شوية لغاية ما (شغلي بقى كويس). واحد إغريقي اسمه غرغوري في واو – غوغريال، برة من المدينة ستين ميل. أخذت زي سنة سنة في واو بعد داك مشيت حتة اسمها أنزارا – الزاندي. لقينا الطريق ما كويس، زمن حرب. المسافة من طمبرة لي أنزارا يمكن زي تسعين ميل أخذنا فيها عشرة يوم بالعربات. جبنت لقيت المدينة شوية بدا يصلح أجرت لي دكان قعدت، أخذت سنتين أولادي جوا في جوبا، بعدين بلد ما كويس قمت قفلت الدكان وجبنت جوبا. في جوبا بقيت اشتغل بين يوغندا والسودان. آخر كايا – كايا دي عندي فيه دكان، في حدود يوغندا.



here. So, I closed the shop and moved to Juba, where I started trading between Uganda and Sudan. At last I acquired a shop in Kaya on the Ugandan border.

ba°deen balad maa koyiis gumta gafalta d-dukkaan wu jiit Juba. Fii Juba bigiit ishtaghal been Yooghanda wa s-Suudaan. Aakhir Kaaya – Kaaya di indi fiihu dukkaan, fii ħuduud Yooghanda.

*Q35: What languages do you speak?*

I speak Fulfulde, Hausa, Songhai, Dinka, and Swahili.<sup>19</sup>

I was the first Sudanese to import tea from Zaire on an official basis. Border trade itself allows one to learn Swahili because all those involved in this trade interact in Swahili.

I spent ca. eight years in Kaya. My problem was that I was engaged in smuggling. We smuggled ivory (to Uganda); sometimes it was confiscated and sometimes it (passed). We were working with Senegalese.

Bitkallam Fulfulde, basma° Hausa, Songhe [Songhai], bitkallam Deenka, Sawaahili.

Awwal Suudaani jaab shaay min Zaa°iir be şifa rasmiyya ana. Tijaarat al-ħuduud zaata bit°allim as-Sawaahili la°annu sh-shaghaaliin fiiha kullum bitfaahamu beeha.

Akhadta fii Kaaya zey tamaniya sana. Ba°deen mushkilti shinu, shaghaal fi t-tahriib; bi naharrib nawaddu sin al-fil... marra yisaadru [= yişaadru] wu marra (yimur). Ghaytu Shaghaaliin ma°a s-Sinigaliyyiin.

س35: ما هي اللغات التي تتحدثها؟

بتكلم فلفلدي، بسمع هوسا، سنغي، بتكلم دينكا، سواحيلي.

أول سوداني جاب شاي من زائير بي صفة رسمية أنا. تجارة الحدود ذاتها بتعلم السواحيلي لأنه الشغالين فيها كلهم بنقاهمو بيها.

أخذت في كايا زي ثمانية سنة. بعدين مشكلتي شنو؟ شغال في التهريب، بنهرب نودوا سن الفيل... مرة يصادروه ومرة (يمر). غايتهو شغالين مع السنغاليين.

*Q36 (to Tijani): And you, what is your work?*

TIJANI

I went to school – the primary and secondary levels – and then I did technical studies in the field of

Ana ta°allamta l-madrasa: al-marḥala l-ibtidaa°iyya wa l-marḥala s-saanawiyya, ba°ad daak diraasa fanniyya

س36 (للتجاني): وإنت؟ ما عملك؟

تجاني

أنا تعلمت المدرسة: المرحلة الابتدائية والمرحلة الثانوية وبعد داك دراسة فنية في مجال النسيج، ورحت

<sup>19</sup> Günther Schlee continued the interview in Swahili for about five minutes. The informant used to bring tea from Uganda and take soap, salt and fish there.

textiles after which I went to Saudi Arabia. There, I worked in a company for transport and services, 'Saudi Public Transport'. I worked for ten years and came back. Now I am running a small trade (business) at the market place.

fii majaal an-nasiiij, wa ruḥta s-Su<sup>u</sup>uudiyya ishtaghalta fii sharika bitaa<sup>at</sup> muwaṣalaat, sharika bitaa<sup>at</sup> khadamaat 'Saudi Public Transport Company': ishtaghalta <sup>ashara sana wu jiiit raaje</sup>. Al-<sup>o</sup>aan ana shuwayyat taajir fi s-suug.

السعودية اشتغلت في شركة بتاعة مواصلات، شركة بتاعة خدمات "سعودي ببلك ترانسبورت كمبني"، اشتغلت عشرة سنة وجيت راجع. الآن أنا شوية تاجر في السوق.

*Q37: What group(s) did you marry (into)?*

س37: من أين تزوجت؟

I got married within this village. Inter-marriages (within this village) are frequent. There is a kinship relationship (between my wife and me): her grandmother is my direct maternal aunt; her mother's mother is a full sister of my mother.

Itzawwajta min al-ḥilla hina. (At-tazaawuj min daakhil al-ḥilla) kabiir. Fi <sup>alaaqa</sup> (beeni wu been zawjati): ḥabboobataa khaalatna <sup>adiil taghriiban</sup>; um ummuha shagiigat ummi.

اتزوجت من الحلة هنا، (التزاوج من داخل الحلة) كبير. في علاقة (بيني وبين زوجتي). حبوبتها خالتنا عديل تقريبا، أم أمها شقيقة أمي.

End

An-nihaaya

النهاية





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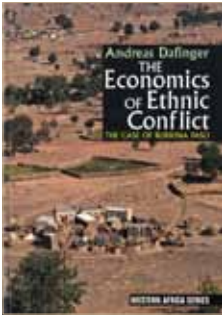
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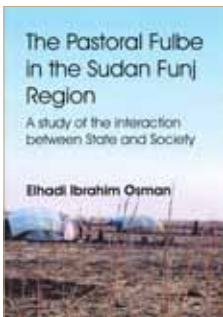
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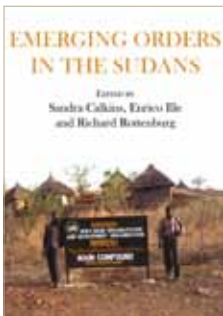
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