

OLD FULANI IN THE SENNAR AREA (SUDAN)

[Al-Amin Abu-Manga]



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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

AL-AMIN ABU-MANGA

Previous studies by the researcher and some other scholars¹ revealed that the Sennar area in the south-eastern part of the present-day Republic of the Sudan (ca. 300–400 km south of Khartoum) was for many decades during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a focal destination of Fulani immigrant groups from different parts of the Sudan and directly from West Africa. In the Sudan, as in other African countries, the members of these groups are affiliated to clans and subclans named after their respective (presumed) founders or their original home towns/regions. Although the Fulani groups living in the Sennar area belong to various clans and subclans, they can roughly be classified into two major divisions in terms of the history of their immigration and the degree of their integration in the local (Arab) communities: a) the Old Fulani, and b) the Post-Mahdism Fulani immigrants.

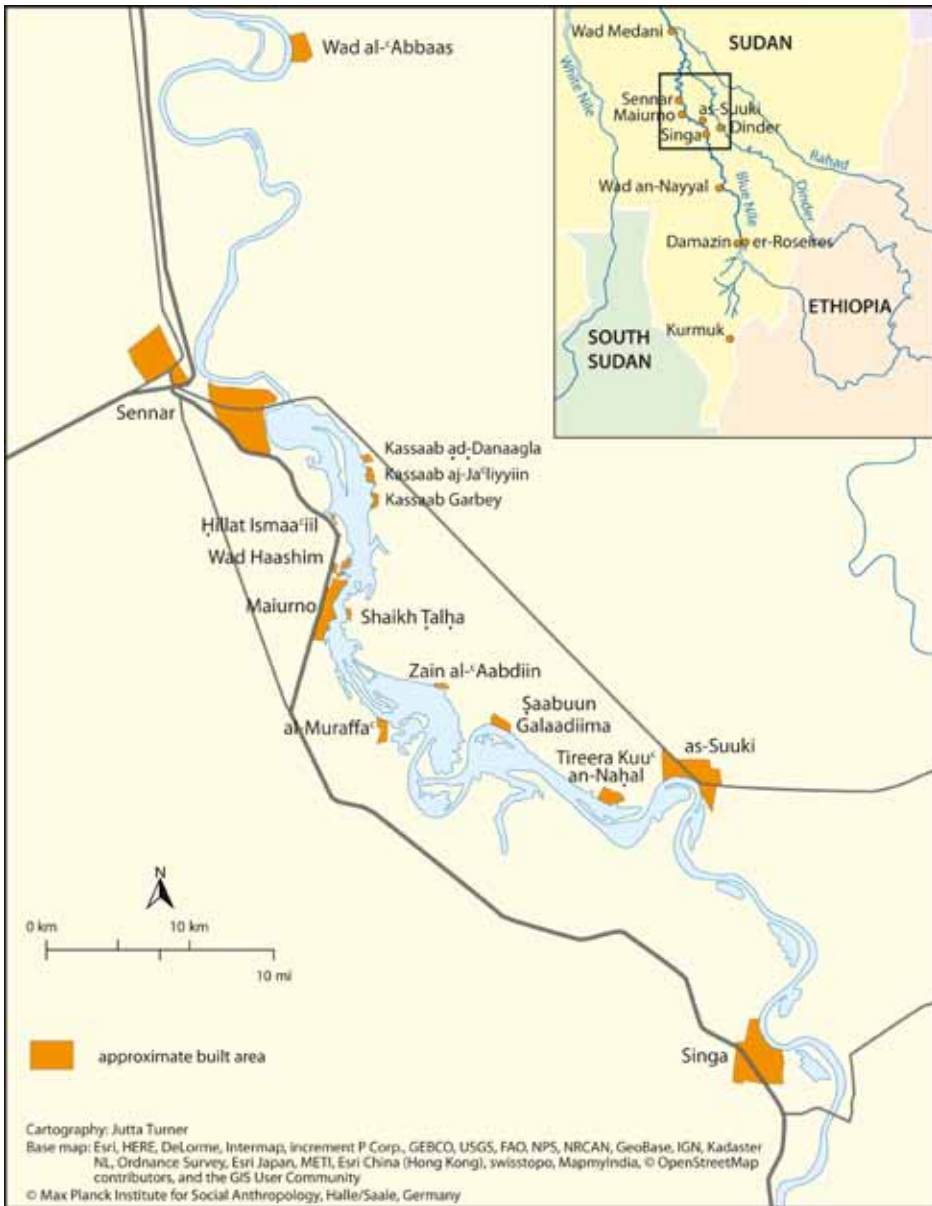
The Old Fulani division of the Sennar area includes individual families and larger groups of Fulani who settled in this area before the establishment of the Mahdist state (1882–1898). It also comprises Fulani who arrived in the area immediately after the fall of this state (following the Karari battle² of September 2, 1898), mainly from Darfur and Kordofan. Common to the members of the Old Fulani division is that they have given up most of the cultural elements that were once constitutive of their ethnic identity as Fulani and do not longer speak their ancestral language (Fulfulde). They first concentrated in the past in the following two old Fulani villages: Wad Haashim on the western bank of the Blue Nile, ca. 12 km south of Sennar (town), and Shaikh Ṭalḥa diagonally on the opposite side of the river. Today, the largest settlement of the Old Fulani in the Sennar area is that of as-Suuki town (ca. 30 km south-east of Shaikh Ṭalḥa), the head seat of as-Suuki Locality administration (see map 1 on p. vi).

The division of Post-Mahdism Fulani immigrants, on the other hand, includes mainly members of Attahiru/Mai-Wurno's *hijra* (religious migration) who arrived in the Sennar area during the first decade of the twentieth century coming directly from present-day northern Nigeria and many other parts of West Africa. These Fulani now concentrate in and around the town of Maiurno on the western bank of the Blue Nile, ca. 15 km south of Sennar, exactly opposite to the old Fulani village of Shaikh Ṭalḥa.³ Most

¹ See, e.g., Nasr (1980), Duffield (1981) and Abu-Manga (1999).

² The Karari battle is sometimes referred to as the 'battle of Omdurman' in the literature. The latter term is rather incorrect as the battle in question did not actually take place in Omdurman but outside the town in the so-called Karari plain.

³ Smaller settlements of Post-Mahdism Fulani immigrants, which are the results of early out-migrations from Maiurno, can notably be found further south along the Blue Nile and further east along the Dinder, Rahad and Upper Atbara rivers. ►



(Sketch) Map 1: Research area in Sennar State

Post-Mahdism Fulani immigrants still retain the use of the Fulfulde language and are less acculturated than the members of the Old Fulani division.

The two above-mentioned divisions have received unequal attention in research. To this day, the Old Fulani remain understudied compared to the Post-Mahdism Fulani immigrants, among whom I have notably carried out research in collaboration with Professor Günther Schlee in the framework of the project entitled ‘Ethnicity in new contexts: emergent boundaries and pluri-ethnic networks in the East of the Republic of the Sudan’.⁴ However, in the light of the paucity of in-depth studies of the Old Fulani, we both agreed that it was time to document some of the research we conducted on this division.

The data presented in this volume offer new insights into the history of immigration of Old Fulani to the Sennar area, their interactions with members of other ethnic groups, their identity management, their role in the spread of Sufism in central Sudan and their integration into the market economy. These data were collected within the framework of the project ‘Pastoralism in interaction with other forms of land use in the Blue Nile area of Sudan’,⁵ financially supported by the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, and headed by Günther Schlee, the director of the Department ‘Integration and Conflict’. They are extracts from interviews conducted between 2011 and 2013 during field trips to the Sennar area (June 2011, January 2013 and March 2013) and to Omdurman (Khartoum State; February 2012, July 2012 and March 2013). Research locations in the Sennar area included as-Suuki town, Tیرهرا كوو[°] an-Naḥal (ca. 7 km west of as-Suuki), Ḥillat Ismaa[°]iil (ca. 8 km south of Sennar) and al-Muraffa[°] (ca. 10 km south of Maiurno). With the exception of [°]Umar Muḥammad Qudus [°]Abdullaahi, all the people interviewed in these localities clearly belong to the Old Fulani division. Although his father originated from Sokoto (northern Nigeria) and arrived in as-Suuki at the beginning of the 1930s, shortly before [°]Umar’s birth, [°]Umar cannot be categorised as a member of the division of the Post-Mahdism Fulani immigrants of the Sennar area. First, his father spent the first part of his life in present-day South Sudan and the Nuba Mountains before proceeding to the Sennar area. Second, [°]Umar was born in as-Suuki from a non-Fulani mother and grew up in an Old Fulani social milieu, thus, losing basic aspects of Fulani ethnic identity, including the Fulfulde language (which he even never spoke). Taking the latter fact into account, he seems to rather belong, in practice, to the division of the Old Fulani than to that of the Post-Mahdism Fulani immigrants.

◀ For more information on these settlements and the socio-political factors that led to their establishment, see Abu-Manga (2007).

⁴ A substantial set of data collected between 1996 to 1998 within the framework of this research project has been published online (Schlee 2013; see also Schlee 2000 and Schlee and Abu-Manga 2017).

⁵ See also Feyissa and Schlee (2009), Schlee (2012) and Osman and Schlee (2014).

The persons interviewed in Omdurman included:

- Muḥammad Al-Amiin Ḥasan Ibrahiim (commissioner of as-Suuki Locality): He is from Maiurno, i.e., a member of the division of Post-Mahdism Fulani immigrants. Although I was his guest during my entire stay in as-Suuki and he coordinated all my meetings with my informants, it was only later that I realised the importance of interviewing him, as an outsider and commissioner of the locality, on the interactions of Old Fulani with the members of other ethnic communities in his locality. So, I interviewed him during one of his regular visits to his second (conjugal) family in Omdurman.
- Kaamil °Abdulraḥmaan ash-Shaikh Muḥammad Abu-Kuuma and Balla at-Ṭaahir Muḥammad Saalim: These two men are from Wad Haashim (Arab) village, but established themselves in Omdurman in a quarter including a number of Wad Haashim people. Both of them are tightly connected with their home village through regular visits. Balla belongs to the Old Fulani division of Wad Haashim, whereas Kaamil is a Dongolese by origin. His relevance to our research stems from the fact that his grandfather was the heir of Shaikh Wad-Haashim's *sijjaada* (praying mat),⁶ as the latter did not get children and the former was his closest and most faithful follower.⁷ Accordingly, and following the directive of Shaikh Wad-Haashim himself, the *sijjaada* succession shifted to Abu-Kuuma's family.⁸ Kaamil is the present sheikh⁹ of the *sijjaada*, i.e., the spiritual head of the Wad Haashim community.
- Omda Ya°guub Adam Ya°guub: He is the Omda of the Omodiyya¹⁰ in the Tulus area (Southern Darfur) under which the Sindiga Fulani clan used to be administered.¹¹ He also has a house in Omdurman, where he was interviewed together with a group of Darfur Sindiga. Some of the members of this group were able to trace kinship relationships with Sindiga I

⁶ The term *sijjaada* (praying mat) is notably used in the Sudan to symbolise a focal centre of a Sufi order headed by a sheikh, usually succeeded by one of his offsprings believed by his adherents to bear the blessing(s) – *baraka* – of the deceased sheikh/saint. The most important component of the centre is the *tuggaaba*, which is the fire (place), lit in the night for children and followers to recite and memorise the Qur'an.

⁷ The form 'Wad Haashim' is used throughout this volume in reference to the village and 'Wad-Haashim' to its (presumed) founder.

⁸ This is a unique case in the history of Sufism in the Sudan, wherein the *sijjaada* (and eventually the *baraka*) shifted to a family that was not genealogically related to the family of the founding sheikh.

⁹ The form 'Shaikh' is used for the title and 'sheikh' for the office.

¹⁰ The Omodiyya (*°Umuudiyya*) corresponds to the second highest administrative unit within the Native Administration system introduced by the British. The title held by the head of an Omodiyya is 'Omda'.

¹¹ Meanwhile the Sindiga of the Tulus area have their own independent Omodiyya under Omda Ibrahiim Yuunis.

interviewed in the Sennar area. In the latter area, the Sindiga have recently split into two (disputing) factions on the matter of their ethnic identity: a faction that does not define itself as Fulani anymore and now claims an Arab identity,¹² and another that sticks firmly to its Fulani identity, although its members, like those of the former faction, no longer speak Fulfulde. Paradoxically, the two factions are headed by two full brothers (Aḥmad Abu-Bakr Ḥasan Jum^ʿa and Muḥammad Abu-Bakr Ḥasan Jum^ʿa), each heading a faction.

FURTHER GENERAL REMARKS

- The early existence of the villages of Wad Haashim and Shaikh Ṭalḥa as focal centres for Sufi activities and Qurʾan learning has played a role in the Fulani immigrations to the Sennar area.¹³
- The immediate regions of departure of the Old Fulani to the Sennar area were Darfur, Kordofan and the Gezira. When asked about farther regions of departure of their forefathers, informants mention more frequently North Africa than West Africa.
- Quite a large number of Fulani participated in the Mahdiyya movement (1882–1898) and headed to the Sennar area immediately after the loss of the Karari battle (1898), which brought an end to the Mahdist state.
- Most of the Mahdist Fulani made their way to the Sennar area for one or several of the following reasons:
 - a) Khaliifa ʿAbdullaahi, the Mahdi’s successor, advised them to move to that area.
 - b) Shaikh Muḥammad Toom (son of Shaikh Ṭalḥa), the then sheikh of Shaikh Ṭalḥa village, who is himself believed to have been of Fulani origin, invited them to join him and his sheikhdom.
 - c) The Sennar area was characterised by good farming and grazing opportunities.
 - d) Shaikh Ṭalḥa village was a peaceful place; the British could not enter Shaikh Ṭalḥa and no fighting took place in this village.
- The Old Fulani of the Sennar area generally tend to keep a low profile about their ethnic identity and some of them have already decided to adopt a new (Arab) ethnic identity.

¹² In Southern Darfur, the Sindiga are part of the Isooji clan, which is the largest clan in the Iba (Fulfulde-speaking) division of the Fulani of Southern Darfur (in opposition to the Ika [Arabic-speaking] division). All the Sindiga interviewed in the house of Omda Ya^ʿguub Adam Ya^ʿguub in Omdurman (April 2013) were Fulfulde speakers.

¹³ As centres for Sufi activities the two villages attracted also a large number of Muslims from other ethnic groups, both Arabs and non-Arabs. Many of these Muslims thus settled in the proximity of these two villages.

This book is arranged in the Arabic fashion and starts from what in the West would be 'the back' with an Arabic version of this Introduction.

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2015

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Photo 21: (Home) cattle of Muḥammad Abu-Bakr Ḥasan Jum^oa after their return from grazing in the evening, al-Muraffa^c (al-^cUmda), February 2013 (AL-AMIN ABU-MANGA, 2013)



Photo 22: The Sindiga Fulani neighbourhood in al-Muraffa^c (al-^cUmda) (AL-AMIN ABU-MANGA, 2013)



Photo 19: Muḥammad Abu-Bakr Ḥasan Jum^{ʿa} (on the left) interviewed in his house in al-Muraffa^ʿ (al-^ʿUmda) (NAAṢIR AḤMAD ^ʿUMAR, 2011)



Photo 20: (Home) cattle of Muḥammad Abu-Bakr Ḥasan Jum^{ʿa} after their return from grazing in the evening, al-Muraffa^ʿ (al-^ʿUmda), February 2013 (AL-AMIN ABU-MANGA, 2013)

INTERVENTION BY ANOTHER MAN

Now people talk about the Civil Register and registration, and so on. There are some rumours saying that it is most probable that...

MUḤAMMAD

These same youths who deviated and said that they are Ḥuseiniyya (descendants of Ḥusein¹¹) or *ashraaf* (descendants of the Prophet),¹² and that they are not Fallaata (Fulani), are the same people who brought the classification (of ethnic identities) saying: “These are first class (the Fulani) and these are second class (the Hausa).” This (claim to be Ḥuseiniyya) is just a propaganda that they clandestinely spread to us in order to make us abandon Fallaata (identity, i.e., Fulani identity) and follow their path (in taking an Arab identity). [Some of the attendants laugh.] We will never follow them until the day of resurrection. Al-Amin, have you recorded this speech of mine? I want this speech of mine to be recorded and heard everywhere.

¹¹ This Ḥusein is indeed claimed to be one of the two well-known grandsons of the Prophet.

¹² See previous interview for another view.

آخر

Al-aan an-naas bitkallmu
an as-sijill al-madani wa
t-tasjiil wa ma t-tasjiil; fi
ba^oad al-agmaawiiil bitrajjiḥ
innu zaatu...

الآن الناس بتكلموا عن السجل
المدني والتسجيل وما التسجيل،
في بعض الأقاويل بترجح إنه
ذاته...

محمد

Niḥna l-awlaad zaatum al-li
hassa^o shaggo wa gaalo hum
Ḥuseiniyya aw ashraaf aw
hum ma^onaata maa Fallaata,
an-naas deel hum al-li jo
khaṣṣaṣṣo Fallaata gaalo
deel nimra waahid wa deel
nimra itneen. Di^oaaya
dassooha leena hina^oashaan
aniḥna nasiib al-Fallaata wu
namshi be tariigum hum,
(yaḍhak ba^oad al-ḥuḍuur),
wu maa namshi ma^oaahum
lamin taguum as-saa^oa.
Kalaami da sajjaltuuhu? Ana
daayir kalaami da yitsajjal
yisma^ouuhu hinaak fii ayyi
maḥal.

نحن الأولاد ذاتهم اللي هسع
شقا وقالوا هم حسينية أو
أشراف أو هم معناتها ما
فلاتة الناس ديل هم اللي جوا
خصصوا فلاتة قالوا ديل نمرة
واحد وديل نمرة إثنين. دعاية
دسوها لينا هنا عشان أنحن
نسيب الفلاتة ونمشي بطريقهم
هم (يضحك بعض الحضور)،
وما نمشي معاهم لمن تقوم
الساعة. كلامي دا سجلتوه؟ أنا
داير كلامي دا يتسجل يسمعه
هناك في أي محل.

Hausa. Then Mawlaana °Abdaljaliil wrote in the newspaper: “The Hausa represent themselves and they are not represented by the Fulani.” This is what engendered hatred between the Fulani and the Hausa and caused what took place in al-Lakandi and Omdurman Fallaata.¹⁰ People have a plan to organise themselves, but they fall in a mistake that causes separation between them. Formerly, there was no separation at all between the Fulani and the Hausa; there was mutual respect between them. What I witnessed is the following: if the Sultan (Muḥammad Ṭaahir) summoned someone to Maiurno in the night, by Allah, he would be there before the morning. But, today, if Abbakar (the present Sultan of Maiurno) summons someone, by Allah, sometimes he may not go. I am living in this area; I am not a politician, but I experienced all these problems.

al-Hausa yumassiluuna nafsahum be nafsahum, laa yumassiluhum abnaa° al-Fallaata.” Al-kalaam da jaab al-karaahiyya l-li dakhalat hasa° been al-Fallaata wa been al-Hausa wa ḥaṣalat maa ḥaṣalat... fi l-Lakandi wa fii Umdurmaan Fallaata. Naas °indahum siyaasa °ashaan yinazzimu becha nafsahum, laakin yinzalghu fii maḥal yibga yafṣil beenum. Maa kaan fi inṣiṣaal been al-Hausa wa been al-Fallaata iṭlaaghan. Wa kaan beenaatum al-°iḥtiraam. Ana l-ḥaḍartu, as-Sulṭaan hina gaal zool yijiihu hinaak Wallaahi be l-leel, yiṣbiḥ foog Maayirno. Laakin al-leela iza kaan Abbakar gaal waaḥid yijiihu hinaak, Wallaahi ba°aḍ marraat maa bimshu. Ana °aayish fi l-maṇṭiga di, wu maa siyaasi laakin... wa iḥtakkeet be kulli l-masaa°il ad-daakhil al-maṇṭiga di.

وحصلت ما حصلت... في اللكندي وفي أمدرمان فلاتة. ناس عندهم سياسة عشان ينظموا بيها نفسهم، لكن ينزلقوا في محل يبقى يفصل بينهم. ما كان في انفصال بين الهوسا وبين الفلاتة إطلاقاً. وكان بيناتهم الاحترام. أنا الحضرتة، السلطان هنا قال زول يجيه هناك والله بالليل، يصبح فوق مايرنو. لكن الليلة إذا كان أبكر قال واحد يجيه هناك، والله بعض مرات ما بمشوا. أنا عايش في المنطقة دي، وما سياسي لكن... واحتكيت بكل المسائل الداخل المنطقة دي.

¹⁰ In 2002, a quarrel took place in Ab-Ḥajar village between a Fulani man and Hausa man from the neighbouring village of Omdurman Fallaata situated ca. 50 km south of as-Suuki. That was on the eve of °Id al-Kabiir (Muslim festival). On the following day, i.e., the day of the °Id, a group of Hausa of Omdurman Fallaata attacked several Fulani and killed four of them. Three Hausa were found guilty and sentenced to death. Before the execution, a Fulani shot one Hausa to death and disappeared, what equalised the number of the dead from the two sides. Hostilities between the two communities continued for years, but in the end they reconciled and they are again living together peacefully now.

Q: Didn't you care about farming? Did you only have these animals (cattle) of yours?

(When we came here), we did not care about farming; we used to exploit this area (river banks) for grazing our animals. When we came, this place was a bush. Had we cared about farming, by Allah, half of this area would have been ours. But we cared about livestock more than about farming.

Maa muhtammiin be z-ziraa^a; wa da zaatu maḥal kunna binasrah foogu. Wakit jiina hina al-balad da khala. Law kunna muhtammiin be z-ziraa^a, yaa zool Wallaahi yimkin kunna nuṣṣu ḥaggana. Laakin ma kunna muhtammiin; muhtammiin be s-si^aaaya aktar min az-ziraa^a.

س: هل إنتو ما كنتو مهتمين بالزراعة يعني؟ عندكم بهايكم دي بس؟

ما مهتمين بالزراعة؛ ودا ذاته محل كنا بنسرح فوقه. وقت جينا هنا البلد دا خلا. لو كنا مهتمين بالزراعة، يا زول والله يمكن كنا نصه حقنا. لكن ما كنا مهتمين؛ مهتمين بالسعاية أكثر من الزراعة.

Q: In some way you also need to collaborate with (members of) other tribes like the Hausa and the Borno. You need to strengthen your position through their support, because alone you will also be weak.

First, Mawlaana ^oAbdaljaliil⁹ came to us in al-Muraffa^c; before, it was written in the newspapers that no one should distinguish between the Hausa and the Fulani. If you come and find a Hausa village, you will find a Fulani man established as its sheikh or (local) head or anything else (another leading position). The Fulani were given due respect by the

Awwalan niḥna hina fi l-Maraffa^c jaana Mawlaana ^oAbdujjaliil, wa kaanat aj-jaraayid di talla^a at al-Hausa wa l-Fallaata zool bifarrig beenum maa fi. Wu ba^cdeen kullu maḥal, kaan jiit ligiit ḥilla bitaa^a at Hausa talga Fallaati bikhuttuuhu fiha sheekh walla ayyi ḥaaja; maddinnahum makaanatum al-adabiyya. Al-faraga di, Mawlaana ^oAbdujjaliil da katab fi j-jaraayid: “Abnaa^o

س: من ناحية إنت برضو بتحتاج تتكاتف مع القبائل الثانية زي الهوسا والبرنو، تحتاج برضو تستقوى بيهم لأنك براك بتكون ضعيف برضو.

أولاً نحن هنا في المرفع جانا مولانا عبدالجليل، وكانت الجرايد دي طلعت الهوسا والفلاتة زول بفرق بينهم ما في. ويعدين كل محل، كان جيت لقيت حلة بتاعة هوسا تلقى فلاتي بختوه فيها شيخ وللا أي حاجة، مديهم مكانتهم الأدبية. الفرقة دي، مولانا عبدالجليل دا كتب في الجرايد: “أبناء الهوسا يمثلون أنفسهم بنفسهم، لا يمثلهم أبناء الفلاتة”. الكلام دا جاب الكراهية اللي دخلت هسع بين الفلاتة وبين الهوسا

⁹ This is the late ^oAbdaljaliil Adam Ḥusein, judge of the Higher Court based in Khartoum, a Hausa activist who encouraged his people to break away from the Fulani.

knew our people and had respect for them. As soon as they (i.e., our people) came, they (the Omda and the sheikh) welcomed them and my father was given two houses by the °Aṭa Al-Mannaans. At that time our relatives, the Hausa, were not as numerous as they are now. We lived with them (the other inhabitants of al-Muraffa°) peacefully without any problems. In fact, if cattle owners cause damage to farmers, the latter will not be happy even if they (the cattle owners) are their brothers.⁸

ga°adna fiihum. Aaha l-faraga di kaan ahalna l-Hausa maa kaano kutaar zey da. Aaha l-faraga di ma°naata it°aayashna ya°ni, maashiin kooyiin, maafi ishkaal beenaatna. Aşlu naas al-bahaayim ma°a naas az-ziraa°a deel kaan bigo akhwaanak kaan kharabta leehum maa bikuunu raadiin.

كان خريت ليهم ما يكونوا راضين.

Q: Does damage happen frequently? How do you solve such the problem?

س: قاعد يحصل خراب؟
وينحلوه كيف؟

It (damage by animals) happens. By Allah, they usually solve it (such a problem) on the basis of customary law and (state) law. If your animals cause damage to the farmer, you sit down, estimate his right and you pay him. However, there are nice people who will say to you: “You, man, you are forgiven for the sake of Allah and the Prophet; there is nothing (harmful) between us.” But there are others who want their right; they are (then) given their right.

Biyahşal. Biḥilluuhu Wallaahi fi l-°urf wa fi l-ghaanuun. Iza kaan bahaaymak kharabat le l-muzaari° taji tago°od ma°aahu °adiil wa taghayyim leehu ḥaggu wa tadfa°u leehu ḥaggu. Ba°deen fi naas fuḍala biguulu leek: “Yaa zool °afu Allah wa r-Rasuul; beenaatna maafi ayyi shi.” Aaha, fi naas daayriin ḥaggahum, yidduuhum ḥaggahum.

بيحصل. بخلوه والله في العرف وفي القانون. إذا كان بهايماك خربت للمزارع تجي تقعد معاه عديل وتقيم له حقه وتدفعوا له حقه. بعدين في ناس فضلاء بقولوا ليك: "يا زول عفو الله والرسول. بيناتنا مافي أي شي". آها في ناس دايرين حقه، يدوهم حقه.

⁸ The term ‘brother’ is used loosely here and also as an expression of modesty.

growing youths have put an (awkward) idea in their mind. Let me put it bluntly. These aspiring youths do not want anything that links them with the Fallaata (Fulani); these are the growing youths, the children of the (present) sheikh. These things have made us refrain from approaching them or seeking wives from them.

waadha. Yaⁿⁱ ma^{naata} al-muṭṭalliⁱⁱⁿ wa l-muṭfalsifiin deel yaⁿⁱ maa ^{aawziin} haaja talimmahum ^{ale} l-Fallaata zaatu, awlaadum al-gaamo deel, awlaad naas ash-Sheekh deel. ^oAshaan kida di l-haajaat al-khallatna zaatu hassa^o maa nakhush fihum wa maa naṭlubu minnahum.

المتطلعين والمتفلسفين ديل يعني ما عاوزين حاجة تلمهم على الفلانة ذاته، أولادهم القاموا ديل، أولاد ناس الشيخ ديل. عشان كذا دي الحاجات الخلتنا ذاته هسع ما نخش فيهم وما نطلبوا منهم.

Q: Do you remember when you came to settle here... At that time the land must indeed have (been administered by) sheikhs and Omdas... Did they (your relatives) take permission from someone to stay here, or did you just come and stay?

س: انتو متذكريين لما جيتوا تنزلوا هنا... طبعاً الواطاة لازم تكون عندها شيوخ وعندها عمد... هل استأذنتوا من زول وللا بس جيتوا قعدتوا ساكت؟

Our relatives,⁷ the Kawaahla, whom we found here, the Omda and the sheikh, received us. The Jawaam^a who were living here gave us houses to stay in. The Omda Musaa^{ad} was with our people there in Khaliil; they were co-residing with one another. So, when we came (to al-Muraffa^o), our people were already known to them (the Omda and the sheikh). In other words, we did not come just like this, saying, "Peace be upon you" (*Assalaamu aalaykum* – i.e., we did not come as strangers). They already

Ahalna l-Kawaahla l-ligiinaahum giddaamna, al-^oumda wa sh-sheekh. Istagbaloo. Wa kaan aj-Jawaam^a s-saakniin hina addoona buyuut wa ga^{adna} fihum. Al-^oumda Musaa^{ad} kaan ma^a naasna hinaak fii Khaliil, wa ^{aasho} fii Khaliil sawa. Lamin jiina hina kaano ^{aarfiin} naasna; yaⁿⁱ maa jiinaahum "Salaamu ^{aleekum}". Min hinaak ^{aarfinnahum} wu khaattiin leehum makaanatum al-adabiyya. Wa mimmaa jo hina rahhabo beehum, wa waalidna addoohu beeten, naas ^o Aṭa l-Mannaan, wa

أهلنا الكواهلة اللقيناهم قدامنا، العمدة والشيخ. استقبلونا. وكان الجوامعة الساكنين هنا أدونا بيوت وقعدنا فيهم. العمدة مساعد كان مع ناسنا هناك في خليل، وعاشوا في خليل سوا. لمن جينا هنا كانوا عارفين ناسنا، يعني ما جيناهم "سلام عليكم". من هناك عارفينهم وخاتين ليهم مكانتهم الأدبية. ومما جوا هنا رحبوا بيهم، ووالدنا أدوه بيتين، ناس عطا المنان، وقعدنا فيهم. آها الفرقة دي كان أهلنا الهوسا ما كانوا كتار زي دا. آها الفرقة دي معناتها اتعايشنا يعني، ماشين كويسين، مافي إشكال بيناتنا. أصلوا ناس البهايم مع ناس الزراعة ديل كان بقوا أخوانك

⁷ Same remark with regard to the use of the term 'relatives' as in footnote 3.

entire cattle to *Bayt al-Maal* (Muslim/Mahdiyya treasury). Then the Mahdi died and was succeeded by the Khaliifa (°Abdullaahi). As you know, people do not all have the same way of thinking; some of them returned to Sa°duun and Gireeḍa and others remained here (in central Sudan – Omdurman). Those who remained here (in Omdurman) kept following the Mahdi’s Khaliifa (i.e., the Mahdi’s successor) until he martyred in Um Dibeekraat. After that, everyone (i.e., the members of our group) looked for a (new) place to settle. They settled in Gish-eesh. From Gish-eesh my grandfather, his brothers and his (paternal) cousins moved to Shaikh Ṭalḥa (village). As soon as they came, Shaikh Muḥammad Toom, the son of Shaikh Ṭalḥa, gave them a place called (Tireera) Kuu° an-Naḥal.⁶

al-Maal. Al-Imaam al-Mahdi shaal ad-daar al-aakhra, wa ja khaliifat al-Mahdi. Aaha fi naas, al-khalaafa di lamin jaat, an-naas kullahum °uguulum maa sawa; raja°o taani lee Sa°duun, lee Gireeḍa; waaḥdiin istagharro hina. Aaha l-istagharro hina deel maashiin ma°a khaliifat al-Mahdi laghaayit khaliifat al-Mahdi istashhad fii Um Dibeekraat. Ba°ad daak kullu zool shaaf leehu balad ga°ad fiiha. Sakano fii Gisheesh. Min Gisheesh di jiddana Ḥasan wa akhwaanu wa awlaad a°maamu raḥalo min hinaak wa jo Ḥillat ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa di. Mimmaa jo ash-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom wad ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa addaahum maḥalla hina isimaa Kuu° an-Naḥal.

جات، الناس كلهم عقولهم ما سواء، رجعوا تاني لسعدون، لي قريضة، واحدين استقروا هنا. آها الاستقروا هنا ديل ماشين مع خليفة المهدي لغاية خليفة المهدي استشهد في أم ديبكرات. بعد داك كل زول شاف ليه بلد قعد فيها. سكنوا في قشيش. من قشيش دي جدنا حسن وأخوانه وأولاد أعمامه رحلوا من هناك وجوا حلة الشيخ طلحة دي. مما جوا الشيخ محمد توم ود الشيخ طلحة أدهم محلة هنا أسمها كوع النحل.

Q: But now the Shaikh Ṭalḥas (i.e., the members of Shaikh Ṭalḥa’s family) do not socially interact with these relatives of yours (i.e., the Sindiga Fulani).

No, we do not have social relations with them (some of the descendants of Shaikh Ṭalḥa). These

La, maa mutdaakhliin. Ash-shabaab al-gaam da, fii waaḥid khatta leehu fikra fii raasu. Ana bakhuttaa leek

س: لكن هسع ناس الشيخ طلحة ما متداخلين كثير مع أهلکم (السندقة) ديل.

لا، ما متداخلين. الشباب القام دا، في واحد خت ليه فكرة في راسه. أنا بختها ليك واضحة. يعني معاناتها

⁶ About 10 km west of as-Suuki.

used to come through here (Sennar area). At that time we settled there (probably Omdurman). When the Mahdi died (1885), our grandfather, Ḥasan (Jum[°]a), came here (to the western side of the Blue Nile) and developed (a settlement in) Gisheesh.⁵ He died in Gish-eesh. This grandfather of ours, whose name is found in the (Khaliifa) museum (in Omdurman), is buried in Gisheesh. All these people sitting here [Muḥammad points to them, ca. 15–20 people], their grandfather (Ḥasan Jum[°]a) is buried in Gisheesh. We came to al-Muraffa[°] around 1945, (the time of) the Italian War (i.e., World War II).

hinaak fii Gisheesh. Kulla l-gaa[°]diin deel (yushiir ilaa majmuu[°]a taḍumm ḥawaali 15–20 fardan) jiddahum madfuun fii Gisheesh. Jiina l-Muraffa[°] zey sanat khamsa wa arba[°]iin, ḥarb at-Ṭilyaan.

Q: Well, my question is the following: did your relatives already come here with cattle, or did they first get them here? Because I noticed that in most of the houses they have cattle.

س: طيب أنا سؤالي: أهلكم جوا بي بقر هنا وللا البقر دا سؤوه هنا؟ لأنني لاحظت معظم البيوت دي عندهم بقر.

There were some of our people from Sa[°]duun (Southern Darfur) who took their cattle along, driving them up to al-Fashashooya on the White Nile. (But) they left them (their cattle) in al-Fashashooya and proceeded to participate in the Mahdi's fighting. They took the

Fi naas jo bee bagarum da min Sa[°]duun, mudarrijinnu kida laamin waṣṣaloohu l-Fashashooya hina fii Baḥar Abyaḍ. Wa khalloohu hina wa masho ḥaarabo ma[°]a l-Imaam al-Mahdi. Al-bagar mashan lee Beet al-Maal; marra waaḥdi kida kharatoohu addoohu Beet

في ناس جوا بي بقرهم دا من سعدون، مدرجينه كدا لامن وصلوه الفششوية هنا في بحر أبيض. وخلوهم هنا ومشوا حاربوا مع الإمام المهدي. البقر مشن لبيت المال، مرة واحدي كدا خرتوه أدوه بيت المال. الإمام المهدي شال الدار الآخرة، وجاء خليفة المهدي. أها في ناس، الخلافة دي لمن

⁵ A few kilometers south-west of Singa.

been known for cattle keeping since their arrival (in Sudan). My father was born in Sa^oduun (Southern Darfur) and his father, Ḥasan (i.e., Ḥasan Jum^oa), was also born in Sa^oduun. But our (great) grandfather, Jum^oa, I think, entered Sa^oduun and Gireḍa and he was the first Fallaati (pl. Fallaata – i.e., Fulani)⁴ to bring the Tijaniyya brotherhood in that area. This (great) grandfather of ours brought the Tijaniyya brotherhood to Sa^oduun. Of course, they all (initially) came from Maghreb (North Africa); our (great) grandfather entered Sudan via African countries. That (great grandfather) was Jum^oa Wad-Samiin (i.e., Jum^oa, son of Samiin). When the Mahdi appeared, he called upon the followers of all (Islamic) denominations to come and assist him in the Mahdiyya Revolution against the unbelievers. They all came from there (Darfur) under the banner of ‘No God except Allah and Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah’ (*Laa ilaaha illa l-Laaha, Muḥammadun rasuulu l-Laah*). The people who intended to go to Mecca

°Arab ruḥḥal, as-sa^oiyya ma^oruufin mimmaa jo min... Ana waaldi mawluud fii Sa^oduun. Wa abuuḥu Ḥasan ya^oni mawluud fii Sa^oduun. Laakin jiddana Jum^oa da ja; azinnu awwal Fallaati dakhal fii Sa^oduun wa Gireḍa ya^oni be t-Tijaaniyya foog al-balad daak hinaak. Jiddana da ja dakhal be t-tariiga t-Tijaaniyya fii Sa^oduun. Wa ṭaba^oan kullahum jo min al-Maghrib al-°Arabi. Huwa dakhal be jihat ad-duwal al-Ifriiqiyya khashsha s-Suudaan. Da Jum^oa Wad-Samiin. Lamma zahar al-Imaam al-Mahdi lamma l-Mahdi naas ad-diyaanaat kullahum °ashaan maa yiju yisaa^oduuhu °ale s-Sawra l-Mahdiyya °ale l-kafara. Wa hum jo min hinaak kullahum aahu °ala kalimat “Laa ilaaha illa l-Laah Muḥammadun rasuul Allaah”. Ad-daayir maashi Makka yiḥi bee hina. Wa l-faraga di niḥna aṣḥabna istawṭanna hina. Lamma l-Imaam al-Mahdi intaqal jiddana Ḥasan ja hina, °amaro Gisheesh di hina. Hassa^o huwa mutawaffi fii Gisheesh; jiddana Ḥasan al-hassa^o fi l-mathaf da kaan

يعني مولود في سعدون. لكن جدنا جمعة دا جاء، أظنه أول فلاتي دخل في سعدون وقريضة يعني بالتجانية فوق البلد داك هناك، جدنا دا جاء دخل بالطريقة التجانية في سعدون. وطبعاً كلهم جوا من المغرب العربي. هو دخل بجهة الدول الإفريقية خش السودان. دا جمعة ود سمين. لما ظهر الإمام المهدي لم المهدي ناس الديانات كلهم عشان ما يجوا يساعده على الثورة المهدية على الكفرة. وهم جوا من هناك كلهم آهو على كلمة "لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله". الدابر ماشي مكة يجي بي هنا. والفرقة دي نحن أصبحنا استوطننا هنا. لما الإمام المهدي انتقل جدنا حسن جاء هنا، عمروا قشيش دي هنا. هسع هو متوفي في قشيش، جدنا حسن الهسع في المتحف دا كان هناك في قشيش. كل القاعدين ديل (يشير إلى مجموعة تضم حوالي 15-20 فرداً) جدهم مدفون في قشيش. جينا المرفع زي سنة خمسة وأربعين، حرب الطليان.

⁴ This statement according to which Jum^oa was a Fulani contrasts with that of his senior full brother (Aḥmad Abu-Bakr Ḥasan Jum^oa; see previous interview) who claims that his paternal great grandfather, his paternal grandfather and his father were all Arabs and that he is only related to Fulani people from the maternal side (and not the paternal side, which constitutes the basis for tribal affiliation).

INTERVIEW: MUḤAMMAD ABU-BAKR ḤASAN JUM^c A

FULANI OF THE SINDIGA CLAN

AGE AND PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE INTERVIEWEE:

80 years, born in Khaliil

DATE AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW:

June 11, 2011; al-Muraffa^c (al-^cUmda)

IN THE PRESENCE OF:

15–20 Fulani men of different ages (18–80 years)

Q: Uncle Muḥammad,¹ tell us your full name.

س: عمي محمد قول لينا اسمك بالكامل.

MUḤAMMAD

My name is Muḥammad Abu-Bakr Ḥasan Jum^ca; (Jum^ca, i.e., my great grandfather, was nicknamed) ‘Yaaja-Hoore’ (i.e., the ‘wide-headed’ in Fulfulde – because he was bold).²

Ismi Maḥammad Abu-Bakr Ḥasan Jum^ca; Yaaja-Hoore.

محمد

اسمي محمد أبوبكر حسن جمعة يا جا - هوري.

Q: I want to know which tribes are all living in al-Muraffa^c (al-^cUmda).

س: عايز أعرف كل القبائل العايشة في المرفع (العمدة).

There are three tribes living in al-Muraffa^c. The largest one is that of our relatives, the Hausa;³ then these Kawaahla (Arabs). They are the ones we found and the Native Administration is in their hands. Then we came. In fact, our people were nomad Arabs; they have

Talaata gabaayil di l-mawjuuda fi l-Maraffa^c. Wa akbar gabiila ḥaggat ahalna l-Hausa. Ba^cdeen ahalna l-Kawaahla deel, deel an-naas al-li jiina ligiinaahum hina. Wa hum al-Idaara l-^oAhliyya hassa^c indahum. Ba^cdeen jiina. Be l-ḥagiiga ahalna deel kaano

ثلاثة قبائل دي الموجودة في المرفع. وأكبر قبيلة حقت أهلنا الهوسا. بعدين أهلنا الكواهلة ديل، ديل الناس اللي جينا لقيناهم هنا. وهم الإدارة الأهلية هسع عندهم. بعدين جينا. بالحقيقة أهلنا ديل كانوا عرب رحل، السعية معروفين مما جوا من... أنا والدي مولود في سعدون. وأبوه حسن

¹ The term ‘uncle’ is here used as a term of respect.

² See also previous interview, footnote 4.

³ Here too, the use of the term ‘relatives’ is an expression of modesty (see also previous interview, footnote 1).

paternal cousins (there).⁴ If one goes there, one will not find a paternal cousin by direct descent. Of course, a woman cannot constitute a basis for ethnic identification. But they (i.e., our people) are basically from Tulus.

hinaak maa bilga wad °amm sulaalat jidd tamaaman. Al-mara ṭaba°an ta°ṣiilaa maa bimshi. Laakin asaasan hum min Tulus.

تماماً. المرة طبعاً تأصيلها ما بمشي. لكن أساساً هم من تلس.

Q (Naaṣir Aḥmad °Umar):
I have a question. Did your (great) grandfather come along with this Fallaata (Fulani) wife of his, or did he marry her in Tulus?

س (ناصر أحمد عمر): أنا عندي سؤال: جدكم دا، زوجته الفلاتية دي، جاء سايقها من هناك وللا اتزوجها في تلس؟

AḤMAD

These people (i.e., my [great] grandfather's group and the Fallaata) first met in Libya. They (i.e., my [great] grandfather's group) came walking as nomad Arabs. He (my [great] grandfather) met the Fallaata (Fulani) and entered into them. They continued (together), moving from Libya and coming to Darfur.

An-naas deel itlaago min gharb Liibiya di. Wa ligo l-Fallaata deel, jo maashiin °Arab ruḥḥal. Laaga l-Fallaata wa dakhil fiihum, wa raahliin raahliin min Liibiya jo Daarfoor.

أحمد
الناس ديل اتلاقوا من غرب ليبيا دي. ولقوا الفلاتة ديل، جوا ماشين عرب رحل. لاقى الفلاتة ودخل فيهم، وراحلين راحلين من ليبيا جوا دافور.

⁴ On March 22, 2013, I interviewed a group of Sindiga Fulani from Southern Darfur in Omdurman, including a man whose grandfather was Muḥammad Jum°a, a brother of Ḥasan Jum°a. This man also mentioned at-Ṭuwai as the original home of his family but reported that his great grandfather (Jum°a) had eight sons, According to him, four of these sons migrated to the east (i.e., central Sudan) and four remained in Darfur. He mentioned that his great grandfather was nicknamed 'Jiga-Wuldu' ('vulture's forehead') because he was bold. Likewise, a full brother of Aḥmad Abu-Bakr Ḥasan Jum°a (see next interview) reported that their great grandfather (i.e., Jum°a) was nicknamed 'Yaaja-Hoore' ('the wide-headed') due to his boldness.

people can join. We know that Shaikh Muḥammad Toom played a big role in the making of these big Ansar³ families...

Shaikh Muḥammad Toom (son of Shaikh Ṭalḥa) welcomed them, saying, “These are my relatives.” This is recorded. When Shaikh Muḥammad Toom met these relatives of his in Omdurman, he said: “These are my relatives.” Afterwards, they came and settled here and on the eastern side (of the Blue Nile), where he gave them this village of (Tireera) Kuu° an-Naḥal, saying that they were his paternal cousins.

Ash-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom ta°ahhal beehum wu gaal deel ahalu. Al-kalaam da musajjal. Ash-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom, ahalu deel lamma laagahum fii Umdurmaan gaal deel ahali. Wu ba°ad daak jo sakano hina, wu barḍu sh-sharig da; addaahum ghariyat Kuu° an-Naḥal di gaal deel awlaad °ammu.

الشيخ محمد توم تأهل بيهم وقال ديل أهله. الكلام دا مسجل. الشيخ محمد توم، أهله ديل لما لاقاهم في أمدرمان قال ديل أهلي. وبعد داك جو سكنوا هنا، ويرضو الشرق دا، أدهم قرية كوع النحل دي قال ديل أولاد عمه.

Q: Well, they (some of the descendants of Shaikh Muḥammad Toom) claim that they are Ḥuseiniyya. I want you to explain to me this (blood) relationship. You said that you don't have a pedigree. So, if someone asked me about them, could I say that these Sindiga Fallaata (i.e., these Sindiga Fulani) are originally Ḥuseiniyya?

س: طيب هم (ناس الشيخ محمد توم) بقولوا حسينية. أنا كنت داير تفسير للنسب دا. إنت قلت لي ما عندكم شجر نسب. يعني إذا زول سألني أقول الفلاتة السندقة ديل أصلهم حسينية؟

No, their maternal uncles are in Tulus (Southern Darfur), but they have no

La, khuwaalum fii Tulus, laakin wad °amm maa °indahum. Az-zool law masha

لا، خوالهم في تلس، لكن ود عم ما عندهم. الزول لو مشى هناك ما بلقى ود عم سلالة جد

³ Ansar (Ar. *anṣaar*) are followers of the Mahdi and adherents to Mahdist ideology.

for our (great) grandfather, he was an Arab. We have roots in Darfur in a place called at-Ṭuwai, but all our people originate from one person (Jum^{ca}) who begot five men (sons).

laakin jaab khamisa rijaal.

Q: An Arab from which tribe? Do you have an idea?

By Allah, what we came to know is that he left a pedigree, but there is a certain group of people who kept it (hidden) in order to confuse our identity; but history revealed it for us. He descended from an Arab from Marrakesh (in Morocco). There were groups (of Arabs) which used to enter Andalusia. Of course, there were groups which did not enter Andalusia; members of these groups entered Africa; it is said that our (paternal) (great) grandfather descended from a (male) member of one of the latter groups.

Wallaahi sh-shi l-^cirifnaahu fi nisba khattaaha laakin fi jiha malakataa ^cashaan yilakhbitu leena, laakin at-taarikh bayyanaa leena. Ba^cdeen hu [= huwa] ^cArabi min Maraakish. Al-fuluul al-kaan bitadkhul zamaan al-Andalus fi l-futuuhaat al-Islaamiyya. Fi fuluul ṭaba^can maa khashshat al-Andalus, afraad jo dakhalo Ifriiqiya. Fa yuqaal innu jiddana min ba^cad al-fuluul di.

س: عربي من ياتي قبيلة؟ عندك فكرة؟

والله الشي العرفناه في نسبة ختاها لكن في جهة ملكتها عشان يلخبثوا لينا، لكن التاريخ بيئها لينا. بعدين هو عربي من مراکش. الفلول الكان بتدخل زمان الأندلس في الفتوحات الإسلامية. في فلول طبعاً ما خشت الأندلس، أفراد جوا دخلوا إفريقيا. فيقال إنه جدنا من بعض الفلول دي.

Q: We know that people who move from a place to another, may, for example, have relatives who have (founded) a village in that other place... (In this village), there may be a Sufi brotherhood (tariiga/tariqa) with a big tuggaaba (a place for learning and reciting the Qur'an) that

س: نحن نعرف إنه الناس لما يتحولوا من مكان لمكان، أحياناً يكون في ناس من أهلهم يكونوا مثلاً عندهم حلة... بالذات يكون في طرق صوفية، في تقابة كبيرة الناس يمشوا عليهم. يعني نحن بنعرف إنه الشيخ محمد توم لعب دور كبير في إنه الأسر بتاعة الأنصار الكبيرة دي...

INTERVIEW: AḤMAD ABU-BAKR ḤASAN JUM^c A

AGE AND PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE INTERVIEWEE:

78 years, born in Khaliil

DATE AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW:

June 11, 2011; al-Muraffa^c (al-^cUmda)

IN THE PRESENCE OF:

Naaṣir Aḥmad ^cUmar, 35 years, born in Maiurno

Q: First, we want you to enumerate for us all the tribes living in al-Muraffa^c al-^cUmda.

AḤMAD

The original inhabitants of al-Muraffa^c (village) are the Kawaahla (Arabs). Afterwards, we came and our relatives,¹ these Hausa, came (after us). In the beginning we were Fallaata (i.e., Fulani), but now we are Ḥuseinaab. First, our (great) grandfather (Jum^ca) was an Arab;² he entered into the Fallaata (i.e., he affiliated himself to their group). We fully respect the Fallaata, but it was our (great) grandmothers who were Fallaata; the Fallaata are our maternal uncles. As

Awwalan al-Muraffa^c as-sukkaan al-^oaṣliyyiin hum al-Kawaahla, ba^cad da jiina niḥna wa jo ahalna l-Hausa deel. Niḥna, awwal Fallaata laakin hassa^c Ḥuseinaab. Awwalan niḥna jiddana ^cArabi, dakhil al-Fallaata, wa l-Fallaata niḥna nakinna leehum kullu taghdiir. Laakin ḥabboobaatna Fallaata; al-Fallaata kheelaanna. Amma jiddana ^cArabi. ^cIndana juzuur fii Daarfoor fii ḥitta isima aṭ-Ṭuwai. Al-isim yisammuuna Sindiga laakin naas asaasan zool waahid

س: دايرتك في البداية تعدد
لينا القبائل العايشة في المرفع
العمدة كلها.

أحمد

أولاً المرفع السكان الأصليين هم الكواهلة، بعد دا جينا نحن وجوا أهلنا الهوسا ديل. نحن، أول فلاتة لكن هسع حسيناب. أولاً نحن جدنا عربي، دخل الفلاتة، والفلاتة نحن نكن ليهم كل تقدير. لكن حيواناتنا فلاتة، الفلاتة خيلانا. أما جدنا عربي. عندنا جذور في دارفور في حنة اسمها الطوي. الاسم يسمونا سندقة لكن ناس أساساً زول واحد لكن جاب خمسة رجال.

¹ The use of the term 'relatives' is in this context an expression of modesty. In the Sudan, the term is often used by members of an ethnic group who perceive themselves as socially superior when referring to an ethnic group regarded as socially inferior. They say 'relatives' in an attempt of being modest vis-à-vis the other group.

² This statement according to which the informant's paternal (great) grandfather was an Arab contrasts with that of his younger full brother (Muḥammad Abu-Bakr Ḥasan Jum^ca; see next interview) who stresses that his father, his paternal grandfather and paternal great grandfather were all Fulani by agnatic descent.



Photo 18: Muḥammad Al-Amiin Ḥasan Ibrahiim (on the left), Commissioner of as-Suuki Locality
(BADR AL-DIIN M. AL-AMIIN, 2012)

does not deny being so. This made many people in as-Suuki, who formerly used to see this issue (being Fallaata/Fulani) as a kind of inferiority, start to get rid of this feeling of inferiority and appear on the surface. The few people who still have a complex regarding this issue have started to be confronted with the reality. Recently, there was someone who went to have a certificate of nationality issued for him. When asked about his tribe, he said: “Ḥuseinaab.” They (i.e., the authorities concerned) said to him: “There is nothing like this in the list of the Sudanese tribes.” In the end he said: “Fallaata Sindiga” (i.e., Fulani of the Sindiga clan). This story was related to me by someone called Ayyuub Muḥammad Booyi. Even historians say that it (i.e., ‘Ḥuseinaab’) is not classified as a (Sudanese) tribe, not even as a clan. So, they started to become realistic and go back to their original tribes.

Suuki, al-li kaano shaayfiin al-mas^oala zey fiiha noo^o min ad-duuniyya, fa bigo takhallu ^oan ad-duuniyya wa yizharu ^oala s-saḥḥ. Ba^od al-gilla al-li hum al-mas^oala di lissa^o mut^oaggidiin minnaa bado yista^odmu be l-waaqi^o. Ya^oni gariibaat di fi waaḥid masha yiṭalli^o jinsiyya, gaamo sa^oaloo^ohu min gabiiltu. Lamma zakar al-gabiila gaal huwa: “Ḥuseinaab.” Gaalo leehu maafi kalaam zey da fi l-qaa^oima bitaa^oat al-qabaa^oil as-Suudaaniyya. Fi n-nihaaya gaal: “Yaakhi Fallaati Sindiga.” Al-giṣṣa di ḥakaaha ley waaḥid ismu Ayyuub Maḥammad Booyi. Fi ashyaa^o zey di. Ḥatta l-mu^oarrikhiin gaalo hiya maa muṣannafa min al-qabaa^oil wa maa khashum beet. Bado l-^oaan yikuunu waaqi^oiyyiin wa yirja^ou lee gabaayilum al-^oaṣliyya.

كلام زي دا في القائمة بتاعة القبائل السودانية. في النهاية قال: "يا اخي فلاتي سندقة". القصة دي حكاها لي واحد اسمه أيوب محمد بوي. حتى المؤرخين قالوا هي ما مصنفة من القبائل وما خشم بيت. بدوا الآن يكونوا واقعيين ويرجعوا لي قبائلهم الأصلية.

*Tunisia," from so-and-so...
Why didn't this development
apply to as-Suuki people?
Why didn't as-Suuki people
try to get rid of what some
people regard as a 'stigma',
the 'stigma' of being
Fallaata (Fulani)?*

Frankly speaking, in the past there were complexes resulting from lack of education. There were also some (blameworthy) 'customs' (deeds) by some tribes, which were (wrongly) attributed to the Fallaata (Fulani). This made some people feel ashamed to say that they were Fallaata. But in the last decades, education has spread and the educated members of the (Fallaata/Fulani) tribe themselves, the medical doctors, the engineers (and so on), say loudly that they are Fallaata. So, many people (with a passive attitude toward affiliation to this tribe) have now seen that this person is an engineer; this one is a minister; that one is a commissioner of a locality; yet, they (these educated people) do not deny being Fallaata... well-known people in the society. Even you, Professor Abu-Manga; people know this professor in the whole Sudan... having educational programs on TV; he is a Fallaata and he

Be şaraaha kida fi ʿugad zamaan... Di kullaa naatija min ʿadam at-taʿliim. Wa kaan fi ʿaadaat kida min baʿḍ al-qabaaʿil al-mansuuba le l-Fallaata. Yaʿni di khallat baʿḍ an-naas yikhtashu yiguulu Fallaata. Laakin al-ʿaan fi al-ʿuquud al-akhiira t-taʿliim intashar wa abnaaʿ al-gabiila nafsahum al-mutʿallimiin wa d-dakaatra wa l-muhandisiin bijaahru innahum Fallaata, bigo waadhiin. Fa di khallat katiir min an-naas yanfuḍu l-ghubaaʿ bitaaʿ innahum munzawiin; bigo hassaʿ lamma shaafu da muhandis Fallaati, wu da waziir Fallaati, wu da muʿtamad Fallaati wu maa naakir, zool fi l-mujtamaʿ waadhi wa maʿruuf... Wa ḥatta inta yaa Profesar, Profesar Abu-Manga, hassaʿ hum ʿaarfiin al-brofesar da ʿala mustawa s-Suudaan... baraamij taʿliimiyya fi t-tilfzyoon Fallaati wa maa naakiraa wa kida... Di khallat kasiir jiddan jiddan min an-naas fii mantigat as-

بصراحة كدا في عُقد زمان... دي كلها ناتجة من عدم التعليم. وكان في عادات كدا من بعض القبائل المنسوبة للفلاتة. يعني دي خلت بعض الناس يختشوا يقولوا فلاتة. لكن الآن في العقود الأخيرة التعليم انتشر وأبناء القبيلة أنفسهم المتعلمين والدكاترة والمهندسين بجاهروا إنهم فلاتة، بقوا واضحين. فدي خلت كثير من الناس ينفضوا الغبار بتاع إنهم منزوين؛ بقوا هسع لما شافوا دا مهندس فلاتي ودا وزير فلاتي ودا معتمد فلاتي وما ناكر، زول في المجتمع واضح ومعروف... وحتى إنت يا بروفيسر، بروفيسر أبومنقة، هسع هم عارفين البروفيسر دا على مستوى السودان... برامج تعليمية في التلفزيون فلاتي وما ناكرها وكدا... دي خلت كثير جداً جداً من الناس في منطقة السوكي، اللي كانوا شافين المسألة زي فيها نوع من الدونية، فبقوا تخلوا عن الدونية دي ويظهروا على السطح. بعض القلة اللي هم المسألة دي لسع متعدين منها بدوا يصطدموا بالواقع. يعني قريبات دي في واحد مشى يطلع جنسية، قاموا سألوه من قبيلته. لما ذكر القبيلة قال هو: "حسيناب". قالوا ليه مافي

it is because I came as commissioner of the locality and belong to these tribes. But, in as-Suuki, there are whole quarters inhabited exclusively by the Fallaata. They themselves speak (about it) and say to me: "All this quarter belongs to your relatives;⁴ this whole quarter belongs to the Fallaata Zarruugaab; and so on and so forth." Formerly, they were not apparent to other people (as Fallaata/Fulani), but now they have started to activate this identity: "We are Fallaata, but we do not speak the vernacular (Fulfulde); we were not taught the vernacular." They have got rid of this complex and started to 'enter' the society with their identity as Fallaata (i.e., Fulani).

aḥyaa° kaamla magfuula le l-qabaa°il bitaa°at al-Fallaata. Hum be nafsahum bithaddasu biguulu ley: "Al-ḥay da kullu ahalak, al-ḥay da kullu Fallaata Zarruugaab, wu maa ta°rif kazaa." Hum kaano zamaan maa zaahriin le n-naas, laakin al-°aan bado yitharraku: "Niḥna Fallaata laakin maa binartun, maa °allamoona r-ruṭaana." Al-°ugda diik inshaalat minnahum tamaaman, wa bado yikhushshu fi l-mujtama° °ala asaas innahum Fallaata tamaaman.

فلاتة لكن ما بنرطن، ما علمونا الرطانة". العقدة ديك انشالت منْهم تماماً، وبدوا يخشوا في المجتمع على أساس إنهم فلاتة تماماً.

Q: Well, according to experience, when the Fallaata (Fulani) lose their (ancestral) language and all (aspects of) their culture, and their language becomes Arabic, they start to change their (ethnic) identity. They start to say: "We are not Fallaata (Fulani); we are..." They then adopt the name of another tribe: Huseiniyya, Huseinaab, and so on. They also say: "Our father came from

س: طيب، حسب التجربة، الفلاتة لما يفقدوا اللغة بتاعتهم وثقافتهم كلها وتبقى لغتهم هي العربية بيتدوا يغيروا الهوية بتاعتهم، بيتدوا يقولوا: "نحن ما فلاتة، نحن..." يجيبوا اسم أي قبيلة تانية، حسينية، حسنااب... "جدنا جاي من تونس" ومن وين ووين. الحكاية دي ليه ما انطبقت على ناس السوكي؟ ليه ناس السوكي ما سعوا يتخلصوا مما يعتبروه البعض "الوصمة" بتاعة الفلاتة دي؟

⁴ The term 'relatives' is used loosely here to stress shared ethnic background.

from West Africa, and the British did not want the Old Fulani to go backward. Now, of course, the Fallaata Mawaaliid have become culturally and linguistically Arabs while these here (the new Fulani immigrants, i.e., these Post-Mahdism Fulani immigrants) still speak the vernacular and their culture (still) includes remnants (aspects) from West Africa. To what extent do you feel that there is a line of demarcation between these two groups in as-Suuki Locality, in interactions, concepts and such matters?

المجموعتين ديل في محلية السوكي، في التعامل وفي المفاهيم وفي المسائل دي؟

Before coming here, I used to hear that there are Fallaata Mawaaliid, Fallaata Zarruugaab (i.e., Fulani of the Zarruugaab clan), Fallaata (Fulani) I don't know what... (I heard that) they were not willing to interact with the other Fallaata in (Şaabuun) Galaadiima and Maiurno.² But frankly speaking, now this tendency has almost disappeared. People come and say to me: "I am your cousin."³ In the past, they did not say that they were Fallaata; instead, they used to say that they were Sindiga. Now they say it loudly (that they are Fallaata)... I don't know if

Gabli maa aji s-Suuki kunta basma° innu fi Fallaata Mawaaliid wa Fallaata maa ta°rif Zarruugaab, wa fi Fallaata... hum munkamishiin min al-Fallaata t-taaniin naas Galaadiima wa Maayirno. Laakin şaraahatan, al-°aan ya°ni l-mas°ala di takaad takuun intafat. Bijuuni naas biguulu ley: "Ana wad °ammak." Kaano fi s-saabiq maa biguulu hum Fallaata aw yiguulu leek hum Sindiga. Laakin al-°aan hum bijaahru beeha, bigo... Ana maa °aarif, hal la°anni jiit (mu°tamad) wa bigiit min al-gabaayil di walla? Laakin fi s-Suuki di fi

قبل ما أجي السوكي كنت بسمع إنه في فلاتة مواليد وفلاتة ما تعرف زروقاب، وفي فلاتة... هم منكمشين من الفلاتة التانيين ناس قلاديما ومايرنو. لكن صراحة، الآن يعني المسألة دي تكاد تكون انتفت. بجوني ناس بقولوا لي: "أنا ود عمك". كانوا في السابق ما بقولوا هم فلاتة أو بقولوا ليك هم سندقة. لكن الآن هم بجاهروا بيها، بقوا... أنا ما عارف، هل لأني جيت (معتمد) وبقيت من القبائل دي وللا؟ لكن في السوكي دي في أحياء كاملة مقفولة للقبائل بتاعة الفلاتة دي. هم بنفسهم بتحدثوا بقولوا لي: "الحي دا كله أهلك، الحي دا كله فلاتة زروقاب، وما تعرف كذا". هم كانوا زمان ما ظاهرين للناس، لكن الآن بدوا يتحركوا: "نحن

² These are Fulfulde-speaking Fulani.

³ The term 'cousin' is used loosely here to stress shared ethnic background.

one another without any tribal distinction. I neither witnessed nor have been told about someone who asked the hand of a woman in marriage (and tribal affiliation became an obstacle). If you have a work (i.e., a source of income) and ask the hand of any girl, nobody will care about your being Fallaati (pl. Fallaata – i.e., Fulani) or Ja°ali (pl. Ja°liyyiin) or Shaaygi (pl. Shaaygiyya); they (as-Suuki people) do not have this (i.e., ethnic identity as an obstacle to marriage).

ya°ni fi qabaa°il mutzawwija ma°a ba°ad biduun ayyi faariq. Ana maa haḍarta wala ḥako lei innu fi zool itgaddam (wa bigat al-gabiila °aa°iq). Inta rajul shaghaal wa °indak shoghol itgaddamta lee ayii bitt maafi zool biguul leek inta Fallaati walla Ja°ali walla Shaaygi walla kazaa. Di maa °indahum.

عائق). إنت رجل شغال وعندك شغل اتقدمت لي أي بت مافي زول بقول ليك إنت فلاتي وللا جعلي وللا شايقي وللا كذا. دي ما عندهم.

Q: Well, as colonial rulers, the British tried to isolate the South (of Sudan) from the North in the same way they tried to hinder any co-operation between the old and the new Fallaata (Fulani) immigrants. There was an intentional policy not to allow (Fallaata) Mawaaliid¹ (in as-Suuki, Tیرهرا كوو° ان-ناḥال and Shaikh Ṭalḥa) to have contact with vernacular-speaking Fallaata. Their argument was that these Old Fulani (i.e., these Fallaata Mawaaliid) had already lost the characteristics they had once brought with them

س: طيب، الاستعمار البريطاني زي ما سعی إنه يعزل الجنوب من الشمال، وكذلك سعی إنه ما يخلي يكون في تعاون بين الفلاتة القديمين والمهاجرين الجداد. كان في سياسة متعمدة إنه ما يخلوا (الفلاتة) المواليد (في السوكي) وتزيرا والشيوخ طلحة) يتصلوا مع الفلاتة الرطانة. حجتهم إنه القدام ديل خصائصهم الجوا بيها من غرب إفريقيا خلاص اتمحت وما دايرنهم يرجعوا لي وراء. هسع طبعا المنطقة فيها فلاتة قديمين وفلاتة جداد. طبعا ديلك خلاص بقوا عرب ثقافة ولغة بينما إنه ديل لسع برطنوا وثقافتهم فيها بقايا من غرب إفريقيا. فالى أي حد تحس بانه في خط فاصل بين

¹ The term 'Fallaata Mawaaliid' (or 'al-Fallaata al-Mawaaliid') is used (by others) to designate those Fulani whose mothers are from non-Fulfulde-speaking Fulani groups or more broadly from Arab tribes. The term is largely applicable to the Old Fulani of Shaikh Ṭalḥa (village) and as-Suuki.

INTERVIEW: MUḤAMMAD AL-AMIIN ḤASAN IBRAHIIM (COMMISSIONER OF AS-SUUKI LOCALITY)

BORNO FULANI

AGE AND PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE INTERVIEWEE:

59 years, born in Maiurno

DATE AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW:

February 4, 2012; Omdurman

Q: In the Sudan, and more generally in Africa, tribal distinctions appear in the matter of marriage. Marriage is the strongest stronghold in which aspirations for equality and tribalism off-casting are destroyed. So, to what extent do you feel that (the members of) these tribes, which are living in as-Suuki Locality, can marry in any other tribe?

MUḤAMMAD

(As-Suuki) is perhaps the only area in which I lived in Sennar State and did not feel any (tribal) differences. I witnessed in as-Suuki town (occasions where) Hausa men married in other tribes. In as-Suuki, I saw an Arab man married to a Hausa woman. In this locality, from as-Suuki up to Omdurman Fallaata, al-Lakandi and other places, there are tribes married into

Yimkin al-mantiga
l-waḥiida al-li ana °iishta
fiiha fii Wilaayat Sinnaar
ḥasseet innu maafi fawaariq.
Ana ḥadarta fii Madiinat as-
Suuki Hausa itzawwajo fii
qabaa°il taaniya. Ya°ni ana
laaḥazta fi waahid min al-
°Arabi mutzawwij min al-
Hausa fi s-Suuki. Ya°ni
Maḥalliyyat as-Suuki °ala
imtidaadaa laḥaddi
Umdurmaan Fallaata wa
l-Lakandi wa l-ḥittaat di

س: الفوارق القبلية في السودان بصورة عامة وفي افريقيا بصورة أعم، تظهر دائماً في مسألة الزواج. دي أقوى قلعة تتحطم فيها الأمان في المساواة ونبذ القبيلة. فالى أي حد تحس إنه هذه القبائل اللي عايشة في محلية السوكي، يعني أي قبيلة ممكن تتزوج من أي قبيلة تانية؟

محمد

يمكن المنطقة الوحيدة اللي أنا عشت فيها في ولاية سنار حسيت إنه مافي فوارق. أنا حضرت في مدينة السوكي هوسا اتزوجوا في قبائل تانية. يعني أنا لاحظت في واحد من العربي متزوج من الهوسا في السوكي. يعني محلية السوكي على امتدادها لحدى أمدرمان فلاتة واللكندي والحنات دي يعني في قبائل متزوجة مع بعض بدون أي فارق. أنا ما حضرت ولا حكو لي إنه في زول اتقدم (وبقت القبيلة

for farming. Rain-fed farming schemes expanded and there are no more passages (for the livestock) except through the schemes. Therefore, damage in the scheme has become frequent, and when it happens, the matter ends in one of the following three ways:

- The culprit escapes without being caught;
- The matter is settled through negotiation between the cattle owner and the scheme owner;
- The matter is taken to the court for settlement.

l-aan aşbaḥat tustaghal fi z-ziraa°a barḍu. Wa itwassa°at mashaarii° az-ziraa°a l-aaliyya, wa aşbaḥat al-mawaashii laa tajid masaaraat le l-°ubuur illaa °abr al-mashaarii°. Lizaalik yaḥşal talaf fi l-mashruu°, wa °indamaa yaḥşal at-talaf hunaaka thaatha makhaarij:

- Aj-jaani yahrub wu maa yigbuḍu °aleehu;
- Yaḥşal tafaawuḍ been şaḥib al-mawaashi wa şaḥib al-mashruu° wa tatim taswiya;
- Yalja°u le l-maḥkama wa tafşil beenum.

◦ يحصل تفاوض بين صاحب المواشي وصاحب المشروع وتتم تسوية.
◦ يلجأوا للمحكمة وتفصل بينهم.



Photo 17: Muḥammad °Iisa Thaabit (on the left), a settled cattle owner celebrated by Sennar State in 2011 among the first 10 payers of highest amount of livestock taxes in the state

(MUŞ°AB M. °UMAR QUDUS, 2013)

JANUARY 2, 2013

Q: Tell us about the kind of problems that occur between the farmers and the animals' owners (i.e., the cattle owners), their causes and the way they are solved.

MUḤAMMAD

Formerly, the (open) land was wide and farming was limited. The animals grazed comfortably. Pressure started in 1996.⁴ Before, in the days of the 'licenses' (private cotton schemes ownership), the schemes operated according to a three-turn system: a turn for cotton, a turn for sorghum and a turn for animals, i.e., a plot was left for pasture. Besides, the animals could also graze the residue of cotton and sorghum (after the harvest). So, there was no problem. In 1973, the *Mu'assasa* replaced the 'Owners of Licenses'. It followed the 'Owners of Licenses' with regard to the three-turn system, but the animals' turn was exploited for investment. Thus, the animals became without lot. The land narrowed and the passages (for livestock) closed. Even the ponds, which were formerly left for the livestock to graze, are now exploited

س: حدثنا عن أنواع المشاكل التي تحصل بين المزارعين والرعاة: أسبابها وطريقة حلها.

محمد

زمان البلد واسعة والزراعة محدودة، البهايم ماخذة راحتها، الفراغات واسعة. الضيق بدأ من سنة ألف وتسعمية سنة وتسعين. زمان أيام الرخص كانت المشاريع تعمل بنظام ثلاثة دورات: دورة للقطن، ودورة للذرة، ودورة للحيوان (مراعي). إلى جانب ذلك، الحيوان يستفيد من بقية دورة القطن ودورة الذرة. فمافي مشاكل. في سنة ألف وتسعمية ثلاثة وسبعين حلت المؤسسة محل أصحاب الرخص، واتبعت نظام أصحاب الرخص بما يخص عدد الدورات، إلا أن دورة الحيوان استغلت للاستثمار. فأصبح الحيوان ما عنده نصيب، الأرض ضاقت والمسارات اتقفلت. حتى الميعة زمان كانت تترك للرعي، والآن أصبحت تستغل في الزراعة برضو. واتوسعت مشاريع الزراعة الآلية، وأصبحت المواشي لا تجد مسارات للعبور إلا عبر المشاريع. لذلك يحصل تلف في المشروع، وعندما يحصل التلف هناك ثلاثة مخارج: الجاني يهرب وما يقبضوا عليه.

⁴ The *Mu'assasa* was indeed dissolved by the present regime in 1996.

living. The Sudan (economy) depends mainly on animal resource; this is the biggest productive sector for the government because it does not involve any costs (input); animal resource depends on natural inputs. This contrasts with agriculture, which involves costs (input).

niḥna s-sarwa di ʿala ṭ-ṭabiiʿa.

Q: How about agriculture?

س: والزراعة كيف؟

Now agriculture has deteriorated; rain has decreased and mechanical irrigation is not receiving any kind of support. We materially lost interest in agriculture with the loss (dissolution) of the *Muʿassasa* (Corporation).³ Since the *Muʿassasa* left, bounties have also left.

Wallaahi z-ziraaʿa z-zaman al-fiina da wagaʿat. Awwalan, an-naaḥiya l-maṭariyya taʿbaana, wa n-naaḥiya l-marwiyya maafi iʿaana leeha, majhuula (mutajaahala). Faaragna l-maṣṣlaḥa maʿa l-Muʿassasa; mimmaa faatat al-Muʿassasa anni ma faatat maʿaaha.

والله الزراعة الزمن الفيينا دا وقعت. أولاً، الناحية المطرية تعبانة، والناحية المروية مافي إعانة ليها، مجهولة (متجاهلة). فارقتنا المصلحة مع المؤسسة، مما فانتت المؤسسة النعمة فانتت معاها.

³ Cotton-growing administration system following the privatization of schemes, a policy which had been adopted in the 1970s during the Numeiri regime.

have to buy grass for your animals; you move from a field to another, from a *jarif* (a farm located on a river bank) to another until the rainy season comes. And if we go far to the rain-fed mechanical farming schemes, there is no water (for the animals) or protection. You are carrying a stick and someone (a robber) comes carrying a JM3 (gun). He drives away the animals and asks the herdsman to follow them. If he shows any resistance, the man (i.e., the robber) will shoot him and drive away the animals. So, the animals die because of lack of medicine; they die of hunger; they die of thirst; and they are not reproducing at the same rate as before. In former times, the animals were sent to the bush, where there was enough pasture; so, they used to reproduce and increase annually. They used to graze and come back safely. Now you have to buy residue of harvested schemes. There is no support (by the government). Now we insist on keeping these animals only because we are accustomed to them. But the business is not rewarding; nothing but loss. The animals do not sustain themselves; nevertheless we rely on them for our

bilaad lee bilaad, min jarif lee jarif, lamin yiji l-khariif. Wa law ṭalaṭa foog – al-mashaarii^c, sharaab maafi wa ḥimaaya maafi. Inta^c indak ukkaaz wa bijiik zool shaayil jiim, yikushsh al-bagar wa yiguul leek amshi giddaami. Gaal kalaam yiṭuggu ṭalga fi l-khala wa yisuug al-bagar wa yifuut. Fa l-masaa^{il} di kullaa...^c adam ad-dawa l-bahaayim bitmuut, wa^c adam al-^oakil be j-juu^c bimootan, wa^c adam al-mooya be l-^caṭash lamin yigḍan, wa maa gaa^odaat yinman be ṭ-ṭariiga ḥaggat zamaan. Al-bahaayim fi l-khala wa fi l-gash da yildan sanawiiyan, wa siidin [= siidhin] kaan yiṭligin wa yijan. Maafi shi. Al-^oaan illa tishtari l-mashaarii^c wa tishtari l-gash, maafi da^m min ayyi jiha. Wa hassa^c niḥna mutmassikiin be l-bahaayim di^c ashaan mutwaalfiin^c alecha, laakin khasraana ma^caana wa maakla ragabataa, wa niḥna nakul wa niṭharrak wa nashrab fiha. Wa s-Suudaan i^c timaadu r-ra^oiisi fi s-sarwa l-ḥaywaaniyya, wa akbar qitaa^c muntij le l-ḥakuuma s-sarwa (l-ḥaywaaniyya) la^oannu maa bikallif, maa^c indu taklifa. Amma z-ziraa^a fa^c indaa takaaliif wa mashaarii^c. Laakin

فوق – المشاريع، شراب مافي وحماية مافي. إنت عندك عكاز وبجيك زول شايل جيم، يكش البقر ويقول ليك أمشي قدامي. قال كلام يطقه طلقة في الخلا ويسوق البقر ويفوت. فالمسائل دي كلها... عدم الدواء البهايم بتموت، وعدم الأكل بالجوع بموتن، وعدم الموية بالعطش لمن يقضن، وما قاعدات ينمن بالطريقة حقّة زمان. البهايم في الخلا وفي القش دا يلدن سنويا، وسيدهن كان يطلقن ويجن. مافي شي. الآن إلا تشتري المشاريع وتشتري القش، مافي دعم من أي جهة. وهسع نحن متمسكين بالبهايم دي عشان متوالفين عليها، لكن خسرانة معانا وماكلة رقيتها، ونحن ناكل ونتحرك ونشرب فيها. والسودان اعتماده الرئيسي في الثروة الحيوانية، وأكبر قطاع منتج للحكومة الثروة (الحيوانية) لأنه ما بكلف، ما عنده تكلفة. أما الزراعة فعندها تكاليف ومشاريع. لكن نحن الثروة دي على الطبيعة.

remain up to the end and martyr with the Khaliifa (°Abdullaahi).”¹ Part of them went back to their home area, Gireeda (in Southern Darfur). Now they have an Omodiyya (with an Omda) subordinated to Nazir² Aḥmad as-Sammaani. (Another) part moved to the ‘South’ (Ṣa°iid – i.e., towards the Sennar area). Those who moved southwards came along with the rest of their cattle and sheep. All the Fallaata (Fulani) are cattle people. When the (cotton) tenancies came, people settled in villages, took their children to school and got tenancies. Now they are farmers and some of them are cattle owners.

°indahum fiiha °umad wa taab°iin le n-Naazir Aḥmad as-Sammaani. Wa juzu raḥal le ṣ-Ṣa°iid hina. Aaha n-naas aj-jo ṣ-Ṣa°iid deel saago baagi bahaayimum al-fi wa jo hina. Wa l-Fallaata kullahum naas maashiya. Lamma jaat al-ḥawaashaat an-naas sakano l-ghura wa dakhkhalo awlaadum l-madaaris wa masako l-ḥawaashaat wa l-°aan hum muzaar°iin wa minnahum aṣḥaab sarwa.

القرى ودخلوا أولادهم المدارس ومسكوا الحواشات. والآن هم مزارعين ومنهم أصحاب ثروة.

Q: You have said that you are charged 4,000 (i.e., 4 Sudanese pounds) as taxes per head of cattle in a year. But this is not that much.

س: قلت بدفعوكم أربعة ألف (يعني أربعة جنيه) ضريبة للبقرة في السنة. لكن دا ما كثير.

Before, it was not like this. Formerly, (veterinary) medicine was free; there was no problem with pasture in the bush. Now there is hardly a *shibir* (ca. 15 cm) of land unoccupied with farms. You

Maa zamaan maa kida. Zamaan kaan ad-dawa majjaanan, maafi mushkilat mar°a fi l-khala. Hassa° maafi shibir maa mazruu°, illa taakhud al-gash wa ta°akkil bahhaymak – min

ما زمان ما كدا. زمان كان الدواء مجاناً، مافي مشكلة مرعى في الخلا. هسع مافي شبير ما مزروع، إلا تاخذ القش وتأكّل بهايملك – من بلاد لي بلاد، من جرف لي جرف، لمن يجي الخريف. ولو طلعتنا

¹ This is the successor of the Mahdi, who ruled for 16 years after the Mahdi’s death (1885–1890). He was defeated by the British colonial forces at the Karari battle (1898) and killed a year later at the Um Dibeekraat battle in Kordofan.

² ‘Nazir’ is an Arabic title (Ar. *naazir*) held by paramount chiefs in the Native Administration system introduced by the British.

INTERVIEW: MUḤAMMAD °IISA THAABIT

FULANI OF THE SINDIGA CLAN

AGE AND PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE INTERVIEWEE:

59 years, born in Tیرهرا Kuu° an-Naḥal

DATES AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEWS:

June 13, 2011, and January 2, 2013; as-Suuki

JUNE 13, 2011

Q: When the Mahdiyya emerged, did your relatives, the Sindiga (Fallaata/Fulani), abandon animal husbandry?

MUḤAMMAD

The Fallaata Sindiga (i.e., Fulani of the Sindiga clan) moved from Darfur to Omdurman during the Mahdiyya (1882–1898). They came with their cattle and stayed in Ḥaaj Yuusif (Khartoum North). They used to milk their cows and take the milk to the Mahdiyya (administrative circle in Omdurman). Before the battle (of Karari, 1898), there was an unrest; people were attacked and robbed. The Fallaata (Fulani) divided (in opinion). They gathered and (some of them) said: “Brothers, the Mahdi died and we fulfilled our mission; let us go back.” The leaders said: “We should not return; let us

Al-Fallaata Sindiga itharrako min Daarfoor le Umdurmaan fii zaman al-Mahdiyya. Jo Umdurmaan bee bahaayimum wa °usarum wa sakano fi l-Ḥaaj Yuusif; yaḥlibu l-laban wa yidakhhiluuḥu l-Mahdiyya. Gabli l-waaqi°a (Karari) ḥaṣalt hazza kida fi l-Mahdiyya; fi naas bigo yihaajmu n-naas wa yishiilu ḥaggahum (nahb). Al-Fallaata ingasamu; ijtama°u wa gaalo: “Ya akhwanna l-Mahdi intaqal wa niḥna addeena risaalatna. Narja°.” An-naas al-qiyaadaat gaalo: “Maa narja°; aakhir shi nistashhad ma°a khaliif al-Mahdi.” Juzu minnahum raja° manaatigum alli hiya Gireeḍa (Daarfoor); al-°aan

س: هل لما قامت المهديّة
أهلکم السندقة اتخلوا عن
البهايم؟

محمد

الفلاطة سندقة اتحركوا من دارفور لي أمدرمان في زمن المهديّة. جوا أمدرمان ببهايمهم وأسرهم وسكنوا في الحاج يوسف، يجلبوا اللبن ويدخلوه المهديّة. قبل الواقعة (كرري) حصلت هزة كدا في المهديّة، في ناس بقوا يهاجموا الناس ويشيلوا حقهم (نهب). الفلاطة انقسموا، اجتمعوا وقالوا: “يا أخوانا المهدي انتقل ونحن أدينا رسالتنا. نرجع.” الناس القيادات قالوا: “ما نرجع، آخر شي نستشهد مع خليفة المهدي.” جزء مئهم رجع مناطقهم اللي هي قريضة (دارفور)، الآن عندهم فيها عمد وتابعين للناظر أحمد السمانى. وجزء رجل للصعيد هنا. أما الناس الجوا الصعيد ديل ساقوا باقي ببهايمهم الفي وجوا هنا. والفلاطة كلهم ناس ماشية. لما جات الحواشات الناس سكنوا



Photo 15: Ripe sorghum at Scheme °Umar Muḥammad Qudus, Um Bagara area, ca. 300 km east of as-Suuki, February 2013 (MUṢ°AB M. °UMAR QUDUS, 2013)



Photo 16: Sesame residue at Scheme °Umar Muḥammad Qudus, Um Bagara area, ca. 300 km east of as-Suuki, February 2013 (MUṢ°AB M. °UMAR QUDUS, 2013)



Photo 13: Scheme ʿUmar Muḥammad Qudus, Um Bagara area, ca. 300 km east of as-Suuki, February 2013 (MUṢʿAB M. ʿUMAR QUDUS, 2013)



Photo 14: Scheme ʿUmar Muḥammad Qudus, Um Bagara area, ca. 300 km east of as-Suuki, February 2013 (MUṢʿAB M. ʿUMAR QUDUS, 2013)



Photo 11: Tractor driver's hut at Scheme Umar Muhammad Qudus, Um Bagara area, ca. 300 km east of as-Suuki, February 2013 (Muṣ'AB M. 'UMAR QUDUS, 2013)



Photo 12: Supervisor's compound at Scheme Umar Muhammad Qudus, Um Bagara area, ca. 300 km east of as-Suuki, February 2013 (Muṣ'AB M. 'UMAR QUDUS, 2013)



Photo 8: Cattle inside Scheme °Umar Muḥammad Qudus, Um Bagara area, ca. 300 km east of as-Suuki, February 2013
(MUṢ°AB M. °UMAR QUDUS, 2013)



Photo 9: Combine harvesters at Scheme °Umar Muḥammad Qudus, Um Bagara area, ca. 300 km east of as-Suuki, February 2013
(MUṢ°AB M. °UMAR QUDUS, 2013)



Photo 10: Agricultural machineries at Scheme °Umar Muḥammad Qudus, Um Bagara area, ca. 300 km east of as-Suuki, February 2013
(MUṢ°AB M. °UMAR QUDUS, 2013)

won the prize of the best scheme in the Sudan. The festival took place in Renk (Upper Nile Province in present-day South Sudan).

Shihaadat awwal mu'assisii mashaari' ziraaiyya be l-mantiiga, wa nilna jaa'izat ahsan mashruu' ziraaiyya fi s-Suudaan, wa l-hafi kaan fi r-Rank.



Photo 7: Ḥajj ʿUmar Muḥammad Qudus (on the left), initiator of mechanical rain-fed farming in the Dinder area, formerly a prominent political figure in as-Suuki, interviewed (for the second time) in his house in as-Suuki on January 2, 2013 (MUṢʿAB M. ʿUMAR QUDUS, 2013)

harvesters of the brand 'Class'. That was a historical event in the entire Dinder area. We used to cultivate for them (i.e., the rest of the farmers). We established a camp (Kambo – inside our scheme) for the maintenance of the farming machineries and provided it with an electricity generator and a welding machine. Our camp became a workshop; whoever had his tractor broken would drag it to our camp for reparation; whoever had a harrowing disc broken would bring it to us. We used to do it free of charge. This was just because of our experience.

The first two combine harvesters in the area were brought by us in 1976. They were of the mark 'Class'. When they arrived at the market place, the entire town of as-Suuki came out to look at them, wondering what how they worked.

We continued in this way; praise be to Allah (*al-hamdu li l-Laah*), our land is there until today. We reached (possessed) up to 10–15 tractors. Now I have a certificate of being the initiator of rain-fed mechanical farming in the area of Dinder, signed by Wadii^c Ḥabashi, the Minister of Agriculture during the Numeiri regime. We also

bindug leehum kullahum. Wu ba^cdeen ^camalna kambo le ṣiyaanat al-^aaalyaat, zawwadnaahu be muwallid kahraba wa makanat liḥaam. Kamboona da biga warsha; ayyi zool baabuuru it^caṭṭal yijurru yijiibu; ayyi zool diskiihu it^caṭṭal yijiibu, na^cmal leehu l-ḥikaaya di majjaanan. Bas ^cashaan al-khibra bitaa^catna.

Awwal ḥaaṣidteen dakhalan al-mantīga ishtareenaahum niḥna sanat sitta wa saba^ciin, maarkat Klaas. Lamma jan wa wagafan fi s-suug, as-Suuki kullaa maragat titfarraj mustaghribiin deel bishtaghlu keef.

Wa istamarreena be l-ḥaal da wa l-ḥamdu li l-Laah, ya^cni ilaa taariikh al-yoom da araadiina mawjuuda. Waṣalna aktar min ^cashara khamistaashar taraktar. Hassa^c ^cindi shihaadat imtilaak awwal mashruu^c ziraa^a aaliyya be mantigat ad-Dindir muwaqqi^c ^calecha Diktoor Wadii^c Ḥabashi, Waziir az-Ziraa^a fii zaman Nimeeri.

لحام. كميونا دا بقى ورشة؛ أي زول بابوره اتعطل يجره يجيبه، أي زول ديسكيه اتعطل يجيبه، نعمل ليه الحكاية دي مجاناً. بس عشان الخبرة بتاعتنا.

أول حاصدتين دخلن المنطقة اشتريناهم نحن سنة سنة وسبعين، ماركة كلاس. لما جن ووقفن في السوق، السوكي كلها مرقت تنفرج مستغربين ديل بشتغلوا كيف.

واستمرينا بالحال دا والحمد لله، يعني إلى تاريخ اليوم دا أراضينا موجودة. وصلنا أكثر من عشرة خمستاشر تراكتور. هسع عندي شهادة امتلاك أول مشروع زراعة آلية بمنطقة الدندر موقع عليها دكتور وديع حبشي، وزير الزراعة في زمن نيميري. شهادة أول مؤسسي مشاريع زراعية بالمنطقة، وولنا جائزة أحسن مشروع زراعة آلية في السودان، والحفل كان في الرنك.

these children of Qudus possess tractors, which we look at with admiration; we want these people to be our guides in experience. They were in Gedaref before and they have experience in mechanical farming. We have no objection. You, people (i.e., all the above-mentioned big farmers), how do you think about giving them their (already existing) site?" They all unanimously answered: "We have no objection." The inspector said: "In this case allow me to go out and ring the minister to have his permission." He went out, called the minister, came back and said to the expert: "Alright, draw out the map." He drew out the map and found that our sites were No. 67 and 68. These numbers were taken out of the bag (and registered in our names). This is our beginning.

l-Gaḍaarif wa °indahum khibra fi z-ziraa°a l-°aaliyya. Niḥna maa °indana maani°. An-naas al-gaa°diin deel raaykum shinu yidduuhum waaṭaatum di?" Kullahum be l-ijmaa° gaalo: "Maa °indana maani°." Gaal ana izan asta°zankum, amshi aḍrab le l-waziir aakhud izin min al-waziir. Tala° minnana masha ḍarab telafuun wa ja khalaas gaal le l-khabiiir: "Ṭalli° al-kharṭa." Ligo l-arqaam, ṭalla°o l-arqaam. Khalaas, alli huwa saba°a wu sittiin wa tamaaniya wu sittiin. Bas al-mashruu°een deel ṭalla°oohum min aṭ-ṭaṣṣa. Di l-bidaaya.

Q: Wasn't there any racism or anything like that at that time?

No, not at all. By Allah, these Dinder people, we 'harmonised with them' (*insajamna ma°aahum* – i.e., we had friendly relations with them). When the scheme succeeded, we brought two combine

Walaa ayyi shi. Wallaahi naas ad-Dindir deel niḥna insajamna ma°aahum, wa fi°lan khashsheena. Walamma l-mawḍuu° najah ma°aana jiiibna leek haasiddeen Klaas. Da kaan tariikh ad-Dindir di kullaa;

س: الزمن داك ما كان في عنصرية ولا أي حاجة؟

ولا أي شيء. والله ناس الدندر ديل نحن انسجمنا معاهم، وفعلاً خشينا. ولما الموضوع نجح معانا جيبنا ليك حاصدتين كلاس. دا كان تاريخ الدندر دي كلها، بندق ليهم كلهم. ويعدين عملنا كمبو لصيانة الآليات، زودناه بمولد كهرباء ومكنة

up and said to the inspector: “Sir, we want to tell you that we (already) brought a tractor and started working with it in a place in this area before your work (planning of schemes distribution) began. We have cleared this place and started working. We have already started farming in Dinder. Therefore, if possible, we want you to give us our site because we have already cleared it.” Here, there was nobody else who owned a tractor or cleared anything at that time. He (i.e., the inspector) stood up and said: “We are not permitted to give anybody (a scheme) unless he puts his hand in the bag and draws out a number (lot).” This is a (part of) history, which I remember very well. There were (also) the (big) traders/farmers⁶ of Dinder (at that meeting); I mention them to you, may the Almighty Allah have mercy upon them (i.e., they are dead): Husein Kassala’s children, Muhammad °Abdalaḥiim, Raḥamtalla, and Wad al-Amiir – (these were) the four big farmers in the area. Kassala, the father of Husein, stood up and said: “Mr. Inspector,

l-mufattish: “Sayaadtak niḥna °aayziin naguul leek; niḥna jiiḥna j-jarraar da wa badeena shoghol hina fii ḥitta fi d-Dindir, wa naḍḍafnaaha wa badeena beeha. Niḥna gabli shogholkum da jiiḥna jarraar wa badeena. Wa hassa° di l-wagti badeena ziraa°a fi d-Dindir. Wa lizaalik law amkan daayrinnakum tadduuna mawqi°na da, la°annu naḍḍafnaahu niḥna.” Hina maafi zool naḍaf ḥaaja. Gaam gaal: “Aniḥna aḥlu maa masmuuḥ leena abdan annana naddi zool biduun maa yidakhkhil yaddu fi l-kiis yitalli° ar-raḡam bitaa°u.” Wa da tariikh Wallaahi atzakkar. °Indana tijaar ad-Dindir azkurum leek – rabbana yaghfir leehum wa yirḥamum: awwalan Ḥiseen Kassala, wa Maḥammad °Abdalaḥiim, wa Raḥamtalla, wa Wad al-Amiir – al-araba°a deel kibaar al-muzaraa°iin. Gaam ṭawwaali Ḥiseen Kassala – aḡṣud Kassala zaatu. Ḥiseen da waladu. Gaal: “Niḥna naas Qudus deel waabuuraatum binitfarraj feeḥa; an-naas deel daayrinnahum khibra leena. Wu gaalo kaano fi

لينا أبدأ أننا ندي زول بدون ما يدخل يده في الكيس يطلع الرقم بتاعه”. ودا تاريخ والله انتكر. عندنا تجار الدندر أذكرهم ليك – ربنا يغفر ليهم ويرحمهم: أولا حسين كسلا، ومحمد عبدالرحيم، ورحمة الله، وود الأمير؛ الأربعة ديل كبار المزارعين. قام طوالي حسين كسلا – أقصد كسلا ذاته، حسين دا ولده. قال: “نحن ناس قدس ديل يا سيدي المفتش نحن ذاتنا هسع وابوراتهم بنتفرج فيها، الناس ديل دايرنهم خبرة لينا. وقالوا كانوا في القضايف وعندهم خبرة في الزراعة الآلية. نحن ما عندنا مانع. الناس القاعدين ديل رايبكم شنو يدوهم واطاتهم دي؟” كلهم بالإجماع قالوا: “ما عندنا مانع”. قال أنا إنن أستاذنكم، أمشي أضرب للوزير آخذ إنن من الوزير. طلع مننا مشي ضرب تلفون وجاء خلاص قال للخبير: “طلع الخرطة”. لقوا الأرقام، طلوعوا الأرقام. خلاص، اللي هو سبعة وستين وثمانية وستين. بس المشروعين ديل طلوعهم طوالي من الطسة. دي البداية.

⁶ This large-scale mechanised system of farming requires large financial investments which are not affordable to small farmers. In the 1970s, big traders were among the wealthy people who became increasingly engaged in such a farming system.

a bailer (*daamin*) because his herds are in the area and the herders are known to the schemes' owners.

Q: How did you get these schemes?

We heard news (about the distribution of farming schemes). We went to Singa and saw the announcement that farming schemes were going to be planned and distributed. Whoever had a tractor and a trailer would be allotted a plot of scheme. Even combine harvester was not mentioned as condition. We immediately submitted our applications, in my name and my brother's name (Muusa). The applications were to be submitted to the agricultural inspector in Singa. At that time (1972–73), my brother and I used to have about 10 tractors. The minister (of agriculture) at that time was Wadii^c Ḥabashi and the director of mechanical farming was Amiir^c Abdalla Khaliil. The agricultural inspector in Singa was called as-Sir and the expert was called Maḥmuud. They came to Dinder and called upon us, the applicants. We entered the hall of Dinder. That was in 1972–73, during the Maayu (Numeiri) regime. I stood

Simi^cna I-khabar. Masheena sa^oalna ligiina fii Sinja i^claan be annu fi mashaarii^c fii mantigat ad-Dindir, wa ayyi zool yimtalik jarraar (tractor) wu tirilla – ḥatta d-disk hum maa zakarooḥu; takuun^c indak jarraar wu tirilla mumkin yimnaḥuuk arḍ ṭawwaali, mashruu^c. Ṭawwaali gaddamna ṭalabaat: gaddamna ṭalab be ismi wu ṭalab be isim akhuuy wa jiina. Yigaddim aṭ-ṭalab le mufattish az-ziraa^a fi Sinja. Wa l-wagti daak ana wa akhuuy Muusa kunna nimalik ḥawaali^c ashara jarraaraat. Al-waziir kaan Wadii^c Ḥabashi, wa mudiir az-ziraa^a l-^oaaliyya kaan Amiir^c Abdalla Khaliil, wa mufattishna ja ismu s-Sir, wa l-khabiir al-ma^aaahu ismu Maḥmuud. Joonā fi d-Dindir a^clanoona naji l-mugaddimiin aṭ-ṭalabaat. Jiina khashsheena al-qaa^a bitaa^aat ad-Dindir di; al-kalaam da waahid wa sabaⁱⁱⁿ itneen wa sabaⁱⁱⁿ. Da zaman Maayu. Gumna khashsheena l-qaa^a. Ana gumta^c ale ḥeeli gulta le

س: وكيف اتحصلتوا على المشاريع دي؟

سمعنا الخبر. مشينا سألنا لقينا في سنجة إعلان بأنه في مشاريع في منطقة الدندر، وأي زول يملك جرار (تراكتور) وتريلة – حتى الدسك هم ما ذكروه؛ تكون عندك جرار وتريلة ممكن يمنحوك أرض طوالي، مشروع. طوالي قدمنا طلبات: قدمنا طلب باسمي وطلب باسم أخوي وجينا. يقدم الطلب لمفتش الزراعة في ٣. والوقت داك أنا وأخوي موس كنا نمتلك حوالي عشرة جرارات. الوزير كان وديع حبشي، ومدير الزراعة الآلية كان أمير عبدالله خليل، ومفتشنا جا اسمه السر، والخبير المعاه اسمه محمود. جونا في الدندر أعلنونا نجى المقدمين الطلبات. جينا خشينا القاعة بتاعة الدندر دي، الكلام دا واحد وسبعين إثنين وسبعين. دا زمن مايو. قمنا خشينا القاعة. أنا قمت على حيلي قلت للمفتش: "سيادتك نحن عابزين نقول ليك؛ نحن جيبنا الجرار دا ودينا بيه شغل هنا في حطة في الدندر، ونضفناها ودينا بيها. نحن قبل شغلكم دا جيبنا جرار ودينا. وهسع دي الوقت بدينا زراعة في الدندر. ولذلك لو أمكن دايرنكم تدونا موقعنا دا، لأنه نضفناه نحن". هنا مافي زول عنده وابور أصله ولا في زول نضف حاجة. قام قال: "أنحن أصله ما مسموح

cattle owners free of charge. This continued for five or six years; afterwards, we started charging them for the residue. Every scheme has its guards. After the harvest, we negotiate with the cattle owners on the residue. In the dry season from March to May, the herders move to the al-Buṭaana area.⁵ So, until the period of weeding and the beginning of the harvest there are no cattle (or sheep) in the area. They come during the harvest period, i.e., in December and January. Herders do not damage farms intentionally and when the herd goes out of control and damage the farm, the Public Committee (*al-Lajna ash-Sha'biyya*) of the nearest village to the place is sought for settling the matter. The committee visits the site together with the scheme's owner and the cattle owner and estimates the damage. The cost is usually agreed upon through negotiation. The matter reaches the police only in exceptional cases. Otherwise, the cattle owner accepts the deal and promises to pay the cost. On the market day, he takes some cattle to sell and secure the money. There is no need for

al-mawaashi wa aṣḥaab al-mashaarii[°] ḥawl al-mukhallafaat. Fi ṣ-seef ar-ru[°]a bikuunu fi l-Buṭaana min shahri talaata laḥaddi shahri khamsa; laḥaddi wagt al-ḥash wa l-ḥasaad maafi mawaashi fii mawqi[°] al-mashaarii[°]. Biju wagt al-ḥasaad fii shahri[°] itneen wa shahri waahid. [°]Aadatan ar-ru[°]a maa bit[°]ammadu l-kharaab, wa lamma tinfalit al-bahaayim wa takhrib al-ḥasaad taji l-Lajna ash-Sha[°]biyya min agrab qariya le maḥal al-kharaab wa tazuur al-mawqi[°] ma[°]a ṣaḥib al-mawaashi wa ṣaḥib al-mashruu[°] wa yitim taqyim at-talaf wa taḥṣal taswiya. Al-mas[°]ala maa bitaṣal ash-shurṭa illa fi l-ḥaalaat al-istisnaa[°]iyya. Ṣaḥib al-mawaashi yiwaafiq [°]ala d-dafi[°] wa yiktib iqraar be annu ḥayjiib al-mablagh. Yoom as-suug yiwaddi bahaayim wa yibii[°]aa wa yijjiib al-guruush. Al-mas[°]ala maa bitiḥtaaj lee ḍaamin la[°]annu mawaashihu mawjuuda ḥawl al-mantiḡa, wa aṣḥaab al-mawaashi ma[°]ruufiin ladaa aṣḥaab al-mashaarii[°].

الخراب وتزور الموقع مع صاحب المواشي وصاحب المشروع ويتم تقييم التالف وتحصل تسوية. المسألة ما بتصل الشرطة إلا في الحالات الاستثنائية. صاحب المواشي يوافق على الدفع ويكتب إقرار بأنه حجييب المبلغ. يوم السوق يودي بهائم ويبيعها ويحجيب القروش. المسألة ما بتحتاج لي ضامن لأنه مواشيه موجودة حول المنطقة وأصحاب المواشي معروفين لدى أصحاب المشاريع.

⁵ Al-Buṭaana is a wide flat area in central Sudan on the eastern side of the Blue Nile from Wad Medani northwards up to the edges of Khartoum and eastward up to the Gedaref area.

Q: Uncle °Umar, we want you to tell us about the beginnings of your agricultural schemes and how they developed.

°UMAR

We (i.e., my brother Muusa and I) started (mechanical rain-fed farming) in the area of Um Faraatiit, near °Abbuuda village in the lands of Dinder, about 40 km from the ‘closed area’ (Dinder National Park). That was in 1970, before the distribution of schemes (i.e., before the beginning of the planning of mechanical rain-fed farming). There used to be large numbers of Arabs’ cattle herds (in the area of Um Faraatiit); the Fallaata (Fulani) had not yet come to this area. There was no farm damage (by grazing animals) because there was wide unfarmed land (for grazing). Two years later came the (farming schemes) ‘planning’; they (i.e., the authorities concerned) planned for us to get a scheme near a village called Shaamiyya about 7–8 km away from our first site. In that planning, 80 schemes were distributed. That was in 1972–73. After the harvest, we used to let the residue for

Badeena fii mantigat Um Faraatiit janb °Abbuuda fii araadi d-Dindir zey araba°iin Kiilu min al-mantiga al-magfuula fii sanat alf wu tus°miyya wa saba°iin, gabli tawzii° al-mashaarii°. Kaan fi bahaayim al-°Arab tagiila; al-Fallaata kaan lissa° maa jo. Az-zaman daak maa kaan fi kharaab la°annu l-arḍ al-buur kaanat waas°a. Ba°ad sanateen ja t-takhtiit, wa khaṭṭaṭo leena janb qariya isimaa Shaamiyya, tab°ud ḥawaali saba°a lee tamaaniya Kiilu min mawqi°na l-gadiim. Fi t-takhtiit tamma tawzii° tamaniin mashruu°. Da kaan sanat talaata wu saba°iin arba°a wu saba°iin. Ba°ad al-ḥaṣaad natruk al-mukhallafaat le aṣḥaab al-mawaashi majjaanan. Istamarra l-kalaam da le muddat khamsa sitta sanawaat ba°ad da bigat al-mukhallafaat be muqaabil. Kullu mashruu° °indu ghufara wa ḥaraasa, wa ba°ad al-ḥaṣaad taḥṣal musaawama been aṣḥaab

س: عمي عمر، دايرنك تحدثنا عن بدايات مشاريعكم الزراعية، وكيف اتطورت.

عمر

بدينا في منطقة أم فراتيت جنب عبودة في أراضي الدندر زي أربعين كيلو من المنطقة المقفولة في سنة ألف وتسعمية وسبعين، قبل توزيع المشاريع. كان في بهائم العرب ثقيلة، الفلاتة كان لسع ما جوا. الزمن داك ما كان في خراب لأنه الأرض البور كانت واسعة. بعد سنتين جاء التخطيط، وخططوا لينا جنب قرية اسمها شامية تبعد حوالي سبعة لي تمانية كيلو من موقعنا القديم. في التخطيط تم توزيع تمانين مشروع. دا كان سنة ثلاثة وسبعين أربعة وسبعين. بعد الحصاد كنا نترك المخلفات لأصحاب المواشي مجاناً. استمر الكلام دا لمدة خمسة ستة سنوات بعد دا بقت المخلفات بمقابل. كل مشروع عنده غفراء وحراسة، وبعد الحصاد تحصل مساومة بين أصحاب المواشي وأصحاب المشاريع حول المخلفات. في الصيف الرعاة بكونوا في البطانة من شهر ثلاثة لحدي شهر خمسة؛ لحدي وقت الحش والحصاد مافي مواشي في موقع المشاريع. بجوا وقت الحصاد في شهر إثنين وشهر واحد. عادة الرعاة ما بتعمدوا الخراب، ولما تتقلت البهائم وتخرّب الحصاد تجي اللجنة الشعبية من أقرب قرية لمحل

Q: Where did you learn to do this?

We were trained in Gedaref. The engineers, I remember, were white people (*kha-waaajaat*): a Canadian and a British; (but) there was a (Sudanese) expert with them called Muḥammad Ayyuub, from the Kunuuz (Nile Nubians) tribe. These were the people responsible of the farms. They brought tractors. The Canadian and the American were specialised in agriculture. They trained us in operating the farming machineries. We got trained, obtained the certificates and continued. When Independence came, they (i.e., the Europeans) were sent away with the intention to bring well-trained people from Gedaref to train others on (mechanical) farming. We became no longer interested (in the work); we were given our entitlements and came back home. We (i.e., my brother and I) were the first people to start (practising) irrigated farming in this area (as-Suuki and its surroundings).

Darraboona hinaak fi l-Gaḍaarif, al-muhandisiin bitzakkar al-khawaajaat. Ma^oaana muhandis Kanadi wa waaḥid Ingiliizi; ma^oaahu khabiir ismu Maḥammad Ayyuub min al-Kunuuz. Deel hum mas^ouuliin min al-gheet. Wa jaabo j-jarraaraat di. Al-Kanadi da wa l-Amriiki deel hum ziraaiyyiin, bidarribuuna fi l^o-aaliyyaat di. Itdarabna wa akhadna shihaadaat wa istamarreena. Akhadna fatratna, awwal maa ja l-istiqlaal al-khawaajaat deel shaaloohum. Aaha l-fatra di biga l-garaḍ minnaa yijiibu naas min al-Gaḍaarif, al-mutmakkiniin, yiwarruuhum tariigat az-zira^oa. Aniḥna istaghneena wa addoona ḥuguugna wa jiina. Niḥna awwal naas badeena fi z-zira^oa l-marwiyya be j-jarraaraat fi l-mantiiga di.

س: و انت اتعلمت وين الكلام دا؟

دريونا هناك في القصارف، المهندسين بتذكر الخواجات. معانا مهندس كندي وواحد إنجليزي؛ معاه خبير اسمه محمد أيوب من الكنوز. ديل هم مسئولين من الغيط. وجابوا الجرارات دي. الكندي دا والأمريكي ديل هم زراعيين، بدرينا في الآليات دي. اتدرينا وأخذنا شهادات واستمرينا. أخذنا فترتنا، أول ما جاء الاستقلال الخواجات ديل شالوهم. آها الفترة دي بقي الغرض منها يجيبوا ناس من القصارف، المتمكنين، يورهم طريقة الزراعة. أنحن استغنينا وأدونا حقوقنا وجينا. نحن أول ناس بدينا في الزراعة المروية بالجرارات في المنطقة دي.

primary level examinations) and were to be taken to the intermediate school in Bakht ar-Riḍa; they were accepted (admitted) there. But our relatives came and said to my father: “Ḥaaj Qudus, how do you allow your children to study under the British? After having been educated up to this level, do you still want to take them to the British?” His colleagues, the *fugara* (learned people), said to him: “Never allow your children to go away from you.” My brother’s colleagues have now become very big people of the state. We went to Gedaref and spent five years there, and then the Independence (of Sudan) came (1956).

Ismaa^ciil wa Muusa najaḥo, wu ba^cdeen daayriin yiwadduuhum al-³awsat fii Bakht ar-Riḍa, akhadooohum hinaak, jo ahalna gaalo: “Keef inta yaa Ḥaaj Qudus khalleet awlaadak it^callamo ma^ca l-Ingiliiz? Wakit it^callamo laḥaddi kida taani awlaadak ^caawiz tawaddiihum le l-Ingiliiz?” Kulla l-fugara zumalaa^u deel gaalo: “Taani aṣlu maa takhalli awlaadak deel yitla^cu minnak.” Hassa^c Ismaa^ciil da duf^catu ^caarifum, naas kubaar fi d-dawla. Fa niḥna masheena l-Gaḍaarif akhadna ^camaliyya bitaa^cat khamsa sanawaat ja l-istiqlaal.

أخدوهم هناك، جوا أهلنا قالوا: “كيف إنت يا حاج قدس خليت أولادك اتعلموا مع الإنجليز؟ وكنت اتعلموا لحدي كدا تاني أولادك اعوز توديبهم للإنجليز؟” كل الفقرا زملاؤه ديل قالوا: “تاني أصلوا ما تخلي أولادك ديل بطلعوا منك.” هسع إسماعيل دا دفعته عارفهم، ناس كبار جداً في الدولة. فنحن مشينا القصارف أخذنا عملية بتاعة خمس سنوات جا الاستقلال.

Q: Were you employees or farming on your own in Gedaref?

س: كنتو موظفين وللا كنتو بتزرعوا في القصارف؟

We were mechanics of tractors in mechanical farming schemes.⁴ My brother was a mechanical fitter (*barraad*) as he had attended a course on this profession in Khartoum. I was a first class driver; I operated combine harvesters (*ḥaṣīdaat*) and tractors.

Abdan, kunna makaniikiyya bitaa^ciin jarraaraat, ziraa^ca aaliyya. Akhuuy Muusa da ismu barraad, la³annu akhad koors fi l-Khartuum. Wa ana sawwaag daraja uula, bashaghghil al-ḥaṣīdaat, bashaghghil aj-jarraaraat.

أبدأ، كنا مكانيكية بتاعين جرارات، زراعة آلية. أخوي موسى دا اسمه براد، لأنه أخذ كورس في الخرطوم. وأنا سواق درجة أولى، بشغل الحاصدات، بشغل الجرارات.

⁴ Gedaref is the first area in the Sudan which witnessed the introduction of rain-fed mechanical farming and is still the most important area in this domain.

Q: What kind of work did your father do in as-Suuki?

Our family was quite big here (in as-Suuki). He (my father) was trading in cattle. At that time cattle were not that numerous in this area, yet he had many of them. Traders used to come from the direction of Gedaref, Wad Medani and Sennar to buy them from him. He became very famous in this trade. People said: "If you want to buy sheep or cattle, you go to as-Suuki to someone called Ḥaaj Qudus; he has a very large number of cattle." So, he stayed in as-Suuki all this time, and afterwards he begot his four sons and seven daughters. He had two wives; both of them were from the Ṣileeḥaab (Ṣuleiḥaab/Borgo branch of the Maba) tribe.

Q: It is notable that our relatives (i.e., the Fulani) did not allow their children go to school (of the Western type) in the past. How did you acquire school education?

I completed my primary education up to Class Four. My brother Muusa did the same. First, my brothers Ismaa'iiil and Muusa succeeded (in the final

°Usratna kaanat kabiira hina, wa kaan bitaajir be l-mawaashi di. Al-fatra diik al-mantiḡa di l-mawaashi fiiha maa kaan be l-mustawa laakin hu kaan °indu kam haayil jiddan min al-mawaashi, wa biju yaakhduuha naas min Madani wu naas min al-Gaḡaarif wu min Sinnaar, wa akhad shuhra kabiira jiddan jiddan. Ya°ni yiguul lak: "In kunta °aayiz bahaayim walla abgaar tamshi s-Suuki lee rajul ismu Ḥaaj Qudus, °indu kam haayil min al-°abgaar." Fa makas al-fatra di fi s-Suuki, wa ba°daha ṭaba°an anjab al-awlaad araba°a wa l-banaat saba°a (deel niḡna). °Indu zawjateen, wa l-°itneen Ṣileeḥaabiyaaat.

Ana kunta kammalta ta°liimi laghaayit raab°a awwaliyya, wa akhuuy Muusa barḡu kammal laghaayit raab°a awwaliyya. Awwalan, awlaadna

س: ووالدك كان شغال شنو في السوكي؟

أسرتنا كانت كبيرة هنا، وكان بتاجر بالمواشي دي. الفترة ديك المنطقة دي المواشي فيها ما كان بالمستوى لكن هو كان عنده كم هائل جداً من المواشي، ويبجوا ياخدوها ناس من مدني وناس من القضارف ومن سنار، وأخذ شهرة كبيرة جداً جداً. يعني يقول لك: "إن كنت عايز بهائم وللا أبقار تمشي السوكي لي رجل اسمه حاج قدس، عنده كم هائل جداً من الأبقار". فمكث الفترة دي في السوكي. بعدها طبعاً أنجب الأولاد أربعة والبنات سبعة (دبل نحن). عنده زوجتين، والإثنين صليحايبات.

س: الغربية كان زمان أهلنا ما بخلوا أولادهم بمشوا المدارس. كيف اتلقت تعليم مدرسي؟

أنا كنت كملت تعليمي لغاية رابعة أولية، وأخوي موسى برضو كمل لغاية رابعة أولية. أولاً، أولادنا إسماعيل وموسى نجحوا، وبعدين دايرين يودوهم الأوسط في بخت الرضا،

entered the bridge and continued to cross it for almost one hour. The people crossing to the eastern side (of the Blue Nile) were walking aside the cattle. By the time they had crossed (the bridge), half of the cattle had not yet crossed. People asked: "Whose cattle are these?" "They belong to that man;" he was standing near his horse (waiting aside). When the last herd entered the bridge with the last (paid) herdsman and he was about to follow, the policeman saw two rolled mats hanging on the horse, hiding something with pipes. He asked: "What is this?" (My father replied:) "Fire weapons." Upon hearing the word 'fire weapons' the entire crowd rushed towards him. He was taken to the police station (for investigation). They asked him: "(Where is) your warrant?" He replied: "By Allah, my warrant is with my children (i.e., my family) in as-Suuki." He said to them: "If you want to know that my weapon is warranted, refer to the Sultan (of Maiurno); the Sultan knows that." He was kept at the police station until the warrant was brought with the intervention of the Sultan (of Maiurno).

nuṣṣahum maa khashsha. Gaalo: "Al-bahaayim di ḥaggat minu?" Gaal: "Ḥaggat ar-raajil da;" hu waagif janb ḥuṣaanu. Lamman khashsha aakhir fooj min al-bahaayim wa ma^oaahu aakhir raaⁱ, wa hu ja ṭaali^c al-booliis shaaf fi ^oitneen buruush fi l-ḥuṣaan be j-janbaat, shaaf asar as-silaah, al-mawaasiir. Gaal leehu: "Ash-shaaylu da shinu?" Gaal leehu: "Silaah." Kalimat "silaah" di an-naas kullahum jaro jo ḥawlu... Saagoohu be ḥuṣaanu laghaayit Markaz Sinnaar da. Gaalo leehu: "Taṣriihak." Gaal leehum: "Wallaahi taṣriiḥi ^oind awlaadi fi s-Suuki." Wu gaal leehum: "Law into ^oaayziin ta^crifu innu silaahi da muṣarraḥ tarja^ou le s-Sulṭaan; as-Sulṭaan ^oaarfu." Be tadakhkhul min as-Sulṭaan masakooḥu fi l-Markaz laḥaddi maa jaabot-taṣriiḥ.

ساقوه لغاية مركز سنار دا. قالوا ليه: "تصريحك" قال ليه: "والله تسريحي عند أولادي في السوكي". وقال ليه: "لو إنتو عايزين تعرفوا إنه سلاحي دا مصرح ترجعوا لي السلطان. السلطان عارفه". بتدخل من السلطان مسكوه في المركز لحدى ما جابوا التصريح.

number of cattle; it was said (that he brought) more than 300 head (to as-Suuki).

Q: Tell us about the history of your father's arrival to this area.

My father was a fire-weapon bearer, because in Kordofan he used to be a cattle owner; he had two guns of the *Ab-jigra* brand. He got the warrant (for these weapons) from the District Inspector in El Obeid (Kordofan). When bringing his cattle from there, he was carrying fire weapons. This (part of) history was narrated to us by the people who witnessed it. These cattle were very numerous. As soon as he reached the dam (the bridge of Sennar Dam), the entire (Sennar) market rushed to the dam. He came and the cattle entered the dam (bridge); he was accompanied by six (paid) herdsmen. He was riding a horse, on which he came from Kordofan with the cattle. They (probably the authorities concerned) gave him permission to cross (the bridge). He was asked: "Where are you going?" (My father replied:) "To as-Suuki." "From where are you coming?" "From Kordofan. I have my family in as-Suuki." The cattle

Waalid h̄aamil silaah la^oannu hu [= huwa] fii Kurdufaan hinaak zool bitaa^o mawaashi, wa s-silaah da ṣaddago leehu be ^oitneen banaadig raṣṣaaṣ "Ab-Jigra", wa t-taṣriih kaan min mufattish al-markaz fi l-Ubayyid. Wa min hinaak lamma kaan jaayib bahaaymu kaan shaayil as-silaah fii ḥuṣaanu. Awwal maa ja l-khazzaan – wu da tariikh biḥkuuhu leena n-naas al-ḥaḍaro – al-mawaashi kaan ^oadadaa kabiir jiddan jiddan, suug Sinnaar kullu ja kaasir. Wu ja, khashsho l-bahaayim al-khazzaan, ma^oaahu zey sitta nafar min rawaa^oiitu. Wa hu raakib ḥuṣaan, ja beehu min Kurdufaan ma^oa l-bahaayim. Samaḥo leehu yi^oaddi. "Ween?" "Maashi s-Suuki." "Jaayi min ween?" Gaal leehum: "Ana jaayi min Kurdufaan, awlaadi fi s-Suuki." Khashsho l-bahaayim al-khazzaan wu maashiin wu maashiin gariib as-saa^oa. An-naas al-be sh-sharig maashiin be aṭraaf al-bahaayim. Lamma ^oaddo ligo l-bahaayim

س: أحكي عن تاريخ وصول والدك للمنطقة دي.

والدي حامل سلاح لأنه هو في كردفان هناك زول بتاع مواشي، والسلاح دا صدقوا ليه بي إثنين بنادق رصاص "أب جقرة"، والتصريح كان من مفتش المركز في الأبيض. ومن هناك لما كان جايب بهايمة كان شايل السلاح في حصانه. أول ما جاء الخزان – ودا تاريخ بحكوه لينا الناس الحضروا – المواشي كان عددها كبير جداً، سوق سنار كله جا كاسر. وجا خشوا البهايم الخزان، معاه زي سنة نفر من رواعيته. وهو راكب حصان، جاء بيه من كردفان مع البهايم. سمحوا ليهو يعدي. "وين؟" "ماشني السوكي." "جاي من وين؟" قال ليهم: "أنا جاي من كردفان، أولادي في السوكي." خشوا البهايم الخزان وماشين وماشين قريب الساعة. الناس البي الشرق ماشين بأطراف البهايم. لما عدوا لقوا البهايم نصفهم ما خشن. قالوا: "البهايم دي حقت منو؟" قال: "حقت الرجل دا؛ هو واقف جنب حصانه. لمن خشن آخر فوج من البهايم ومعاه آخر راعي، وهو جاء طالع البوليس شاف في إثنين بروش في الحصان بالجنتبات، شاف أثر السلاح، المواشير. قال ليه: "الشايه دا شنو؟" قال ليه: "سلاح." كلمة "سلاح" دي الناس كلهم جروا جوا حوله...

four years, learning the Qur'an in the Prophetic Mosque. Afterwards, he entered Jerusalem (Quds), where he spent two years, and then five years in al-Azhar (al-Azhar al-Shariif – Cairo).³ All this period of learning enabled him to deepen his knowledge in Islamic sciences. He obtained a number of certificates from al-Azhar. After that, he came back to us in as-Suuki. At that time he had 'heavy' (a large number of) cattle in °Abbaasiyya Tagale. At that time we were not born, but he (already) had a family (on his own).

l-Munawwara arba^a a^awaam fii tilaawat al-Qur^oaan hunaak fi l-Masjid an-Nabawi. Ba^aad daak ṭawwaali khashsha l-Quds wa akhad ^aaameen fi l-Quds wa akhad khamisa sanawaat fi l-Azhar. Wa kullu haazihi l-fatra kaan fii tamakkunu min al-Qur^oaan al-Kariim, wa akhad shihaadaat kathiira min al-Azhar. Ba^aadaa jaana fi s-Suuki. Min as-Suuki kaan ladayhi mawaashi tagiila jiddan jiddan fii Tagale l-°Abbaasiyya ṭiilat al-fatra di. Al-wakit daak niḥna maa itwaladna lissa^a, laakin ^aindu ^ousra.

سنوات في الأزهر. وكل هذه الفترة كان في تمكنه من القرآن الكريم، وأخذ شهادات كثيرة من الأزهر. بعدها جانا في السوكي. من السوكي كان لديه مواشي ثقيلة جداً جداً في تقلي العباسية طيلة الفترة دي. الوقت داك نحن ما اتولدنا لسع، لكن عنده أسرة.

Q: Was he accompanied by his family during all these years he spent in the Holy Lands (Mecca and Medina), Jerusalem and al-Azhar al-Shariif (Cairo)?

Yes, he was (there) with his family. He (then) went back to °Abbaasiyya Tagale and Taloodi; he had (conjugal) families in all these places. After having agreed with the Sultan (of Maiurno) to bring his cattle to as-Suuki, he moved there and settled (in that village) with his (two) wives (and children). He indeed brought a large

Na^aam, kaan ma^a ^ousratu. Raja^a ilaa Tagale l-°Abbaasiyya wa Taloodi, wa l-hittaat diik kullaa kaan ^aindu fiiha ^ousar. Wa taḥarrak ba^aad maa ittafag ma^a s-Sulṭaan innu huwa ḥayjiib al-mawaashi bitaa^atu le s-Suuki maqar ^ousratu. Wa fi^alan jaab kam haayil jiddan min al-^oabqaar, yuqaal innu foog at-

س: الفترة ديك كلها مع أسرته في الأراضي المقدسة والقدس والأزهر الشريف؟

نعم، كان مع أسرته. رجع إلى تقلي العباسية وتلودي، والحئات ديك كلها كان عنده فيها أسر. وتحرك بعد ما اتفق مع السلطان أنه هو حيييب المواشي بناعته للسوكي مقر أسرته. وفعلاً جاب كم هائل جداً من الأبقار، يقال أنه فوق التلتمية رأس.

³ Al-Azhar al-Shariif is the oldest university in the world. It was founded in 970 and is still a renowned centre of Islamic scholarship.

engaged in teaching the Qur'an.

Q: Did you hear why he moved from the area of Wau?

He moved from the area of Wau in the direction of Maiurno to meet with the Sultan (probably Mai-Wurno). When he arrived in Maiurno, he stayed for a period of time with the Sultan. He also met with the sheikhs of Shaikh Ṭalḥa (village) and afterwards proceeded to as-Suuki.

Gaam min mantīgat Waaw kaan muttajih ilaa mantīgat Maayirno li muqaabalat Sulṭaan Maayirno. Wa ʿindamaa waṣal Maayirno maʿa s-Sulṭaan makas fatra, wa ayḍan ja ilaa Ṭalḥa qaabal al-mashaayikh fii Ṭalḥa, wa baʿdaa waṣal madiinat as-Suuki.

س: سمعت ليه قام من منطقة واو؟

قام من منطقة واو كان متجه إلى منطقة مايرنو لمقابلة سلطان مايرنو. وعندما وصل مايرنو مع السلطان مكث فترة، وأيضاً جاء إلى طلحة قابل المشايخ في طلحة، وبعدها وصل مدينة السوكي.

Q: Did he have family in as-Suuki by the time he came here?

Yes, he had relatives in as-Suuki and relatives in Ḥillat Baki (village), namely, the late Shaikh Baki, the sheikh (and founder) of Ḥillat Baki (village).² He stayed with him for a while and then said to him: "After this long time travelling around, I want to settle in as-Suuki town." Before being in Wau, my father was in Saudi Arabia. After having performed *hajj* (pilgrimage), he stayed in Medina for

Naʿam, kaan ʿindu ahal fi s-Suuki, wa ʿindu ahal fii Ḥillat Baki, alli huwa l-marḥuum as-Sheekh Baki, sheekh Ḥillat Baki. Makas ʿindahum fatra ṭawiila, wa gaal leehum: "Baʿad da ʿindi niyya askin fii madiinat as-Suuki maʿa ʿusrati baʿad aj-jawla aṭ-ṭawiila." Wa gabli wujuudu fii Waaw kaan fi l-Mamlaka l-ʿArabiyya s-Suʿuudiyya. Wa baʿad adaaʾ al-ḥajj makas fi l-Madiina

س: هو لما جاء كان عنده أهل في السوكي؟

نعم، كان عنده أهل في السوكي، وعنده أهل في حلة بقي، اللي هو المرحوم الشيخ بقي، شيخ حلة بقي. مكث عندهم فترة طويلة، وقال ليهم: "بعد دا عندي نية أسكن في مدينة السوكي مع أسرتي بعد الجولة الطويلة." وقبل وجوده في واو كان في المملكة العربية السعودية. وبعد أداء الحج مكث في المدينة المنورة أربعة أعوام في تلاوة القرآن هناك في المسجد النبوي. بعد داك طوالي خش القدس وأخذ عامين في القدس وأخذ خمس

² This village is located ca. 10 km south of as-Suuki. The Fulani living in Ḥillat Baki seem all to descend from Fulani who fled the British rule in Nigeria after the Burmi battle (1903) and came to Sudan in a kind of religiously motivated migration (*hijra*). Given this, they can be described as belonging to the division of Post-Mahdism Fulani immigrants. Like many other groups belonging to that division, these Fulani still maintain the use of their ancestral language (Fulfulde).

INTERVIEW: °UMAR MUḤAMMAD

QUDUS °ABDULLAAHI

SOKOTO FULANI

AGE AND PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE INTERVIEWEE:

75 years, born in as-Suuki

DATES AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEWS:

June 13, 2011, and January 2, 2013; as-Suuki

JUNE 13, 2011

Q: Uncle °Umar,¹ I want you to tell us about your life history and your contribution to the development of as-Suuki town or the (as-Suuki) area in general. Take your time and say whatever you want!

°UMAR

I was born in as-Suuki and grew up here. Our father was from the Fallaata Sokoto (i.e., a Fulani from the Sokoto subsection) and our mother from the Şileeḥaab (Şuleiḥaab/Borgo, a branch of the Maba tribe). Our father was active in teaching the Qur'an and Islamic sciences. He started from Wau (in present-day South Sudan), from where he moved to Southern Kordofan (the Nuba Mountains), first Taloodi and then °Abbaasiyya Tagale. He stayed for some time in °Abbaasiyya Tagale,

Ana itwaladta wa nasha°ta bi madiinat as-Suuki. Al-waalid min al-Fallaata Sokoto wa l-waalda Şileeḥaabiyya. Waalidna rajul lahu nashaat fi l-°ilm wa lahu musahamaat kabiira jiddan fii ta°liim al-Qur°aan. Bada° min mantigat Waaw wa nazah ilaa mantigat januub Kurdufaan (Jibaa an-Nuuba); awwalan lee Taloodi wa minnaa ilaa l-°Abbaasiyya Tagale, makas fiiha fatra barḍu fii ta°liim al-Qur°aan.

س: عمي عمر، دايرك تحكي لينا عن تاريخ حياتك واسهاماتك في تطوير مدينة السوكي أو المنطقة بصورة عامة. اتكلم على راحتك، أي حاجة دايرها.

عمر

أنا اتولدت ونشأت بمدينة السوكي. الوالد من الفلاتة صكتو والوالدة صليجابية. والدنا رجل له نشاط في العلم وله مساهمات كبيرة جداً في تعليم القرآن. بدأ من منطقة واو ونزح إلى منطقة جنوب كردفان (جبال النوبة)، أولاً لي تلودي، ومنها إلى العباسية نقلي، مكث فيها فترة برضو في تعليم القرآن.

¹ The term 'uncle' is here used as a term of respect.

run the court. In fact, even Shaikh Faḍul (i.e., Shaikh Faḍul an-Naayir) – may the Almighty Allah have mercy upon him – is remembered by all people in that he used to solve any problem; this man had a very good contribution in this. Any problem that happened in al-Baza[°]a or al-Marbuu[°] (quarters), he used to solve it. If Shaikh Ab-Na[°]oof had a problem, he would seek the assistance of Shaikh Faḍul for its solution. They used to travel to very many rural areas (villages) to solve problems. If any Governor General (*Hakim °Aam*) or province commissioner or anyone (else) was coming, they (probably the Makk, the Omda and Shaikh Faḍul) would always be moving around with him, confirming that there was security in the area and that the area was in need of so-and-so.

l-biḥkumu fi l-maḥkama. Ya[°]ni Sheekh Faḍul zaatu, rabbana yarḥamu be j-janna, ya[°]ni kulla n-naas bitazkur innu maafi mushkila illa hu biḥillaa. Ar-raajil °indu baa[°] fi l-mas[°]ala di: taḥṣal mushkila fi l-Baza[°]a hu biḥillaa, taḥṣal mushkila fi l-Marbuu[°] hu biḥillaa. Sheekh Ab-Na[°]oof barḍu law °indu mushkila bijjiib ma[°]aahu Sheekh Faḍul biḥillaa ma[°]aahu, mushkila fi l-qura bimshu yiḥilluuha; ya[°]ni bimshu manaṭig katiira jiddan. Fi ayyi mushkila bimshu yiḥilluuha, fi ayyi ḥakim °aam jaayi walla ḥakim al-mudiiriyya walla shinu, daayman yikuunu ma[°]aahu wa biṭli[°]uuhu l-balad °ala innu l-°amni mawjuud fiha wa kida, wa l-balad muḥtaaja lee kida.

الرجل عنده باع في المسألة دي: تحصل مشكلة في البرعة هو بحلها، تحصل مشكلة في المربوع هو بحلها. شيخ أبنعوف برضو لو عنده مشكلة بجيب معاه شيخ فضل بحلها معاه، مشكلة في القرى بمشوا يحلوها، يعني بمشوا مناطق كثيرة جداً. في أي مشكلة بمشوا يحلوها، في أي حاكم عام جاي وللا حاكم المديرية وللا شنو، دايماً يكونوا معاه ويطلعوه البلد على إنه الأمن موجود فيها وكدا، والبلد محتاجة لي كدا.

Jangoor (a non-Fallaata, i.e., non-Fulani).

Q: This means that the Funj took back their Omodiyya. What happened then to the (Fallaata/Fulani) Omodiyya?

The Fallaata Omodiyya was dissolved because of problems among the relatives (Fallaata, i.e., Fulani) themselves; this one wanted to be sheikh; that one wanted to be Omda. In this way, it 'fell apart' (*itfartagat*). After that, our (paternal) uncle °Abdu s-Salaam left the sheikhdom itself because of this problem. They brought our (paternal) uncle Shaikh Faḍul an-Naayir, my direct paternal uncle, my father's brother. He occupied the office from 1946 until he died in 1997.

Al-°umuudiyya, maa ḥaṣalt fiiha mashaakil, al-°ahal fii ba°aḍum, °ala asaas da daayir yibga sheekh wa da daayir yibga °umda, wa hakazaa itfartagat. Ba°ad daa °ammaana °Abdu s-Salaam khalla sh-shayaakha zaataa fi l-mas°ala di. Jaabo °ammaana Sheekh Faḍul an-Naayir, alli huwa °ammi ana ṭawwaali akhu abuuyi, masak min sanat alf wa tus°umiyya sitta wu arba°iin ilaa an tawaffa fii sanat alf wu tus°umiyya saba°a wu tis°iin.

س: يعني الفونج استرجعوا العمودية. طيب حصل شنو للعمودية هسع؟

العمودية، ما حصلت فيها مشاكل، الأهل في بعضهم، على أساس دا داير يبقى شيخ ودا داير يبقى عمدة، وهكذا اتفرقت. بعد داك عمنا عبدالسلام خلّ الشياخة ذاتها في المسألة دي. جابوا عمنا شيخ فضل الناير، اللي هو عمي أنا طوالي أخو أبوي، مسك من سنة ألف وتسعمية ستة وأربعين إلى أن توفي في سنة ألف وتسعمية سبعة وتسعين.

Q: Who is assuming the function (of sheikh) now?

At present, it is in the hands of an-Naayir Yuusif, a son of Shaikh Faḍul an-Naayir's brother. Now he is the sheikh of the entire town of as-Suuki, including the area of ad-Dariisa and al-Marbuu° (quarters). Also, he is a companion to the Makk and the Omda; i.e., they are always together in the court; the three of them

Hassa° maasikaa n-Naayir Yuusif, wad akhu sh-Sheekh Faḍul an-Naayir. Hassa° huwa sheekh as-Suuki di kullaa; mantigat ad-Dariisa wa l-Marbuu° kullaa shayaakhataa maasikaa hu. Ba°deen hu ṭawwaali rafiig le l-Makk wa l-°umda, ya°ni fi l-maḥkama ṭawwaali hum ma°aahu, hum at-talaata

س: طيب المسك منو هسع؟

هسع ماسكها الناير يوسف، ود أخو الشيخ فضل الناير. هسع هو شيخ للسوكي دي كلها، منطقة الدريسة والمربوع كلها شياختها ماسكها هو. بعدين هو طوالي رفيق للمك والعمدة، يعني في المحكمة طوالي هم معاه، هم الثلاثة البحكما في المحكمة. يعني شيخ فضل ذاته، رينا يرحمه بالجنة، يعني كل الناس يتذكر إنه مافي مشكلة إلا هو بحلها.

here. But Sudan essentially belongs to us and not to anybody else. Now I have a copy of a pedigree, which goes back to °Abdullaahi ibn al-°Abbaas (a paternal cousin of the Prophet).

Q: Do you remember the names of some of the Fallaata (Fulani) sheikhs?

Yes, they brought Shaikh Ibraahiim Saalim (as sheikh); when he died °Abdu s-Salaam Wad-°Abdalla took over. These (two sheikhs) were closely tied to the Makk¹⁵ and the Funj in the area. There was also an Omodiyya (°Umuudiyya).¹⁶

Na°am, ya°ni jaabo sh-Sheekh Ibraahiim Saalim, Ibraahiim Saalim lamma itwaffa masak ba°adu °Abdu s-Salaam Wad-°Abdalla. Deel kaanu murtabtiin jiddan ma°a l-Makk wa ma°a l-Fuunj fi l-mantiga. Wu ba°deen barḍu kaanat fi °umuudiyya.

س: متذكر بعض أسماء الشيوخ بتاعين الفلاتة؟

نعم، يعني جابوا الشيخ إبراهيم سالم، إبراهيم سالم لما اتوفى مسك بعده عبدالسلام ود عبدالله. ديل كانوا مرتبطين جداً مع المك ومع الفونج في المنطقة. وبعدين برضو كانت في عمودية.

Q: Is there an Omodiyya here (in as-Suuki) for the Fallaata (i.e., Fulani)?

The (first) Omda was Ḥasan an-Nakhli; he was the Omda of all the Fallaata (i.e., Fulani) from Shaikh Ṭalḥa (village) up to as-Suuki. Ḥasan an-Nakhli was succeeded by Ḥamooda Abbakar Toorsheen. After Ḥamooda came Ibraahiim Maḥmuud. Afterwards, the Omodiyya was shifted to

Al-°umda l-°awwal kaan Ḥasan an-Nakhli, °umdat al-Fallaata min Ṭalḥa le s-Suuki. Ba°ad Ḥasan an-Nakhli ja Ḥamooda Abbakar Toorsheen. Ba°ad Ḥamooda masak Ibraahiim Maḥmuud. Ba°ad daak al-°umuudiyya ithawwalat le Jangoor (maa min al-Fallaata).

س: في عمودية هنا للفلاتة؟

العمدة الأول كان حسن النخلي، عمدة الفلاتة من طلحة للسوكي. بعد حسن النخلي جاء حمودة أ بكر تورشين. بعد حمودة مسك إبراهيم محمود. بعد داك العمودية اتحولت لي جانقور (ما من الفلاتة).

¹⁵ 'Makk' refers here to the paramount chief of the Funj.

¹⁶ The Omodiyya corresponds to the second highest administrative unit within the Native Administration system introduced by the British. The title held by the head of an Omodiyya is 'Omda'.

Abu-^oAjaaj (ca. 7 km west of as-Suuki) and settled with them. We¹³ were born in Abu-^oAjaaj, near al-Busaata (village). From there people dispersed. When they came to as-Suuki, their settlement caught fire three times. Bello ad-Daadaari came and said to them:¹⁴ “Brothers, I will stay here with you; you construct thirteen houses and slaughter a bull for alms; by doing this, your village will be ‘the mother of the settlements’ (*umm al-balad*).” They constructed thirteen houses and invited the people of Hillat Wad Naasir, Birgid, Ab-Na^ooof, Haniin, al-Ghudiyyaat, and al-Baza^oa (quarters); they all ate the (meat of the) bull and dispersed. Thanks to Bello ad-Daadaari’s directives, the quarter remained settled until today. We were all born and raised here and are still staying here... Even when the train came (for the first time) and horned, we lay down (out of fear); we were children. However, with regard to our people of Omdurman, some of them went back (to western Sudan) and others came

Bello d-Daadaari gaal leehum: “Ya ^oakhwaanna ana bago^ood leekum hina, tabnu talattaashar beet lahaddi ma intahat tajiibu toor taɖbaɖuuuhu karaama hillatkum di tabga umm al-balad, as-Suuki di. Gaamo bano talattaashar beet, wa naada naas Hillat Wad Naasir di, wa Birgid, wa Ab-Na^ooof, wa Haniin, al-Ghudeyyaat, wa l-Baza^oa kullahum akalo t-toor da wa farro. Bello d-Daadaari t-tasbiit as-sabbatu leeha lee yoom al-leela gaa^oda saabta. Wa gaal leehum: “Di umm al-balad, maa btajiiha haaja.” Anihna kullana gumna wa ribiina hina wa gaa^odiin hina lahaddi maa... Al-gatar da zaatu lamin ja wa koorak hina anihna ragadna fi l-waata, ŕughaar. Laakin naasna naas Umdurmaan deel waaɖdiin raja^o wa waaɖdiin jo (hina). Laakin anihna aslu s-Suudaan da haggana anihna, maa hag zool gheerna. Wa hassa^o ana ^oindi nuskha di... (shajarat nasab) tintahi ^oind ^oAbdullaahi Ibni al-^oAbbaas.

الغديات، والبزعة كلهم أكلوا التور دا وفروا. بيلو الداداري التثبيت الثبته ليها لي يوم الليلة قاعدة ثابتة. وقال ليهم: “دي أم البلد، ما بتجيها حاجة”. أنحن كلنا قمنا وربينا هنا وقاعدين هنا لحددي ما... القطر دا ذاته لمن جاء وكورك هنا أنحن رقدنا في الواطة، صغار. لكن ناسنا ناس أمدرمان ديل واحدین رجعوا وواحدین جوا (هنا). لكن أنحن أصلوا السودان دا حقنا أنحن، ما حق زول غيرنا. وهسع أنا عندي نسخة دي... (شجرة نسب) تنتهي عند عبدالله بن العباس.

¹³ By ‘we’ the informant meant himself and some members of his generation, but definitely not the group of men participating in the interview.

¹⁴ By that time, Bello ad-Daadaari and many members of other big Fulani families engaged in the Mahdiyya movement (e.g., ^oUsman Baara, Qadi Abu-Hawwa, Haamid al-Fayd, Abbakar Atiku, ^oAli Tunfaafe, etc.) were already settled in Shaikh Talha, to which they came after the loss of the Karari battle in 1898, and more popularly, after the Mahdiyya had ‘spoilt’ (*khirbat*).

to the Khaliifa of the Mahdi. The Khaliifa read the letter and said to them: “All the people you brought, I ‘poled’ (*sha^cabta*) some and some died, but this style is not Bello’s. This man (i.e., Bello) is *‘ajami* (non-native Arabic speaker) and he knows neither (the term) *istibdaad* (tyranny) nor (the term) *fawḍa* (disorder); I have forgiven him.”¹²

Once Bello ad-Daadaari had been forgiven and the Mahdiyya ‘spoilt’ (*khirbat*), the Khaliifa of the Mahdi instructed people to go and seek their relatives. Then all our people left Omdurman (for the Sennar area), including this Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭayyib, our grandfather who was *amiir* (leader); he went (to jihad) with a hundred people and came back with only three. When he came to Shaikh Ṭalḥa (village), he was also brought to (the villages of) Zain al-^cAabdiin and Wad Haaruun (and invited to live there). They (our grandfather and some of his relatives) stayed there (i.e., in Wad Haaruun) – for some time – and then dispersed due to some problems. Shaikh aṭ-Ṭayyib Wad-Saalim joined them in

Bello d-Daadaari da lamin ^cafooḥu, aṣḥaḥat al-Mahdiyya lamin khirbat khaliifat al-Mahdi gaal ayyi zool yimshi ahlu. Ba^cdeen naasna deel gaamo kullahum min Umdurmaan – fiihum Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭayyib da, jiddana aniḥna, kaan amiir, masha bee miyya jo talaata bas. Da ja Ṭalḥa. Lamma ja Ṭalḥa jaaboohu Zeen al-^cAabdiin, Wad Haaruun. Ga^cado fiiha wa ḥaṣalat leehum mashaakil kida itfarrago. Jaahum ash-Sheekh aṭ-Ṭayyib Wad-Saalim da fii Abu-^cAjaaj wa sakan fiiha. Aniḥna mawluudiin fii Abu-^cAjaaj janb al-Busaata di. Mawluudiin fiiha. Aaha, min hinaak an-naas itfarragat. Lamin jo naasna deel as-Suuki di ḥarago l-gash talaata marraat. Ja

بيلو الدااداري دا لمن عفوه، أصبحت المهديّة لمن خربت خليفة المهدي قال أي زول يمشي أهله. بعدين ناسنا ديل قاموا كلهم من أمدرمان – فيهم حاج الطيب دا، جدنا أنحن، كان أمير، مشى بي مية جوا ثلاثة بس. دا جاء طلحة. لما جاء طلحة جابوه زين العابدين، ود هارون. قعدوا فيها وحصلت ليهم مشاكل كدا اتفرقوا. جاهم الشيخ الطيب ود سالم دا في أبو عجاج وسكن فيها. أنحن ديل مولودين في أبو عجاج جنب البساطة دي. مولودين فيها. أها من هناك الناس اتفرقت. لمن جوا ناسنا ديل اتفرقت. جاء بيلو الدااداري قال مرات. جاء بيلو الدااداري قال لهم: "يا أخواننا أنا بقعد ليكم هنا، تبنوا تلتاشر بيت لحد دي ما انتهت تجيبوا تور تضبحوه كرامة حلنكم دي تبقى أم البلد، قاموا بنوا تلتاشر بيت، ونادي ناس حلة ود ناصر دي، وبرقد، وابنعوف، وحنين،

¹² Bello Abbakar Atiiku, who told me the same story (see footnote 6), added that the Fulani dignitaries in the Khaliifa’s administration – and they were very numerous – had decided to react, if Bello had been killed or ‘poled’.

(Shaikh) Muḥammad Toom.”⁹ Bello ad-Daadaari came to Shaikh Ṭalḥa (village) and said to Shaikh Muḥammad Toom: “We were instructed to bring you; you, son of Ṭalḥa, by Allah, you will definitely be ‘poled’ (*musha^cab* – i.e., tied to a pole whose upper part is in the shape of V).”¹⁰ Shaikh Muḥammad Toom went to Omdurman with an escort of 15 boats. The Khaliifa of the Mahdi (i.e., Khaliifa [°]Abdullaahi) met them in Soba. He said to them: “Since the son of Ṭalḥa has come, let him go back with his boats; let them (the boats) be loaded with ghee, dates and other things for his *masiid* (Qur’anic school); let him go back home.” Seeing this,¹¹ some (of Bello ad-Daadaari’s) colleagues in the Mahdiyya decided to create problems (to Bello). They wrote a letter in the name of Bello: “Come, so-and-so Pasha, and rescue us from the Baggara, the disorder (*fawḍa*) and tyranny (*istibdaad*).” And they brought the letter

Inta Wallaahi, Wad Ṭalḥa inta musha^cab (marbuuṭ fi sh-shi^cba).” Ba^cdeen saag ma^caahu khamistaashar murkab le Umdurmaan. Khaliifat al-Mahdi laagaahum fii Sooba. Gaal leehum: “Wad Ṭalḥa wakit ja yarja^c bee maraakbu di yimluuha leehu samin wa balah wa ḥaajaat yiwaddiihin al-masiid, yirja^c maḥallu.” Hina, an-naas al-ma^caahum fi l-Mahdiya, fiiha naas yikhribu. Katabo jawaab be isim Bello: “Ta^caal yaa miin Baasha fikkana min al-Baggaara wa l-fawḍa wa l-istibdaad.” Wa jaabo j-jawaab le khaliifat al-Mahdi. Khaliifat al-Mahdi masak aj-jawaab wa garaahu gaal leehum: “Aj-jawaab da ana n-naas aj-jiibtuuhum kullahum ash-sha^cabtu sha^cabtu wa l-maat maat laakin Bello da al-kalaam da maa ḥaggu. Az-zool da [°]ajami wa maa bi^crif “al-istibdaad;” wu maa bi^crif “al-fawḍa,” ana [°]afeetu.”

يرجع بي مراكيه دي يملوها ليه سمن وبلح وحاجات يوديها المسيد، يرجع محله. هنا، الناس المعاهم في المهديّة، فيها ناس يخربوا. كتبوا جواب باسم بيلو: “تعال يا مين باشا فكننا من البقارة والفوضى والاستبداد.” وجابوا الجواب لي خليفة المهدي. خليفة المهدي مسك الجواب وقراه قال ليههم: “الجواب دا أنا الناس الجيبتهم كلهم الشعيته شعبيته والمات مات لكن بيلو دا الكلام دا ما حقه. الزول دا عجمي وما بيعرف “الاستبداد؛” وما بعرف “الفوضى”، أنا عقيته.”

⁹ During his first years in power Khaliifa [°]Abdullaahi called upon all tribal leaders and dignitaries to come to Omdurman and join the jihad. Those who did not respond willingly were brought by force (and punished).

¹⁰ ‘Poling’ (*sha^cabtu*) is one of the worst deeds characterizing the reign of Khaliifa [°]Abdullaahi. It is the act whereby those tribal leaders and dignitaries who refused to respond willingly to Khaliifa’s call were punished by being tied to a pole for many days for humiliation.

¹¹ ‘Seeing this’ refers to the fact that Muḥammad Toom, the ‘relative’ (i.e., ethnic fellow) of Bello ad-Daadaari, was not ‘poled’ like the other dignitaries from other tribes who were brought by force.

said to him: “May Allah bless you (*Allah yibaarik fiik*)! The *tuggaaba* is your sole occupation; do not go to jihad or do anything else.” People from the surrounding villages such as Kassaab moved to Shaikh Ṭalḥa in fear of jihad. And then Shaikh Muḥammad Toom sent emissaries to all his people, his relatives from western Sudan living in Omdurman (inviting them to come and stay in Shaikh Ṭalḥa [village]).

naas aj-janb Ṭalḥa deel
naas Kassaab wu miin wu
miin kullahum jo Ṭalḥa,
khaayfiin min aj-jihad.
Ba^cdeen ash-Sheekh
Maḥammad Toom, naasu
l-barra l-fii Umdurmaan wa
l-fi l-gharib, an-naas al-
bigrabu leehu kullahum
(rassal leehum).

الفي أمدرمان والفي الغرب،
الناس البقروا ليه كلهم (رسل
ليهم).

Q: What do you mean here with ‘his relatives’? The Fallaata (Fulani)?

س: أهله ديل تقصد الفلاتة؟

(Yes), his relatives, the Fallaata.⁷ Those people were from western Sudan. They all came to Omdurman, fought (with the Mahdi) and stayed in Omdurman. And then some (unpleasant) things happened in the Mahdiyya and they started catching people: “Catch Wad al-Hindi, catch so-and-so, catch so-and-so.” They (Khaliifa ^cAbdullaahi and his entourage) sent Bello ad-Daadaari⁸ (and said to him): “Go and bring

Ahlu l-Fallaata. An-naas deel min al-gharib jo kullahum Umdurmaan sakano fii Umdurmaan wa ḥaarabo wa ga^cado. Ba^cdeen al-Mahdiyya ḥaṣalat fiiha ḥaajaat bigo yagbuḍu n-naas, agbuḍ Wad al-Hindi, wa agbuḍ miin wa agbuḍ miin. Bello d-Daadaari rassalooḥu gaalo leehu: “Tamshi tajiib Maḥammad Toom.” Bello d-Daadaari ja Ṭalḥa gaal le sh-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom: “Gaalo yijiibuuk...

أهله الفلاتة. الناس ديل من الغرب جوا كلهم أمدرمان سكنوا في أمدرمان وحاربوا وقعدوا. بعدين المهديّة حصلت فيها حاجات بقوا يقبضوا الناس، قبض ود الهندي وأقبض مين وأقبض مين. بيلو الداداري رسلوه قالوا ليه: “تمشي تجيب محمد توم”. بيلو الداداري جاء طلحة قال للشيخ محمد توم: “قالوا يجيبوك... إنت والله ود طلحة إنت مشعب (مربوط في الشعبة)”. بعدين ساق معاه خمستاشر مركب لي أمدرمان. خليفة المهدي لاقاهم في سوبا. قال ليهم: “ود طلحة وكنت جاء

⁷ ‘Relatives’ refers in this context simply to ethnic fellows, i.e., Fulani in general.

⁸ Bello was the son of Muḥammad ad-Daadaari, a ‘wise man’ of the movement, highly respected by the Mahdi. He had the final word in the installation of ^cAbdullaahi as successor of the Mahdi. For more information on Muḥammad ad-Daadaari and the role he played in cutting short the conflict on who was to succeed the Mahdi, see Hunwick et al. (1997).

hand you will come across the school, the Health Office and the Veterinary Office; all our people were staying in this area. When the place became flooded (as the result of the reservoir having been filled up), they moved to this upper area. That was the year when the grave of our grandfather,⁴ Shaikh Wad-Haashim, was dug out (to rebury his remains in another location).⁵

ṣaḥḥa wa maktab al-baṭari wa l-maḥallaat di, ahalna deel kullahum kaano gaa°diin hinaak. Lamin ja l-feedaan bitaa° al-baḥar an-naas itharrako jo le l-mantiga di hina foog. Di l-fatra al-li ḥaṣal fiha n-nabish bitaa° gabur jiddana Wad-Haashim.

Q: Is there anyone who wants to add something?

س: في زول ثاني عايز يضيف حاجة؟

MUṢṬAFA

When the Mahdiyya was about to start, the Mahdi, on his tour, came (to Shaikh Ṭalḥa [village]). When he came, Shaikh Muḥammad Toom (son of Shaikh Ṭalḥa) extinguished the *tuggaaba* (fire-light place for learning and reciting the Qur’an during the night). The Mahdi asked him: “Why did you extinguish it?” He answered: “No one is to light it but you.”⁶ The Mahdi

Awwal al-Mahdiyya laamin kaan daayra taḥzar, al-Mahdi kaan fi l-muruur, ja. Ba°deen lamma ja fi l-muruur ash-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom katal at-tuggaaba. Lamin ja l-Mahdi gaal leehu: “Kaatilaa leeh?” “Gheerak zool biwalli°aa maa fi.” Gaal leehu: “Baarak Allah fiik, inta shoghlak at-tuggaaba, maa tamshi fi j-jihaad wa maa ta°mal ayyi ḥaaja.” An-

مصطفى أول المهديّة لمن كان دايرة تظهر، المهدي كان في المرور، جاء. بعدين لما جاء في المرور الشيخ محمد توم كتل التقابة. لمن جاء المهدي قال ليه “كاتيلها ليه؟” “غيرك زول بولعها ما في.” قال ليه: “بارك الله فيك، إنت شغلك التقابة، ما تمشي في الجهاد وما تعمل أي حاجة.” الناس الجنب طلحة ديل ناس كساب ومين ومين كلهم جوا طلحة، خايفين من الجهاد. بعدين الشيخ محمد توم، ناسه البرة

⁴ The term ‘grandfather’ is here used as a term of respect.

⁵ Shaikh Wad-Haashim was buried in the old graveyard of Shaikh Ṭalḥa (village). In 1951, part of that graveyard became threatened by flood. One of the sheikhs of Shaikh Ṭalḥa saw Shaikh Wad-Haashim in a dream requesting the removal of his body. When the body was exhumed, it was found intact, though he had died ca. 47 years before, which was explained by his being a saint (*wali*). So, the exhumation of Shaikh Wad-Haashim’s body constitutes an important event in the social history of the area.

⁶ The same story was told by Bello Abbakar Atiiku (74 years, follower of the Mahdi living in Shaikh Ṭalḥa, interviewed in Maiurno on June 12, 1996). He added that Shaikh Muḥammad Toom wanted the Mahdi to light the *tuggaaba* because the one he (i.e., the Mahdi) lights will never extinguish.

Our relatives were in this al-Masaalma³ of the Mahdiyya. They fought in the jihad; they struggled for the cause of the Mahdiyya and had many martyrs, including many whose deeds found their way into historical records. Our people arrived in this area (Sennar area) in 1899, immediately after the Karari battle (1898). In the beginning, they came to Shaikh Ṭalḥa (village). What brought them there was that they had livestock and the climate of this area helped in hosting them and their livestock. So, they came and settled in this area and became both cattle keepers and farmers. They spread; some of them crossed to the western side of the Blue Nile to the areas of Su[°]aad, ar-Riheeṭa and Khood al-Booj and then came back to Shaikh Ṭalḥa (village) and then to Zain al-[°]Aabdiin (village). These people came back and stayed in Zain al-[°]Aabdiin until the work on (the construction of the) Sennar Dam started; when the work on Sennar Dam started, our people came (to as-Suuki). They came to as-Suuki in 1912. At that time as-Suuki was very small. On your way to the market, on your right

Ahalna ṭaba[°]an fi l-Masaalma bitaa[°]at al-Mahdiyya di, jihaad le darajat fi ḥaajaat maktuuba[°]annahum. Ya[°]ni naaḍalo fi l-Mahdiyya wa[°]indahum shuhada. Wa ba[°]ad daak aj-jeyya zaataa le l-mantiga di, naasna jo sanat 1899, ba[°]ad Karari mubaasharatan. Awwal maa jo, jo l-mantiga bitaa[°]at ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa. Wa sh-shi l-li jaabum hum zaatum, la[°]annahum hum zaatum[°]indahum as-sarwa al-ḥaywaaniyya. Al-mantiga di l-manaakh bitaa[°]aa musaa[°]idum[°]alaa innu mustaḍiifum hum wa s-sarwa bitaa[°]atum. Fa jo hina ga[°]ado fi l-mantiga di wa bigo naas bitaa[°]iin ra[°]i wa naas bitaa[°]iin ziraa[°]a wa intasharo fiiha, ḥatta minnahum[°]adad zaatu gaṭa[°]o masho be gharb an-Niil al-azrag fi l-mantiga bitaa[°]at Su[°]aad wa r-Riheeṭa wa Khood al-Booj. Taani n-naas jo raaj[°]iin hina le Zeen al-[°]Aabdiin, laḥaddi maa jaat... biga fi l-khazzaan, khazzaan Sinnaar da lamin bado yishtaghlu fiihu naasna hina jo. Fi s-Suuki hina jo sanat 1912. Lamin jo hina s-Suuki kaanat maḥduuda. Law jiit maashi[°]ala s-suug bitgaablak[°]ale iidak al-yamiin ba[°]ad l-madaaris fi l-ḥitta bitaa[°]at maktab aṣ-

أهلنا طبعاً في المسالمة بتاعة المهديّة دي، جهاد لدرجة في حاجات مكتوبة عندهم. يعني ناضلوا في المهديّة وعندهم شهداء. وبعد داك الحية ذاتها للمنطقة دي، ناسنا جوا سنة 1899، بعد كرري مباشرة. أول ما جوا، جوا المنطقة بتاعة الشيخ طلحة. والشّي اللي جابهم هم ذاتهم، لأنهم هم ذاتهم عندهم الثروة الحيوانية. المنطقة دي المناخ بتاعها مساعدهم على إنه مستضيفهم هم والثروة بتاعتهم. فجوا هنا قعدوا في المنطقة دي ويقوا ناس بتاعين رعي وناس بتاعين زراعة وانتشروا فيها، حتى مئهم عدد ذاته قطعوا مشوا بي غرب النيل الأزرق في المنطقة بتاعة سعاد والرهيطة وخور البوج. تاني الناس جوا راجعين هنا لي زين العابدين، لحدّي ما جات... بقى في الخزان، خزان سنار دا لمن بدوا يشتغلوا فيه ناسنا هنا جوا. في السوكي هنا جوا سنة 1912. لمن جوا هنا السوكي كانت محدودة. لو جيت ماشي على السوق بتقابلك على إيدك اليمين بعد المدارس في الحتة بتاعة مكتب الصحة ومكتب البيطري والمحلات دي، أهلنا ديل كلهم كانوا قاعدين هناك. لمن جاء الفيضان بتاع البحر الناس اتحركوا جوا للمنطقة دي هنا فوق. دي الفترة اللي حصل فيها النيش بتاع قير جدنا ودهاشم.

³ This is a ward (quarter) in Omdurman, now predominantly inhabited by (Sudanese) Copts.

Daar Maali, near a place called Jabal Um °Ali.¹ He came to that area (in the Sudan). The place is called ‘Daar Maali’ because he (our forefather) originates from Mali.² On his way back (from Hijaaz), he settled in Daar Maali and even got married there. The people saw in him piety and righteousness and that he taught (Islamic) sciences, therefore... There was an engineer called Aḥmad °Abdalla who was working with us in al-Fao; he was from the area of Daar Maali. He was the first person I met who gave me information about the Fallaata (Fulani) in that area. This was in the beginning of 1970s. I am Muḥammad al-Mahdi Aḥmad an-Naayir Yuusif °Ibeed Ḥamad Masri Zarruug °Umar; this °Umar (in my name) is °Umar al-Fallaati.

Hu [= huwa] ja fi l-mantiga di. Wa lamma sammooḥa Daar Maali la°annu hu kaan jaayi min Maali. Lamma ja raaje° ga°ad fii Daar Maali wa tazawwaj minnaa kamaan. Ya°ni n-naas shaafu l-wara° wa ṣ-ṣalaah bitaa°u hu raajil... wa bidarris °ilim. Fi waahid muhandis ismu Aḥmad °Abdalla, ishtagal ma°aana fi l-Faaw, wa hu min al-mantiga bitaa°at Daar Maali, ya°ni awwal rajul ana gaabaltu wa addaani (ma°luumaat) °an al-Fallaata fi l-mantiga di. Al-kalaam da fii bidaayat as-saba°iinaat. Ana Muḥammad al-Mahdi Aḥmad an-Naayir Yuusif °Ibeed Aḥmad Ḥamad Maṣri Zarruug °Umar; °Umar da °Umar al-Fallaati.

لأنه هو كان جاي من مالي. لما جاء راجع قعد في دار مالي وتزوج منها كمان. يعني الناس شافوا الورع والصلاح بتاعه هو راجل... ويدرس علم. في واحد مهندس اسمه أحمد عبدالله، اشتغل معنا في الفاو، وهو من المنطقة بتاعة دار مالي، يعني أول رجل أنا قابلته وأداني (معلومات) عن الفلانة في المنطقة دي. الكلام دا في بداية السبعينات. أنا محمد المهدي أحمد النابر يوسف عبيد أحمد حمد مصري زروق عمر، عمر دا عمر الفلاني.

Q: What circumstances brought your people to this area?

س: إيه الظروف الجابت ناسكم للمنطقة دي؟

¹ In fact, Daar Maali is not near Shendi, but is located ca. 3 km north of °Aṭbara (ca. 300 km north of Khartoum) in River Nile State.

² Archeologists at the University of Khartoum believe that the village of Daar Maali derives its name from the fact that it was historically a stopping place for Malian pilgrims going to or coming back from Mecca or Medina. This belief is largely shared by inhabitants of Daar Maali. However, there may be no contradiction between the explanation provided by the archeologists and local inhabitants about the origin of the name ‘Daar Maali’ and the explanation given above by Muḥammad al-Mahdi; the Malian pilgrims might have chosen Daar Maali as their resting station on their way to and back from pilgrimage because their ‘relatives’ (i.e., °Umar al-Fallaati’s family) constituted the majority of its population.

INTERVIEW WITH MEMBERS OF THE ZARRUUGAAB CLAN OF FULANI LIVING IN AS-SUUKI

NAME, AGE AND PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE INTERVIEWEES:

- Muḥammad Baabikir Sa[°]iid, 70 years, born in as-Suuki
- Muḥammad al-Mahdi Aḥmad an-Naayir, 57 years, born in as-Suuki
- Musaa[°]ad Bakhiit Ya[°]guub, 62 years, born in as-Suuki
- Muṣṭafa Ya[°]guub Bakhiit, 85 years, born in Abu-[°]Ajaaj

DATE AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW:

June 12, 2011; as-Suuki (house of [°]Umar Muḥammad Qudus [°]Abdullaahi)

Q: You have said that you are Fallaata (Fulani); do you all know to which clan you belong? Because the Fallaata, of course, have different clans.

س: إنتو قلتوا إنتو فلاتة، كلكم بتعرفوا خشوم بيوتكم؟ لأنه الفلاتة طبعاً خشم بيوت.

MUḤAMMAD BAABIKIR

I am a Zarruugaabi (from the Zarruugaab clan), Juba branch (of this Fulani clan). ‘Zarruugaab’ refers to children of Zarruug; this Zarruug was the son of [°]Umar al-Fallaati and (that) [°]Umar was buried in ar-Rookab near El Obeid (in Kordofan). He had twelve sons, including Zarruug.

Ana Zarruugaabi – Juba. “Zarruugaab” ya[°]ni awlaad “Zarruug”. Zarruug da wad [°]Umar, [°]Umar al-Fallaati. [°]Umar da l-madfuun fi r-Rookab fi l-Ubayyiḍ; awlaadu itnaashar, minnahum Zarruug.

محمد بابكر
أنا زروقابي – جوبا. "زروقاب" يعني أولاد "زروق". زروق دا ود عمر، عمر الفلاتي. عمر دا المدفون في الروكب في الأبيض، وأولاده اتناشر، منهم "زروق".

MUḤAMMAD AL-MAHDI

Of course, our forefather, [°]Umar (al-Fallaati), started to head for Ḥijaz (Holy Land in Saudi Arabia) in his adulthood. (On his way there), he came to a place near Shendi now called

Ṭaba[°]an jiddana [°]Umar da, fii ṣibaahu taḥarrak wu maashi laḥaddi l-Ḥijaz. Wa ja fi l-mantiga j-janb Shandi, hassa[°] bisammuuha Daar Maali, gariib min ḥitta isimaa “Jabal Um [°]Ali”.

محمد المهدي
طبعاً جدنا عمر دا، في صباه تحرك وماشي لحدي الحجاز. وجاء في المنطقة الجنب شندي، هسع بسموها دار مالي، قريب من حنة اسمها "جبل أم علي". هو جاء في المنطقة دي. ولما سموها دار مالي

come to find him and tell him to stay, or did he stay and they did not ask him?

They (the Funj) came to him (my grandfather) and asked him: “Why do you develop (a settlement in) this place?” He said to them: “I just want to develop it.” They said to him: “Well, go ahead. You are one of the men whom we want to develop this land. You stayed under this tree like this with the intention to open this land, (go ahead and) open it.”

Hum jo sa'aloohu: “Inta leeh ta'ammir hina?” Gaal leehum: “Jiit a'ammir.” Gaalo leehu: “Mabruuk °aleek, °ammir! Inta raajil min ar-rijaal ad-daayrinnu yi'ammir al-balad di. Ga'adta hina fi sh-shadar zey da daayir taftah al-balad, aftahu.”

هم جوه وسألوه: "إنت ليه تعمّر هنا؟" قال ليههم: "جيت أعمّر." قالوا ليه: "مبروك عليك، عمّر! إنت رجل من الرجال الدايرنه يعمّر البلد دي. قعدت هنا في الشدر زي دا داير تفتح البلد، أفتحه."



Photo 6: Shaikh Suleimaan Aḥmad Ḥasanein (right), grandson of as-Suuki founder, interviewed in his house in as-Suuki (MuṣʿAB M. ʿUMAR QUDUS, 2011)

by little the place became a village. In the end, the river pressed on them and they moved further and this place of theirs (to which they had moved) became a village (i.e., a quarter). My grandfather told me that he gave one of the stout youngsters a piece of paper with writing. He said to him: "Hold this piece of paper and run as fast and diligently as you can; cross this bush running until you get very tired. In the place where you get very tired, dig a hole and bury this piece of paper. The village, by the will of Allah, will (expand and) reach there." (When the youngster came back, my grandfather asked him:) "Have you buried it (the piece of paper), boy?" The youngster replied: "Yes." Now the village has expanded even beyond that place. My grandfather occupied the office of sheikh; after his death my father occupied it and after my father's death I occupied it.

Q: Well, Uncle Ḥasanein, what is known is that the land from Ṣa'iid (Southern Blue Nile) up to here (traditionally) belonged to the Funj. When your grandfather came and settled here, did he seek permission from these Funj, or did they

wa raḥal lee giddaam, maḥallatum di bigat ḥilla. Jiddana gaal ley adda waahid min aṣ-ṣibyaan al-maan[°]iin katab waraga gaal leehu: "Tamsik al-waraga di fii iidak wu tajri bee man[°]ak kullu jari shadiid, shugg al-khala da saakit laamin taftar tab, maḥal taftar aḥfir leeha adfinaa; al-ḥilla in shaa' Allah taṣal hinaak." "Dafantaa yaa walad?" Gaal leehu: "Aayi." Khalaas. Hassa[°] zaadat min maḥallaa da zaatu. Jiddana masak ash-shayaakha wa l-ḥamdu li l-Laah. Ba[°]ad maa maat masakaa abuuy, ba[°]ad abuuy itwaffa barḍu masaktaa ana.

واحد من الصبيان المانعين كتب ورقة قال ليه: "تمسك الورقة دي في إيدك وتجري بي منعك كله جري شديد، شق الخلا دا ساكت لامن تقتر تب، محل تقتر دا أحفر ليها أدفنها، الحلة إن شاء الله تصل هناك." "دفنتها يا ولد؟" قال ليه: "آي." خلاص. هسع الحلة زادت من محلها دا ذاته. جدنا مسك الشياخة والحمد لله. بعد ما مات مسكها أبوي، بعد أبوي اتوفى برضو مسكتها أنا.

س: طبيب عم حسنين، الشيء المعروف إنه الواطاة دي من الصعيد لي جاي بتاعة الفونج. جدك دا لما جاء وسكن هنا، هل استأذن من الفونج ديل، وللا جوا لقوه قالوا ليه "أقعد"، وللا قعد وما سألوه؟

brought their huts, their tents and their other belongings. He (i.e., my grandfather) proceeded further (with his people). They cleared the land, constructed houses and stayed in them. This was until the train came and the railway station established; the village expanded and became a town. Then Ab-Na^ooof came – the sheikh of the quarter that lies on this side [Suleimaan points to the side concerned]. He came and stayed with our grandfather for three days. This Ab-Na^ooof was said to be from the Ja^oliyyiin (tribe). He said to our grandfather: “I, too, want to develop a settlement in this place like you.” He (my grandfather) replied: “Well.” They went out in the late afternoon and (my grandfather) asked him: “Do you see that lower area (*abṭah*)?” Now the pumps are in this area. He gave him this place and said to him: “Build (your settlement) there.”

Q: So, your grandfather gave him (i.e., Ab-Na^ooof) this place!

(Yes), he gave him this place and said to him: “Build (your settlement) there.” His relatives joined him (Ab-Na^ooof) and little

l-maḥal al-abṭah daak?” – hasa^o fiiha t-turumbaat; addaahu l-maḥal da wu gaal leehu: “Abni hinaak.”

Addaahu l-maḥal da gaal leehu: “Abni hinaak.” Ahlu joohu, bigat ḥilla. Shuwayya shuwayya, akhiiran al-baḥar ḍaayagum

س: يعني جدك أداه المحل!

أداه المحل دا قال ليه: “أبني هناك”. أهله جوه، بقت حلة. شوية شوية، أخيراً البحر ضابقتهم ورحل لي قدام، محلتهم دي بقت حلة. جدنا قال لي أد

“You, man!” He (i.e., my grandfather) said to them: “By Allah, I came here; I will neither proceed ahead nor go back; I will develop (a settlement in) this place.” So, they started to clear (parts of the bush) and build (shelters), to clear and build; his brothers stayed with him. After a period of time, they constructed houses from grass and stayed on board of the river. This was so until people increased and expanded. They established farms and remained staying... They (my grandfather’s brothers) said to my grandfather: “Ḥasanein, this place is lonely; why don’t you leave?” He replied: “I am not leaving; I will establish a village in this place and settle in this village.” Later on, the other tribes came and the place became a village. At that time we were not born. After that came the railway. The village became big. When the railway came, our grandfather said to them (i.e., the railway people): “Since you have come to develop this area, we will release our place for you; we are going to clear (the bush) further.” So, they released the cleared place for them (the railway people) and started clearing further. The railway people

Ḥasanein, al-balad di maa mustawhisha wa bitaa^c, maa tamshi!” Gaal: “Maa bamshi; al-balad di ana asawwiiha balad ago^ood fiiha khalaas.” Ga^cad; ahlu bee hinaak, wa l-gabaayil at-taaniya jaat... bas al-ḥikaaya bigat ḥilla. Ga^cado fiiha l-fatra di kullaa; al-wakit daak niḥna maa fi l-wujuud. Ba^cad daak jaat as-sikka ḥadiid, ba^cad fatra. Al-ḥilla bigat kabiira. Lamma jaat as-sikka ḥadiid jiddana gaal leehum: “Khalaas intu maa daam jiitu ta^cammiru l-balad, niḥna nawassi^c leekum, nakbur lee giddaam.” Kabaro lee giddaam wa addoohum al-maḥal annadiif da. Jaabo gaṭaatiikum, jaabo khiyamum wu ḥaajaatum wa bitaa^c. Hu gaṭa^c ja lee giddaam jaay, kabaro wa ^camalo l-buyuut di wa sakano ilaa an al-gaṭar ja wa ^camalo l-maḥaṭṭa wa bigat al-balad ittasa^cat wa aṣbaḥat madiina. Ja Ab-Na^ooof da – sheekh al-ḥilla l-li jay (yushiir fii ittijaah al-ḥilla) – ja lee jiddana ga^cad ma^caahu talaata yom. Ab-Na^ooof da biguulu Ja^cliyyiin. Gaal lee jiddana: “Ana barḍu ^caayiz a^cammir zeyyak kadi fii maḥal.” Gaal leehu: “Khalaas.” Marago kida l-^casriyya, gaal leehu: “Shuufu

النضيف دا. جابوا قطاطيهم، جابوا خيمهم وحاجاتهم ويتاع. هو قطع جا لقدام جاي، كبروا وعملوا البيوت دي وسكنوا إلى أن القطر جاء وعملوا المحطة وبقّت البلد اتسعت وأصبحت مدينة. جاء أبنعوف دا – شيخ الحلة اللي جاي (يشير في اتجاه الحلة) – جاء لجدنا قعد معاه ثلاثة يوم. أبنعوف دا بقولوا جعليين. قال لي جدنا: “أنا برضو عايز أعمّر زيك كدي في محل”. قال لي: “خلاص”. مرقوا كدا العصرية قال لي: “شوفت المحل الأبطح، داك؟” هسع فيها الطرمبات، أداه المحل دا وقال لي: “أبني هناك”.

He stayed under a tree, after which as-Suuki itself was named. He stayed under this tree hunting (wild) animals. He made a kind of shade on that tree and a ladder to climb on it. During the day he used to get down for hunting and at night he climbed back (on the tree) to sleep, because of the wild animals. He spent a long time like this (in the bush). His brothers there enquired about him. There was a group of people who came from the direction of Singa; at that time people had to be as many as ten in order to pass through this area and had to be armed; two people would not be able to pass through (because of the wild animals). My grandfather stayed for a long time (in the bush). His brothers looked for him but did not find him. That group of people coming from the direction of Singa across that tree told them (i.e., my grandfather's brothers): "We, by Allah, saw a person sitting alone under a tree. We saw him sitting while we were going and saw him sitting while we were returning." They (the brothers) crossed by boats and came walking towards the tree until they saw a person sitting under it. They slowly approached (that person):

zaataa, ga[°]ad tihitaa. Gannab yi[°]siid. [°]Amal leehu ḍullaala fi sh-shadara foog wa salaalim kida yiṭla[°] beehin. Be n-nihaar binzil yi[°]siid wa be l-leel yiṭla[°] foog yinum [°]ashaan al-ḥaywaanaat. Akhad fatra, akhwaanu hinaak sa[°]alominnu. Fi jamaa[°]a barḍu jo fii fariig min jihat Sinja di... [°]ashara naas ḥatta yiju; nafareen maa yimshu; musallaḥiin. Akhad fatra ṭawiila, akhwaanu hinaak kaasooḥu maa ligoohu. Jo jamaa[°]a, al-maashiin be l-fariig deel, min Sinja gaalo: "Niḥna Wallaahi shuufna zool hinaak gaa[°]id baraahu fii shadara, naji maashiin hu gaa[°]id, naji raaj[°]in hu gaa[°]id. Gaamo gaṭa[°]o be l-maraakib jo. Maashiin maashiin, tiḥit ash-shadar, ilaa an shaafu zool gaa[°]id hinaak. Gaamo ṭawwaali be r-raaḥa jo: "Yaa zool!" Gaal leehum: "Wallaahi ana jiiṭ hina; kadi lee gidzaam maa bamshi wa kida le wara maa barja[°]. Ana a[°]ammir hina da." Bas ibtado iskubu sh-shadar yibnu, yibnu. Akhwaanu ga[°]ado ma[°]aahu. Ba[°]ad fatra bano buyuut be l-gash wa ga[°]ado, fii geef al-baḥar hina, lamin khalaas naas zaadat itwassa[°]at, yigṭa[°]u yibnu, yigṭa[°]u yibnu. [°]Amalo ziraa[°]a wa fiḍlo gaa[°]diin. "Aha yaa

كدا يطلع بيهن. بالنهار بينزل يصيد وبالليل يطلع فوق ينوم عشان الحيوانات. أخذ فترة، أخوانه هناك سألوا منه. في جماعة برضو جوا في فريق من جهة سنجة دي... عشرة ناس حتى بجوا، نفرين ما يمشوا، مسلحين. أخذ فترة طويلة، أخوانه هناك كاسوه ما لقوه. جوا جماعة، الماشين بالفريق ديل، من سنجة قالوا: "نحن والله شوفنا زول هناك قاعد براه في شجرة، نجي ماشين هو قاعد، نجي راجعين هو قاعد. قاموا قطعوا بالمراكب جوا. ماشين ماشين، تحت الشدر، إلى أن شافوا زول قاعد هناك. قاموا طوالي بالراحة جوا: "يا زول!" قال ليهم: "والله أنا جيت هنا، كدي لقدام ما بمشي وكدا لورا ما برجع. أنا أعمر هنا دا." بس ابتدوا اسكبوا الشدر بينوا، بينوا. أخوانه قعدوا معاه. بعد فترة بنوا بيوت بالقش وقعدوا، في قيف البحر هنا، لمن خلاص ناس زادت اتوسعت، يقطعوا بينوا، يقطعوا بينوا. عملوا زراعة وفضلوا قاعدين. "أها يا حسنين، البلد دي ما مستوحشة ويتاع، ما تمشي!" قال: "ما بمشي، البلد دي أنا أسويها بلد أقعد فيها خلاص." قعد، أهله بي هناك، والقبائل الثانية جات... بس الحكاية بقت حلة. قعدوا فيها الفترة دي كلها، الوقت داك نحن ما في الوجود. بعد داك جات السكة حديد، بعد فترة. الحلة بقت كبيرة. لما جات السكة حديد جدنا قال ليهم: "خلاص، انتو ما دام جيتوا تعمروا البلد، نحن نوسع ليكم، نكير لي قدام." كبروا لقدام وأدوهم المحل

Q: How did you inherit this office of sheikh (shayaakha)?

I inherited it from our grandfather Ḥasanein. Of course, he came from eastern Sudan. When he learned that the Mahdi appeared, he immediately went to El Obeid (Kordofan). The Mahdiyya Revolution started and people (Fulani) got involved in it. They fought with the Mahdi. The Mahdi spent his time in ruling. After the end of the Mahdiyya, the elderly people said: "The Mahdiyya has come to an end; there is no need (to stay in Omdurman) anymore." They dispersed. Our grandfather came in this direction. At that time there was no dam (bridge); he crossed (the Blue Nile) by boat to this area. The area was covered with trees; it was a jungle. This grandfather of ours was a *faki* (learned person/endowed with supernatural powers).

Q: From which tribe is/was this grandfather of yours?

He was from the Fallaata Um Jabbo (i.e., a Fulani of the Um Jabbo clan).³ He found this place as a jungle – with lions, leopards and elephants, and so on. All these animals were there.

³ The name of this clan is also often pronounced 'Um Jibbo' locally.

س: الشياخة دي إنت ورتتها كيف؟

Warastaa min jiddana Ḥasaneen. Ṭaba°an ja min ash-sharig, Sharg as-Suudaan. Ba°deen awwal maa °ilim °ale innu l-Mahdi zāhar ja ṭawwaali masha l-Ubayyid. As-Sawra l-Mahdiyya gaamat wa hum jo khashsho ṭawwaali. Ḥaarabo ma°a l-Mahdi. Al-Mahdi akhad fatratu fi l-ḥukum. Ba°ad maa intahat an-naas al-kubaar deel gaalo: "Al-Mahdiyya khalaas intahat maafiish faayda, farro." Jiddana da ja jay, al-wakit daak al-khazzaan da maafi. Gaṭa° be l-murkab ja hina. Al-mantīga shadar, ghaaba. Jiddana da faki.

ورثتها من جدنا حسنين. طبعاً جاء من الشرق، شرق السودان. بعدين أول ما علم على إنه المهدي ظهر جاء طوالي مشى الأبيض. الثورة المهديّة قامت وهم جوا خشوا طوالي. حاربوا مع المهدي. المهدي أخذ فترته في الحكم. بعد ما انتهت الناس الكبار ديل قالوا: "المهديّة خلاص انتهت ماقيش فايده، فروا." جدنا دا جاء جاي، الوقت داك الخزان دا مافي. قطع بالمراكب جا هنا. المنطقة شدر، غابة. جدنا دا فكي.

س: جدك دا من ياتي قبيلة؟

Fallaati, min al-Fallaata Um Jabbo. Liga l-maḥal da ghaaba... al-°asad wa n-nimir wa l-fiil... al-ḥaywaanaat di kullaa fiha. Ga°ad fii shadara hinaak, as-sammo °alecha s-Suuki

فلاتي، من الفلاتة أم جبو. لقي المحل دا غابة... الأسد والنمر والفيل... الحيوانات دي كلها فيها. قعد في شجرة هناك، السما عليها السوكي ذاتها، قعد تحتها. قنب يصيد. عمل ليه ضلالة في الشجرة فوق وسلام

INTERVIEW:

SULEIMAAN AḤMAD ḤASANEIN

FULANI OF THE UM JABBO CLAN

AGE AND PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE INTERVIEWEE:

77 years, born in as-Suuki

DATE AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW:

June 13, 2011; as-Suuki

Q: Uncle Suleimaan,¹ we learned that you are a sheikh. Of which quarter are you the sheikh?

SULEIMAAN

Ḥasanein Quarter; the quarter is named after my grandfather. It starts from the railway (and extends) eastwards up to the canal of Shaasheena (cotton) scheme and north up to ad-Dariisa (Quarter) and I am its sheikh.

Ḥay Ḥasaneen, al-ḥay ismu Ḥasaneen, musamma be isim jiddi. Yibtadi min ajjiha l-gharbiyya min as-sikka ḥadiid laghaayit shargan at-tur^a ḥaggat mashruu^c Shaasheena, wa shimaalan ad-Dariisa. Di kullaa Ḥasaneen wa sheekhaa ana.

س: عمي سليمان، عرفنا إنك شيخ، إنت شيخ ياتي منطقة في السوكي؟

سليمان

حي حسنين، الحي اسمه حسنين، مسمى باسم جدي. بيتدي من الجهة الغربية من السكة حديد لغاية شرقاً التربة حقة مشروع شاشينا، وشمالاً الدريسة. دي كلها حسنين وشيخها أنا.

Q: Well, Uncle Ḥasanein, do you know how many families approximately are in your quarter? Or the number of people or the number of houses?

By Allah, the families are numerous in as-Suuki; they can make up (all together) a little more than a million (of people).²

Wallaahi l-³usar katiira; hu [= huwa] akbar ḥai fi s-Suuki yimkin malyoon wu shuwayya (°adad anaas).

س: طيب عم حسنين، تقدر تعرف في كم أسرة في الشياخة بتاعتك بالتقريب كدا؟ أو عدد الناس أو عدد البيوت؟

والله الأسر كتيرة، هو أكبر حي في السوكي، يمكن مليون وشوية (عدد الناس).

¹ The term 'uncle' is here used as a term of respect.

² The informant did not seem to be familiar with numbers. The total number of inhabitants in as-Suuki is estimated at 40,000–45,000 people; those of Ḥasanein Quarter may not exceed 15,000.



Photo 4: *Nooba* (drumming) ceremony on the day of °Iid al-Kabiir in the yard of the Central Mosque, September 15, 2013, Wad Haashim (AL-AMIN ABU-MANGA, 2013)



Photo 5: Shaikh Kaamil A.M. Abu-Kuuma (right), the heir of Shaikh Wad-Haashim's *sijjaada* (praying mat), escorting the researcher out from the yard of the Central Mosque on the day of °Iid al-Kabiir, September 15, 2013, Wad Haashim (SAMI AL-AMIN ABU-MANGA, 2013)



Photo 2: In the middle, Shaikh Kaamil A.M. Abu-Kuuma, the heir of Shaikh Wad-Haashim's *sijjaada* (praying mat), leading the *nooba* (drumming) procession on the day of 'Eid al-Kabiir, September 15, 2013, Wad Haashim (SAMI AL-AMIN ABU-MANGA, 2013)



Photo 3: The Central Mosque in Wad Haashim

(AL-AMIN ABU-MANGA, 2013)



Photo 1: The pole with the flag and crescent on top is stuck in the exact spot where Shaikh Wad-Haashim's *tuggaaba* (fireplace for learning the Qur'an) used to be. The *nooba* (drumming) procession starts from here and marches to the Central Mosque, where it is actually performed on the day of °Iid al-Kabiir, September 15, 2013, Wad Haashim (SAMI AL-AMIN ABU-MANGA, 2013)

a communist?” I answered: “Yes, my master, I am communist and active in the Communist Party.” He said (to my father): “You, °Abdulrahmaan, for the sake of Allah, do not ask this boy (to stop); let him go ahead with his communism; by the Almighty Allah, he will come back to the fence.” By Allah, Shaikh Al-Amin, from there (Reiba) I took the bus back to Khartoum and my father went back to Wad Haashim. This (difficult situation with my father) lasted until 2002, then I discovered that... One does not regret one’s past and life, but I discovered that I had wasted a precious part of my life for nothing. I thus came back to the right path, thank to Allah. I repented in the lifetime of my father and gained his acceptance.

Lamiin min hinaak ana ṭala°ta wa abuuṭy masha Wad Haashim wa ana rikibta wa jiiṭ raaji° al-Khartuum. Ilaa an ja °aam alfeen wa jiiṭ iktashafta innu – al-waaḥid maa bindam °ale taariikhu wala bindam °ale °umru, laakin ana iktashfta ana ḍayya°ta wakit kaan ghaali. Wa raja°ta lee ṣawaabi wa l-ḥamdu li l-Laah: istitaaba kaamala wa fiiha °afu wa riḍa be ḥayaat abuuṭy.

insisted to take me early in the morning to our father,¹¹ Shaikh Muḥammad Toom Wad Baannaga (also more simply known as Shaikh at-Toom Wad Baannaga) in Reiba. We went there and found him sitting on his mat. (He asked:) “Ḥaaj °Abdulraḥmaan, what brings you today so early in the morning?” We sat down; he gave us water; I drank but Ḥaaj °Abdulraḥmaan (my father) did not drink. He (°Abdulraḥmaan) said to Shaikh Muḥammad Toom Wad Baannaga: “By Allah, I have come to you with a problem; I will not drink this water until you solve this problem for me.” He (Shaikh Muḥammad Toom Wad Baannaga) said to him: “You, Shaikh °Abdulraḥmaan, how does it come that you bring a problem for solution although you yourself solve problems (as a sheikh)? What is the problem?” He (my father) replied: “By Allah, this Kaamil has become a communist; he has followed the communists and became an atheist.” He continued saying many things. Shaikh Muḥammad Toom Wad Baannaga let him talk until he finished. He then asked me: “You, Kaamil, are you

yiisuigni namshi le abuuna ash-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom Wad Baannaga kaan mawjuud – fii Reebe. Fa saagni wa masheena wa ligiinaahu gaa°id fi s-sijjaada bitaa°tu: “Ḥaaj °Abdulraḥmaan al-leela j-jaabak aṣ-ṣabaah baḍri shinu?” Ga°adna, addaana mooya shiribna. Ḥaaj °Abdulraḥmaan maa shirib al-mooya. Gaal leehu: “Wallaahi ana jaayiik bee mushkila; al-mooya di zaataa maa bashrabaa in maa ḥalleetaa ley.” Gaal leehu: “Yaa Sheekh °Abdulraḥmaan inta bithill al-mashaakil walla bitjiini bee mushkila? Fi shinu?” Gaal leehu: “Wallaahi Kaamil da biga shuyuu°i wa baara sh-shuyuu°iyya wa biga mulhid” – wa kalaam katiir ṭaba°an gaalu leehu. Fa gaam sh-Sheekh Maḥammad Toom (Wad Baannaga) ba°ad maa khallaahu kammal kalaamu gaal ley: “Yaa Kaamil inta shuyuu°i?” Gulta leehu: “Na°am yaa siidi, ana shuyuu°i wa °aamil fi l-Ḥizb ash-Shuyuu°i.” Gaal leehu: “Yaa °Abdulraḥmaan, wa °izzat Rabbi al-walad da maa tas°alu, wa khalliuhu min hina yimshi fii shuyuu°iitu di; wa °izzat Rabbi yiji raaji° le l-ḥaziira.” Wallaahi yaa Sheekh al-

بشربها إن ما حلبتها لي”. قال له: “يا شيخ عبدالرحمن إنت بتحل المشاكل وللا بتجيني بي مشكلة؟ في شنو؟” قال له: “والله كامل دا بقى شيعي وبارى الشيعية وبقى ملحد”، وكلام كتير طبعاً قاله له. فقام الشيخ محمد توم (ود بانقا) بعد ما خلاه كامل كلامه قال لي: “يا كامل إنت شيعي؟” قلت له: “نعم يا سيدي، أنا شيعي وعامل في الحزب الشيعي”. قال له: “يا عبدالرحمن، وعزة ربي الولد دا ما تسأله، وخليه من هنا يمشي في شيعته دي؛ وعزة ربي يجي راجع للحظيرة”. والله يا شيخ الأمين من هناك أنا طلعت وأبوي مشى ود هاشم وأنا ركبت وجيت راجع الخرطوم. إلى أن جاء عام ألفين وجيت اكتشفت إنه – الواحد ما بندم على تاريخه ولا بندم على عمره، لكن أنا اكتشفت أنا ضيعت وقت كان غالي. ورجعت لصوابي والحمد لله: استنابة كاملة وفيها عفو ورضا بحياة أبوي.

¹¹ Here too, the term ‘father’ is used as a term of respect.

thanks to our father,¹⁰ (Shaikh) Wad-Haashim. He educated the people and inculcated in them the spirit of community. He did not give anybody the feeling of being outside this community. Now I have succeeded (my father) as sheikh (of Wad-Haashim's 'mat') and I am going to bear the task up to the end by Allah's will.

By Allah, if I tell you (my story), Professor Al-Amin, you will not believe (it). It is true that I grew up in 'the house of religion' (*bayt ad-diin* – a religious family). In this house, I used to have the (following) feeling since I was a child: why do people come, take out their shoes and kiss (the hand of the sheikh in greeting)? In fact, I was against this matter, believing that all people are equal. This had a great effect on me and made me break away from the family and join a leftist organisation. For 31 years, I was an active member of the Communist Party and a leading cadre at the level of the Central Committee. I was subjected to arrest and detention; of course, this happens frequently in trade unions and social works. One day, when released from detention, my father

ṭaba°an yarja° al-faḍl fiihu lee abuuna Wad-Haashim. Rabba n-naas tarbiya fiiha ruuḥ aj-jamaa°a, maa adda zool iḥsaas °ala innu khaarij al-manẓuumaa di. Ana hassa° akhadta l-khilaafa wa sh-Sheekh aj-Jaili muṣir akammilaa, wa ana ḥa°akallimaa bi izn Allaah.

Wallaahi yaa Brofseer al-Amiin law gulta leek maa ḥaṣṣaddig. Ana ḥagiigatan nasha°ta fii beet diini, wa l-beet an-nasha°ta fiihu da. Kaan bijiini iḥsaas mimmaa ana ṣaghayyir leeh az-zool biji yimalliṣ ne°laatu wa yisallim wa yibuus. Al-mas°ala ḥagiigatan kunta maakhid minnaa mawghif be haisu innu n-naas sawaasiya. Yimkin di assarat fiini ta°siir kabiir jiddan jiddan wa ana kharajta fii di min al-°usra wa intameet lee tanẓiim yisaari, waahid wu talatiin sana °uḍu °aamil fi l-Ḥizb ash-Shuyuu°i kaadir qiyaadi °ala mustawa l-Lajna l-Markaziyya. Ḥaṣal ley mawghif i°tighaalaat ṭaba°an bitakarrur fi l-°amal an-naghaabi wa fi l-°amal al-ijtimaa°i. Fa fii yoom min al-ayyaam kharajta min i°tighaal wa abuuyi aṣarra

لي أبونا ودهاشم. ربي الناس تربية فيها روح الجماعة، ما أد زول إحساس على إنه خارج المنظومة دي. أنا هسع أخذت الخلافة والشيخ الجيلي مصر أكملها، وأنا حاكمها بإذن الله.

والله يا بروفيسر الأمين لو قلت ليك ما ح تصدق. أنا حقيقة نشأت في بيت ديني، والبيت النشأت فيه دا. كان بجيني إحساس مما أنا صغير ليه الزول بجي يملص نعلاته ويسلم ويبوس. المسألة حقيقة كنت ماخذ منها موقف بحيث إنه الناس سواسية. يمكن دي أثرت فيني تأثير كبير جداً وأنا خرجت في دي من الأسرة وانتميت لي تنظيم يساري، واحد وتلاتين سنة عضو عامل في الحزب الشيوعي كادر قيادي على مستوى اللجنة المركزية. حصل لي موقف اعتقالات طبعاً بتكرر في العمل النقابي وفي العمل الاجتماعي. ففي يوم من الأيام خرجت من اعتقال وأبوي أصر يسوقني نمشي لي أبونا الشيخ محمد توم ود بانقا كان موجود. في ريبا. فساقني ومشينا ولقبناه قاعد في السجادة بتاعته: "حاج عبدالرحمن الليلة الجابك الصباح بدري شنو؟" قعدنا، أدانا موية شرينا. حاج عبدالرحمن ما شرب الموية. قال ليه: "والله أنا جايك بي مشكلة، الموية دي ذاتها ما

¹⁰ Same remark regarding the use of the term 'father' as in footnote 1, 6 and 9.

Q: How is the coexistence with other tribes? Have you ever felt that there are tribal differences?

No, never. Now, the tribes I have mentioned, if you look at the (families making up their) stems and branches, (you will find that) there is nobody who does not have (blood) relation with these families, either directly or indirectly. For example, the son of one of Kaamil's brothers (a man from the Dongolese tribe) is married to a daughter of my paternal uncle (a Fallaati, i.e., a Fulani woman). So, the (consanguineous) ties between members of different tribes are very numerous; you cannot (clearly) distinguish (one tribe from another).

Q: The (positive) characteristic of these villages that emerge based on a tuggaaba (a communal place for learning and reciting the Qur'an) is that they constitute a (socially) homogeneous, harmonious and ideal community. Had such communities got the chance (to more largely develop), they would have saved us from many things (social problems).

KAAMIL

This Wad Haashim is a unique village indeed

Abadan maa ḥasal. Ya^oni hassa^o al-gabaayil al-mazkuura di, law akhadna l-uṣuul wa l-furuu^o, maafi zool maa leehu ^oalaagha be ayyi ^ousra min al-^ousar di, ya^oni law maa mubaashir, be ṭariig gheer mubaashir. Law akhadta hassa^o masalan naas Kaamil, yimkin law ḥasabnaaha bitalga wad akhuuhu mutzawwij bitt khaali. Bitalga t-tadaakhul aṣbaḥ fi l-^oumq, wa maa bitagdar tafriz.

Wad Haashim di ḥagiigatan balad mutfarrida. Da kullu

س: التعايش القبلي كيف؟ أبداً هل حسيتوا في يوم من الأيام في فروقات قبيلية؟

أبداً ما حصل. يعني هسع القبائل المذكورة دي، لو أخذنا الأصول والفروع، مافي زول ما ليه علاقة بأبي أسرة من الأسر دي، يعني لو ما مباشر، بطريق غير مباشر. لو أخذت هسع مثلاً ناس كامل، يمكن لو حسيناها بتلقى ود أخوه متزوج بت خالي. بتلقى التداخل أصبح في العمق، وما بتقدر تفرز.

س: الحلال البنقوم على التقابة دي، دا ميزتها تخلق مجتمع متجانس متعايش ومثالي. يعني لو كان اتيححت الفرصة لمثل هذه التجمعات كانت أغنتنا عن حاجات كثيرة.

كامل

ود هاشم دي حقيقة بلد متفردة. دا كله طبعا يرجع الفضل فيه

“From Teego.” They (then) would call him ‘Wad Teego’ (son of Teego). Our father,⁹ the Sheikh (Shaikh Wad-Haashim), used to call people after the area they came from. So, if you gather together Wad Um Dam, Wad Teego, Wad so-and-so and their descendants, you find that they are the people who constitute the tribes living in Wad Haashim today.

Dam wa Wad Teegu wa miin wa miin wa miin wa ahfaadum al-yoom hum al-li bishakkilu l-gabaayil al-mawjuuda fii Wad Haashim.

Q: Do you know which tribes are now living in Wad Haashim?

The Fallaata (i.e., the Fulani) may constitute the largest tribe (in Wad Haashim); these are our families, including the Shaikh Idris’s, the Faḍl as-Siids, and so on. The rest (notably) comprises the Danaagla; their grandfather was Shaikh Abu-Kuuma; they constitute a big family. There are also Musabba^ˆaat; they are also a big family; this family includes the Muḥammad Aḥmad Khaalids and the Muusa al-^ˆAjabs. There are Jawaam^ˆa and Ja^ˆliyyiin; they each constitute a group but not as large as the other groups that I have already mentioned.

Yimkin takuun gabiilat al-Fallaata akbar gabiila fiiha; di ^ˆusarna kullaa, naas Sheekh Idris wa Faḍl as-Siid... Al-bagiyya bitalga majmuu^ˆa min ad-Danaagla, jiddahum ash-Sheekh Abu-Kuuma; deel bishakkilu ^ˆusra kabiira; fi l-Musabba^ˆaat barḍu bishakkilu ^ˆusra kabiira, deel naas Maḥammad Aḥmad Khaalid, wa naas Muusa l-^ˆAjab; fi j-Jawaam^ˆa; Ja^ˆliyyiin, bishakkilu majmuu^ˆa laakin maa kabiira be l-muqaarana ma^ˆa l-majmuu^ˆaat al-li zakarnaaha.

س: عندك فكرة عن القبائل الموجودة حالياً في ود هاشم؟

يمكن تكون قبيلة الفلاتة أكبر قبيلة فيها، دي أسرنا كلها، ناس شيخ إدريس وفضل السيد... البقية بتلقى مجموعة من الدناقلة، جدهم الشيخ أبوكومة، ديل بشكلوا أسرة كبيرة؛ في المسبغات يرضو بشكلوا أسرة كبيرة، ديل ناس محمد أحمد خالد، وناس موسى العجب؛ في الجوامعة؛ جعليين، بشكلوا مجموعة لكن ما كبيرة بالمقارنة مع المجموعات اللي ذكرناها.

⁹ Here too, the term ‘father’ is used as a term of respect.

grandfather's brother): "You go to the area of Um Ruwaaba (in Kordofan)." When coming with his trade to this area of the Fallaata, my grandfather already used to hear about these Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭaahirs.⁸ He went (there) and got acquainted with Shaikh Wad-Haashim and took permission from him to conduct the (new) trading activities, in which he wanted to engage. He immediately opened a shop in al-Fiteeh and kept working in it; that was the first shop in al-Fiteeh.

Ruwaaba." Jiddana lamma masha fii tijaartu di le mantigat al-Fallaata di jiddana saami° be naas Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭaahir deel. Jiddana masha wa it°arraf °ale sh-Sheekh Wad-Haashim wa ista°zanu °ala asaas innu jaayi wa °indu tijaara bishtaghilaa wa kida. Ṭala° ṭawwaali wa °amal dukkaanu wa biga shaghaal fiihu, fi l-Fiteeh – da kaan awwal dukkaan wujud fi l-Fiteeh.

واستأذنه على أساس إنه جاي وعنده تجارة يشتغلها وكدا. طلع طوالي وعمل دكانه وبقي شغال فيه، في الفتيح – دا كان أول دكان وجد في الفتيح.

Q: Balla, you previously said that various tribes had heard about Shaikh Wad-Haashim and started to come to him. Do you know from where these tribes came?

BALLA

According to what we heard, the (members of these) tribes (living in Wad Haashim) came as individuals and not in groups. A person comes carrying his bag, finds a mosque and stays. People ask: "From where is he coming?" (This man may reply:) "From Um Dam." They (then) would call him 'Wad Um Dam' (son of Um Dam). (Another man may reply:)

Ḥasab maa simi°na, al-gabaayil di jaat afraad, maa jamaa°aat. Ya°ni biji zool min al-gabiila shaayil leehu mukhlaaya bilga l-masjid bigo°od. Da biguulu: "Ja min ween?" Ja min Um Dam basammuuhu Wad Um Dam; ja min Teegu bisammuuhu Wad Teegu. Hu [= huwa] abuuna sh-Sheekh bisammi kullu zool be l-mantiga l-li ja minnaa. Fa law jama°ta Wad Um

س: يا بله، قبل شوية قلت القبائل سمعت بالشيخ ودهاشم وبدت تتوافد عليه. عندك فكرة من وين جات القبائل دي؟

بله

حسب ما سمعنا، القبائل دي جات أفراد، ما جماعات. يعني بجي زول من القبيلة شاييل ليه مخلاية بلقى المسجد بقعد. دا بقولوا: "جاء من وين؟" جاء من أم دم بسموه ود أم دم، جاء من تيقو بسموه ود تيقو. هو أبونا الشيخ بسمي كل زول بالمنطقة اللي جاء منها. فلو جمعت ود أم دم وود تيقو ومين ومين وأحفادهم اليوم هم اللي بشكلوا القبائل الموجودة في ود هاشم.

⁸ Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭaahir was the paternal uncle of Shaikh Wad-Haashim.

(also simply known as Shaikh Wad-Haashim). Al-Fiteeh was located in another site. Its inhabitants were a group of people who were early drawn together (attracted) by agriculture. According to my knowledge, even when my family came from northern Sudan, it found our father, (Shaikh) Wad-Haashim, here. I cannot tell the date (of his arrival).

kaanat fii hittaa taaniya. Wa l-Fiteeh di kaanat bitaa°at majmuu°a lammataa z-ziraa°a fii taariikh gadiim. Ḥasab ma°luumaati l-liba°rifaa ana, ḥatta °usrati lamma jaat waafda min ash-shimaaliyya wa mashat hinaak ligat abuuna Wad-Haashim da hinaak. Maa agdar addiik taariikh kida muḥaddad.

اللي يعرفها أنا، حتى أسرتي لما جات وافدة من الشمالية ومشت هناك لقت أبونا ودهاشم دا هناك. ما أقدر أديك تاريخ كدا محدد.

Q: Kaamil, now your house (family) is, of course, the one that succeeded our father, the Sheikh (Shaikh Wad-Haashim).⁷ Please, tell us about the relation that developed between your grandfather and Shaikh Wad-Haashim. How did your grandfather arrive to this area?

Our grandfather was a trader on boats. When they (my grandfather and his brother) heard that the Mahdi had entered (captured) Khartoum, they moved from Dongola (Northern State) and joined him. After they had stayed with the Mahdi for a while, the Mahdi said to our grandfather: “You, Abu-Kuuma, you go to the area of the Fallaata (Sennar area) and settle there.” He said to Naasir (my

Aşlu jiddana shaghaal fii tijaarat al-maraakib. Lamma sim°o innu l-Mahdi ja khashsha (al-Khartuum) hum itḥarrako be waraahu min Dungula jo laahgiin al-Mahdi. Ba°ad maa ga°ado shuwayya al-Mahdi gaal lee jiddana: “Yaa Abu-Kuuma inta tamshhi le l-mantiga bitaa°at al-Fallaata tistaqir hinaak.” Wa gaal lee Naasir (akhuuhu): “Inta tamshi le l-mantiga bitaa°at Um

س: يا كامل، هسع طبعاً بيتكم هو البيت اللي خلف أبونا الشيخ؛ كدي أحكي لنا العلاقة اللي قامت بين جدكم وبين الشيخ ودهاشم. وجدكم كيف وصل المنطقة دي؟

أصله جدنا شغال في تجارة المراكب. لما سمعوا إنه المهدي جاء خش (الخرطوم) هم اتحركوا بوراه من دنقلا جوا لاحقين المهدي. بعد ما قعدوا معاه شوية المهدي قال لي جدنا: “يا أبوكومة، إنت تمشي للمنطقة بناعة الفلاتة تستقر هناك.” وقال لي ناصر (أخوه): “إنت تمشي للمنطقة بناعة أم روابة.” جدنا لما مشى في تجارته دي لمنطقة الفلاتة دي جدنا سامع بناس حاج الطاهر ديل. جدنا مشى واتعرف على الشيخ ودهاشم

⁷ Same remark regarding the use of the term ‘father’ as in footnote 1 and 6.

the extent that he lived on the milk of gazelles. Even when people came to hunt them, he used to prevent them from doing so. This was until his leg was (seriously injured and) damaged. After that, he returned, met with Shaikh at-Toom Wad Baannaga, and the *halaqa* was convened, after which he took the Sammaniyya brotherhood (got initiated into that brotherhood). After that, he started moving gradually from the area of Abu-Ḥujaar through Direebu, ar-Raayaat⁵ until he reached Old Wad Haashim on the (western) bank of the river (Blue Nile) and settled down there. Immediately, people gathered around him.

raaji^c iltagha ma^ca sh-Sheekh at-Toom Wad Baannaga in^caghadat al-ḥalagha, wa minnaa akhad aṭ-ṭariiga s-Sammaaniyya. Itdarraj ba^cad daak min mantigat Abu-Ḥujaar wa Direebu wa r-Raayaat wa tadarraj wa tadarraj ilaa an waṣal Wad Haashim al-gadiima, al-li hiya fi l-baḥar min an-naahiya l-gharbiyya; hiya di l-li ja istagharra fiiha. Wa ṭawwaali iltaffo ḥawlu n-naas.

Q: We want you to tell us about the oldest history of Wad Haashim village, according to what you have heard from the elders.

س: دايرك تحكي لينا عن أقدم تاريخ لحلة ود هاشم حسب ما بتسمعو من الناس الكبار.

This Wad Haashim (village) was formerly called ‘al-Fiteeh’ and before that it was called ‘Kuush’ or ‘Kaboosh’. Its name was changed into ‘Wad Haashim’ after the man who founded it, i.e., our father,⁶ by Allah, Shaikh Muḥammad Wad-Haashim

Wad Haashim di aṣlan kaan ismaa l-Fiteeh, wu kaan bititsamma Kuush aw Kaboosh, wa taḥawwal ismaa lee Wad Haashim be ism ar-rajul al-li ansha^o al-gharya di, al-li huwa abuuna l-^carif bi l-Laah ash-Sheekh Maḥammad Wad-Haashim. Al-Fiteeh

ود هاشم دي أصلاً كان اسمها الفتيح، وكان بتتسمى كوش أو كبوش، وتحول اسمها لي ود هاشم باسم الرجل اللي أنشأ القرية دي، اللي هو أبونا العارف بالله الشيخ محمد ودهاشم. الفتيح كانت في حنة تانية. والفتيح دي كانت بتاعة مجموعة لمتها الزراعة في تاريخ قديم. حسب معلوماتي

⁵ These are villages in the area of Singa.

⁶ Here too, the term ‘father’ is used as a term of respect.

Maybe Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir was the main factor (reason) for his (i.e., Shaikh Wad-Haashim's) coming to this area. He came and settled down in the area of Sennar at-Tagaatu°. His father, Yuusif, was buried in the old graveyard of Sennar at-Tagaatu°. This (Sennar at-Tagaatu°) was the place from where he (Shaikh Wad-Haashim) established contact with the people of Shaikh at-Toom Wad Baannaga, i.e., the people of al-°Azaaza and Reiba,³ and contact with the people of Shaikh Hajo. It was at that phase (of his life) that he was invited to get initiated into the Sammaniyya (Sufi) brotherhood. He said to Shaikh at-Toom Wad Baannaga: "I will not join (this brotherhood) until you convene a big ḥalaqa (circle of zikr⁴) that gathers quite a large number of people; then I will get initiated." He (Shaikh Wad-Haashim) then immediately went out for 'wandering' (siyaaḥa) in the Funj area (and wandered) for a long time, living in the bush among the wild animals. The animals got accustomed to him to

Tagaatu°. Hassa° at-Tagaatu° fiiha l-maghbara al-madfuun fiiha sh-Sheekh Yuusif al-li huwa abu Wad-Haashim zaatu. Wa Sinnaar at-Tagaatu° kaanat nugṭat iltighaa° ma°a naas ash-Sheekh at-Toom Wad Baannaga, naas al-°Azaaza wa Reebe, wa naas ash-Sheekh Hajo. Wa di yimkin fii marḥala min al-maraaḥil ḥatta sh-Sheekh Wad-Haashim kaan °amalo ma°aahu munaaghasha °ashaan yintami le ṭ-ṭariiga s-Sammaaniyya gaal le sh-Sheekh at-Toom Wad Baannaga: "Illa ta°gid ḥalagha wa talimm ar-rijaal wa ana aji algaaha ḥalagha ya°ni laamma r-rijaal, ba°deen amsik at-ṭariiga." Wa ṭala° ṭawwaali le s-siyaaḥa bitaa°tu masha mantigat al-Fuunj le fatra ṭawiila jiddan jiddan wa kaan aṣlan fi l-ghaaba wasiṭ al-ḥaywaanaat. Abuuna Wad-Haashim da kaan °aayish °ala laban al-ghuzlaan shiddat maa alifaa. Ya°ni ḥatta n-naas lamma taji °ashaan tiṣṭaad kaan yimna°um innu yiṣṭaadu l-ghuzlaan. Ilaa an ḥaṣal leehu °uṭub fii kuraa°u. Ḥatta ba°ad daak lamma ja

وريبا، وناس الشيخ هجو. ودي يمكن في مرحلة من المراحل حتى الشيخ ودهاشم كان عملوا معاه مناقشة عشان ينتمي للطريقة السمانيّة قال للشيخ التوم ود بانقا: "إلا تعقد حلقة وتلم الرجال وأنا أجي ألقاها حلقة يعني لامة الرجال، بعدين أمسك الطريقة". وطلع طوالي للسياسة بتاعته مشى منطقة الفونج لفترة طويلة جداً وكان أصلاً في الغابة وسط الحيوانات. أبونا ودهاشم دا كان عايش على لبن الغزلان شدة ما ألقاها. يعني حتى الناس لما تجي عشان تصطاد كان يمنعهم إنه يصطادوا الغزلان. إلى أن حصل ليه عطب في كراعه. حتى بعد داك لما جاء راجع التقى مع الشيخ التوم ود بانقا انعقدت الحلقة، ومنها أخذ الطريقة السمانيّة. اترج بعد داك من منطقة أبوجار وديبو والرايات وترج وترج إلى أن وصل ود هاشم القديمة، اللي هي في البحر من الناحية الغربية، هي دي اللي جاء استقر فيها. وطوالي التقوا حوله الناس.

³ Both places were/are famous centres of Sufi communities. They are located north-west of Sennar town.

⁴ *Zirk* is a communal performance of Sufi litanies composed by the founder of a Sufi brotherhood and performed by its adherents usually in a circle (*ḥalaqa*). In some Sufi brotherhoods, the performance involves drumming and dancing while reciting religious poems in praise of the Prophet (Muḥammad) or the founder of the brotherhood or its current sheikh.

INTERVIEW: KAAMIL ° ABDULRAHMAAN ASH-SHAIKH MUHAMMAD ABU-KUUMA

DONGOLESE

AGE AND PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE INTERVIEWEE:

56 years, born in Wad Haashim

DATE AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW:

July 6, 2012; Omdurman

IN THE PRESENCE OF:

Balla aṭ-Ṭaahir Muḥammad Saalim, 62 years, born in Wad Haashim, Fulani

Q: According to what you have heard, what is Shaikh Wad-Haashim's birth date and where (was he born)?

KAAMIL

Our father,¹ (Shaikh) Wad-Haashim, was born in 1905² in the area of al-Masallamiyya (in the Gezira). He was nicknamed 'at-Toor aḍ-Ḍaali' ('the lame bull') – because his leg was damaged; 'Abu-Gabreen' ('the man with two graves') – because his body was exhumed (and moved to another grave); and 'Raa'i aṣ-Ṣeed' ('shepherd of huntable animals') – because he used to live among the gazelles and to prevent hunters from hunting them during the period he spent 'wandering' in the bush.

Abuuna Wad-Haashim mawluud sanat alfa wa tus°umiyya wa khamsa fii mantigat al-Masallamiyya. Wa huwa ismu "t-Toor aḍ-Ḍaali" la°annu rijlu ma°tuuba; wa ismu "Abu-Gabreen" la°annu nushir min gabru ba°ad saba°a wa arba°iin sana min al-baḥar ilaa barra; wa ismu "Raa'i ṣ-Ṣeed" la°annu aṣlan fi l-khala fii siyaaḥtu diik bir°a ṣ-ṣeed, biyaḥmi ṣ-ṣeed min aṣ-ṣayyaadiin. Yimkin Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭaahir li°ib door kabiir jiddan jiddan °ashaan yiji hina. Wa kaan naazil fi l-mantiga bitaa°at at-

س: حسب ما بتسمعوا، تاريخ ميلاد الشيخ ودهاشم متين وفي ياتو محل؟

كامل

أبونا ودهاشم مولود سنة ألف وتسعمية وخمسة في منطقة المسلمية. وهو اسمه "التور الضالع" لأنه رجله معطوبة، واسمه "أبو قبرين" لأنه نشر من قبره بعد سبعة وأربعين سنة من البحر إلى برّة، واسمه "راعي الصيد" لأنه أصلاً في الخلا في سياحته ديك برعى الصيد، بيحمي الصيد من الصيادين. يمكن حاج الطاهر لعب دور كبير جداً جداً عشان يجي هنا. وكان نازل في المنطقة بتاعة التقاطع. هسع التقاطع فيها المقبرة المدفون فيها الشيخ يوسف اللي هو أبو ودهاشم ذاته. وسنار التقاطع دي كانت نقطة التقاء مع ناس الشيخ التوم ود بانقا، ناس العزازة

¹ The term 'father' is here used as a term of respect. Such an usage is frequent in reference to a Sufi sheikh/saint regarded as one's spiritual master.

² This date is quite wrong because Shaikh Wad-Haashim was exhumed from his first grave in ca. 1953, 47 years after his death, which means that he died in 1906. The informant might have confused the date of his death with his birth date.

West Africa. All this is there
in books.¹¹

¹¹ Towards the end of the interview the informant started to gradually abandon his claim that his forefathers were of 'Shanaagiit/North African origins, in favour of the recognition of their West African origins.

(subordinates), the Egyptians, participated for a certain period of time. Even the communists joined in this campaign which took up the issue of religion; (but) it is a praiseworthy thing for someone (a Fulani) to observe his religious obligations and the Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*). So these political parties (i.e., the Democratic Unionist Party and the Communist Party) heightened the blameworthy aspects and tried to attribute any blameworthy thing to a specific tribe (i.e., to the Fulani). I can come back (to my previous discussion). In the studies that appeared recently, it is said that all these ‘praying mats’ (*sijjaadaat* – Sufi centres) were established by Fallaata (Fulani). They (the Fulani Sufi sheikhs) came and settled. They did not care about their (ethnic) origin and thus about the preservation of their (ancestral) language; instead, they merged into the (local) big families. These are studies, which exist; some academics might have written about it. They (the ‘praying mats’) started from northern Sudan (extending southwards); all these tombs are of people who originate from

diiniyya, wa di maḥmada ya[°]ni; zool muḥaafiz [°]ala sha[°]aa[°]ir ad-diiniyya wa [°]ala l-*fiqh* wu kida. Fa dakhalat al-aḥzaab fi l-mas[°]ala di. Ya[°]ni ḍakhkhammat al-akḥṭaa[°] wa ḥaawalat tarbuṭ kulla mushiin be gabiila mu[°]ayyana... Wa mumkin ana arja[°] leek taani; ya[°]ni fi d-diraasaat aj-jaat hasa[°] di ya[°]ni kullu s-sijjaadaat di assasooha Fallaata. Wa jo wa ga[°]ado, maa jo naas fattasho [°]ala uṣuulum [°]ashaan yiḥaafzu [°]ala l-lugha; indasaro fi l-buyuut di. Di diraasa mawjuuda wa qad yikuun fi akaadiimiyyiin katabo fiha. Akhadooha min ash-Shimaaliyya, kulla l-gubab di innaa mu[°]assasa min Gharb Ifriiqiya. Ya[°]ni da kullu mawjuud fi l-kutub.

أسسوها فلاتة. وجوا وقعدوا، ما جوا ناس ففتشوا على أصولهم عشان يحافظوا على اللغة، اندثروا في البيوت دي. دي دراسة موجودة وقد يكون في أكاديميين كتبوا فيها. أخذوها من الشمالية، كل القيب دي إنها مؤسسة من غرب إفريقيا. يعني دا كله موجود في الكتب.

himself belonged to this family.⁹ He was born here in the Sudan and had two grandfathers (i.e., a great grandfather and a grandfather) born here in the Sudan.

Q: Why do some people choose to take another (ethnic) identity?

As for the Fallaata (i.e., the Fulani), they were the assets of the Mahdiyya Revolution. The Unionists (i.e., the Democratic Unionist Party) acknowledged this.¹⁰ These people (Fulani) occupied high positions in the Mahdiyya; they occupied positions allowing them to acquire land; they might have dominated the economy and agriculture as they used to settle and concentrate near the water (i.e., the Blue Nile). This is quite known. So, they (i.e., leaders of the Democratic Unionist Party) resorted to ‘sarcasm’ (*sukhriya*) in order to sidetrack them (the Fulani) and make them feel inferior. This was during a campaign in which the Unionists and their ‘tails’

Be n-nisba le l-Fallaata, al-Fallaata kaano raṣiīd as-Sawra l-Mahdiyya. Al-Ittiḥadiyyiin khatoohum fi l-khaana hina; awwal ḥaaja, an-naas deel iḥtallo mawaaqi° kooyasa fi l-Mahdiyya, wa iḥtallo mawaaqi° bee° al-ard, yimkin yisaiṭiru °ala l-iqtīsaad wa z-ziraa°a wa gariibiin min al-mooya. Di ḥaaja ma°ruufa. Fa rakkazo °ala l-mas°ala bitaa°at as-sukhriya °ala asaas yikhalluum yinshaghu be nafsahum wa yikhalluum yish°uru be d-duuniyya. Di ḥamla saaham fiha l-Ittiḥadiyyiin wa azyaalum min al-Maṣriyyiin fi fatra min al-fatraat. Wa ḥatta sh-shuyuu°iyya zaadooha be mas°alat ash-sha°aa°ir ad-

س: ليه بعض الناس بتخبروا ياخدوا هوية ثانية؟

بالنسبة للفلاتة، الفلاتة كانوا رصيد الثورة المهديّة. الاتحاديّين ختوهم في الخانة هنا، أول حاجة الناس ديل احتلوا مواقع كويسة في المهديّة، واحتلوا مواقع بيع الأرض، يمكن يسيطروا على الاقتصاد والزراعة وقريبين من الموية. دي حاجة معروفة. فركزوا على المسألة بناعة السخرية على أساس يخلوهم ينشغلوا بنفسهم ويخلوهم يشعروا بالدونية. دي حملة ساهم فيها الاتحاديّين وأديالهم من المصريّين في فترة من الفترات. وحتى الشيوعية زادوها بمسألة الشعائر الدينية، ودي محمّدة يعني، زول محافظ على الشعائر الدينية وعلى الفقه وكدا. فدخلت الأحزاب في المسألة دي. يعني ضخمت الأخطاء وحاولت تربط كل مشين بقبيلة معينة... وممكن أنا أرجع ليك ثاني، يعني في الدراسات الجات هسع دي يعني كل السجادات دي

⁹ According to informants from Wad Haashim village, this acknowledgement was once made publicly during the first *ḥooliyya* of Shaikh Wad-Haashim (2006). In the subsequent *ḥooliyyas*, the organizers avoided referring to his ethnic origin, regarding him as ‘father’ of all the inhabitants of the village irrespective of their tribal affiliation.

¹⁰ This political party, which is a rival of the Umma Party (largely supported by Fulani people), was found in 1967 as a merger of the National Unionist Party and the People’s Democratic Party.

Sennar area). Given that Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭaahir was born around 1700,⁸ this means that his father and grandfather had been here since the beginning of history (since the establishment of the Funj Sultanate?). They met with the Shaikh Ṭalḥas (i.e., Shaikh Ṭalḥa and his brothers); they (i.e., the members of Shaikh Ṭalḥa's family) claim that they were coming from northern Sudan, from Dongola (Northern State) – of course, this is their opinion – and we were coming from the west, from Andalusia and the Maghreb (North Africa). This (latter) group was the one that was engaged in religious (Islamic) education in the Funj area – the family of our grandfathers (belonged to that group). This Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭaahir, his father was buried in Old Sennar. Anyway, this is the history that we have or what has frequently been said. It has even been said so during the *ḥooliyya* (annual celebration of a dead saint). They (i.e., the members of Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭaahir's family) always say that their family originates from Andalusia; Shaikh Wad-Haashim

min bidaayat at-taariikh. Iltaqu ma'a l-^ousra bitaa'at ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa. Hum, ṭaba'an da ra'yahum hum, innahum qaadimiin min ash-Shimaal min Dungula, wa niḥna qaadimiin min al-gharb, jaayiin min al-Andalus, al-Maghrib; wa di l-majmuu'a z-zaharat wa gaamat be t-ta'liim ad-diini fii mantigat al-Fuunj – al-^ousra bitaa'at juduudna deel. Wa l-Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭaahir da abuuḥu wa juduudu madfuiin fii Sinnaar al-gadiima. Da t-taariikh ghaaytu al-li binara al-li ^oindana niḥna, aw maa tawaarad ya'ni. Ḥatta naas bista^onasu beeha fi l-ḥooliyyaa, gaa^odiin iguulu ja min al-Andalus, al-li hiya l-^ousra di, minnaa sh-Sheekh Wad-Haashim nafsū. Hu mawluud hina fi s-Suudaan, wa leehu jiddeen mawluudeen hina fi s-Suudaan.

من دنقلا، ونحن قادمين من الغرب، جاين من الأندلس، المغرب؛ ودي المجموعة الظهرت وقامت بالتعليم الديني في منطقة الفونج – الأسرة بتاعة جدودنا ديل. والحاج الطاهر دا أبوه وجدوده مدفونين في سنار القديمة. دا التاريخ غايتو اللي بنرى اللي عندنا نحن، أو ما توارد يعني. حتى ناس بستأنسوا بيها في الحولية، قاعدين إقولوا جاء من الأندلس، اللي هي الأسرة دي، منها الشيخ ودهاشم نفسه. هو مولود هنا في السودان، وليه جدين مولودين هنا في السودان.

⁸ Compared with the birth date of his nephew, Shaikh Wad-Haashim (ca. 1820–1830), this date (around 1700) seems too early.

°Ardeeba Ab-Garin (°Iree-diiba), beyond Maiurno (i.e., south of Maiurno). It is registered on the map. When the Europeans (British administration) opened the chance for land registration, Shaikh Muḥammad Toom, the son of Shaikh Ṭalḥa, registered it. I think that it was the only chance opened for land registration in the Sudan. They considered it a mistake to allow individuals to register (i.e., to own) such large amounts of land. He (Shaikh Muḥammad Toom) registered it in two blocks: Fallaata Block and Wad Haashim Block.

laghaayit °Ardeeba Ab-Garin, wara Maayirno. Musajjala fi khariita. Lamma fataḥo t-tasjiil – al-khawaajaat – sajjalaa sh-Sheekh Muḥammad Toom wad ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa. Aẓinnaa l-furṣa l-waḥiida l-ḥaṣal le t-tasjiil fi s-Suudaan. Bi°tabiruuha zey ghalṭa kida; keef yismiḥu le afraad yisajjilu araaḍi be l-kimmiyyaat di. Sajjalaa sh-Sheekh Muḥammad Toom be marbuu°een: fi marbuu° Fallaata wa marbuu° Wad Haashim.

عربية أب قرن، ورا مايرنو. مسجلة في خريطة. لما فتحوا التسجيل – الخواجات – سجلها الشيخ محمد توم ود الشيخ طلحة. أظنها الفرصة الوحيدة الحصل للتسجيل في السودان. يعتبروها زي غلطة كدا، كيف يسمحو لأفراد يسجلوا أراضي بالكميات دي. سجلها الشيخ محمد توم بمربوعين: في مربوع فلاتة ومربوع ود هاشم.

Q: You have said that your relatives came from North Africa. How did they then arrive to this area?

When Granada (Ghurnaata – in Andalusia) fell (in 1505)...⁷ Of course, the fall of Granada coincided with the emergence of the Funj Sultanate. We are among the families that appeared here following the fall of Granada. Our family migrated and came to this area; the Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahirs (i.e., Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir, his father and his grandfather) were all born here (in the

Lamma sagaṭat Ghurnaata fi l-Andalus (°aam 1505)... Ṭaba°an suguṭ Ghurnaata yaahu zuhuur Mamlakat al-Fuunj. Aniḥna min al-°usar az-ṣaharat hina ma°a suguṭ Ghurnaata. Haajarat wa jaat al-mantiga di; naas al-Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir deel mawluudiin kullahum hina. Ya°ni iza kaan mawluud ḥawaali alf wu subu°miyya, abuuḥu wa jiddu mawjuudiin fi l-mantiga di

س: قلت أهلكم ديل جاينين من شمال إفريقيا؛ طيب كيف وصلوا المنطقة دي؟

لما سقطت غرناطة في الأندلس (عام 1505)... طبعاً سقوط غرناطة ياهو ظهور مملكة الفونج. أنحن من الأسرة الظهرت هنا مع سقوط غرناطة. هاجرت وجات المنطقة دي، ناس الحاج الطاهر ديل مولودين كلهم هنا. يعني إذا كان مولود حوالي ألف وسبعماية، أبوه وجده موجودين في المنطقة دي من بداية التاريخ. التقوا مع الأسرة بتاعة الشيخ طلحة. هم، طبعاً دارأيهم هم، إنهم قادمين من الشمال

⁷ Granada was under Muslim (Moorish) rule for almost eight centuries before being recaptured by Spanish Christian forces in 1492 (i.e., somewhat sooner than this informant thinks).

Q: This means that he (Shaikh Wad-Haashim) does/did not have any (kinship) relation with the Fallaata (i.e., Fulani)!

س: يعني معناها ما عنده صلة بالفلاتة!

Yes, (he was not related to Fulani people) at his grandfather's level; Shaikh Wad-Haashim's father was from the Shanaagiit and his mother from the Fallaata (Fulani).

La, hinaak aj-jadd al-°a°laa abuuhu min ash-Shanaagiit wa ummu min al-Fallaata.

لا، هناك الجد الأعلى؛ أبوه من الشناقيط وأمه من الفلاتة.

Q: You have said that the Funj did give land to Haaj at-Taahir. Why did they give him land?

س: قلتوا الفونج أدوه (أي حاج الطاهر) أرض؛ ليه أدوه أرض؟

There is a popular story, which says that the Funj (Sultan) molested Haaj at-Taahir, regarding him as a stranger. Therefore, Haaj at-Taahir instigated the Suleimaniyan ants against him (using supernatural powers).⁶ In order to appease his anger and gain his favour, they (i.e., the Funj) gave him land in the proximity of their capital (Sennar).

Fi gişsa kida sha°biyya. Al-Fuunj, be i°tibaaru zool ghariib, haşal leehu kida noo° min al-istifzaaz. Salla° aleehum an-naml as-Sileemaani; jarra °aleehum shi kida, gara leehum. Fi n-nihaaya haawalo yirađduuhu ya°ni. Addoohu ariđ gariiba min °aaşimatam.

في قصة كدا شعبية. الفونج، باعتباره زول غريب، حصل ليه كدا نوع من الاستفزاز، سلط عليهم النمل السليمانى، جر عليهم شي كدا، قرا ليه. في النهاية حاولوا يرضوه يعني. أدوه أرض قريبة من عاصمتهم.

Q: Have you heard where this land begins and where it ends?

س: سمعت الواطة بتبدا من وين لي وين؟

The land extends from the textile factory of Sennar to

Al-waaṭa tabda min maşna° an-nasiij bitaa° Sinnaar da

الواطة تبدا من مصنع النسيج بتاع سنار دا لغاية

⁶ The expression 'Suleimaniyan ants' refers to the Prophet Suleimaan (Salomon) and to the fact that he is attributed great wisdom and strong supernatural powers in Islamic tradition. According to the latter tradition, these supernatural powers, which were bestowed upon him by Allah, include the ability to talk to ants.

woman) called Ḥaliima, the mother of Shaikh Muḥammad Toom (himself a son of Shaikh Ṭalḥa). The Shaikh Ṭalḥas crossed to the eastern side of the (Blue) Nile and the Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭaahirs (i.e., Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭaahir and his family) remained on the western side in a village that Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭaahir had established under the name of ‘al-Fiteeh’. Their graveyard was in Maiurno. It was Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭaahir who founded al-Fiteeh and Shaikh Wad-Haashim changed its name into ‘Wad Haashim’.

biga saakniin hina, awlaad al-Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭaahir, al-li hiya l-Fiteeh di, wa Maayirno bigat al-maqaabir bitaa°atum. Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭaahir hu al-li assas al-Fiteeh, wa Sheekh Wad-Haashim ḥawwal al-Fiteeh le Wad Haashim.

الفتيح لود هاشم.

Q: Do you know from which tribe Shaikh Wad-Haashim is/was?

س: شيخ ودهاشم عندك فكرة قبيلته شنو؟

Same as Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭaahir. According to the information I got, this lineage (i.e., group) came (to Sudan) via the Libyan Desert; there is even one of its branches which stayed there (in the Libyan Desert). Shaikh Wad-Haashim was not born in this area; he was born in Wad al-°Asha in the Gezira. His mother was from the Masallamiyya⁵ tribe and his father was from the Shanaagiiṭ (Mauritanians).

Be nafs aṣ-ṣila bitaa°at al-Ḥaaj aṭ-Ṭaahir. Wa s-sulaala di jaat °an ṭariig aṣ-Ṣahraa° al-Liibiyya, °ala ḥasab al-ma°luumaat al-li ana ligitaa; ḥatta fi fari° minnaa ga°ad hinaak. Ash-Sheekh Wad-Haashim maa mawluud fi l-mantiga di, mawluud fii Wad al-°Asha fi j-Jaziira. Ummu min gabiilat al-Masallamiyya wa abuuḥu min ash-Shanaagiiṭ.

بنفس الصلة بتاعة الحاج الطاهر. والسلالة دي جات عن طريق الصحراء الليبية، على حسب المعلومات اللي أنا لقيتها، حتى في فرع منها قعد هناك. الشيخ ودهاشم ما مولود في المنطقة دي، مولود في ود العشا في الجزيرة. أمه من قبيلة المسلمية وأبوه من الشناقيط.

⁵ It is often said that a branch of the Masallamiyya (Arab) tribe descends from a Fulani man.

had been buried in Old Senar, but he himself was buried in Maiurno³ and his tomb was identified. He came to this area during the reign of Makk aj-Jahmaan, the Makk⁴ of the Funj. A famous story (problem) occurred between him and the Makk. I think that he (Ḥaaj aṭ-Taahir) was responsible for the religious (Islamic) education; therefore, they rewarded him by registering land for him. The Funj registered the land for him on a piece of leather and signed it; it is still there.

fii Maayirno, wa bayyano l-gabur bitaa^u. Hu ja l-mantiḡa di liga l-Makk aj-Jahmaan, Makk al-Fuunj. Al-muhim ḥaṣalat leehu ma^aaahu giṣṣa kida mashhuura. Kaan aẓinnu mutwalli t-ta^lliim ad-diini; fa kaafoohu bee arid. Gaamo sajjaloooha leehu l-Fuunj fii giṭa^a min aj-jilid wa maḡo^o aleeha; mawjuuda.

فكافوه بي أرض. قاموا سجلوها
ليه الفونج في قطعة من الجلد
ومضوا عليها، موجودة.

Q: What is/was Ḥaaj aṭ-Taahir's relation with Shaikh Ṭalḥa?

س: وحاج الطاهر صلته شنو
بالشيخ طلحة؟

His relation with Shaikh Ṭalḥa was as follows: Ḥaaj aṭ-Taahir was married to Shaikh Ṭalḥa's maternal aunt in al-Waaṣliyya. When Ḥaaj aṭ-Taahir had the land registered for him, he brought the Shaikh Ṭalḥas (i.e., Shaikh Ṭalḥa and his brothers) to this area. Shaikh Ṭalḥa then got married to a daughter of his maternal aunt (i.e., a daughter of Ḥaaj aṭ-Taahir), (a

Ṣilatu be sh-Sheekh Ṭalḥa, al-Ḥaaj aṭ-Taahir mutzawwij^o ammat ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa fi l-Waaṣliyya. Lamma sajjal al-^oarid bitaa^{tu} saagum min al-Waaṣliyya jaabum al-mantiḡa di. Ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa itzawwaj bitt^o ammatu (bitt Ḥaaj aṭ-Taahir), Ḥaliima, umm ash-Sheekh Muḥammad Toom. Naas ash-Sheekh Ṭalḥa^o abaro be sh-sharig wa deel

صلته بالشيخ طلحة، الحاج الطاهر متزوج عمة الشيخ طلحة في الواصلية. لما سجل الأرض بتاعته ساقهم من الواصلية جابهم المنطقة دي. الشيخ طلحة اتزوج بت عمته (بت حاج الطاهر)، حليمة، أم الشيخ محمد توم. ناس الشيخ طلحة عبروا بالشرق وديل بقوا ساكنين هنا، أولاد الحاج الطاهر، اللي هي الفتية دي، ومايرنو بقت المقابر بتاعتهم. حاج الطاهر هو اللي أسس الفتية، وشيخ ودهاشم حوّل

³ The graveyard in which Ḥaaj aṭ-Taahir was buried existed before the establishment of Maiurno town (1906). The Maiurno people continued burying their dead in this graveyard, but now it has become too full; at present, the dead are only buried in it from time to time.

⁴ 'Makk' is here used as a synonym of 'Sultan'. As will become clear below, the informant dates the birth of Ḥaaj aṭ-Taahir to around 1700, ca. a century before the fall of the Funj Sultanate and its conquest by forces of Muḥammad^o Ali Pasha, the Ottoman Turkish ruler of Egypt (1821).

INTERVIEW: HAASHIM YAḤYA °ABDALFADIIL

AGE AND PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE INTERVIEWEE:

60 years, born in Ḥillat Ismaa°iil

DATE AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW:

June 10, 2011; Ḥillat Ismaa°iil

Q: We heard that this village (Ḥillat Ismaa°iil) was founded by one of Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir's grandchildren¹ and that Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir had a large amount of land in this area. Please, tell us about him and his history.

HAASHIM

Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir was one of the great figures in the history of this area. I am one of his descendants. There are contradictions on his ethnic origin. People tend to relate him to West Africa, but we, as a family, have a different opinion. To us, Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir's father was from the Shanaagiiṭ (Mauritanians)² and his mother was from the Fallaata (i.e., Fulani). He came from the area of al-Waaṣliyya (in the Gezira) and lived in Old Sennar. His grandfathers

Al-Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir min ash-shakhṣiyyaat al-°aziima fii taariikh l-mantiḡa di. Ana waaḥid min aḥfaadu. Fi taḡaarub fi l-aqwaal ḥawl aṣlu. Fi naas yinza°u yiwadduuhum Gharb Ifriiqiya, wa niḥna ka °usra °indana ra°y. Al-Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir abuuḥu min ash-Shanaagiiṭ wa ummu min al-Fallaata. Jaayi min mantiḡat al-Waaṣliyya, wa °aash fii Sinnaar al-gadiiima, juduudu madfuuniin fii Sinnaar al-gadiiima, laakin hu [= huwa] madfuun hina

س: سمعنا إنه الحلة (حلة إسماعيل) دي أسسها واحد من أحفاد الحاج الطاهر وإنه الحاج الطاهر كان عنده أراضي واسعة في المنطقة دي. كدي حدثنا عنه وعن تاريخه.

هاشم
الحاج الطاهر من الشخصيات العظيمة في تاريخ المنطقة دي. أنا واحد من أحفاده. في تضارب في الأقوال حول أصله. في ناس ينزعوا يودوهم غرب إفريقيا، ونحن كأسرة عندنا رأي. الحاج الطاهر أبوه من الشناقيط وأمه من الفلاتة. جاي من منطقة الواصلية وعاش في سنار القديمة، جدوده مدفونين في سنار القديمة، لكن هو مدفون هنا في مايرنو، بيئوا القبر بتاعه. هو جا المنطقة دي لقي المك الجحمان، مك الفونج. المهم حصلت ليه معاه قصة كدا مشهورة. كان أظنه متولي التعليم الديني،

¹ The term 'grandchildren' is here used loosely to refer to further descendants of Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir.

² On July 15, 2012, I conducted a group interview in Ḥillat Ismaa°iil with descendants of Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir, including the informant (Haashim) and his father. In that interview, one of Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir descendants (°Abdulgaadir al-Yasa° Baabikir Ilyaas al-Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir) asserted that his great grandfather (i.e., Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir) was a Fulani; the informant (Haashim) kept silent and did not make any attempt to bring forward his own view about Ḥaaj at-Ṭaahir being of 'Shanaagiiṭ'/North African origin.

ملاحظات أولية:

- لقد لعب الوجود المبكر لقريتي ود هاشم والشيخ طلحة، كمركزين للنشاط الصوفي وتعلم القرآن، دوراً كبيراً في هجرات الفولانيين إلى هذه المنطقة.⁸
- الأقاليم التي أتى قدامى الفولانيين منها مباشرة هي دارفور وكردفان والجزيرة (المروية). وعند سؤالهم عن الأقاليم الأبعد التي هاجر منها أسلافهم، فكلهم يذكرون شمال إفريقيا، بالأخص تونس، دون الإشارة من قريب أو بعيد إلى غرب إفريقيا.
- أعداد كبيرة من الأسر في هذه المجموعة شاركت في الحركة المهدية أولاً ثم توجهت إلى هذه المنطقة مباشرة بعد معركة كرري (1897) التي بها "خربت المهديّة"، أي انتهت.
- معظم الفولانيين الأنصار قد توجّه إلى هذه المنطقة لواحد أو أكثر من الأسباب التالية (حسب إفاداتهم):
 - أ) إن خليفة المهدي (أي الخليفة عبد الله) نصحهم بذلك.
 - ب) إن الشيخ محمد توم بن الشيخ طلحة، شيخ قرية الشيخ طلحة في ذلك الحين، هو ابن عمهم (في القبيلة)، أي إنه فولاني مثلهم على حد قولهم، وقد أرسل يدعوهم للانضمام إليه.
 - ج) تتمتع المنطقة بفرص جاذبة للرعى والزراعة.
 - د) إن قرية الشيخ طلحة مكان آمن، حيث لم يتمكن الإنجليز من الوصول إليها، ولم يحدث فيها أي نوع من العنف المصاحب لدخول الاستعمار.
- يميل قدامى الفولانيين إلى السكوت عن هويتهم الإثنية، وقد قرر بعض منهم سلفاً تبني هوية (عربية) جديدة.

⁸ لقد جذبت هاتان القرستان، باعتبارهما مركزين للنشاط الصوفي، أيضاً مجموعات كبيرة من الوافدين من مختلف الإثنيات ومختلف أنحاء السودان، منهم العرب ومنهم غير العرب، ومن لم يسكن فيهما سكن حولهما.

بل هي من الصليحاب، وهو فرع من قبيلة المبا (البرقو)؛ وثانياً، لقد ولد في السوكي ونشأ فيها في الوسط الاجتماعي لقدامى الفولانيين، وبالتالي لم يكتسب شيئاً من هوية فولانيي ما بعد المهديّة، كما لم يتحدث اللغة الفولانية (فانلدي). في هذه الحالة، فإنه عملياً أقرب إلى قدامى الفولانيين من فولانيي ما بعد المهديّة الذين ينتمي إليهم والده.

أما الأشخاص الذين أجريت معهم مقابلات في أمدرمان فهم:

□ محمد الأمين حسن إبراهيم، معتمد السوكي (في ذلك الحين): ولد في مايرنو، وبذلك فهو من فولانيي ما بعد المهديّة. رغم أنه كان مضيّفة طيلة فترة إقامتي بالسوكي للعمل الميداني، ورغم أنه كان المنسق لكل اجتماعاتي مع الأشخاص والمجموعات التي أجريت معها المقابلات باعتباره المسؤول السياسي والتنفيذي الأول في محلية السوكي وأكثر إحاطة بالأحوال الاجتماعية بالمحلية بطولها وعرضها، بالأخص فيما يتصل بالفولانيين وعلاقاتهم وتفاعلهم مع المجموعات الإثنية الأخرى، إلا أنني لم انتبه إلى أهمية إجراء مقابلة معه إلا مؤخراً. عليه، تمت المقابلة معه في إحدى رحلاته المنتظمة إلى أمدرمان، حيث تقيم إحدى زوجاته الثلاث.

□ كامل عبدالرحمن الشيخ محمد أبوكومة، وبله الطاهر محمد سالم: كلاهما من قرية ود هاشم (عرب) ولكنهما مستقران في أمدرمان في حي سكني (حي الشقلة) يضم عدداً كبيراً من أهالي ود هاشم. كلاهما مرتبط ارتباطاً وثيقاً بقرينته، يقومان بزيارات منتظمة إليها في مختلف المناسبات، لا سيما الأعياد والوفيات. ينتمي بله الطاهر إلى مجموعة قدامى الفولانيين بود هاشم، أما كامل عبدالرحمن فهو من مجموعة الدناقلة المستقرين بهذه القرية، ترجع صلته بهذا البحث إلى واقع أن جده أبوكومة هو الذي خلف الشيخ ودهاشم في سجادته، حيث أن الشيخ ودهاشم لم يخلف ذرية، وأن الشيخ أبوكومة قد أفنى عمره في خدمته. لذلك أوصى قبيل وفاته بأن تؤول السجادة إلى الشيخ أبوكومة، ومن ثم تواصلت الخلافة في أسرته إلى يومنا هذا.⁵ وكامل عبدالرحمن هو الشيخ الحالي للسجادة، وبالتالي الزعيم الروحي لمجتمع ود هاشم.

□ العمدة يعقوب آدم يعقوب: هو عمدة عمودية في منطقة تلس (جنوب دارفور) يقع في إدارتها جزء من الفلانة سندنقة،⁶ ويمتلك كذلك منزلاً في أمدرمان، تم فيه إجراء المقابلة بحضور مجموعة من سندنقة دارفور.⁷ واتضح من خلال هذه المقابلة أن بعض الأفراد من هذه المجموعة لهم صلة قرى مع مجموعة السندنقة المستقرّة في منطقة سنار. تجدر الإشارة إلى أن السندنقة في منطقة سنار قد انقسموا مؤخراً إلى مجموعتين متناحرتين إثر خلاف حول هويته الإثنية: مجموعة قررت التحلي عن الهوية الفولانية وتبني هوية عربية (حسيناب)، وأخرى تصر على التمسك بهويتها الفولانية الأصلية وعدم الزحزحة عنها قيد أنملة، رغم أن أفرادها - مثل أفراد المجموعة الأولى - أيضاً لا يتحدثون اللغة الفولانية. الغريب في الأمر، أن هاتين المجموعتين يقودهما شقيقان، كل منهما يتزعم إحداهما.

⁵ هذه حالة فريدة في تاريخ الصوفية في السودان انتقلت فيها "السجادة" (ومن ثم البركة) إلى أسرة ليست لها صلة رحم مع أسرة الشيخ المؤسس للطريقة في المنطقة.

⁶ هذا، علماً بأن الفلانة سندنقة في منطقة تلس (جنوب دارفور) لهم عمودية قائمة بذاتها تحت إدارة العمدة إبراهيم يونس.

⁷ الفلانة سندنقة في دارفور هم فرع من الفلانة يسوجي/عيسوجي (يتحدثون باللغة الفولانية)، وهو أكبر فرع في قسم الفلانة إيبا (في مقابل إيبا - لا يتحدثون اللغة). كل السندنقة الذين أجريت معهم المقابلة بمنزل العمدة يعقوب آدم يعقوب بأمدرمان (أبريل 2013) هم من المتحدثين باللغة الفولانية.

نيجيريا ومن أماكن أخرى متفرقة في غرب إفريقيا (السنغال، مالي، بوركينا فاسو، النيجر، الكمرون، إلخ). وهؤلاء يتركزون في مدينة مايرنو الحالية الواقعة على الضفة الغربية للنيل الأزرق على بعد 15 كيلومتراً جنوبي سنار، إضافة إلى قرى أخرى تفرعت من مايرنو وأُنشئت على ضفتي النيل الأزرق جنوباً في اتجاه الروصيرص والدمازين، وعلى نهري الدندر والرهدي.³ على عكس قدامى الفولانيين، فإن هؤلاء ما زالوا محتفظين لحد كبير بالثقافة الفولانية من عادات وتقاليد، وما زال أغلبهم يتحدث اللغة الفولانية (جنباً إلى جنب مع اللغة العربية)، غير أن المؤثرات الثقافية العربية السودانية أخذت تسيطر فيهم بخطى متسارعة.

لقد دفعني أوضاع هذين القسمين من الفولانيين بمنطقة سنار (أي قدامى الفولانيين وفولانيو ما بعد المهديّة)، إلى السعي إلى دراستهما من حيث تاريخ الهجرة إلى المنطقة، وسبل كسب العيش، والإسهام في التنمية الاقتصادية (باعتبار أفرادهما رعاة وزراعاً)، والمشاكل المتعلقة بالهوية (بالنسبة للقسم الثاني على وجه الخصوص)، إلى جانب التداخل والتفاعل والتعايش مع القبائل الأخرى والمجتمعات المجاورة، ومن ثم درجة الاندماج فيها.

على أية حال، لقد نال فولانيو ما بعد المهديّة القاطنون في منطقة سنار حظاً وافراً في البحث والنشر. فقد قمنا - بروفيسير/غونتر شلي وشخصي - في العشرين عاماً الماضية بجمع كمٍ مقدر من المادة البحثية حولهم، وذلك في إطار مشروع كان يضطلع به معهد ماكس بلانك للأنثروبولوجيا الاجتماعية (ألمانيا) تحت عنوان "الإثنية في سياق جديد"، وما زال جزء من هذه المادة في مرحلة التحليل والإعداد للنشر.⁴ على عكس ذلك، فإن القسم الأول منهم، أي قدامى الفولانيين، لم يتم التطرق إليه بصورة جادة؛ فكل ما جاء حولهم في البحوث والكتب عبارة عن شذرات هنا وهناك. لذلك رأيت أن أركز في هذا المجلد على هذا القسم دون سواه.

إن المادة التي أعرضها في هذا المجلد تم اقتطاعها من مقابلات مطوّلة أجريتها في إطار مشروع "الرعي في تفاعل مع سبل أخرى لاستخدام الأرض في منطقة النيل الأزرق بالسودان" الذي يموله معهد ماكس بلانك المذكور أعلاه ويرأسه (أي المشروع) البروفيسير/غونتر شلي، مدير هذا المعهد. وقد تم جمع هذه المادة خلال ثلاث رحلات ميدانية في المنطقة موضوع الدراسة، وذلك في يونيو 2011، ويناير 2013، ومارس 2013. هذا إضافة إلى ثلاث مقابلات أخرى أجريت بأمدرمان في فبراير 2012، ويوليو 2012، وأبريل 2013. وتشمل الأماكن التي جمعت فيها المادة في المنطقة قيد الدراسة كلاً من مدينة السوكي وقرية تيريرا كوع النحل (حوالي 7 كيلومتراً غربي السوكي)، ورحلة إسماعيل (حوالي 8 كيلومتراً جنوبي سنار) وقرية المرفع (حوالي 10 كيلومتراً جنوبي مايرنو) (انظر الخارطة في صفحة vi).

باستثناء عمر محمد قدس عبدالله، فإن كل الشخصيات التي أجريت معها المقابلات تنتمي إلى قدامى الفولانيين. أما عمر قدس فله وضع خاص؛ فقد قدم والده من منطقة صكتو - وهي نفس المنطقة التي تحركت منها هجرة الطاهر/ميورنو - ووصل إلى السوكي تحت حماية السلطان ميورنو. ولكن رغم ذلك لا يمكن تصنيف عمر في فولانيي ما بعد المهديّة بهذه المنطقة، وذلك لأنه: أولاً، لم تكن والدته من الفولانيين،

³ مزيد من المعلومات حول هذه القرى والظروف الاجتماعية السياسية التي أدت لتأسيسها، انظر Abu-Manga (2007).

⁴ جمعت هذه المادة خلال العامين 1996 و 1998 ونُشر جزء منها إلكترونياً (Schlee 2013)؛ انظر أيضاً Schlee 2000 و Schlee & Abu-Manga 2017).

مقدمة الأميين أبومتفة

لقد بيّنت في دراسات سابقة - وكذلك بيّن باحثون آخرون¹ - أن منطقة سنار بوسط السودان ظلت لعدة عقود خلال القرن التاسع عشر، بؤرة جذب واستقرار لهجرات الفولانيين، أتى بعضهم من مناطق متفرقة في كردفان ودارفور في حين أن بعضهم قدم مباشرة من غرب إفريقيا. ووفقاً للتقاليد السودانية والإفريقية بصورة عامة، تُميّز كل مجموعة من هؤلاء الفولانيين نفسها باسم قبلي أو عشائري يرجع إلى مؤسسها (مثل فلاتة زروقاب، سندقة، أولاد عثمانة، إلخ) أو إلى الجهة التي هاجرت منها (مثل فلاتة صكتو، برنو، كاتسينا، إلخ). ويمكننا تصنيف مجموعات الفولانيين في منطقة سنار، بمختلف قبائلها وعشائرها، في قسمين رئيسيين استناداً إلى تاريخ هجراتها ودرجة اندماجها في المجتمعات (العربية) المحلية، وهما:

(أ) قدامى الفولانيين، و(ب) فولانيو ما بعد المهديّة.

يضم قسم قدامى الفولانيين المجموعات أو الأسر التي استقرت بهذه المنطقة قبل قيام الدولة المهديّة (1885-1897) وتلك التي لحقت مباشرة بعد سقوط هذه الدولة في أيدي الاستعمار البريطاني، أي بعد معركة كرري عام 1897. وهؤلاء الأخيرون تحركوا في الأساس من دارفور وكردفان لنصرة المهدي وكانوا في معيته إلى أمدرمان أولاً ثم بعد ذلك إلى منطقة سنار بعد "حرب المهديّة". ونسبة للاستقرار المبكر لقدامى الفولانيين في السودان وتداخلهم في المجموعات المحلية وتصاهرهم وتفاعلهم معها، وغلبة الثقافة العربية فيهم، فقد فقدوا بمرور الزمن كل عناصر ثقافتهم الفولانية الأصلية وتراثها وعاداتها، بما في ذلك اللغة الفولانية نفسها، أي أصبحوا "عرباً" لساناً وثقافة. يتمثل الموطن الأول لقدامى الفولانيين بمنطقة سنار في قرينتين يعتبران أقدم قرى "الفلاتة" (فلاني) في المنطقة، وهما قرية ود هاشم² على بعد 12 كيلومتراً جنوبي سنار على الضفة الغربية من النيل الأزرق، وقرية الشيخ طلحة على الضفة الشرقية للنهر قبالة ود هاشم (مع الميل قليلاً نحو الجنوب). تشكلت نواة هاتين القريتين من قرية أخرى أسبق نشأت باسم الفتيح في العقود الأخيرة لمملكة الفونج، وتحولت فيما بعد من موضعها قليلاً وتغيّر اسمها إلى ود هاشم. وتكونت كل من قريتي ود هاشم والشيخ طلحة وتطورتا على نمط القرى المركزية التي تميّز بها عهد الفونج، دون سواه من العهود، أي قيام القرية حول "تقابة" رجل صالح أو وليّ من أولياء الله، يجذب إليها المريدون من كل حذب وصوب ومن مختلف القبائل، تدوب فيهم الفوارق القبلية والطبقية، فيتعايشون ويتصاهرون ويتمازجون، وينشأ فيهم مجتمع مترابط ومؤدب ومثالي، ولاؤه لله ولشيخ الطريقة.

تفرعت من قرية الشيخ طلحة مجموعة من القرى الأخرى المجاورة لها مثل مسرة العجوز وحمدنا الله وعسلانقا. واليوم تمثل مدينة السوكي (حوالي 40 كيلومتراً جنوب شرق الشيخ طلحة) أكبر تجمع لقدامى الفولانيين في المنطقة، وبها رئاسة المحلية (محلية السوكي).

أما فولانيو ما بعد المهديّة في المنطقة فهم جماعات هجرة الطاهر/ميورنو التي وصلت في العقد الأول من القرن الماضي قادمة مباشرة من ما يعرف اليوم بـ شمال

¹ انظر مثلاً: Nasr (1980) و Duffield (1981) و Abu-Manga (1986).

² في كل هذا المجلد تستخدم صيغة "ود هاشم" (كلمتان) للإشارة إلى القرية، بينما تستخدم صيغة "ودهاشم" (كلمة واحدة) للإشارة إلى مؤسسها.

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قداىى الفولانىين فى منطقة سنار (السودان)

[الأمين أيومنقة]



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