OLD FULANI
IN THE SENNAR AREA (SUDAN)

[Al-Amin Abu-Manga]
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Series Editor’s Preface ................................................................. iv
Introduction .................................................................................. v

Other Volumes in the Series ....................................................... 106

Index .......................................................................................... 99
Bibliography .................................................................................. 97

Interview: Muhammad Abu-Bakr Ḥasan Jumʿa ......................... 83
Interview: Ahmad Abu-Bakr Ḥasan Jumʿa ................................ 79
Interview: Muḥammad Al-Amiin Ḥasan Ibrahiim (Commissioner of
    as-Suuki Locality) ................................................................. 71
Interview: ‘Īṣa Thaabit ................................................................. 65
Interview: ‘Umar Muḥammad Qudus ‘Abdullaahi ....................... 45
Interview with Members of the Zarruugaab Clan of Fulani Living in
    as-Suuki ................................................................................. 33
Interview: Suleimaan Ahmad Ḥasanein .................................... 25
Interview: Kaamil ‘Abdulrahmaan ash-Shaikh Muḥammad
    Abu-Kuuma ......................................................................... 11
Interview: Haashim Yaḥya ‘Abdalfāḍiil .................................... 1

Mัดمئه ................................................................. 05
فهرس المحتويات ................................................................. 03
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 scholars\(^1\) 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 battle\(^2\) 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


\(^{2}\) 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’. 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’, 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, Tireera Kuwān-Naḥal (ca. 7 km west of as-Suuki), Ḥillat Ismaʿīl (ca. 8 km south of Sennar) and al-Murāfī (ca. 10 km south of Maiurno). With the exception of ʿUmar Muḥammad Qudus ʿabdullahi, 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 ʿUmar’s birth, ʿUmar 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, ʿUmar 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).

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).

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 ʿAbdulrahmaan ash-Shaikh Muḥammad Abu-Kuuma and Balla ʿṬaahir 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), as the latter did not get children and the former was his closest and most faithful follower. Accordingly, and following the directive of Shaikh Wad-Haashim himself, the sijjaada succession shifted to Abu-Kuuma’s family. Kaamil is the present sheikh of the sijjaada, i.e., the spiritual head of the Wad Haashim community.

▫ Omda Yaʿguub Adam Yaʿguub: He is the Omda of the Omodiyya in the Tulus area (Southern Darfur) under which the Sindiga Fulani clan used to be administered. 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 (ʿUmuudiyya) 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, 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 Jumʿa and Muḥammad Abu-Bakr Ḥasan Jumʿa), 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.
▫ 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’guub Adam Ya’guub 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.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
I am thankful to Martine Guichard for her editorial work on the material compiled in this book and her valuable suggestions for improving its readability.

The texts in Arabic have profited greatly from the critical reading by Kim-Eileen Endrikat.
2015
(X) Awad Alkarim, Elhadi Ibrahim Osman, Günther Schlee, and Jutta Turner: *Pastoralism in Interaction with other Forms of Land Use in the Blue Nile Area of the Sudan III: The Methods of Citizen Science in the Study of Agropastoralism*

(XI) Schlee, Günther: “Civilisations”

(XII) Kohlhagen, Dominik, and IMPRS REMEP (eds): *REMEP – Retaliation, Mediation and Punishment: Research Agenda and Projects*

(XIII) Isir and Günther Schlee: *Rendille and Ariaal: A Linguistic and Cultural Affiliation Census II. The Western Reaches (South Horr, Loiyangalani, Haro, Kulal, Ngurunit)*

2016
(XIV) Jiménez Tovar, Soledad: *The Anthropologist as a Mushroom: Notes from a PhD Research Project in Central Asia*

(XV) Köhler, Florian: *The Sedentarization of Dwelling: Continuity and Change in the Habitat of Fulɓe Wodaɓe Pastoralists and Urban Migrants in Niger (Text and Photo Essays)*

2017
(XVI) Schlee, Günther, and Al-Amin Abu-Manga: *Fulɓe in the Blue Nile Area of Sudan: Field Notes and Interviews*

(XVII) Bedert, Marteen (in collaboration with Freeman B. Bartuah): *Notes on Settlement Histories of Gbelay-Geh Statutory District, Nimba County, Liberia*

For teaching purposes, all volumes are available as online PDFs under www.eth.mpg.de/dept_schlee_series_fieldnotes/index.html
OTHER VOLUMES IN THE SERIES

In the FIELD NOTES AND RESEARCH PROJECTS Series the following titles have been published so far:

2012
(I) Schlee, Günther (ed.): *Pastoralism in Interaction with other Forms of Land Use in the Blue Nile Area of the Sudan: Project Outline and Field Notes* 2009–10

2013
(III) Awad Alkarim, and Günther Schlee (eds): *Pastoralism in Interaction with other Forms of Land Use in the Blue Nile Area of the Sudan II: Herbarium and Plant Diversity in the Blue Nile Area, Sudan*
(VI) Finke, Peter, and Günther Schlee (eds): *CASCA – Centre for Anthropological Studies on Central Asia: Framing the Research, Initial Projects*

2014
(VIII) Schlee, Günther: *Das Glaubens- und Sozialsystem der Rendille – Kamelnomaden Nord-Kenias* (German Original of Volume VII, Reprint)
(IX) Isir and Günther Schlee: *Rendille and Ariaal: A Linguistic and Cultural Affiliation Census I. Logologo: Sabamba, Odoola, Manyatta Juu; Namarei: Ong’eli (Lomorut, Harugura, Ilmongoi); Goob Lengima; Korr: Bosnia, Lorora; Laisamis: Rengumo; Lepindira*
Old Fulani in the Sennar Area (Sudan)

U

Umar Muhammad Qudus
Abduallah/ Umar vii 33
45–59
Um Dam 15 16
Um Dibeekraat 66 86
Um Faraatiit 53
Um Jabbo (Fallaata/Fulani) 25 26
Um Ruwaaba 15
Upper Nile (province) 59

W

Wad al- Asha 3
Wad Haaruun 39
Wad Haashim (village) v vii ix
3 5 7 11 13 15 16 17 20
Wad Medani 50 54
Wau 45 46
West Africa v ix 1 9 73

Z

Zain al- Aabdiin 35 39
Zarrugaab (Fallaata/Fulani) 33
73 74
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Entry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Sennar Dam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Shaamiyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Shaasheena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Shaaygiyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Shaikh at-Tayyib Wad-Saalim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Shaikh Muhammed Toom Wad Baannaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Shaikh Fadul an-Naayir/Shaikh Fadul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Shaikh Hajo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Shaikh Ibrahim Saalim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Shaikh Muhammed Toom ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Shaikh Talha (sheikh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Shaikh Talha (village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Shaikh Wad-Haashim viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Shanaagii (Mauretanians)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Shendi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sindiga (Fallaata/Fulani) viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Singa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Soba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Sokoto v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Sokoto Fulani/Fallaata Sokoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Su’aad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Shuleihab (Borgo/Maba)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Suleimaan Ahmad Hasanein/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Suleimaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Sultan Mai-Wurno v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Taloodi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Teego</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Tijaniyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Tireera Kuu’ an-Nahal/Kuu’ an-Nahal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Muhammad al-Mahdi Ahmad an-Naayir/Muhammad al-Mahdi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Muhammad Baabikir Sa’i’d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Muhammad Baabikir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Muhammad ‘Isa Thaabbit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Muhammad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Musabba’aat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Naa’isr Ahamad ‘Umar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Nazir Ahmad as-Sammaani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Nigeria vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>North Africa ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Nuba Mountains vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Owners of Licenses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Omda Ibrahim Yuunis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Omda Musaa’ad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Omda Ya’guub Adam Ya’guub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Omdurman v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Omdurman Fallaata (village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Oman Durman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Oman Durman Fallaata (village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Owners of Licenses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Reiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Renk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Sa’duun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Sammaniyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Sennar v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Sennar at-Tagaatu’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Shabiin Galaadiima/Galaadiima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Shabiin Galaadiima/Galaadiima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Shendi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Sindiga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Singa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Soba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Sokoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Su’aad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Shuleihab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Suleimaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Suleimaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Sultan Mai-Wurno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Taloodi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Teego</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Tijaniyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Tireera Kuu’ an-Nahal/Kuu’ an-Nahal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Muhammad al-Mahdi Ahmad an-Naayir/Muhammad al-Mahdi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Muhammad Baabikir Sa’i’d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Muhammad Baabikir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Muhammad ‘Isa Thaabbit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Muhammad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Musabba’aat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Naa’isr Ahamad ‘Umar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Nazir Ahmad as-Sammaani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Nigeria vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>North Africa ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Nuba Mountains vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Owners of Licenses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Omda Ibrahim Yuunis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Omda Musaa’ad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Omda Ya’guub Adam Ya’guub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Omdurman v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Omdurman Fallaata (village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Oman Durman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Oman Durman Fallaata (village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Owners of Licenses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Reiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Renk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Sa’duun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Sammaniyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Sennar v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Sennar at-Tagaatu’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Old Fulani in the Sennar Area (Sudan)  

- Farming schemes 51|53|55|67|69|70
- Funj 2|4|6|30|31|41|42
- Funj Sultanate 2|5|6

Categories:

- Gedaref 50|51|52|54|57
- Gezira ix|1|3|11
- Gireeda 66|84|86
- Gisheesh 85|86
- Granada 5

Libya 82
Libyan Desert 3
Livestock 35|69|70|89
(see also cattle)

Maghreb 6|84
Mahdi ix|14|26|36|37|38|39|65|66|81|84|85|86
Mahdiyya ix|7|26|35|36|37|38|39|40|65|84|86
Maiurno v|vii|viii|2|3|5|36|46|47|49|71|73|79|90
Makk aj-Jahmaan 2
Mali 34
Marrakesh 80
Masallamiyya (Arabs) 3
Mecca 34|47|84
Medina 34|46|47
Morocco 80
Mu‘assasa 68|69
Muḥammad Abu-Bakr Ḥasan
Jum‘a/Muḥammad ix|79|83–91
Muḥammad Al-Amin Hasan
Ibrahiim/Muḥammad viii|71–76
Muḥammad ‘Ali Pasha 2

Haaj at-Ṭaahir 1|2|3|4|5|6|12|15
Haashim Yahya ‘Abdalfaḍiil/
Haashim 1–9
Hausa 71|79|83|88|89|90|91
Hijaaz 33|34
Hijra v|46
Hillat Ba‘ki 46
Hillat Isma‘iil vii|1
Hillat Wad Naasir 40
Huseinaab 74|76|79
Huseiniyya 74|81|91
Iba Fulani/Fallaata Iba ix
Ika Fulani/Fallaata Ika ix
Isooji (Fallaata/Fulani) ix
Jabal Um ‘Ali 34
Ja‘līyyiin 16|29|72
Jawaam‘a 16|87
Jerusalem 47
Juba 33
Kaamil ‘Abdulrahmaan ash-Shaikh
Muḥammad Abu-Kuuma/
Kaamil viii|11–15|17–20
Karari v|ix|35|40|65|66
A
Abbaasiyya Tagale  45\l 47
Abbuuda  53
Abdaljaliil Adam Ḥusein/
Mawlaana ʿAbdaljaliil  89\l 90
Abdullaahi ibn al-ʿAbbaas  41
Ab-Ḥajar  90
Abu-ʿAjaaj  33\l 40
Abu-Ḥujaar  13
Agriculture  7\l 14\l 52\l 55\l 58\l 68
Ahmad Abu-Bakr Ḥasan Jum’e
Ahmad  89\l 90
al-ʿAzaaaza  12
al-Busaata  40
al-Butaana  54\l 56
al-Fao  34
al-Fashashooya  85
al-Fiteeh  3\l 13\l 14\l 15
al-Lakandi  71\l 90
al-Masallamiyya (village)  11
al-Muraffa  79\l 83\l 85\l 87\l 88\l 89
al-Waašliyya  1\l 2
Andalusia  5\l 6\l 80
Ansar  81
Arabs  53\l 73\l 79\l 80\l 82\l 83\l 84
Ardeeba Ab-Garin (‘Ireediiba)  5
ar-Raayaat  13
ar-Riheeṭa  35
ar-Rookab  33
Ashraaf  91
As-Suuki  25\l 27\l 33\l 35\l 40\l 41\l 42\l 45\l 46\l 47\l 48\l 49\l 50\l 52\l 58\l 65\l 71\l 72\l 73\l 74\l 75\l 76\l 86\l 90
Aṭbara  34
Attahiru/ata-Taahir  80\l 82

B
Baggara  38
Bakht ar-Riḍa  51
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Katasinia</td>
<td>كاتسينيا</td>
<td>Katasinia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulani</td>
<td>فلاني</td>
<td>Fulani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sennar</td>
<td>سنار</td>
<td>Sennar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>السودان</td>
<td>Sudan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Fulani</td>
<td>فلاني</td>
<td>Old Fulani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sennar Area</td>
<td>Sennar</td>
<td>Sennar Area</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**

- **ف:**
- **ق:**
- **ك:**
- **ل:**
- **م:**
- **ن:**
- **ه:**
- **و:**
- **م:**

**Keywords:**

- **موريتانيا** (Mauritania)
- **السودان** (Sudan)
- **ليبيا** (Libya)
- **العربية** (Arabic)
- **اللغة** (Language)
- **ال ++) (++)** (++)

**Table Entries:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Fulani</td>
<td>فلاني</td>
<td>Old Fulani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sennar Area</td>
<td>Sennar</td>
<td>Sennar Area</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Additional Information:**

- **موريتانيا** (Mauritania)
- **السودان** (Sudan)
- **ليبيا** (Libya)
- **العربية** (Arabic)
- **اللغة** (Language)
- **ال ++) (++)** (++)

**References:**

- **م:**
- **ن:**
- **ه:**
- **و:**
- **م:**

**Keywords:**

- **موريتانيا** (Mauritania)
- **السودان** (Sudan)
- **ليبيا** (Libya)
- **العربية** (Arabic)
- **اللغة** (Language)
- **ال ++) (++)** (++)

**Table Entries:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Fulani</td>
<td>فلاني</td>
<td>Old Fulani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sennar Area</td>
<td>Sennar</td>
<td>Sennar Area</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Additional Information:**

- **موريتانيا** (Mauritania)
- **السودان** (Sudan)
- **ليبيا** (Libya)
- **العربية** (Arabic)
- **اللغة** (Language)
- **ال ++) (++)** (++)

**Keywords:**

- **موريتانيا** (Mauritania)
- **السودان** (Sudan)
- **ليبيا** (Libya)
- **العربية** (Arabic)
- **اللغة** (Language)
- **ال ++) (++)** (++)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>رقم</th>
<th>الزيات</th>
<th>الزرك</th>
<th>الرهيبة</th>
<th>الرصيسر</th>
<th>الروكب</th>
<th>ريبا</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ز</th>
<th>زراعة</th>
<th>زروقاب (فلانة/فلاني)</th>
<th>زين العابدين</th>
<th>زين العابدين</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ص</th>
<th>صابون قلاديما/قلاديما</th>
<th>صابون قلاديما/فلاتة</th>
<th>صابون قلاديما/فلاتة</th>
<th>صابون قلاديما/فلاتة</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ط</th>
<th>الطاهر</th>
<th>الطبري (الموريتانية)</th>
<th>الطبري (الموريتانية)</th>
<th>الطبري (الموريتانية)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ع</th>
<th>عبنية تشلى</th>
<th>عربي نبيح</th>
<th>عربي نبيح</th>
<th>عربي نبيح</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>غ</th>
<th>غرب إفريقيا</th>
<th>غرب إفريقيا</th>
<th>غرب إفريقيا</th>
<th>غرب إفريقيا</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Index/100

الاسماء والأماكن
# INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>آ</th>
<th>أبوحجار 12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أبوحجار 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ألميسي 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أحمد أوبوكر حسن جمعة/ أحمد 79–82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أشراح 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أصحاب الرخص 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أم حبي (فلاتة/فلاني) 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أم دبكرات 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أمدرمان 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أمدرمان فلاتة (قرية) 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أم دم 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أم رواية 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أم فلاتة 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>الأندلس 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>إنجليز/بريطاني 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أنصار 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أولاد عثمانة (فلاتة/فلاني) 05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>إيبا فلاتة/فلاني إيبا 07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>إيسجي (فلاتة/فلاني) 07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>إيكا فلاتة/فلاني إيكا 07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ب</td>
<td>بخت الوضاء 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>برنو 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>برنو فلاتة/فلاني برنو 05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>السعارة 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>البطانة 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>بقارة 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>بله الطاهر محمد سالم/ بله 02–15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>بوركينا فاسو 06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>بيلو الداداري 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>تلف (في المزارع) 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>تلودي 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>تونس 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>تيقو 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج</td>
<td>جبال النوبية 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>جبل أم علي 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>الجزيرة 08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>جبلين 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>جامعه 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>جوبا 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>حاج الطاهر 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>حاجز 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>الحرب الاتحادي الديمقراطي/الاتحاديين 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>الحرب الشيوعي 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>حجاب 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>حسنية 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>حضانة 07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>حضينة 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>حضوان 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>حقل 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>حكمنا الله 05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خ</td>
<td>الخربوم 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>خليفة عبد الله 08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>خليفة 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>خليفة 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>خليل 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>خور البوح 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>د</td>
<td>دارفور 05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>دار مالي 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>دربوب 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>الدمازين 06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>الدندر 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>الدندر 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>دنقلا 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>دنقلا 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>دنقلا 16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Old Fulani in the Sennar Area (Sudan)


Photo 21: (Home) cattle of Muhammad Abu-Bakr Hasan Jum'a after their return from grazing in the evening, al-Muraffa (al-'Umda), February 2013

(Amin Abu-Manga, 2013)

Photo 22: The Sindiga Fulani neighbourhood in al-Muraffa (al-‘Umda)

(Amin Abu-Manga, 2013)

Old Fulani in the Sennar Area (Sudan)
Photo 20: (Home) cattle of Muḥammad Abu-Bakr Hasan Jumʿa after their return from grazing in the evening, al-Muraffa’ (al-ʿUmda), February 2013  
(Al-ʿAmin 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…

MUHAMMAD

These same youths who diverted and said that they are Huseiniyya (descendants of Husein\textsuperscript{11}) or ashraaf (descendants of the Prophet),\textsuperscript{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 Huseiniyya) 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.

Al-aan an-naa‰ bitkallmu ‘an as-sijill al-madani wa t-tasjiil wa ma t-tasjiil; fi ba‘ad al-aghaawil bitrajjih innu zaatu…

Nihña l-awlaad zaatum al-li hassa’ shaggio wa gaalo hum Huseiniyya aw ashraaf aw hum ma‘naata maa Fallaata, an-naa‰ deel hum al-li jo kha‰a‰s‰o Fallaata gaalo deel nimra wa‰hi‰d wa deel nimra ‘ieneen. Di‘aaya dassooha leena hina ‘ashaan ani‰ña nasiib al-Fallaata wu namshi be tariigum hum, (ya‘d‰k ba‘ad al-huduur), wu maa namshi ma‘a‰hum lamin ta‰uum as-saa’a. Kala‰mi da sajjaltu‰hu? Ana daayir kala‰mi da yitsajjal yis‰ma‘u‰hu hina‰k fii a‰yi mah‰l.

\textsuperscript{11} This Husein is indeed claimed to be one of the two well-known grandsons of the Prophet.

\textsuperscript{12} See previous interview for another view.
Hausa. Then Mawlaana ‘Abdaljalil 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. 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 (Muhammad Taahir) 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.


10 In 2002, a quarrel took place in Ab-Hajar 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 ‘Iid al-Kabir (Muslim festival). On the following day, i.e., the day of the ‘Iid, 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 mahal kunna binasrah foogu. Waki jiina hina al-balad da khala. Law kunna muhtammiin be z-ziraa’a, yaa zool Wallaahi yimkin kunna nusu’u ḥaggana. Laakin ma kunna muhtammiin; muhtammiin be s-si’ayya aktar min az-ziraa’a.

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 ‘Abduljaliil9 came to us in al-Muraffa”; 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 niña hina fi 1-Maraffa jaana Mawlaana ‘Abdujaliil, wa kaanat aj-jaraaayid di talla’at al-Hausa wa 1-Fallaata zool bifarrig beenum maa fi. Wu ba’deen kullu mahal, kaan jiit ligit hilla bita’aat Hausa talga Fallaati bikhuttuuhu fiha sheekh walla ayyi ḥaaja; maddinnahum makaanatum al-adabiyya. Al-faraqa di, Mawlaana ‘Abdujaliil da katab fi j-jaraaayid: “Abnaa”

9 This is the late ‘Abduljaliil Adam Husein, 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 ʿAṭa 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

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

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.

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 （Fula）; 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.

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?

Our relatives, 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' an was with our people there in Khalili; they were co-residing with one another. So, when we came （to al-Muraffa'）, 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 'alaykum – i.e., we did not come as strangers）. They already had a dwelling. Ya'nin ma'nata almutalla' in wa l-mutalif in deel ya'nin maa 'aawziin haaja talimmahum 'ale l-Fallaata zaatu, awlaadum al-gaamo deel, awlaad naas ash-Sheekh deel. 'Ashaan kida di l-haajaat al-khallaatna zaatu hassa maa nakhuush fiwam waa maa natlubu minnahun.

Our relatives, 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' an was with our people there in Khalili; they were co-residing with one another. So, when we came （to al-Muraffa'）, 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 'alaykum – i.e., we did not come as strangers）. They already had a dwelling. Ya'nin ma'nata almutalla' in wa l-mutalif in deel ya'nin maa 'aawziin haaja talimmahum 'ale l-Fallaata zaatu, awlaadum al-gaamo deel, awlaad naas ash-Sheekh deel. 'Ashaan kida di l-haajaat al-khallaatna zaatu hassa maa nakhuush fiwam waa maa natlubu minnahun.

Our relatives, 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' an was with our people there in Khalili; they were co-residing with one another. So, when we came （to al-Muraffa'）, 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 'alaykum – i.e., we did not come as strangers）. They already had a dwelling. Ya'nin ma'nata almutalla' in wa l-mutalif in deel ya'nin maa 'aawziin haaja talimmahum 'ale l-Fallaata zaatu, awlaadum al-gaamo deel, awlaad naas ash-Sheekh deel. 'Ashaan kida di l-haajaat al-khallaatna zaatu hassa maa nakhuush fiwam waa maa natlubu minnahun.

Our relatives, 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' an was with our people there in Khalili; they were co-residing with one another. So, when we came （to al-Muraffa'）, 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 'alaykum – i.e., we did not come as strangers）. They already had a dwelling. Ya'nin ma'nata almutalla' in wa l-mutalif in deel ya'nin maa 'aawziin haaja talimmahum 'ale l-Fallaata zaatu, awlaadum al-gaamo deel, awlaad naas ash-Sheekh deel. 'Ashaan kida di l-haajaat al-khallaatna zaatu hassa maa nakhuush fiwam waa maa natlubu minnahun.

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?

Our relatives, 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' an was with our people there in Khalili; they were co-residing with one another. So, when we came （to al-Muraffa'）, 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 'alaykum – i.e., we did not come as strangers）. They already had a dwelling. Ya'nin ma'nata almutalla' in wa l-mutalif in deel ya'nin maa 'aawziin haaja talimmahum 'ale l-Fallaata zaatu, awlaadum al-gaamo deel, awlaad naas ash-Sheekh deel. 'Ashaan kida di l-haajaat al-khallaatna zaatu hassa maa nakhuush fiwam waa maa natlubu minnahun.
entire cattle to Bayt al-Ma'al (Muslim/Mahdiyya treasury). Then the Mahdi died and was succeeded by the Khalifa (*Abdullaahi). As you know, people do not all have the same way of thinking; some of them returned to Sa’dun and Gireeda and others remained here (in central Sudan – Omdurman). Those who remained here (in Omdurman) kept following the Mahdi’s Khalifa (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 Gisheesh. From Gisheesh my grandfather, his brothers and his (paternal) cousins moved to Shaikh Ta’la (village). As soon as they came, Shaikh Muhammad Toom, the son of Shaikh Ta’la, gave them a place called (Tiereera) Ku’ an-Nahal.\(^6\)

---

\(^6\) About 10 km west of as-Suuki.

---

Q: But now the Shaikh Ta’laas (i.e., the members of Shaikh Ta’la’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 Ta’laa). These

---

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

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.

There were some of our people from Sa’dun (Southern Darfur) who took their cattle along, driving them up to al-Fashashaoyya on the White Nile. (But) they left them (their cattle) in al-Fashashaoyya and proceeded to participate in the Mahdi’s fighting. They took the hinaak fii Gisheesh. Kulla l-gaa’diin deel (yushir ilaa majmua’ta radum hawaali 15–20 fardan) jiddahum madfuun fii Gisheesh. Jiina l-Muraffa’ zey sanat khamsa wa arba’iin, ārhab at-Tilyaan.

5 A few kilometers south-west of Singa.
been known for cattle keeping since their arrival (in Sudan). My father was born in Sa’d-uum (Southern Darfur) and his father, Hasan (i.e., Hasan Jun’a), was also born in Sa’d-uum. But our (great) grandfather, Jun’a, I think, entered Sa’d-uum and Gireeda and he was the first Fallaati (pl. Fallaata – i.e., Fulani) to bring the Tijaniyya brotherhood in that area. This (great) grandfather of ours brought the Tijaniyya brotherhood to Sa’d-uum. Of course, they all (initially) came from Maghreb (North Africa); our (great) grandfather entered Sudan via African countries. That (great grandfather) was Jun’a Wadam-Samiin (i.e., Jun’a, 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 Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah’ (Laa ilaaha illa l-Laah, Muhammadun rasuul l-Laah). The people who intended to go to Mecca


4 This statement according to which Jun’a was a Fulani contrasts with that of his senior full brother (Ahmad Abu-Bakr Hasan Jun’a; 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 JUMʿA
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 (al-ʿUmda)
IN THE PRESENCE OF:
15–20 Fulani men of different ages (18–80 years)

Q: Uncle Muḥammad, tell us your full name.

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

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

There are three tribes living in al-Muraffa. 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. Wa akbar gabiila haggat ahalna l-Husa. Baʿdeen ahalna l-Kawaahla deel, deel an-naas al-li jiina ligationaahum hina. Wa hum al-Idaara l-ʿAhliyya hassa ḍindahum. Baʿdeen jiina. Be l-hagiiga ahalna deel kaano

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). 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 ʕamm sulaalat jidd tamaaman. Al-mara ṭabaʕan taʕsiilaa maa bimshi. Laakin asaasaa hum min Tulus.

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

AHMAD

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-나as deel itlaago min gharb Liibiyaa di. Wa ligo 1-Fallaata deel, jo maashiin ʕArab ruhhal. Laaga 1-Fallaata wa dakhal fiihum, wa raahliin raahliin min Liibiyaa jo Daarfoor.

6 On March 22, 2013, I interviewed a group of Sindiga Fulani from Southern Darfur in Omdurman, including a man whose grandfather was Muhammad Jumʕa, a brother of Hasan Jumʕa. This man also mentioned at-ʕTuwai as the original home of his family but reported that his great grandfather (Jumʕa) 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 Ahmad Abu-Bakr Hasan Jumʕa (see next interview) reported that their great grandfather (i.e., Jumʕa) was nicknamed ‘Yaaja-Hoore’ (‘the wide-headed’) due to his boldness.
people can join. We know that Shaikh Muhammad Toom played a big role in the making of these big Ansar families...

Shaikh Muhammad Toom (son of Shaikh Talha) welcomed them, saying, “These are my relatives.” This is recorded. When Shaikh Muhammad 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-Nahal, saying that they were his paternal cousins.

Q: Well, they (some of the descendants of Shaikh Muhammad Toom) claim that they are Huseiniyya. 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 Huseiniyya?

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

[Ansar (Ar. ansaar) 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-Tuwai, but all our people originate from one person (Jum’a) who begot five men (sons).

**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.


**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
INTERVIEW: AḤMAD
ABU-BAKR ḤASAN JUMʿA

Age and Place of Birth of the Interviewee:
78 years, born in Khalīl

Date and Place of the Interview:
June 11, 2011; al-Muraffāʿ (al-ʿUmda)

In the Presence Of:
Naaṣir Ḥamīd Umar, 35 years, born in Maiurno

Q: First, we want you to enumerate for us all the tribes living in al-Muraffāʿ al-ʿUmda.

AḤMAD

The original inhabitants of al-Muraffāʿ (village) are the Kawaḥla (Arabs). Afterwards, we came and our relatives,1 these Hausa, came (after us). In the beginning we were Fallaṭa (i.e., Fulani), but now we are Ḥuseinaab. First, our (great) grandfather (Jumʿa) was an Arab;2 he entered into the Fallaṭa (i.e., he affiliated himself to their group). We fully respect the Fallaṭa, but it was our (great) grandmothers who were Fallaṭa; the Fallaṭa are our maternal uncles. As Awwalan al-Muraffāʿ as-sukkaan al-ʿaṣliyyin hum al-Kawaḥla, baʿad da jiina nihna wa jo ahalna l-Hausa deel. Nihna, awwal Fallaṭa laakin hassa Ḥuseinaab. Awwalan nihna jiddana ʿArabi, dakhal al-Fallaṭa, wa l-Fallaṭa nihna nakinna leehum kullu taghdiir. Laakin ḥabboobaatna Fallaṭa; al-Fallaṭa kheelaanna. Amma jiddana ʿArabi. ʿIndana juzuur fi Daarfoor fii hitta isima aṭ-Tuway. Al-isim yisammumuunaa Sindiga laakin naa asaasan zool waaḥid

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 Jumʿa; see next interview) who stresses that his father, his paternal grandfather and paternal great grandfather were all Fulani by agnatic descent.
Photo 18: Muhammad Al-Amiin Hasan Ibrahiim (on the left), Commissioner of as-Suuki Locality
(BADR AL-DIN 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 for him. When asked about his tribe, he said: “غذي.” 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 Muhammad Booyi. Even historians say that it (i.e., ‘غذي’) 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.

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 says: ‘...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)?’
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; 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).

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

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?

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 (Saabuun) 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’ inni fi Fallaata Mawaaliid wa Fallaata maa ta’rif Zarruugaab, wa fi Fallaata... hum munkamishiin min al-Fallaata t-taaniin naas Galaadiima wa Maayirno. Laakin Sarahahatan, 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 bijahru beeha, bigo... Ana maa ’aarif, hal la’anni jiit (mu’tamad) wa bigiit min al-gabaayil di walla? Laakin fi s-Suuki di fi

1 These are Fulfulde-speaking Fulani.
2 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’aliyyin) or Shaaygi (pl. Shaaygiyya); they (as-Suuki people) do not have this (i.e., ethnic identity as an obstacle to marriage).

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 cooperation between the old and the new Fallaata (Fulani) immigrants. There was an intentional policy not to allow (Fallaata) Mawaaliid¹ (in as-Suuki, Tireera Kuw’ an-Nalah and Shaikh Talha) 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.

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 Talha (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-wahiida al-li ana ʿiishta fiha fi Wilaaayat Sinnaar hasseet innu maafi fawaariq. Ana hadarta fi Madinat as-Suuki Hausa itzawwajo fi qabaaʾil taaniya. Yaʾni ana lahaqza fi waahid min al-ʿArabi mutzawwij min al-Hausa fi s-Suuki. Yaʾni Mahalliyyat as-Suuki ʿala intidaadaa laḥaddi Umdurmaan Fallaata wa l-Lakandi wa l-ḥittaat di...
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.

Photo 17: Muhammad ë Isa 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. (Muþab M. ë Umar Qudus, 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.

MUHAMMAD
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.


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).

Q: How about agriculture?

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 Mu’assasa (Corporation).³ Since the Mu’assasa left, bounties have also left.


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 tal'a'ta foog – almashaarii, sharaab maafi wa himaya maafi. Inta 'indak 'ukkaaz wa bijik zool shaa'yi jirim, yikushsh al-bagar wa yiguu leek amshi giddaami. Gaal kalaam yi'itguu talga fi l-khala wa yisug al-bagar wa yifuu. Fa l-masaa'il di kullaa… 'adam ad-dawa l-bahaayim bitmuut, wa 'adam al-akil be j-juur bimuutan, wa 'adam al-moooya be l-ataash lamin yigdan, wa maa gaa'daat yinman be t-tarihi haggat zamaan. Al-bahaayim fi l-khala wa f-i-gash da yildan sanawiyyan, wa siidin [= siidhin] kaan yi'tligin wa yijan. Maafi shi. Al-'a'an illa ti'shtari l-mashaarii wa ti'shtari l-gash, maafi da'm min ayyi jiha. Wa hassa ni'ma mutmassiikin bel-bahaayim di 'ashaan mutwaalifiin 'aleeha, laakin khasraana ma'aana wa maakla ragabataa, wa ni'ma nakul wa nitharrak wa nasrhab fihi. Wa s-Suudaan i'timaadu r-ra'iisi fi s-sarwa l-haywaaniyya, wa akbar qita'a muntij le l-hakuuma s-sarwa (l-haywaaniyya) la'annu maa bikallif, maa 'indu taklifa. Amma z-ziraa'a fa 'indaa takaaliif wa mashaarii'. Laakin Fiqq – al-mu'tasir, شراب مافي وحماية مافي. إنّ ذلك عقار ومجيد وزول شاب جيم، يكش الفجر ويقول ليك خشي قداي. قال كلما بلغت طاقة في الخلاء وسقوق الفجر يفور، فالسائردي كلها... عدم الدواء اليدوي يبّثوّم، وعدم الأكل بالجوع يبّثوّم، وعدم الموية بالطحش لمن يضنّ وما قاعدات يبنّم بالطريقة حقة زمان، اليدوى في الخلاء وفي الفجر دا يلدن سنويا، وسرين كان يطمئن ويجن، مافي شيء. الآن إلا تشري٤ المشاعب تشري٤ التشريع، مافي دعم من أي جهة. وحسن نحن متمسكون باليدوى يد عشان متنافين علينا، لكن حسرة معانا وماكلاً ريمتها، ونحن ناكّل ونتحرك ونشرب فيها. والسودان اعتماد رئيسى في الثروة الحيوانية، وأكبر قطاع منتج للحكومة الثروة الحيوانية) لأنه ما يكلف، من عده كلفة. أما الزراعة فعدها كتافيف ومشاعب. لكن نحن الثروة دي على الطبيعة.
remain up to the end and martyr with the Khalifah (‘Abdullaahi).”

Part of them went back to their home area, Gireeđa (in Southern Darfur). Now they have an Omodiyya (with an Omda) subordinated to Nazir Ahmad 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.

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.

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 ṣhibir (ca. 15 cm) of land unoccupied with farms. You Maa zamaan maa kida. Zamaan kaan ad-dawa majjaan, maaфи mushkilat mar’a fi l-khala. Hassa maafi shibir maa mazruu, illa taakhud al-gash wa ta’akkil bahhymak – min ma zamane maa kada. Zamaan kaan al-nawwaa muhaffa, maaфи mishkii masru fi al-khala. Haseen maafi shibir, ilaa taakhud al-gash wataakkil bahhymak – min ilaa taakhud al-gash wa ta’akkil bahhymak – min

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. na‘azir) held by paramount chiefs in the Native Administration system introduced by the British.
INTERVIEW:

MUḤAMMAD ʿIISA THAABIT
FULANI OF THE SINDIGA CLAN

AGE AND PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE INTERVIEWEES:
59 years, born in Tireera Kuu an-Nahal
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 Haij Yusif (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...
Photo 15: Ripe sorghum at Scheme 'Umar Muḥammad Qudus, Um Bagara area, ca. 300 km east of as-Suuki, February 2013
(Muṣʿab 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
(Muṣʿab M. 'Umar Qudus, 2013)
Photo 13: Scheme ʿUmar Muhammad Qudus, Um Bagara area, ca. 300 km east of as-Suuki, February 2013

Photo 14: Scheme ʿUmar Muhammad Qudus, Um Bagara area, ca. 300 km east of as-Suuki, February 2013

Interview: ʿUmar Muhammad Qudus ʿAbdullaahi
Photo 11: Tractor driver’s hut at Scheme ‘Umar Muhammad Qudus, Um Bagara area, ca. 300 km east of as-Suuki, February 2013

Photo 12: Supervisor’s compound at Scheme ‘Umar Muhammad Qudus, Um Bagara area, ca. 300 km east of as-Suuki, February 2013
Photo 8: Cattle inside Scheme ʿUmar Muḥammad Qudus, Um Bagara area, ca. 300 km east of as-Suuki, February 2013

(Muṣʿab M. ʿUmar Qudus, 2013)

Photo 9: Combine harvesters at Scheme ʿUmar Muḥammad Qudus, Um Bagara area, ca. 300 km east of as-Suuki, February 2013

(Muṣʿab M. ʿUmar Qudus, 2013)

Photo 10: Agricultural machineries at Scheme ʿUmar Muḥammad Qudus, Um Bagara area, ca. 300 km east of as-Suuki, February 2013

(Muṣʿab M. ʿUmar 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’ ziraa’iyya be l-mantiga, wa nilna jaa’izat ahsan mashru’ ziraa’a aaliyya fi s-Stuudaan, wa l-hafl kaan fi r-Rank.

Photo 7: Hajj ʿUmar Muhammad 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

(Mus’ab 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 they worked. We continued in this way; praise be to Allah (al-Ýamdu 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 WadiiØ Habashi, the Minister of Agriculture during the Numeiri regime. We also bindug leehum kullahum. Wu ba’deen ‘amalna kambo le siyaanat al-Ýaallyaat, zawwadnaahu be muwallid kahraba wa makanat lihaam. Kamboona da biga warsha; ayyi zool baabuuru it’attal yijurru yijibu; ayyi zool diskiihu it’attal yijibu, na’mal leehu l-hikaaya di majjaanan. Bas ‘ashaan al-khibra bitaar’atna.

We continued in this way; praise be to Allah (al-Ýamdu 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 WadiiØ Habashi, the Minister of Agriculture during the Numeiri regime. We also bindug leehum kullahum. Wu ba’deen ‘amalna kambo le siyaanat al-Ýaallyaat, zawwadnaahu be muwallid kahraba wa makanat lihaam. Kamboona da biga warsha; ayyi zool baabuuru it’attal yijurru yijibu; ayyi zool diskiihu it’attal yijibu, na’mal leehu l-hikaaya di majjaanan. Bas ‘ashaan al-khibra bitaar’atna.

Interview: ‘Umar Muhammad Qudus ‘Abdullaahi
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.

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 l-Gadaarif wa ‘indahum khibra fi z-ziraa al-‘aaliyya. .Nihna maa ‘indana maani’. An-naas al-gaa’diin deel raaykum shiu yidduuhum waataatum di?” Kullahun be l-iijmaa gaalo: “Maa ‘indana maani’.” Gaal ana izan asta’zankum, amshi aqrab le l-waizi aakhud izin min al-waizi. Tala’ minnana masha darab telaafuun wa ja khalaas gaal le l-khabiir: ‘Tallii’ al-kharta.” Ligo l-arqaam, talla’o l-arqaam. Khalaas, alli huwa saba’a wu sittin wa tamaaniya wu sittin. Bas al-mashruuu’een deel talla’oohum min at-‘asas. Di l-bidaaya.

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

ولا أي شيء, والله ناس الدندر ديل نحن انصحنا معاهما، وفعلنا خلينا. ولما الموضوع نتج معانا جنبنا ليك حاصدين كلاس. دا كان تاريخ الدندر دي كليها, بدنق ليهم كلمهم, وبعدن عملنا كمبو لصيانة الآليات, زودنا بمواد كهرباء ومكتة

57 Old Fulani in the Sennar Area (Sudan)
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/farmers 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, Muhammed Abdalrahiim, Rahamtalla, and Wad al-Amiir – these were the four big farmers in the area. Kassala, the father of Husein, stood up and said: “Mr. Inspector, I-mufattish: “Sayaad tak nihna ‘aayziin nanguul leek; nihiba jiibna j-jarraar da wa badeena shoghol hina fi hitta fi d-Dindir, wa naqdafnaha wa badeena beeha. Nihiba gabli shogholkum da jiibna jarrar wa badeena. Wa hassa’ di l-wagi badeena ziraa’a fi d-Dindir. Wa lizaalik law amkan daayrinnakum tadduuna mawqii’na da, la’annu naqdafnahu nihiba.” Hina maafi zool nadaf haaja. Gaam gaal: “Anihna aslu maa masmuuuh leena abdan annana naddi zool bidiuun maa yidakhkil yaddu fi l-kiis yitalli’i ar-raqm bitaa’u.” Wa da tariikh Wallaahi atzakkar. ‘Indana tjaar ad-Dindir azkurum leek – rabbana yaghfir leehum wa yirhamum: awwalan Hiseen Kassala, wa Mahammad Abdalrahiim, wa Rahamtalla, wa Wad al-Amiir – al-araba’a deel kibaar al-muzaraa’iin. Gaam tawaali Hiseen Kassala – asgud Kassala zaatu. Hiseen da waaladu. Gaal: “Nihiba naas Qudus deel waaburaatum binifarrajee feeha; an-naas deel daayrinnahum khibra leena. Wu gaalo kaano fi

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.
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 Habashi and the director of mechanical farming was Amiir Abdalla Khalii. The agricultural inspector in Singa was called as-Sir and the expert was called Mahmuud. 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’na l-khabar. Masheena sa’alna ligina fii Sinja i’laan be anu fi mashaa’iri fii mantigaat ad-Dindir, wa ayyi zool yimtalik jarrar (tractor) wu tirilla – ḥatta d-disk hum maa zakaroohu; takuun ‘indak jarrar wu tirilla mumkin yimmahkuun arq ṭawwaali, mashruu’. Tawwaali gaddamna ṭalabaat; gaddamna ṭalab be ismi wu talab be isim akhuwy wa jiina. Yigaddim at-ṭalab le muftiṣsh az-ziraa’a fii Sinja. Wa l-wagti daκ ana wa akhuwy Muusa kunna nimalik hawaali ‘ashara jarraraat. Al-waziiroo kaan Wadii’ Habashi, wa mudir az-ziraa’a l-‘aaliyya kaan Amiir ‘Abdalla Khalii, wa muftiṣshana jaa ismu s-Sir, wa l-khabir al-ma’aahu ismu Mahmuud. Joona fi d-Dindir a’lanoona naji l-mugaddimiin at-ṭalabaat. Jiina khassheena al-qa’a’a bitaa’at ad-Dindiri di; al-kalaam da waahid wu sabaa’iin itineen wa sabaa’iin. Da zaman Maayu. Gumna khassheena l-qa’a’a. Ana gumta “ale heeli gulta le 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?

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-Buţaana area. 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 aşhaab al-mashaarii hawl al-mukhallafaat. Fi ṣ-seef ar-ru’a bikuunu fi l-Buţaana min shahri talataa lahaddi shahri khamsa; lahaddi wagt al-ḥaṣaad fī shahri mawqīf mawaashi fī mawqiʾ al-mashaarii”. Biju wagt al-ḥaṣaad fī shahri ṣītneen wa shahri waahid. “Aadatan ar-ru’a maa bit’ammadu l-kharaab, wa lamma tinfalit al-bahaayim wa takhrīb al-ḥaṣaad taji l-Lajna ash-Sha’biyya min agrab qariya le mahal al-kharaab wa tazuur al-mawqiʾ ma’a šāhib al-mawaashi wa šāhib al-mashruu wa yitim taqyiim at-talaf wa taḥṣal taswiya. Al-masʾala maa bitaṣal ash-shūrt ãilla fī l-haalaat al-istsnāʿiyya. Šāhib al-mawaashi yiwaafī ala d-dafiʾ wa yiktib iqraaar be annu ḥayiijib al-mablagh. Yoom as-suug yiwaaddi bahaayim wa yibii’aaw wa yijib al-guruush. Al-masʾala maa biṭihtaj leey dāamin laʾanu mawaashihu mawjuuda ḥawl al-manṭiga, wa aşhaab al-mawaashi ma’rūufiin ladaa aşhaab al-mashaarii”.

5 Al-Buţaana 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
Q: Where did you learn to do this?

We were trained in Gedaref. The engineers, I remember, were white people (kha-waajaat); a Canadian and a British; (but) there was a (Sudanese) expert with them called Muhammad Ayyub, from the Kunuz (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).

primary level examinations) and were to be taken to the intermediate school in Bakhtar-Riḍa; they were accepted (admitted) there. But our relatives came and said to my father: “Haaj 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).

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

We were mechanics of tractors in mechanical farming schemes. 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 (hasidaat) and tractors.

Abdan, kunna makanikiiyya bitaa’iin jarraaraat, ziraa’a aaliyya. Akhuuy Muusa da ismu barraad, la’annu akhad koors fi i-Khartuuum. Wa ana sawwaag daraja uula, bashaghghil al-ḥaṣadaat, bashaghghil aj-jarraaraat.

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 Øaaj 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 Sîleehaab (Suleihaab/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’il and Muusa succeeded (in the final Ana kunta kamamalta ta’liimi laghaayit raab’a awwaliiyya, wa akhuuy Muusa bar’du kamam laghaayit raab’a awwaliiyya. Awwalan, awlaadna
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).
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 Waaldi ḥaamil silaah la’annu hu [= huwa fii Kurdufaan hinaak zool bitaa’ mawaashi, wa s-silaah da ṣadɗago leeu be ’itneen banaadig rasṣaas “Ab-Jigra”, wa t-tasriih kaan min muﬀattish al-markaz fi l- Ubayyiid. Wa min hinaak lamma kaan jaayib baayamaha kaan shaayiil as-silaah fii ḥuṣaano. Awwal maa ja l-khaazzaaan – wu da tariikh bihhukuulu leena n-naas al-hadar – al-mawaashi kaan ḥaaddaak kabir jiddan jiddan, suug Sinaar kullu ja kaasir. Wu ja, khashsho l-bahaayiyim al-khaazzaaan, ma’aahu zey sitta nafar min rawaa˚itu. Wa hu raakib ḥuṣaano, ja beehu min Kurdufaan ma’a l-bahaayiyim. Samaa‰ leehu yi’addi: “Ween?” “Maashi s-Suuki.” “Jaayi min ween?” Gaal leehum: “Ana jaayi min Kurdufaan, awlaadi fi s-Suuki.” Khashsho l-bahaayiim al-khaazzaaan wu maashiin wu maashiin garib as-saa˚a. An-naas al-be sh-sharig maashiin be atraaf al-bahaayiyim. Lamma ˚addo ligo l-bahaayiyim

والدي حامل سلاح لأنه هو في كردفان كان زول يتبع مواصلات، والسلام دا صدقوا ليه بي إثنيين بنادق رصاص أب جفوة، والتصريح كان من مفتتش المركز في الأبيض، ومنه كاذب بهامه كان شاب السلاح في حمصان. أول ما جاء الخزان – ودا تاريخ بهكوك لينا الناس الحضروا – المواصلات كان عدها كبير جداً جدًا، سوق ساوار كله جا كاسر. وجا خشوا البيهام الخزان، معاها زي ستة نفر من رواعتبة، وهو راكب حصان، جاي بيه من كردفان، سمحوا لهين؟ “أنا جااي من كردفان، أولادي في السوكي.” خشوا البيهام الخزان مامنين مامنين قريب الساعة، الناس البيهم الشرش مامنين بطراف البيهام. لنما عبرها لقا البيهام منهم ما خشح. قالتا: “البيهام دى حقت موان؟” قالوا: “حقت الراجل دا،” هو واقف جنب حصاناته. لنن خشح آخر فوج من البيهام ومعاه آخر راعي، وهو جاا طالب بوليس شاف في إثنيين بآشي في المحاسان بالجبالوات، شاف أثر السلاح، المنواسير. قال له: “الملاшка دا شنو؟” قال ليه: “سلاح.” كلمة “سلاح” دي الناس كلمه جوا جوا حصوله...
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). 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).


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‘am, kaan ma‘a ʿusrata. Raja‘ ilaa Tagale l-ʿAbbaasiyya wa Taloodi, wa l-hittaat diik kullaa kaan ‘indu fiha ‘usar. Wa taḥarrak ba‘ad maa ittafag ma‘a s-Sultaan innu huwa hayijiib al-mawaashi bitaa‘tu le s-Suuki maqar ʿusrata. Wa fi‘lan jaab kam haayil jiddan min al-ʿabqaar, yuqaal innu foog at-

سنوات في الأزهر. وكل هذه الفترة كان في تكوينه من القرآن الكريم، وأخذ شهادات كثيرة من الأزهر. بعدها جاءنا في السوكي. من السوكي كان لديه واحشي متابعة جداً في تقليل العادية طيلة الفترة. الوقت داك نحن ما اتولدا نسمع، لكن عنده أسرة.

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

نعم، كان مع أسرته. رجع إلى تقليل العبادة، وثلاdoi، والشتات ديك كلياً كان عليه فيها أسر. وتحرك بعد ما اتفق مع السلطان أنه هو حيبيب المواشي بتعاته للسوكي مقر أسرته. وفعلاً جاءكم هائل جداً من الأفكار، يقال أنه فوق الثلثية رأس.

1 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’ān.

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

He moved from the area of Wau in the direction of Maiur-\text{no} to meet with the Sultan (probably Mai-Wurno). When he arrived in Maiur-\text{no}, he stayed for a period of time with the Sultan. He also met with the sheikhs of Shaikh Talha (village) and afterwards proceeded to as-Suuki.

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

Yes, he had relatives in as-Suuki and relatives in Hillat Bākī (village), namely, the late Shaikh Bākī, the sheikh (and founder) of Hillat Bākī (village).\textsuperscript{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 Saud-\text{i} Arabia. After having performed ḥajj (pilgrimage), he stayed in Medina for Na‘am, kaan ‘indu ahal fi s-Suuki, wa ‘indu ahal fi Hillat Bākī, alli huwa l-marjum as-Sheekh Bākī, sheekh Hillat Bākī. Makas ‘indahum fatra tawiila, wa gaal leehum: “Ba‘ad da ‘indi niyya askin fii madiinan as-Suuki ma‘a ‘usrati ba‘ad aj-jawla a-tawiila.” Wa gabli wujudu fii Waaw kaan fi l-Mamlaka l-\textsuperscript{2}Arabiyya s-Su‘uudiyya. Wa ba‘ad adaa\textsuperscript{3} al-ḥajj makas fi l-Madiina

\textsuperscript{2} This village is located ca. 10 km south of as-Suuki. The Fulani living in Hillat Bākī 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).

\textsuperscript{3} Aa is the standard Arabic form for the Gambiaaric dialect of Wolof, another Fulani language spoken in Senegal.
INTERVIEW: ʿUMAR MUḤAMMAD QUDUS ʿABDULLAAHI
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 ʿUmar, 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!

ʿUMAR
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 ʿIlle Abba (Suleihab/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 Talodi and then Ṭabaasiyya Tagale. He stayed for some time in Ṭabaasiyya Tagale, Ana itwaladta wa nashaʿta bi madiinat as-Suuki. Al-waaliḍ min al-Fallaata Sokoto wa l-waalia Ṣileehaabiyya. Waalidna rajul lahu nashaat fi l-ʿilm wa lahu musahamaat kabira jiddan fi taʿliim al-Qurʿaan. Bada3 min mantigat Waaw wa nazah ilaa mantigat januub Kuduufaan (Jibaal an-Nuuba); awwalan lee Talodi wa minna ilaa l-Ṭabaasiyya Tagale, makas fihi faṭra barḍu fi taʿliim al-Qurʿaan.

1 The term ‘uncle’ is here used as a term of respect.
run the court. In fact, even Shaikh Fadul (i.e., Shaikh Fadul 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-Naaboo had a problem, he would seek the assistance of Shaikh Fa’ul for its solution. They used to travel to very many rural areas (villages) to solve problems. If any Governor General (‘akim ‘Aam) or province commissioner or anyone (else) was coming, they (probably the Makk, the Omda and Shaikh Fadul) 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.
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’ (ifartagat). After that, our (paternal) uncle ʿAbdu s-Salaam left the sheikdom itself because of this problem. They brought our (paternal) uncle Shaikh Faṣul an-Naayir, my direct paternal uncle, my father’s brother. He occupied the office from 1946 until he died in 1997. Al-ʿumuudiyya, maa haṣalt fiha mashakil, al-ʿahal fii baʿadum, ʿala asas da daayir yibga sheekh wa da daayir yibga ʿumda, wa hakazaa ifartagat. Baʿad daa ʿammama ʿAbdu s-Salaam khalla sh-shayaakha zaataa fi l-masʿala di. Jaabo ʿammama Sheekh Fadul an-Naayir, alli huwa ʿammi ana tawwaali akhu abuyi, masak min sanat alf wa tusʿumiyya sitta wu arbaʿiin ilaan an tawaffe fii sanat alf wu tusʿumiyya sabaʿa wu tisiʿiin.

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

At present, it is in the hands of an-Naayir Yuusif, a son of Shaikh Fadul an-Naayir’s brother. Now he is the sheikh of the entire town of as-Suuki, including the area of ad-Darīisa and al-Marbuʿ (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 Hassaʿ maasikaa n-Naayir Yuusif, wad akhu sh- Sheekh Fadul an-Naayir. Hassaʿ huwa sheekh as- Suuki di kullaa; mantigat ad-Darīisa wa l-Marbuʿ kullaa shayaakhataa maasikaa hu. Baʿdeen hu tawwaali rafīg le l-Makk wa l-ʿumda, yaʿni fi l-mahkama tawwaali hum maʿaahu, hum at-talaata.
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 Waddaalla took over. These (two sheikhs) were closely tied to the Makk and the Funj in the area. There was also an Omodiyya (‘Umuudiyya). 16

The (first) Omda was Hasan an-Nakhli; he was the Omda of all the Fallaata (i.e., Fulani) from Shaikh Talha (village) up to as-Suuki. Hasan an-Nakhli was succeeded by Hamooda Abbakar Toorsheen. After Hamooda came Ibraahiim Mahmud. Afterwards, the Omodiyya was shifted to Al-‘umda l-‘awwal kaan Hasan an-Nakhli, ‘umdat al-Fallaata min Talha le s-Suuki. Ba’ad Hasan an-Nakhli ja Hamooda Abbakar Toorsheen. Ba’ad Hamooda masak Ibraahiim Mahmud. Ba’ad daak al-‘umudiyya iθawwalat le Jangoor (maa min al-Fallaata).

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-½Ajaaj (ca. 7 km west of as-Suuki) and settled with them. We13 were born in Abu-½Ajaaj, 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’oof, Haniin, al-Ghudeyyaat, wa l-Baza’a 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 leeum: “Ya ’akhwaanna ana bago’od leeum hina, tabnu talattaashar beet lahaddi ma intahat tajibu toor tadbahuwuhu kararuma 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’oof, wa Haniin, al-Ghudeyyaat, wa l-Baza’a kullahum akalo t-toor da wa farro. Bello d-Daadaari t-tasbiit as-sabbatu leeha lee yoom al-leela gaa’daa saabta. Wa gaal leeum: “Di umm al-balad, maa btajiiha ḥaaja.” Aniha kullana gumna wa ribiina hina wa gaa’diin hina lahaddi maa… Al-gatar da zaatu lamin ja wa koorak hina aniha ragadna fi l-waata, ṣughaar. Laakin naasna naas Umdurmaan deel waahdiin raja’o wa waahdiin jo (hina). Laakin aniha ašlu s-Suudaan da haggana aniha, maa ḥag zool ghererna. Wa hassa’ ana ḫindi nushka di… (shajarat nasab) tintahi “ind ‘Abdullaahi Ibn al-%Abbaas.

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., Usman Baara, Qadi Abu-Hawwa, Haamid al-Fayd, Abbakar Atiiku, Ali 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 Khalifa of the Mahdi. The Khalifa read the letter and said to them: “All the people you brought, I ‘poled’ (sha’abta) 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) fawda (disorder); I have forgiven him.”

Once Bello ad-Daadaari had been forgiven and the Mahdiyya ‘spoilt’ (khirbat), the Khalifa of the Mahdi instructed people to go and seek their relatives. Then all our people left Omdurman (for the Sennar area), including this Haaj at-Tayyib, our grandfather who was amir (leader); he went (to jihad) with a hundred people and came back with only three. When he came to Shaikh Talha (village), he was also brought to (the villages of) Zain al-Aabdiin 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 at-Tayyib Wad-Saalim joined them in Bello d-Daadaari da lamin ‘afooohu, aabhat al-Mahdiyya lamin khirbat khalifat al-Mahdi gaal ayyi zool yimshi ahlu. Ba’deen naasna deel gaamo kullahum min Umdurmaan – fihum Haaj at-Tayyib da, jiddana anihna, kaan amiir, masha bee miyya jo talaa ta bas. Da ja Talha. Lamma ja Talha jaabooohu Zeen al-Aabdiin, Wad Haaruun. Ga’ado fiiba wa hasaal leehum mashaakil kida iffarago. Jaahum ash-Sheekh m-Tayyib Wad-Saalim da fiib Abu’Ajaj wa sakan fiiba. Anihna mawluudiin fiib Abu’Ajaj jamb al-Busaata di. Mawluudiin fiiba. Aaha, min hinaak an-naas iffaragat. Lamin jo naasna deel as-Suuki di harago l-gash talaa ta marraat. Ja

12 Bello Abbakar Atiiku, who told me the same story (see footnote 6), added that the Fulani dignitaries in the Khalifa’s administration – and they were very numerous – had decided to react, if Bello had been killed or ‘poled’.
Shaikh Muhammad Toom. Bello ad-Daadaari came to Shaikh Talha (village) and said to Shaikh Muhammad Toom: “We were instructed to bring you; you, son of Talha, by Allah, you will definitely be ‘poled’ (musha’aab – i.e., tied to a pole whose upper part is in the shape of V).”

Shaikh Muhammad Toom went to Omdurman with an escort of 15 boats. The Khalifa of the Mahdi (i.e., Khalifa Abdullahi) met them in Soba. He said to them: “Since the son of Talha has come, let him go back with his boats; let them (the boats) be loaded with ghee, dates and other things for his masjid (Qur’anic school); let him go back home.” Seeing this, 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 Fawda, the disorder (istibdaad) and tyranny (istibdaad).”

And they brought the letter.

During his first years in power Khalifa Abdullahi 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).

‘Poling’ (sha’aabta) is one of the worst deeds characterizing the reign of Khalifa Abdullahi. It is the act whereby those tribal leaders and dignitaries who refused to respond willingly to Khalifa’s call were punished by being tied to a pole for many days for humiliation.

‘Seeing this’ refers to the fact that Muhammad 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 Talha in fear of jihad. And then Shaikh Muhammad Toom sent emissaries to all his people, his relatives from western Sudan living in Omdurman (inviting them to come and stay in Shaikh Talha [village]).

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

(Yes), his relatives, the Fallaata. 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 (Khalifa Abdullahi 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 ɣaarabo wa ga’ado. Ba’deen al-Mahdiyya ɣaʃalaʃ fiiha ɣaʃaaʃaʃ bigo yawbuνu n-naas, agbud Wad al-Hindi, wa agbud miin wa agbud miin. Bello d-Daadaari rassaloohu gaalo leehu: “Tamshi tajiiʃ Mahammad Toom.” Bello d-Daadaari ja Talha gaal le sh-Sheekh Mahammad Toom: “Gaalo yijibuuka..."

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

8 Bello was the son of Muhammad ad-Daadaari, a ‘wise man’ of the movement, highly respected by the Mahdi. He had the final word in the installation of ‘Abdullaahi as successor of the Mahdi. For more information on Muhammad 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).\(^5\)

\(\text{Q: Is there anyone who wants to add something?}\)

\text{MUŞTAFA}

When the Mahdiyya was about to start, the Mahdi, on his tour, came (to Shaikh Ţalha [village]). When he came, Shaikh Muhammad Toom (son of Shaikh Ţalha) 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 tazhar, al-Mahdi kaan fi l-muruur, ja, Ba’deen lamma ja fi l-muruur ash-Sheekh Muhammad Toom katal at-tuggaaba. Lamin ja l-Mahdi gaal leehu: “Kaatilea leeh?” “Gheerak zool biwalli’a ma fi.” Gaal leehu: “Baarak Allah fiik, inta shoghlak at-tuggaaba, maa tamshi fi j-jihaad wa maa ta’mal ayyi ḥaaja.” An-

\(^4\) The term ‘grandfather’ is here used as a term of respect.

\(^5\) Shaikh Wad-Haashim was buried in the old graveyard of Shaikh Ţalha [village]. In 1951, part of that graveyard became threatened by flood. One of the sheikhs of Shaikh Ţalha 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 (\emph{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 Ţalha, interviewed in Maiurno on June 12, 1996). He added that Shaikh Muhammad Toom wanted the Mahdi to light the \emph{tuggaaba} because the one he (i.e., the Mahdi) lights will never extinguish.
Our relatives were in this al-Masaalma 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 ¿ALÝA (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-Riheeita and Khoor al-Booj and then came back to Shaikh Talha (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 taba’an fi l-Masaalma bitaa’at al-Mahdiyya di, jihaad le darajat fi ḥaajaat maktuubahu ‘annahum. Ya‘ni naaḍalo fi l-Mahdiyya wa ‘indaalom shuhada. Wa ba‘ad daak ajjeeyaa zaata le l-mantiga di, naasna jo sanat 1899, ba‘ad Karari mubaasharatatan. Awwal maa jo, jo l-mantiga bitaa’at ash-Sheekh Talha. Wa sh-shi l-li jaabum hum zaatuum, la‘annahum hum zaatuum ‘indaalom as-sarwa al-haywaaniyya. Al-mantiga di l-manaakh bitaa‘aa musaa‘iidum ‘ala innu mustadjjifum 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 fiilaa, hatta minnahum ‘adad zaatu gata‘o masho be gharb an-Nil al-arzz fi l-mantiga bitaa‘at Su‘aad wa r-Riheeita wa Khoor al-Booj. Taani n-naas jo raajji inna le Zeen al-’Aabdiin, lahaddi maa jaat... biga fi l-khazzaan, khazzaan Sinnaar da lamin bado yiṣṭagghlu fiilhoo naasna hina jo. Fi s-Suuki hina jo sanat 1912. Lamin jo hina s-Suuki kaanat mahduuda. Law jiit maashi ‘ala s-suug bitgaablaak ‘ale iidak al-yamiin ba‘ad l-madaaris fi l-hitta bitaa‘at maktab aṣ-

---

3 This is a ward (quarter) in Omdurman, now predominantly inhabited by (Sudanese) Copts.
Daar Maali, near a place called Jabal Um ‘Ali. He came to that area (in the Sudan). The place is called ‘Daar Maali’ because he (our forefather) originates from Mali. 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 Ahmad ‘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 Muhammad al-Mahdi ‘Abdulohin ‘Oyusif ‘Ibeed ‘Ahmad ‘Ashri Zarruug ‘Umar; this ‘Umar (in my name) is ‘Umar al-Fallaati.

Q: What circumstances brought your people to this area?

1 In fact, Daar Maali is not near Shendi, but is located ca. 3 km north of ‘Aţbara (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 Muhammad 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:
- Muhammad Baabikir Sa’iid, 70 years, born in as-Suuki
- Muhammed al-Mahdi Ahmad an-Naayir, 57 years, born in as-Suuki
- Musa’a ad Bakhiit Ya’guub, 62 years, born in as-Suuki
- Moustafa Ya’guub Bakhiit, 85 years, born in Abu-Ajaaj

DATE AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW:
June 12, 2011; as-Suuki (house of ‘Umar Muhammed Qudus Abdulahi)

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.

MUHAMMAD 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.


MUHAMMAD AL-MAHDI
Of course, our forefather, ‘Umar (al-Fallaati), started to head for Hijaz (Holy Land in Saudi Arabia) in his adulthood. (On his way there), he came to a place near Shendi now called Taba’an jiddana ‘Umar da, fii šibaaahu taḥarrak wu maashi laḥaddi l-Hijaz. Wa ja fi l-mantika j-janb Shandi, hassa’ bisammuuna Daar Maali, gariib min ḥitta isimaa “Jabal Um ‘Ali”.

محمد المهدٍ
طبعاً جنداً عمر دا، في صيام تحرك وامشي لحدى الحجاز. وجاء في المنطقة الجبن شندي، سبع بسموها دار مالي، قرب من حدثها 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.”


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 Hasanein, what is known is that the land from Sa‘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 rahal lee giddaam, mahallatum di bigat hilla. Jiddana gaal ley adda waahid min aś-sibyaan al-maam‘i’in katab waraga gaal leehu: “Tamsik al-waraga di fii idak wu tajri bee man’ak kullu jari shadiid, shugg al-khala da saakit laamin taftar tab, mahl taftar aḥfir leeha adfinaa; al-hilla in shaaAllah ṭasal hinaak.” “Dafantaa yaa walad?” Gaal leehu: “Aayi.” Khalaas. Hassa‘ zaadat min mahallaa da zaatu. Jiddana masak ash-shayaakha wa l-ḥamdul li l-Laah. Ba‘ad maa maat masakaa abuuy, ba‘ad abuuy itwaffa bardu masaktaa ana.

واحد من الصبيان المانعين
كتب ورقة قال ليه: "تسلم
الورقة دي في إنك وترجي
بي مننك كل جري شديد، شق
الخلا دا ساكت لإن تقترب,
محل تقترح دا أخف ليا أدهنها،
الحلا إن شاء الله تصل هناك.
دقنتها يا ولدي؟ قال ليه: "أي.
خلاص. سبع الحلا زادت من
محلاها دا ذاته. حدا مسك
الشيخة والحميد لله. بعد ما
مات مسكها أبوي، بعد أبوي
اتوفي برضو مسكناها أنا.

س: طبيب عم حسنين، الشيء
المعروف إنه الوطاء دي من
الصعيد لي جاي بتعة الفونج.
ج بك دا لما جاء وسكن هنا،
هل استلد من الفونج دي،
ولاجا ليه قلوا له: "أفعا؟
ولا لقينا وما سألون؟
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’oof 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’oof was said to be from the Ja’ilyyiin (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 (abṭaḥ)?” 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’oof) this place!*

(Yes), he gave him this place and said to him: “Build (your settlement) there.” His relatives joined him (Ab-Na’oof) and little Addaahu l-mahal al-abṭaḥ daak?” – hassa‘ fiha t-turumbaat; addaahu l-mahal da wu gaal leehu: “Abni hinaak.”
“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: “Hasaneen, 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 implemented a settlement. They developed the place and cleared the bush. After that, they established farms and remained staying. After a period of time, they constructed houses from grass and stayed on board of the river.
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 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 of people coming from the direction of Singa across that tree told them (i.e., my grandfather’s brothers):

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

I inherited it from our grandfather Hasaneen. 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). He found this place as a jungle – with lions, leopards and elephants, and so on. All these animals were there.

Fallaati, min al-Fallaata Um Jabbo. Liga l-mahal da ghaaba... al-ʿasad wa n-nimir wa l-fiil... al-haywaanaat da kullaa fiihaa. Gaʿad fii shadara hinaak, as-sammo ʿaleha s-Suuki

3 The name of this clan is also often pronounced ‘Um Jibbo’ locally.
INTERVIEW:

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

Q: Well, Uncle Hasanein, 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).\(^2\)

Wallaha l-‘ unsur katira; hu [= huwa] akbar hai fi s-Suuki yimkin malyoon wu shuwayya (‘ adip an-naas).

\(^1\) 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 Hasanein 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 *sijaada* (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 sijaada (praying mat), leading the nooba (drumming) procession on the day of ’Iid al-Kabir, September 15, 2013, Wad Haashim

(SAMI AL-AMIN ABU-MANGA, 2013)

Photo 3: The Central Mosque in Wad Haashim

(AL-AMIN ABU-MANGA, 2013)
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, ‘Abdulrahman, 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.

insisted to take me early in the morning to our father,\footnote{Here too, the term ‘father’ is used as a term of respect.} Shaikh Muhammad 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:) “Haaj Abdulra‘maan, what brings you today so early in the morning?” We sat down; he gave us water; I drank but Haaj Abdulra‘maan (my father) did not drink. He (Abdulra‘maan) said to Shaikh Muhammed 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 Muhammad Toom Wad Baannaga) said to him: “You, Shaikh Abdulra‘maan, 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 Muhammad Toom Wad Baannaga let him talk until he finished. He then asked me: “You, Kaamil, are you
thanks to our father, (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-dini – 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 Wallaahi yaa Brofseer al-Amin law gulta leek maa hafsaddig. Ana hagiigatan nasha’ta fi beet diini, wa beet an-nasha’ta fiihu da. Kaan bijjini ihsas mimmaa ana saghayyir leeh az-zool biji yimalis ne’laatu wa yisallim wa yibuus. Almas’ala hagiigatan kunta maakhid mimmaa mawghif be haisu innu n-naas sawaasiya. Yimkin di assarat fiini ta’sir kabir jiddan jiddan wa ana kharajta fii di min al-’usra wa intameet lee tanzim yisaara, waahid wu talatin sana ’udu ’aamil fi I-Hizb ash-Shuyuu’i kaadir qiyyaadi ‘ala mustawa l-Lajna l-Markaziyya. Hasal ley mawghif it’ighalaat taba’an bitakurr fi l-’amal an-naghaabi wa fi l-’amal al-iitimaa’i. Fa fi yoom min al-ayyaam kharajta min it’tighaal wa abuuyi ašarra

ني أُبرى ودُهشم، ربي اللَّاه، نزية فيها روح الجماعة، ما أدَّى ذُول إحساس على إنه خرج المنظومة دي. أنا مهتم أدُّى خلافة والشيخ المجلي مصر أكمها، وأنا أُكملها بِإِذِنَ اللَّهِ. 

والله يا بروفسير الأمين لو قلت ليك ما حقصدع. أنا حقيقة نشأت في بيت ديني، والبيت الناشئ فيه. كان بعيني إحساس معا أنا صغير ليه الزول بي يمقر نعلته وسلام، الساحة حقيقة كانت ماء من موقف يحدث إنه الناس سواسية. يمكن دي أَبُرُت فين تأتير كبير جداً وأنا خرجت في دي من الأسرة وأتممت لي تنظيم يساري، واحد وثلاثين سنة عضو عام في الحزب الشيوعي كادر قيادي على مستوى اللجنة المركزية. حصل لي موقف اعتقالات طبعاً نصري في العمل النقابي وفي العمل الاجتماعي. في يوم من الأيام خرجت من اعتقال وأبوتي أصر بسوني نمضي لي أبويني الشيخ محمد توم د وابننا كان موجود. في ريا. فسافقي ومسمينا وقيادتنا قاعد في المجاعة بتاعة: ‘حاج عبدل الرحمن الليلة الجاك الصباح بدي شنو؟’ قعدنا كأننا ميزة شيننا. حاج عبدل الرحمن ما شرب المومية. قال ليه: ؟ وأنا حاجيك بي مشكلة، المومية 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 Wad Haashim di hagiigatan balad mutfarrida. Da kullu

س: التفاهم القبلية كيف؟ أبداً
هل حسيتوا في يوم من الأيام
في فوائد قبيلية؟

أبداً ما حصل. يعني هم القبائل المذكورة دي، لو أخذنا الأصول والفرع، ما في زول ما له علاقة بأي أسرة من الأسر دي، يعني لو ما مباشر، بطريق غير مباشر. لو آخذت هم مثلنا ناس كامل، يمكن لو حسبناها بتبقى ود أخر متزوج يتخل. يلبث التداخل أصبح في العمق، وما يقدر تفرز.

س: الحالات المتقوم على النقصة دي، دا ميزتها تخلق مجتمع
متجانس معابش ومثالى. يعني لو كان تجربة الفرصة
لمثل هذه التجمعات كانت
أغنتنا عن حاجات كثيرة.

كامل
وود حاسم دا حقيقة بد متفردة. دا كله طبعاً يرجع الفضل فيه
“From Teego.” They (then) would call him ‘Wad Teego’ (son of Teego). Our father,9 the Sheikh (Shaikh Wadh-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 descendents, you find that they are the people who constitute the tribes living in Wad Haashim today.

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

The Fallaata (i.e., the Fula-ni) may constitute the largest tribe (in Wad Haashim); these are our families, including the Shaikh Idris’s, the Fa’di 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’aat; they are also a big family; this family includes the Muhammad Ahmad Khaalids and the Muusa al-Ajabs. There are Jawaam’a and Ja’liyyiin; 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 ’usarna kullaa, naas Sheekh Idris wa Fa’dl as-Siids... Al-bagiiyya bitalga majmu’ a min ad-Danaagla, jiddahum ash-Sheekh Abu-Kuuma; deel bishakkilu ’usra kabiira; fi l-Musabba’aat bardu bishakkilu ’usra kabiira, deel naas Muhammad Ahmad Khaalid, wa naas Muusa l-Ajib; fi j-Jawaam’a; Ja’liyyiin, bishakkilu majmu’ a laakin maa kabiira be l-muqaarana ma’a l-majmu’aat al-li zakarnaaha.

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 Haaj at-Taahir. 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-Fitee and kept working in it; that was the first shop in al-Fitee.

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:)

Hasab 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 minnnaa. Fa law jama’ta Wad Um Haaj at-Taahir was the paternal uncle of Shaikh Wad-Haashim.

٨٨}

٨٨
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.

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) Khar-toum, 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-Khartoum) hum itharrako be waraa hu min Dungula jo laaghin al-Mahdi. Ba’ad maa ga’ado shuwayya al-Mahdi gaal lee jiddana: “Yaa Abu-Kuuma inta tamshhi le l-mantiga bita’a’at al-Fallaata tistaqir hinaak.” Wa gaal lee Naasir (akhuhu): “Inta tamshi le l-mantiga bita’a’at Um...”

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 ḥalaqa 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-Raayaat until he reached Old Wad Haashim on the (western) bank of the river (Blue Nile) and settled down there. Immediately, people gathered around him.

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

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, by Allah, Shaikh Muḥammad Wad-Haashim Wad Haashim di aslan kaan ismaa l-Fiteeh, wu kaan biititsamma Kuush aw Kaboosh, wa tahawwal ismaa lee Wad Haashim be ism ar-rajul al-li ansha’ al-gharya di, al-li huwa abuuna l-‘aarif bi l-Laah ash-Sheekh Mahammad Wad-Haashim. Al-Fiteeh

13 Old Fulani in the Sennar Area (Sudan)

5 These are villages in the area of Singa.
6 Here too, the term ‘father’ is used as a term of respect.
Maybe Haaj at-Taahir 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-Tagaatu⁷. His father, Yuusif, was buried in the old graveyard of Sennar at-Tagaatu⁷. This (Sennar at-Tagaatu⁷) was the place from where he (Shaikh Wad-Haashim) established contact with the people of Sennar town.

Shaikh Wad-Haashim said: “I will not join (this brotherhood) until you convene a big circle (zikr⁴) that gathers quite a large number of people; then I will get initiated.”⁸ He (Shaikh Wad-Haashim) then immediately went out for ‘wandering’ (siyyaahu) 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 the point where they would eat the food he was eating and drink the water he was drinking.

¹ Both places were/are famous centres of Sufi communities. They are located north-west of Sennar town.
² 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 (halaja). In some Sufi brotherhoods, the performance involves drumming and dancing while reciting religious poems in praise of the Prophet (Muhammad) or the founder of the brotherhood or its current sheikh.

Interview: Kaamil Abdulrahmaan ash-Shaikh Muhammad Abu-Kuuma
INTERVIEW: KAAMIL ʿABDULRAḤMAAN
ASH-SHAΙKH MUḤAMMAD 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 at-Taahir Muhammad 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 ad-Dāali’ī’ (‘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’ī as-Seed’ (‘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 mawlud sanat alfa wa tusʿumiyya wa khamsa fī manṭṭig al-Masallamiyya. Wa huwa ismu “t-Toor ad-Dāali’ī” laʾanu rīju maṭtuuba; wa ismu “Abu-Gabreen” laʾanu nushir min gabru baʿad sabaʾa wa arbaʾiin sana min al-baḥar ilaa barra; wa ismu “Raaʿī ʿas-Seed” laʾanu aslan fī l-khala fī siyaḥṭu diik birʿa ʿas-Seed, biyāḥmi ʿas-Seed min ʿas-ṣayyāadiin. Yimkin Haaj at-Taahir liʿib door kabir jiddan jiddan ‘ashaan yiji hina. Wa kaan naazil fī l-mantīga bitaaʿat at-

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.
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 *Shanaagii/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’ (sijaadaat – 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 mahmada ya’ni; zool muhaafiz ‘ala sha’aa’ir ad-diiniyya wa ‘ala l-fiqh wu kida. Fa dakhlat al-ahzaab fi l-mas’ala di. Ya’ni dakhkhhammat al-akhtaa’ wa haawalat tarbut kullu mushin be gabiila mu’ayyana... Wa mumkin ana arja’ leek taani; ya’ni fi d-diraasaat aj-jaat hassa di ya’ni kullu s-sijaadaat di assasoooha Fallaata. Wa jo wa ga’ado, maa jo naas fattasho ‘ala usuulum ‘ashaan yihaafzu ‘ala l-lugha; indasaro fi l-buyut di. Di diraasa mawjuuda wa qad yikuun fi akaadiimiyyin katabo fihiha. Akhadooha min ash-Shimaaliyya, kullu l-gubab di innaa mu’assasa min Gharb Ifriqiya. Ya’ni da kullu mawjuud fi l-kutub.
himself belonged to this family. 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. 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’

9 According to informants from Wad Haashim village, this acknowledgement was once made publicly during the first hooliyya of Shaikh Wad-Haashim (2006). In the subsequent hooliyyas, 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 Haaj at-Taahir was born around 1700, 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 Talhas (i.e., Shaikh Talha and his brothers); they (i.e., the members of Shaikh Talha’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 grandparents (belonged to that group). This Haaj at-Taahir, 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 hooliyya (annual celebration of a dead saint). They (i.e., the members of Haaj at-Taahir’s family) always say that their family originates from Andalusia; Shaikh Wad-Haashim

\[\text{min bidaayat at-taariikh. Itlaqu ma’a l-‘usra bitaa’at ash-Sheekh Talha. Hum, \(\text{\^{t}}\)ba’an da ra’yahum hum, innahum qaadimiin min ash-Shimaal min Dungula, wa nihna qaadimiin min al-gharb, jaa yiin min al-Andalus, al-Maghrib; wa di l-majmuu’a \(\text{\^{z}}\)-zaharat wa gaamat be t-ta’liim ad-diini fii mantigat al-Fuunj – al-‘usra bitaa’at juduudna deel. Wa l-Haaj at-Taahir da abuuhu wa juduudu madfuuiin fii Sinnaar al-gadima. Da t-taariikh ghayytu al-li binara al-li \(\text{'indana ni\(\text{h}\)na, aw maa tawaarad ya’ni. Hatta naas bista’nasu beeha fi l-hooliyyaa, gaa’diin iguulu ja min al-Andalus, al-li hiya l-‘usra di, minnaa sh-Sheekh Wad-Haashim nafsu. Hu mawlud hina fi s-Suudaan, wa leehu jiddeen mawludeen hina fi s-Suudaan.}\]

\[\text{\(8\) Compared with the birth date of his nephew, Shaikh Wad-Haashim (ca. 1820–1830), this date (around 1700) seems too early.}\]
Old Fulani in the Sennar Area (Sudan)

½
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 Muhammad Toom, the son of Shaikh ëal ëal, 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 Muhammad Toom) registered it in two blocks: Fallaata Block and Wad Haashim Block.

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

When Granada (Ghurnaâta – in Andalusia) fell (in 1505)...† 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 Haaj at-Taahir (i.e., Haaj at-Taahir, his father and his grandfather) were all born here (in the Lamma sagaat Ghurnaata fi l-Andalus (‘aam 1505)...

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)!

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

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

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 Suleimanian ants against him (using supernatural powers). 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).

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

The land extends from the textile factory of Sennar to Al-waatça tabda min maṣna an-nasiij bitaa Sinnaar da.

---

6 The expression ‘Suleimanian 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 Allāh, include the ability to talk to ants.
woman) called Ḥaliima, the mother of Shaikh Muhammad Toom (himself a son of Shaikh Talḥa). The Shaikh Talḥas crossed to the eastern side of the (Blue) Nile and the Haaj at-Taahirs (i.e., Haaj at-Taahir and his family) remained on the western side in a village that Haaj at-Taahir had established under the name of ‘al-Fiteeh’. Their graveyard was in Maiurno. It was Haaj at-Taahir who founded al-Fiteeh and Shaikh Wad-Haashim changed its name into ‘Wad Haashim’.

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

Same as Haaj at-Taahir. 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-ᶜAsha in the Gezira. His mother was from the Masallamiyya⁵ tribe and his father was from the Shanaagii (Mauritanians).


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

Same as Haaj at-Taahir. 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-ᶜAsha in the Gezira. His mother was from the Masallamiyya⁵ tribe and his father was from the Shanaagii (Mauritanians).


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

Same as Haaj at-Taahir. 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-ᶜAsha in the Gezira. His mother was from the Masallamiyya⁵ tribe and his father was from the Shanaagii (Mauritanians).


---

⁵ It is often said that a branch of the Masallamiyya (Arab) tribe descends from a Fulani man.
had been buried in Old Sennar, but he himself was buried in Maiurno\(^3\) and his tomb was identified. He came to this area during the reign of Makk aj-Jahmaan, the Makk\(^4\) of the Funj. A famous story (problem) occurred between him and the Makk. I think that he (Haaj at-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.

\(Q:\) What is/was Haaj at-Taahir’s relation with Shaikh Talha?

His relation with Shaikh Talha was as follows: Haaj at-Taahir was married to Shaikh Talha’s maternal aunt in al-Waašliyya. When Haaj at-Taahir had the land registered for him, he brought the Shaikh Talhas (i.e., Shaikh Talha and his brothers) to this area. Shaikh Talha then got married to a daughter of his maternal aunt (i.e., a daughter of Haaj at-Taahir), a

3 The graveyard in which Haaj at-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 Haaj at-Taahir to around 1700, ca. a century before the fall of the Funj Sultanate and its conquest by forces of Muḥammad ‘Ali Pasha, the Ottoman Turkish ruler of Egypt (1821).
INTERVIEW:
HAASHIM YAHYA ʿABDALLAFDALIIL

AGE AND PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE INTERVIEWEE:
60 years, born in Hillat Ismaaʿil
DATE AND PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW:
June 10, 2011; Hillat Ismaaʿil

Q: We heard that this village (Hillat Ismaaʿil) was founded by one of Haaj at-Taahir’s grandchildren and that Haaj at-Taahir had a large amount of land in this area. Please, tell us about him and his history.

HAASHIM

Haaj at-Taahir 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, Haaj at-Taahir’s father was from the Shanaagii (Mauritanians) and his mother was from the Falaata. He came from the area of al-WaaSliyya (in the Gezira) and lived in Old Sennar. His grandfathers Al-Haaj at-Taahir min ash-shakhsiyyaat al-ʿaziima fi taariikh l-mantiga di. Ana waa haa amma fi tilka. Tadaarub fi 1-aqwaal hawl ašlu. Fi naas yinzuʿuyiwwadduhum Gharb Ifriqiyya, wa nihna ka ʿusra ʿindana raʿy. Al-Haaj at-Taahir abuuhu min ash-Shanaagii wa ummu min al-Fallaata. Jaayi min mantigat al-WaaSliyya, wa ʿaash fi Sinnaar al-gadiima, judduudu madfuunin fi Sinnaar al-gadiima, laakin hu [= huwa] madfuun hina

1 The term ‘grandchildren’ is here used loosely to refer to further descendants of Haaj at-Taahir.

2 On July 15, 2012, I conducted a group interview in Hillat Ismaaʿil with descendants of Haaj at-Taahir, including the informant (Haashim) and his father. In that interview, one of Haaj at-Taahir descendants (ʿAbdulgaadir al-Yasaʿ Baabikir Ilyaas al-Haaj at-Taahir) asserted that his great grandfather (i.e., Haaj at-Taahir) was a Fulani; the informant (Haashim) kept silent and did not make any attempt to bring forward his own view about Haaj at-Taahir being of ‘Shanaagii’/North African origin.

1 Old Fulani in the Sennar Area (Sudan)
ملاحظات أولية:

- لقد لعب الوجود المبكر لقريتي ود هاشم والشيخ طلحة، كمركزين للنشاط الصوفي، وتعلم القرآن، دوراً كبيراً في هجرات الفولانيين إلى هذه المنطقة.
- الأقاليم التي أتى قدامى الفولانيين منها مباشرة هي دارفور وكردفان والجزيرة (المروية). وعند سؤالهم عن الأقاليم الأخرى التي هاجر منها أسلافهم، فكلهم يذكرن شمال إفريقيا، بالخصوص تونس، دون الإشارة من قريب أو بعيد إلى غرب إفريقيا.
- أعداد كبيرة من الأسر في هذه المجموعة شاركت في الحركة المهديّة أولاً ثم توجهت إلى هذه المنطقة مباشرة بعد معركة كريزي (1897) التي بها "خربت المهديه". أي انتهت.
- معظم الفولانيين الأنصار قد توجه إلى هذه المنطقة لأحد أو أكثر من الأسباب التالية (حسب إفاداتهم):
  1) إن خليفة المهدي (أي الخليفة عبد الله) نصحهم بذلك.
  2) 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.
  3) تتمتع المنطقة بفرص جاذبة للرعى والزراعة.
  4) إن قرية الشيخ طلحة مكان آمن، حيث لم يتمكن الإنجليز من الوصول إليها، ولم يحدث فيها أي نوع من العنف المصاحب لدخول الاستعمار.
  5) يميل قدامى الفولانيين إلى السكوت عن هويتهم الأثنيّة، وقد قرر بعض منهم سلفاً تبني هوية (عربية) جديدة.

لقد جذبت هاتان القريتان، باعتبارهما مركزين للنشاط الصوفي، أيضاً مجموعات كبيرة من الواقفين من مختلف الإثنيّات ومختلف أنحاء السودان، منهم العرب ومنهم غير العرب، ومن لم يسكن فيهما سكن حولهما.
Old Fulani in the Sennar Area (Sudan)

Amadou Ahmed Hassan Ibrahim, a scholar of the Fulani in that area: He was born in Meirino, and therefore he is from the Fulani who came after the migration. Although he was a member of the local community of the Fulani and participated in their activities, he did not acquire any Fulani identity after the migration. He did not speak the Fulani language (Fula). In this case, he is closer to the Fulani who came before the migration than the Fulani who came after the migration, as he is the son of their leaders.

The people I interviewed in Amderman were:

Abdulrahman Sheik Mohamed Abu Komata, and Belh Adder Mohammed Salem: Both are from the village of Wadda (Arab), but they are settled in Amderman in a residential area (district of Shqol) that houses a large number of residents from Wadda. Both are closely related to their respective communities, and they visit their communities regularly during various occasions, especially during holidays and funerals. Sheikh Wadda Abu Komata was the one who inherited the leadership after his father’s death, and his son, Abdulrahman, succeeded him as the leader of the community.

The mayor Yacoub Adam Yacoub: He is the mayor of Opumoi in the Tles area (south Darfur) and resides in Amderman, where he conducted some of the interviews. It became clear during this interview that a group of the Fellata Sindiqa is present in the area, and it appeared that some of these Fellata are related to the settled Fellata in the Senar area. It should be noted that the Fellata Sindiqa in the Senar area have recently divided into two groups due to a dispute over their identity: one group放弃了他们原族的Fulani identity and adopted an Arabic identity (Husnab), while the other group insisted on maintaining their original Fulani identity, despite the fact that they do not speak the Fulani language. What is surprising is that these two groups are led by brothers, each of whom leads one of them.

This is a unique event in the history of Sufism in Sudan, where “the leadership” (and thus the blessing) passed from the offspring of the founder of this school to another family, despite the fact that the Fellata Sindiqa in the Tles area (south Darfur) have a separate leadership under the supervision of Muhammad Yunis, the mayor of Opumoi.

The Fellata Sindiqa in Darfur are a branch of the Fellata Isogu/Igosi (who speak the Fulani language), and they are the largest group in the Darfur region. This is the first time I have encountered a group of the Fellata who speak the Fulani language, and they are the ones I interviewed in Amderman.

This event is significant because it provides an opportunity to study the relationship between the Fellata Sindiqa in the Senar area and the Fellata Sindiqa in the Tles area (south Darfur).

07 Old Fulani in the Sennar Area (Sudan)
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 لنيل الأزرق على بعد 15 كيلومترا جنوب سان، إضافة إلى أخرى قرية "الأزرق". تفرعت من مايرنو وأنشئت على ضفتي النيل الأزرق جنوبى جدا في اتجاه الوادي. وفيها، وعلى تجنب الع геро، والكثيروفات، فإن هؤلاء ما زالوا محتفظين للكثر بالثقافة الفولانية من عادات وتقاليد، وما زال أغلبهم يتحدث اللغة الفولانية (لبنية إلى جانب اللغة العربية)، غير أن المؤثرات الثقافية العربية السودانية أخذت تسيطر فيه بشكل متسارعة.

لقد دفعتني أوضاع هذين القسمين من الفولانيين من منطقة سنار (أي قدامى الفولانيين وفولانيو ما بعد المهدية) إلى السعي للدراسة من حيث تاريخ الهجرة إلى المنطقة، وسجل كسب العيش، والإسهال في التنمية الاقتصادية (باستخدام أفكارهما رعاية وزراء)، والمشاكل المتعلقة بالهوية (بالنسبة للقسم الثاني على وجه الخصوص)، إلى جانب الداخلة والتفاعل والتعايش مع القبائل الأخرى والمجتمعات المجاورة، ومن ثم درجة الاندماج فيها.

على أي حال، فقد نال فولانيو ما بعد المهدية القاطنون في منطقة سنار حظاً وافراً في البحث والنشر. فقد قمنا - بروفيسور/غونتر شلي وشخصي - في العشرين عاماً الماضية بجمع كم من المادة البحثية حولهم، وذلك في إطار مشروع كان يضطلع به معهد ماكس بلانك الأثريولوجيا الاجتماعية (ألمانيا) تحت عنوان "الإثنية في سياق جديد". وما زال جزء من هذه المادة في مرحلة التحليل والإعداد للنشر، وعلى عكس ذلك ففي 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 مطولى أجريتها في إطار مشروع "الرعي في تفاعل مع سبيل أخرى لاستخدام الأرض في منطقة النيل الأزرق بالسودان" الذي يموله معهد ماكس بلانك المدير أعلاء (أي المعرض) البروفيسور/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، ويوليوز 2012، وأبريل 2013. وتشمل الأماكن التي جمعت فيها المادة في المنطقة قيد الدراسة كلاً من مدينة السوكى وقرية كوع النحل (حوالي 7 كيلومترا جنوب سان)، وقرية كوما (حوالي 10 كيلومترا جنوب مايرنو). (انظر الخارطة في صفحة 10.)

لمزيد من المعلومات حول هذه القرى والظروف الاجتماعية السياسية التي أدت تأسيسها، انظر Abu-Manga (2007).


مقدمة
الأمين أبومنقة

لقد بُنيت في دراسات سابقة – ولعلها بين بحثين أخرين – أن منطقة سنار بوسط السودان ظلت لعدة عقود خلال القرن التاسع عشر، بؤرة جذب واستقرار لهجرات الفولانيين، أي بعضهم من مناطق متفرقة في كردفان ودارفور، في حين أن بعضهم قد حُطمت من غرب إفريقيا. ووفقًا للتقارير السودانية والإفريقية بصورة عامة، تُعرِّف كل مجموعة من هؤلاء الفولانيين نفسها باسم قبلي أو عشائري يرجع إلى مؤسسها (مثل فلانتة زروقاب، سندقة، أولاد عتمانة، إلخ) أو إلى الجهة التي هاجرت منها (مثل فلانتة صكتو، برنو، كاستانا، إلخ). ويمكننا تصنيف مجموعات الفولانيين في منطقة سنار، بخلاف قبائلها وعشائرها، في سبعينات رئيسين استنادًا إلى تاريخ هجراتها ودرجة اندماجها في المجتمعات العربية (المحليّة)، وهما:

(أ) قديمي الفولانيين، و(ب) فولانيو ما بعد المهدية.

يقضي قسم قديمي الفولانيين المجموعات أو الأسر التي استقرت بهذه المنطقة قبل قيام الدولة المهديّة (1885–1897) وذلك التي حُلت مباشرة بعد سقوط هذه الدولة في أديني الاستعمار البريطاني، أي بعد معركة كردفان عام 1897. وتحركوا في الأساس من كردفان ودارفور لنصيبهم في المدينة (أي آدمان) أو لم تكن آدمان ثم بعد ذلك إلى منطقة سنار بعد "خراب المهدية". وヌسبًا للباشر بالمنافك المبكر للفولانيين في السودان وتأخذهم في المجموعات المحلية وتداخلهم وتعدادهم وتفاعلون معها، وعلى الثقافة العربية فيهم، فقد فقدوا بمرور الزمن كل عنصر ثقافتهم الفولانية الأصلية وتراثها وعاداتها. أي أصبحوا "عرباً" لسانًا وثقافة.

يتمثل الموطن الأول للفولانيين بمنطقة سنار في قريتين يعتبران أقدم قرى"فلانتة" في المنطقة، وهي قريه ود هاشم على بعد 12 كيلومتراً جنوب سنار على الضفة الشرقية من النيل الأزرق، وقرية الشيخ طلحة على الضفة الشرقية للنهر قبالة ود هاشم. تشكلت نواة قريتين من قريتين أخرى أسبق نشأت باسم الفتيح في العقود الأخيرة لمملكة الفونج، وتحولت فيما بعد من موضعها قليلاً وتغير اسمها إلى ود هاشم. وتحولت في النهاية إلى قريتين اسمها ود هاشم، وتكونت كل من قريتي ود هاشم والشيخ طلحة تطورت على نمط القرية المركزية التي تتميز بها عهد الفونج، دون سواه من العقود، أي قيام القرية حول "تقابة رجل صالح أو ولد في أولياء الله، يتجه إليها المريدون من كل حدب وصوب من مختلف القبائل، تدوب فيه الفوارق القبلية والطائفية، تعايشون ويتنازلون ويترازون، وبينهم مجتمع متراز ومودب وموثي، ولاهو الله وشيخة الطريق.

تفرعت من قرية الشيخ طلحة مجموعة من القرى الأخرى المجاورة لها مثل مسيرة العجوز وحمدان الله وعربشلقا. وليتيمة مدينة السوكن (حوالي 40 كيلومتراً جنوب شرق الشيخ طلحة) أكبر تجمع للفولانيين في المنطقة، وبها رئاسة المحلية (ملحقية السوكن).

أما فولانيو ما بعد المهدية في المنطقة فهم جماعات هجرة الطائر/موريرو التي وصلت في العقد الأول من القرن الماضي قادمة مباشرة من ما يعرف اليوم بشمال


1 انظر مثلاً: (1980 و 1981)
2 في كل هذا الحجم نستخدم صيغة "ود هاشم" (كلمتان) للإشارة إلى القرية، بينما نستخدم صيغة "ودهاشم" (كلمة واحدة) للإشارة إلى مؤسستها.
فهرس المحتويات

05  مقدمة

1  مقابلة: هاشم يحيى عبدالفضيل

11  مقابلة: كامل عبدالرحمن الشيخ محمد أبوكومة

25  مقابلة: سليمان أحمد حسنين

33  مقابلة مع مجموعة من الفلاتة زرواق بالسوكي

45  مقابلة: عمر محمد قدس عداب الله

65  مقابلة: محمد عيسى ثابت

71  مقابلة: محمد الأمين حسن إبراهيم (معتمد السوكي)

79  مقابلة: أحمد أبو بكر حسن جمعة

83  مقابلة: محمد أبو بكر حسن جمعة

97  Bibliography

99  Index/فهرس الأسماء والأماكن

106  Other Volumes in the Series

v  Introduction

iv  Series Editor’s Preface

iii  Table of Contents
قدامى الفولانيين في منطقة سنار (السودان)

[المدين أبومنقة]

هدى (زالا) 2017

معهد ماكس بلانك للأنثروبولوجية الاجتماعية
شعبة 'الاندماج والنزاعات'
مدوّنات حقلية ومشروعات البحوث رقم 18