

DARFUR

STRUGGLE OF POWER AND RESOURCES, 1650-2002

AN INSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Yousif Suliman Saeed Takana

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Translated by Awad Al Awad

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Printed at Bodoni AS, Skjenet 10, 5354 Straume, Norway

The picture on the front page is borrowed from Margaret Shinnie:
“Ancient African Kingdoms”, New York: New American Library 1965, p.90.

Layout: Geir Årdal

ISBN 978-82-8062-583-0

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About the author

Dr. Yousif Takana was born in Buram town, South Darfur in 1947. His grandfather Takana was tribal chief of the Habania during the Mahdist regime 1885-1889 and his father a cattle trader.

Yousif has a long and distinguished career as an administrator in many parts of the Sudan, including Darfur. In 1982, he was Regional Minister for Agriculture and Natural Resources in Darfur's regional government. He also worked as North Darfur Commissioner during 1986-1989 and as a federal Minister for International Economic Cooperation during 2002-2006. Since 2010, he has been part of the academic cooperation between Chr. Michelsen Institute, the University of Bergen, the University of Khartoum and Ahfad University for Women, supported by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Yousif Takana received his PhD in Political Science from the University of Khartoum in 2013 and this book is a translated version (from Arabic) of his dissertation.



Preface

In 1986, as a Commissioner in North Darfur, I was asked by the Sudan Council of Ministers to re-establish the native administration that was abolished in 1970 by the previous military regime. I was astonished by the interest of all Darfurians – men and women, traditional and educated elites in all villages and towns – in such re-establishment. I came to realize the importance of the native administration institution in Darfur, which inspired me to write about it. In 1997, I was commissioned by the Sudan government to write a report on tribal conflict in Darfur. During this period, I started collecting data and information. In 2002, during my work as a minister in the cabinet, the armed movements in Darfur started their war against the central government. I noticed a huge gap of knowledge among the ruling elite in Khartoum about what was happening in Darfur. It became mandatory for me to write a book to bridge this gap. In 2010, I registered as a PhD student at the University of Khartoum. In the same year, I joined the cooperative program between CMI, the University of Bergen, the University of Khartoum and Ahfad University for Women. This helped me to continue my research in Darfur and to consolidate my knowledge. By the end of 2013, I submitted my thesis and was awarded the PhD degree. I am very grateful for the support from Sudanese and Norwegian colleagues who made it possible to publish my research, first in Arabic, then in English. The program is supported by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs through its embassy in Khartoum, which has made this publication possible and for which I am also very grateful.

Khartoum, February 2016

Yousif Takana



Glossary

Word	Description
abba al-shaikh	Title of the governor of the eastern area of the Fur kingdom in Kordofan. He enjoyed a special place in the royal court to the extent that he was titled “Jabir al-Dar” during the reign of Abba al-Shaikh Kara under the supremacy of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul. One of the famous abba al-shaikh was named Kurra who played a role in the transfer of power to Sultan Mohammed Alfadul after the death of his father.
Abbala	Camel grazers.
abonga	Title of relatives of the sultan from his father’s side. These relatives occupied a rather precarious position of power, especially during periods of transition when the inheritance of the Fur sultanate was often disputed among competing brothers or other male relatives. Those called “abonga” also had power to control land without authorization from the central authority; this was a means to keep them away from power conspiracies and other schemes in the palaces of the Fur sultans.
abu al-jabayyin	The sultan’s chief tax collector.
abu dadinga	The commander of the sultan’s guard.
Ansar	Followers of the Mahdi as a religious leader in Sudan.
ayabasi	Title of the eldest sister of the sultan. She enjoyed great influence in the administration of power in the palace of her brother. In terms of influencing palace policies, she came third in power, behind the sultan and his first minister. The person in this role played important roles in both peace and war times. Prominent ayabasis included Zamzam, the sister of Sultan Mohammed al-Husain, and Taja, the sister of Sultan Ali Dinar.
bagarra	Cattle grazers.

- basi** Usually, a title for relatives of the sultan from his mother's side, such as cousins and nieces, as well as other high-ranking officials in the Fur sultanate. However, as a function, the title was held by the chief of the Awlad Digain Zaghawa administration in the area of Muzbad in the northern region of Darfur. It is a little more than an omda and a little less than a shartaya. The title remained attached to the Zaghawa Tor administration in Umbaro until 1995, but it is now an independent administration.
- basinga** Title of the sultan's relatives from his mother's side that usually constituted an important part of the power circles at their different levels. They often occupied important posts and enjoyed gifts and grants from the sultans in the form of land.
- dadingawi** The chief of Elfasher town and the head of the guards for Fur Kira sultans.
- Diar** Plural of Dar which is the home land of the tribe.
- dimlij**
(plural dimalij) Title for an old administrative position in the Fur sultanate. The functional role of the dimlij was associated with the administration of land and customary laws of the tribe. The dimlij played the role of mediator between land sheikhs in villages and higher authorities such as sharati (plural of shartaya), magadeem (plural of magdoom), and furash (plural of farsha). The title was abolished during the British era and was replaced with the title of omda. However, the function has retained its efficacy within the norms of the community in the area of land administration and customary laws until today, especially for settled tribes.
- dingir**
(plural danagir) This name was given to the land of a tribal branch (clan) within a given hakoora. It constituted an internal division of land according to tribal clans, mostly used by the Masalit tribe in western Darfur. It is worthwhile mentioning that the word "dingir" is originally the name of a drum made from wood and leather, smaller than the "sihas" of the tribe, which were used a symbol of a tribe's supremacy.
- domingawi** Governor of the southwestern province of the Fur sultanate, called Dar Dima. This was the stronghold of the Fur Keira and Kingara clans in the heartland of Jebel Marra. This title is still used for the Fur native administration chief in Zalinji.
- faki** In Sudanese terms means a religious man who could provide different services to the people.

falganawi (plural falagna)	A peripheral position at the bottom of the Fur sultanate administration. Holders of this position provided special services at personal and family levels, that is, they were secret keepers. During the time of study the position was changed and holders of the position acted as administrative guards in the Fur area of Jebel Marra. Holders of such positions were usually sons of sharati or omad.
farsha (plural furash)	Title of an administrative position that was peculiar to Dar Masalit. The holder of this position was similar to district governor; it was higher than the position of omda. The farsha was directly responsible to the sultan of Dar Masalit and had land kings, danagir, caliphs, and shaikhs under him.
fas	Agricultural land plot at the level of families and individuals.
frangaba	The person responsible for keeping and administering Dali customary law.
Fur Keira	A clan of the Fur tribe that established a sultanate in the 17th century. The other Fur tribe clan is the Kingara.
gadah	Small denominated piece of land granted to abonga, basinga, or maiarim by sultans. In western Darfur, however, gadah is given to lands granted to minorities living with the tribe owning the land.
hakoora (plural hawakeer)	A term referring generally to tribal land. It commanded special importance because of tribal conflicts over land.
jallabi	Trader from the Nile region of the Sudan.
kamna	A ceremonial position. The holder of this position is like the shadow of the sultan and is immediately killed following the death of the sultan. The importance of this position disappeared with the disappearance of the Fur power, but is still in use in the north-western part of Dar Masalit by the Asangoar and Aringa clans.
khashm al-fas	Excises in kind given to the original owner of land according to customs and traditions.
korayat	The chief of the palace servants.
Goaz	The sandy lands in Darfur and Kordofan.

ilja	A citizen to allow his farm lands under the name of a senior influential person who could avoid heavy taxation.
Hikir	A government land allowed for an individual to use for residence or other means.
King of Abidiya	Abidiya were slaves. King of Abidiya was the senior man responsible for their administration.
kursi	It was a minor job in Fur Sultanate, usually a messenger.
kurgul	An office of land title in Masalit Mistring clan in west Dar Masalit in the area of Mastri town.
Land King	A title of land administrator in Masalit land systems in West Darfur.
magdoom (plural magadeem)	Title of the personal representative of the sultan who was granted broad administrative and inspection powers in certain administrative areas, such as Dar ar-Reeh and Dar as-Saeed (both in the southern part of the Fur sultanate). This position was introduced at the beginning of the 19th century for the purpose of controlling and inspecting certain areas, temporarily or regularly. It then became a permanently inheritable position with fixed administrative and judicial powers under the direct responsibility of the sultan. Examples included the northern magdoomiya, which was annulled by the dissolution of native administration in 1970, and the Nyala magdoomiya, which still functions under the current native administration framework.
magdoomiya	The area administered by the Magdoom.
mairam (plural maiarim)	Title for daughters and sisters of sultans and high-ranking officials in the Fur sultanate. This group enjoyed strong influence in the circles of power and owned a large amount of fertile lands in different areas in Darfur. There were a number of famous maiarim in the history of the Fur sultanate. Now the word has been generalized to denote any woman of fame or beauty in Darfur.
mihmal	An annual religious present rendered to the holy mosque in Mecca.
Miri	Sudan government lands.
mujahid (plural mujahidin)	Religious fighters during Mahdiya regime in Sudan.

nazir	The tribal chief of nomadic tribes mainly in the South Darfur Baggara group, which included the Rizaigat, Habbaniyya, Felatta, Ta'aisha, and Bani Halba tribes.
omangawi	Governor of the southeastern province of the Fur sultanate, Dar Oma. This area lay to the east and southeast of Jebel Marra, and contained the capital of the kingdom in Reel, to the east of the current location of Nyala city.
omda (plural omad)	An administrative officer for a branch of a tribe.
Omodiya	The area administered by an Omda.
orendolong	The chamberlain and personal guard of the sultan. This position was usually held by an individual from the Fur tribe. However, during Sultan Abdelrahaman al-Rasheed the position moved to the Zaghawa, Dago, and Bigo tribes.
shalikha	Baggara (cattle herder) tribes used this word to refer to some summer pastures to the south of Bahr al-Arab.
shartaya (plural sharati)	Title for the tribal district governor. It has a special importance amongst settled tribes such as the Fur, Birgid, Barti, and Dajo. However, it is non-existent amongst Bedouin tribes and is not in use amongst the Masalit, Gimir, and Sinnar tribes. Usually, a shartaya is the head of a group of damalij (plural of dimlij) and omad (plural of omda).
shartawiya	The areas administered by the Shartaya.
shaikh	An administrative officer at the bottom of the tribal administration, usually in small clusters of villages (or farigs for the nomads).
safat (plural sifi or swafi)	An area that has good pastures and available waters in the form of ponds along Bahr al-Arab. These areas are often used by the Habbaniyya tribe in southern Darfur.
somingdogola	The person responsible for the dress of the sultan.

takanjawi	Governor of the northern province of the Fur sultanate (called Dar ar-Reeh or Dar Takanjawi). The holder of this title remained respected in issues of customary laws. During the British administration in Darfur (1916–1956), the office was officially annulled, but it remained in use in customary laws in rural areas. In 1932, North Darfur native courts were established and the influence of Takanjawi has since been reduced, as powers have been concentrated in the hands of the North Darfur magdoom.
wadi	Small river.
warnag (or ornag)	For the Fur and Masalit tribes this word is applied to any military youth organization that is set up to defend the tribe and its village communities and to keep order and security. It is an old organization with strict customary rules. It is still used in both war and peace times and its application has expanded recently to the Sinnar and Marrasa tribes in the western area of Darfur. Warnags are also used to administer land and they have been awarded the duties of dimalij in some tribes in Dar Masalit area (Sinar and Marassa tribes).
wardaya	The palace of Darfur Sultan usually had two gates. One for men and the other for women. In each of these gates there were guards. Wardaya is the chief of the men's gate.
zakat	An Islamic religious tax.

Introduction

One of the prominent events in the Darfur region was the rise of the Fur Keira sultanate at the beginning of the 16th century and its permanence until the beginning of the 20th century. As a central authority for four centuries, this sultanate had a direct influence on all facets of life in Darfur society through the establishment of governance tools and structures, administrative institutions, customs, and traditions—to the extent that these became a human heritage strongly associated with lives and souls of individuals and groups. Through time and the accumulation of experience and knowledge, these tools and structures and their related customs and traditions became effective institutions in the organization of individual and community relations, especially in the area of competition over land resources and power within the region, as well as the relationship between the governor and the governed. These institutions were characterized by authenticity and regional identity because they all evolved as outcomes of the development of local communities to fulfill those communities' respective political, social, and economic needs.

Although this development of institutions, customs, and traditions was the result of centuries of internal developments and accumulation of experience and knowledge, the Fur sultanate society was not isolated from similar societies evolving in its vicinity. Darfur's location gave it a unique opportunity to learn from its neighbors: To the east of the Fur sultanate, kingdoms arose that grew out of ancient and contemporary cultures around the Nile River valley—kingdoms that had commercial and cultural connections to the Fur sultanate and tied the sultanate to the route that led through Egypt and to the Holy Lands. These ties strongly influenced a number of different facets of Darfur's society, especially those related to Islam, government traditions, administration, and long distance trade. To the west of the Fur sultanate, ancient Sudanese kingdoms had arisen around the basin of Lake Chad since the 11th century, such as the kingdoms of Kanem-Borno, Balala, and Waddai, which were all contemporary to the Fur sultanate. These kingdoms had deep commercial, social, and cultural relations with Darfur, in particular, through the Hajj route (the 40 days route) that linked West African Muslims from the commercial region of Dar al-Arbaa'een to Egypt and Hejaz. These relations, like those with the Nile valley kingdoms, contributed to enriching local Darfur culture, traditions, and knowledge in government and administration institutions, as well as the customs and traditions associated with them. In fact, some historians, such as A. J. Arkell (1951 and 1952), viewed the Darfur heritage in this area as an extension to the heritage of the Kanem-Borno kingdoms around the Lake Chad basin.

Darfur's unique geographical position also provided the sultanate with an opportunity to communicate with the kingdoms of North Africa established first by the Berber and then the Islamic kingdoms, in spite of the presence of the Great Sahara between the two regions—

and both of those kingdoms had commercial and maritime relations with the Mediterranean communities. Relations between the Fur sultanate and Arab Maghreb flourished greatly, especially relations with the Shanageet realm (in present day Mauritania), where Islamic culture flourished and which became a center for Islamic sciences. This relationship was reinforced during the 19th century with the spread of the Tijaniyya Sufi order from Fes in Maghreb to African communities to the west and south of the Sahara; Darfur played an important role in this.

In spite of Darfur's predominately local identity, these contacts with the external world, during different times, contributed greatly to the formation of social, political, and economic institutions of the Fur sultanate, provided the sultanate with vigor and innovation, and strengthened the sultanate's ability to organize its society during the 19th century. However, this development and accumulation of knowledge did not continue unabated, but experienced disruptions later on.

Each human society has a spirit that manifests itself in institutions of its own innovation that organize its life in different areas. Elimination of these institutions means elimination of the spirit of that society; this was exactly what happened to Darfur to some extent. The colonial attack on Darfur from the Turkish regime in northern Sudan and Turkish occupation of Darfur starting in 1874 represented the first phase of interruption of the self-development and growth of Darfur's institutions. Other interruptions followed suit during later regimes until Darfur became a province of modern Sudan in 1916.

This book presents and analyses the social, political, and economic institutions of Darfur as well as the customs and traditions associated therewith. It also looks at interruptions to the growth of those institutions, which has led to turbulence and conflict in the region both in the past and up until today.

Theoretical Reviews: The Formation of the Sudanese State and the Darfur Case

The emergence and evolution of states has been the subject of numerous studies that have developed into specialized academic trends extending from history to political anthropology, and from law, politics, and constitutional law to political economics and other specializations. Each of these specializations has its own tools of analysis and interpretive approaches for explaining the phenomenon of state emergence and evolution. This study does not aim to assess those theories but rather to draw upon the vast heritage of Darfur that supports those theories through different historical phases. There is a deep controversy about the effect of each phase or stage (numerous but similar according to some researchers) on the formation of state institutions and a central authority to govern a vast geographical area, an economy that supports these state institutions, and the "human components" of these institutions (that is, financial institutions, services, and commodities)—as well as an institutional identity that distinguishes any particular state from neighboring and competing states in the political and geographical vicinity.

The emergence of a central authority that imposes its law and influence on people living on a certain geographical territory is one of the conditions for state formation that all academic

disciplines agree upon. They also all agree that the emergence of a state is in essence a historical process characterized by complexity. Conflicts—often armed conflicts—are often part of attempts to impose law and hegemony and to govern the distribution of resources, whether these conflicts occur between nomad groups and settled agricultural groups or settled groups and neighboring communities, and whether the conflicts involve an attempt to obtain dominate commercial interests, the exchange of goods, or secure long distance trade routes.

It could be said that while some theories emphasize the efficacy of internal factors (e.g., economic growth and the expansion of political centers) in the emergence and development of states, other theories give importance to external factors, such as invasion and the imposition of an external political system (colonization) or the building of institutions dominated by the invading powers.

Each of these theoretical trends has its supporters. However, this book does not take one side at the expense of the other. Rather, this study of Darfur's institutional history argues out that friction with the outside world produced internal political dynamics that led to the emergence of the sultanate at a certain period of time. Yet at the same time, both internal and external factors influenced each other—to the extent that the qualitative weight (colonization era) of the external factors (commercial, military, and political) hampered the region's self-growth process and subjected internal change to external change.

Written sources about Darfur and the emergence of the Fur Keira sultanate have been very limited in the past. They were confined to travelers' books, such as those of George William Browne (1799), Mohamed bin Omar al-Tunisi (1965), and Gustav Nachtigal (1971). All these writings were based on the writer's personal observations, along with oral traditions of high-ranking Fur officials and others who had memorized the traditions. They did not rely on written documents about the Fur sultanate except with regard to very rare references to sultans and their respective descendants. Despite this deficiency, those sources remain very important to any deep study about Darfur, and therefore this book carefully scrutinizes them.

The history, social composition, and demographic components of the Darfur community also received some attention during the British rule of the Sudan (1898–1956), especially when Darfur was annexed to the Sudan in 1916 following the Anglo-Egyptian invasion of the country. After reinforcing its presence in Darfur by removing the old sultanate in 1916, some British administrators focused their attention on studying Darfur society from a variety of perspectives, including from historical, social, political, and economic angles. Numerous studies were published in a famous periodical known as *SNR* (*Sudan Notes and Records*). Harold MacMichael (1967) and A. J. Arkell (1951 and 1952) wrote some of the main articles. Although those writings drew upon the above mentioned travelers' books, they also contained a great deal of important information about Darfur society in its past and present at the time, thanks to the wide field surveys and the scientific approaches adopted by those two British administrators. Moreover, the time these authors spent in Darfur and the administrative influence they enjoyed facilitated their mission of communicating with stakeholders who could share their deep knowledge about Darfur's heritage. Thus, their writings have special

importance and will be discussed in connection with the book of Rudolf C. von Slatin (1896), who had previously written about Darfur during the last part of the Turkish era when he was responsible for administering the region.¹

Studies about Darfur received little attention during the period immediately following independence in 1956, except for the excellent historical study made by Musa al-Mubarak (n.d.) about the Mahdist period in Darfur. Despite the importance of this study, it covered only a limited period of time, that is, the Mahdist revolution and its political and social ramifications in Darfur. However, during the last two decades of the 20th century valuable studies about Darfur were conducted by some foreigners such as O'Fahey (1980), Julie Flint and Alex De Waal (2005), and Lidwien Kapteijns (1983a), as well as by some national researchers from Darfur, such as Sharif Harir (1985) and Abdel Rahman Abbakar Ibrahim (1985). These last two studies were dissertations for Ph.D. degrees, which means they were based on modern scientific research methodologies and completed under the supervision of other more experienced researchers. Consequently, they created a solid foundation for modern studies about Darfur, in addition to the fact that they shed light on important aspects of historical and present issues in Darfur society. Following the outbreak of civil war between armed movements and regional and central governments during the last two decades of the 20th century, every concerned quarter at national, regional, and international levels turned to the issue of Darfur, and there was a willingness to conduct numerous studies covering different aspects of Darfur society. A large number of those concerned with the Darfur issue; most of them came as a reaction to the civil war that engulfed the whole region. However, nearly all of these studies merely reacted to what was going on in terms of war and conflicts and thus lack deep analysis and solid methodology, save only in rare cases.

Returning to travelers' books, Browne's 1799 work *Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria, from the Year 1792 to 1798* preceded all other such books. As it is evident from the title, the book described the author's travels in many regions, including Darfur. He and some traders came to Darfur from Egypt through Dar al-Arbaa'een, the commercial route that links Darfur with Egypt and which was one of the main factors that led to the flourishing economy of the Fur Keira sultanate. The author described his observations along this vital route, including some towns and villages and the way customs and fees were collected from passing caravans. When he reached the seat of the sultan, he described the way governance institutions worked in accordance with the sultan's absolute will. All these were very important factors at that early stage of the Fur sultanate and its institutions. Nonetheless, the author completely ignored state formation, which is a fundamental part of this book and perhaps the main theme with regards to the formation of the authority center of the Fur Keira sultanate through the struggle over power and resources.

The book of al-Tunisi (1965), *Tashh'eez al-Azhan Bi seerat Bilad al-Arab wa al-Sudan*, described his journey from Egypt to Darfur seven years after Browne's journey, that is, in 1803. This book is more comprehensive in its description of Darfur, its people, and the sultan's

1. Slatin was also known as Slatin Pasha.

royal courts. Al-Tunisi was warmly received by the people of the sultanate as he was an Arab and Muslim and because his father preceded him to Darfur, knew its people, and even became a member of the intellectual ruling elite and owned lands granted to him by the sultan. All these circumstances gave al-Tunisi an opportunity to move around and mix with people to get acquainted with the society of the Fur sultanate, unlike Browne. That is why his book is more comprehensive and inclusive than other writings about Darfur. Although the book mentions nothing about the history of the formation of the Fur Keira sultanate, it contains a detailed and accurate description of the sultanate's institutions and administrative structures, how they worked, and how they exercised their respective administrative and political powers. This was very important to those who came after him. Because the book was translated early on in Egypt, its benefit was immense to readers of Arabic and it became a basic reference for knowledge about Darfur and a foundation for researchers and writers about Darfur—especially chapter one, which describes Darfur, its people, their traditions and customs, and the names of kings and titles and names of high-ranking officials. However, the book also contains a great number of popular legends and myths that were circulating at the time (such as that the “jinn graze animals of the people of Jebel Marra without the need for pastoralists”), which gives false impressions about the people of Darfur and their religious practices. Nonetheless, the book remains one of the important references about Darfur at the beginnings of the 19th century.

The German traveler Gustav Nachtigal (1971) came to Darfur some seven decades after al-Tunisi and wrote a multi-volume work called *Sahara and the Sudan*. Volume 4 focuses on the Waddai and Darfur kingdoms and is more comprehensive, accurate, and scientific than many previous writings. In particular, Nachtigal discussed the formation of the Fur Keira sultanate and gave a full description of its institutions after settlement of the seat of power in Elfasher. He searched every written document and heard various stories from keepers of the heritage at the royal courts such as al-Basi Tahir and other dignitaries. Although Nachtigal never suggested that he was looking for a theory about the formation of the state (whether in the text or in the footnotes), he clearly pointed out some important aspects of Sudan's state formation that could form the basis of future theoretical work. Firstly, he mentioned the importance of land as the most important resource at the disposal of the founder sultans. This came in the context of his reference to the struggle over Dar Fia land (the area around present day Kabkabiya) between Sultan Koro (the father of Sultan Sulayman Solonga) and his brother Tansam Bahar (the grandfather of Al-Musaba'at). Nachtigal described how this struggle over land turned to violent battles between the two parties. The battles ended with the victory of Sulayman Solonga and the expulsion of his uncle Tansam from Fur lands to settle eastwards in Kordofan, where he established the Fur Musaba'at group. This demonstrates the importance of land; battles were fought over land at the beginnings of the formation of the sultanate because it represented the most valuable asset, as Nachtigal's study explains. Another thing hinted at by Nachtigal was the fact that Sultan Sulayman Solonga grew up with his uncles (from his mother's side), who were part of the Masalit Zurban clan, on the western edges of Jebel Marra. When he engaged in these fights against his uncle Tansam and others (from his father's side), the uncles from his mother's side joined him, as maternal affiliation was very strong in the Fur community (especially at that time). Involving his maternal relatives enabled Sulayman to achieve sounding victories and become the second founder of the Fur Keira sultanate after Dali (or Daleel Bahar, the first sultan of the tribe).

Another subject mentioned in Nachtigal's book that had direct bearing on state formation during the reign of Sulayman Solonga is the spread of Islam and the building of mosques in the Fur sultanate, which came under Sulayman's control. The spread of Islam gave the sultan's war moral legitimacy, helped attract supporters, and gave those supporters strong motives and justification for expansion.

Written contributions by British administrators were clearly concerned with the establishment of the Fur Keira sultanate. In his works on the history of Darfur from 1200 to 1700, A. J. Arkell (1951 and 1952) tackled the formation of the kingdoms of Dajo, Tunjur, and the first Fur Keira kingdom (that is, the time prior to Sulayman Solonga). Having spent more than 12 years in Darfur working in different administrative appointments, Arkell was able to move around in most parts of Darfur and to focus on linguistic intermingling between the different ethnicities, linking them to the groups living around Lake Chad. This enabled him build very important theoretical propositions about the formation of kingdoms that rose and fell in Darfur and paved the way to the formation of the second Fur sultanate, which lasted until 1916. Arkell made some interesting contributions: for example, he proved beyond doubt the close similarities between the institutions of the Kanem-Borno kingdom around Lake Chad and the institutions of the Fur sultanate. He even went further to claim that the Dajo and Tunjur kingdoms were extensions of the Borno kingdom. Furthermore, he showed that Dali, who is mentioned in the oral traditions as the founder of the Fur Keira sultanate and its institutions (including the Dali Law), was Dala Afno, governor of the eastern province of the Borno sultanate, during the reign of Sultan Mohamed Idris in the 16th century. These propositions all depend on linguistic intermingling and similarity of government institutions. Through them Arkell preponderates that state formation in Darfur came about as a result of external factors, that is, it was an extension of the historical Borno kingdom in Chad.

Some later writings about Darfur that have importance in explaining state formation in Darfur are those of S. R. O'Fahey, the most important of which is his 1980 book *State and Society in Darfur*, in which he tackled the formation of the Fur Keira sultanate and its governance institutions. Regarding state formation, O'Fahey dealt with two issues that he believed explain the rise of the first Fur sultanate. First, he addressed the myth of the "wise stranger" represented by a person called Ahmed al-Maa'goor from the Arab tribe of Bani Hilal. This myth has widely circulated in the oral traditions of the Fur Keira tribe, which consider him as one of the Fur sultans. O'Fahey considered it more probable that Ahmed al-Maa'goor represented the link through which power was transferred from Tunjur to Fur Keira. Despite the fact that this theory of the "wise stranger" widely circulated across most kingdoms of the Sudanic belt, I believe it simplifies complicated processes that eventually led to the evolvment of centers of power in the form of kingdoms or sultanates. The second issue dealt with by O'Fahey regarding the rise of the Fur sultanate was long distance trade, specifically, the importance of securing the authority to conduct such trade. For this reason, the Fur sultanate started to expand northwards and eastwards. Long distance trade might have been an incentive for the expansion of the centers of authority.

It is important to point at the end of this overview the doctoral thesis presented to the university of Sussex, England, in 1985 by Abdel Rahman Abbakar Ibrahim under the title "Regional

Inequality and Under-development in Western Sudan.” Although this thesis was not formally published and despite the early death of its author, it had a huge influence on later academic writings, especially those by political activists from Darfur. In his book *Sudan: The Wars of Resources and Identity*, Mohammed Suleiman Mohammed stated that he could see the fingerprints of the Black Book’s authors from among the Darfur elite (388 n.52). He added that the intellectual basis of the Black Book was Abbakar Ibrahim’s doctoral thesis, especially the meticulous records it contained on the racial classification of political leaders, the army top brass, and civil service leaders (Mohammed 2000). The Black book is a petition from Darfur political activists against the central government's negligence of Darfur since Sudan's independence in 1956. The gist of the study of Abdel Rahman Abbakar was that colonial education favored the region of northern Sudan, generating an elite group that took over from colonial authorities. After independence these elites allied with the merchant class to perpetuate development imbalances by concentrating development in the central region, while ignoring the western regions, including Darfur. Abbakar Ibrahim supported his contention with statistics compiled by the bureaucratic agencies of the post-independence regimes.

The importance of that study does not reside in the theory of power center formation in the various Sudanese kingdoms discussed in this overview, but rather in the role of elites in building the modern national state and the difficulties surrounding that process—difficulties that may have led to the failure and disintegration of that state as is witnessed today by the separation of South Sudan and the civil wars in Darfur, Kordofan, and Blue Nile. It is worth mentioning that those regions were home to the sultanates of Darfur, Tagali, Musaba’at, and Funj, which is a coincidence worthy of contemplation within the theory of building the national state.

I also should draw the attention of researchers to a bibliography compiled by Munzoul Abdalla M. Assal under the title “An Annotated Bibliography of Social Research on Darfur,” published by the Centre for Development Studies at the University of Bergen, in which he has compiled the available studies of Darfur, along with summaries of those studies.

Finally, several schools of thought deal with various aspects of the developments in Darfur that started with the phenomenon of state formation in the region in the 17th century and continued until the beginnings of armed conflict early in the 21st century in 2002. Those theoretical approaches vary based on the methods used to evaluate the phenomena that attract researchers. I was initially strongly attracted to two schools of thought that I found particularly important for analyzing and understanding certain aspects of the struggle over authority and resources in Darfur.

First, a number of schools of thought are concerned with modes of production as an explanation of phenomena. Here we have to point to the writings of Nachtigal (1971), O’Fahey (1973, 1977, 1980, and 1996), Spaulding (2007), and O’Fahey and Spaulding (1974), who emphasize thorough their social and historical analyses the instinct of human social competition over authority and resources (land in particular but also long distance trade). The present study benefited a lot from this approach as well as from other theories that stress the relationship between land resources, changes in these land resources due to the environment and ecology, and competition over the acquisition of such land resources. The best examples of such

writings in the Darfur context are those of Fouad Ibrahim and Mohamed Suleiman (2000). The chapters of this book that deal with the struggle over land in the last two decades of the 20th century draw upon these works. While benefiting from the tools of analysis of those theoretical approaches, the approach I chose for this study stresses the economic, social, and political history of the constituent components of Darfur society and the accumulation of economic, social, and political institutions by the elites, as well as the ways in which those institutions helped regulate the means and mechanisms of competition over material and spiritual resources all along the historical development of Darfur.

By way of final result, this book concludes that the rules and tools of power developed by Darfur societies to regulate competition over resources largely disintegrated on account of discontinuity caused by the external colonial encroachments, in particular, Turkish and British colonization and, later on, the centralizing national policies during the era when Darfur became part of the Sudanese national state. As a result, the traditional tools and institutions of power lost efficacy as well as legitimacy. Society was shaken to its roots, shedding away the conventional rules and resorting instead to violent conflict and infighting. Peaceful competition over power and resources came to an end, and the region moved to the new stage of its contemporary history.

Chapter One

The Fur Sultanate, 1650–1916: The Background of the Struggle over Power and Natural Resources

1-1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the early history of Darfur that contributed to the eventual collapse of its governance institutions. A struggle for power and resources characterized the Fur Keira sultanate from the time of its establishment in the 17th century until its collapse in 1916. This has special importance as a background against which the current violent tribal conflicts in Darfur can be interpreted, especially in view of the fact that history in many respects is an anthropology of the past that reflects its shadows on present events (see Arkon 2001, 11).² The history of the Keira ruling family's origin is somewhat obscure due to a scarcity of national sources; most of what has been traced about the Fur kingdom is based on recordings of oral traditions collected by Browne, Mohamed bin Omar al-Tunisi, and Rudolf C. Slatin, in addition to information collected by Na'om Shugair from Sheikh al-Tayib, imam of Sultan Ibrahim's mosque (who researched in the area in 1902), the writings of McMichael and Arkell based on those oral traditions, and additional independent research (Hasan 2003a, 93).

Al-Tunisi mentioned that the borders of the Fur sultanate extended from al-Tuwaisha in the east to the last point in Dar Masalit in the west, that is, from the Masalit kingdom, Dar Gimir, and the first part of Dar Tama (the empty land between Dar Sulaih and the Fur sultanate). The southern border was the empty land between the Fur sultanate and Dar Ferteet and from the northern part of al-Mazroob (the first water well that meets those coming from the Egyptian border). A number of small kingdoms were affiliated with the Fur Keira kingdom. To the north was the Zaghawa kingdom, an immense kingdom with a vast (uncountable) population and a sultan of its own who was considered one of the Fur sultanate's commanders. Also to the north were the kingdoms of Midob and Barti. They were two large kingdoms: the latter's populations was larger than the former's yet it was more submissive to the Fur sultan than

2. Arkon described how constructive history has stepped into the place of narrative history. As a result, history writing is now horizontal and intensive, instead of vertical and straight.

the Midob kingdom. Small kingdoms were also scattered throughout the Fur sultanate, including the kingdoms of Birgid and Tunjur in the middle, Bargo and Mima in the east, and Dajo and Bigo in the south, in addition to the kingdom of Froujayh, in South Darfur. According to al-Tunisi, “Each of these kingdoms had a ruler called a sultan appointed by the Fur sultan, and all of them wore the same dress, except for the king of Tunjur who wore a black turban. When I asked him about the reason behind wearing a black turban he told me that the original Fur kingdom belonged to his ancestors, who were defeated by the Fur sultan; he wore the black turban as expression of his sorrow for the loss of the kingdom” (al-Tunisi 1985).

The Fur kingdom was surrounded from the east and south by numerous Bedouin Arabs, including the Messiriya, Hamar, Rizaigat, and Fulani tribes. The populations of each of these tribes were uncountable. They owned cattle, horses, and other animals, and most of them were concerned with their animal wealth and not inclined to like urban life. Rather, they followed pasture whenever they found it. Along with them was a tribe called Bani Halba, which was also comprised in part of cattle owners; however, this tribe also went deep into Darfur to till land. Camel owners included the Fazara who were part of the Mahameed, Majaneen, Banu Omran, Banu Jarrar, and Black Messiriya tribes, among others. All these tribes were required to pay yearly taxes to the sultan from their wealth (al-Tunisi 1965). This was the political and demographic map of Darfur as outlined by Mohamed bin Omar al-Tunisi at the beginning of the 19th century when he visited it in 1803, that is, about two centuries after its establishment.

This picture is completed by accounts by Na’om Shugair, who mentioned Sultan Sulayman Solonga the First (who ruled from 1445 to 1476) as the head of the Fur sultans. When Sultan Sulayman Solonga took power there was not a single mosque in Jebel Marra. He built mosques, and Friday prayers spread all over the place. He then started to unite Muslims with the help of Bedouin Arabs who were spread all over the kingdom. He subdued kings of the semi-blacks around Jebel Marra and taught them the Islamic religion. He also subdued some of the distant kings of the blacks who remained atheists. The whole of Darfur became one sultanate under the descendants of Sultan Sulayman and included 27 subject sultans by the time of the sultanate’s collapse in 1916, seven from the black atheists and the rest from the semi-black Muslims. As stated by al-Tunisi,

The atheist sultans were Karah, Dango, Fangaro, Binah, Bayah, Frwagi, and Shala; all of them were from the Fratit lands in the southwestern part of Darfur. The Muslim sultans were from the Birgid, Tunjur, Kabagiya, Mima, and Musaba’at to the east of Jebel Marra; Mararit, Furah, Simyar, Masalit, Gimir, Tama, Jabalwin, Abdarag, Jojah, and Asmor tribes in the west and northwest; and the Dajo and Ringa tribes in the south and southwest. (al-Tunisi 1965).

This was apart from the Arab tribes, which Sultan Sulayman united and compelled to support his efforts. These tribes included the Habbaniyya, Rizaigat, Messiriya, Ta’aisha, Banu Halba, and Ma’alia in the south; the Hamar in the east; the Ziyadiyya in the north; and the Mahriyya, Mahameed, and Bani Hasan in the west (Shugair 1967, 444–445).

The sultanate's establishment started with pacification of the existing tribal identities in Darfur. Since these early stages, many conflicts were undoubtedly associated with the different stages of pacification, especially in regards to those tribes at the peripheries of the region. Those early stages marred with violence, fighting, and oppression until the tribes finally gave in under the authority of one sultan controlling all lands of the region, Sultan Abdelrahman al-Rasheed, who ruled from 1787 until 1802.³ Al-Tunisi wrote about the sultanate at the zenith of its stability and prosperity, which occurred during this period.

Some examples of the above mentioned struggles are considered further below within the framework of power and resources struggle, which facilitated the establishment of the Fur sultanate and enabled its continuity for centuries.

With regards to resources, the sultan's revenues were made up of taxes and alms from urban centers and zakat from rural areas and commodity levies from merchants in addition to his share from Dali Law, taxes on merchants and ironsmiths, and gifts from governors, landlords, and merchants; all visitors of the sultan came along with precious gifts. The gifts, known as *salam* (greetings) were usually made up of slaves, camels, horses, cattle, goats, gold, silver, honey, butter, ivory, and ostrich feathers (Shugair 1967, 474).

All these resources, which included a number of taxes, levies, and fees were collected from the community as a whole not from individuals. The community collected these revenues at the level of the concerned center and handed them over to the sultan's deputy. The revenues varied from center to center and took different names but collectively they were known as levies. The sultans established a large and efficient administrative apparatus for this purpose; at its apex was a very influential post named abu *al-jabayyin* (the sultan's chief tax collector). The holder of this post was one of the most influential figures in the sultanate hierarchy and controlled a large number of staff in all the different centers (O'Fahey 1980, 202). Through the efficiency of this apparatus, the Fur sultanate managed to amass resources that enabled it to finance its military institutions in order to wage wars and keep order, as well as to fund the state administrative bureaucracy in different counties, in the palace, and in the ruling class which swelled around him, especially in the last years of Sultan Ahmed al-Husain and his son Yousuf Ibrahim Garad during whose reign the sultanate invaded by Alzubair Pasha and the Turkish authority in Khartoum in the year in 1874.⁴

1-2 Wars in the Early Stages of the Sultanate

Oral traditions about the Fur Keira sultanate that circulated in the past and have been documented by travelers maintain that the sultanate was first established at the foot of Jebel Marra, in the capital of Turrah, where cemeteries of the early sultans as well as some

3. See chapter 2 below for more information.

4. Nachtigal (1971) reported that Dali, the first Fur Keira sultan, divided the kingdom into four provinces and laid down the famous Dali Law, which aimed at reinforcing his authority and providing resources for him and for his aides.

of the late ones are found. From this area, which is considered the cradle of the sultanate, the Fur Keira's progeny and sultans extended their power over all parts of Darfur in a gradual manner and in successive waves until the sultanate's geographic area finally settled around the 18th century. The Fur Keira was able to build this sultanate because the tribe lived in and controlled the most fertile lands and the richest of natural resources. Population wise, the Fur tribe was the largest ethnic group in the region. In addition, the fortified site of Jebel Marra created natural protection for this group and its sultans, especially in hard times when attacks threatened the kingdom.

If Sultan Dali, the first founder of the sultanate, was known for dividing the sultanate and initiating Dali customary law (called Dali Law) through which the sultanate governed in all provinces, the expansion of the Fur Keira sultanate by annexation of new lands and ethnicities was the work of the second founder Sultan Sulayman Solonga (who reigned from 1445 to 1476). It is alleged that he subdued 27 kings—seven atheist blacks and the rest Muslim semi-blacks (Shugair 1967, 444). Oral traditions maintain that Sultan Sulayman was the victorious warrior sultan who fought 33 wars whereby he defeated the Masalit and Awran Mararit tribes in the west, the Zaghawa tribe in the north, and the Birgid, Bigo, and Tunjur tribes in the south and in the east. The boundaries of his kingdom extended to Jebel Bidiat northwards into the desert and to Atbara River to the east (Spaulding and O'Fahey 1974, 122). In addition to expanding the sultanate, Sultan Sulayman allegedly introduced Islam as a faith and spread it amongst his entourage and the ruling class. This had a great impact on the expansion of the sultanate, which gained a "legitimate" reason to fight and a strong mission of spreading Islam through expansion. Following the death of Sultan Sulayman, he was succeeded by his son Sultan Musa, who ruled for 45 years (from 1637 to 1682). His long reign was characterized by peace and stability, despite some limited wars with the Gimir sultanate, which he was unable to subdue.

In its early stages, the Fur Keira sultanate expanded through raids and wars against other tribal entities. This was an important stage in the development of the newly born sultanate, which eventually managed to control the whole region. To explain this historical stage very clearly, we need to review the tribal and political units that preceded the establishment of the Fur Keira sultanate. The most important of these units to the north of Jebel Marra were the sultanates of Gimir, Zaghawa Kobi and Zaghawa Kabka; all of these sultanates were annexed by the early Fur sultans and later became part of the sultanate.

1-2-1 The Gimir Sultanate

The Gimir sultanate to the north of the newly born Fur Keira sultanate was a strong obstacle to the advancement and expansion of the Fur sultanate, especially because the Gimir sultanate exercised full control over the Zaghawa tribe and all of the tribes around Jebel Mon. These tribes occupied vast areas with a direct impact on long distance trade, an important factor in the expansion of the Sudanic kingdoms that emerged along the savannah belt in the 17th and 18th centuries (Spaulding and O'Fahey 1974, 122).

The center of the Gimir sultanate was in Jebel Nokat, which is to the west of present day Kulbus. Sultan Ahmed Bakor managed to defeat the Gimir sultanate and gain control of Jebel

Nokat after seven years of war, following a betrayal by one of the wives of the Gimir sultan in favor of the armies of the Mohamed Dowra, the son of the Fur sultan and commander of the Fur sultanate armies. Defeat of the Gimir sultanate had an immense importance to the Fur sultanate, as it enabled it to control the whole northern area of the region (Nachtigal 1971, 280–281).

The Gimir sultanate was important because it preceded the Fur Keira sultanate in forming a strong multi-purpose, multi-ethnic political authority. The Gimir sultanate's establishment dates back to Sultan Hamad Wagif, who settled and exercised authority in the area of Jebel Nokat during the same time as the Waddai sultanate was being established by Abdelkarim Jid al-Islam, who asked Sultan Hamad to join him to fight the Fur sultans.⁵

Oral traditions of the Gimir tribe maintain that the first of the Gimir sultans was Sultan Osman, who came to the area of Jebel Nokat to establish the Gimir sultanate.⁶ The Gimir tribe's connection to power was related to the area of the Nile River in northern Sudan; the tribe was affiliated with a clan of the Abbaside Jaa'liyyin tribe in the river Nile in North Sudan. Gimir mention that one of their sultans was Yahya Abu Ashara.⁷

Some maintain that the grandfather of the Gimir tribe who departed from Dar Jaa'liyyin and proceeded westwards was Gamar, the son of Hasaballah.⁸ During the reign of Sultan Hamad Wagif the Gimir sultanate remained stable in the area of Dadamah to the north of Um Ushar. During the reign of Sultan Ahmed Nahaid, however, an agreement was reached between the Fur sultanate and the Gimir sultanate. As part of this agreement, the Gimir sultanate became a satellite of the Fur Keira sultanate and part of Darfur (after it finally liberated itself from the domination of the Waddai sultanate in Chad). Hence, it became under the full control of the Fur Keira sultanate. In a later stage, and to reinforce relations between the two sultanates, intermarriages took place between the two ruling families: Fur Keira Sultan Hashim married Mairam Arafa (the daughter of Gimir Sultan Ahmed al-Husain), and Gimir Sultan Husain married Mairam Um Izzain (the daughter of Fur Keira Sultan Hashim al-Gimrawi).⁹

Despite differences in their histories and ethnicities, there were similarities between the Fur Keira sultanate and the Gimir sultanate. For example, both sultanates had an unstable

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5. The establishment of the Waddai sultanate dates back to 1633 when Abdelkarim al-Wadhai, an Islamic scholar, established a religious center and a mosque in the resource rich city of Wara. Later he moved his seat to Abbachi.
 6. Sultan Osman was the son of Sultan Hashim, the grandson of Sultan Adam Sabon, the great-grandson of Sultan Ahmed Nahaid, and the great-great-grandson of Sultan Hamad Wagif.
 7. Sultan Yahya Abu Ashara was the son of Sultan Sulayman, the grandson of Hasaballah, the great-grandson of Sultan Salih, and the great-great-grandson of Diab. Interview with Abubaker Adam Omar, son of Sultan Abbakar and grandson of Sultan Hashim, Kulbus, June 19, 1999.
 8. Document of Mairam Batool, daughter of Sultan Idris as well as the sister of Sultan Hashim (the father of Sultan Osman Hashim al-Gimrawi) and the widow of Mohamed Ibrahim al-Sanousi (brother of Abu al-Gasim, shaikh of the Tijaniyya order in Elgeneina), Elgeneina, June 25, 1999.
 9. Interview with Shaikh Hashim bin al-Tahir, son of Sultan Abbakar, Kulbus, June 20, 1999. He was born in 1951, that is, one year before the death of Sultan Ali Dinar.

center of power. This was a particular problem in the early stages of the Fur Keira sultanate, before the capital finally settled in Rahad Tandalti in Elfasher. Similarly, the Gimir sultanate's center of power started in Jebel Nokat and then moved to Hasayis, a prosperous area, during the reign of Sultan Nahaid. The capital moved to Um Usher (to the east of the present day Hilailah village) during the reign of Sultan Adam Sabon. Um Usher was a commercial town with large numbers of inhabitants from the Korobat tribe and *jellabah* (traders from riverain Sudan). Finally, the capital was moved to the location of present day Kulbus during the reign of Sultan Idris. Secondly, in both sultanates certain sites were allocated as cemeteries for the sultans. While most Fur sultans were buried in Turah at the summit of Jebel Marra, almost all Gimir sultans were buried in Hasayis. It is worthwhile mentioning here that the body of Sultan Abbakar, who died in 1935 in Kulbus, was taken on a camel from Dar Mugtaa' to the Hasayis cemetery to be buried, as was the case with the second Sultan Abbakar, who died in Um Ushar.¹⁰ Thirdly, both sultanates adopted administrative divisions according to a system of magadeem, kings, and dimalij.¹¹

At the end of this brief description of the Gimir sultanate, we must mention something about the tribal group that migrated southwards and established an administration in southern Darfur in association with the Bani Halba tribe. This group came to the present day Gimir area in Kateela and Antikina in South Darfur during the reign of Sultan Mohamed al-Husain, who gave his daughter in marriage to Sultan Hashim and appointed him commander of his armies there. Sultan Mohamed gave Sultan Hashim wide responsibilities and allotted his daughter the present day Gimir lands in South Darfur to live on with her husband Sultan Hashim, who visited the area and stayed for a short period of time during which his wife gave birth to his son Sultan Abbakar Hashim. Sultan Hashim later left this land, leaving behind his brother Ahmed al-Daw as deputy over the land. This land used to be under the supervision of the center of the Gimir sultanate, but under the British administration it was separated and handed over to the South Darfur district in Nyala. Now it is claimed as a Gimir land in South Darfur.¹² This oral tradition, however, is not recognized by members of the Bani Halba tribe, who see the land was originally owned by them and only loaned to Gimir by the Bani Halba tribal chief. As of 2013, there has been a conflict between these two tribes regarding this land.

1-2-2 The Zaghawa Kobi Sultanate

After its subjection and annexation to the Fur kaira sultanate, the Zaghawa Kobi sultanate played a vital role in the Fur sultanate, especially during the reign of Sultan Mohamed Tairab (from 1752 until 1787), whose mother was from the Zaghawa tribe. A large number of Zaghawa tribesmen held essential posts in the palace and in command of the army, as is

10. Interview with Abubaker Adam Omar, son of Sultan Abbakar and grandson of Sultan Hashim, Kulbus, June 19, 1999.

11. The Gimir sultanate was divided into 13 hawakeer. At the head of each was a king who was responsible directly to the sultan. Under each king were deputies and damalij (plural of dimlij) on the ground. This system was not changed until 1990 when administrative shaikhs were introduced. Damalij, however, remained responsible for the hawakeer.

12. Interview with Shaikh Hashim bin al-Tahir, son of Sultan Abbakar, Kulbus, June 20, 1999.

discussed further below. Most importantly, after its annexation of the Gimir and Zaghawa Kobi sultanates at its early stages of expansion, the Fur sultanate opened new horizons by securing and controlling long distance trade routes. This trade provided the Fur sultanate with valuable resources, especially the trade routes with Egypt through Dar Al-Arbaa'een which cut through the middle of Dar Zaghawa and passed through the critical commercial town of Kobi.¹³

The Zaghawa Kobi sultanate in the northwestern areas of the Fur sultanate was considered an extension of the Zaghawa sultanate, which had arisen in the 12th and 13th centuries around the basin of Lake Chad after the migration of these people from the northern desert. Arab historian al-Yagoobi maintained that “the blacks who proceeded westwards established a number of kingdoms and the first of those were the Zaghawa who settled in a place called al-Kanem” (Shinnie 1968, 68). These old kingdoms rose and fell in this area of central Africa up until the Bargo sultanate of Waddai in the 17th century, which was contemporary to the Fur sultanate.

Sultan Taha Kori established the Zaghawa Kobi sultanate. Oral traditions of the Zaghawa Kobi sultanate maintain the hierarchy of sultans who ruled the sultanate after Taha Kori to include Sultan Harot, followed by his son Sultan Haggar, Sultan Atim Koria, Sultan Nai Jegna, Sultan Rakib, and the present Sultan Bushara Dawsa Abdurrahman. This sultanate remained politically and administratively united until British and French colonization in the area, at which time the sultanate was divided into two parts when frontiers were demarcated in 1924: one part of the sultanate became attached to French Africa in Chad and the other to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.¹⁴

The importance of the role of the Zaghawa tribe in the Fur sultanate began to emerge during the reigns of Sultan Abu al-Gasim and Sultan Mohamed Tairab. In the reign of Sultan Abu al-Gasim, Bahar al-Zaghawi assumed command of the Fur sultanate army in the war against the Waddai sultanate, despite opposition by the ruling class of Fur leadership. In addition to commanding the army, Bahar also assumed the position of the first minister for Sultan Abu al-Gasim. This led to the loss of a battle with the Waddai sultanate's army when the Fur army leadership deserted the battlefield, leaving “Bahar al-Zaghawi fighting for the Sultan” (Nachtigal 1971, 286).

During the reign of Sultan Tairab (from 1752 to 1787)—a famous sultan whose mother was from the Zaghawi ruling family—he enabled Zaghawa to assume high offices in the sultanate.¹⁵

13. The commercial route of Darb Alarbaeen extended some 1,100 miles through the desert to link the commercial towns of Kobi and Asyout in Upper Egypt. Kobi was established by merchants from Upper Egypt and from the Nilotic tribes of northern Sudan, including the Ja'afra, Danagla, Mahas, and Jaa'liyyin tribes. Its position was in the middle of commercial routes that linked the centers of the Sudanic kingdoms in the savannah belt (the Kordofan, Darfur, and Waddai sultanates) with Sinnar before proceeding through Gezira and eastwards towards Ethiopia.

14. Frontier Protocol between French Equatorial Africa and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, January 1924, London.

15. They actually assumed 19 of the high posts.

His uncle Harot,¹⁶ from Zaghawa Kobi was appointed leader of the Zaghawa area and was given the *nihās* (drums, a tool and symbol of power). His son Omar Harot was appointed governor of the sultan's palace. His other son Haseeb al-Agran was appointed *orlanja*, a leading position with wide-ranging powers. Sultan Tairab also detached *nihās* and *siggada* (drums and mat, tools and symbols of power) from the Gimir sultanate (where they had been kept during the early stages of their annexation). Sultan Tairab also finally and permanently annexed the areas of Barti, Bigo, and Birgid to his sultanate (Nachtigal 1971, 387).

Sultan Tairab went a step further to strengthen his relations with his Zaghawa uncles when he chose his son Ishag as his successor.¹⁷ During the last days of Sultan Tairab, when he was ill, grumbling arose among the Fur leadership regarding the Zaghawa domination of the sultanate. Based on his right to succession and relying on his maternal blood bonds, Ishag waged a bloody struggle with his paternal uncle Abdelrahman, who finally won power from Ishag. This struggle was, in many aspects, an open one between the Fur and Zaghawa.

Up until the reign of Sultan Farti Abdurrahman (which coincided with the reign of Ali Dinar, from 1898 to 1916), the Zaghawa Kobi sultanate was united under one sultan. Turmoil began with the advent of French colonization in the Waddai sultanate in Chad. In this historical period, at the beginning of the scramble to this part of Africa by the French and the British, the loyalty of the Zaghawa Kobi sultanate began to swing. Sultan Farti Abdurrahman was not on good terms with Sultan Ali Dinar, who sent his commander Adam Rahhal to subdue him. When Sultan Farti heard of the march of Adam Rahhal towards him, he proceeded westwards to seek help and support from Waddai. However, the Waddai sultanate itself was facing turmoil as a result of attacks from the Sudanese adventurer Rabih al-Zubair in the southwest and from French forces in the west. Sultan Farti was not welcomed by Waddai Sultan Dod Marra, who was chased by the French thereafter. A battle took place between the two sultans in the Karam area to the east of the capital Abbechi, and Sultan Farti lost two of his sons. After this battle Sultan Farti returned home and sent an envoy to Sultan Ali Dinar asking to join the Fur sultanate with full allegiance.¹⁸ When the French annexed the Waddai sultanate they wrote to Sultan Farti to ask him to follow them. Upon his refusal, they went to war against him. Sultan Farti marched towards the Jebel Dor area to the west of Kutum. The French appointed Farti's former secretary, Haggar Tairab, in his place as sultan of Zaghawa Kobi and then returned to Baltin in Dar Bargo. When Sultan Farti returned, the French wrote to him once again demanding allegiance. When he declined the offer, they sent an army and attacked him in Wadi al-Tina. In this battle they killed him along with seven of his sons; all were buried in Bir Gila in al-Tina.¹⁹

16. Tubiana and Tubiana (1977) mention him as the ninth in the Zaghawa Kobi series.

17. Ishag's mother was the daughter of Harot al-Zaghawi, who was appointed by Sultan Tairab as sultan of Zaghawa Kobi. Her brother, Hajar, was the 10th of the Zaghawa Kobi sultans, i.e., he was the uncle of successor Ishag. In addition, the mother of Sultan Tairab was the sister of Sultan Harot, i.e., Sultan Harot was the uncle of Sultan Tairab and the father of his wife.

18. During this period, Sultan Farti gave his daughter in marriage to Sultan Ali Dinar; she became the mother of his son Al-Tijani Ali Dinar.

19. Interview with Sultan Bushara Dawsa, son of Sultan Farti and sultan of Zaghawa Kobi, al-Tina,

During the period of battles between Sultan Farti and the French, Sultan Farti's son Dawsa was sent to Elfasher to attend the tribes' *arda* (demonstration of force). Following the battle of al-Tina and the death of Sultan Farti, Ali Dinar inaugurated Dawsa Farti as sultan of Zaghawa Kobi in place of his father and provided him with an army to fight the French. However, before Dawsa proceeded to al-Tina, Ali Dinar learned that the British were invading his sultanate from the east. He ordered Dawsa to come back from Kabkabiya to face the new aggression. Dawsa returned as a fighter in the ranks of Ali Dinar's army in 1916. Upon defeat of Ali Dinar's army and their departure from Elfasher, Dawsa accompanied Ali Dinar to the Jebel Marra area. Ali Dinar then permitted him to return to his area and to his kinfolk. With entry of the British into Darfur, the western frontiers of the region became a primary security issue. The British demanded Dar Gimir and Dar Sula, and the French refused to concede. Finally, an agreement was reached between the colonial powers on demarcation of the frontiers, whereby the French took two thirds of the Zaghawa Kobi sultanate's area. They appointed Hagar as sultan with the seat of his power inside the Chadian territories. The other third remained inside Sudan and Dawsa, and Dawsa Farti became its sultan with his seat of power in al-Tina.²⁰

Foreign colonists interfered in the struggle over power and resources in the Fur sultanate—from the Waddai sultanate in the west to the Sinnar sultanate in the east to al-Zubair Pasha Rahama in the south. The Fur sultans' policy towards the tribal entities they annexed (to their sultanate), aimed at political domination and control of resources. The Fur sultanate dealt with these tribal entities, such as the Gimir, Zaghawa Kobi, and others like the Bedouin Arabs later on in such a way as to give them a degree of independence to keep their respective tribal identities without directly intervening in their internal affairs. Thus, relations between the Fur sultans and these tribal entities were fairly stable. As with other tribes in the Fur sultanate, the Zaghawa tribe was able to maintain its independence and the Zaghawa sultans became representatives of their tribes rather than agents for the Fur sultans. Hence, they acted as mediators between their entities and the Fur sultanate's central authority; this was very important for their security and the general security of the sultanate (Harir 1986). Thus, despite central domination, the Fur sultanate looked like a tribal confederation; it imposed its authority within the limits of levying taxes on resources in kind as per the provisions of Dali Customary Law.

1-2-3 The Zaghawa Kabka Sultanate

Na'om Shugair (1967, 444–445) explained that “the Muslim kings subdued by Sultan Sulayman Solonga were Birgid, Tunjur, Kabagiya, Mima and Musaba'at to the east of Jebel Marra.” This is an old history, suggesting the rise of the Zaghawa Kabka sultanate in the 17th century, that is, at the same time that witnessed the start of the expansion of the Fur sultanate. All these tribal sultanates maintain the myth of a “wise stranger” as their founder and associate the stranger's arrival with the beginning of the spread of Islam in these communities. The Fur sultanate's establishment is associated with the grandfather of the Fur Keira sultanate,

July 7, 1997. Sultan Bushara Dawsa was 84 years old at the time of the interview.

20. Ibid.

Ahmed al-Maa'goor of Bani Hilal Muslim Arab tribe. This reflects the role of Islam in legitimizing the transfer of power from Tunjur to Fur Keira. Sulayman Solonga, the second founder of the Fur sultanate, traces his ancestry to Ahmed al-Maa'goor. This Arab ancestry continued to be claimed by all Fur sultans until Ali Dinar, who claimed Arab Hashemite ancestry. As Islam spread throughout the Fur kaira sultanate it became responsible for unifying people of different ethnicities and backgrounds within the context of the sultanate's administrative and political authority (O'Fahey 1974).²¹

Oral traditions of the Zaghawa Kabka people maintain that their sultanate was established during the reign of their Arab grandfather Mohamed al-Kaa'b, of the tribe of Khuzam. Mohamed al-Kaa'b came as a preacher from Hejaz and found the people in the Zaghawa Kabka area to be ignorant non-Muslims. He taught them religion, and a large number of people followed him in Dar Waddai (Bargo). He established the sultanate, which was handed over to him by the Bani Halba, who had taken it from the Tunjur tribe.²² Like the other sultanates that arose in the frontier areas between the Fur sultanate and the Waddai sultanate (such as the Tama, Gimir, Kobi, Masalit, Dar Sula, and Sinnar tribes) the sultanate of Kabka lived in constant turmoil because of conflicts over its control by the two giant sultanates. This conflict continued until colonization, when the area was divided between the British and French territories according to a formal demarcation agreement in 1924.

The Kabka sultanate, like other small sultanates, was a victim of this struggle, which led to its division into two parts, one belonging to Sudan and the other to Chad. One result of this struggle was that many events in the history of this sultanate are characterized by interruptions even for the keepers of the history, such as Hasan Bargo. Some stages of the sultanate's history are still vivid in the minds of the people, such as the sultanate's first association with the Fur Keira sultanate. This first association came during the stage of the Tunjur sultanate, which preceded the Waddai sultanate. Sultan Hasan of Kabka disagreed with the Tunjur sultan (for unknown reasons) and proceeded eastwards to file a complaint with the Fur sultan. The latter confirmed him as sultan over his territory and granted him a piece of land, which became the hakoorah of Kabka and the seat of its sultanate in Sudan until this day. This meant that the Zaghawa Kabka sultanate preceded the Waddai sultanate and witnessed the expansion stage of the Fur Keira sultanate. Another stage of the Kabka history that is still vivid in people's minds is the period when Fur Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul wanted to annex the Waddai sultanate. He sent an army with the son of the Waddai sultan, Mohamed Sharif, who was engaged in trade around Elfasher, to remove his father from the throne (Nachtigal 1971). When the mission was accomplished, Sultan al-Fadul granted Mohamed Sharif independence from being a satellite of the Fur sultanate, which helped wind up the ongoing struggle between the Waddai and Fur sultanates. At this stage, divisions appeared within the leadership of Kabka sultanate; one of its leaders claimed himself Sultan and was loyal to the Fur Sultanate and settled in Tundubaya (the capital of the present Kabka sultanate in Sudan), while a nother leadership (calling himself the Kabka king) appeared in Jebel Kabka to the north in present Chad.

21. Each group still maintained some of its own ethnic peculiarities, however.

22. Interview with Sultan Hasan, son of Sultan Bargo (who was the son of Sultan Hasan Dogi), Tundubaya village, June 21, 1999. Sultan Hasan was born in Tundubaya village in 1919.

Jebel Kabka leader was, nominally, loyal to Sultan in Tundubaya. To ensure this loyalty, a sultan's agent under the title of *ibna* was appointed to inspect administrative aspects of Jebel Kabka in the north through regular visits. This continued until the French annexed Waddai and the British annexed Darfur.²³

Events of the period of Sultan Ali Dinar are also still vivid in the minds of the long-lived folks of the Zaghawa Kabka tribe. They remember the disagreement between Sultan Hasan Bargo and Sultan Ali Dinar, when the former was not allowed to go to *haj* (the annual pilgrimage to Mecca) for fear of disclosure of Fur sultanate secrets to the British administration in Khartoum. Accordingly, Sultan Hasan Bargo was arrested in Elfasher. At this time (1909) the French occupied Abbechi, the capital of the Waddai sultanate. To check French encroachment into Darfur, Sultan Ali Dinar amassed an army under the leadership of his minister, Adam Rijal, to invade the Waddai area. To support this army with knowledge and expertise, Sultan Hasan Bargo was released and ordered to accompany the army. The French defeated this army in the battle of Giraida in Dar Tama. Adam Rijal and the remainder of his army returned home, and Sultan Hasan Bargo proceeded to Tundubaya, where he took his people and went to Dar Tama and settled in Bir Niswan to the north of Kulbus. This area now belongs to Dar Waddai.

When the British arrived in Darfur they found Abdurrahman Shararah as sultan of the part of Kabka that belonged to Darfur. In 1918, the French appointed his brother Nourain as sultan of Kabka. A fierce battle broke between the two brothers over power in Tundubaya. Nourain was defeated and returned to Tundubaya, while Abdurrahman Shararah proceeded to the Id al-Sama area. Because of this disagreement, the situation is delayed between the British and the French until the two colonial powers finally agreed on how to divide the frontier areas between themselves. The frontiers demarcation agreement gave Tundubaya to the government of Sudan, while Hajar Kabka area went to the French. Thus, Kabka was split into two parts. The British appointed Mohamed, the son of Sultan Nourain, as sultan of what remained of the old Kabka sultanate. In 1948, power was transferred to Hasan Bargo who was still sultan in 1997 on the conditions that he would not be unjust or commit robbery and would cooperate with British administration in the Sudan.

1-2-4 The Bigo Sultanate

After subduing tribal entities in north Darfur, particularly the Gimir and Zaghawa tribes, the Fur Kaira sultanate began to expand eastwards towards Darfur's center and south, as well as towards the Arab tribes in the north (camel herders) and the south (cattle herders). During the reign of Sultan Tairab the time had come to subdue the Birgid and Bigo tribes, which had settled in the center of Darfur.²⁴ Unlike other tribal sultanates in north Darfur, these two tribes had previously been under different systems of ruling within the Fur Kaira sultanate. For Birgid there was the *shartawiya* which will be discussed below. In other words, the administration of the Fur sultanate was based on a tribal confederation rather than direct

23. Ibid.

24. Sultan Tairab also moved the capital to Reel area near Jebel Um Kardos, east of Nyala.

administrative intervention by the sultans. In fact, the Birgid tribe was an amalgamation of small clan formations headed by many tribal chiefs who occupied the valley extending between Elfasher and the area of the Arab cattle herders in southeast Darfur.

During the reign of Sultan Tairab, however, these Birgid groups mutinied, accusing Tairab of selling the Birgid girls presented to him and to his high-ranking aides as presents or gifts, since under customary laws the offspring of these girls automatically qualified as part of the palace's ruling elite. For example, one of these girls could have been the mother of a future sultan, as was the case with Tairab himself (whose mother was from the Bigo tribe). During this mutiny, Sultan Tairab defeated these clans one after the other in Adwah and Dalaibah Mihajriya. He amalgamated the clans into one administrative unit (*shartawiya*) headed by his agent Sulayman, the son of Ahmed Jaffal of the Kenanah Arabs. Tairab also allotted Sulayman a vast plot of land in the Birgid lands known as Dar Kujur (O'Fahey and Spaulding 1974, 136).

For the Bigo tribe, the Fur sultan Abdelrahman al-Rasheed had already established the sultanate and inaugurated a sultan. This was due to certain circumstances peculiar to this tribe: Sultan Abdelrahman al-Rasheed's wife and the mother of his son (later Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul) was from the small Bigo tribe in southern Darfur. Although the Bigo tribe was generally viewed with disdain, the affiliation of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul to it from his mother's side gave the tribe some respect and gave its ruler the title of sultan—a title usually given to heads of large tribes. Moreover, Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul relieved this tribe from taxes and all other commitments due to the Fur sultans.²⁵ This tribe still keeps lands documented in 1900 by the last of the Fur sultans, Ali Dinar. It has its own native administration currently led by Sultan Yousuf Ali Abbakar Naga, who is one of the Bigo sultans who inherited agricultural lands from his mother the mairam (daughter of the sultan). The land is still managed in accordance with the customary laws of the Fur sultanate time.²⁶

1-2-5 Attempts to Subjugate the Arab Bedouins

Ever since their first waves of migration to Africa, Arab Bedouin groups have been characterized by strength and endurance in wars and fighting. These groups came to Darfur via different routes and in successive historical stages. In their initial advance towards Kordofan and Darfur they split into two basic grazing groups. One group stayed in desert and semi-desert areas in the north and kept their traditional livelihood of grazing camels; they were called *Abbala* (camel grazers). The other group proceeded southwards towards the savannah plains in southern Darfur and adjusted their livelihood to grazing cattle instead of camels, due to environmental

25. Al-Tunisi (1965) reported the story of the establishment of the Bigo kingdom by saying that the first work of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul (who ruled from 1787 to 1839 and was nicknamed "the Moon of Sultans") was to free the tribe of his mother (Um Bosah al-Bigawiya) and to forbid the taking and selling of slaves from the tribe. It is alleged that he had an uncle called Fazari, who was a cattle grazer. When this uncle learned that the son of his sister had become sultan he brought a bed and ordered people to carry him in the bed to Elfasher. When he reached Elfasher, Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul appointed him to a high-ranking position.

26. Interview with Yousuf Ali Abbakar Naga, sultan of the Bigo tribe, Nyala, February 23, 1998.

circumstances; they were called *Baggara* (cattle grazers). These two groups played vital roles in the history of the Fur sultanate from its initial formative stages in the 17th century until its demise. That is why relations of these groups with the Fur sultans varied from one stage to another in accordance with each sultan's strength, capabilities, and policies. Sometimes relations were friendly and stable and at other times they led to wars and fighting. The role of these groups changed from supporting the sultanate and contributing to its expansion to completely the opposite after the sultanate's authority was firmly established. This new stance stemmed from these groups' hatred of the harsh taxes imposed by the sultanate on them and on their animals. These groups were known in all Sudanic kingdoms for their opposition to the tyranny and domination that characterized the policies of some sultans. MacMichael (1967, 372) maintains,

Baggara are the strongest warriors among the Arabs of the Sudan and they are smart merchants. They have been so since they settled in Africa. This puts them in a state of constant confrontation with rulers of settled groups of sultans and kings in Borno, Waddai, Darfur and Kordofan.

The Arabs played a strong role in the establishment and expansion of the Fur sultanate. It is most probable that Sulayman, with his Arab nickname, resorted to the support of Arabs in the early stages of struggle over the region, since he was raised amongst his maternal uncles, the Zurban (or Khuzam) Arabs who were later absorbed into the Masalit tribe. This did not preclude the fact that the Arab Fazar–Atawia alliance remained supportive of the Keira clan because of the clan's Arab blood and Islamic religion. Their share in the expansion of external trade was evident from the volume of caravans during the reign of Ahmed Bakor (from 1682 to 1722) in regular routes to Egypt and North Africa. Enthusiasm about Arabism and Islam was obvious among all populations of the sultanate during the reigns of the Ahmed Abbakar sons and their successors. Rule of the Keira clan in Darfur was therefore reinforced and strengthened until the downfall of the sultanate in 1916, excepting two periods of interruption during the Turkish regime lasted from 1821 to 1885 and Mahdist regimes lasted from 1885 to 1898 (I. I. Ibrahim 1996, 252–253).

Attempts to subdue the Arab Bedouins—specifically the Rizaigat and Habbaniyya tribes—started during the reign of Sultan Tairab after he moved his capital to Reel in southern Darfur in 1770. During this period, he began to tighten his grip on the tribal groups in eastern and southern Darfur from his new capital that near the home land of the Bagarra tribes. Sultan Tairab sent a number of expeditions to subdue the Rizaigat in southern Darfur. The lands of these tribes, Rizaigat and Habbaniyya are important because they are situated in the trade route of slavery to northern parts of the sultanate. All attempts to subdue them failed. In part, this was due to the geographic nature of the area where these two tribes often took refuge to the south of Bahr al-Arab with its dark, muddy soil. It was very difficult for regular armies to enter into such terrain, so the area was a safe haven for these tribes when attacked by the Fur sultan's armies from the north. The Fur sultanate was never able to subdue these tribes, except nominally and for short periods of time. The campaign to subdue them intensified during the reign of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul who took over power as a youth and held it from 1802

until 1839.²⁷ He resorted to harsh tactics towards his subjects as well as the grazing tribes that would not succumb to sultanate policies. Nachtigal described al-Fadul's strategies as follows:

Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul was a life-loving young man. He dealt with his subjects with harshness. During his last years he became unjust and more inclined to and revenge. This was mainly directed towards Arab tribes in his Sultanate which sustained, more than once, looting and killing. This was because he was afraid of their strength and wealth and inclination towards independence. A major victim of this was Bani Halba tribe which sustained a big massacre that remained famous all over Darfur. To the north west of the Sultanate antagonism of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul was directed towards Abbala Eraigat tribe who disobeyed him for his young age. He first sent them an expedition headed by Elias Omar who took one fifth of their camels by force. This punishment did not convince them to become totally loyal to the Sultan. Seven years later he sent them an army. Eraigat defeated this army and killed its commanders. The Sultan sent them once again a big army under the command of his Minister Abdulseed. Despite the fierce opposition displayed by Eraigat they were finally defeated and seven of their chiefs captured. They were brought before the Sultan who ordered their execution in the marketplace. After this defeat Eraigat scattered all over the Sultanate living amongst other tribes. (Nachtigal 1971, 301–302).

Sultan al-Husain (who ruled from 1839 to 1873) was more inclined towards stability and had a genuine interest in commerce. In his later years he became blind, which weakened his ability to directly govern. He became dependent on his aides, especially his sister Ayabasi Zamzam. One of his tactics to remain in power was to dispatch the strong men who threatened his throne on continuous expeditions to fight the Baggara tribes in the southern regions of the sultanate, especially the strong and mutinous Rizaigat tribe. It is worthwhile mentioning that during his reign (which extended for 35 years) he sent 18 expeditions to fight the Rizaigat, Habbaniyya, and Ma'alia tribes. In addition, during his reign a military garrison was attached to the southern Darfur magdooiya in the Dara district in order to confront the Rizaigat opposition. However, the army failed to subdue the tribe. After Magdooom Abdelazeez failed several times in battle against the Rizaigat, Magdooom Khalil Abdulseed was appointed in his place. He faced a similar fate and was replaced by Magdooom Ahmed Shatta, who personally led repeated military expeditions against the Rizaigat and Habbaniyya tribes, but also failed to subdue them, in spite of the heavy losses they sustained.

Following Sultan al-Husain's death, his son Ibrahim Garad succeeded him, ruling for only one year (until 1874). He could not do much against the Bedouin tribes, however, however the Turks who were colonizing North Sudan conspired with the Sudanese slave trader Alzubair Pasha who were trading in Bher Algazal province in southern Sudan. Then Alzubair Pasha

27. The dates of rule of the Fur sultans are very confusing and are marred with uncertainty. For consistency, this book uses the dates maintained by Shugair (1967).

attacked Sultan Ibrahim in Manwashi town in 1874 and defeated him. After the battle of Manwashi, Darfur sultanate was annexed to the properties of the ruler of Egypt and north Sudan. The young sultan Ibrahim and a large number of his men died defending the land of their ancestors in the battle of Manawashi and a new chapter of Darfur history started.

The sultan's defeat resulted in a vast administrative and political vacuum and the disappearance of the sultanate with all its symbols and traditions of governance and power. In 1879, after Darfur became part of the khedive's property, Slatin Pasha, an Austrian, was appointed director of Dara Province in southern Darfur by Turkish regime in Sudan and after few months time he was promoted as governor of Darfur (that is, just a short while before the outbreak of the Mahdist Revolution). In short, Slatin Pasha came to Darfur under disturbing circumstances, as the local tribes and their leaders were already looking ahead towards revolution and the news reflected these aspirations of the Darfur people (Slatin Pasha 1896). At this point in time, because of the oppressive and high taxes of the Turkish regime, Darfur tribes started grumbling and rebelling against Turkish power and its symbols specially amongst the Baggara tribes, that include the Rizaigat, Habbaniyya, and Bani Halba tribes. The other tribes, however, also began to look forward to a promising future away from the domination and tyranny of the Turks, who had burdened them with heavy taxes and looting.

During the years of Turkish occupation (1874–1883), al-Zubair Pasha Rahama who collaborated with the Turkish regime to invade Darfur was denied the opportunity to reap the fruits of his efforts in conquering Darfur in Manwashi battle in 1874. The following years of the Mahdist regime (1883–1898) were also years of sadness and destruction in Darfur, and they have been referred to as a period of “Um Kawakiya.”²⁸

During these years, members of the Fur Keira tribe who remained alive retreated to Jebel Marra under the command of nominal sultans. They stayed away from the control of both Turks and Mahdists. They came down from the Jebel to the plains occasionally when their enemies were weak or busy and climbed the Jebel again when under threat. Eventually, Sultan Ali Dinar surrendered himself to Mahdist authorities. However, Fur Keira patriotism never died but remained alive in secret pending the right time for reinstatement of its glory (O'Fahey 1980, 13).

1-2-6 The Struggle with Foreign Powers

(A) Struggles with the Waddai Sultanate in the West

The Fur Keira sultanate never completely died. A series of sultans defended it from its inception until well after its downfall, and the sultanate continued to struggle with external powers. One external power that engaged in recurrent struggles with the Fur Keira sultanate was the Waddai sultanate immediately to the west of Darfur. A buffer zone between the two sultanates

28. “Um Kawakiya” is a term in Darfur, especially among the Baggara Arabs, that means extreme chaos, abandonment of customary laws, and resorting to sheer power.

was made up of a number of tribal kingdoms, including the sultanates of Zaghawa Kobi and Kabka, Gimir, Tama, Sula, and Masalit. There was a stiff competition between the two major sultanates for domination over these tribes in order to reap taxes from them (an important source of resources). Historically, the two sultanates coincided in establishment and they had striking similarities: Islam was a common denominator, as were the local components made up of Arab pastoralist tribes and local settled ethnicities whose main livelihood was agriculture. Moreover, the common myth suggest that Abdelkarim of Wadai Sultanate is affiliated to the Abbasside Arab origin.²⁹ Competition of the two sultanates over control of the buffer zone tribal kingdoms made relations between them very tense. During the reign of Sultan Ahmed Bakor (from 1726 to 1746), the Fur sultanate managed to impose an annual poll tax on the Waddai sultanate. Thus, all tribal kingdoms were subdued by the Fur sultanate. However, during the reign of Waddai Sultan Aroos, the Waddai sultanate felt strong enough to refuse paying this annual tax. The sultan himself led an army against the Fur sultanate and occupied parts of Jebel Marra in Dar Fia (present day Kabkabiya). The Fur sultan managed to expel Sultan Aroos out of Darfur but only after seven years of war (Nachtigal 1971, 309).

Another struggle between the two sultanates broke out during the reign of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul. The sultan of Tama, a small kingdom loyal to the Fur sultan that paid him an annual tax in exchange for protection, began to attack and loot subjects of the Waddai sultanate. Sultan Sabon of Waddai wrote to Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul asking him to check this issue. Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul replied by saying,

Your letter was received and we are delighted you are in good health. We are very annoyed by what the outlawed, king of Tama, did. We have already written to him ordering him with the strongest words to return all that he had taken from your subjects. We hope this will not affect our relations as what has been done by this dog was not authorized by us. Greetings.
(al-Tunisi, 1965, 207).

Despite all of this, the Tama continued to loot the cattle of the Waddai's sultan subjects. This prompted Sultan Sabon to prepare his army and wage a massive punitive expedition against the Tama, which made relations between all entities in the area very tense. Later, in order to control the small buffer zone kingdoms, Darfur Sultan Ahmed al-Husain helped a Waddai prince, Sultan Sharif (grandson of Sultan Salih and brother of Sultan Abdelkarim Sabon) by providing an army and commanders from Darfur to help assume power in Waddai, which at that time was undergoing a period of weakness because of disagreements. This help was tied to payment of a huge annual tax. However, after reinforcing his power over Waddai, Sharif refused to pay the agreed tax. Instead, he sent envoys to Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul to explain that he faced homefront opposition and it was impossible for him to deny demands of his subjects. Animosities between the two sultanates intensified during those days. Judge Dalil

29. One of the key figures in establishing the Waddai sultanate was Abdelkarim al-Wadhai, an Islamic scholar who married Mairam Aisha, the daughter of King Dawood of Tunjur. Leadership was transferred to Abdelkarim, and several tribes became united around him, including the Mahameed, Mahriyya, Nawaiba, Eraigat, Bani Halba, Bargo, Tunjur, Borno, Kodi, and Bagirmi tribes.

said that “such animosity is still vivid today. For this reason Hajj caravan for this year 1257 H [1842] proceeded northwards towards Morocco and took Ojlah route to Cairo. The caravan usually goes eastwards through Darfur” (al-Tunisi 1965, 281).

These tense historical relations between the two sultanates of Fur and Waddai led to continual wars between them. This struggle was rooted in a struggle for resources in the form of annual taxes and other revenues from small kingdoms in the buffer zone, such as Tama, Gimir, and Sula. Other wars between the two sultanates were waged during the reigns of Sultan Ahmed Bakor (a war from 1726 until 1746), Sultan Omar Lil (a war in 1757), Sultan Abu al-Gasim (a war in 1764), and Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul.³⁰

(B) Struggles with the Musaba’at Sultanate in the East

In the sandy plains of Kordofan that separate the Funj sultanate and the Fur sultanate, Fur Musaba’at established their sultanate. The people of Fur Musaba’at were kinsmen of the Fur Keira who established the Fur sultanate in Darfur. During the era of building and developing the Fur Keira sultanate, which was associated with Sultan Dali and Sultan Sulayman Solonga, some ambitious Keira princes who failed to mount the throne, were compelled to migrate to the area westwards of Jebel Marra in the plains of Kordofan. There the Musaba’at embraced them as chiefs in an attempt to build their force and achieve their goals. The struggle between the Fur and Funj sultanates over Kordofan was not intense or decisive. Consequently, the Musaba’at had room for expansion. Moreover, the Funj and their Ghidiat allies had little influence to the west of al-Obaid and Kazgail. Accordingly, the Fur Musaba’at focused on western regions and took little interest in areas to the east of Jebel Marra, apart from some attempts in the reigns of Sultans Omar bin Mohamed Dorah and Mohamed Tairab (Hassan 2003, 118). These circumstances helped in the establishment of the Musaba’at sultanate. A danger from this sultanate stemmed from the fact that it was established by a group of Fur Keira who demanded their right to the throne of the Fur sultanate. These princes knew very well the secrets of the sultanate, including routes in the rugged terrains of Jebel Marra and safe havens where Fur sultans took refuge when attacked from east or west. Moreover, from the beginning the Musaba’at sultanate was established with clear and specific goals—firstly, to regain the right of its sultans to the Fur throne and, secondly, to establish a kingdom in Kordofan on the eastern frontiers of Darfur (in order to achieve the first goal).

Three prominent sultans of Musaba’at made serious attempts to defeat the Fur sultanate and assume its throne; nonetheless, all were complete failures. The most serious of these attempts was that of Sultan Hashim (from 1772 to 1786). Hashim had already managed to establish a fortified base to retreat to as a safe haven following his repeated campaigns against the Funj sultanate authorities in al-Obaid. He invaded Truj land (in the Nuba Mountains) to obtain slaves. He also raided and looted Arab Bedouin lands. Through these efforts, Sultan Hashim amassed huge amounts of wealth. One scholar has explained, “[H]e owned more than ten thousand slaves apart from the armed ones. He mobilized other people, including Danagla, Shaigiyya, Kababish, and Rizaigat Arabs to form a heavy army” (Hassan 2003, 126).

30. Sultan Omar Lil was captured and killed by the Waddai sultan during the 1757 war.

With this massive military force in hand, Sultan Hashim began to dream of defeating the Fur sultanate and assuming its throne. At this time, Sultan Tairab was inclined to stability and focusing on reinforcing his authority. After feeling the threat from Sultan Hashim, however, Sultan Tairab prepared a strong army and marched towards his nephew in Kordofan. When Sultan Hashim learnt about the strength of Sultan Tairab's army he fled and took refuge with Funj authorities in Dongola. Sultan Tairab took over Kordofan and appointed strong men over it, including the commander Abba al-Shaikh Karra and the experienced administrator Malik Ibrahim Wad Ramad. The Fur sultanate ruled Kordofan for 35 years until defeated by the Turks after a fierce defense by the Fur kaira sultanate governor Magdoom Musallam who was killed in the bloody battle of Bara in 1821. After Kordofan fell into the hands of the Turkish agent, the Turks became the main threat of the Fur sultanate in the east.

(C) Struggles with Al-Zubair Pasha and Turkish Authorities

Relations between Egypt and Darfur has been characterized by animosity since long before Muhammed Ali Pasha came to power in Egypt. One of the reasons was the ambition of Muhammed Ali and his successors to subdue the Fur sultanate and make it part of the Egyptian property in the Sudan. Achievement of this goal did not materialize for a variety of reasons, including the cautious policies adopted by the Fur sultans in maintaining relations with Egypt for fear of its rulers in the internal affairs of Darfur (Ismael 1998, 112). Al-Zubair Pasha Rahama who was a trader in Bahr Alghazal was facing problems with the Rezigat tribe in Darfur who were usually blocking the road for his trade caravans to northern markets in Khartoum and Cairo eventually his goals coincided with those of Turks to destroy Fur kaira sultanate. When that happened, they cooperated to invade Darfur and annex the sultanate.

Al-Zubair Pasha was engaged in trade in Bahr al-Ghazal for a long period of time along with other Sudanese traders and traders from many different nationalities who flocked into the area, especially during the Turkish era when Turkish rulers invaded the Sudan for slaves, gold, and other wealth. However, in view of international pressures (especially European pressures) to ban slave trade, the regime began to change its policies and exerted pressures on slave traders in those areas. This was the prime motive for the campaign of Mohamed al-Bilal to annex Bahr al-Ghazal after he was appointed director of that region by Khedive Muhammed Ali.

In 1869 Bahr al-Ghazal merchants felt strong enough to challenge the government by refusing to pay taxes. They made al-Zubair Pasha Rahama the leader of their movement. He was a prominent merchant owning more than 30 commercial stations and was known as the "Black Pasha." Mohamed al-Bilal's campaign failed after it was been wiped out by al-Zubair's army, which became a real military power in Bahr al-Ghazal. Al-Zubair's trade expanded to a great extent. To secure his trade from Bahr al-Ghazal to northern Sudan, Egypt, and other areas he had to conclude an agreement with the Rizaigat Arabs in southern Darfur who had been engaged in highway robbery and looting of commercial caravans. An agreement between the two parties was concluded in 1868 whereby the Rizaigat undertook to keep routes open to all people, rich and poor, known and strangers, while al-Zubair undertook to take taxes from caravans and pay annual bursary regularly to the tribes. Both parties swore on the Holy Book (the Qur'an) and the agreement became effective from day one.

This agreement, however, didn't last for long. It completely collapsed in 1872 because of repeated attacks on caravans by the Rizaigat. This development prompted al-Zubair to reconsider the whole matter. He decided to personally invade Dar Rizaigat to punish and discipline the outlaws who stood in the face of the development of his trade. War between al-Zubair and the Rizaigat continued for several months before al-Zubair managed to gain control of the town of Shaka. By this move more than three-fourths of the Rizaigat became loyal to him and under his control. The remainder managed to flee to Elfasher and asked for protection from the sultan Ibrahim to prepare to resume war with al-Zubair.

During this period, written correspondence took place between al-Zubair and Sultan Ibrahim Garad. The former tried to explain his viewpoint with the support of the government in the back of his mind when he wrote, “[W]ith the support of our benefactor the Great Khedive, we conquered Shaka land, the stronghold of tyrant and corrupt Rizaigat Arabs. We checked their highway robbery, killing Muslims and looting their property and we brought them under the umbrella of the just rule of the Khedive” (Florashow 1995, 62). However, Sultan Ibrahim had a different viewpoint. He saw the occupation of Shaka by al-Zubair as an aggression against his sultanate and al-Zubair as just another *jallabi* (non-Darfurian outsider) who had stepped out of line and wanted to take over the heritage and glory of Ibrahim's ancestors.

The sultan sent a letter of complaint to Khedive Muhammed Ali on 17 March 1874, explaining all al-Zubair's aggressions and the support al-Zubair was receiving from the Turkish governor. Sultan Ibrahim also reminded the khedive of the good relations between the sultanate and Egypt during the reign of the khedive's father. He further asked for the khedive's personal intervention or mediation between the sultan and al-Zubair (Ismael 1998, 134).

Sultan Ibrahim had not known that the khedive had been the mastermind of the conspiracy. The chance had finally come for Khedive Muhammed Ali to annex Darfur to his property. Accordingly, he ordered Ismael Pasha Ayoub to support al-Zubair militarily and to march with him to occupy Darfur. The sultan became aware of al-Zubair's intentions when he moved his camp from Shaka to Kalka in the Habbaniyya land, and the sultan began preparations for the decisive battle in defense of his sultanate. Several small battles between the two armies preceded the decisive battle of Manwashi in October 1874.³¹ During this final battle, the Fur sultanate finally fell after al-Zubair defeated the sultanate's army with the help of the Turkish government. Al-Zubair acknowledged the courage of Sultan Ibrahim, who fought with real resolution until dying among his knights, including his own sons and many dignitaries of his sultanate. After the battle of Manwashi, al-Zubair advanced to Elfasher, which surrendered without a fight. Ismael Pasha Ayoub joined him from Um Shanga and a new era commenced in the Darfur Province, which became part of the khedive's property in the Sudan. Nevertheless, the seeds of revolution against this situation never faded away. Grandsons of the Fur sultans

31. Some of the battles preceding the battle of Manwashi included the battle of Dara under the command of Minister Ahmed Shatta, another battle under the command of Shartaya Ahmed Nimir (the chief of the Birgid tribe), and many other battles under the command of Prince Hasaballah (the uncle of Sultan Yousuf Ibrahim Garad). All resulted in defeats, due to the superior organization and weaponry of al-Zubair's army.

started to mobilize their people to regain their glory. The first to hold the revolution flag was Prince Bosh, brother of Prince Hasaballah in Jebel Marra.

1-2-7 The Fur Sultanate Princes' Revolts during the Turkish and Mahdist Regimes

(A) Efforts at Revolution by the Fur Sultanate Princes

With the demise of the Fur sultanate, after the occupation of Elfasher by al-Zubair Pasha, a hope for revolution never faded away from the hearts of those of the Fur princes and the political elites who stayed. All of these individuals were tribal chiefs who eventually formed Fur sultanate confederation, which continued to fight until the sultanate was finally restored at the hands of Sultan Ali Dinar at the end of the Mahdist Revolution in 1898. These fighters, who were made up of sons and grandsons of sultans and who fought to regain the glory of the Fur sultanate, were known as “the shadow sultans” (O’Fahey 1980). These include the following (followed by the years they ruled):

- Hasaballah bin Mohamed al-Fadul (1874–1875)
- Bosh bin Mohamed al-Fadul (1875)
- Haroon bin Saifuldeen (1876–1880)
- Dod Binjah (1880–1885)
- Yousuf Ibrahim Garad (1885–1888)
- Abu al-Kairat bin Ibrahim Garad (1888–1891)
- Ali Dinar bin Zakaria (1891–1916) (Arbab 1998, 65)

All of these men fought fiercely and exerted massive efforts, but this book only reviews the histories of a few of them. The beginning of Turkish rule in Darfur was very harsh. In addition to the humiliation of having power taken from Darfur’s traditional leaders by force, their property was looted in a barbaric way. Al-Zubair Pasha commented, from his exile in Gibraltar, by saying about Ismael Pasha Ayoub, “[H]e is absurd rubbish.” Ismael Pasha Ayoub came to the land he undertook to rule, Darfur, knowing nothing about it. He was only concerned with becoming rich. The first thing he did was to arrest some senior leaders and even women of high-ranking families. He sent them all handcuffed to Cairo; some of them died on the way to Cairo and others died in prisons there. The staff he brought along included 70 clerks to help in imposing and collecting taxes. He started with the poll tax at a rate of 40 piasters per head (on people 16 years old and above). People were terrified by this harsh rule (Florashow 1995, 81).

Because of the prevalence of oppression, the men left alive viewed resistance and revolution as imperative. They united around the sons and grandsons of the Fur sultans. After the surrender of Elfasher as a capital of the sultanate, Ismael Pasha Ayoub ordered al-Zubair to track the princes Bosh and Saifuldeen. Al-Zubair did so and killed them both. Before that he had already arrested Prince Hasaballah and ordered his dispatch (along with members of the sultan’s family) to Cairo. Nevertheless, a spirit of revolution never faded. The new rulers’ continuing atrocities fueled this spirit of resistance, which spread all over Darfur. People gathered and

elected Prince Haroon, the son of Saifuldeen, as their sultan to lead an opposition against the invaders. He was a determined and brave man who took the banner to fight battles. At this point Slatin Pasha had been appointed commander of the Dara garrison in southern Darfur, and he was tasked with the primary duty of crushing the opposition of Prince Haroon.

Prince Haroon and his men clandestinely plotted to take over the Turkish garrisons scattered all over Darfur in Dara, Elfasher, Kabkabiya, and Kukul. They successfully attacked Elfasher twice, and it was about to fall in their hands to the extent that its governor thought of burning ammunition warehouses and killing himself. However, after fierce fighting the attackers decided to withdraw. Following those events, Ismael Pasha Ayoub the Turkish governor of Darfur province was recalled and Gordon Pasha was appointed governor general of the Sudan. He immediately proceeded to Darfur to assess the situation firsthand. He visited Elfasher, Kabkabiya, and Kukul where revolt was temporarily suppressed (Slatin Pasha 1896, 57–58).

After withdrawal from Elfasher, Sultan Haroon took refuge in Jebel Marra to recollect his breath and mobilize his forces. He settled in Norina, the old capital of the Dajo princes, where he declared his complete independence from Turkish authorities after he took control of the area and started to rule all the plains to the east of Jebel Marra. Sultan Haroon's influence expanded and he became a real threat to Turkish power in Darfur. Mesdagliya the Turkish governor in Elfasher and von Slatin in Dara began to set up military plans to confront and get rid of him once and for all. They both agreed that von Slatin would move along the route of Manwashi and Kobi towards Jebel Marra to attack Norina, Haroon's capital. Another military group would move from Elfasher to Turrah through Kukul and Abu Haraz to coordinate an attack with von Slatin's forces. When von Slatin and his men reached the outskirts of Nornia they learned that Sultan Haroon had left and withdrawn to an unknown destination. They decided to follow him. After withdrawal from his capital, the sultan's objectives were clear; to attack the Dara garrison after von Slatin exited it to attack him. Indeed, Sultan Haroon attacked Dara but he had to withdraw after intense fighting. He proceeded to Manwashi in the north full of determination to continue fighting. After several swift battles in which he won much money and numerous men, the danger he presented infuriated the Turkish authorities.

After the battle in Manwashi, Sultan Haroon proceeded northwards to make contact with leaders of the Mima tribe, who decided to join him in revolting against the government. On his way to the Mima tribe, however, Slatin's Pasha forces caught up with Sultan Haroon and engaged him in a fierce battle. Haroon's forces sustained heavy losses and he withdrew once again to Jebel Marra. Slatin Pasha had no choice but to return to his garrison in Dara to reorganize.

Sultan Haroon recollected his breath and reorganized his men in preparation for the upcoming battles. He also collected cattle and camels from Arab Bedouins and merchants whom he met on his way back to Jebel Marra. At this time, al-Noor Angara the Turkish agent headed the Kukul district. When he learned of Sultan Haroon's advance, he chased him, attacked his camp suddenly, and killed him. Angara then sent the head of Sultan Haroon to Turkish authorities in Elfasher in March 1880 (Slatin Pasha 1896, 85).

Following the assassination of Sultan Haroon, his men gathered and elected his cousin Abdalla Dod Binjah as their sultan and commander in the upcoming battles against the Turks. However, the disappearance of Sultan Haroon from the theater marked the end of an important phase in the revolution. Before marching from Dara Garrison towards his capital of Elfasher, Slatin Pasha following his promotion to become commissioner of Darfur in 1882, news of the Mahdist Revolution had spread all over Darfur. Turmoil spread throughout most tribal lands and people were looking forward to getting rid of the tyranny of Turkish rule. Slatin Pasha and his men were confused with the news of Mahadist revolution. A new era was ushered in the troubled history of Darfur. This transitional period witnessed numerous and fierce battles between von Slatin and the Baggara tribes in southern Darfur. Those tribes were headed by the Rizaigat tribe, whose paramount chief, Madibo Ali, paid homage to Imam al-Mahdi in Gadeer and returned to Darfur to carry the banner of the new revolution.³²

The next battles ended with the defeat and surrender of von Slatin in the village of Sheriya. He handed over the Dara garrison to the new Mahdist leader Emir Mohamed Zugul in December 1883. Mohamed Zugul was a competent administrator with a wide knowledge of the society of Darfur with which he had been engaged in trade for a long time. That is why, when he was appointed emir of Darfur by Imam al-Mahdi, he took a moderate approach to winning over the local tribes and leaders: he was convinced he would need to share power with Darfur's leadership because the people would not accept rule by strangers. He divided Darfur into administrative units that took tribal cohesion into consideration. Each of these units was led by one of its sons as emir (after he pledged allegiance to the Mahdist regime). Accordingly, Amir Yousif, the son of Sultan Yousuf Ibrahim, was appointed emir of Elfasher and Kabkabiya, Ismael Abdelnabi was appointed emir of Masalit and the western areas, Adam Kanjar was appointed emir of Dara, a brother of Abu Jawdat was appointed emir of Tuwaisha, and a brother of Hasan Um Kadouk was appointed emir of Um Shanga.³³

This policy started to change with the departure of Mohamed Khalid Zugul to Omdurman. Moreover, following the early death of Imam al-Mahdi, the inhabitants of Darfur did not like the assumption of power by Caliph Abdalla al-Ta'aishi as his successor. In particular, the Baggara tribes saw Mohamed Khalid Zugul's was summoned by Khalifa to migrate to Omdurman as a sign of disrespect and oppression, as well as confiscation of leadership from tribal chiefs. They also saw in it a change in their lifestyle and culture (al-Mubarak, n.d., 84). Furthermore, this occurred at an inopportune time, following the sudden death of the revolution's divine leader. Because of all of these circumstances, opposition to Caliph Abdalla began to spread amongst all tribes under the leadership of Madibo Ali leader of Rizaigat tribe. Emir Yousuf Ibrahim, the legitimate heir of the Fur sultanate throne, could never accept Caliph Abdulla's

32. The new alliance supporting the revolution initially was made up of the Rizaigat, Habbaniyya, Ma'alia, Bani Halba, Ta'aisha and Messiriya tribes in southern Darfur, but then expanded to include other tribes in northern and western Darfur (see von Slatin 1896, 213–214).

33. Musa al-Mubarak (n.d., 28) maintains that Mohamed Khalid Zugul was born in Darfur and started as simple trader before becoming rich. When Darfur was conquered by the Turks, Zugul served in the Turkish administration. He moved up the administrative ladder until he became director of Dara. Zugul had a blood parental relation with Al-Mahdi (his cousin).

offer to become “nominal” sultan of Darfur in exchange for pledging allegiance to the caliph. Moreover, Yousuf Ibrahim refused to share power with people like Karamallah and Mohamed Karkasawi who were agents of Mahadist in South Darfur and originally they were from the river Nile.

It is therefore no wonder that Yousuf Ibrahim saw in Karamallah another al-Zubair who wanted to rob him of his power just like al-Zubair did to his father.³⁴ Yousuf wanted to be a real sultan who shared power with no one. Therefore, he called for Darfur’s independence and reinstated the traditions of his father in government and administration. He also ousted Karamallah and expelled him from Dara in an attempt to regain Karamallah’s control over northern and southern Darfur. He made various excuses not to migrate to Omdurman and fought Emir Osman Adam the mahadist military leader in Darfur until Yousuf fell dead trying to restore the sultanate of his ancestors (al-Mubarak, n.d., 100). Yousuf Ibrahim continued to pursue policies and plans aiming at restoring his ancestors’ system of government. He divided the sultanate into hawakeer and gave his statesmen the old titles of kings, sharati, and magadeem.³⁵ When Caliph Abdalla learned about these developments, he urged Yousuf in vain to migrate to Omdurman.

The danger posed by Yousuf Ibrahim was not the only threat to which Caliph Abdallah was exposed. There was turbulence in many parts of his state, especially following the Ashraf who were the relatives of Muhammed Ahmed Almahadi rebel against his rule in Omdurman the capital city of the mahadist state and the mutinies of the Kababish tribe in Kordofan. Nonetheless, Caliph Abdallah appreciated the special risks Yousuf’s movement represented, especially in view of the support Yousuf Ibrahim received from various tribes including the Ziyadiyya, Zaghawa, Mahriyya, Manasra, Mima, Bani Fadul, and Birgid in addition to his own tribe of Fur. Because of the seriousness of the matter, Caliph Abdallah sent his senior and experienced commanders—such as Emirs al-Bushari Raidah, Mohamed Bushara, al-Khateem Musa, Abdelgader Daleel, Karamallah Shaikh Khalid, and Mohamed Ahmed Auja—under the direction of his young commander Osman Adam Jano to crush the revolt in Darfur.

Many battles were fought between the army of the *Ansar* (Mahdi supporters) and the army of Yousuf Ibrahim under the command of Zayid Ajaj (who was famous for his courage and good management). The second Dara battle was the greatest of all battles to regain the Fur sultanate. The battle was in the morning of 15 January 1888:

34. Karamallah was born on Kargoos Island near Shendi. He was of Dongolawi origin. He travelled to Bahr al-Ghazal and engaged in trade there. His brother was a commander of a unit of al-Zubair’s army. When al-Mahdi appeared in Bahr al-Ghazal, all Dongolawis supported him and Karamallah migrated to al-Mahdi in the White Nile valley, where he took part in the battle between shaikhs. He was appointed and served as governor of Bahr al-Ghazal until al-Mahdi died. Caliph Abdalla summoned Karamallah for migration, but he sent his brother Mohamed to Shaka and joined him later in October 1886 (see al-Mubarak, n.d., 75).

35. Hawakeer (plural for hakoora) are tribal homelands.

When the *Ansar* heard the beats of the Fur's *nihās* (drums of war) and saw their army pushing hard towards them . . . the two armies met in a bloody battle that lasted until midday and ended with a clear victory for Osman Adam. More than five thousand men of Zaiyd's army fell dead; Zaiyd himself escaped death. (al-Mubarak, n.d., 120).

On January 22, Sultan Yousuf Ibrahim left Elfasher at the head of his army to meet the Ansar army in Wad Debairah. This was a deadly meeting. Yousuf lost 2,000 of his troops before withdrawing to Jebel Marra. By the end of the battle, the Ansar had entered Elfasher, and Caliph Abdallah had regained Darfur. Once again, Osman Adam chased Sultan Yousuf and sent a large army made up of 9,000 fighters under the command of al-Khateem Musa in the company of high-ranking Ansar, including Abdelgader Daleel, al-Ata Osool, Ahmed Malik, and Fadlallah Sharafuldeen. This army surrounded Sultan Yousuf in the northern heights of Jebel Marra. Chances of escape for Sultan Yousuf were very narrow; he was killed and his head was sent to Elfasher. This was the end of a stubborn fight after which Osman Adam became emir of Darfur and a new cycle of Fur struggle began under the leadership of Emir Abu al-Khairat, who led the army after the death of his brother Yousuf Ibrahim.

Despite the clear victory achieved by the Ansar over the Fur army, which started to experience fragmentation following the disagreement between commander Zaiyd and Sultan Yousuf just before the final battle, they were never relaxed thereafter. This was because a new revolution in Darfur was in the making. This time it was even more dangerous because it was directly addressing the legitimacy of Ansar rule. The revolution was supported by numerous strong entities backed by a wide alliance made up of all sultans of the western kingdoms bordering Darfur, including Waddai, Tama, Sula, Masalit, and Gimir. This wide alliance had its reasons for standing against the rule of Caliph Abdallah:

[T]he legitimacy of Mahdism did not justify Sudan's liberation war against Turkish rule by denying the old traditional legitimacy of the Funj state. By 1882 this became out of the question as the justification was the war against atheist oppressors who did not care for Islamic teachings. Thus, fighting was a duty on every able Muslim. Moreover, al-Mahdi was the legitimate leader of this holy war and the legitimate leader of the state thereafter because he was the Awaited Mahdi of Allah. (Kapteijns 1985).

The Mahdist call has found strong response and support in western Sudan by people who were exhausted by high taxes and harsh treatment. Moreover, clergymen who believed in al-Mahdi's mission convinced people that the tyranny and oppression they were subjected to were the result of their overlooking the true teachings of Islam. Support of local rulers, including sultans and kings, to the Mahdi's call, stemmed from a desire to get rid of the Turks who restrained their power over their tribes and subjects. After the death of al-Mahdi and the assumption of power by Caliph Abdalla, the people of Darfur discovered that the Mahdist state under the leadership of Caliph Abdalla was just another central authority in Khartoum that worked to control them; there was no difference between the Mahdist state and the Turks. Moreover, their local authority was endangered and traditional legitimacy threatened.

This alone was enough reason for them to oppose this state, which brought a new legitimacy that made Baggara Arabs the relatives of Caliph Abdalla and controlled their destiny in the name of Mahdism.

In 1885, rulers of Waddai wrote to the Mahdist agent in Darfur in response to an earlier letter by saying,

We do believe in the logic of your letter that this is the time of Mahdiyya and not a time of earthly kingdoms. We paid homage to Sultan Mohamed Yousuf who was named agent of al-Mahdi. Accordingly, we do obey al-Mahdi's orders as the Sultan of this time; he needs not to be son of a Sultan. Mahdiyya has threatened the authority of sultans of the west by imposing high taxes and forcing migration to Omdurman to pay homage to Mahdiyya. (Kapteijns 1985, 192).

The conduct of the Mahdist armies terrified the subjects of these sultans, especially the looting of their property by force. Moreover, these armies despised local leaderships to the extent that local people nicknamed the soldiers "Kobbo Kollo" (pour it all), that is, "give me all what you own." People were fed up with the behavior of soldiers who entered their house by force and took everything they wanted (ibid.). These practices exacerbated the anger of the people and their sultans and kings, and elements of rebellion began to gather on the horizon. Under these circumstances, Faki Mohamed Zain called for revolt and jihad against oppression and against those who falsely claimed affiliation to Mahdist.³⁶ A revolt that shook all corners of the Mahdist state power broke out in Darfur.

Musa al-Mubarak maintained,

If you look deep in the revolt of Abu Jumaiza you would see behind its religious cover specific and clear political objectives. On the one hand it was a defiance expression by sultans of the west against oppression of the *Ansar* and an attempt to stop that oppression. Evidence of that was the wide support received by Abu Jumaiza from those sultans. On the other hand it was a new attempt by the people of Darfur to get rid of the *Ansar* rule; as soon as Abu Jumaiza achieved his first victory, he received massive support from the Fur who supported him under the leadership of Abu al-Khairat Ibrahim, Banu Halba under the leadership of Ibrahim al-Wali and all divisions of Zaghawa. Moreover, Midob raided Barti who were staunch supporters of Mahdiyya and Rizaigat and Habbaniyya returned home and settled in peace. It was obvious that the religious cover of Abu Jumaiza has provided the second revolt of the people of Darfur a legitimate leadership regardless of their political differences. (Musa Almubarak, 149).

36. A faki is a clergyman. In Darfur, the word "faki" denotes a person who memorizes the Holy Quran and is knowledgeable in all jurisprudence and transactions. He usually commands the appreciation and respect of the community. Faki Mohamed Zain's nickname was "Abu Jumaiza." Sources conflict regarding his origin but most probably he was from the Tama tribe.

This revolution started as a popular uprising against the Mahdist forces. Faki Mohamed Zain Abu Jumaiza stepped in as the leader of this popular uprising. His strong personality qualified him to lead the masses and become the focal person around whom the sultans of the region gathered. Under his symbolic leadership, the sultans gathered to reinstate the status they enjoyed before 1874, in other words, reinstatement of the exiled Abu al-Khairat as sultan of the Fur sultanate.

The sultans who supported Mohamed Zain included the Dajo sultan, Ishag Abu Reesha (who ruled from 1879 to 1890), who sent his son Bakheet with an army to fight alongside Mohamed Zain and other sultans.³⁷ This revolt frightened the Ansar and paralyzed the administration in Darfur. However, the superiority of the Ansar's weapons and the sudden death of the leader Mohamed Zain in 1889 near Elfasher led to the defeat of the western sultans, who experienced differences after their leader's death. The tribal armies dispersed, and Abu al-Khairat took refuge in Dar Sula (Kapteijns 1983b). After a while Abu al-Khairat returned to Darfur to try and regain the authority of his ancestors. A disagreement erupted between him and one of his cousins, Emir Ali Dinar. The latter killed the former and the period of the struggle of Abu al-Khairat came to an end. This period was characterized by the alliances Abu al-Khairat made with different sultans in an unsuccessful attempt to get rid of Caliph Abdalla's rule.

After the tragic death of Abu al-Khairat, leadership fell into the hands of Ali Dinar Zakaria, the son of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul. At this time, Darfur came under the responsibility of Emir Mahmoud Wad Ahmed, who took al-Obaid as his capital while Emir Abdelgader Daleel remained in Elfasher as his deputy. Following correspondence from Mahmoud Wad Ahmed asking for delivery of Ali Dinar to Abdelgader Daleel in Elfasher—and after some procrastination on the part of Ali Dinar—he finally surrendered himself and proceeded to meet Caliph Abdalla in Omdurman. Nonetheless, he carried with him a great hope of regaining the glory of his ancestors at the first opportunity to come his way. Indeed this opportunity came on the eve of Karari battle.³⁸ He gathered a group of Darfur's tribal leaders and marched towards Elfasher. He entered Elfasher with minimal opposition, as there were no more than 300 soldiers under the command of Emir Um Badda al-Radi. The emir left the town after allowing Hasan Abu Koda to hand it over to Ali Dinar. Sultan Ali Dinar immediately entered into correspondence with the governor general in Khartoum to determine his status with the new authority. He demanded recognition of him as sultan of Darfur in return for loyalty to the government and payment of an annual tax.³⁹ Wingate Pasha, the governor general, agreed and responded by saying,

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37. An alliance of sultans who took part in the revolt against Mahdist rule in Darfur included the sultans of the Waddai, Tama, Gimir, Zaghawa, Dajo, and Masalit tribes, in addition to the Fur Amir Abu al-Khairat who was fighting to regain Fur kaira sultanate as legitimate heir of the sultanate.
 38. Reports varied regarding the moment when Ali Dinar left Omdurman: was it before or after the battle of Karari? However, what is clear is the fact that he was serving under the command of Ibrahim al-Khalil, who was killed in that battle.
 39. Hasan Abu Koda led a revolt against Mahdist rule and occupied Dara Garrison before proceeding to Elfasher and occupying that city as well. He declared himself sultan of Darfur before the arrival of Ali Dinar, who took over from him (Arbab 1998).

With regards to your request for the demarcation of the borders of Darfur, I would like to advise you that Darfur's borders will remain as they were before, i.e. from Um Shanga to Dar Ta'aisha and former borders with Bargo and Dar Waddai. These were the borders of Darfur when HE Slatin Pasha was Director General of Darfur until the establishment of Dervish authority. As for your payment of taxes to support the army I would like to advise you the government does not need money or help but this indicates your loyalty to the government and proof of your association with it. Accordingly, I am delighted to levy five hundred pounds on you annually. As for the *Mihmal* it is entirely left for you and routes will be opened to pilgrims and you may send anything through the government routes. (Theobald 1965, 43).

(B) Wars of Sultan Ali Dinar

The agreement between Ali Dinar and Wingate Pasha determined the relationship between Darfur and the government of Khartoum. After entering into this agreement, Ali Dinar started to reorganize his sultanate. This was undoubtedly a historic opportunity that many of the area's inhabitants had awaited for a long time. They had paid for this moment in blood and souls during numerous wars in most parts of Darfur following the invasion of al-Zubair Pasha in 1874. Rebuilding the sultanate was not an easy task for Ali Dinar, as continual wars and turmoil during both the Turkish and Mahdist regimes had exhausted the material and human resources of Darfur's communities. Moreover, the sudden collapse of the Mahdist state had created an administrative and political vacuum that led to chaos amongst most tribes of Darfur, which suddenly found themselves free of Elfasher's domination.

In this disturbed political climate, Sultan Ali Dinar faced issues of reconstruction and obliging communities to recognize his legitimate power. His first mission was to reinstate the former administrative systems and subdue the communities of the Fur sultanate to his control. Ali Dinar faced two battles in enforcing the legitimacy of his power. First, he had to fight the local sultans and tribal leaders who tended to rebel and disobey his central authority, as they had with Caliph Abdalla before. This included almost all of the tribes of Darfur. Second, he had to fight some individuals who had become loyal to the Mahdist doctrine and did not recognize Ali Dinar's traditional source of power. Three individuals were prominent in this second battle—Faki Sineen al-Tamawi, Emir Abdalla Arabi al-Ta'aishi, and Sultan Abbakar al-Muslati.

Ali Dinar fought tribal wars with strict determination and resolve. Magdoom Mohamed Sharif narrated these wars in his bibliography which was written, upon his dictation, by Mekki Madani Husain in September 1932 under the direction of Mr. Arkell, deputy director of Darfur. The document maintains,

I stayed with Sultan Ali Dinar in Elfasher for one year. Then I was appointed as Magdoom of Dar Reeh (the east) and proceeded to Kutum in northern Darfur. The force sent with me was made up of not less than 350 soldiers, 200 with firearms and 150 with spears and horses. Throughout my stay with

the Sultan I acted as his deputy in his absence in the presence of his Minister Adam Rijal. After that the Sultan ordered me to command an army against Bidiat tribe; to occupy the land and bring its men and money to Sultan Ali Dinar as they were outlaws. I did that with ease as those people were weak and that was my first war. After that Magdoom Mahmoud Ali al-Dodingawi, Adam Ali, Sultan Abbakar al-Tamawi and I were ordered to proceed to fight Sineen in Kabkabiya. Magdoom Mahmoud Ali al-Dodingawi was the commander of our army. We couldn't defeat Sineen and returned to Elfasher without achieving what we were asked to do. Then I was tasked, along with Minister Adam Rijal, to fight Sultan Idris al-Gimrawi for disloyalty to Sultan Ali Dinar. We achieved complete victory and brought all men, women, weapons and money of the Sultan Idris to Sultan Ali Dinar but Sultan Idris himself managed to escape. Whenever Sultan Ali Dinar travels he orders me to act in his place during his absence as I mentioned earlier. Two years later I was ordered, along with Minister Adam Rijal, to fight Sultan Farti al Zaghawa Kobi (grandfather of the present Sultan Dawsa Abdurrahman Farti). We defeated him but he managed to escape to Dar Bargo. We returned to Elfasher with his men, money and weapons. He caught up with us on our way back; we guaranteed him safety and returned him to his land with a command from Sultan Ali Dinar. After that I was ordered, along with Minister Adam Rijal, to fight Bargo Arabs in the area of Um Shaloba under their king Dokom who was appointed by Sultan Dod Marra. They had abundant weapons, horses and men but we managed to defeat them and bring their men, weapons and money to Sultan Ali Dinar. Following that I was ordered, along with Minister Adam Rijal, to fight Kinain tribes in the area of Tarbool in the northern part of Dar Bargo. We defeated them and brought them along with their king, Abdelgader Abiad, and their weapons and money to Elfasher. In the same year I was sent, along with King Mahmoud al-Dodingawi and Adam Rijal once again to Sineen. (Sharif 1932).

Magdoom Mohamed Sharif went on to describe the battle with Sineen in Kabkabiya and Sineen's eventual defeat in 1909. Sharif also described the war between the commander of Sultan Ali Dinar's army, Sulom Idris al-Habbani, and Fazzan and Qur'an tribes a short while before the invasion of Darfur by the British forces in 1916. The wars mentioned by Magdoom Mohamed Sharif covered most tribes in the northern and western areas of the sultanate. The sultan faced similar mutinies by the Baggara tribes in southern Darfur under the leadership of the Bani Halba, Rizaigat, and Ma'alia tribes.

Sultan Ali Dinar achieved remarkable success in his first years by defeating and gaining control over a number of tribes, as narrated in the above mentioned document of Magdoom Mohamed Sharif. However, the Mahdist leaders of the Darfur tribes constituted a real menace to the sultan's power. It took much effort and many resources to subdue them. The danger of these commanders stemmed from the fact that they did not recognize his rule as legitimate: the Mahdist doctrine gave legitimacy to power based on religion and justice, *not* inherited from one's father.

The first to oppose Sultan Ali Dinar was Faki Sineen Husain al-Tamawi. Sineen had been amongst the first to respond to the Mahdist revolt and had become one of its mujahidin. He fought with Hamdan Abu Anja in the Nuba Mountains and took part in the campaigns against Ethiopia in 1887 and 1889. He then accompanied Emir Abdelgader Daleel, who was appointed by Osman Adam Jano as agent over the west with his center in Kabkabiya. After the death of Osman Adam, he was succeeded by Mahmoud Wad Ahmed as emir of Darfur. Mahmoud Wad Ahmed summoned Abdelgader to Elfasher, and Sineen took over Kabkabiya in his absence. Sineen was a staunch Mahdist with strong reputation as a clergyman in the area. After the death of Caliph Abdalla, large numbers of fugitive Ansar flocked to him. Consequently, he controlled a large group of followers in Kabkabiya, which had a strategic location connecting Elfasher (the sultanate's capital) with western Darfur, where the areas of Masalit, Tama, Arenga, Asangor, and Waddai lay.

Sineen's control of this important location meant Sultan Ali Dinar could not control the resource-rich western areas. In addition, the strength of the fanatic Ansar around Sineen included more than 4,000 fighters—which needed to be checked. When Sultan Ali Dinar learned of the menace posed by Sineen and his followers in Kabkabiya, he ordered his commander Kiran to lead a large army to Kabkabiya in 1900 to crush Sineen and confiscate his weapons. Kiran couldn't accomplish the mission, and he was punished by the sultan. Sultan Ali Dinar sent another army to fight Sineen in 1901. This army was led by King Mahmoud al-Dadingawi and was again defeated—at least initially. Magdooom Mohamed Sharif narrated the events:

Magdooom Mahmoud Ali al-Dadingawi, Adam Ali, Sultan Abbakar al-Tamawi and I were ordered to proceed to fight Sineen in Kabkabiya. Magdooom Mahmoud Ali al-Dadingawi was the commander of our army. We couldn't defeat Sineen and returned to Elfasher without achieving what we were asked to do for the large numbers of his fighters. In the same year I was sent, along with King Mahmoud al-Dadingawi and Adam Rijal once again to Sineen. We couldn't defeat him before we sieged Kabkabiya for two years until his soldiers starved to death. We then defeated his army, killed him and brought his money, men and weapons to Sultan Ali Dinar. (Sharif 1932).

Ali Dinar finally scored this success against Dineed in 1909 (Theobald 1965, 36). With the death of Sineen, an important obstacle was removed from his control of the western areas of Darfur. He wrote to the governor general in Khartoum to deliver the good news of this great victory.

However, Ali Dinar faced another obstacle to control of the western areas—the sultan of Dar Masalit, Abbakar al-Muslati, who like Sineen was a staunch Mahdist with a large numbers of followers. Dar Masalit was not a coherent administrative and political unit before 1874. It was divided between the sultanates of Fur and Waddai. Branches of Dar Masalit came under clan chiefs (called kings) or heads of *danagir* (tax collectors) who collected taxes for the Masalit central authorities. During the Turkish rule, one of the Masalit leaders, Hajjam Hasaballah, managed to nominally unite the tribe and received recognition from the Turkish authorities. He continued to rule the tribe until the end of the Turkish period, but was overthrown in 1883 at the beginning of the Mahdist revolution. At this time, Faki Ismael Abdelnabi migrated

to pay homage to Imam al-Mahdi and to fight against the Turks. Al-Mahdi appointed him as his agent in Dar Masalit. Faki Ismael continued to rule Dar Masalit from 1884 to 1888 and laid the foundation for internal administrative rules. He also was very loyal to Mahdist teachings. In 1888 Caliph Abdalla summoned him to Omdurman and his son Abbakar Ismael took over from him (Kapteijns 1985). Sultan Abbakar was angry at the involuntary migration of his father who was summoned by Khalifa to Omdurman. Moreover, there were news that Hajjam Hasaballah, who had been ousted of power by a revolution led by Faki Ismael, had complained to Caliph Abdalla and became close to him. Under these political circumstances, Sultan Abbakar decided to join the sultans' alliance in the revolt of Faki Mohamed Zain. However, these sultans did not recognize him as the legitimate sultan of Dar Masalit, believing he was part of Fur Kaira sultanate. Thus, Sultan Abbakar found himself in a difficult situation with regard to his legitimacy as sultan of Dar Masalit. During the 1889–1896 period, Abbakar joined the sultans' alliance in the western area *against* Mahdist forces. When the Mahdist menace receded, he stepped out of that alliance and again supported the Mahdist movement. Sultan Abbakar managed to build his sultanate militarily. With regards to legitimacy, Abbakar appears to have been the only Muslim sultan of western Darfur who adopted Mahdist doctrine, and he despised those who espoused the old system of ancestral legitimacy. Accordingly, the other sultans of the area fought him and occupied Dar Masalit until the Waddai sultan (the strongest sultan of the western alliance, and the sultan with whom Abbakar took refuge) intervened, protected, and recognized Abbakar as sultan of Dar Masalit (Kapteijns 1985).

In his first attempts to assert his power in Dar Masalit, Ali Dinar invaded the region in 1903 with an army led by Mahmoud Ali al-Dadingawi and Adam Bakheet. The Masalit armies were defeated and Sultan Abbakar was arrested and remained hostage in the hands of Sultan Ali Dinar in Elfasher. Sultan Ali Dinar's army remained in Dar Masalit for four months until it was expelled by the new sultan of Masalit, Mohamed Tajeldin, the son of Sultan Abbakar. Ali Dinar's armies returned to Dar Masalit under the leadership of Gamaraldin Abdelbagi, and Sultan Ali Dinar executed Sultan Abbakar, who had remained captive during this entire period. By this time, French forces occupied the Waddai sultanate and had started to march eastwards towards Dar Masalit. Sultan Tajeldin checked them, but he was killed in the battle of Derty (to the east of Elgeneina). His nephew Mohamed Tajeldin, nicknamed Adonka, replaced him and signed an agreement with Sultan Ali Dinar in 1909. Mohamed Tajeldin later signed another agreement with the French authorities whereby he gave up some lands from Dar Masalit.⁴⁰ Sultan Ali Dinar was unable to check the march of French forces towards Dar Masalit to the west of his sultanate and still continue his war against Masalit, which is why he concluded the agreement with Sultan Mohamed Tajeldin. This reflects the wisdom of a sophisticated statesman, though the agreement was a compromise whereby Sultan Ali Dinar did not get all he wanted but bloodshed between the two parties ceased.

Sultan Ali Dinar faced threats to his authority in the central and western parts of his sultanate by Mahdist leaders, such as Faki Sineen in Kabkabiya and Sultan Abbakar in Dar Masalit.

40. Interviews with Shaikh Ibrahim Abu al-Gasim, of the Tijaniyya order in Dar Masalit, Elgeneina, 1997; Shaikh Tijani Abdelmalik Ali al-Sanousi, deputy chief of the sultan's court in Elgeneina. Both are grandsons of civil leaders who contributed to the establishment of the first sultanate of Masalit.

He faced similar threats from Mahdists in southern Darfur, in particular, from Emir Arabi Dafa'allah al-Ta'aishi and other Ansar leaders who joined Emir Arabi after the demise of the Mahdist state. In 1893, Caliph Abdalla appointed Arabi as emir of Equatoria with its capital in Rajjaf.⁴¹ Arabi defended Rajjaf when the Belgians marched towards it in 1897, but he was defeated and withdrew northwards. On his way to Omdurman he learned about the battle of Omdurman and the departure of Caliph Abdalla to Kordofan, and he decided to catch up with him in southern Darfur. When Kitchener the English governor general in Sudan learned about the withdrawal of Arabi from Rajjaf. Then governor general Kitchener organized a group of Hamar Arabs under the leadership of Abdalraheem Salim Abu Dagal and Ibrahim al-Maleeh commanded by Officer Hasan Warrag to cut off Arabi and prevent him from meeting Caliph Abdalla. This force managed to enter Arabi's camp, but after an inconclusive battle Hasan Warrag withdrew eastwards to Omdurman to submit his report about the battle. At some point in the course of this conflict, Arabi learned about the Um Debaikrat battle and the death of Caliph Abdalla and his companions. He then proceeded westwards and camped in Dar Kara in the southwestern corner of Darfur, near his kinsfolk (Theobald 1965, 38).

Ali Dinar learned about the movements of Arabi, his camp at Dar Kara, and his military preparations in addition to his decision not to recognize Ali Dinar's legitimacy. Sultan Ali Dinar appraised the situation and concluded that this was a menace in the southwestern corner of the sultanate, that is, along his borders with the Dajo sultanate, an old foe to his sultanate and where the disputed areas of Dar Fangro and Sinnar lay. The danger of Arabi was not only represented by his defiance, but also by the fact that he was a skillful fighter, as evidenced by his outstanding performance in the Nuba Mountains battles under the command of Hamdan Abu Anja (*ibid.*). Moreover, Arabi withdrew from Rajjaf with a well-trained army, most of its members from the Kara fighters who were known for their bravery and the use of firearms. At the head of this army were 10 "heads of hundred" according to the Mahdist order of battle, that is, they provided a well trained and tested command.⁴² In addition, Arabi had resorted to western frontiers from his homeland of Dar Ta'aisha (since that state had disintegrated with the demise of Caliph Abdalla). He and his men were detached from the new regime, which had deprived them of the glory of ruling for nearly two decades. Accordingly, they were inclined to support Arabi, especially in view of the fact that they had experienced, along with their neighbors the Bani Halba, subjection to the Fur sultans' rule and the punitive expeditions waged against them by those sultans. Finally, Ali Dinar was still new to the governance of Darfur and had yet to buttress his power. He also faced danger from the defiant Faki Sineen in Kabkabiya and Sultan Abbakar of Dar Masalit. Ali Dinar was capable of dealing with all of that, however. He prepared a large army under the command of Mahmoud al-Dadingawi, who marched to fight Arabi in Hamboul in Dar Habbaniyya. However, en route to Hamboul

41. Arabi Dafa'allah was from the branch of Jubarat Awlad Hasanah of the Ta'aisha tribe—the same branch as Khateem Musa, al-Zaki Tamal, and Abu Sam. Caliph Abdalla was from Jubarat Awlad Um Surra. Interview with Sam al-Zubair Sam, Nyala, 1999.

42. The heads of 100 in Emir Arabi's army included (1) Adam al-Nour of the al-Jimi' tribe, (2) Angabo of the Kara tribe, (3) Bakheet Jaili of the Binga tribe, (4) Sulayman Wad Jaris of the Bahr al-Jabal tribe, (5) Mohamed Abdelatif of the Bahr al-Jabal tribe, (6) Saeed Shulkawai of the Shuluk tribe, (7) Mukhtar Abbakar of the Ta'aisha tribe, and (8) Mohamed Dahiyya (tribe unknown).

he had to change his mission to advance to Abu Karinka in Dar Ma'alia to deal with Wad Holi who had frightened people there with looting and killing (Arbab 1998, 60).

Emir Arabi's camp attracted some Darfurian Mahdist leaders, whose state had demised after the two battles of Karari and Um Debaikrat. Wad Holi joined the camp, and Kiran, Sultan Ali Dinar's minister, began to think of joining them, provided they would all unite in one army under the command of Arabi to defeat the sultan and reinstate Mahdist rule (Theobald 1965, 38). Kiran insinuated to Arabi that a number of Mahdist emirs had arrived in Elfasher, including Mohamed Karamallah Karkasawi, Mohamed Khalid Zugul, and Mohamed Osman Abu Garja (Arbab 2003, 58). Sultan Ali Dinar unveiled this plot and Kiran was executed on treason. In the meantime, the situation deteriorated badly in Arabi's camp, due to hunger and poor living conditions in that remote area. This compelled Arabi's forces to live off hunting and looting the property of local inhabitants who fled their homes. This eventually led to a mutiny amongst Arabi's soldiers, and Arabi fled to Elfasher and surrendered to Sultan Ali Dinar. The sultan welcomed him and used his advice for some time before turning against him by accusing him of having connections with the invading British army's intelligence. The sultan impeached Arabi and he was executed accordingly. With the execution of Arabi, the killing of Faki Sineen in Kabkabiya, and the agreement with the Masalit sultan, Ali Dinar was able to end the danger of ambitious Mahdists who sought to rule Darfur.

However, as soon as things settled for Sultan Ali Dinar at the beginning of the second decade of the 20th century, storms began to form from all directions that would spoil that relative stability and ultimately end his rule within a few years. From the west, French colonization began to destroy his neighbor, the Waddai sultanate along with its small satellite kingdoms such as Dajo and Sinnar. These French forces began to infringe on Ali Dinar's territory, annexing the kingdoms of Gura'an, Tama, Kobi, and Masalit one by one. In the east, the British government in Khartoum, with which Ali Dinar had signed an agreement early on, began to set up plans to invade his land and annex his sultanate to the property of the British empire in the Sudan. It was on the verge of the First World War in 1914, and international coalitions began to evolve to fight that war. Under such circumstances, Sultan Ali Dinar had no way to enjoy independence or neutrality. He began making contacts with the Sublime Porte in Turkey in the hope that he might get support from the standing Islamic caliphate (Theobald 1965, 140). However, events accelerated with the invasion of Darfur by British forces. Sultan Ali Dinar was killed and Darfur was annexed to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in 1916; another chapter of Darfur's history ended and Darfur entered a new era.

1-2-8 Darfur and the Struggle of Resources and Power after Independence

Under the British administration (1916–1955), the rule of Darfur was strictly centralized, just as in other parts of the Sudan. However, some historical and local characteristics were taken into consideration in rebuilding the local administration along popular and tribal heritage formed by administrative structures of the Fur sultanate during the previous centuries. The importance of this colonial period in the administrative history of Darfur stems from the fact that it focused on security and the creation of tribal stability through modern innovative means, such as building local leadership, competency, and authority in administration and judicial

affairs. The British administration also clearly and precisely demarcated tribal boundaries and set rules for the use of natural resources based on customary laws. It maintained law and order through government means and tools, including a police force, army, and commissioners in administrative centers. Darfur's society moved into a new phase of stability after the turmoil of the past.

At the same time, however, the British administration imposed a complete isolation on some remote parts of Darfur, especially in the north and west, where it remained backward and traditional. British administration didn't establish basic services such as education and health. Moreover, the British administration undertook no efforts to promote production or develop resources. On the contrary, it left traditional primitive systems in place, and the new province of Darfur remained isolated from the other northern provinces of the Sudan.⁴³

This was the general backward situation in Darfur when the national movement was first organized in the towns of northern Sudan by the Graduates' Congress, which culminated in the independence of Sudan in 1956. All towns and villages of the Sudan rejoiced about this great event of expelling colonizers and gaining independence. The commissioner of the North Darfur district described the scene of celebrating this great event in Kutum by saying,

People crowded in center's yard and we started lowering the British and Egyptian flags from the masts against the sounds of military music. Out of their overwhelming joy people grasped the two masts and destroyed them completely. While we were in the midst of this irresistible joy and in the moment the national flag was being raised a prominent northern Rizaigat tribal leader, Shaikh Mohamed Hilal Abdalla of the Jalol tribe stepped in a hurry mounting the best of his camels. He dismounted and approached me. I thought he came only to congratulate me. After we shook hands he ordered his camel to kneel down. He then drew a knife and slaughtered the camel beneath the flag in honor of the might of the flag which marked breaking off the fetters of colonization and the beginning of the march of Sudan towards freedom and glory. (al-Min 2003, 125).

The joy of the people of Darfur was no less than the joy of the inhabitants of Kutum described by Commissioner Mohamed Ahmed al-Amin, especially the people in major towns such as Elfasher, Nyala, Elgeneina, and Zalinji.⁴⁴ This was the second time since the Mahdist revolution that the Darfur people had elected to be an integral part of modern Sudan.

43. Interviews with Sulayman Mohamed Nouraldin, freelancer born in 1921, Elfasher, 1998; Mustafa Ahmed Musa, freelancer born in 1918, Elfasher, 1998. Both mentioned that only one primary school was open in Elfasher in 1917. After the war.

44. The height of struggle against colonization in Darfur was in 1952, when the British wanted to separate Darfur from the rest of Sudan and appoint a sultan for the area from a major tribe. Demonstrations against the move were organized by students of al-Azhar religious university in Egypt. Demonstrations ended with burning of a British flag in Elfasher and an attack against the British commissioner. Interview with Mohamed Ahmed Kinain, Elfasher, March 1998.

(A) The Formation of the Darfur Renaissance Front and Soni Organizations

The October 1964 popular uprising (the October Revolution) marked a milestone in the Sudanese political development. In addition to overthrowing the ruling military regime, it ignited the ambitions and hopes of the Sudanese people through the messages it shared demanding freedom, democracy, justice, equality, and balanced development. The people of Darfur woke up from their siesta and joined in a hope of a national government following independence.

In these hopeful moments, Darfur's elites began organizing to achieve a decent life for the people of the region. In this climate, the two modern organizations of Darfur, the Darfur Renaissance Front (DRF) and Soni were born. Despite the difference between the two organizations (the former was a civic political group and the latter a secret military group) they both worked to achieve the same goal—to pull Darfur out of its stagnant backward reality to wider political horizons within a unified Sudan. The people of Darfur resident in Khartoum would meet in their houses to deliberate on the affairs of their region and to draw comparisons and contrasts between Darfur and other provinces in Sudan's center and the north. They also made contacts with national political parties but in vain. The active elements in those contacts were educated youths and students of universities and other higher educational institutions. Eventually, this activity resulted in an organization of the people of Darfur outside of the dominant political parties, which were squabbling over power following the October 1964 uprising. The activists settled on the "Darfur Renaissance Front" as the name of their new organization. In a meeting in the University of Khartoum in 1964, the main principles of this organization were approved and the first executive committee was elected on the basis of geographical representation from the six centers of the province, that is, Elfasher, Nyala, Elgeneina, Kutum, Um Kaddada, and Zalinji.⁴⁵

Leading positions in the committee were as follows:

- Ahmed Ibrahim Diraj, chairman
- Dr. Ali al-Haj Mohamed, deputy chairman
- Mohamed Bashar, second deputy chairman
- Dr. Ali Hasan Tajeldin, secretary general
- Mohamed Abdelmannan Hamid, deputy secretary
- Mohamed Salih al-Faki, treasurer
- Al-Tayib Mohamed Yahya, political affairs secretary
- Dr. Abdurrahman Bushara Dawsa, external relations secretary
- Ramadan Husain Ramadan, deputy external relations secretary

45. Representation came as follows: Elfasher, Nyala, and Elgeneina received five members each, and Kutum, Um Kaddada, and Zalinji received three members each. Competency and capability were the criteria for selection, not ethnic or tribal affiliation.

In addition, 13 other founding members were part of the organization, including Mahmoud Basheer Jamaa', Engineer. Mamoun Mohamadain, and Lieutenant Ahmed Abdelgader Arbab (Yahya 2003).⁴⁶

The DRF's objectives were specific and clear:

- Development of Darfur in all areas of services up to the levels reached by other provinces of northern Sudan; and
- Checking the practice of political parties of "exporting" non-Darfurian candidates for national parliament in order to win geographical constituencies in Darfur, thereby blocking effective participation of Darfurians in representative political institutions⁴⁷;

DRF took its organization and political mission away from Khartoum to the main towns of Darfur. Its main office was moved to Elfasher, capital of the region, which became the DRF General Center with a committee consisting of most of Elfasher's dignitaries (from all political spectra). A subcommittee was also formed in Nyala in southern Darfur, and organizational work commenced in all major towns of Darfur, including Elgeneina, Kutum, Um Kaddada, and Zalinji.⁴⁸ A closer look at the membership of both central and branch committees reveals that it included affiliations with both traditional tribal entities and political schools of thought. It became a regional melting pot unified by aspirations for the present and future Darfur. One of the objectives set out by the DRF right from the beginning was the achievement of Darfurian participation in Sudan's attainment of power and wealth, that is, resources. These objectives had characterized Darfur's struggles in all its historical stages, ever since the area emerged as a political center in the 17th century. Nonetheless, the DRF's strategy for obtaining power and resources differed from tradition in terms of legitimacy and tools. The DRF did not aim to bring back the sultanate, its symbols, or its administrative heritage through armed struggle, as political elites had done in the past, but rather the DRF aimed for Darfur's participation in power and an equitable distribution of wealth through development and public services within the unified newly born national state after independence. This represented a big leap in the political struggle in Darfur. Moreover, the proponents of this new strategy were members of a newly educated modern force who had developed their vision within a framework

46. Yahya was born in Buram in 1941. He graduated from Khartoum Technical Institute and became political secretary of the first DRF executive committee.

47. Regarding the issue of "exporting" candidates, which annoyed Darfurians, reference was made to the practices of the Umma Party, which nominated Abdalla Khalil to the Um Kaddada constituency, Ziada Arbab to the Elgeneina constituency, and others to South Darfur constituencies. Abdalla Khalil became prime minister and Ziada Arbab became minister of education, although neither represented the people of Darfur or knew anything about the region's problems.

48. The Elfasher committee consisted of King Rahamtallah Mahmoud al-Dadingawi, Al-Haj Ishag, Sulayman Nouraldin, Mohamed Fadeel, Abubaker Adam, Omar al-Haj, al-Tayib Mohamed Nour, Mustafa al-Sinnari, Babikir Nahar, al-Haj Badawi, and Abubaker Hasaballah—who were the Elfasher leaders at that time. The Nyala committee consisted of Mohamed Adam Kaneen, Abdelwahid Alamuldin, al-Zan Adam Rijal, Ali Maro, and Malik al-Zubair Sam. The Elfasher branch consisted of Abdelhamid Dawalbait, Dr. Adam Shimina, Nouraldin, and Hamza Abu al-Yemen.

of modernity and revival that had been adopted by all African elites and other communities that had gained independence from European colonization.

Sudan's 1965 parliamentary elections were an important political event that represented a real test for the DRF's efficiency, especially in view of the fact that other political parties felt endangered by the DRF's movement and began to attack it as a racial separatist movement. The media, especially newspapers, mobilized against the DRF and depicted it as a regional organization that had nothing to do with Sudanese nationalism. This was a serious allegation in the political climate produced by October 1964 uprising. To confront this, the DRF invited the presidents of all the country's political parties to a press conference in the Sudan Hotel in Khartoum, so that it could explain its position in demanding (1) the right of the people of Darfur to participate politically through the election of their own representatives without the imposition of candidates by political parties and (2) that Darfur have an appropriate share of development projects and social services to enable it to catch up with other provinces in northern Sudan (Yahya 2003).

The DRF decided to support candidates who believed in its principles and to stand against candidates "exported" to Darfur from outside the region. In this area, it did remarkably well based on election results. Firstly, the DRF's chairman, Ahmed Ibrahim Diraij, who entered the elections as an independent candidate, achieved a landslide victory in an election among the Zalinji center constituency. Secondly, the DRF managed to defeat Mahmoud Basheer Jamaa', a candidate of the Umma Party, in an election among the Ambro constituency where the candidate of the Islamic Front, Sulayman Mustafa, was victorious. Moreover, the DRF supported laborer Yahya Mohamed Idris in the Khartoum south constituency where Mohamed Jubbarah al-Awad won only by a very slim margin. This forced the Umma Party to withdraw its nomination of Sayed Ahmed al-Mahdi for a constituency in southern Darfur. The biggest success for the DRF was the victory of 24 of its Darfurian candidates in constituencies allocated to them by their respective parties without a single candidate being "exported" from outside the region. Upon announcement of the final results of the elections, the DRF held a conference for its new Darfurian parliament members in Elfasher. The conference produced the Elfasher Charter, which reiterated the DRF's objectives. Thus, the DRF managed to transfer its battle to inside parliament. This infuriated political parties, especially the Umma Party, which felt endangered by the loyalty of the DRF's supporters in Darfur and the DRF's political commitment. The Umma Party began to use all possible means to get rid of this competitive political organization with its stronghold base in Darfur.

In April 1966, a member of the Soni clandestine organization arrived at Khartoum from Elfasher and began coordinating with DRF members. An agreement was reached to establish a Darfurian entity that would fulfill the objectives of both the DRF and Soni through Darfurian members in parliament. The following steps were specified:

- A Darfurian entity was to be established to reiterate the special status of Darfur and to ensure its participation in power and wealth;
- The need to stop marginalization sustained by Darfurian soldiers in the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) Western Command was to be raised as an urgent issue in parliament;

- Supporters of both Soni and the DRF were to organize demonstrations supporting the demands of Darfurian members of parliament, and these demonstrations were to be organized both in all towns of Darfur and in Khartoum;
- If the government were to fail to respond to those demands, Darfur parliamentarians were to submit their resignations to their respective parties and Darfur masses were to surround the parliament building;
- Should the matter be ignored, Darfur parliamentarians were to resign their seats in the constituent assembly and withdraw to Darfur, and following their arrival in Elfasher the Soni military forces were to intervene to occupy Darfur and create a new entity; and
- Clandestine activity was to intensify in order to enlighten Darfurians (about this plot) and mobilize them all in Khartoum and other provinces.⁴⁹

These steps were part of the DRF's movement and political civic struggle. They do not include other types of clandestine activity that Darfurians undertook through the Soni military organization.

(B) The Establishment of Soni and its Activity in the Western Command

The headquarters of Sudan's Western Command of Sudanese military forces was the cradle of this clandestine military organization which started operation from inside this headquarters. After October 1964, a transport military unit was relocated from Khartoum to Elfasher. Upon the arrival of this force, which came predominantly from the north of Sudan, a clear discrimination was noticed in treatment between members of this force and other soldiers of the Western Command. For example, A water tanker vehicle was allocated to the new arrivals to provide them and their families with water, while other soldiers were deprived of this important service in spite of the scarcity of drinking water in the town. As a response to this treatment, clandestine cells made up of Darfurian soldiers in the Western Command organized secret meetings to discuss the matter. The main cell consisted of the following individuals:

- Private Abdalla Nouraldin, of the Masalit tribe;
- Private al-Sadig Ibrahim Jodat, of the Ziyadiyya tribe;
- Private Yousuf Ahmed Abdelbari, of the Borno tribe;
- Private Abdelbasheer Ahmed Shatta, of the Fur tribe;
- Private Ahmed Yousuf Saeed Takana, of the Habbaniyya tribe; and
- Private Abdurrahman Ahmed Hagaro, of the Messiriya tribe.

49. Interviews with Captain Abbas Abdalla Abu Shouk, March 2002; Warrant Officer Idris Ibrahim Adam, Omdurman, March 2002. Shouk was a Soni member who was born in Kabkabiya in 1936 and was conscripted to the Western Command on August 1, 1954. After his dismissal from the army he was reinstated in 1982. Adam was born in 1942 and joined the army on August 13, 1953 as part of the Southern Command. He was promoted to this rank in the Medical Corps.

This was the group that initiated the idea of a clandestine military group and started forming it by entering into secret correspondence with Abdelhamid Khairalseed who was head of the western command in Elfashir. The group was transferred to Nyala without disclosure of their secret “sony” military organization.⁵⁰ By the beginning of 1965, the First Regiment of the Western Command moved from Elfasher to Wau to replace the Second Regiment. Due to escalation of events, however, both regiments were kept in Wau for some time. This was a golden opportunity for the Soni group to recruit new cells in the two regiments, and the group managed to recruit about 75% of the Darfurian soldiers in Bahr al-Ghazal. At this point of time, a Darfurian soldier in the Aweil garrison was subjected to severe humiliating punishment by an officer from northern Sudan—he was insulted in a way that a humiliation was said to have touched all people of Darfur.⁵¹ This incident led to a mutiny amongst the soldiers of the Aweil garrison. A signal was sent by the garrison’s commander asking for a force to quell the mutiny. At this point of time, the commander of the Western Command was preparing to visit Wau to inspect his soldiers on the ground. The Second Regiment in Girinti rebelled because all of them were from Darfur. They sent to the First Regiment telling them of the mutiny and requesting their support. However, the spirit of rebellion spread to this regiment as well, and the commander was received at the airport by only a handful of officers from northern Sudan. Preparations by Darfur soldiers were underway to occupy Wau and arrest officers at the officers’ mess. Contacts were made with rebels of the south, through Tumbura under the command of Mansour Bazaih, for a ceasefire between the two sides pending resolution of the Darfur issue with the Sudanese Defence Force headquarters. If the issue remained unresolved, all of Bahr al-Ghazal would be left for the southern rebels to be freed from north Sudan government institutions.

Should the issue not be resolved, the plan was to vacate Bahr al-Ghazal and proceed to Darfur. We informed our forces in Aweil, Rumbaik, Gogrial, Raja and Tunj to gather in Wau to move to Darfur and camp in Buram, Deain, Um Kaddada, Kutum and [El] Geneina while our HQ would be in Jebel Marra.⁵²

The General Command in Khartoum sent Major General Mohamed Idris Abdalla to enter into a dialogue with the rebel soldiers. He made commitments to improve their living conditions and their treatment as soldiers. He managed to contain the situation and abort any future movements.⁵³

50. Interview with Abdalla Nouraldin, Omdurman, March 1998. He was a founder of the Soni organization and commander of the Second Regiment rebellion in Wau in 1965, as well as (later) a member of the national assembly.

51. Reports varied about this humiliation. Three sources from Soni members were interviewed; their statements carried some variations. These were Abdalla Nouraldin, Boush Al-Zarief and Yahya Ibrahim Yousif in Elfasher 1998.

52. Interview with Abdalla Nouraldin, Omdurman, March 1998. Nouraldin led this rebellion, supported by soldiers of the First Regiment, including al-Nour Bakheet, al-Sadig Jawdat, and Yahya Ibrahim Yousuf.

53. Major General Mohamed Idris is from a well-known Dongolawi family. One of its founding members was responsible for the judiciary during the era of Ali Dinar and during the period of the British administration. All people knew this family as the family of Judge Idris.

As soon as things settled down in the two regiments, the General Command in Khartoum began its disciplinary actions. Some commanders were withdrawn from the south to Darfur and investigations commenced with some individuals taken to military courts.⁵⁴ Others suspected of taking part in the mutinies were dismissed from military service and large numbers of Darfurian soldiers whose terms ended received no renewals. In response, Darfurians organized clandestine meetings that involved both military and civilian leaders in order to look into the organization of a revolution to rectify affairs within the army and police. Soni increased its contacts with the DRF's leadership (both in Darfur and Khartoum) to determine next steps, and both sides agreed to occupy Darfur and demand equality between the people of Darfur and people of northern Sudan in the following rights and duties:

- Military and civilian public service;
- Power and wealth sharing;
- Development and services; and
- Construction of roads and infrastructures.⁵⁵

Despite the military nature of the Soni organization, it included most segments of people in Darfur, including officials, merchants, laborers, tradesmen, and native administrators.⁵⁶ The organization was able to set up cells in all Western Command garrisons (in Elfasher, Elgeneina and Zalinji). Eventually, official organs uncovered these clandestine cells when a covert meeting was stormed. Some DRF and Soni affiliates made confessions as insider witnesses. More than 50 members, military and civilians alike, were arrested, interrogated, and presented to courts. Despite the fact that both the DRF and the Soni organization were destroyed politically, their organizational spirit never died. This was clearly demonstrated in 1980 when President Numairi attempted to combine Darfur and Kordofan in one region, as part of the regional rule he was introducing. The people of Darfur objected and violent demonstrations engulfed the whole region until President Numairi gave in and accepted their demand to have Darfur as a separate region. DRF and Soni cells were behind this move.⁵⁷ Moreover, armed movements that resulted in the civil war against central rule in Khartoum in 2002 partly reflected the early protest movements, including DRF and Soni. Their demands were the same and revolved around justice, equality, sharing of power and wealth, and consideration of the uniqueness of the Darfur region.⁵⁸

54. Those taken to court included Abdalla Nouraldin Abu Shouk, Ahmed Yousuf Takana, and al-Hadi Jibril. Interview with Abdalla Nouraldin, Omdurman, March 1998.

55. Interview with Bosha al-Zareef Abu Kalam, police captain, Elfasher, November 1998. He was born in 1939 and was one of the founders of the Soni organization.

56. The native administration members of DRF included, among others, King Rahamtallah (paramount chief of the native administration in Elfasher), Sultan Abdelrahman Bahraldin (sultan of the Masalit tribe), Ali al-Ghali Tajeldin (paramount chief of the Habbaniyya tribe), and Abdelrahman Dabaka (a member of the family of the paramount chief of Bani Halba). Interview with Bosha al-Zareef Abu Kalam, police captain, Elfasher, November 1998.

57. Interview with Ali Abdalla Salih al-Dadingawi, DRF and Soni activist, Elfasher, October 1998. He was a founding member of the civilian wing of the Soni organization and was responsible for coordination with the military wing. He was assisted by Tijani Turkawi and Mohamed Ahmadaï.

58. In the same interview (*ibid.*) Ali Abdalla Salih said,

The meeting for the protests to have a separate Darfur region in 1980 was attended by Ali al-Haj Mohamed, Ishag Sulayman, Sergeant Arja Ahmed Musa, Police Lieutenant Hamid Hasan, Jibril Abdalla, Mustafa Salih, Ali Abdalla Salih and Sa'aldin Ibrahim. These included large number of DRF and Soni members, including Ali al-Haj, deputy chairman and Ali Abdalla Salih, Soni's liaison officer. Uprising committee included Abdalla al-Tayib Jiddo, Abdelgadir Fidail, Habib Osman, Ayoub Iz al- Arab, Ibrahim Numairi, Tijani Ya'goub, Adam Jamaa', Osman Ahmed Adam, Dr. Mu'tasim Mohamed Osman, Mohamed Adam and Ali Abdalla Salih.

Chapter Two

Land Institutions and Their Impact on Tribal Conflicts in Darfur

2-1 Introduction

During the last three decades of the 20th century, Darfur witnessed more than 30 armed bloody conflicts in both settled and grazing communities. During this time period, the ferocity of these conflicts accelerated rapidly to the extent that 15 tribal armed conflicts occurred between 1990 and 2000 alone. The last of these was a conflict in March 1998 between the Masalit and the Arabs—the third conflict between these two groups. Land (*hakoora* or *dar*) was the main cause of all these conflicts.⁵⁹

It was not a coincidence that the first struggle within the ruling family of the Fur sultanate was because of ownership of land in Dar Fia (present day Kabkabiya) in north Darfur, when both Sultan Tansam and his brother Koro claimed ownership of Dar Fia. An armed struggle erupted between the two brothers. Prince Koro was defeated and fled westwards to his wife's kinsfolk in Dar Masalit, taking with him his son Sulayman Solonga. When Sulayman Solonga became mature enough, he returned to Dar Fia in the company of his maternal uncles and drove his paternal uncle Tansam out. Tansam fled eastwards to Kordofan where he founded the sultanate of Musaba'at. Sulayman Solonga assumed the throne of the Fur sultanate in 1650 and became the founder of the second Fur sultanate (Nachtigal 1971, 279).

Ever since the early beginnings of the second Fur sultanate, land and land policies have been a vital matter in the area. This continued even after the sultanate's demise following the victory of the British army over Ali Dinar in 1916. It is very difficult to understand the issue of land as an everlasting source of tribal conflict, which surfaced in an acute manner in the tribal community of Darfur in the last decade of the 20th century, without reference to the policies that governed land during the duration of the sultanate for more than three centuries. This is the focus of this chapter.

59. Land is called *hakoora* by the Fur tribes and *dar* by the Arab tribes.

A number of travelers and historians, such as al-Tunisi, Browne, Nachtigal, and O’Fahey, have dealt with the issue of land. Dr. Abu Salim (1975) described three types of land grants in the area:

- Type one (the lightest in weight) concerned the relationship between Arab pastoralists who seasonally migrated from Kordofan or Dar Sabah (in the east) to Darfur. The sultan usually gave one of his men the right to deal with these pastoralists by granting them the right to graze and for protection. In return, these grazers rendered him a direct service by caring for the sultan’s animals in addition to paying dues to the sultanate according to customary laws or Sharia, as decided by the sultan.
- The second type concerned pastoralist tribes that remained in the area. As these tribes were not settled, they provided very little in terms of grains, but quite a lot in terms of animals and animal products. The sultan usually appointed the head of the concerned tribe to act on his behalf to administer the grant. The tribe secured the right to graze and for protection in return for the payment of dues. The head of the tribe was responsible for the good behavior of his tribesmen, their loyalty, and the payment of dues.
- The third type concerned grants of land to some individuals; this was the most important types of land grant (Abu Salim 1975, 60). Most records available in the Public Records Office (PRO) refer to this type of grant, confirming that tribal lands did not receive enough study. No doubt tribal lands in some areas preceded the creation of the Fur sultanate, especially for old tribes that, for the purposes of this study include the Sudanese tribes of the Fur, Masalit, Zaghawa, Awrah, Birgid, Tunjur, Bigo, and Dajo.⁶⁰

2-2 The Fur Sultans and the Annexation of Tribal Lands

Ever since the early beginnings of the Fur sultanate, sultans have realized the importance of land as a vital source of life for both humans and animals, especially after Sultan Sulayman Solonga began to expand the sultanate, which started at the foothills of Jebel Marra in the heartland of the Keira clan. Sultan Sulayman Solonga annexed tribal lands to the north and east of Jebel Marra. In fact, it has been reported that he managed to subdue and annex by force the lands of 27 sultans, seven from the black atheists and the rest from the semi-black Muslims. The atheist sultans were Karah, Dango, Fangaro, Binah, Bayah, Frwagi, and Shala—all from the Fartit land in the southwestern part of Darfur. The Muslim sultans were from Birgid, Tunjur, Kabagiya, Mima, and Musaba’at to the east of Jebel Marra; Mararit, Furah, Simyar, Masalit, Gimir, Tama, Jabalowin, Abdarag, Jajah, and Asmor in the west and northwest; and Dajo and Ringa in the south and southwest. These land annexations were in addition to lands of Arab tribes, which Sultan Sulayman Solonga united and encouraged to support his efforts. Arab tribal lands included Habbaniyya, Rizaigat, Messiriya, Ta’aisha, Bani Halba, and Ma’alia

60. In the early stages of the sultanate, the Fur lands included the foothills of Jebel Marra and extended northwards to Jebel Ce to include the area from Dar Dima to Dar Fangara. During the British administration period, these lands also included Dark Kairni to the west of Jebel Marra.

in the south; Hamar in the east; Ziyadiyya in the north; and Mahriyya, Mahameed, and Bani Hasan in the west (Shugair 1967, 44). Sultan Sulayman's grandsons adopted the same policy of annexing tribal lands. Thus, the sultanate started to expand gradually to the west and east during the eras of Sultan Ahmed Bakor (from 1682 to 1722) and Sultan Mohamed Tairab (from 1752 to 1787). The former invaded the sultanate of Dar Gimir and extended his influence to parts of Dar Zaghawa. He confined his movements first to the western and northern boundaries of the sultanate.⁶¹ Sultan Tairab's invasions were confined to the eastern reaches of the sultanate, where he subdued Kordofan and marched towards the River Nile. Sultan Abdelrahman al-Rasheed (who ruled from 1787 to 1802) continued on the same path and moved the capital eastwards to Elfasher.⁶²

Based on this description, it appears that the Fur sultans expanded their territory gradually from the west to the north and the east. They annexed tribal lands, but left tribal leaderships in place—provided those leaders pledged allegiance and paid annual taxes and *zakat*. Nonetheless, Fur sultans intervened indirectly in the appointment of heads of these tribes (sultan, king, shartay, sheikh, and so forth) according to the customary laws adopted by those tribes. To ensure continuity of domination, a school was established in the palace in Elfasher for the training and upbringing of the sons of those heads of tribes who would replace their fathers upon death; in this way, the sultanate ensured that future tribal rulers would be indoctrinated with sultan-approved teachings. This was in addition to the adoption of the magdoom system.⁶³ Magadeem (plural of magdoom) were personal envoys of the sultan for the inspection and control of tribal administrations. The strength of this system explains the strength of the central administration system adopted by the sultanate right from the beginning until the last of the sultans, Ali Dinar. This supports the idea adopted by Belfour Paul in his interpretation of the power system in Darfur (Theobald 1965, 17). He outlined five distinguishing characteristics of the kingdoms of Dajo, Tunjur, and Fur, as follows:

- Each of these sultanates was established by immigrant individuals from abroad.
- The Dajo sultanate controlled the southern part of Darfur, while the Tunjur sultanate controlled the northern part. The Fur sultanate expanded outwards from the central parts of Darfur.
- All of these sultanates ousted each other without much bloodshed.
- All sultanates were characterized by a strong central administration.
- Islam was known as a religion in the Tunjur sultanate era, but it became the dominant religion under Sultan Sulayman Solonga during the Fur sultanate.

61. Sultan Ahmed Abbakar invaded Dar Gimir, and his influence included Dar Zaghawa where his son Mohamed Tairab married a woman from Zaghawa Kobi clan (the daughter of Sultan Kharout). Sultan Tairab continued the policy of his father towards Zaghawa. He left his uncle Kharout in power and took two of his uncle's sons to the palace school, where eventually one son became responsible for palace affairs and the other became chief of the administration of Tama and Tunjur.

62. The area of present day Elfasher originally belonged to an Arab family. Sultan Abdelrahman al-Rasheed gave the family another piece of land as substitution when he decided to build his capital there.

63. The magdoom was one of the most important posts in the Fur sultanate. It still exists today in Kutum (North Darfur) and Nyala (South Darfur).

It appears that these sultanates were founded on tribal affiliation as a result of interaction with alien elements. Then, they started to expand at the expense of other tribal entities. However, they left tribal leaderships and institutions of annexed tribes intact. This was true in the case of settled tribes, but what about tribes that came into the area during or after the rise of the Fur sultanate, such as Arab pastoralist tribes?

As a matter of fact, all of the kingdoms established in Darfur—including Dajo, Tunjur, and Fur—were associated with the Arabs from the beginning. From the available information about the rise of the Tunjur sultanate, the linear ascendancy of its founding fathers and its tribal culture was Arab in most respects. The last of the Tunjur sultans, from whom the power was transferred to Fur Keira, had Arab lineage.⁶⁴ In addition to the sultan's close association with Islamic lands, especially the Holy Lands, the lineage document refers to his property in Medina, which he left as an endowment to the poor.⁶⁵

The Fur Keira, founders of the Fur sultanate, were the sons of Khaira, a descendant of Ahmed al-Maa'goor of the Arab tribe of Bani Hilal. According to oral traditions, part of this tribe migrated to Darfur from North Africa.⁶⁶ Sulayman Solonga (who was sultan from 1660 until 1680) was one of these immigrants (in fact, "Solonga" means "the Arab"). Although the Tunjur sultans first introduced Islam into the area, Sultan Sulayman Solonga was the one who promulgated Islam and Arab culture. He is also considered the real founder of the second Fur sultanate.⁶⁷ The same Arab origin applies to the Gimir sultanate, which preceded the second Fur sultanate, and the Masalit sultanate which was founded by Sultan Faki Ismael in the Darjil village in Dar Masalit.⁶⁸

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64. According to records maintained by Shartaya Ahmed Abbakar Rasheed (the current shartaya of Tunjur in Jebel Hiraiz), the sultanate was passed from father to son until the last sultan (Sultan Ahmed). Generations preceding Sultan Ahmed were as follows (starting with Sultan Ahmed's father): Sultan Rasheed, Sultan Mohamed Shalabi, Sultan Omar Abu She'ain, Sultan Ahmed Bili, Sultan Baloal, Sultan Rufaa'a, Sultan Mohamed Batta, Sultan Abdalla Kunna, Sultan Ahmed Siraih, Sultan Abdaseel, Sultan Mohamed Batman, Sultan Ibrahim Noal, Sultan Ishag, Sultan Abdelrahaman, Sultan Ahmed, Hilal, Sarhan, Jarmoon, Luai, Ajab, Abdalla, Abbas, Abdelmuttalib, Hashim, Abdmanaf, Gusai, Kilab, Guraish. The lineage document held by Shartaya Abbakar Rasheed was examined in 1998.
 65. See *ibid.* Sultan Shao Dorshait was the last of the Tunjur sultans; power was transferred from him to the Fur Keira sultans. Sultan Shao Dorshait had left property (real estate) as an endowment in Medina according to the document held by Shartaya Abbakar Rasheed, which states that he was the king of Tunjur.
 66. Much information associated with this study depended on field interviews; hence, it gives oral traditions special importance.
 67. Many sources mention that Sultan Dali was the first founder of the first Fur sultanate, but Sulayman Solonga is the founder of the second Fur sultanate, which lasted from 1550 to 1916. (date is controversial)
 68. According to a document held by Mairam Batool—the widow of Shaikh Mohamed al-Sanousi (brother of Shaikh Abu al-Gasim Ibrahim, who was the chief of the Tijaniyya Order in Dar Masalit) and daughter of Sultan Idris—the Gimar sultans were as follows (son to father through the generations, starting with the first sultan): Sultan Idris, Sultan Abubaker, Sultan Osman, Sultan Adam Sabon, Sultan Sulaih, Sultan Mohamed Beldis, Gimir, Hasaballah, King Himaidan, Sulaih, Markhan, Surar, King Hasan Kardam, Abd Ghaith, Adnan (Abu Gasas), Karb, Hadil, Yamani al-Khazraji, Thi al-Kala, Saa'd, Fadul, Abdalla, Abbas, Abdelmuttalib, and Hashim. Gimir shaikhs maintain that their grandfather who moved out of Jaa'liyyin land to Dar Gimir and established the sultanate was called Gamaraldin bin Hasaballah.

The founding fathers of all these political entities were descendants of Arabs from the maternal side. The Arabs migrated to these lands and intermarried with local tribes. Over time they became an integrated part of the ethnic, tribal, and cultural composition of local tribes. It is unclear, however, exactly how and when the Arabs came to Darfur in large groups and settled in well-known lands, such as the Rizaigat, Habbaniyya, Ta'aisha, Bani Halba, and Messiriya tribes. However, oral traditions maintain that many of these tribes came from northern and northwestern Africa. For various reasons, these tribes migrated to the extended vast valleys around Lake Chad. They then moved at different periods of time eastwards to Darfur. The Fur sultans welcomed these immigrants for a number of reasons, including the fact that the sultans owned vast lands that needed to be utilized: utilization of land was one of the pillars of those sultans' fundamental policies. Land ownership documents clearly show that land ownership was a policy adopted by all sultans who came after Sulayman Solonga. Encouraging Arab migration to Darfur was intensified during the period of the late Fur sultans, especially during the eras of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul (from 1802 to 1839) and Sultan Mohamed al-Husain (from 1839 to 1873) when the sultans' bureaucracy became a financial burden on government institutions. The Arab tribes that reared cattle and camels constituted valuable sources of revenues to these sultans.

2-3 The Land Policy of the Fur Sultans

Land policy was conducted along four subdivisions:

- the sultan's palace lands,
- religious scholars' lands,
- the political elites' lands, and
- tribal lands.

2-3-1 The Sultan's Palace Lands

Although all lands within the boundaries of the sultanate were owned by the sultan and he was the only one with the absolute power of its disposal, certain lands (*hawakeer*) were directly administered by the sultan's palace. The yields and revenues of these lands went directly to the sultan's granaries, and the sultan controlled disposal of these lands.⁶⁹ They were commonly known as *rokeri* (the sultan's "water well") because they were very fertile lands at the foothills of Jebel Marra. They were divided and administratively organized under a group of *sharati* directly responsible to the palace under the supervision of the first minister. These lands included (1) Dar Tura, (2) Dar Nournia, (3) Dar Wanna, (4) Dar Marri, (5) Dar Turdi, and (6) Dar Lunj, which lay at the northwestern foothills of Jebel Marra. To the west and southwest of these lands lay other Fur lands (the well of the sultan), including Dar Dima and Dar Kirni,

Interview with Mairam Batool, daughter of Sultan Idris, Elgeneina, and examination of document, March 10, 1997.

69. The *abu al-jabayyin* (the sultan's chief tax collector) was responsible for collecting the produce of these lands through *sharati* and *magadeem*. He enjoyed wide ranging authority.

where most members of the Fur Keira clan lived. Dar Dima was the most important and the largest of the Fur lands. It is thus no wonder that the largest detachment of troops came from this land during the wars.⁷⁰ The sultan's palace lands were very fertile because they are of clay soil, with heavy rains and thick forests. The sultans brought in large numbers of slaves to till them and use them for the benefit of the palace.⁷¹ For this reason, these lands were not included in the traditional tribal land organization of the Fur sultanate. Because of their fertility, the abundance of water, and the availability of manpower, produce from these lands fulfilled all the needs of sultans and their entourages in the early days of the sultanate. However, as the sultanate's administrative and political apparatus expanded, the produce was not enough to cater for all. This compelled sultans to look for new agricultural lands. Consequently, they appropriated some lands within the tribal administrative divisions of the Fur and other tribes. The other alternative was to make use of fallow lands. The area around Jebel Ce was probably one such area, especially the parts of this area such as Samakaoui and Sambakara where oral traditions traced the origins of the inhabitants to the tribes of southwestern Darfur. O'Fahey (1980) referred to the relations between the Fur and Firteet in his writings, notably his book *State and Society in Dār Fūr*.

2-3-2 The Basinga and Abonga Lands

There were many other vast lands within the palace lands referred to as *basinga* and *abonga* lands.⁷² These were the relatives and extended families of the sultans, including both men and women. Although not involved in the day-to-day administration of the sultanate's business in the royal courts, they enjoyed a high degree of reverence and privileges. Land represented one aspect of this reverence. All sultans adopted a policy of keeping this group preoccupied with its own business and away from politics. This was done through granting large pieces of land to keep them away from palace conspiracies, especially those plotted by sons and daughters or grandsons and granddaughters of the sultans themselves.

Followers of the Fur's history clearly notice the numerous plots and conspiracies within the royal courts by this group, particularly during periods of transition of power from one sultan to another. Traditions of this transition stipulated that the eldest son should take over from his father. Attempts to establish this tradition were started by Sultan Sulayman but were never strictly followed except in exceptional cases, and even then exceptions were made amidst conspiracies and violence.⁷³ Because of this, the basinga and abonga constituted an important

70. Abdima was one of the oldest posts. It is most probable that it preceded the rise of the Fur sultanate. Although Dar Dima was very large and fertile, sultans avoided monopolizing it. However, it became part of the sultan's lands in last days of the sultanate.

71. The Fur sultanate's economy, like the Sudanic Kingdoms of Kanem, Mali, Sinnar, and others, was closely tied to slavery, especially in the southern and southwestern parts of the sultanate (such as in the tribal lands of the Firteet, Kara, Youlo, Kiraish, Banda, Faragi, Shat, and Fangaro).

72. "Basinga" is a word denoting high respected relatives of the sultan from his mother's side; "abonga" denotes relatives of the sultan from his father's side.

73. In this connection, it has been said that after the death of Sultan Abdelrahman al-Rasheed and the transition of power to his son Mohamed al-Fadul, Shaikh Mohamed Karra (the crown prince) had to execute 60 emirs in an area to the south of Elfasher that still bears the name of "Goal al-Siteen"

center of influential political elite during transitions of power. The sultans endeavored to appease these groups through land grants that were aimed at keeping them away from living inside the palace or even in the capital city of Elfasher.

Within this group, sons and daughters of the sultan had the lion's share of lands.⁷⁴ Although Sultan Musa was the one who started the practice of dividing and granting land during his rule from 1670 to 1682, documents refer to the fact that Sultan Ahmed Bakor (who ruled from 1682 to 1722) granted his son Mohamed Dora the area of Kalkal to the east of Jebel Marra and granted his son Hafez an area next to Mileet. In this connection, it is said that three people who were Prince Hafez's neighbors complained about the prince's behavior to Sultan Abdelrahman al-Rasheed (1787 to 1802). The document maintained that the neighbors were ordered to serve Prince Hafez in his agricultural work and keep his property, including slaves and servants. This requirement of service was also passed down to their great-grandchildren. A group of Fellata tribe made a similar complaint against Prince Hood, the son of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul, who infringed upon their rightfully owned lands (O'Fahey 1980).

Such repeated complaints associated with land reflect the fact that princes posed a menace to both sultans and their subjects. Lands granted to them were meant to distract them from becoming involved in politics, since the princes were seen by some political elites as representing a certain legitimacy around which they could rally if they decided to replace the ruling sultan. This was the case on many occasions, the most prominent of which was during the reign of Sultan Mohamed Dawara (from 1722 to 1732). He attempted to rule completely alone and tried to exclude and oust the Fur political elite from the political scene (including his own brothers and the sons of other sultans), bringing in slaves, Arabs, and other tribesmen to help him with day-to-day administration. The Fur elites conspired against him and deserted him in the battlefield during one of his wars against the Waddai. He was arrested in that battle and the elite crowned his brother, Sultan Tairab, in his place (Nachtigal 1971, 286). Another example in this connection was the violent struggle by the son of Sultan Tairab against his uncle Sultan Abdelrahman al-Rasheed at the beginning of his rule. This was an obvious example of the menace posed by the princes in challenging rightful legitimacy.⁷⁵ The example of Abba Shaikh Kura illustrates how land policy influenced the power struggle: after Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul was crowned despite fierce opposition, he distributed 10 pieces of fertile land, 500 dollars (at the time), and 20 horses to those who opposed the move (*ibid.*; O'Fahey 1980).

In short, land policy was used as a tool in power struggle among the Abonga in the Fur sultanate.

(the graveyard of the 60) (see Nachtigal 1971).

74. Women in the Fur sultanate played an important political role, especially the eldest sister of the sultan, who was referred to as the "ayabasi." She came immediately after the sultan and his first minister in terms of influencing palace policies. Her position was highly respected and feared by palace elites and officials (see Nachtigal 1971, 315; O'Fahey 1980, 35).
75. During battles over power between Sultan Abdelrahman al-Rasheed and his nephew Prince Ishag, the sultan dropped a word amongst his men that Prince Ishag had decided to confiscate lands from all who fought against him. This was enough of a motive for them to win the war (*ibid.*).

2-3-3 The Mairam Lands

If the Fur sultans granted land to their sons for prestige and to detract them away from politics and conspiracies over power, the sultans' daughters (*maiarim*) enjoyed generous land grants that outweighed male grants. A closer look into the history of the Fur sultanate reveals the strong role played by women in the sultans' palaces, especially the role of the eldest sister (*ayabasi*) who came in third place with regards to palace influence, immediately after the sultan and his secretary or first minister (*abba al-shaikh kurra*).⁷⁶ It is noticeable that lands that were granted to *maiarim* as *hawakeer* are still intact in the hands of their heirs, as inheritance of these lands came through the mother's side (unlike with princes and grandsons whose property vanished in circumstances of power struggles). One of the early signs of the *maiarim* holding *hawakeer* came during the reign of Sultan Mohamed Tairab (from 1752 to 1787), who granted a *hakoora* to his daughter Mairam Marasm Zainaba in Zami Baya in Dar Dima. The land was administered by her agent, Modella. Sultan Mohamed al-Husain (who ruled from 1839 to 1874) granted his daughter Um Diris a *hakoora* in Dar Swini.⁷⁷ When Um Diris died, the same piece of land was granted to her sister. One of the daughters of Sultan Mohamed al-Husain, Mairam Arafa (the wife of Mohamed Hamid Zugul) owned vast lands and hundreds of slaves (Nachtigal 1971, 316).⁷⁸ The phenomenon of ownership of land by *maiarim* was intensified during the reign of Sultan Mohamed al-Husain, which lasted for 35 years. As a ruler, he tended towards leniency and peace. He became weak in his last days when he became blind and influence inside the palace fell into the hands of his sister, Ayabasi Zamzam, who used that influence to gain ownership of lands. For the weak sultan to keep the loyalty of his family members and clan, and to keep the support of the aristocracy, he distributed fertile lands to his sisters, brothers, relatives, and favorite slaves. His sister, the influential Ayabasi Zamzam, toured the sultanate in the company of her armed men to loot centers placed under her control and to take away *hawakeer* from the weak sultan. This raised fear and hatred all over the sultanate (*ibid.*). Haj Ahmed Tanga, who accompanied Nachtigal on his Darfur journey, was an expert in the land of Darfur.⁷⁹ He attributed the deterioration seen by the sultanate during the 1869–1870 period to the corruption in land policy that allowed Ayabasi Zamzam to confiscate lands from citizens and grant them to palace dignitaries.

76. Abba al-shaikh kurra was usually the second position in power and was given to one of the castrated palace men; he was the first minister, or palace secretary, who ran the palace's affairs. He was also responsible for the management of struggles that follow the death of the sultan and the appointment of his heir in power. Moreover, he was responsible for the administration of Dar Dali in the eastern part of the sultanate. The most famous of those who held this position was Abba al-Shaikh Kurra during the reigns of Sultan Abdelrahman al-Rasheed and his son Mohamed al-Fadul. He was very influential and highly feared.

77. Dar Swini is now part of the North Darfur state inhabited by the Zaghawa Kitinga tribe. It was administered by King Adam Tahir Nourain until he died in 1997 and was succeeded by his son.

78. Mohamed Khalid Zugul was a merchant who migrated to Darfur, settled there, and married a daughter of Sultan Mohamed al-Husain. When the Turks conquered Darfur in 1874, he cooperated with Slatin Pasha and later became one of the emirs of the Mahdist regime.

79. Ahmed Tanga Tang was a merchant from the Nile Valley. His commerce covered both Darfur and Waddai and, accordingly, he was close to royal families in the two sultanates. He accompanied Nachtigal from Waddai to Darfur and was very familiar with customs and traditions of people in both places.

Such lands were used for the lodging of fighting armies in the early days of the sultanate's building. However, in the last phases of the sultanate these lands were distributed to elites and palace notables (O'Fahey 1980, 76).

As a result of this policy, which was adopted by sultans in the last days of the sultanate, something odd surfaced, which might be called "maiarim feudalism." In southern Darfur, for instance, Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul granted the following hawakeer (in the Dajo lands around Nyala in the place historically known as Dar Auma) to maiarim:

- hakoora of Mairam Fatima, the daughter of Prince Jami' (the son of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul), which was granted to her during the reign of her father and extended from Tubjuk to the east of Nyala to Wadi Bubul and to the south, and from Rahad Karsho to Jebel Sigra;
- hakoora of Mairam Hajir Sit al-Balad, which extended from Jebel Sigra to the west of Domaya to the north of Nyala;
- hakoora of Mairam Aisha, which extended from the Jebel Kurkur mosque to Wad al-Mairam and Sani Deliba to the south of Nyala;
- hakoora of Mairam Sit al-Doar, the daughter of Anas (the son of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul), which extended from Wad al-Mairam in the south to Dar Habbaniyya;
- hakoora of Mairam Bakheeta, the daughter of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul, which included the lands around present day Nyala⁸⁰;
- hakoora of Mairam Um Karamuldin, the mother of the shartaya, which extended from the Birgid land in the west to the Barti land in the east in the area of Khazzan Jadeed⁸¹;
- hakoora of Mairam Fatima, the daughter of Prince Jami' (the son of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul, in the Kandawa area; and
- hakoora of Mairam Um Na'aim, the daughter of Anas (and agent of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul), which was located in the Fur Musaba'at lands in the area of Um Sareer to the south of Nyala.

An immediate, obvious question is why the maiarim's hawakeer were concentrated in this particular area, away from Elfasher (the seat of the sultanate's administration). It is understandable that this area was highly fertile with high rainfall in addition to the fact that tribal composition was rather weak; otherwise the maiarim's hawakeer would have extended

80. Interview with Omda Mohamed al-Haj Arbab, Omda of Fur Boldanga, Nyala, March 1998 (65 years old at the time of the interview). Arbab inherited this title from his father. At the time the British entered Darfur in 1916, his grandfather was a member of the shura council of King Tibin. Arbab's grandfather was married to Mairam Bakheeta, the daughter of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul, but they gave birth to no children. Arbab's grandfather was responsible for the hakoora of Mairam Bakheeta.

81. The tribes that originally owned this hakoora (including the Dajo and Birgid) were dissatisfied with this action. Omda Mohamed Arbab explained that after the British entered the area the mairam had to be moved to the location of present day Nyala city because people were very angry at her. Interview with Omda Mohamed al-Haj Arbab, *ibid.*

to include Dar Rizaigat and Dar Habbaniyya, for instance.⁸² However, the main reason these hawakeer were far away from Elfasher was the fact that most lands around Elfasher were already granted to palace elites.

Maiarim supervised administration of their respective hawakeer. Mairam Bakheeta, daughter of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul, was the head of all these maiarim; she administered the shartawiya and carried out administrative and judicial procedures in minor offences as well as maintaining the general public order. She became head of the maiarim because she was a direct descendant of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul. She was given administrative and judicial powers in the rank of shartaya (a rank higher than that of dimlij and omda in the administrative ladder of the Fur tribe). Land management was carried out by shaikhs and falagna who went around farms to collect grains that were called “land waste” (usually 30 mods, or approximately 360–480 pounds).⁸³ Collected grains were stored in the maiarim’s silos (called matmoorah, or matameer in the singular, meaning “underground storage trench”). The maiarim used some of these grains for their servants and sent other parts to the sultan to feed his horses.

The falagna served the maiaram. They did all the work required for the management of the hakoora and supervised the work of servants, slaves, and farmers. Their main role was to collect grains and be at the service of the mairam. Today Omda Arbab manages the hakoora of Mairam Fatima, the daughter of Jami’ (the son of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul), who passed it by inheritance to her daughter Fatima, the daughter of Mohamed Abdalla, who is the present owner of the hakoora that is called “Basi” (from “basinga”). The “land waste” is still collected and handed over to the senior Mairam Hawa Sigaid, the daughter of Mairam Fatima. Mairam Hawa Sigaid divides the produce between her family members who descended from the original owner of the hakoora (Mairam Fatima).⁸⁴ Distribution or division was carried out according to customary law rather than Sharia. Local communities still deal with these lands in accordance with customary laws, especially with regard to the distribution of their produce. Should any dispute arise, the final word adopted by *ajaweed* (mediators) or courts is that of *seed al-fas* (manager of the small holding).⁸⁵

The maiarim’s hawakeer were not only confined to daughters and granddaughters of sultans but also included, in tribal lands the daughters and granddaughters of the ruling elites. In south Darfur, for instance, a hakoora was granted to Um Na’eem, the daughter of Anas, the emir of this area appointed by Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul. This hakoora lies within

82. These lands were in the tribal areas of Birgid, Dajo, and Bigo.

83. The falagna were known to serve the ruling class of the Fur sultanate. Members of this group were selected from within the royal family, including from among slaves. They were usually preoccupied with minor manual tasks such as looking after horses and providing personal services to comfort the ruling class. Therefore, their care for revenues of the agricultural lands seems strange here, as this was mainly the function of the dimlij.

84. This organization of the mairam lands in southern Darfur represented the traditional organization of lands of both basinga and abonga, which continued through maternal inheritance of maiarim.

85. Currently, Omda Arbab has a legal power of attorney with regards to all affairs of the hakoora, and this is binding in all customary courts. Interview with Omda Mohamed al-Haj Arbab, Nyala, March 1998.

the Fur Musaba'at land to the south of Nyala and is called Gadah ("plate") Um Na'eem. The heirs to this hakooraah still collect "land waste," and it is administered as part of the Fur Musaba'at shartawiya to the south of Nyala.⁸⁶ In the lands of Bigo tribe in southern Darfur, the present sultan inherited from his mother Mairam Kaltouma (the daughter of Nouraldin and granddaughter of Sultan al-Nour) a hakooraah that is now run according to old norms.⁸⁷ The same sultan granted an area called Id al-Maiarim ("water wells of the maiarim"). These water wells are found in the Rijailah area and are still in use by Baggara grazers who rent them from the maiarim's grandchildren to be used for watering their animals. Revenue from the wells is still divided according to old norms of the Bigo tribe.⁸⁸

In northern Darfur, particularly in Dar Takanjawi, there was a noticeable example of granting lands to the maiarim. King Bushara, in Dar Barti, granted his daughter Mairam Sit al-Doar a vast hakooraah—about 10,000 acres in the Hamour area to the northeast of Mileet—for agricultural and grazing purposes. She was given wide-ranging powers to run the affairs of this land. He then granted her a second hakooraah that was twice as big to be used as pasturelands for her animals. Finally, she was granted an even bigger third hakooraah (a forest of gum arabic) in the Adra area to the north of Mileet and the south of Jebel Tiga. We can easily notice the similarity between the status of Mairam Sit al-Doar in northern Darfur and Mairam Bakheeta, the daughter of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul, in southern Darfur. It is also noticeable that the lands of both women were inherited by their respective grandchildren on the mother's side. The lands of Mairam Sit al-Doar are now run by one of her grandchildren according to traditional norms and customs.⁸⁹

In Dar Masalit in western Darfur, the maiarim's lands were distributed using the gadah system (small piece of land). Masalit sultans adopted this system for granting lands to the maiarim.

It is rather difficult to understand the maiarim lands phenomenon against the background of land relations prevailing today, that is, the phenomenon of the female offspring of sultans (basinga) acquiring more lands than male offspring (abonga). It is worthy of note that this phenomenon prevailed in the Nile Valley area of Sudan before the arrival of the Arabs and Islam. Mohamed Hashim Awad, in his research on the development of land ownership in the Sudan, mentioned that the Nubian Christian kingdoms of northern Sudan (Maggara and Alawa) adopted a complete feudal system with regard to land ownership. The king owned the

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86. Interview with al-Haj Adam Dawood, omda of Musaba'at, Nyala, March 1998 (86 years old at the time of the interview). He said that the difference between a hakooraah and a gadah is that the latter is smaller in size. He also explained that the same system was known in Dar Masalit, where Sultan Bahraldin granted hawakeer to his assistants from the Borno tribe.
87. The Bigo tribe was small and weak and overwhelmed by the Fur sultans. However, its status changed after Sultan Abdelrahman al-Rasheed married one of the tribe's daughters and she gave birth to Mohamed al-Fadul, who became a famous Fur sultan. Al-Fadul appointed a sultan for the Bigo tribe.
88. Interview with Sultan Yousuf Ali Abbakar Omar Naga, present day sultan of the Bigo, Nyala, February 1998.
89. Interview with Salih Ahmaday Abdallah, Nyala, March 5, 1998. He was born in 1952 and is an agricultural engineer; he is also a grandchild of King Ahmadai of Mileet, and Mairam Sit al-Doar was his grandmother.

land and the people living on it were his slaves. After the Muslim Arabs began buying lands from local owners, the king of Maggara sent a delegation to Baghdad to meet with Caliph al-Mamoun (who was in power 813–833) and demanding return of lands bought along with the people living on them (as they were considered to be slaves of the king). However, when the caliph's representative and the governor of Egypt conducted an investigation into the matter, the people living in the area (subjects of the king) denied any relationship of slavery. This was a turning point in the land relationship and this incident encouraged more Nubians to sell their lands to Arabs. This was the first stage. The second stage in the relationship between Nubians and land was observed by Ibn Khaldoun when inhabitants, driven by adopting Islam from Arab Muslim groups, abandoned their traditional system of inheritance and adopted the inheritance system outlined in the Islamic Sharia. This, in turn, encouraged intermarriages when Arab men who settled along the Nile married women of the elites of the Nubian ruling class. Gradually, and through the influence of Islam, the Arabs acquired power and wealth as represented by land. This later developed into other forms of ownership (*miri*, *hikir*, abandoned land, and so forth) during the Funj sultanate and the Turkish period (1500–1885) (Awad 1971).

As for the Fur sultanate (1605–1916), which was contemporaneous to the Funj sultanate, Arab Islamic influence introduced a change in the inheritance system, though limited compared to what happened in the Funj sultanate. It is known that the Fur sultanate was founded by the Keira clan which claims ascendancy from Ahmed al-Maa'goor of the Bani Hilal Arabs. One of the early Fur sultans, Sulayman, was the ruler who disseminated Islam, built mosques, and encouraged the migration of Muslim scholars from West African kingdoms and eastern Sudan.⁹⁰ However, despite the obvious influence of Islamic Sharia, customary laws remained the main pillar of the judicial and administrative systems in the Fur sultanate until the reigns of later sultans, when people were given the chance to choose between Sharia and customary laws to settle their disputes (except for in cases of personal matters). This is attributed mainly to the fact that customary laws were deeply entrenched in the Fur sultanate since its early days of formation. It is well known that Sultan Dali and his assistant the abba al-shaikh initiated the foundations of the administration and legal system on a code of customary laws. Hence, the Dali Law alone could explain land grants made to basinga, which is a matter related to the status of women in society and the maternal inheritance of land in the Fur sultanate.⁹¹ This matter was in sharp contrast with the land organization system adopted by the Funj sultanate, which strictly followed the Islamic Sharia system, and reflected the deep difference in the influence of Arab Islamic culture on the two sultanates and their respective societies with regard to governance, customs, and traditions.

90. Nachtigal (1971) mentioned that Sultan Sulayman fought more than 30 battles for the sake of spreading Islam.

91. All travelers who wrote about Darfur, including Browne, Nachtigal, and al-Tunisi, endeavored in vain to find this book (Dali Law). Historian Arkell (1951 and 1952) found some excerpts that were said to be from the Dali Law. These excerpts listed some fines adopted by customary tribal law pertinent to some offences.

2-3-4 Land Grants to Religious Scholars

Islam was one of the main pillars around which the Fur sultanate revolved. In this, the sultanate was similar to other Sudanic Islamic kingdoms, such as the sultanates of Sinnar, Waddai, Kanem, and Borno and the kingdoms of Hausa, Fulani, and Takroor. The geographical location of the sultanate had a very strong influence in this respect. Although it was connected to Nile Valley sultanates to the east of it by commerce, it also had strong connections with Egypt through Dar al-Arbaa'een (the 40 days route) as well as with Muslim North Africa. These linkages strongly influenced the spread of Islam in the Fur sultanate through traders and scholars who migrated to and settled in Darfur at the invitation and encouragement of the sultans. This encouragement was reflected in land grants and exemptions from levies and taxes. Migrant scholars from the Funj sultanate of Sinnar included Hamid Wad Faris, Abu Zaid al-Shaikh Abdelgader (a student of Shaikh Mohamed Wad al-Zain and a descendant of the famous Awlad Jabir family), Shaikh Mohamed Salih al-Kinani, and many others.⁹²

However, much of the Islamic influence came to Darfur from scholars of western Islamic kingdoms who passed by Darfur on their way to the holy lands in Hejaz to perform haj. On their way back from haj, many of them settled in Darfur at the encouragement of sultans and other Darfur notables. There is ample evidence for this, the most obvious of which is the absence in Darfur, until recently, of the Sufi orders that were prevalent in the Funj sultanate.⁹³ Scholars of the West African kingdoms, especially those from the kingdoms around Lake Chad (such as Kanem and Borno) who came to Darfur in the 11th century and later the sultanate of Waddai in the 17th century, were the most influential in the spread of Islam in the Fur sultanate.⁹⁴ A fundamental factor that contributed to the strong influence of Kanem Borno scholars on the Islam practiced in the Fur sultanate was the fact that the grandsons of these scholars played important political roles in the history of the sultanate. For example, the grandsons of dadingawi of the Fur Moringa were rulers of Dar Dima in the southwestern part of the Fur land from the days of Sulayman Solonga until the conclusion of the sultanate. This land was considered the richest and most populous of all the Fur lands. Oral traditions maintain that their grandfather Shaikh Ahmed al-Barnawi came from the west and married a sister or a daughter of the sultan and proceeded on to the holy lands

92. Shaikh Hamid came from Berber, the land of the Jaa'liyyin tribe, and settled in Darfur where he taught Islamic sciences until he died in Darfur. O'Fahey (1980) suggests that some of the Awlad Jabir family came to Darfur during the period 1710–1720 and were given many hawakeer. Shaikh Kinani came to Darfur from Hejaz in the 18th century and became imam of the Mohamed Dora mosque. He also built a mosque in Tarjail between Kas and Nyala. (ibid.; see also Daifallah 1985).

93. The only order prevalent in Darfur is the Tijaniyya, despite the presence of the Ansar Order.

94. The Zaghawa tribes established the kingdom of Kanem-Borno around Lake Chad in the ninth century. Islam made its way to this kingdom's rulers in the 11th century, and during the reign of Sultan Hadmi (in 1250) the al-Azhar mosque in Egypt gave these believers a separate class. This was one of the oldest Islamic kingdoms in Africa and the longest in power. The kingdom was mentioned by famous Muslim historians in their writings such as al-Yagoobi (872), Ibn Hawgal (960), and al-Mahalabi (985). The Waddai sultanate was contemporaneous to the Fur sultanate; both were established in the 17th century. The Waddai sultanate moved from the east of Lake Chad to the west of it for survival reasons in view of tribal infringement from the east (see Nachtigal 1971).

to perform haj, but he died during the journey. However, his son from the Fur princess was very courageous and his grandfather (from his mother's side) appointed the son as governor of Dar Dima. The governor of this land was considered the right arm of the sultan as mentioned by al-Tunisi (1965, 143).

Another example of the influence of West African scholars arose in northern Darfur. In Dar Zaghawa, the clans of Awlad Digain, Ugba, and Dora were all descended from Ali al-Barnawi, who came to this area on his way to the holy lands to perform haj, but settled in the north of the sultanate and married a princess. He gave birth to three sons, Digain, Ugba, and Dora, who were the fathers of these Zaghawa clans in the northern part of Darfur. The influence of Kanem-Borno scholars extended to the south of the sultanate where Faratit clans, such as the Farwagi, claimed that they descended from Adam Morgi, who originally came from the Borno area, married a daughter of one of their sultans, and gave birth to a son who later became sultan because of his wisdom and courage (O'Fahey 1980, 77).

This influx of scholars since the early ages of the Islamic kingdoms in the Sudan had a profound impact on the governance institutions of the Fur sultanate and on land tenure and the land use systems.⁹⁵ From the beginning, the sultanate's policy was to encourage settlement of these scholars by granting them lands and exempting them from taxes in what were called 'hawakeer of prestige'.⁹⁶ This encouraged many scholars to settle in all parts of Darfur. The following two sections discuss two examples of these hawakeer to shed light on their importance, development, and transformation into tribal lands.

(A) Kinaibo Hakoora

This land lies to south west of Elfasher. It includes part of the western side of the town, the present day location of the Elfasher airport, and buildings of the state government. It extends southwards to the entrance of the town (a bridge) on the Nyala road, westwards to Wadi Golo, and northwards to the Abu Shoak neighborhood in Elfasher. These lands were granted as prestige hakoora to a Borno religious scholar who came from the west and settled near the sultan in Elfasher.⁹⁷ Shaikh Kinaibo lived several generations before his present grandchildren in Elfasher. People from different tribes now live on this land, including family members as well as Borno, Bagirma, and Takareer tribespeople.

95. The influence of Borno scholars in Darfur is evident in the names of areas where they settled, such as Fata Borno in northern Darfur (Kutum) and Manwashi, which was established by Faki Tahir Abu Jamoos, the husband of the sister of Sultan Abdelrahman al-Rasheed (see O'Fahey 1980).

96. There were two types of hawakeer: The ordinary hawakeer were granted to governors and notables, and the sultan was entitled to taxes from these hawakeer. The prestige hawakeer were granted to scholars and relatives of the sultans and were exempted from taxes.

97. There was stiff competition between political elites, scholars, and basinga over lands close to Elfasher. The acquisition by Shaikh Kinaibo of this land indicates the great influence he enjoyed with the sultan.

Grandchildren of Shaikh Kinaibo have continued to inherit this land until today.⁹⁸ These lands have changed status in two different ways. Firstly, the town of Elfasher has expanded to the extent that government buildings and offices, houses, the airport, and even the state prison now occupy large parts of this hakoora. Secondly, this hakoora was initially a grant for Shaikh Kinaibo and his family, but with the expansion of the number of heirs and the arrival of more people from the same tribe of Borno the hakoora became a tribal land for the Borno (although descendants of Shaikh Kinaibo still manage the land today).⁹⁹ Today, this family accepts the fact that parts of the land have become government buildings and the rest de facto tribal land. This change of status came as a result of the demise of the Fur sultanate in 1916 and the ushering in of new authorities who introduced changes in social relations, including abolishing slavery and making land policies more confusing. This drove hawakeer owners to resort to the strength of their respective tribes and clans to protect their lands and to provide labor after slavery was abolished. Now members of the tribe have the right to use the land as long it is available. However, there is also a degree of commonality in using the land, in accordance with agreed customary laws. This is a profound transformation in land relations with regard to the so-called “prestige hawakeer.” The same phenomenon has been repeated in many distant areas such as Fata Borno in northern Darfur and Manwashi in southern Darfur.¹⁰⁰

(B) The Lands of Faki Mohamed Mustafa Tinain in Southern Darfur

The second example comes from southern Darfur, in what is known today as Mahadi lands in the areas of Jami' Abu A'joora and Dito. This land was granted as a prestige hakoora by Sultan Abdelrahman al-Rasheed to Faki Mohamed Mustafa Tinain of the al-Mahadi tribe in return for the services he rendered in teaching the Holy Quran and spreading Islam.¹⁰¹ Over time, the shaikh's sons and grandsons inherited the land and members of their tribe migrated from other parts of Darfur and settled inside the hakoora, which today is Dar Mahadi in southern Darfur. A number of omodiyyas were established in the land, and the tribe asked for a larger administrative structure similar to those of neighboring tribes.¹⁰² This pattern of land use change proliferated near the end of the 20th century and was a focal point of land struggles in Darfur at the beginning of the 21st century. All clans of the tribe of the shaikh (the original owner of the hakoora) claimed descendency from the shaikh and consequently asked for their share of inheritance, but only the shaikh's grandchildren were qualified and

98. Interview with Fatima Mohamed Busati (also known as Fatima Kinaibo), Elfasher, October 15, 1998 (65 years old at the time of the interview).

99. Fatima Busati lives in and manages the hakoora today, with the assistance of some of her family members (interview, *ibid.*). She has a very strong character and has filed a number of cases in Elfasher courts in connection with ownership of the land (and won many of them).

100. The phenomenon of migration of Borno scholars reflects the intensity of migration from Borno, Kanem, and Waddai to the Fur sultanate at the encouragement of Fur sultans.

101. This shaikh's nickname was “Papa Toar.” He was very famous in the oral traditions of both the Mahadi and Habbaniyya tribes. Although this land was granted during the reign of Sultan Abdelrahman al-Rasheed as prestige hakoora, economic conditions worsened during the reign of Sultan Mohamed al-Hussain and a tax was levied on it anyway. Interview with Mohamed Ahmed Habib, Dito, May 1997.

102. Interview with Mohamed Ahmed Habib, *ibid.*

interested in keeping the land documents issued by the Fur sultans. This is attributed to the cognizance of this group of people, their literacy, and their settlement in villages inside the hakooraah itself.¹⁰³ Moreover, members of these religious families were keen to continue the business of religious work in accordance with the teachings of the Maliki school of thought. It has been reported that writings circulating in the Fur sultanate included the *Mukhtasar Al-Khalil* by Al-Khalil bin Ishag (1374) and the *Moudawanat al-Gairawani* by Ibn Abi Zaid al-Gairawani (996). Trimingham reported,

[T]he tradition of granting land to religious scholars has spread in all Sudanic kingdoms. Kanem-Borno was one of the oldest kingdoms to entertain this tradition. The first document of this kind was found in Mahram because of the heavy migration of Muslim scholars to it. To encourage this migration, sultans used to grant lands to these scholars with documents exempting them from taxes and military service. It was only natural that families of scholars were keen to renew these documents, though some forging in dates of such documents took place in a later period. (Trimingham 1962, 110)

This tradition was more prevalent in the Funj sultanate, where the sultans used to grant vast lands to religious scholars coming from Hejaz, Egypt, Morocco, and many other Islamic states, as well as to scholars from their own regions. Scholars became a very influential group in the state and society in the kingdom of Sinnar. People gathered around them through Sufi orders to the extent that they threatened the central authority of the kingdom. This eventually led to the weakening of the state and the imposition of high taxes on peasants. Large numbers of peasants resorted to what was called *ilja* (shelter) to escape these high taxes, that is, they gave their lands, at least nominally, to scholars who were exempted from taxes (Abu Salim and Spaulding 1992).¹⁰⁴ This phenomenon did not develop in such a fashion in Darfur, but the transformation of the status of scholars' lands from individual ownership to tribal ownership nonetheless heralded more and more tribal conflicts over land, especially in view of the existence of large numbers of hawakeer granted on a religious basis all over Darfur. This meant granting more lands and, hence, the outbreak of more disagreements over boundaries. Eventually, the situation became chaotic with regard to land relations between the numerous tribal entities in Darfur, especially in view of the fact that many prestige hawakeer changed hands from original owners to their respective heirs. This was a common phenomenon that engulfed all of Darfur.

In Dar Masalit, for instance, numerous lands were granted on a religious basis. The family of Shaikh Tijani Abdelmalik al-Sanoussi, of Borno origin, which contributed valuable religious services since the inception of the Masalit sultanate, owned nine hawakeer in Dar Masalit alone:

103. Faki Adam Osman is a grandson of Shaikh Papa Toar; he keeps documents of his family land and lives in Dar Rizaigat in the al-Fardoas area.

104. The *ilj'a* phenomenon first appeared in the Umayyad community in Iraq, when small peasants wrote ownership of their farms in the name of influential figures in government to avoid payment of taxes. See Judge Abu Yousuf Yagoub (Alkharag, Beirut, n.d.).

- Koni hakoora
- Abu Dika hakoora
- Kirinik hakoora
- Shangalba hakoora
- Dongawi hakoora
- Buwairah hakoora
- Lirya hakoora
- Adadi hakoora
- Mairam Um al-Nasr hakoora

All these hawakeer were granted by Masalit sultans to this religious family. They are still administered by Shaikh Tijani Abdelmalik Ali al-Sanousi, deputy chief of the sultan's court in Elgeneina in 1998. This was not uncommon in Darfur.¹⁰⁵

2-3-5 Land Grants to Political Elites

This category comprises political, administrative, and military elites. Although not few in number, it extended and enlarged during the reign of Sultan Abdelrahman al-Rasheed (from 1787 to 1802) to include numerous marginal positions such as that of *um somi dagla*.¹⁰⁶ This group enjoyed a wide variety of land grants, although the number of grants were limited in view of the general political, administrative, and military structure of the Fur sultanate.

The Fur sultanate administration was divided into four main provinces with a governor at the head of each, as follows:

- Dar Dima, in the southwest;
- Dar al-Reeh (Dar Takanjawi), in the north;
- Dar Dali, in the east; and
- Dar Omah, in the southeast.

The administrative hierarchy of these provinces was subdivided into smaller units under administrators with the rank of *shartaya*. These were then subdivided into even smaller units called *dimiljayas* headed by *dimalij* (singular, *dimlij*). A *dimlij*, in turn, headed a number of land *shaikhs* at the village level. All these administrators depended on land returns for their support. Their main task was to collect various sorts of levies on land and to take the appropriate dues to the sultan. (Details on these levies is discussed further below in the section on land administrative customs.)

One of the most important positions in the palace was the *jabbay* (tax collector; plural, *jabbayin*). *Jabbayin* constituted the financial administration of the state. There were two kinds of land under their supervision: Firstly, tribal hawakeer had to pay taxes to the governor and his

105. Interview with Shaikh al-Tijani Abdelmalik Ali al-Sanousi, deputy chief of the sultan's court in Elgeneina, Elgeneina, June 5, 1999.

106. The function of the holder of this position was to put the turban on the head of the sultan.

apparatus, including his palace representatives. Secondly, personal ownership hawakeer could be inherited by the owner's heir (such as those of the religious scholars reviewed earlier). Out of these overlapping land ownerships, there emerged a very complicated tax system made up of Sharia taxes, such as zakat, which were collected in accordance to Islamic Sharia stipulations, and royal taxes, which were imposed by the palace.¹⁰⁷

This group of officials almost constituted a feudal class of its own in addition to the abonga, basinga, maiarim, and religious scholars. Al-Tunisi (1965) reported dozens of positions occupied by this group, including orendolong, kamna, abba omang, abadima, takanjawi, abba al-shaikh, secretary, korayat, king of wardaya, king of abidiyya, abu al-jabayyin, shartaya, and dimlij. None of these positions received a salary from the sultan. Instead, each had his own lands that generated revenues, which the official could spend on workers, soldiers, and horses. Zakat revenues went to the sultan, while all other levies went to the officials themselves—in addition to the revenues of their own lands, which were cultivated with sorghum, millet, sesame, ground nuts, and cotton (al-Tunisi 1965, 184–185). These officials also received gifts and blood money in murder and manslaughter crimes. It is obvious from al-Tunisi's account that this vast administrative apparatus depended mainly on revenues from massive land grants, which were then spent not only on administrative services staff but also on lodging and equipping soldiers (the main pillar of sustainability of the sultanate). It has been reported that Malik al-Fotawi, a minister of Sultan al-Rasheed, was one of the richest people in the sultanate. He had more than 500 farms, apart from those of his brothers (ibid., 127).

An example of a land grant associated with lodging soldiers was the land of Abu Dadinga, who was the commander of the dadinga soldiers who were the guards of Elfasher.¹⁰⁸ As a high-ranking official in the palace, he owned vast lands around Goaz Binah to the south of Elfasher. During the reign of Ali Dinar, King Mahmoud al-Dodingawi commanded 200 of the dadinga soldiers in the Goaz Binah area (O'Fahey 1980, 53).

An obvious example of the vast land grants to sharati was that of the Birgid Shartaya Sulayman (son of Ahmed Jaffal) during the reign of Sultan Tairab (from 1752 to 1787). This shartaya was granted a hakoora in the Birgid land extending from Mirshing to Jebel Marra in exchange for his services in cavalry and horse rearing. Another piece of land was added to this hakoora later in the Toria area to the north of Malam. In 1785, the shartaya of Birgid Sawanjuh was dismissed following a Birgid revolt, and Sulayman Jafal from Kinana tribe was appointed in his place. New hawakeer were added to those of Sulayman, including the land extending from Adwah and Kadmoul. During the reign of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul (1802–1839), all Birgid administrations were amalgamated in one shartawiya under the leadership

107. There were numerous royal taxes; for more details see Nachtigal (1971) and O'Fahey (1980) reported 37 types of taxes, including large and small blood money, support, takundi, service, mansas, um thatheen, zakat, adultery, and many others. These were not all directly related to land; however, land taxes were based on zakat in addition to fodder tax and production relations taxes, such as partnerships between farmers and owner of the hakoora.

108. Soldiers from the Dadinga tribe.

of Musa (the son of Sulayman Jaffal). Consequently, all the hawakeer of Dar Birgid were added to Musa's belongings in addition to Masko, Mihajriya, and Dalaiba lands (O'Fahey 1980). In view of these vast land grants under the control of administrators in counties (magadeem) and districts (sharati) it seems that this group of people consumed all available lands of the sultanate, leaving ordinary citizens (*masakeen*, poor people) to work only as agricultural laborers and reducing them nearly to slavery status.¹⁰⁹ This pattern of land relationships was prevalent among many settled agricultural tribes. The system was also familiar amongst nomadic tribes in southern Darfur, although it was not strictly observed by them. This is attributable to the nature of the economy of these nomadic tribes whose relationship with the central authority was rather weak and turbulent.

The other group of political elites who entertained vast hawakeer were the palace staff who constituted a large bureaucracy, especially after stabilization of the sultanate and the propensity of sultans towards a laid back lifestyle. Positions held by this group included kamna, abba al-shaikh, ayabasi, orendolong, um sommong dagla, basinga, abu dadinga, frangaba, and many other minor positions.¹¹⁰ All holders of these positions received land grants from the sultans and their aides. Their shares varied according to their positions; the largest shares were held by the kamna, abba al-shaikh, and ayabasi because of the strong influence they enjoyed. Nonetheless, other groups owned large plots of land through development and restoration, which the sultans encouraged. Delegations used to come to the sultan to inform him of their desire to develop or restore parts of land. He usually granted them the land of their choice without specifying the exact area. This was left for the group to decide based on how much land it could develop. Boundaries of the area they succeeded in developing were written in a document given to them as proof of ownership. This deed protected owners from levies imposed by palace or county officials. Owners of such lands were only required to pay Sharia levies. Owners of these lands were usually foreigners, since citizens were usually granted lands within their respective tribal lands.

109. The people of Darfur divided society into *awlad salteen* and *awlad masakeen* (sons of sultans and sons of poor people).

110. The kamna was a ceremonial position. Its holder was called "shadow of the Sultan"; it was a high-ranking position with regards to customs and prestige. The kamna did not enjoy real powers and normally came from the clan of Awlad Mana. Although the holder of this position usually owned vast lands, customary law required him to be killed immediately after the sultan's death. The abba al-shaikh was the palace secretary and governor of Dar Dali in the east. The ayabasi was the eldest sister of the sultan and enjoyed strong influence in the royal courts. The orendolong was the sultan's chamberlain. Originally the holder of this position was to be from the Fur but in later years it was given to individuals from the Zaghawa, Dajo, and Bigo tribes. The somindogola was the person responsible for dressing the sultan. The basinga were the sultan's relatives from his mother's side. The abu dadinga was the commander of the sultan's guards. He had vast lands to the south of Elfasher. The frangaba was the person in charge of keeping and administering the Dali Law. For more details about all these positions see O'Fahey (1980, 34).

2-3-6 Tribal Lands

Tribal lands in Darfur, which were known as *diar* (singular, *dar*), were divided into two types. The first were the lands of the tribes that settled in the lands in the beginning of the sultanate. These tribes were called dar tribes and included many of the Darfur tribes, including the Fur, Masalit, Barti, Birgid, Dajo, Mima, Faratit, Mararit, Zaghawa, and others. The second type included the lands of Arab tribes that migrated to Darfur during the 16th and 17th centuries. These were the tribes that fought alongside the Fur sultans and helped them establish and expand the sultanate.¹¹¹ The same tribes, that is, the Habbaniyya, Rizaigat, Ta'aisha, Messiriya, Bani Halba, and Ma'alia tribes in the south, the Hamar tribe in the east, and the Ziyadiyya, Mahriyya, Mahameed, and Banu Hussain tribes in the northeast also helped to spread Islam.¹¹² It is very hard to trace the formation of the Dar tribes in their early stages. It is likely that these tribes migrated to Darfur from the Lake Chad, Nile River, or Congo River basins, since these were the areas that saw the rise of early agricultural communities and from which population migrations proceeded to present locations in the African continent, especially after the discovery of iron (Davidson 2001, 107). Notably, the Dajo and Tunjur tribes—the first to establish kingdoms in Darfur—claim in their respective oral traditions that they migrated into Darfur from the east (Nile), although both also have clans around Lake Chad, which saw the emergence of various kingdoms of the So tribes (Shinnie 1965).¹¹³

It is also difficult to determine the lands of the first Arab tribes. Oral traditions point out that early migrations started from North Africa and proceeded southwards to the basin of Lake Chad where there were extended pastures. This followed migrations of the Bani Hilal tribes from southern Egypt to North Africa during the ninth and subsequent centuries. There are two ways in which these tribes formed a dar. The first was that when a migrating tribe found a suitable land to settle, it could approach the sultan and request permission to settle in the chosen land. The sultan could agree in return for the payment of an annual tax for using the land. Land granted in this way was usually an empty part of the sultanate, and sultans usually encouraged development of such lands. Moreover, sultans badly needed taxes from these lands, especially given the fact that these Arab tribes were rich and able to pay taxes.

111. There is disagreement with regards to the period of this migration. In actuality, however, it was not only one migration but waves of successive migrations, some of which are still taking place in western Darfur (such as those involving the tribes that have settled around Lake Chad). Na'om Shugair (1967, 445) believes that most Arab tribes with tribal lands were used by Fur sultans to establish and expand the sultanate.

112. Na'om Shugair (ibid.) believes that some of these tribes have known lands that are recognized and agreed by customary law. These include the Rizaigat, Habbaniyya, Ta'aisha, Bani Halba, Messiriya, and Bani Hussain tribes. However, there is another group of tribes whose lands have not been recognized by customs and traditions until now. These include the Ma'alia, Ziyadiyya, Mahriyya, and Mahameed tribes and constitute the crux of tribal conflict today.

113. Arkell (1951) believes that the boundaries of the Tunjur tribes extended to the Nubia land in the northern River Nile basin. These tribes were responsible for introducing Islam in the northern part of Darfur where they settled.

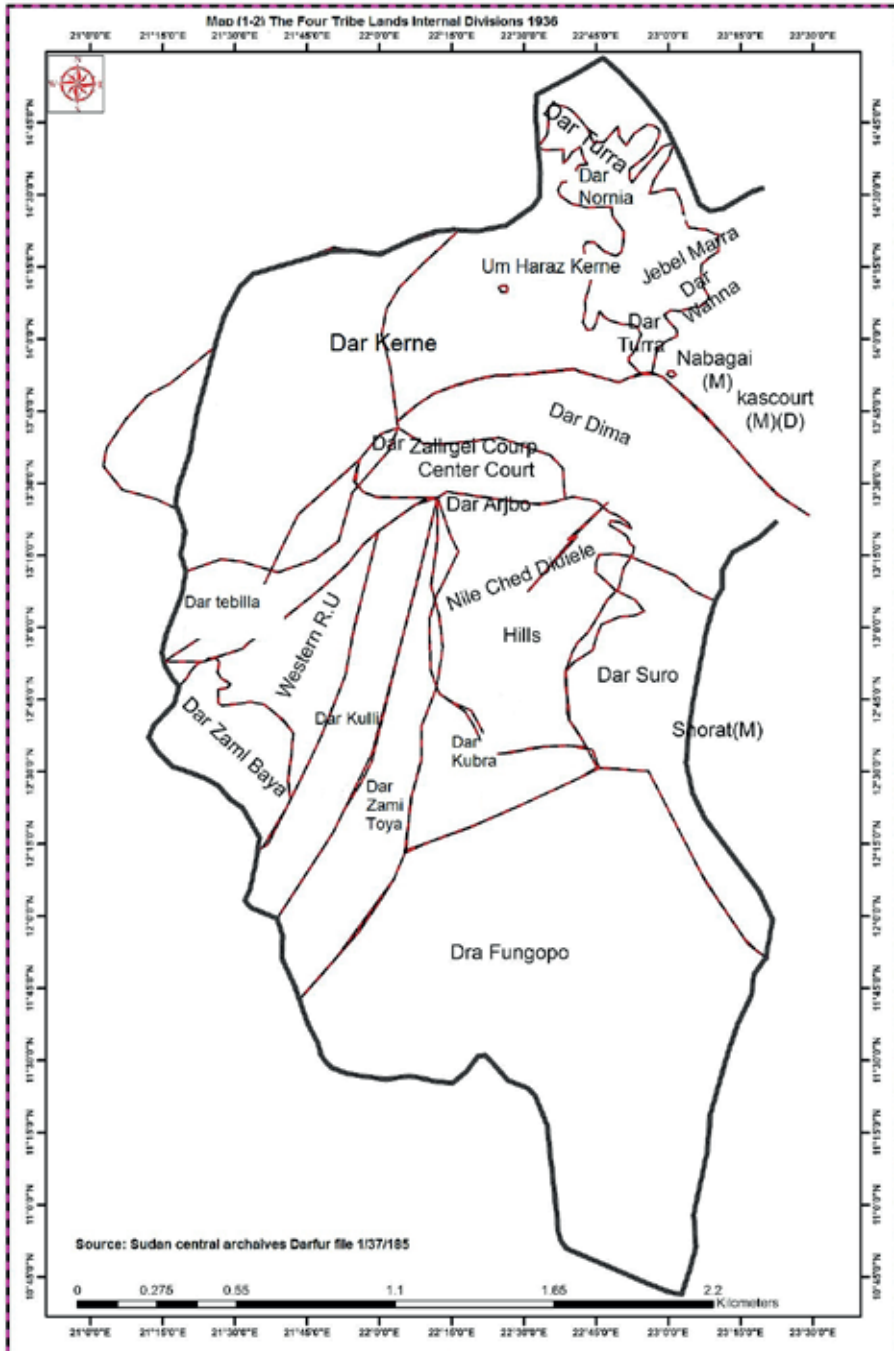
This was the method adopted by Sultan Mohamed al-Husain (who ruled from 1839 to 1873) with the Hamar tribe, which entered the sultanate from the west through Kabkabiyya. The sultan approved of the tribe's settlement in the land of its choice (in present day Kordofan) for 1,000 camels, 1,000 slaves, and 1,000 jars of ghee.¹¹⁴ This was the predominant fashion of forming Arab diar; that is, both parties mutually agreed to the land grant, especially in view of the fact that the Fur sultanate's lands were very vast and sparsely populated. Another obvious example of this is the Mahadi land in the northern part of Dar Masalit. This land was part of Dar Fia in the Fur sultanate before the establishment of the Masalit sultanate in the 19th century. There are many documents in the possession of the emir of Mahadi pointing out that Dar Mahadi was established through grants given to the tribe's forefathers by successive sultans. A document dated 17 March 1524 points out that the Mahadi tribe passed through Melit and Jebel Wana in the east before settling in the present day area of Um Dukhun. Another document issued by Sultan Abdelrahman al-Rasheed (who ruled from 1787 to 1802) puts the Nakaro land as a western border of Dar Mahadi. The document refers to a disagreement between Faki Abubaker al-Muslati and Shaikh Hasouna al-Mahdawi over the same land. As Masalit traditions require the presence of eight witnesses, Shaikh Hasouna brought the eight witnesses required, including Awlad Sulayman, Awlad Nisar, Awlad Badriya, and Awlad Khajlan, and those witnesses brought a sketch of the land along with them. The sultan ordered Shartaya Eido al-Furawi, along with Faki Sulayman from Masalit tribe, the Mahadi tribal shaikhs, and numerous other witnesses to visit the land in dispute, which was concluded to be Mahadi land (and has remained so until today).¹¹⁵

The other means of obtaining land possession was the occupation of a dar by force, especially in areas far away from the seat of power. For example, a tribe would migrate into the land of weaker, smaller tribes and enter into an alliance with them; when tensions arose between the smaller tribes, the incoming tribe would step in and seize the land by force. Oral traditions of the Rizaigat tribe in Darfur and the Messiriya tribe in Kordofan describe this process. These traditions maintain that these lands were originally inhabited by the Shat African tribes before the Rizaigat and Messiriya moved in and occupied them. Consequently, the defeated tribes had to migrate southwards, although some of their members remained behind and melted into the new society by marriage—a known means of integration amongst migrating Arab tribes, especially the Baggara tribes of Darfur and Kordofan.¹¹⁶

114. Interview with Emir Abdelgader Mone'im Mansour, Khartoum, 1998. This agreement was written in a silver plate that is kept by the emir of the Hamar tribe, one of the tribes that migrated later to Darfur.

115. Interview with Shaikh Hasaballah Osman, of Mahdi tribe, Um Tajoak village, 1999. He was in possession of the land documents.

116. There is a similar pattern of land acquisition by force in the Funj sultanate. Abbas Ahmed Mohamed (1980) maintained that the Hassaniyya tribe in the area around Jebel Jilf entered into a disagreement with Abdallab Chief Ajeeb al-Manjuluk (in power 1589–1611) and had to move to the northern White Nile River valley. There the tribe found many small tribes, including the Masalamiyya, Kirtan, and Duwaih. The Hassaniyya leased land from these tribes, but later disagreements arose between the parties. The Hassaniyya then took over the land by force in collaboration with their neighbors, the Kababish. Their shaikh, Shalaa'I Abu. al-Afia, was able to obtain a document from the Funj sultan granting the tribe its present day dar in the northern White Nile River valley (see *ibid.*).



Map No 2-1: Fur tribe diar (hawakeer) in 1939.
Source: Sudan Central Archives, Darfur Province file 2/37/288.

The Arab tribes discussed in this book are southern Darfur tribes that have developed a concept of dar. These are Baggara tribes, including the Ta'aisha, Habbaniyya, Rizaigat, and Messiriya, whose diar extend from the Central African Republic in the west to Kordofan in the east.¹¹⁷

2-3-7 Example of Settled Tribes' Diar (Homelands)

The Fur tribe is one of the settled tribes that has depended on agriculture since its early days. The Fur sultanate depended on land produce for sustaining its rule for more than three centuries. Tracers of the history of the Fur sultanate can easily see the sultanate's focus on agricultural policies and its encouragement of agriculture through certain expressions that often appear at the end of directives pertinent to land ownership documents, such as "till your land and develop it." For agriculture and stability, customs and traditions pertinent to land tenure and land use were developed amongst the inhabitants of this dar. Sometimes the sultan himself would supervise the process of dividing the dar into smaller tribal hawakeer according to the number of clans in the particular tribe. An example of this was what was done by Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul (in power 1802–1839) when he divided Dar Fangaro after annexation to the sultanate.¹¹⁸ The Fur community was very tied to land and agriculture as a settled community since early times. Consequently, the community has developed certain customs and traditions related to land tenure and land use according to the spirit of the Dali Law mentioned earlier.¹¹⁹ The customs and traditions related to land have greatly influenced the customs and traditions of other settled tribes in Darfur. This was momentarily aided by the political dominance exercised by the Fur sultans during their entire rule, especially in view of the fact that the sultans depended on keepers of these customs and traditions from the Frangaba clan of the Fur tribe itself, who were responsible for the implementing the land policies. However, there were some discrepancies in the application of these traditions from one tribe to another. Although such discrepancies were rather minimal, it is wrong to assume that Fur land traditions were strictly adopted by all settled tribes in Darfur. Nonetheless, the Fur land tenure system has had a tremendous influence on all settled agricultural tribes in Darfur to the extent that it could be considered as a model for all these tribes.

117. It is noticeable that the Abbala tribes in north Darfur—the Ziyadiyya, Mahameed, Eraigat, and Khuzam—were unable to establish recognizable diar amongst settled tribes.

118. Dar Fangaru lies in the southwestern part of Dar Dima. It remained out of the control of the Fur sultanate and was not annexed until the reign of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul. It seemed it was part of Dar Faratit, which was under the control of sultanates around Lake Chad. It is currently under the control of Shartaya Omar Zaroug in the Wadi Salih province (see O'Fahey 1980).

119. More about this will be considered in a following chapter.

(A) The Fur Lands as a Model

Fur agricultural lands were made up of four types:

- wadi irrigated lands,
- wadi rainfed lands,
- terrace rainfed lands, and
- other rainfed lands.

The last type, that is, rainfed lands outside the range of terrace lands, constituted the bulk of the Fur agricultural lands. However, terrace lands were the oldest agricultural lands and saw the early beginnings of Fur agricultural activity when most members of the tribe lived in the foothills (as dictated by security circumstances). With the relative stability of these communities agricultural expansion began to reach fertile lowland plains and valleys. This reflects the historical and agricultural development of the Fur tribe. Lands were divided according to the hawakeer system through documents issued by successive sultans, as long as owners continued to pay accepted customary taxes. These documents precisely demarcated the boundaries of large hawakeer. Small farmers who acquired land depended mainly on customary laws, which gave them the right to use such lands. One of the most important features of the Fur land customs was the equal footing of men and women when it came to land use. Women were independent of men, and each had the right to store her respective produce in a separate place. Another aspect of land customs in the Fur tribe was the commonality of the use of roads, pasture, water, wood, and fodder collection in addition to the prohibition of selling land to strangers.¹²⁰ This part of the customary law prevails in all tribal lands despite some variations that were introduced during the last two decades of the 20th century as a result of the introduction of vast areas of Fur lands under the umbrella of the Jebel Marra Rural Development Project in the late 1970s. In summary, Fur customary land laws have greatly influenced other tribal communities.¹²¹

(B) The Lands of Arab Pastoral Tribes in Darfur

Mohamed Hashim Awad (1971) reported that “land individual ownership in the Nile valley and communal ownership in the middle plains have remained the backbone of the land tenure system. That was not affected neither by the settlement of some tribes in agricultural communities nor by the reinstatement of the state landownership act” (see also Runger 1987, 31). The communal ownership system introduced by Arab tribes in the Funj sultanate was the same system that has been used by Baggara tribes in Darfur since the middle reigns of the Fur sultanate until today (with minor variations). Despite its standard communal nature,

120. Interview with Mohamed Atim Salama, administrative officer and Fur tribe member, Nyala, March 2003. He explained that the old land customary law is still intact and land is still used as marriage dowry in some Fur communities.

121. The other dar tribes for which I was able to consider customary land laws included the Barti, Zaghawa, Masalit, Birgid, and Bigo tribes. These tribes were found in northern, western, central, and southern Darfur. However, I focused on the Fur model, since it was the most influential.

there are minor variations between tribes, such as between the Habbaniyya and Rizaigat tribes or between the Bani Halba and Ta'aisha tribes.¹²² This is attributed to local tribal circumstances, such as the direct intermingling that took place between the Bani Halba and Fur tribes, which ultimately led to intermarriages and peaceful coexistence between them. Such circumstances have directly impacted land tenure customs, especially around the valleys. This intermingling has given the Bani Halba tribe a richness and vitality in its tribal customary laws that are rare qualities among other Arab tribes in south Darfur.¹²³ To illustrate the land tenure system amongst Arab tribes of south Darfur, the next section reviews the land ownership system in the Dar Habbaniyya tribe as a model for the rest of the Baggara tribes.¹²⁴

(C) The Dar Habbaniyya Model

Dar Habbaniyya lies in southern Darfur. Bahr al-Arab represents its southern border, the magdooiya administration in Nyala represents its northern border, and Dar Rizaigat defines its eastern border. In the south, Dar Habbaniyya's neighbors are Dar Bani Halba and Dar Ta'aisha and the western border is Dar Falatta tribe. These borders have been in place since they were demarcated in 1922 during the British administration era. The tribal borders were customary and hence were not precise. Consequently, a border dispute erupted between the Habbaniyya and the Rizaigat tribes in 1947.¹²⁵ A committee was formed to look into the dispute. The committee summoned a number of witnesses from the two tribes.¹²⁶ They all confirmed the fact that the borders had not previously been demarcated by any authority, and that they were only recognized by customary laws. Many wars had been fought between the two tribes, the last of which was in 1912 during the reign of Sultan Ali Dinar (Sherman 1949). So-called "fear borders" arose between the warring tribes, meaning that if someone crossed the border he or she bore responsibility for the consequences of his or her actions if caught by the other tribe.

Members of the Habbaniyya tribe, like members of other tribes, enjoyed equal rights and duties. This included social justice, especially in grazing rights. Dar Habbaniyya was divided between tribal clans in terms of pastoral, agricultural, and residential requirements, especially in view of the fact that the Habbaniyya tribe had known agriculture and settlement since early times (especially the poorer segments of the tribe that lacked large herds of animals that required them to be on the move).

122. For example, the Rizaigat tribe is very strict when it comes to land ownership by foreigners, while the Habbaniyya tribe is more flexible in that respect.

123. The diya customary laws in southern Darfur were based on the Juwaifain Alliance document (1921). The Bani Halba tribe initiated this alliance.

124. I was able to review the land tenure systems of the following Arab tribes: Bani Halba, Ta'aisha, Habbaniyya, Rizaigat, and Ma'aliya.

125. At this time, the nazir of Rizaigat was Ibrahim Musa Madibo and the nazir of Habbaniyya was Ali Al-Ghali Tajaldin.

126. Habbaniyya witnesses gave their testimonies about the periods of Shaikh Juwah, Shaikh Mohamed Abu Ain, and Shaikh Shimaish in the Turkish period and Shaikh Takana Mohamed in the Mahdist period.

Although this tribal distribution was not so strict, over time it became customary and was observed by members of the tribe in their land use system. The inheritance law gave way to the strength and consistency of the customary law. For instance, Barka and Maslakh lands were known to be owned by the clan of Awlad Ahmed Daka; the Malka land to the south of Buram was known to be owned by the al-Rayafa clan, which included the Fraijat, Awlad Anjad, and Masae'id sub-clans. The forefathers of these clans had long settled in these lands and used them for agricultural and hunting purposes.¹²⁷ The lands of the Awlad Abu Ali clan extended southwards to borders with the Hilailat clan in Arda and the Abu Wuraiga clan in Bahr al-Arab.¹²⁸ Awlad Abu Ali's lands included the western *goaz* and extended westwards to *goaz Sasilgo* on the border with the Ta'aisha tribe. The Green Bond, a tributary of the Um Balasha River, formed the border. This land was part of the Habbaniyya lands and was mainly used for hunting elephants, buffalos, and hippopotamuses. Shaikhs supervised the land and later, during the reign of Mohamed Abu Ain in the Turkish period in Sudan (1821–1983), some minor, migrant tribes such as the Fellata and Mararit came to settle around Lake Tarmana.¹²⁹ Raiafa borders extended from al-Malka in the north to Rizaigat borders in the east and to Bahr al-Arab in the south.¹³⁰

Although Dar Habbaniyya has been divided between clans, the division is not stagnant but rather flexible. Any tribal member can approach a shaikh or omda to request a piece of land and enjoy all rights enjoyed by members of that owner clan. Shaikhs and omda act on behalf of the paramount shaikh who continues to be responsible for administering the whole tribal land till these days. At the clan level, communality is the basis for every activity, although gum tapping and wild fruit collection have been restricted in the last several years.¹³¹

In Dar Habbaniyya there are two types of individual land ownerships. The first is through development of land by members of the same clan or tribe. Land use in this case is unrestricted. This type constitutes the majority of individual ownership cases. The second type of land ownership is obtained through the submission of a request to the native administration authorities for seasonal use of land without having the right to dispose of the land if and when granted. This type of ownership is known as “eat and go.” It is usually granted to displaced people coming from outside the tribe and it doubled in the last decades of the 20th century following waves of drought in northern Darfur in the 1970s and 1980s. Nonetheless, it has caused land use problems in view of the expansion of commercial farming in the area, which has blocked customary paths of pastoralists trekking to Bahr al-Arab. In the past, the Habbaniyya tribe had grazing lands along Bahr al-Arab, divided customarily into two types:

127. In addition to hunting, people collected wild fruits, which become part of the daily diet, especially in years with little agricultural produce.

128. Interview with Ibrahim Hammad Ahmed, Nyala, March 2003. He graduated from the University of Khartoum in 1970 and currently works as an agricultural extension officer in south Darfur.

129. The small tribes have another account, which claims that this land was given to them by one of the Fur sultans.

130. These internal borders are only provided as examples.

131. These activities became lucrative in later years, and forests were given to certain families and clans.

(A) *Sifi* or *swafi*, which were divided between clans as follows:

- Diklij, supervised by the Hilailat clan;
- Ifaina, supervised by the Hilailat clan;
- Mahroura, supervised by the Rayafa clan;
- Girintiya, supervised by the Rayafa, Awlad Abu Nijad, and Awlad Abu Aiyad clans;
- Giraia'a, supervised by the Awlad Abu Nijad and Masae'ed clans;
- al-Jamousa, supervised by the Awlad Abu Nijad and Masae'ed clans;
- Abu Shagra, supervised by the Noula clan;
- Um Karkar, supervised by the Awlad Abu Ali clan;
- Hijleeja, supervised by the Awlad Abu Ali clan; and
- Jughana, supervised by the Nas Ghanim clan.¹³²

(B) *Shalikha* lands, which were used as pasture land during the summer and were usually kept as water reservoirs, including the following:

- Dimosoia,
- Dibaikraya,
- Suhaib,
- al-Ajouza, and
- al-Ajeeza.

Other *shalikha* lands were customarily reserved for different clans as summer pasture lands. The British authorities intervened to allocate individual ownership to these lands. However, this endeavor did not last long, and lands reverted to communal ownership once again.¹³³ This reflects the tendency of these tribes to adhere to the customary laws that give all members of the tribe the same rights and guarantee social security for them all.

Despite minor variations between one tribe and another, the above pattern of land use and land tenure in Dar Habbaniyya is the common pattern adopted by all Baggara tribes in southern Darfur. However, recent years have seen new patterns of land ownership, especially from settled urban groups inside administrative and commercial townships such as Buram, Deain, Id al-Fursan, and Nyala—and indeed all around Darfur, which has adopted new individual ownership patterns through legal registration of land.

132. Interview with Ibrahim Hamad Ahmed, Nyala, March 2003. This type of land is known in Islamic history as the land of noble families whose owners were either killed or had to move away.

133. The British authorities granted certain *shilakhah* (a grazing land) to prominent figures in the native administration, but this did not last for long. Interview with al-Tareeh al-Mahdi Adam, April 1998, Buram.

2-3-8 The Central Regimes' Policies towards Lands in Darfur

This section reviews the role of central authorities in relation to land policies, as well as the extent to which those policies have been responsible for the disintegration of local customary laws associated with land. It also discusses the emergence of acute tribal struggles over this invaluable resource.

The basic fact is that from the early beginnings of the Fur sultanate until today, land use and land tenure in Darfur have remained subject to customary norms without much change, aside from those dictated by changing social necessities of communities in different historical eras (especially with regards to hakoora land and dar land). The traditional land system usually favours the ruling class elite, specially those who are in the bureaucracy in the palace of the sultan while the presence of slaves tilling the lands of the ruling class in the Fur kaira sultanate reflects a class-like structure in land allotment. On the other hand, in tribal lands, specially within the Baggara (cattle pastoralists), the land system is more egalitarian.

Land relationships prevailing in Darfur were largely subject to customary laws. These customary land laws were generally inclined towards justice and equality—at least among those in a position to hold land. The continuity of this customary system for centuries was aided by the geographical location of the region on the one hand and its historical development on the other. Certainly, land relationships among the political elite's class were characterized by inequality and instability, but this was due to the instability of political life in the sultanate itself—particularly during transitional periods—rather than the customary land laws themselves. The only group that that was able to keep its lands intact through these transitions of power was the group of religious scholars, where benefits were reciprocal between owners and laborers.

The importance of Darfur's geographical location stems from the fact that it was far away from the center of decision making when Darfur became part of Sudan's Nile Valley in 1874.¹³⁴ The historical development of the region is closely linked to its geographical location. Darfur remained independent when Muhammed Ali Pasha's armies occupied the Nile Valley and Kordofan in 1821. It remained independent until 1874, that is, for more than 50 years. And Darfur regained its independence for the second time after the demise of the Mahdist state at the hands of the Anglo-Egyptian army. In fact, Darfur was annexed to the central colonial authority only in 1916, that is, two decades after the fall of Omdurman. These prolonged periods of independence enabled Darfur's local customary laws to continue to work. This was in contrast to what happened to its contemporaneous Funj sultanate, which has experienced tremendous changes in its customary land laws.¹³⁵

134. This is the date of Manwashi Battle in which Sultan Yousuf Ibrahim Garad was defeated by al-Zubair Pasha. After this date Darfur became part of the central authority in Khartoum.

135. All areas under the control of the Funj sultanate were subject to the provisions of all laws enacted since 1898 until the last law was introduced in 1970.

As a matter of fact, British colonialists, through land tenure legislation, tried to incorporate the region's customary laws and customs into its administration, while still restricting large land ownerships. Moreover, the British administration worked hard to control land speculation, especially amongst foreign communities (Awad 1971). In accordance with prevailing customs and traditions of the area, British authorities were able to register all lands around the Nile River from Wadi Halfa to Kosti and Sinja. Later, when British authorities began to introduce investment projects meant to serve colonial interests, large areas of land were utilized for these investments, including as part of the Gezira Scheme (the main irrigated agricultural scheme), which was established in 1925. Partnership relationships were struck between land owners and the government (although whether or not those relationships were equitable is another story). After Sudan gained its independence, this pattern of relationships with locals was not adhered to by the new national government in relation to development projects in central Sudan (the lands of the former Funj sultanate). Instead, these new projects swallowed vast areas of those lands in favor of urban elites, inflicting obvious injustice on the traditional, legitimate land owners.¹³⁶

The Turkish and Mahdist state authorities who governed the area from 1874 to 1898 did not practice any specific land policies in Darfur, and Darfur witnessed turmoil and instability during both periods as a result of resistance wars.¹³⁷ Customary land use and land tenure systems remained in place until Darfur was annexed to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in 1916.

The condominium period (1916–1956), known in Darfur as the “Second Turkiyya”, was a period that saw important developments in land use and land tenure systems, though land policies adopted by the colonizers in Darfur were far less drastic than those that were implemented in central and northern Sudan. This is attributable to the peripheral location of Darfur to development projects initiated by the colonial powers in central Sudan and along the White and Blue Nile rivers. Although Darfur was annexed by the British authorities in 1916, security and stability were not established in the region until opposition was completely crushed in 1922. New colonial policies then began to be introduced in Darfur, and power was restructured to create new administrative units answerable to the central authority in Khartoum. One of the prominent features of the new policy was the winning over of old tribal leaderships in the new system where old titles, such as magdoo, shaikh, and dimlij, were left unchanged and were used to reinforce the new order. For political reasons, privileges enjoyed by these leaders—including land ownership—were left intact. An obvious example of this was the land around Elfasher town, which became headquarters of the province in the place of the seat of the sultanate. A semi-consultative council was established in this town, formed of dignitaries, headed by Dadinga King Mahmoud Ali, who was a former army commander and a close aide

136. This example has been tackled by a number of academics, notably Abdelghafar Mohamed Ahmed and Sharif Harir (1982).

137. Darfur saw the most violent episodes of its political history in the resistance of Turkish rule during the reign of Rudolf C. von Slatin, who was appointed governor of Darfur by Gordon Pasha (governor general of the Sudan). During the Mahdist regime, Caliph Abdalla al-Ta'aishi's rule was opposed by most tribes of Darfur, including his own tribe of Ta'aisha, because of his compulsory migration policy.

of Sultan Ali Dinar.¹³⁸ This man also had vast lands around Elfasher. After consultations between the Elfasher district inspector and the new province director, an agreement was reached that these lands would remain in the hands of the Dadinga tribe (“Elfasher Centre Annual Book” 1947). This would win him over and would earn him respect and prestige among his people. This policy was adopted with all native administration leaderships in all six new centers of Darfur. As a matter of fact, the British administration could not venture to introduce any changes in land relations policies at that stage for a very practical reason: there were few administrative cadres available to implement any new policies. Moreover, these cadres were concentrated in urban centers away from the remote rural areas where most of the land lay (and which was controlled by native administration leaders). On top of that, the British administration’s main concern was with the security of the tribal communities. Hence, customary laws remained intact with regard to land use and land tenure.

The new British policy that had the greatest impact on land use and land tenure systems was the abolition of slavery, which was implemented in the mid-1930s after security had been established and new courts and native administrations were put in place. It is worthwhile mentioning here that the Fur sultanate, like other Sudanese kingdoms of the time, had been dependent on the institution of slavery since its early beginnings (O’Fahey 1980, 40). Slaves were used in internal as well as external trade, in addition to domestic services, agriculture, and other economic activities (Nugud 2003, 75). The most vital areas that were impacted by the abolition of slavery were agricultural lands in general and dignitaries’ hawakeer in particular, as these were heavily dependent on slaves. When the slaves were freed, they spread all over the place, abandoning the fields and leaving large hawakeer without cheap labor for maintenance. The owners of large hawakeer were compelled to resort to *nafeer* (collective communal work) to fill in the gap created by the abolition of slavery. Consequently, agricultural activity shrank, land lost much of its value, and little attention was paid to large hawakeer. Likewise, the whole social configuration saw a massive shake-up as a result of this new policy, whereby influential classes disappeared and new ones sprang up with new economic activities. This was the biggest revolution witnessed by the Darfur community in its modern history.

Within the context of these policies – and to weaken groups controlling land as a source of wealth and influence – the British administration in Darfur issued a decision in 1933 that abolished the functional title of *dimlij* and replaced it with the administrative title of *omda*. This step was meant to weaken the conventional institution of land customs.¹³⁹ However, although the title and function of *dimlij* disappeared in the books of the British administration, it remained functional in reality. Not only the title of *dimlij*, but also many other titles were officially abolished but remained functional in rural communities as shall be discussed further below.

138. The council membership included Judge Idris, former head of the judiciary during the reign of Sultan Ali Dinar, and Emir Ali al-Sanousi, who later became nazir of the Ta’aisha tribe.

139. There was an obvious liberal tendency in British land policies and legislations to avoid accusations of siding with oriental feudalism. This may be attributed to inclinations of the ruling elites, especially amongst leaders of the Labor Party.

The last and perhaps most important area of British land policy in Darfur is what was done with tribal dar lands. It is worth noting here that officers of the new administration in Darfur were very keen to learn about Darfur's peculiar society. They initially attempted to learn the topographic and demographic structure of the Darfur community, and they carried out wide-ranging surveys to draw detailed maps that could help with administration in the future. This activity began as early as 1917, immediately after annexation. Within five years of hard work they managed in 1922 to draw a map of Darfur detailing tribal dar borders, and the region was divided into six centers with separate and equal administrative, judicial, and security powers.¹⁴⁰ Each center had a British inspector, and centers were divided into smaller administrative units based on native administration leaderships recognized since the early days of the Fur sultanate. Hence, the tribal dar lands became part of the general administrative structure and were officially recognized by the new administration. A quick glance at the correspondence of British administrators at the time of the creation of these tribal dar entities reveals that land ownership documents issued by sultans included many of the main references to British administrators in the settlement of border disputes between tribes. The relationship between tribal leaders and British administrators played key roles in many cases.¹⁴¹ The adoption of the procedures for demarcating tribal borders reinforced tribal dar as a strong institution that proved to be effective in tribal security control for the whole duration of the British administration era. The established procedures created a mechanism for peaceful coexistence, and the native administration was the main reference for this mechanism until the advent of national rule in 1956, when the balance was disturbed and tribal tensions entered in.¹⁴²

Was the British policy of reinforcing the dar institution right or wrong? The answer is quite clear: The policy was right from the perspective of its initiators in achieving their objective of securing law and order and complete control over these communities. Building a nation state or a nation was not one of their objectives. On the contrary, "divide and rule" was one of the colonial tricks adopted by the British wherever they set foot in Africa. On the other hand, the policy was quite wrong from the perspective of the nationalists who inherited fragile and weak communities after independence because tribalism became the main source of national struggles. These national leaders also played a role in exacerbating the problem by adopting policies that ignored realities on the ground.

The May military regime (1969–1985) dissolved the native administration in 1970. This exposed the institution of tribal dar to a violent shock. The Local Popular Governance Act of 1971 established a large number of local councils to replace the native administration system

140. The powers of these centers were equal, with the exception of the Dar Masalit center on the western border, which enjoyed special status as a result of an agreement between Masalit leadership and British authorities signed in 1922.

141. In a 1946 dispute between the Bigo and Habbaniyya tribes, the Western Baggara District inspector in Nyala–South Darfur asked the province director to annul the document of Sultan Ali Dinar to the Bigo tribe and resort to facts on the ground to settle the dispute. There were similar cases in northern and western Darfur, such as the case between the Aranga and Masalit tribes.

142. The coexistence conference held in Nyala in 1997 acknowledged land as the main factor in tribal conflicts.

without any prior socioeconomic studies at the local level. This confused local communities in Darfur and ignited tribal problems over borders between neighboring tribes. In southern Darfur alone, the following border disputes erupted between tribes:

- dispute between rural Abu Matarig and rural Adeela, that is, between the Rizaigat and Ma'alia tribes in Um Haraz, Mugran, and Hijlij;
- dispute between Abu Matarig and rural Fardous, that is, between two Rizaigat clans in the Habil area;
- dispute between rural Fardous and rural Buram, that is, between the Habbaniyya and Rizaigat tribes in Dalaib and Baragit;
- dispute between rural Buram and rural Giraida, that is, between the Habbaniyya and Masalit tribes in Gigish and Jumaiza;
- dispute between rural Giraida, rural Tulus, and rural Wad Hajjam, that is, between the Fellata and Masalit tribes in Sa'doun;
- dispute between rural Tulus and rural Wad Hajjam, that is, between the Fellata and Habbaniyya tribes in Murada and Girba;
- dispute between rural west Nyala and rural Tulus, that is, between the Fellata and Fur tribes in Ruhood, Gabo, and Um Shatour;
- dispute between rural Id al-Firsan and rural Habila, that is, between the Fellata and Gimir tribes in Nakhara and Um Biraida;
- dispute between rural Id al-Firsan and rural Kateela, that is, between the Bani Halba and Gimir tribes in Goaz Intakaina;
- dispute between rural Rihaid al-Birdi and rural Kabum, that is, between the Ta'aisha and Bani Halba tribes in Um Shoaka, Shawaya, Dilaiiba, and Um Dugul;
- dispute between rural Rihaid al-Birdi and Rural Mukjar, that is, between the Ta'aisha and Fur tribes in Um Jardal, Tuham, and Unity; and
- dispute between rural Id al-Firsan and rural Kas, that is, between the Bani Halba and Fur tribes in Jumaiza and Noala.¹⁴³

There are similar examples from the northern part of Darfur. In short, all of a sudden and as a result of the implementation of the Local Popular Governance Act of 1971, tribal conflicts erupted all over Darfur. There is a deeply rooted conviction in Darfur that the first step to acquire a tribal dar is to have a native administration entity. This is the crux of conflicts between tribal minorities looking for tribal diar and majority tribes with well-established diar. Ever since the application of the Local Popular Governance Act of 1971, tribal tensions and disintegration have exploded.¹⁴⁴ In fact, land was the main source of nearly all of the tribal conflicts during the last three decades of the 20th century. The first and bloodiest of these conflicts was the one that erupted between the Rizaigat and Ma'alia tribes in 1969.¹⁴⁵

143. Interview with Idam Abdelrahman, Inspector of local government department Nyala, March 1999.

144. In 1989, the Inghaz regime adopted the same policies of tribal and administrative fragmentation in Darfur when it created new tribal units out of political interests. This exacerbated tribal conflicts, especially when the Fur and Masalit administrations were restructured in 1995.

145. This conflict erupted amidst acute political competition over representation in parliament, as maintained by Omda Adam Sherif in an interview in Abu Karinka in 1997.

A reconciliation conference was held in Elfasher on 8 January 1969 to settle the dispute between the two tribes. The conference arrived at the following resolutions:

- acknowledgement of the principle of separation between the two tribes, provided they both remained under one administration headed by the nazir of Rizaigat;
- creation of a post of nazir agent for the Ma'alia tribe, who would become the administrative and judicial official responsible to the nazir of Rizaigat; and
- the appointment of the nazir agent following consultation between local authorities, the Ma'alia tribe, and the nazir of Rizaigat, in accordance with the regulations governing appointment of agents and heads of native administration (Darfur Province 1969).¹⁴⁶

The second conflict that prominently featured the question of dar was between the Ta'aisha and Salamat tribes in 1979.¹⁴⁷ This conflict was very much the same as the conflict between the Rizaigat and Ma'alia tribes. The Ta'aisha believed that they owned the land, in complete ignorance of constitutional provisions that stipulated that the state was the only owner of land. In both of these conflicts, the Ma'alia and Salamat tribes asserted that the dar tribes were seeking domination over them, especially via political representation at national and local levels. Both tribes demanded establishment of local administrative units that included their rural tribal lands.¹⁴⁸ Similar conflicts erupted in other places in Darfur during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, and these conflicts ended in inconclusive reconciliation conferences. Typical of these conflicts were those between the Fellata and Gimir tribes and between the Tarjam and Fur tribes (Darfur Province 1985 and 1991). In northern Darfur, similar conflicts erupted between the Arabs and Zaghawa, the Arabs and Masalit, and the Rizaigat and Zaghawa (Darfur Province 1995, 1996, and 1997).

It is worthwhile mentioning the ongoing tension between the Ziyadiyya and Barti tribes over a dar that has continued from 1956 until today. In a conference held in Melit in 1995, both tribes claimed ownership of the disputed land. The Barti said that the Ziyadiyya administration was made up of a nazir and four omad while the Barti administration was headed by a king.¹⁴⁹ At the same time the Ziyadiyya claimed that their administration was a well-established one neighboring that of Barti.¹⁵⁰

These examples occurred in all parts of Darfur. They clearly demonstrate that the dar issue ignited by the Local Popular Governance Act of 1971 and the Federal Governance Act of 1993 were largely responsible for the tribal conflicts in Darfur. This was rightly picked up by the commissioner of South Darfur who wrote a memo to the wali (governor) of Darfur saying,

146. The conference was attended by high-ranking officials and dignitaries from all of Darfur.

147. I had the honor of presiding over a conference to settle this dispute on July 15, 1980 in Nyala. During those proceedings, the Salamat tribe insisted on having a native administrative entity of its own.

148. A local township for the Ma'alia tribe was established in 2000; the Salamat tribe is still working to have a township of its own.

149. Letter of the Barti tribe presented to the Mileet conference, July 19, 1995.

150. Letter of the Ziyadiyya tribe presented to the wali of North Darfur, July 24, 1995.

[T]he main cause of conflict between Arabs and Fur revolves around land. The Fur people are historically, psychologically and spiritually attached to the land of their ancestors. This is a characteristic feature of settled tribes in Africa. As you know, land is divided between them in a very precise manner in accordance with cherished customs and traditions. The current war revolves around land, pasture and power. Both internal and external factors drive the Fur to stick to their right to the land. Likewise, settled Arabs have their own lands which they dearly cherish. There is no doubt that ramifications of the Chadian war and factors of drought and desertification have compelled large numbers of people to flock in the lands of both parties. We are working hard to deal with the situation but we must observe the rights of the Fur to their land and must respect their motives in view of the fact that others have no right to this land. We must also understand that the selection of an Arab Omda on a Fur land would only exacerbate disagreements between the two parties and would make them lose confidence in each other.¹⁵¹

The policy highlighted in this memo was not adopted by the central authorities in Khartoum, however. On the contrary, new entities were established in violation of observed customs and traditions. This exacerbated tribal conflicts in Darfur, as shall be discussed in detail later in this study. It suffices here to mention that the number of conflicts in south Darfur alone during the 2005–2006 time period (as shown in the table below) show the state of tribal social disturbance and renewal of conflicts over hawakeer and diar that engulfed south Darfur within only two years.

The new system of local government imposed by the Khartoum regime clearly instigated the tribal conflicts that began to arise and threaten tribal security among the different Darfur communities. There is a deeply rooted conviction in Darfur that the first step to acquire a tribal dar is to have a native administration entity. This is the crux of conflicts between tribal minorities looking for tribal diar and majority tribes with well-established diar. Tribal disintegration commenced with the enactment of the Local Popular Governance Act in 1971 and has only exploded in later years. The Inghaz regime (which came into power in 1989) established policies that exacerbated tribal conflicts by restructuring the native administrations and local government institutions in Darfur along purely tribal lines, creating political allegiance without considering customs and traditions. This has reinvigorated tribal tensions in an ugly fashion.

151. Memorandum from Omar Mohamed Ismael, commissioner of South Darfur in 1990. Ismael graduated from the University of Khartoum in 1957; he is not a Darfurian.

ITEM	DATE CONFLICT BEGAN (OCT. 2004 - JULY 2005)	LOCALITIES INVOLVED	TRIBES INVOLVED
1	Oct. 2004	Abu Jabra, Adeela	Rizaigat/Ma'alia
2	Jan. 2005	Asalaya/Yasin	Rizaigat/Birgid
3	Feb. 2005	Intaiga/Shiraiya	Bani Mansour/Sa'da/Fur
4	Feb. 2005	Intaiga/Nyala	Misairiyya/Birgid
5	Feb. 2005	Buram/Giraida	Misairiyya/Dajo
6	Mar. 2005	Um Dafoug/CAR	Habbaniyya/Rizaigat
7	Mar. 2005	Nyala/Shiraiya	Ta'aisha/Fellata
8	Mar. 2005	Nyala	Fur/Birgid/Sa'da/Rizaigat/Borno
9	Apr. 2005	Buram/Giraida	Dajo/Fur/Zaghawa/Tarjam/Ta'alba
10	Apr. 2005	Shiraiya/Intaiga/Yasin	Fur/Arab
11	May 2005	Nyala	Habansa/Masalit
12	May 2005	Kas	Fur/Dajo/Abu Darag/Tarjam
13	Dec. 2005	Shazaya/Um Lababa	Fur/Bani Halba
14	Dec. 2005	Shiraiya/Intaiga/Yasin	Birgid/Misairiyya/Musaba'at/Dajo
15	Jan. 2006	Giraida/Buram/Tulus	Birgid/Tarjam/Rizaigat
16	Jan. 2006	Giraida/Buram/Tulus	Fellata/ Habbaniyya/Masalit/Mahadi
17	Feb. 2006	Nyala/Bilail	Um Kimliti/Dinka
18	Apr. 2006	Kas	Fur/Tarjam
19	Apr. 2006	Buram/Tulus	Habbaniyya/Fellata
20	June 2006	Nyala (Rizaigat/Tarjam)	Rizaigat/Tarjam
21	June 2006	Buram/Tulus	Habbaniyya/Fellata
22	June 2006	Nyala/Tulus	Fellata/Mahriyya/Sharga
23	July 2006	Nyala/Id Alfirsan	Fur/Bani Halba
24	Aug. 2006	Katila/Tilus	Fur/Bani Halba/Gimir
25	Aug. 2006	Sunta/Fardus	Habbaniyya/Rizaigat
26	Aug. 2006	Id Alfirsan/Tulus	Fellata/Bani Halba/Gimir
27	Aug. 2006	Nyala/Tulus	Fellata/Mahriyya/Surga
28	Aug. 2006	Nyala	Awlad Hanana/Awlad Um Ahmed
29	Sept. 2006	Nyala	Tribal Groups
30	Oct. 2006	Abu Ajoura	Fur/Tarjam/Rizaigat/Fellata
31	Dec. 2006	Razoum	Binga/Kara
32	Dec. 2006	Tuwal	Bani Halba/Mararit/Sharfa

Table 2-1: Border dispute settlement conferences in the state of South Darfur, 2005–2006
Source: Report of the South Darfur Dispute Settlement Fund, Nyala, February 2007.

Chapter Three

Natural Resources Deterioration and its Impact on Tribal Conflicts in Darfur

3-1 Introduction

The Darfur region lies in the western part of the Republic of Sudan between latitudes 7-20 N and 22-27 E and has a total area of 510,888 square kilometers (around 20% of Sudan's area). It is a multi-climate and multi-geological formation region. The southern parts of the region are covered with fertile dark clay soil (*gardoad* and *nigaa'* lands), the north and east have sandy soils, and the west is covered with the volcanic Jebel Marra hills. Rainfall varies from semi-desert poor savannah in the northern and middle regions to rich savannah in the south. The richness and variety of climates and soils is the main mainstay of human activity in the region. Traditional rainfed agriculture is the main livelihood of the population in addition to animal rearing.¹⁵² Today the two activities overlap to provide more opportunities for the population. Sheep, goats, and camels are grazed and kept in the north, while cattle are reared in the south. There is great flexibility in the intermingling of these two activities.¹⁵³

Despite the palpable integration of the economic activities of different geographical parts of Darfur, there was an acute competition between man and animal in deteriorating natural resources during the last three decades of the 20th century, during which there were massive climate and environmental changes. The area's natural resources base has deteriorated, and the African Sahel has advanced northwards to include most of the northern part of Darfur.¹⁵⁴ Drought has prevailed for a long period and ended in a human catastrophe during the first half of the 1980s, which has, in turn, led to wide ranging population displacement from the northern, middle, and southern parts of the region. This has resulted in the concentration of people in about half the available space hitherto available for livelihoods (Western Savannah Development Project 1986). Consequently, ethnic tensions have exacerbated and have developed into armed tribal conflicts engulfing most parts of greater Darfur. Traditional economic

152. "Traditional" here means that modern agricultural technologies (such as tractors and irrigation) are not used.

153. Ninety percent of the Darfur population (which is about 7 million people, according to 2000 estimates) depend on natural resources for their livelihood, of which 75% depend on traditional agriculture and 20% depend on traditional grazing (see table 3-1 below)

154. The African Sahel phenomenon referenced in this study refers to the waves of 1970–1974 and 1980–1984.

entities dismantled and community fusion mechanisms went into disarray. Natural resources deteriorated to the extent that it looked like man and nature aligned together to damage land resources within only three decades.¹⁵⁵

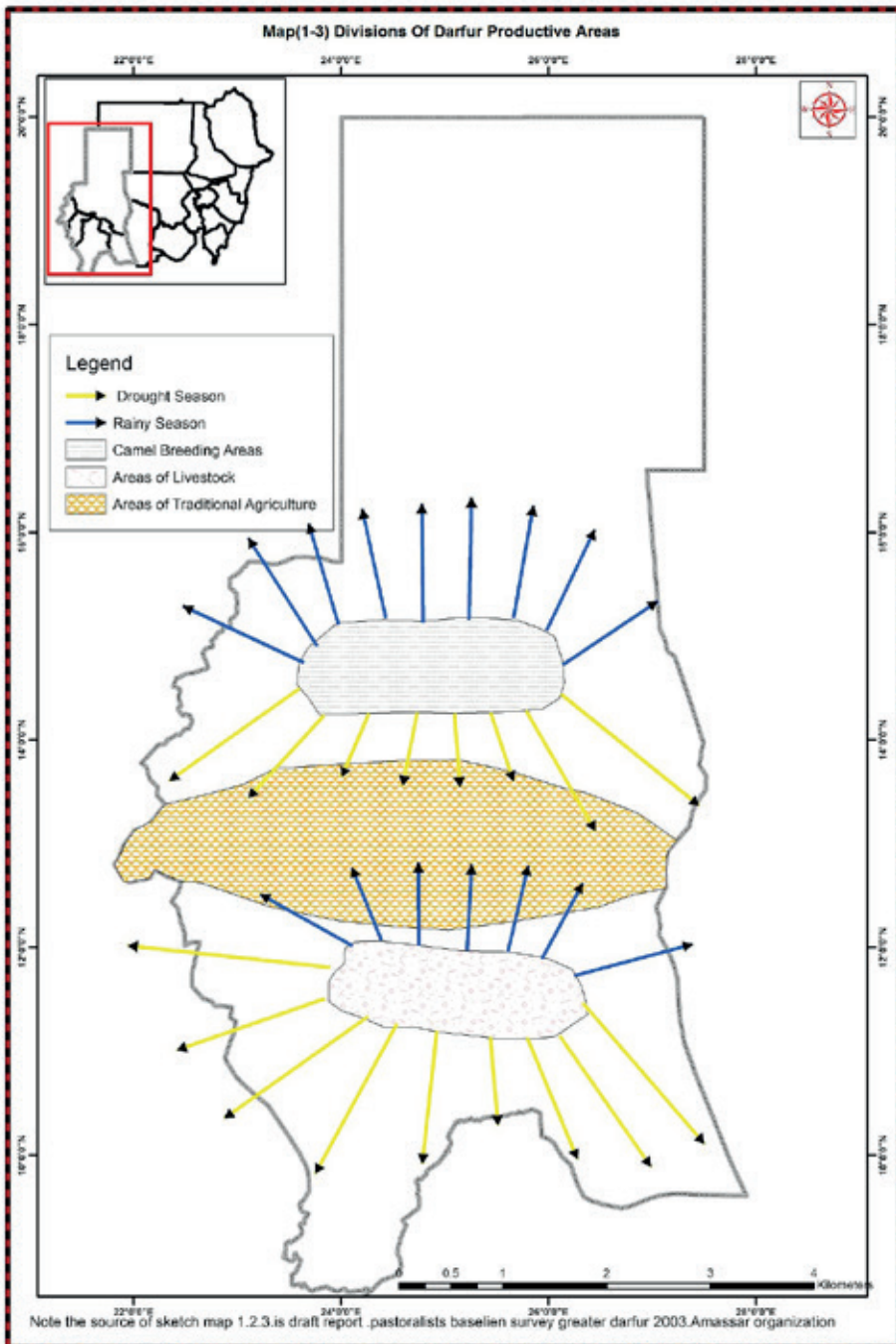
Table 2-1 below shows population density in Darfur as per 1987 estimates. Also see map 3-1, which shows productive areas in Darfur.

AREA COUNCIL	AREA (SQUARE KM)	POPULATION
Elfasher	20,500	332,000
Um Kaddada	34,000	138,000
Mileet	154,000	120,000
Kutum	93,000	179,000
Kabkabiyya	11,500	191,000
Elgeneina	240,400	594,000
Nyala	35,000	587,000
Deain	45,000	387,000
Buram	39,000	296,000
Id al-Ghanam	21,000	261,000
Jebel Marra	4,000	111,000
Garsila	20,000	239,000
Zalinji	1,000	18,600

Table 2-1: Population density in Darfur, 1987 estimates

Source: Western Savannah Development Project (1986).

155. As a commissioner of north Darfur, I had a chance in 1988 to tour the northern and western parts of the province. I was astonished to see the erosion of vegetation cover in all those areas.



Map 3-1: Productive areas in Darfur
Source: Masar Organization (2003).

The numbers shown in the table above have doubled during the past two decades of the last century because of natural causes and migration from inside and outside Sudan (this can be seen from table 3-2 below, which is based on the 2008 population census). This has exacerbated conflicts over natural resources.

STATE	TOTAL	ALL AGES	
		MALES	FEMALES
North Darfur	2,113,626	1,979,936	1,033,690
West Darfur	1,308,225	639,907	668,318
South Darfur	4,093,594	2,157,535	1,936,059

Table 3-2: Darfur population, based on 2008 population census

Source: Sudan government Fifth Population Census (2008).

Recurrent drought waves (1970–1974 and 1980–1984), overgrazing, and timber harvest for cooking fire and construction purposes have depleted vegetation cover in many parts of the region, especially in the northern and central areas. This has also caused environmental imbalances throughout the region.

3-2 Animal Resources in Darfur

Greater Darfur states rank first amongst all states of the Sudan in the number and variety of livestock. According to estimates, the total number of livestock in Darfur was over 9.5 million heads, distributed as follows:

CATTLE	SHEEP	GOATS	CAMELS
4,752,420	2,900,870	2,507,870	443,350

Table 3-3: Livestock estimates in Darfur (per head), 1987

Source: Estimates by Darfur Ministry of agriculture, Department of Pasture and Fodder (1982).

Estimates by the Federal Ministry of Animal Resources from 2007 show an increase in the above figures, as shown in table 3-4 below:

STATE	CATTLE	SHEEP	GOATS	CAMELS	TOTAL
North Darfur	560,570	3,497,278	2,794,372	343,372	7,195,592
South Darfur	3,986,725	3,574,872	2,900,070	81,970	10,543,637
West Darfur	3,932,025	3,633,000	2,404,430	213,869	10,183,324

Table 3-4: Estimates of animal resources in Darfur, 2007

Source: Khartoum Ministry of livestock and animal resources (2007).

This figure represents 26% of animal resources of the Sudan. The importance of this huge number of animals in Greater Darfur stems from the fact that it represents about 80% of Sudan's exports of meats and livestock, especially the Nyala cattle that enjoy a good reputation both in local and external markets.¹⁵⁶ Cattle, sheep, goats, and camels from this region are meat producing animals. More than 80% of the livestock fattened in Khartoum for export are from Darfur (al-Muddathir 1982).

Most tribes in the north, middle, and south of Darfur raise cattle, but a few southern Baggara tribes are particularly famous for rearing cattle. These include the Rizaigat, Habbaniyya, Fellata, Bani Halba, and Ta'aisha tribes that live along the Savannah belt in southern Darfur.¹⁵⁷

Other groups are also known for camel rearing, however. In northern Darfur, these groups include the northern Rizaigat tribes, including the Mahriyya, Mahameed, Eraigat, Awlad Rashid, and Khuzam tribes, in addition to the Ziyadiyya tribe (which belongs to Fazari group). All of these northern Rizaigat groups are emotionally attached to northern Darfur. They have adapted to the local environment through camel rearing in regular grazing cycles along well known routes. In summer they go northward until Wadi Hawar, where they mingle with other tribes of north Kordofan and Darfur, such as the Midob, Ziyadiyya, and Kababish tribes. During the rainy season they rear their camels in Dar Zaghawa. However, with the advent of drought in the early 1970s their grazing cycles were disturbed, and the whole demography of the area began to change as a result of the scramble over natural resources.

156. Nyala cattle are white in color and are reared by the Habbaniyya and Fellata tribes in southern Darfur.

157. The culture and lifestyle of these tribes are almost the same with minor variations here and there. The cattle raising culture of the Fulani Fellata tribe is the most dominant. This is clear from the names given to cattle according to color and physical characteristics.

3-3 Pastures in Darfur

Nomads own 80% of the livestock in Darfur, and nomadic rearing represents the main feature of animal breeding in the region (Sudan Natural Resources Commission 1980). This pattern of mobile life enables nomads to make optimum use of natural resources under current production circumstances. Although animal productivity of the nomads is higher than that of settled breeders, the number of nomadic producers is shrinking in relation to the number of animals produced because of improved veterinary services, the closure of some of the pastoral routes, and the disappearance of some good pasturelands in traditional Baggara areas in southern Darfur. In northern Darfur, however, the situation is even worse, since pasturelands are already rare and have been damaged by drought waves since the late 1970s and early 1980s as shown in table 3-5 below.

YEAR	UM RAKOBA DEAIN	JUMAIZA BURAM	DAMSO TULUS	NYALA
1981	408.4	547.1	518.7	390
1982	405.9	482.6	383.8	272.4
1983	363.3	400.8	543.8	334.6
1984	243.2	279.4	347.5	197.3
1985	617.1	447.9	474	347.3

Table 3-5: Annual rainfall in South Darfur (millimeters)

Source: Western Savannah Development Project (1985).

3-4 The Sahel Drought Waves' Impact on North Darfur

The long term impact of the drought waves is evident in the socioeconomic fragmentation encountered by the tribal groups in northern Darfur, such as the Barti and Zaghawa tribes as well as the northern Rizaigat tribes (including the Mahriyya, Mahameed, and Eraigat). To explain the destructive repercussions of these waves (which occurred from 1970 to 1986) the following sections discuss some of the communities affected by the droughts.

(A) The Barti Tribe

The Barti tribe is one of the settled tribes in eastern Darfur. The tribe has been living in the area around Jebel Tagabu since the late 1600s.¹⁵⁸ It has adapted to living in a semi-arid climate with 200 to 300 mm of annual rainfall, based on a mixed economy of agriculture and animal rearing in addition to gum tapping (Holy 1974, 19). One adaptation mechanism the

158. The Barti land in this study refers to the area in the Tagadu plateau, some 700 to 1000 meters above sea level.

tribe adopted was to store a five-year supply of surplus grains in underground silos to provide sustenance in years of low yield.¹⁵⁹

Gum arabic is an important cash crop for the inhabitants of this area. If acacia trees spring up on a family's farm, they usually abandon the farm for another one, so that the old farm can become a gum forest. The area witnessed an economic boom in the 1950s, which enabled members of the tribe to invest surplus income in livestock (cattle, camels, goats, and sheep). However, this abundance changed in the mid-1960s when annual rainfall average dropped by 30%. The worst drought wave hit the area during the 1970–1974 period (Holy 1980). Because of this drought, many families were displaced in 1973. Large numbers of animals died and family composition changed. Statistics show that camel herds remained the same but cattle herds dropped by 13% and goat herds rose considerably. The other fundamental change in the economy of the Barti tribe during this time was the depletion of acacia trees to grow cereals. This, in turn, exacerbated desertification and environmental deterioration.

As a result of these circumstances and the advent of the second wave of drought (1980–1984) large sectors of the tribe, especially young people, migrated to towns within and outside the state. On the other hand, the elderly headed towards the western, central, and southern parts of Darfur, especially to places around Nyala, Buram, Deain, and Giraida.

(B) The Zaghawa Tribe

The impact of the drought waves of the 1970s and 1980s on the Zaghawa tribe, which lives in the uppermost northern parts of Greater Darfur, was the most serious and far reaching compared to other communities in Darfur.¹⁶⁰ This was because Dar Zaghawa lies within the semi-arid zone that was hit first and hardest by the drought waves. The Zaghawa people have adapted to such climatic conditions through limited farming activity and grazing of camels, goats, and sheep. Wadi Hawar and Wadi Bahai and their tributaries have been favorite places for rearing animals of the Zaghawa. Their grazing system follows seasonal trends to optimize use of available rain waters. The Zaghawa tribe has an admirable system of capitalizing on the meager natural resources on its land. However, this system collapsed as a result of the successive drought waves that started in 1964 and culminated in the last two waves during the 1970s and 1980s.

The traditional socioeconomic structure of the tribe also witnessed dramatic changes during the drought periods. Those most affected were the *hadadin* (iron smiths) who live on the margins of the community because of tribal values, customs, and historical legacy.¹⁶¹

159. This storage is common among north Darfur tribes.

160. In 1970, the total population of Dar Zaghawa was 255,000, but it dropped to only 40,000 after the two drought waves (only 16% remained at home) (see Harir 1986).

161. The Zaghawa society is subdivided into three classes: (1) sultans, (2) subjects, and (3) hadadin. The hadadin status is inherited, and an individual remains in this class no matter how famous he or she becomes.

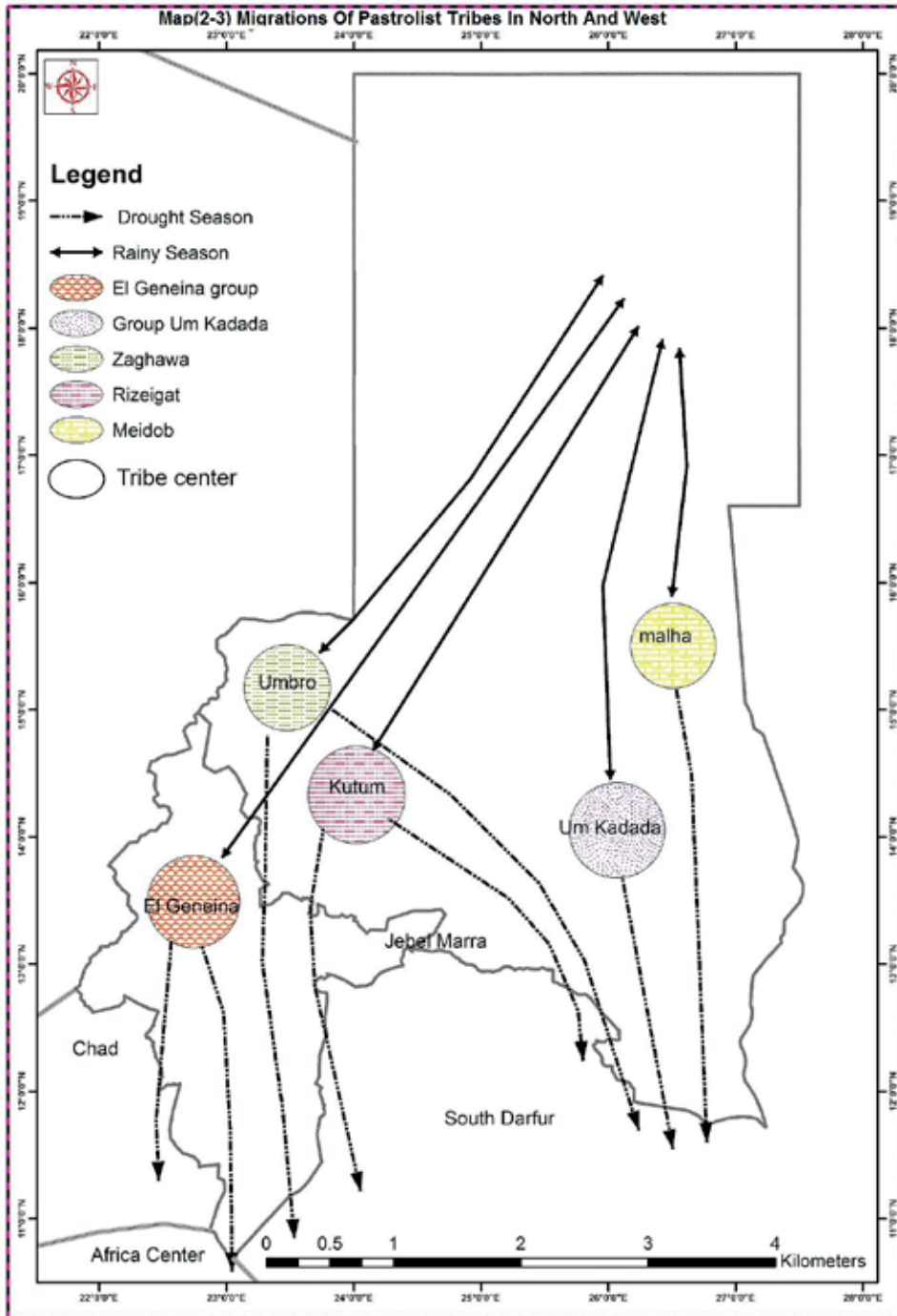
This group used to migrate annually to bigger markets in the south and west of Greater Darfur such as Elfasher, Mileet, Kutum, Kabkabiyya, and Nyala, returning to their homeland by the next rainy season. Consequently, this group was the first to feel the destructive repercussions of the drought and was the first to migrate towards villages and towns in the west and south such as Kabkabiyya, Elgeneina, Zalinji, Nyala, and Buram.¹⁶² The subjects' class was also compelled to migrate in large numbers to larger villages and towns (both inside and outside Darfur) following the 1970s drought wave, and in even greater numbers during the second drought wave of the 1980s. These successive waves of drought have not only negatively impacted humans and animals, but have also destroyed vast areas of arable land. Desert encroachment has destroyed houses and utilities. Only the sultans' group has remained in the tribe's homeland, and this group has only kept a few animals (donkeys and dogs). Even the flies and birds have deserted the area (Tobert 1985).

To the south of Dar Zaghawa, tents and camps spread around market centers where sorghum is sold. Whole villages moved southwards and large numbers of families were forced to sell ceilings of their houses to buy food. In short, the whole of Dar Zaghawa became empty of man and animals. (Tubiana and Tubiana 1977, 32–33).

This was, of course, a very dramatic human situation. Most of common people of the uppermost northern parts of Darfur were forced to migrate. The 1984 agricultural season was a complete failure. In spite of the fact that authorities in Khartoum denied that such a misfortune was occurring, the international community was alerted to this human tragedy.

In short, because of these periods of drought, the tribal communities in northern Darfur nearly completely disintegrated. What has been said above about the Barti and Zaghawa tribes may partially explain the chaotic situation that engulfed all tribes of Darfur and that has manifested itself in the armed conflicts that erupted during the period from 1980 to 2010 as a result of competition over meager natural resources. (See map 3-2 showing migrations of nomadic tribes of northern and western Darfur.)

162. This group began migrating to and settling in compounds around big towns as early as 1964.



Map 3-2: Migrations of Nomadic Tribes, Northern and Western Darfur

(C) North Darfur Arab Nomadic Tribes

This group consists of a number of Arab tribes, including (among others) the Mahriyya, Mahameed, Nawaiba, Etaifat, Eraigat, and Awlad Rashid tribes. All of them were Abbala (camel grazers) who adapted well to the environment in northern Darfur. Although they had administrative and services centers, they roamed the area based on a well-known cycle related to climatic conditions. Customs and traditions organized their relations with settled tribes. However, these relations began to destabilize with the advent of environmental imbalances due to climatic changes and drought waves. Traditional pastures no longer adequately catered to their animals' needs. They were forced to find new pastures and to change their routes. With the advent of the 1971 drought, the Arab tribes were forced to migrate westwards and southwards.¹⁶³

The heavy influx of nomads into the lands of settled farmers put great pressure on the natural environment, prompting antagonistic feelings on the part of the settled farmers in these areas, who were unable to absorb such huge numbers of people and animals—people who arrived with their own sets of behaviors. In August 1984, for instance, northern Rizaigat nomads proceeded from their summer pastures in Jebel Marra Wadis towards Kutum where they usually stayed for more than five months; however they were forced to move back to the south after only three weeks because there were no pastures in the north.¹⁶⁴

Thus, the environmental imbalances led to disturbances in communal behavior in Darfur. Although the drought waves started before 1970, their worst consequences were felt after 1980. It became difficult for the northern Rizaigat nomads to adhere to their traditional paths, which exposed them to the risk of encountering tribal groups other than the Fur. Moreover, their commitment to entering and exiting pastures became conditional on unpredictable rainy season conditions. Jebel Marra became the only attractive area to the northern Rizaigat Arabs. Their influx into this area in large numbers exacerbated the Fur's fears about the permanent settlement of these Arabs in their lands. Problems between the two ethnic groups over issues such as the destruction of agricultural fields became more acute (*ibid.*).

The above circumstances help shed light on the repercussions of migrations of tribespeople in all directions, tribal conflicts all over Darfur, the deterioration of natural resources, and competition over these resources. The situation calls for serious thinking to find solutions to these phenomena, taking into consideration changes that have affected the climate, environment, moralities, customs, traditions, and institutions of this region.

163. The tribes flocked southwards into the lands of the Rizaigat, Habbaniyya, Bani Halba, and Ta'aisha tribes. These were Baggara tribes who were not used to having camels graze in their pastures, and some tribal disputes broke out. Those who headed westwards entered the rich wadis of the Fur and Masalit tribes.

164. These facts were established by the fact-finding committee that mediated the conflict between the Fur and Rizaigat tribes of northern Darfur in 1988 (Darfur Province 1988b). Despite the objectivity of the committee's report, some intellectuals from Darfur attempted to politicize the issue.

The above section deals with the north-south migrations. A set of south-south migrations also occurred, that is, from the northern parts of southern Darfur to the southern parts of it. This has been clearly outlined in a study conducted by the British organization Oxfam in 1990 (see table 3-6).

	AREA DISTRICT	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS
1	Central area (Nyala)	108,976
2	Eastern area (Deain)	72,849
3	Southern area (Boram)	95,240
4	Western area (Zalinji)	64,593
5	South-Western area (Id al-Ghanam)	42,352
	Total	384,010 (about 6,000 heads of household)

Table 3-6: North-south migrations in Southern Darfur, 1984

Source: Oxfam 1984).

According to Oxfam's 1984 report, over 110,000 refugees entered Darfur from Chad in 1974 because of famine and lack of security due to civil war and deteriorating climatic conditions in the northern regions of Chad republic that destroyed the habitat of pastrolist communities even far worst than areas in north Darfur.

Research revealed that the Zaghawa tribe abandoned about 475 of its 804 villages during the 1970–1984 period to relocate to different parts of Darfur and other parts of the Sudan (Harir 1986). The effects of this intensive migration were quite evident on local tribal communities, especially the settled ones around Nyala. Dar Birgid, in the Sha'iriyya locality to the northeast of Nyala, was badly affected by drought. Its inhabitants were forced to migrate to the lands of the Bani Halba, Rizaigat, Tarjam, Fellata, and Ta'aisha tribes. It was reported in 1984 that 40% of the inhabitants of this locality were forced to migrate either to towns such as Nyala and Deain or to southern parts of the provinces where they could find pasture and water.

Another group migrated to towns in the north such as Omdurman, Kosti, and Gadaref. Ironically enough, the Birgid tribe had abandoned its land to migrate elsewhere and its land became occupied by migrants from other parts of Darfur such as the Zaghawa farmers and Mahriyya, Rizaigat, Ziyadiyya, and Eraigat camel grazers (Adam 1990). These different patterns of migration created social and ethnic tensions between diar owners and new migrants. This partially explains disintegration of the social fabric, a topic to be tackled in the next sections (see also map 3-3).¹⁶⁵

165. There was a new pattern of migration: the dar people migrated out of the area, which was then occupied by other immigrants.

3-5 Nomadic Routes in Southern Darfur

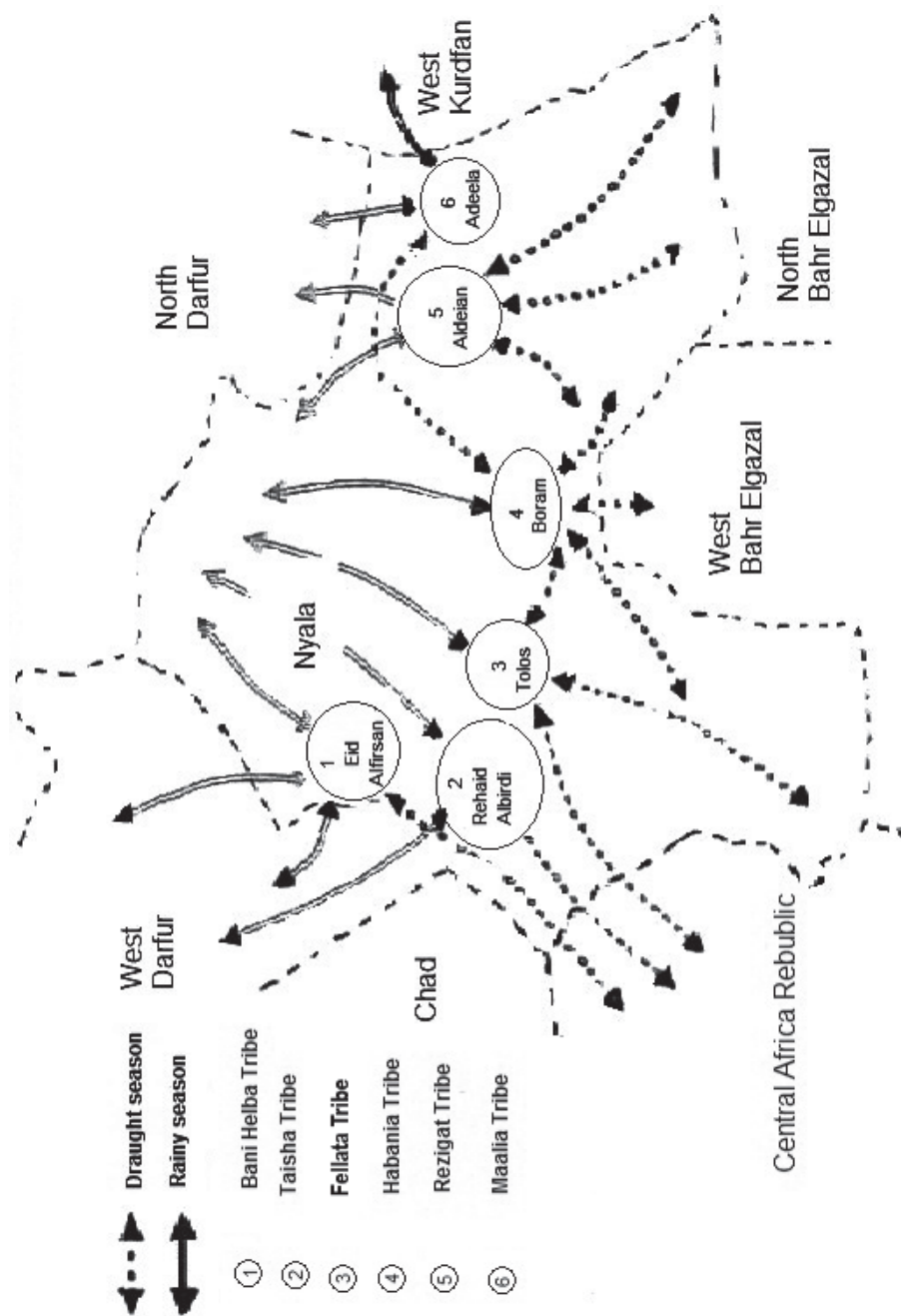
As a result of the spectacular climatic changes and the associated demographic changes ensuing from the successive human migrations witnessed by Darfur during the 1985–2015 period, the routes of the nomadic Arabs of southern Darfur have seen considerable changes as they have attempted to adapt to the new reality. These changes have bewildered both the pastoral community and the official government institutions that have attempted to mediate the resulting conflicts between the nomads and settled farmers. Even though the tribal conflicts in Darfur stem from multiple grounds, including armed robbery, land disputes, and power struggles, the conflicts between nomads and farmers primarily center on pasturelands. This was evident from the following conflicts:

- Conflict between Bani Halba and North Rizaigat, 1976;
- Conflict between Rizaigat and Messiriya, 1982;
- Conflict between North Rizaigat and Fur, 1988;
- Conflict between Fur and Tarjam;
- Conflict between Masalit and Arabs, 1997; and
- Conflict between Zaghawa and Mahriyya, 1997 (Takana 1997).

It is noticeable that the common cause of all these conflicts was the entry of Arab nomads in massive numbers into new pastures.

As a matter of fact, all old north-south routes encountered fundamental changes and some of them were completely abandoned. These changes bewildered nomads and ignited conflicts between them and others. For instance, following the first years of drought (1970–1974), nomads from North Darfur began massive migrations into southwestern areas around Id al-Ghanam. Such a migration pattern had never occurred before and, consequently, frictions arose between the Mahriyya and Bani Halba tribes. These tensions were settled through agreements in 1976 and 1980 that specified the routes and timing of journeys for the nomadic tribes.¹⁶⁶ Such changes in tribal relations and the resulting bloodshed resulted from climatic fluctuations that caused the massive migration of nomads.

166. The fact-finding commission report of the 1988 incidents between the northern Rizaigat nomads and the Fur tribe maintained that North Darfur had seen natural changes as a result of drought and desertification; consequently, the nomads were forced to trek southwards in search for pastures and water (Darfur Province 1988b, 10).



Map 3-3: Seasonal migrations of the Baggara tribes in Southern Darfur

After problems between the northern Rizaigat tribes and the settled tribes of South Darfur intensified, a third North-South Darfur inter-tribal conference was held in Elfasher. This conference (which took place January 16–18, 1980) was organized specifically to address the problems resulting from the entry of nomads from North Darfur into South Darfur pastures.¹⁶⁷ The conference endorsed a number of resolutions of the 1976 Nyala conference with regard to natural resources conservation and the common use of pasturelands, including the following:

- to stop cutting trees of all kinds;
- to prohibit hunting;
- to preserve pastures against damage and fires; and
- to prohibit the construction of fences, except for agricultural purposes.

The conference also resolved that the financial support of the government's Department of Natural Resources was necessary to cope with the deterioration of land resources in the region. To facilitate implementation of the resolution, the conference report stressed the importance of the provision of mobility and human resources (Darfur Province 1980).

The conference report also specified that the northern Rizaigat tribes were to enter southern Darfur, through Birgid and Dajo lands, on or before 15 December each year. If they did not enter by this date, they had to enter through the Bani Halba lands on or before 1 March of the following year. Moreover, five new routes were specified for the northern Rizaigat tribes, as follows:

- Route 1 passed from Bebli to Dar Fellata, traversing the following regions: Arbi, Kila, Jabra, Abu Nazar, Bilail, Khirwe', Kas, Murai, Jangi, Dalal, Um Zi'aifa, Id al-Garadaiya, and Um Mashtoor.¹⁶⁸
- Route 2 passed from Kas to Dar Fellata, traversing the following regions: Dar Bani Halba, Shattaya village, Wadi Kaya, Um Libasa, Gamaya, Nourli, and Dafadi'.
- Route 3 passed from Magara to Twal in Dar Ta'aisha, traversing the following regions: Sandu, Goaz Himad, Murkundi, and Rihaid al-Birdi.
- Route 4 passed from Masako to Asharaya, traversing the following regions: Abu Dumo', Nitaifa, Albanjadeed, Labadu, Khor Sharam, Sani Afandu, Mijaiheed, and Kilaikil Mojo. It also passed through Rizaigat land and Birgid, Dajo, and Fur lands.
- Route 5 passed from Nijaia'a Dar Rizaigat, traversing the following regions: Jibail Tina, Gharabsha, Albanjadeed, join Labadu, Wada'a, Mihajriya, Yaseen, Um U'shariaiya, and Gimailaya (Darfur Province 1980).

The widespread migration of northern nomadic tribes to the south put great pressure on the pastoral resources of the southern Darfur nomadic tribes (including the southern Rizaigat, Habbaniyya, Fellata, Bani Halba, and Ta'aisha tribes). These southern tribes have specialized

167. Details of the entry of Northern Rizaigat nomads into South Darfur pasturelands are described in a letter dated October 15, 1994, which is part of the tribal file of the commissioner of Id al-Firsan.

168. This represented a new reality for natural resources because of the direct effect of climatic changes on natural resources particularly pastures and grazing lands.

in cattle grazing in this land for more than three centuries. As a result of these extensive migrations, camels began to compete with cattle for pasture. In addition, settled agricultural groups accompanied the migrating nomadic tribes from the north. Chief among these were Zaghawa tribesmen whose land suffered most from drought, as explained earlier. This group initially settled around Elfasher and then began to expand over large areas of the Birgid and Dajo lands to the east of Nyala as well as southwards towards the Rizaigat and Habbaniyya lands and up to Bahr al-Arab. This also forced changes to the southern Darfur tribal routes and the lands of three of these routes became agricultural. Those three routes were as follows:

- The Um Dahiya route, which starts from Bahr al-Arab in the south, passes through Abu Jabra, Deain, Abu Karinka, and Haskanita, and then proceeds northwards, ending at Um Sa'ouna and Tuwaisha. Before 1970, it went all the way up to Elfasher and Mileet; hence, because of the migrations, the route has been curtailed.¹⁶⁹
- The Um Mohamed Branch route, which starts from Bahr al-Arab in the south, passing through Birgid lands and ending at Shiairiyya. It used to go up to Elfasher.
- The Mahameed route, which starts from Bahr al-Arab in the south and passes through Abu Matarig to meet with the Um Ahmed route at Mihajriya, ending there. It also used to go all the way to Elfasher.¹⁷⁰

Other southern Baggara tribes stuck to their traditional routes. However, in 1980 a new development changed many of their routes as well: a new national park for wild animals was established at Radoam. This park sliced across a sizable area of summer pasturelands that were previously used to cater to the needs of the Fellata and Ta'aisha tribes.¹⁷¹ This development has compelled these tribes to enter into territorial lands of the Central African Republic (CAR) for more than six months each year. In fact, the number of Sudanese cattle grazing in the CAR has since been estimated to be over a million head per year as reported by the local government inspector in south Darfur in Nyala town. The CAR has taken a number of steps to lure in Sudanese cattle breeders, including the following:

- opening up areas previously banned to Sudanese grazers;
- opening up salt lakes to Sudanese cattle;
- providing water to Sudanese pastoralists and their animals;
- providing modern, mobile veterinary services to Sudanese animals, and treating Sudanese nomads as nationals; and
- establishing local cattle markets and encouraging local and foreign investment in meat canning.¹⁷²

169. Interview with Abdelrahman Ali Mugaddam, Khartoum, 2002.

170. Advancement of northern nomads was the main cause for curtailment of routes. However, the conflict between the northern Rizaigat tribes and the Fur tribe in 1988 exacerbated the situation, as the Arabic tribes preferred to stay on their historical lands.

171. The park took over vast fertile areas between the Adah and Um Blasha rivers that had previously been cultivated by the Faratit tribes.

172. Idam Abdelrahman Adam, the local government inspector in South Darfur, reported in a 1996

The traditional pasturelands in southern Darfur have seen dramatic changes as a result of untamed human activity and natural climatic changes. In 1988, for instance, and following waves of migration of both men and animals, the Habbaniyya tribe decided not to allow the Mahriyya and other tribes to pass through its land. After government authorities learned of this decision, the Mahriyya tribe changed its strategy and solved its problem in a practical fashion by getting permission from the Fur tribe to resettling in the Fur lands of Abu A'joura to the south of Nyala.¹⁷³ This area has very good pasturelands and forest areas and is inhabited by settled Gimir, Bani Halba, and Fur farmers.¹⁷⁴ Even though the Mahriyya tribe entered into an agreement to facilitate peaceful resettlement in the area, their actions encouraged other northern Darfur nomadic groups to follow suit. Many of these other groups settled in the area to the east of Nyala without any administrative or customary arrangements to settle conflicts between themselves and the original inhabitants of the area. A 1990 study confirmed that this created pressure on the limited natural resources of the area and resulted in massive environmental degradation (Adam 1990).

The land of the Baggara Arabs in southern Darfur was very vast. Tribes used to stay in this land until they were certain of the availability of good rains in the northern pastures, which extended from areas to the north of Misko and Abu Ziraiga to the north of Elfasher.¹⁷⁵ In addition, on their way back to the south, tribes stayed in this land after the end of the rainy season, waiting for the Bahr al-Arab swamps to dry out. There was considerable migration into this area, especially after the establishment of the Western Savanna Project, which encouraged the cultivation of food crops (millet and sorghum) and cash crops (hibiscus and groundnuts). The project itself opened new opportunities for new waves of migration; many large villages came to being without administrative planning, and many new farms were established after trees were cut down.¹⁷⁶ In short, this was a haphazardly conducted activity aiming at acquiring land.¹⁷⁷ The direct result of this activity was that the land lost its fertility within the first two decades after the migrations started between 1974-1984. In the absence of official intervention, this will undoubtedly contribute to continued tensions and conflicts between the tribes that historically used these lands and the newcomers.

Another aspect that needs to be stressed here is the decision of the Dar tribes of the area of Bahr al-Arab to invest in this area and the conflict that erupted between them and the other tribes that had previously used the same area as summer pasturelands. Moreover, other conflicts erupted between the Rizaigat and southern Sudan tribes (mainly the Dinka Malwal) over the same area, especially following the 1972 Addis Ababa agreement between

memorandum that the number of Ta'aisha and Fellata cattle grazing in the Central African Republic was estimated at 1,239,900 heads.

173. This group of Mahriyya was known as the Abu Nouba group after its omda. They were permanently detached from northern Darfur. This constituted a new pattern of migration in Darfur.

174. This land was traditionally a Fur area with a small slice (the eastern bank of Wadi Bulbul) belonging to the Bani Halba tribe.

175. Wadi Misko was the demarcation line between northern and southern Darfur.

176. These new villages include Joghain, Lagbadiyya, and others.

177. Vast areas of forestry lands were wiped out.

Khartoum authorities and southern Sudan rebel leaders that granted self rule for south Sudan, and the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the Khartoum government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) led by John Garang. Similar conflicts had been contained during colonial times through bilateral agreements that allowed Baggara tribes to graze their cattle in areas up to 17 kilometers to the south of Bahr al-Arab.¹⁷⁸ After the CPA, the conflict began to surface once again because if the contended areas around *hufirat al-nihas* (the copper fields) went to the new South Sudan Republic, a vast pasture of more than 17,000 kilometers would be lost to southern Darfur pastoralists. This would have complicated cattle grazing and with far-reaching socio-economic consequences.

This continues to be a very important geographical area for the Baggara tribes of southern Darfur. Conflict over the region is likely to erupt in the near future, in view of the fact that a similar situation between the Dinka Ngok and Messiriya tribes remains unresolved in South Kordofan as conditions in south Darfur are similar¹⁷⁹

Traditional agricultural activity sprang up the area to the south of Bahr al-Arab during the last few decades before the start of the civil war in Darfur. Previously, the area had not been appealing for any human or animal activity. However, with the climatic change that started in the 1970s, the area began to attract some Habbaniyya farmers, and tribal armed conflicts erupted during the 2005–2009 period, especially after the rise of the Khuzam Armed Movement, which used the same area as its stronghold until a peace agreement was signed with the central government in 2009.¹⁸⁰

This is a general description of pasturelands and nomadic routes in southern Darfur. The drought waves of 1970–1984 created a new reality in the area during the last few decades of the 20th century and continuing into the beginning of the 21st century. Policies regarding agriculture and pasturelands must take this new reality into consideration for the sake of preserving socio-economic activities in one of the richest regions of the Sudan in terms of natural resources.

3-6 Nomadic Routes in West Darfur (Fur Areas of Jebel Marra)

After the first wave of drought in 1971, both farmers and nomads of North Darfur had no choice but to migrate to areas where they could find pasture and water, as has been explained earlier. Sizable groups headed to South Darfur, but other groups of camel herders flocked towards Fur areas in Zalinji and Wadi Salih. Migration to these areas, which lasted for two decades, has crowded wadis with camel herders and disrupted human activities and socio-economic

178. These included the Maunro-Billy agreement of 1924 and the Davis-Alexon agreement of 1932 (see al-Na'eem 1983).

179. See the memorandum of the National Assembly members, 2004, in this regard.

180. Khuzam is a Habbaniyya tribal member who formed an armed movement that demanded development of the Habbaniyya area. The movement's activity was local and a 2009 peace agreement ended the rebellion.

relations.¹⁸¹ Historically, the Fur areas had seen migrations of nomadic Arabs since the 1950s when Bani Halba and Ta'aisha tribespeople flocked into these lands; however, these prior migrations occurred in relatively small numbers, during a specified time of year (summer), and for a short duration. Furthermore, these nomads undertook their migrations in consultation with local tribal leaders in the area.¹⁸² Following the first drought wave, however, groups of North Darfur camel herders began to settle in parts of the Fur lands and to established new north-south trekking routes—without any intervention from local authorities.¹⁸³ The livelihoods of these new settlers also began to transform during the past few decades from 1984-2004, as these previously nomadic groups settled and began engaging in agricultural activity, their young people began migrating to Libya and the Arab Gulf, and the younger generations began investing their savings in buying cattle suitable to the new environment (instead of camels). New demographic changes were introduced to this area. Now, the following nomadic tribes are found in the Wadi Salih area alone:

- Rizaigat (including Nawaiba, Mahameed, Mahriyya, and Ziyadiyya);
- Salamat;
- Bani Halba;
- Khuzam;
- Messiriya;
- Ta'aisha;
- A'watfa (Ta'aisha clan);
- Sharafa;
- Tarjam;
- Hotiyya;
- Ma'alia;
- Bani Hussein; and
- Mahdi.

Some of these tribes have settled in certain areas: the Mahriyya in Sambas; the Salamat in Karo, Um Khair, and Zami Baya; the Ziyadiyya in Goaz A'amir; the Khuzam in Goaz Hawa and Sharafa; and A'watfa in Dar Kali.¹⁸⁴

The same pattern occurred in Dar Masalit, where similar migrations led to armed conflicts between the new nomadic arrivals and settled Masalit farmers.¹⁸⁵ Dar Masalit has hosted migrating nomads since the beginning of the 20th century and has also accepted the entry

181. This migration eventually led to the bloodiest conflict in modern history between the Arabs and the Fur in 1988.

182. For example, a conference was held in 1961 to organize this migration, and certain measures were taken to control it. Interview with Shartaya Mohamed Bashar Ahmed, Garsila, March 1997.

183. This was a new development in the life of these camel herders.

184. Interview with al-Hussein Saeed al-Hilo, March 1999.

185. Both the Fur and Masalit claim that migrants included not only Arabs from Darfur but also large numbers of nomads from Chad. These Chadian elements were absorbed by the Darfur Arab tribes because of their kinship.

of nomadic tribes from the plains to the east of Lake Chad during their migrations to the Sudan. Through these migrations, Dar Masalit has come to be known as a transit station on the way to Darfur and Kordofan.¹⁸⁶ Sometimes groups or individuals preferred to stay in Dar Masalit, however. The Arabs who have settled in Dar Masalit have been both cattle herders and camel herders, but eventually they have all settled for cattle herding because of the suitability of the environment to cattle. New routes were adopted by these tribes after the drought wave of 1970 as shown in table 3-7 below.

TRIBE	JANUARY - JULY	AUGUST - DECEMBER
Shataya (village)	Tandalti, Elgeneina, Kirinik	Elgeneina, Kutum
Mahriyya	Sarba, Elgeneina, Forbaranga	Sarba, Elgeneina, Siraif
Awlad Rashid	Kutum	Elgeneina
Khuzam	Ramaliyya	Around Zalinji
Awlad Janoob	Sarba, Morni, Saraf Omra, Habila, Kino, Hafeer Um Naa'eema	Kulbus, Kabkabiyya, Hafeer Um Naa'eema

Table 3-7: Nomadic tribal routes in Dar Masalit

Source: Interview with Abdalla Ahmed Shinaibat, omda of Bani Halba in Dar Masalit, Elgeneina, May 1998.

Cattle herders assemble in wadis in southern Dar Masalit where pasture and water are abundant. The most famous of these wadis are Kaja and Azom and their tributaries.¹⁸⁷ Cattle stay for more than five months in these wadis before they move to sandy plains in southern areas. They trek northwards again at the beginning of the rainy season. Some migrant families cultivate small farms around Elgeneina, Morni, and other midland villages in Dar Masalit in coordination with settled Masalit tribesmen. The north-south journeys take three main routes as follows¹⁸⁸:

- The eastern route runs from Hafeer Abu Jadad to Wadi Aradaib and then goes to the south part of Wadi Kaja towards the middle part of Dar Masalit. This route avoids farm areas and crosses forest areas where short trees are used as fodder for the animals.

186. Most Arab tribes in Kordofan and Darfur came from the west. The present day plains of northern Darfur and central Chad were attractive to animal rearing, and many Arab tribes in North Africa were attracted to these plains. Thus, these migrations produced both the Baggara Arabs of southern Darfur and the Abbala Arabs of Northern Darfur. These migrations are still ongoing, although they depend on the natural and political circumstances in Chad. The last major wave of migrations from Chad produced the Hamar tribe of Kordofan. This group migrated during the era of Sultan Mohamed al-Husain of the Fur sultanate (1839–1873), who granted them Dar Hamar in return for 1,000 camels, 1,000 horses, and 1,000 jars of ghee. The group entered Darfur through Dar Masalit and Kabkabiyya. Interview with Emir Abdelgader Mone'im Mansour, 2002.

187. These wadis come from the western heights of Jebel Marra from the north to south. The two wadis meet in Lake Sharo in southern Dar Masalit. Most of Wadi Azom runs in Fur land while Wadi Kaja runs through the middle of Dar Masalit.

188. Cattle herders avoid reaching the areas of camel herders.

- The second route runs from the south of Hafeer Abu Jadad to Wadi Abu Sunoon and then continues towards Sani Dadi and to Wadi Bari.
- The third route starts in the northwest and runs to Wadi Asonga before it ends in Bieda in the south.¹⁸⁹ This route is mostly used by the Messiriya tribe.¹⁹⁰

Since the 1950s, this area has become a gathering point for cattle grazers from northern and southern Darfur and Chad.¹⁹¹ These routes can be summarized as in table 3-8 below:

TRIBE	JANUARY - JULY	AUGUST - DECEMBER
Nawaiba	Saraf Omra	Kutum
Bani Halba	Saraf Omra, Wadi Bari, Wadi Misteri, Habila, Wadi Rati'	Birkat Saira, Kabkabiyya, Goker (eastern route)
Misairiyya	Birkat Saira, Ramaliyya, Gabi, Tandalti, Habila, Arara, Kango Haraza, Wadi Mongo, Misteri	Birkat Saira, Gabi, South Darfur, Mitri, Arara (western route)
Salamat	Wadi Habila	Ararat

Table 3-8: Cattle treks in Dar Masalit (per season, 1985)

Source: *Takana* (1987).

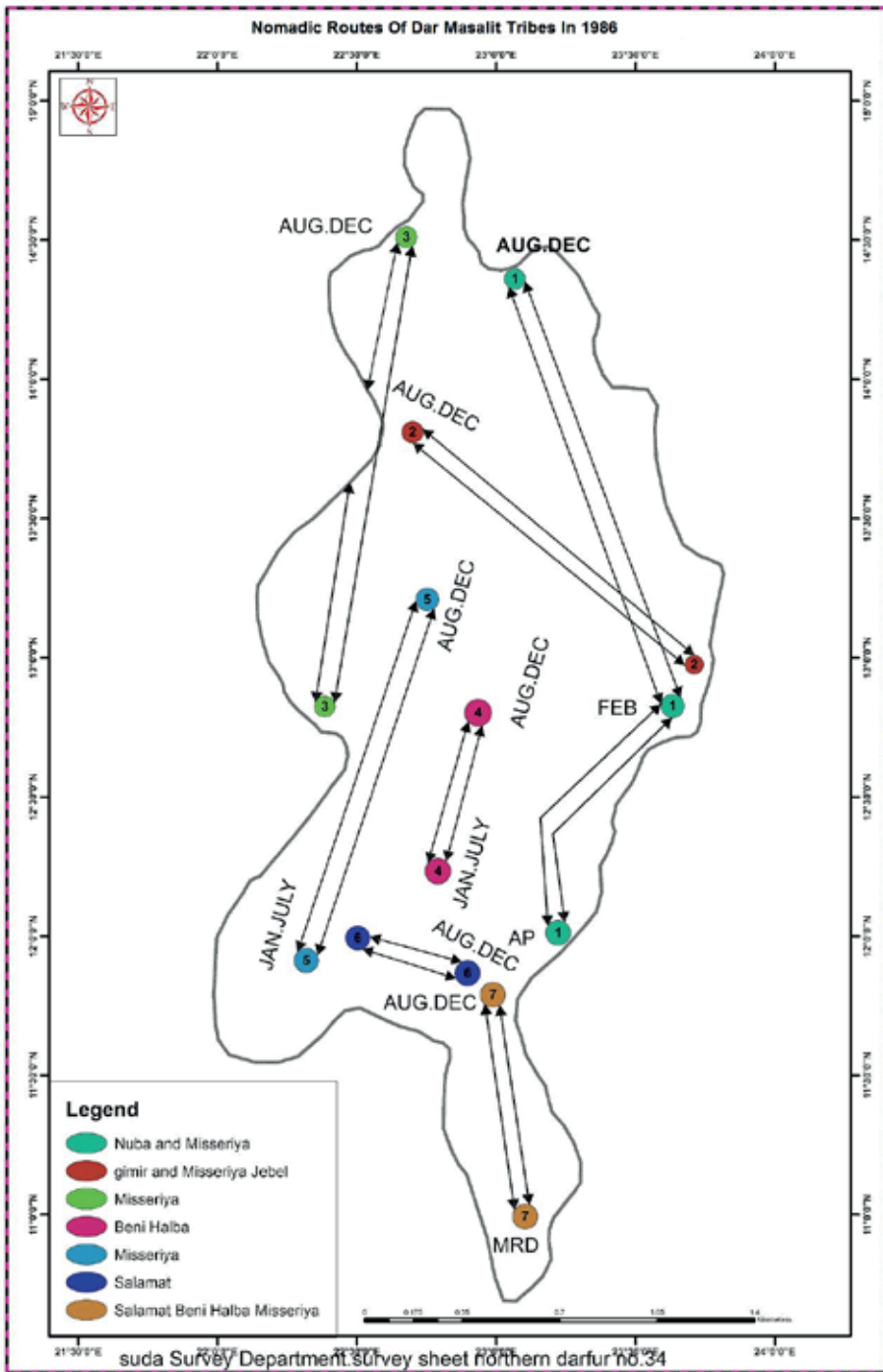
In addition to these north-south journeys in Dar Masalit (by both camel and cattle herders), some tribes, especially the Messiriya and Bani Halba tribes, preferred to settle down and combine both grazing and farming. The relationship between grazers and farmers was good and disciplined—thanks to native administration leaders, and the customs and traditions of both parties. Six main tribes constituted the nomadic community in Dar Masalit:

- Nawaiba,
- Messiriya,
- Salamat,
- Gimir,
- Messiriya Jabal, and
- Bani Halba.

189. This wadi is the demarcation line of the Sudan-Chad border.

190. This is the location of the largest cattle market in the area (Forbaranga and Bieda).

191. This area is very rich in grasses that can be used as cattle fodder.



Map 3-4: Routes in Dar Masalit

However, things have changed completely following the two waves of drought in the 1970s and 1980s, when large numbers of people and animals were forced to migrate. Old routes became so crowded that new ones had to be created. The nomadic tribes in Dar Masalit are listed in table 3-9 below.

The convergence of these nomadic tribes in the same areas resulted from wide-ranging tribal migrations from northern and central Darfur to the administrative area of Masalit following the drought wave of 1970.¹⁹² Some parts of Dar Masalit itself also suffered dearly from this drought and the one that followed it in 1984. As a result of all these circumstances, pasturelands have deteriorated and routes have become distorted.¹⁹³ This partly explains the outbreak of tribal tensions and conflicts between the Masalit and nomadic Arab groups in 1996 and 1997.¹⁹⁴

BANI HALBA	AWLAD ZAIYD	NAWAIBA	MAHRIYYA
Shattiyya	Shigairat	Awlad Eid	Salamat
Khuzam	Itriyya	Misairiyya	Hotiyya
Dorok	Asira	Mahadi	Awlad Rashid
Tarjam	Ta'alba	Misairiyya Jabal	Bani Hussein
Awlad Tako	Haimad	Awlad Janoob	Bani Hasan
Haimad	Bani Malik	Jararha	Ta'aisha
Awlad Um Jaloal	Eraigat		

Table 3-9: Nomadic Arab Tribes in Dar Masalit

Source: Interview with Abdalla Shinaibat, emir of Bani Halba, 2005.

After depicting this bleak picture of pastures and nomadic routes in Darfur, one must wonder about the destiny of the nomads who have experienced similar situations elsewhere in the Sudan, especially in northern Sudan. All nomadic tribes in the so-called “development triangle” that includes the Gezira and Managil Extension, private sector agricultural schemes around the White and Blue Nile, and the mechanized agriculture schemes in Dali and Mazmoum have been similarly affected.

The ever increasing pressure on land, the only viable economic resource to the inhabitants of these areas, has started since the 1920s. The Gezira scheme has stopped movement of nomads northwards by the railway line between Sinnar and Kosti while private sector agricultural schemes have confined movement of nomads to small strips between the White and Blue Niles only

192. The administrative area of the Masalit tribe includes Dar Masalit, Dar Aringa, Dar Jebel, and Dar Gimir. All these areas were amalgamated into one administrative area in 1930 under the rural Masalit council.

193. Following the 1995–1997 tribal conflict, most Arab nomads exited Dar Masalit and became concentrated in the northern semi-arid parts of Dar Aringa and Dar Jebel.

194. The cultivation of cash crops by settled populations increased during the last few decades of the 20th century.

to exacerbate conflicts between grazers and farmers. Similar repercussions were produced by the establishment mechanized agriculture schemes in the late 1950s and 1960s. Moreover, similar schemes are planned to cater for the interests of city entrepreneurs. In short, grazers were cornered in the western part of area extending between private sector schemes in the White Nile and the mechanized agriculture schemes. (Ahmed and Harir 1982, 190–191)

Planning mistakes in the center have led to conflicts over land and its resources between different groups—in northern Sudan this has been prevalent between private owners of mechanized, irrigated agricultural schemes on the one hand and pastoralists on the other hand. However, these types of conflicts are even worse in Darfur in view of the weak local and state apparatuses, the disintegration of native administration, and the erosion of governing customs and traditions. Furthermore, resolution of these conflicts has mostly been left to the ethnic and tribal entities. Thus, it is no wonder that parties have taken to arms to settle their disputes in view of the changing climatic, environmental, and ecological conditions that have exacerbated competition over limited resources. Since 2002, this has also led to conflicts between armed movements and the central government, which have only increased the difficulties of the people living in the area, making their livelihoods more difficult.

Chapter Four

Customary Law Institutions in Darfur: Their Impact on Tribal Conflict

4-1 Introduction

Customary law has played a pivotal role in the multi-ethnic community of Darfur since the rise of the early Darfur sultanates of Dajo and Tunjur and has continued through the demise of the Fur sultanate in 1916. Customary law evolved and developed as the Darfur community developed, in response to the community's public and private needs. Customary law had a high degree of resiliency that has aided the community's overall development, while at the same time helping to facilitate a stable and peaceful coexistence between different entities and groups in the region. Customary law has commanded very high degree of respect from all individuals and groups throughout the generations. The relative historical isolation experienced by the Fur sultanate during the centuries preceding its annexation to the Nile Valley regions of Sudan had a great impact on the area's ability to internally develop the institution of customary law away from external influences. This has helped this institution to maintain originality and continuity. During the spread of Islam by the Fur sultans, the rulings of Islamic Sharia were mostly confined to family matters in the royal courts, while transactions and social relations of the community as a whole were governed by local customary laws (Nachtigal 1971, 328).

In later historical periods, when Darfur became part of a larger political entity (during the periods of the Turkish regime, 1874–1883; the Mahdist regime, 1883–1898; the British condominium, 1916–1956; and national rule, 1956 until today), customary law experienced some changes, especially in higher circles close to political and administrative decision making echelons during the British administration and national rule periods (Thompson 1965). Nonetheless, these changes remained limited and confined to administrative towns. Customary law remained vivid and strong in rural areas where the majority of people live, providing strong evidence that civil society is stronger than the central political authority in this region. The most influential factors of change were laws imposed by central authorities during different political eras.

This chapter focuses on the institution of customary law in the Darfur region, changes that it experienced, and the impact of those changes on the socioeconomic upheavals and tribal conflicts that struck the region during the last few decades of the 20th century.¹⁹⁵

195. During the last three decades of the 20th century, Darfur saw approximately 30 conflicts between different tribes.

4-2 The Dali Customary Law

Whenever customary laws in Darfur are mentioned, the names of Sultan Dali (or Daleel Bahar, founder of the Fur sultanate) and his aide the abba al-shaikh come to the forefront. These two men laid down the foundations of the Fur sultanate and the customary law that governed its affairs. Based on this foundation, the sultanate was divided into four provinces: Dar Takanjawi in the north, Dar Dima in the southwest, Dar Dali in the east, and Dar al-Gharbin the west (prior to the establishment of the Masalit sultanate, this latter province included Dar Kirni, Dar Fia, and Dar Masalit). Sultan Dali reportedly collected all customary laws that the Darfur community had acknowledged since the days of the Dajo and Tunjur sultanates into one book called the *Dali Book*. All of the travelers who wrote about Darfur, including Browne, al-Tunisi and Nachtigal endeavored in vain to find this book.¹⁹⁶ British historian Arkell managed to find some excerpts of it that contained fines adopted as punishment for certain offences. A post in the palace was created purposely for supervising the application of this law. The holder of this post was called the *frangaba*, and usually came from either the Frangaba or Baldanga clan of the Fur tribe; he was the reference point or authority in the maintenance of this law. This post was number six in the palace protocol, which meant that it was a high-ranking position. The laws contained in the *Dali Book* were so entrenched in the lives of the people of Darfur that its provisions remained valid in personal affairs matters even after the advent of Islam in the region. In certain issues, such as the inheritance of females, customary law took priority of application, even if it contradicted Sharia law. This explains ownership by maiarim of the vast plots of lands, as discussed earlier.

During the research to prepare this study, I tried in vain to find something concrete about the *Dali Book*; the obstacles to this effort are obvious. Most of the documents that referenced the book were land deeds from the days of the last of the Fur sultans, and most of these deeds were held by grandchildren of the religious scholars whose knowledge of reading and writing helped them maintain these documents to prove ownership of their inherited lands. Moreover, the positions were in permanent continuation with the Frangaba family (O'Fahey 1980, 147).

Within the context of his position within the ranks of the royal courts, the Frangaba were subject to all of the turmoil and instability associated with the transition of power. Nevertheless, the *Dali Book* was maintained orally from generation to generation and its laws were utilized on a daily basis in all Darfur communities. As far as can be ascertained, some provisions of the law were as follows:

- When the sultan died, the crown was to go to his eldest son; if the eldest son was not competent, the crown was to go to the next competent son.
- A thief was to be fined six cows or the value thereof; if he failed to pay the fine, he was to be jailed until his parents or other kinsfolk paid the fine.

196. In 1873, Nachtigal asked Sultan Mohamed al-Husain to show him this book. The sultan referred him to a palace secretary called Basi Tahir who was so elusive about the matter that Nachtigal finally left Elfasher three months later without having seen it.

- A person who killed another intentionally was to be executed. If the case was manslaughter (unintentional), the person was to pay 100 cows as blood money if he or she was Baggara (cattle herder), or 100 camels if he or she was Abbala (camel herder).
- Fines for adulterers varied: six cows if the victim was married, one cow if the victim was a widow, and one cow each for both offenders (man and woman) if the woman was a virgin.
- Fine for assault also varied: a whole *thoab* of damoor (a piece of certain type of cotton cloth) if the attack caused injury and half of this fine if the attack did not involve injury.
- The fine for a verbal insult was half a *thoab* of *damoor*.
- If a grass fire erupted in the wilderness, the inhabitants of the nearest village were to be fined one cow for each burnt *daraga* (length measurement), regardless of whether the villagers caused the fire or the source was unknown. (It is obvious that the objective behind this fine was to prevent fires and encourage people to extinguish fires promptly.)
- If an old woman killed another person by poison, her property was to be confiscated, her house was to be burnt, and she was to be wrapped in thorns and beaten to death.¹⁹⁷
- The wali's (governor's) crops were to be divided into two halves: half went to the sultan and the other half was to be distributed according to agreed percentages between hawakeer owners, magadeem, and sharati (Osman 1999).
- A person who drank alcohol was to be lashed 80 whips, and any utensils for making or consuming alcohol in his house were to be broken.¹⁹⁸

There is still uncertainty about the source of these customary law provisions (that is, whether they were originally in the *Dali Book* or not), especially in view of the fact that their source was never mentioned. However, they do carry the spirit of some customs that are still valid, as will be clearly demonstrated through an analysis of customary institutions in the next section.

4-3 Customary Institutions of the Dar Tribes

4-3-1 The Dimlij Institution

The dimlij institution was the most important institution for reconciling different aspects of customary law throughout the tribal communities of Darfur. It was a hierarchical executive and administrative organ that started at the tribal base of any clan in the tribe at the level of hawakeer and villages and ended with the tribe's chief dimlij who headed all damalij (plural of dimlij) at the clan level. There is a strong belief that the position of dimlij started after the days of the sultan who laid down the *Dali Book*.¹⁹⁹

197. It is obvious that this is based on pre-Islamic traditions.

198. This was an addition made following the spread of Islam; the original Darfur community never believed alcohol was prohibited.

199. Interview with Abbakar Rasheed Ahmed, shartaya of the Tunjur tribe, November 1998.

This customary tribal institution involved strict controls to keep tribal security, stability, and order, as well as to address individual and collective inter- and intra-tribal issues. The main duty of the chief dimlij was to maintain all the tribal customs of his community as well as those of other tribes living within that community. He was also responsible for keeping records of proceedings in all cases that needed to be recorded in writing, including dates and names of witnesses. This demonstrates the importance of literacy. If the dimlij was illiterate he could use the services of the local faki (clergyman). The second most important duty or function of the dimlij was to address social issues and disagreements within his community by applying customary laws or consensus and recommending solutions based on his knowledge of customs and traditions. Although this function depended largely on mediation abilities, the strong influence the dimlij customarily commanded gave his rulings legitimacy among all parties to a dispute. This greatly aided stability and peaceful coexistence in the whole of Darfur. Another important function of the dimlij was land tenure management in all its aspects. Although there were some variations in how land tenure was managed throughout the region, the dimlij's role was always pivotal.²⁰⁰

4-3-2 Dimlij Qualities and Selection Criteria

The criteria for selecting the holder of a social position with such importance and sensitivity needed to be very strict, of course. There were two main considerations that needed to be fulfilled: inheritance and land ownership. Inheritance, that is, a relation to former holders of the position, was important because it signified that the individual had been brought up in a family known for effectively discharging the responsibilities of the position and had a knowledge of the customs and traditions of the position. The males of such families were usually trained and groomed as prospective holders of the dimlij position.²⁰¹ The ownership of land represented wealth and prestige in the Darfur community, as discussed above. However, these two conditions could be bypassed in certain circumstances. This suggests the importance of personal qualities such as moral standing and the social attitudes of the person concerned.

Necessary personal qualities of a dimlij included patience, knowledge of local and tribal customs, age (over 40, especially for the chief dimlij), a commitment to justice, hospitality, manners, and communication skills. The selection process for a chief dimlij involved two stages. Firstly, villages selected the damalij at the clan level within the hawakeer and in the presence of the tribal leaders. The chief dimlij was then selected by consensus or through election by the clan dimalij. The selected group of damalij that elected the chief dimlij constituted the general assembly to which the chief dimlij was accountable. This group had the right to relieve the chief dimlij in the case of his commitment of a major crime or other offense. For example, in 1998, the Mima tribe group of damalij, to the south of Elfasher, met and asked their chief dimlij to step down because he had failed to solve certain tribal problems and had lost the respect of his constituency. He agreed to step down and three damalij contested the post.²⁰²

200. Interview with Shartaya Abdallah Ali Ishag, of the Tunjur tribe, Elfasher, April 1998.

201. There was not a single female dimlij in all tribes of Darfur.

202. The ultimate example in this respect was Dimlij Ahmed Jao'or of the Tunjur tribe. He had a prominent role in the stability of the tribe. Interview with Shartaya Abbakar Rasheed, shartaya of the Tunjur tribe,

Twenty damalij resolved the contest by choosing the winner by majority vote. The selection occurred in the presence of the tribe's chief, and it was confined to the descendants of a certain clan, in order to preserve the element of inheritance as a main credential.²⁰³

4-3-3 The Authorities and Rights of the Dimlij

Certainly the position of dimlij enjoyed wide customary powers that enabled the dimlij to perform a central social function. His customary influence outweighed that of the tribe's chief in the locality where he governed. He even had the power to collect customary taxes from the tribal chief. With regard to his powers over normal people, he could confiscate property and sell it to collect customary fees. The chief dimlij could confiscate the means of transport (camel, horse, or donkey) of an offending dimlij and sell it by way of punishment.²⁰⁴ The dimlij also enjoyed customary rights that enabled him to sustain himself as a dimlij. The local community had to provide him with a house, especially if he came from outside the Dar tribe. He had the right to be given a plot of agricultural land and also had the right to take fees in return for his services. Such fees were determined at his discretion. He could add one or two cows to a fine of 10 cows, for instance. This also applied to cash fines. The chief dimlij gave part of his income to other smaller damalij within his tribe.²⁰⁵

In the past, a dimlij had other customary rights that are no longer valid now. In Dar Masalit, for instance, the dimlij had the right to be given a known share of any large animal hunted by his tribesmen (including shares of the meat, ivory, and feathers). If a stray slave (*marni*) was found in his land, he or she was to be kept for the dimlij's service.²⁰⁶ These rights differed from one tribe to another, but in general they showed that the tribal community endeavored to ensure that the holder of this position had everything needed to live a comfortable life and to serve the community.

4-3-4 The Internal Organization of the Tribal Dimlij Institution

In the Darfur community, especially in the Dar tribes, the dimlij institution has had a meticulous organization, as we have seen above. In the Tunjur hakoora in Khairban (to the north of Elfasher), the Tunjur tribe is still the Dar tribe with administrative and political authority.²⁰⁷ This hakoora is inhabited by different tribes, including the Tunjur, Fellata, Midob, and Barti tribes. All these tribes have clans and sub-clans. In this complex tribal system, the dimlij institution's current organization is as follows:

Firstly, each sub-clan has its own dimlij. This constitutes the base of the pyramid. Then, each clan has a dimlij with more authority. At the top of the pyramid are the chief dimlij and the

Shangil Tobay, November 1998.

203. Interview with Hamid Ahmed Adam, shartaya of the Mima tribe, Wada'a village, October 27, 1998.

204. Interview with Shartaya Abdallah Ali Ishag, of the Tunjur tribe, Elfasher, April 1998.

205. Interview with Omda Ishag Abkair Ahmed, of the Dar Hamid tribe, Elfasher, October 1998.

206. Interview with Ibrahim Yahya Abdelrahman, former wali of West Darfur, Elgeneina, June 1999.

207. This hakoora has been an inherited Tunjur one since the era of Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul.

chief of the tribe or the shartaya. Powers and competencies are shared by the two institutions: land and blood customary issues are handled by the dimlij, and official governmental issues are handled by the shartaya.²⁰⁸ Both the dimlij and shartaya are accountable to each other, based on their respective responsibilities. This unwritten relationship fulfills local communities' needs and provides stability for those communities. Nonetheless, the higher authority rests with the shartaya.

Secondly, the position of chief dimlij in the clans of Khairban has been allocated as follows:

1	Barti Abu Shawarid clan	Abdalla O Yahya
2	Barti Basinga clan	Mohamed al-Doma
3	Barti Basindiyat clan	Ahmed Fidail
4	Barti Habobat clan	Abbakar Atroon
5	Tunjur Karati clan	Abdalla I. Ali
6	Fallata Futa clan	Ahmed S. Sulayman
7	Midob clan	A. Adam Mohamed
8	Tunjur Karati clan	Ibrahim H Ishag
9	Jawama'a clan	Osman A. al-Doma

Each and every one of these chief dimlij has a number of dimlij representing sub-clans. As a group, the above chief dimlij have a paramount dimlij from the Tunjur tribe who leads them. As of 1998, the paramount dimlij was Mohamed Adam al-Fadil, who resided in Elfasher at that time.²⁰⁹

This organization of the Tunjur Khairban hakoora differs from that of another hakoora from the same Tunjur tribe called Jebel Hiraiz, which is located to the south of Elfasher and led by Shartaya Abbakar al-Rasheed. The chief dimlij in this hakoora acts as chief dimlij for the whole tribe, not just one clan. This same goes for the Mima tribe to the south of Elfasher. Therefore, one cannot say that the dimlij institutional organization is the same everywhere. However, the function is the same all over Darfur.²¹⁰ A community leader has claimed that 90% of the community cases brought before him in court are settled through customary law, and only 10% are raised to higher civil courts. The same percentages applies for tribal customary cases, which are settled through damalij. Most community cases referred to damalij are blood cases (30%); the remainder are mainly land cases or violations of other customary laws.²¹¹

208. This division became clearer after the implementation of the Native Courts Act of 1932 in Darfur. British authorities deprived damalij of administrative responsibilities, which were then assigned to omad.

209. Interview with Shartaya Abdallah Ali Ishag, of the Tunjur tribe, Elfasher, October 1998.

210. Blood cases include murder, homicide, and causing injury to others.

211. Interview with Abbakar Rasheed Ahmed, shartaya of the Tunjur tribe, Shangil Tobay, November 1998.

As we have seen, the *dimlij* institution is similarly organized in most Darfur tribes, with only two exceptions. These are the Dar Masalit tribe and the Baggara tribes of south Darfur. These two exceptions stem from the history of the involvement of these tribes in the Fur sultanate. Dar Masalit lies to the west of the Fur sultanate. Therefore, its institutions and organizations assimilated influences from the kingdoms of Lake Chad, such as Kanem-Borno and Waddai, especially given its location in the shadow of Jebel Marra, which acted as a barrier between it and the Fur sultanate. As for the Baggara tribes of southern Darfur, it could be said that their formation was relatively recent and they were physically far away from the seat of power, especially during the formative years of the sultanate under the early sultans who founded the customary laws, such as Sultan Dali and Sulayman Solonga. All of this has distanced these tribes from strong and direct influences of the early customs and traditions of the Fur sultanate.

4-3-5 Customary Organization in Dar Masalit

The geographical position of Dar Masalit between the Fur sultanate to the east and the Lake Chad kingdoms to the west greatly influenced the organization of its institutions and its tribal culture. As it was closer to those kingdoms than to the Fur sultanate, the influence of those kingdoms was obvious, especially in view of the fact that when it became a sultanate in its own right, Dar Masalit fought against the Fur Sultan Ali Dinar in an attempt to free itself from Fur domination.²¹²

This geopolitical position of Dar Masalit made it subject to influences from the east (Fur) and the west (Waddai) (Theobald 1965). This is quite evident in its customary tribal organization. With regard to the organization of the *dimlij* institution, the Masalit tribe adopted the Fur sultanate's system, but also kept the system it took from the tribes of east Lake Chad, that is, the so called "land kings" system.

The land kings system was organized as follows: At the top of was the "kamakil." Each kamakil had a number of kings under him who were responsible for land tenure and revenue.²¹³ Under the king was a caliph who was responsible for land management and all customary laws associated with this, including *diyya* (blood money) (Trimingham 1949, 110). This system has been deeply associated with the Lake Chad kingdoms and is also called "land of mahram."²¹⁴

Because of all these factors, the customary organization in Dar Masalit differs from that of the Fur sultanate in many aspects. The caliph is the person responsible for managing plots of land (*hakoora* in Fur terminology and *dingir* in Masalit terminology), and he also settles minor disputes in the village.²¹⁵ Major disputes or cases are referred to the king. The caliph position can be inherited, but usually the king appoints a son of the caliphs in his

212. During the Mahdist regime, Masalit fought in the ranks of the revolution. Faki Ismaeel Abdelnabi was made wali of Dar Masalit by the caliph's viceroy to Darfur.

213. This was an administrative function similar to that of the *shartaya* in the Fur sultanate.

214. Interview with Faki Izadin Ibrahim Mohamed, of the Masalit tribe, Elgeneina, June 13, 1996.

215. Interview with Ibrahim Yahya Abdelrahman, former wali of West Darfur, Elgeneina, June 1999.

father's places upon death.²¹⁶ Land is communal property and each and every tribal member has the right to use it; strangers, on the other hand, need permission to use the land.²¹⁷ The Mistring clan of the Masalit tribe, whose seat of power is in the Misteri village (about 45 kilometers south of Elgeneina, the present capital of Masalit) is an example of the land management organization in Dar Masalit. The dingir of the Mistring have been divided as follows:

- the West Mistring lands, headed by Kurgul Basinga Khatir Abdalla Arbab; and
- the East Mistring lands, headed by Kurgul Basinga Yaqoob Ibrahim.²¹⁸

All the above mentioned were the kins of the sultan, or furash.²¹⁹ The farsha had the local authority over the dingir.²²⁰ Heads of the tribal branches were appointed as damalij. Heads of the minority tribes are appointed as *gudaha* (small piece of land) damalij. As of 2002, the land management system in the Mistring clan of Masalit was divided into the following dimalij:

Khatir Ishag	Orong clan
Abdelrahman A. Yahya	Torong clan
Ali Abdalla	Kinjara clan
Ahmed Adam	Forong clan
Ishag Mohamed	Artinga clan
Zakariya Yahya	Afandong clan
Mohamed Abbakar Siyam	Mistring clan
Siyam Abdalla	Ajong clan
Khatir A. Arbab	Mistring clan
Yaqoob Ibrahim	Mistring clan
Juma'a Babanos	Gafa clan
Abdalla Hasan Adam	Mangari clan
Khatir A. Adam	Mararit clan
Abdelrahman Arbab	Kasbi clan
Zakariya M. Siddig	Sinnar clan

216. Similar to in the dimlij system, under the land kings system the king formerly also had the right to be given a known share of any large animal hunted by his tribesmen (meat, ivory, and feathers), and if a stray slave (*marni*) was found in his land the slave was to be kept for the king's service.

217. Interview with Ibrahim Yahya Abdelrahman, former wali of West Darfur, Elgeneina, June 1999.

218. Kurgul is the chief of the caliphs or of the land kings. Basinga were the relatives of the sultan from his father's side.

219. Furash in this particular case were the relatives of the sultan from his mother's side.

220. Interview with Arbab Ahmed Arbab, farsha of the Mistring hakoora, Mistiri, February 12, 2001.

The Mistring dingir has kept the old system adopted to its west by the Lake Chad kingdoms (including the system of kurgul, king, and caliph), while at the same time introducing the Fur sultanate's system of dimlij and basinga.

The northeastern part of Dar Masalit is inhabited by the Asangour, a clan of the Aringa tribe. The land customs of this tribe combine both the Fur system and the Kanem-Borno system, which directly reflects the tribe's geographical location between the two great kingdoms of Fur and Waddai. It is no wonder, then, that this tribe has kept the institutions of the dimlij, caliph, and takanjawi.²²¹ The Asangour's hakoora is owned by the Asangour clan and is divided into four dingirs managed by four caliphs. The takanjawi, a hereditary position, is selected by the shaikhs of the Asangour Farati clan. The takanjawi enjoys broad customary powers over land issues.²²² He also commands the respect of the people, and his powers are recognized by native administration authorities.²²³ The overlapping customary laws in this area stem from the fact that this area was a melting pot of the two kingdoms, despite the fact that it became part of the Fur sultanate during the time of Sultan Ahmed Abbakar (who reigned from 1682 to 1772).²²⁴

Studies of customary law institutions in Darfur reveal that this system is deeply rooted in the lives of settled agricultural tribes (called "dar tribes") such as the Fur, Masalit, Tunjur, Zaghawa, Barti, Dajo, Iringa, Asangour, and Sinnar tribes. Customary laws in these tribes focus on customs pertinent to land management and land tenure, while customary laws of the nomadic Arab tribes in north and south Darfur focus on customs related to blood money and compensation connected to murder, homicide, and injuries. However, recent studies have revealed that customary institutions in Dar Masalit are witnessing fundamental changes in certain aspects. The reason for this is the fact that the customary institutions of Dar Masalit began to be heavily influenced by the heritage of the Fur sultanate tribes, especially after Dar Masalit became part of Darfur in 1922 during the British administration. Although the agreement between Sultan Bahraaldin and the British authorities in 1922 ensured a quasi-independent status for Dar Masalit, the tribe's relations have inclined eastwards ever since. Dar Masalit became part of the province of Darfur and as such became associated with Darfur institutions in every facet of life. Consequently, the land management and land tenure systems of the Fur culture were adopted. In the Fakong hakoora in the Kirink area, for instance, the dimlij system was completely adopted. This hakoora is currently managed by 18 damalij who represent the real owners of the land.²²⁵ The damalij manage the land through *Fas* (village representatives), who supervise a number of secondary or family farms. They have

221. The takanjawi was one of the important positions in the Fur sultanate. He was the first official responsible for the administration of the northern province of the sultanate. Traditionally, this position has been associated with the Tunjur tribe. More details about this title are presented in chapter five.

222. The present takanjawi, Jamaa' Abdelkarim, lives on the border between Sudan and Chad.

223. Interview with Haj Khatir Fidail, Abu Soroj village, 2001.

224. It is probable that the positions of both takanjawi and basinga are attributable to the Tunjur sultanate, which preceded the Fur sultanate, although now the positions are associated with the Fur tribe.

225. Interview with Farsha Ibrahim Yaqoob, Kirink, 1997 who was the chief administrator of this hakoora which belong to Fokung clan of Masalit tribe who were the real owners of the land.

the right to remove farmers who fail to pay taxes or who leave farms fallow for three years.²²⁶ This was a coup against the traditional Masalit system, which depended on land kings. The Fur dimlij system is now deeply entrenched, not only in land management and land tenure systems, but even in the collection of taxes and other dues.

Transition from one tribal customary institution to another has its justifications as explained above. However, this hakooraah is particular and similar plots have their internal circumstances. This hakooraah has witnessed, through different periods of time, migrations of different ethnic groups from other parts of Darfur who coexisted with the Masalit. Some of these groups owned small hawakeer granted to them by Masalit sultans, especially Sultan Tajeldin who ruled Masalit kingdom in early last century.²²⁷ Now there are many Darfur tribes inside this hakooraah, including the Fur, Zaghawa, Durok, Borno, Tarjam and Birgid tribes. All these tribes manage their small hawakeer through the dimlij system described above. This is a fundamental element of change and customary transformation brought about by the coexistence of different tribes in one place.²²⁸

This transformation was not confined to the Masalit tribe. Neighboring tribes, influenced by Masalit culture, similarly adopted the Fur dimlij system. The Asangour tribe in the northwest of Dar Masalit, for instance, adopted this system. However, changes in the Asangour tribe were not as solid as those that took place in the Masalit tribe. The Asangour tribe adopted the dimlij system and replaced kings with damalij, but it kept other titles such as basi and takanjawi.²²⁹

In short, this transformation process is in a transitional phase in central Dar Masalit, but is only in an early stage in peripheral Dar Masalit. For example, the Sinnar clan, which inhabits the southwestern corner of Dar Masalit, has never known the dimlij system.²³⁰ The person who managed land there was known as the warnag and was a representative chosen by the farsha, the tribal authority who allocates land.²³¹ After the land had been allocated, the warnag is given a tip in cash (not fixed). When he died in 1944, the warnag's son was named shaikh of the village of Hajar Bagar to the northwest of Forbaranga.²³² The duty of the takanjawi was to supervise the shaikhs in their management of land and in the collection of produce revenues. He handed over revenues to the farsha after deducting his and the shaikhs' share (one third).²³³

226. The hakooraah of King Tota and the hakooraah of Imam Abdelaziz, both around Elgeneina, still maintain the positions of king and caliph.

227. Sultan Tajeldin granted the Fur, Borno, and Tarjam hawakeer, inside the Masalit hakooraah.

228. Interview with Farsha Ibrahim Yaqoob, Kirink, 1997.

229. Interview with Emir Yahaya Mohamed Ulma Bosh, Elgeneina, 1999.

230. The Sinnar tribe is mostly in Chad. Immigrants from this tribe came to Dar Masalit in 1922 following political disagreement over tribal power control. They were hosted by Sultan Mohamed Bahreldin. Interview with Mohamed Naheed Hagar, Forbaranga, 1999.

231. A warnag is also a youth organization in the communities of both the Fur and Masalit tribes. It is concerned mainly with defense and military matters. It has nothing to do with land issues in both tribes. The farsha is an administrative title peculiar to the Masalit tribe and corresponds to the shartaya in the Fur community.

232. Forbaranga is the administrative capital of the Sinnar tribe. The word means "good omen."

233. Interview with Mohamed Naheed Hagar, Forbaranga, 1999.

Another of the Dar tribes of west Darfur that adopted the warnag system and took it away from its traditional military framework to a system of land management was the Marasa tribe in the northwestern part of Dar Masalit. This is an old tribe living amidst the tribes of the Gimir sultanate in northwestern Darfur. This tribe was dominated by the Gimir tribe, just as the Sinnar tribe was dominated by the Masalit tribe. Despite this domination, the Marasa tribe has managed to keep its hakoora and its system of land tenure.²³⁴ Each and every clan of the tribe has its own warnag who collects revenues and distributes agricultural lands to farmers.²³⁵ He also represents holders of the land although he (the warnag) does not own the land.²³⁶ This position is not hereditary but rather depends on trust and selection by the clan, and a warnag may be ousted if he fails to carry out his duties.²³⁷ Such duties include collecting blood money, suggesting that the tribe actually adopted the dimlij system but kept the name of “warnag.”²³⁸

4-4 Customary Institutions of the Baggara and Abbala Arabs in Darfur

The geographical location of the land of the Baggara tribes in south Darfur (the Bani Halba, Habbaniyya, Fellata, Rizaigat, and Ta'aisha tribes) away from the seat of power of the Fur sultanate in Elfasher, as well as the relative independence of the leadership of these tribes, made the influence of the sultanate's customary institutions on these tribes rather different. They picked up what suited their needs and adapted it to serve their purposes, with some variations between individual tribes. The Bani Halba tribe, for instance, whose land neighbours the lands of the Fur tribe to the southwest of Jebel Marra, was the most influenced of all the Baggara Arabs by the sultanate's customs and traditions. This is understandable in view of the tribe's intermingling and intermarriage with its Fur neighbors. The tribe adopted the dimlij system and other related titles such as magdoom and falaganawi, and adapted them to suit its way of life.

At the beginning of the formation of the present Bani Halba native administration in 1921, some security disturbances, led by Faki Abdalla Mohamed Idris al-Suhaini, took place at the center of Nyala.²³⁹ The British authorities, already suspecting that the Bani Halba tribe had looted Sultan Ali Dinar's cattle following battles between him and the British army in 1916, determined to punish the Bani Halba tribe and pressed charges against them and the Gimir tribe who were living with them in the same native administration.²⁴⁰ To protect his

234. Interview with Abubaker Adam Omar, Kulbus, 1999.

235. This is different from the responsibility of the warnag in the Sinnar tribe.

236. Interview with Abubaker Adam Omar, Kulbus, 1999.

237. This is different from the way damalij are selected in northern and central Darfur.

238. Interview with Abubaker Adam Omar, Kulbus, 1999.

239. Interview with Abdelrahman Ahmed Mohamed Dedi, Id al-Ghanam, 1997.

240. Faki Abdalla al-Suhaini was from the Gimir tribe. He killed the British commissioner of Nyala district and was hanged in Nyala in 1922. Interview with Abdalla Abbakar al-Suhaini, 1997. Sultan Ali Dinar was assassinated on 5 November 1916 in the Kolmi area of Jebel Marra. In January 1917 all of Darfur was

tribe, Nazir Mohamed Ibrahim Dabaka of Bani Halba called the leaders of all the tribes living in Dar Bani Halbato to a meeting in his home to discuss cooperation and security for all of the tribes. The meeting was attended by leaders of the Bani Halba, Salamt, Bani Husain, Khuzam, Borno, Fur, and Gimir tribes. As part of the security arrangements, the tribes agreed on issues related to blood money in cases committed by their respective tribespeople, as follows:

Blood money of a man	30 cows
Blood money of a woman	Half of the blood money for a man
Blood money of an eye	Half of the blood money for a person
Blood money of a leg	Half of the blood money for a person
Blood money of a tooth	One or more calves of two years
Blood money of piercing a hymen	One or more calves of two years ^{240b}

This customary agreement between the tribes living in Dar Bani Halba has had far reaching effects on the customary institutions in southern Darfur, especially amongst the Baggara Arab tribes. It has also deepened the customary institutions of the initiator tribe of Bani Halba.

In 1941, a similar but wider meeting was held in Dar Habbaniyya for all the tribes of southern Darfur. For the second time, Nazir Mohamed Ibrahim Dabaka of Bani Halba raised the issue of blood money in the presence of all tribal leaderships. An agreement on blood money was signed by the following leaders:

Rizaigat	Nazir Ibrahim Musa Madibo
Ta'aisha	Nazir Emir Ali as-Sanousi
Habbaniyya	Nazir al-Ghali Tajeldin
Fellata	Nazir al-Samani al-Bashar
Gimir	Omda Mohamed Hasan Ras al-Thoar
Masalit	King Dod and Sultan Mohamed Thoar Kisha
Birgid	Shartaya Adam Yaqoob
Dajo	Shartaya Adam Abo
Bigo	Shartaya Ali Shumo
Fur	Shartaya Sulayman Hasaballa and Shartaya Ali Zungud
Bani Halba	Nazir Mohamed Ibrahim Dabaka

annexed as a province to the Anglo-Egyptian state of Sudan (Theobald 1965, 225). In 1918, the British authority confiscated all cattle of the Bani Halba tribe as a collective punishment and to send a signal to all tribes of the area.

240b. Interview with an-Nour Khairalla, Id al-Fursan, 1997.

The tribal leaders agreed in this meeting that blood money for murder would be 70 cows. Intermingling tribes were allowed to have bilateral agreements between themselves to organize payment of blood money in accordance with their special circumstances, however. Indeed, several bilateral agreements were struck between neighboring tribes with regards to blood money: blood money for murder was stipulated at only 12 cows between the Bani Halba and Fur tribes and at only 30 cows between the Bani Halba and Ta'aisha tribes. The blood money table below shows that most Baggara Arab tribes of southern Darfur abided by the provisions of the 1941 meeting, which stipulated blood money for murder at 70 cows. The tribes that adhered to the agreed blood money were the Bani Halba, Habbaniyya, Fellata, Salamt, and Ta'aisha tribes.²⁴¹ Other tribes, such as the Masalit dingir, Dajo, Bigo, and Fur tribes reduced this amount greatly.²⁴² This is attributable to the differences in the economies of these tribes. The Baggara tribes in general owned wealth of livestock and thus were able to afford higher values of blood money than other tribes that depended mainly on subsistence farming and hence could not afford to strictly adhere to such high values. Blood money was usually shared by the whole tribe and not paid by the family of the offender alone.

Other factors that affected tribal customary laws pertinent to blood money in later years were the massive migration into the area following the drought waves that hit Darfur during the 1971–1984 period and the wars that erupted during the last decades of the 20th century.²⁴³ The migrating groups came to southern Darfur with new habits, customs, and traditions in grazing and farming, which led to social tensions between them and area's original inhabitants. This became clearly manifested in the struggle that erupted between the Bani Halba and northern Rizaigat tribes, which ended with a reconciliation conference in 1974. Resolutions that came out of the conference included the following:

- Complaints raised by Bani Halba against northern Rizaigat needed to be investigated by the police and presented to competent courts;
- The northern Rizaigat tribe was not to enter Dar Bani Halba before January 20 of each year;
- No weapons requiring a license were to be carried by either tribe;
- The Rizaigat were not to cut trees for the purpose of grazing;
- The Rizaigat were not to kill animals for the purpose of hunting;
- The Rizaigat were not to water their animals in Dar Bani Halba without prior agreement of the Bani Halba;
- The Rizaigat were required to adhere to local laws; and
- The Rizaigat were required to pay blood money according to agreed values.²⁴⁴

This agreement between the two parties clearly demonstrates the differences between customs and traditions in grazing and regulating watering and hunting between the incoming northern

241. Interview with Abdelrahman Ahmed Mohamed Dedi, Id al-Ghanam, 1997.

242. In a reconciliation conference between the Fur tribes and some Arab tribes held in Elfasher in 1989, an agreement was reached to revise these blood money values.

243. Conference between the Fur and some Arab tribes held in Elfasher, 1989.

244. Reconciliation conference between the Bani Halba and northern Rizaigat tribes, 1987.

Rizaigat tribe and the already established Bani Halba tribe. The northern Rizaigat tribe consisted of camel herders, while the Bani Halba tribe consisted of cattle herders and settled farmers, though both tribes derive from the same ethnicity.

Armed conflicts had a great influence on customs related to blood money. This was clear in the frequent conflicts and the use of firearms that maximized the payment of blood money. This prompted tribes to reduce the values of blood money to affordable sums during a reconciliation conference held in Elfasher in 1989. Table 4-1 below shows variations in the values of blood money between different tribes of different ethnicities. As mentioned earlier, the Baggara tribes were wealthy enough to provide blood money at the values determined during the earlier 1941 conference, but other tribes (especially the farming ones) reduced these values greatly. The Masalit tribe, for instance, reduced blood money for men to only 30 cows, and the Bigo tribe reduced this same blood money to only six cows. Disparities in the valuation of blood money were linked to the economy of each tribe and its ability to abide by agreements. This reflected great flexibility in tribal customary laws related to settlement of disagreements and bloody disputes.

Disparities between tribes in the valuation of blood money were expressed in many ways. While some tribes, including the Bani Halba, Birgid, Tarjam, and Salamt tribes, were committed to paying of half a man's blood money for a women within the respective tribe (i.e., 15 cows), other tribes, such as the Rizaigat and Habbaniyya tribes, paid half a man's blood money for a woman outside the tribe (i.e., 30 cows). The Ta'aisha and Fellata tribes valued blood money for a woman at 20 cows, as agreed between the two tribes. The Masalit tribe considered the blood money for a woman to be equal to that of a man, both inside and outside the tribe. If there was no previous agreement on blood money, the two tribes would reach an agreement binding on both. Disparities are also reflected in the blood money required for injury to different organs of the human body, such as the eyes, legs, and teeth. There are also considerable disparities in the age and sex of the cows paid as blood money. Some tribes divided cows into four age groups, while others divided them to five or six age groups. To understand this further, look at tables 4-2 and 4-3, which show the classification of cows in the Bani Halba and Fellata tribes, respectively.

ITEM	NAME OF TRIBE	BLOOD MONEY FOR MALE INSIDE THE TRIBE	BLOOD MONEY FOR MALE OUTSIDE THE TRIBE	BLOOD MONEY FOR A WOMAN	BLOOD MONEY FOR AN EYE	BLOOD MONEY FOR A LEG	BLOOD MONEY FOR A HAND	BLOOD MONEY FOR A TOOTH	BLOOD MONEY FOR A FINGER
1	Bani Halba	30	70	-	15	15	15	One female cow 3 ys. old	One female cow 3 ys. old
2	Albirgid	30	71	15	15	15	15	One male cow 1 y. old	One male cow 1 y. old
3	Alotorya	30	100	15	6	6	6	3	1
4	Dinka Malwal	31	85	41	15	15	15	1	3
5	Masalit Nihās	13	13	6	6	3	3	3	3
6	Masalit Dinger	13	33	12	1	1	2	1	1
7	Habbaniyya	30	70	35	15	15	5	1	1
8	Maalia	41	61	20	20	20	2	1	1
9	Birgo	6	6	6	3	15	3	3	3
10	Ta'aisha	42	72	20	12	12	21	1	1
11	Rizaigat	61	71	30	15	15	15	1	1
12	Falatta	40	70	20	20	20	20	1	1
13	Targem	12	30	15	15	7	7	3	1
14	Salamat	30	70	15	15	15	15	1	1
15	Saada	12	?	12	6	6	6	2	1

Table 4-1: Blood money for some tribes in South Darfur, 1997

Source: Interview with Alnour Kheir Allah, Nyala, December 1997.

NO. OF FEMALE COWS	AGES OF FEMALE COWS
7	Fatih (gave birth more than once)
7	Bikr (gave birth only once)
7	Rabaa'iya (pregnant for the first time)
7	Thaniya (3 years or older)
7	Jadaa'a (2 years or older)
7	Madmoona (1 year or older)
NO. OF MALE COWS	AGES OF MALE COWS
7	Rabaa' (4 years old)
7	Thani (3 years or older)
7	Jadaa' (2 years or older)
7	Madmoon (1 year or older)

Table 4-2: Murder Blood Money in the Bani Halba Tribe

Source: Interview with an-Nour Khairalla, *Id al-Fursan*, 1997.

In the Bani Halba tribe, blood money for murder of a man within the tribe consists of 42 female and 28 male cows (70 cows total).

NO. OF FEMALE COWS	AGES OF FEMALE COWS
13	Fatih (gave birth more than once)
13	Rabaa'iya (pregnant for the first time)
13	Thaniya (3 years or older)
13	Jadaa'a (2 years or older)
13	Madmoona (1 year or older)
NO. OF MALE COWS	AGES OF MALE COWS
1	Kalali (5 years or older)
1	Rabaa' (4 years old)
1	Thani (3 years or older)
1	Jadaa' (2 years or older)
1	Madmoon (1 year or older)

Table 4-3: Murder Blood Money in the Fellata Tribe

Source: Interview with an-Nour Khairalla, *Id al-Fursan*, 1997.

In the Fellata tribe, blood money for murder of a man within the tribe consists of 65 female and 5 male cows (70 cows total).

The types and ages of cows mentioned in the tables above are explained in table 4-4 below:

AGE	NAME
Younger than 1 year	Anslab
1 year or older	Holy (sometimes called madmoon)
2 years or older	Jadaa' or Jadaa'a
3 years	Thani or Thaniya
4 years	Rabaa' or Rabaa'iya
5 years or older	Kalali or Fatih

Table 4-4: Names of Cows in Baggara Tribes in South Darfur, according to Age

Source: Interview with Adam Mohamed Ibrahim Dabaka, Kabum, 1997.

4-5 The Evolution of Customary Law in the Bani Halba Tribe

As clear from the above discussion, the Bani Halba tribe played a tremendous role in promoting tribal customary laws among all tribal groups in southern Darfur. This was clear during the 1922 Joaghain conference on the internal organization of the Bani Halba tribe itself, as well as during the conference held in Abu Sala'a in 1941, in which most tribes of southern Darfur took part.²⁴⁵ The Bani Halba tribe organized both of these conferences, but it also set a precedent by deepening the customary organizations amongst the Baggara tribes in southern Darfur.

After organizing the Joaghain conference for all the tribes living in Dar Bani Halba as well as other tribes living in Bani Halba area, the Bani Halba tribe established a dimlij institution to implement and manage decisions taken in that conference that related to customary laws. The following dimalij were selected from the clans that formed part of the Bani Halba tribe:

- A'lawna clan, Biraima Azrag, Um Janah village;
- Khazazra clan, Dimlij Hamid ar-Rihaid, Fakarin village;
- Awlad Jama'an clan, Dimlij Shaib Abho, Id al-Ghanam village;
- Misaweiya clan, Dimlij Shaib Nil, Sarakh village;
- Rajabiya clan, Dimlij Mohamed Ibrahim, Falandagi; and
- Bani Mansour clan, Dimlij Zakin Jar al-Nabi, Markandi village.²⁴⁶

245. In both conferences, Shaikh Mohamed Ibrahim Dabaka, nazir of the Bani Halba tribe, played a pioneering role in promoting customary tribal institutions. Interview with Nazir al-Hadi Eisa Dabaka, of the Habbaniiya tribe, Id al-Ghanam, 1997.

246. Interview with Mohamed Ibrahim Bakhaisa, dimlij of the Rajabiya clan, Kabum, 1997. He remained dimlij for 56 years.

Dimalij of the other tribes living in Dar Bani Halba were also chosen, as follows:

- Salamat tribe, Dimlij Hamdan Jad al-Maula, Jiraif village;
- Khuzam tribe, Dimlij Dako Ibrahim, Kabsa village; and
- Bani Husain tribe, Dimlij Abdalla Abdelrahman (village not known).

After each dimlij was selected, he was required to take an oath to judge with justice between his people. He accompanied the omda, who authorized him to collect taxes and dues.²⁴⁷ They worked together, both the dimlij and omda, in a cooperative which is unique to other tribes in southern Darfur. In the Bani Halba tribe, the dimlij performed a quasi-administrative role alongside the omda, both within the tribe and in relation to neighboring tribes such as the Fur, Habbaniyya, Ta'aisha, and Rizaigat tribes.²⁴⁸ In return for his services, the dimlij received grants and gifts.

The years that followed the 1971–1974 droughts saw heavy migrations from northern and eastern Darfur to Dar Bani Halba. These migrations intensified competition over natural resources and, in turn, intensified armed struggles. Perhaps the most famous of these struggles was the one between the Bani Halba and northern Rizaigat tribes in 1974. As a result of this struggle leaders of both tribes concluded that the current blood money values did not act as enough of a deterrent and that the provisions of the Joaghain conference needed to be revised. A new conference was convened in Um Labasa in 1980 to review these blood money values. During this conference, the tribes agreed to raise the value of murder blood money for a murder inside the tribe should be 30 cows, which was to be paid in kind. (Previously, only 15 cows had been paid and the other 15 cows were considered to be forgiven.) Regarding blood money for a murder outside the tribe, the conference endorsed the provisions of the 1941 Abu Sala'a conference, which required 70 cows.²⁴⁹ This introduced a new development in the customary law in Dar Bani Halba.

Another development related to the dimlij institution was the change of the roles of falganawi and karasi, which had been described by Nachtigal (1971, 235) as posts at the lowest part of the administrative ladder in the Fur sultanate and had described by O'Fahey (1980) as mere messengers. The British administration used these titles for men who acted as guards to help the omda and sharati keep law and order and collect taxes and dues. They were usually selected from the families of the sharati they served.²⁵⁰ The falganawi had always had a different role in Dar Bani Halba, however. In addition to their role in the chief's house, they acted as mediators between ordinary people and the chief, and they mediated problems relations between the chief and his wives. Moreover, they served the chief's guests and took care of his horses. Because of the sensitivity of these functions, holders of the post were often chosen from the chief's family.²⁵¹

247. Interview with Mohamed Ibrahim Bikhaisa, *ibid.*

248. Tribes living on the dar of the main tribes were considered to be members of that tribe and were treated accordingly. In the case of the Bani Halba tribe, these tribes included the Bargo, Khuzam, Bani Husain, Salamt, Dajo, Bani Husain, Fur, Bargo, Fellata, and Bidairiyya tribes.

249. Interview with Omda and Dimlij Ali Zakeen Jar al-Nabi, Falandagi, 1997.

250. Interview with Shartaya Mohamed Suar Adam, Zalinji, 1999.

251. Interview with Mohamed Ibrahim Bikhaisa, dimlij of the Rajabiya clan, Kabum, 1997.

Clearly, the Bani Halba tribe, because of its proximity to the Fur tribe, benefitted greatly from the Fur's customary law institutions and developed them to suit its security, social, and economic needs.

4-6 The Development and Adaptation of Customary Law Institutions by the Fur and Masalit Tribes

The phenomenon of adapting customary laws to suit local needs is also found in the Fur communities of Jebel Marra. As this area is rich in natural resources, especially water, it attracted many nomadic tribes from northern, central, and eastern Darfur. This included Arab tribes such as the Bani Halba, Salamt, Mahdi, Hotiyya, Awlad Zaid, Ta'alba, Rizaigat, Bani Husain, and Khuzam tribes.²⁵² Non-Arab tribes included the Zaghawa, Borno, Tama, Bargo, Mima, and Masalit tribes. All these tribes lived within different clans of the Fur tribe, but they also had their own shaikhs to manage their affairs.²⁵³ Most of these tribes, especially those that migrated from northern Darfur, were camel herders; however, when they arrived in Jebel Marra (with its different climate) they changed to raising cattle. Their cattle adapted to trekking for short journeys unlike the long distance trekking of the cattle of the Baggara tribes in southern Darfur.²⁵⁴ These migrating tribes also adopted Fur customary laws and agreed that the value of blood money would be 30 cows for murder and 15 cows for manslaughter, both with immediate payment.²⁵⁵ If the person who caused the death was unknown, payment of the blood money was shared between the Fur and the Arabs. Ages of blood money cows are shown in table 4-5 below.

FEMALE COWS	MALE COWS
3 big fatih (at least 8 years old)	3 rabaa' (at least 5 years old)
3 big bikr (at least 6 years old)	3 thani (at least 4 years old)
3 rabaa'iya (at least 5 years old)	3 jadaa' (at least 3 years old)
3 thaniya (at least 4 years old)	3 madmoon (at least 2 years old)
3 jadaa'a (at least 3 years old)	
6 madmoona (at least 2 years old)	

Table 4-5: Types and Ages of Murder Blood Money between the Fur and Arab Tribes

Source: Interview with Omda Joada Yousuf, shaikh of Rizaigat Mahameed, Zalinji, 1999.

252. The Khuzam tribe was one of the first Arab tribes to migrate to the Fur area. It established its first omda institution in 1926.

253. There are two types of shaikhs; one to manage land affairs and the other to manage interpersonal affairs.

254. Interview with Omda Joada Yousuf, shaikh of Rizaigat Mahameed, Zalinji, 1999.

255. Interview with al-Husain Saeed al-Hilo, emir of Wadi Salih, Wadi Salih, 1999.

The above table compiled from Fur and Arab tribes living in the Fur areas shows blood money amounts that are completely different from those of the Arab tribes living in Dar Masalit.²⁵⁶ The difference is in the value of blood money for murder and manslaughter. In regards to the Arab tribes in Dar Masalit, the value of blood money was 100 camels for Abbala (camel herders) and 100 cows for Baggara, regardless of whether the offense was murder or manslaughter. The Arab tribes in Dar Masalit also did not specify the gender of the animals, although the ages differed in cases of manslaughter. See the tables below:

NO. OF ANIMALS	AGES OF ANIMALS
33	thaniya (3 years or older)
33	rabaa'iya (4 years or older)
33	fatih (5 years or older)
100	cows

Table 4-6: Blood Money for Murder among Arab Tribes in Dar Masalit

Source: Interview with Al-Husain Saeed al-Hilo, emir of Wadi Salih, Wadi Salih, 1999.

NO. OF ANIMALS	AGES OF ANIMALS
20	madmoon (2 years or older) cow or camel
20	jadaa' (3 years or older) cow or camel
20	thani (3 to 4 years old) cow or camel
20	rabaa' (4 years or older) cow or camel
20	fatih (5 years or older) cow or camel
100	cows or camels

Table 4-7: Blood Money for Manslaughter among Arab Tribes in Dar Masalit

Source: Interview with Al-Husain Saeed al-Hilo, emir of Wadi Salih, Wadi Salih, 1999.

Note the differences between blood money for murder and manslaughter. These include not only differences in the ages of the animals, but also differences in the number of types of animals (three groups for the former and five groups for the latter).²⁵⁷

256. The Arab tribes currently living in Dar Masalit include the Awlad Rashid, Haimad, Awlad Zaid, Mahriyya, Mahameed, Awlad Tako, Messiriya, Bani Halba, Eraigat, Naja'a, Mahdi, and Nawaiba tribes.

257. Interview with Emir Hamid Dawai, of Awlad Rashid, Baida, 2001.

4-7 Tribal Customary Institutions in Darfur: Conclusions

Customary institutions have long been linked to land use, land tenure, and individual and communal rights and responsibilities. In the 17th century, Sudan had known political entities in the form of sultanates along the savannah belt when the Subarm Tagali, Fur, and Lake Chad sultanates were established. These political tribal entities had enormous direct influence on land use and other customary institutions, such as the issue of blood money. These customary institutions lived side by side with religious teachings. Although there were many similarities in the customary institutions of all these Sudanic kingdoms, the Fur sultanate was unique because of its geographical location in between the sultanate of Sinnar to the east and the sultanate of Waddai to the west. The general characteristics of the Fur sultanate's customary institutions may be summarized as follows:

- The Darfur region, which was dominated by the Fur sultanate for more than three centuries and ruled as one political and administrative unit, was actually a geographically diverse region with different climates and topographies. In addition, its inhabitants came from different ethnicities with different customs and traditions. All these factors together influenced, enhanced, and enriched the region's customary institutions.
- Despite variations in land use and land tenure systems throughout the region, customary laws organized farming, hunting, grazing, and water use, as well as blood money. The Fur sultans introduced feudalistic ownership of land and legalized customary institutions into one law called the Dali Law. Moreover, they established an administration to oversee implementation of this customary law.
- In the presence of the general framework set forth by the Dali Law, individual ethnic and tribal entities preserved their respective local characteristics in administering local customary law. However, the extent to which individual groups preserved their own traditions was greatly influenced by their proximity to the center of political power.

The Fur sultanate's area of influence can be divided into the following seven areas with somewhat differing characteristics:

First, the *Jebel Mara area* included the traditional Fur lands where the Fur Keira sultanate was established. This area later annexed other parts of Darfur. The area has unique customary characteristics in land use and land tenure, and some of its lands were classified as the sultan's hakoora and used to finance the sultan palace's needs. For all these ethnic and historical reasons, this area has been the caretaker of most customs pertinent to farming, grazing, hunting, and water use.

Second, the *Dar Masalit area* was located to the west of Jebel Marra. Two main factors contributed to the formation of customary laws in this region. First, because of its geographical location, the Jebel Mara area constituted a barrier between Dar Masalit and the eastern plains of Darfur, which extend to the Nile basin where the Funj and other kingdoms lay. This position meant that Dar Masalit's customs and traditions were influenced by those of the kingdoms established around Lake Chad, especially the Kanem-Borno and Waddai sultanates. These cultural influences gave Dar Masalit's customary laws unique characteristics.

Third, the *area of the Baggara Arab nomads* extended along the southeastern belt of Darfur. The area was especially successful in retaining its own customs and traditions. This stemmed from the socio-economic nature of the nomadic tribes, which depended on raising animals instead of establishing settled farming communities. The nature of grazing and roaming made commonality of land use a main pillar of these tribes' customary laws. Although some of these tribes settled and made farming their mainstay, they still kept the special nature of their customs.

Fourth, customary laws were mixed among the *magdoomiya of the Fur and the settled tribes in southern Darfur*. This is because their lands extended along the eastern side of Jebel Marra and constituted a natural extension of the Fur lands mentioned earlier. On the area's eastern edge, it included settled tribal entities such as the Birgid, Dajo, Bigo, Zaghawa, Masalit, and Tarjam tribes. This area also extended southwards and intermingled with the lands of the Baggara Arab tribes. That region was a central area where customary laws of many entities mixed.

Fifth, the *area around the town of Elfasher* was a center of political power ever since it was established in 1830 as the capital of the Fur sultanate. It also remained an important center for building the sultans' palace bureaucracy. This bureaucracy included political leaders, military commanders, merchants, tax experts, and others. Land grants were the only viable reward to win the services of these bureaucrats, and competition over lands around Elfasher was very acute. Thus, this situation affected land customary laws.

Sixth, the *northern Darfur area* remained a unified geographical and administrative unit for a long time. It was one of the units established during the rise of the Fur sultanate and was called Dar ar-Reeh or Dar Takanjawi. The customary laws of this semi-arid area were influenced by the customs and traditions of many tribal groups, including the Tunjur, Zaghawa, Fur, and Midob tribes, as well as many clans of the Rizaigat Abbala.²⁵⁸ Although natural resources are meager in this area, which was good only for grazing, some farming activities were practiced around valleys and oases. Dar al-Arbaeen commercial routes also cut across this area. Because of the special livelihoods and scarcity of natural resources in this area, its customary laws were adapted to local condition and a little different from those in other parts of Darfur, in spite of the fact that the general framework of its laws was the same.

258. Browne (1799, 206) mentioned in his book *Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria from the Year 1792 to 1798* that he met with Mahriyya Arabs (a Rizaigat clan).

Seventh, the *Dar Dali area in Eastern Darfur* extended eastwards to the sandy plains of Kordofan and the White Nile. Therefore, its customs and traditions were influenced more by those of the Sinnar and Musaba'at kingdoms than by those of the Fur sultanate. This eastern part of the Fur sultanate remained a unique administrative area governed by Aba al-Shaikh, who held the highest post in the palace, as he was considered the premier. The area witnessed stability despite successive wars of the sultanate. The uniqueness of this area's customary laws stems from its geographical location. The customary laws witnessed some imbalance in the first half of the 20th century when cash crop farming was introduced to the region. This represented a tremendous challenge to customary land laws. However, the integrity of the area's tribal structure adapted very well to the new challenges posed by requirements of commercial farming (North Darfur Commissioner 1955).

Customary laws in Darfur were closely connected with the institution of the native administration. It was the unwritten laws that were administered by this native institution. However the native administration was dissolved in 1970 by the central government, which affected badly customary laws in Darfur. Hence, since that time, the customary laws institution began to collapse.

Chapter Five

The Collapse of Native Administration Institutions and Ensuing Struggles in Darfur

5-1 Introduction

In 1970, following settlement of a dispute between the Rizaigat and Ma'alia tribes in southern Darfur, Doctor Jaa'far Mohamed Ali Bakheet wrote to the commissioner of Darfur:

I would like to congratulate you and your assistants for the valuable efforts that ended the dispute between Rizaigat and Ma'alia; a dreadful dispute that disturbed life in east and south Darfur and was about to set an example for how radical tribalism could tear regional cooperation and national consolidation and lead to weakness of the government apparatus. I know from my past experience as secretary and member of the investigation committee to settle the 1966 dispute that adaptation of genuine rural customary laws, with their collective punishments, is the best solution for such disputes. As we are building our new sound judicial system we intend to adapt this rigorous system which was innovated by the ingenuity of this great nation to settle disputes in such a just way that the official judicial system could not possible do. (Darfur Province 1996)

This chapter examines the “fairness of traditional justice” that Bakheet referred to in the above passage, as well as how this sound justice system collapsed as a result of deliberate policies during half a century of national rule.

It is now clear that the community of Darfur has been torn apart and divided into fighting tribal entities. The customary values that previously curtailed intra-tribal violence have decayed, and crime, including robbery and theft, has prevailed. In 1987, when the Darfur region was divided into only two provinces, I was tasked as North Darfur's commissioner to rebuild confidence in the native administration in that province.²⁵⁹ The only remarkable observation in this process was the deep entrenchment of the native administration in the

259. This decision was taken by the government of Sayed al-Sadig al-Mahdi after consulting with tribal leaders.

community, despite weaknesses that had surfaced during the May regime government that lasted for nearly two decades (1969–1985). The policies of that regime directed severe blows to the native administration system. This was obvious to native administration leaders when they compared the status quo to their bright past.²⁶⁰

Native administration has been deeply rooted in Darfur's administrative and judicial systems since the days of the early sultans of the Fur sultanate who divided Darfur into five provinces, which were then subdivided into smaller administrative units. This system evolved along with the development of Darfur's political and administrative community until it reached a state of high institutionalism and sophistication.

The connection between the region's native administration and judicial system has historical roots. Sources reveal that the area that is presently North Darfur was Dar Takanjawi during the Fur sultanate. The Dali Law was the judiciary's reference in this dar. The Dali Law was derived from customary codes recognized by Darfur community. Although no one has been able to locate the document containing this law since the days of the traveller Nachtigal in 1873, it seems to be no different from the customary law that is practiced today in many parts of Darfur.

The titles of posts held by native administrators in Darfur have sentimental meanings and specific functional and social roles. Such titles reference administrative, political, and judicial posts in the Fur sultanate. Each and every post has its own qualifications, customs, and rituals. It is probable that this complex system had its roots in ancient kingdoms that rose around Lake Chad in the 11th and 12th centuries, as indicated by O'Fahey (1980, 11). However, the Fur system definitely differed from that of the Chadian sultanate of Wadai, which was contemporaneous to the Fur sultanate.

Native administration units are now closely tied to each tribe's identity. They are also connected to the customs and traditions observed by clans. Although the Darfur community experienced qualitative changes during the 50 years that followed the start of the British colonization in 1916, the area remained largely rural and on the periphery of Khartoum's reach. Therefore, it is not surprising that regimes in Khartoum attempted more than once to ignore Darfur, as they did in 1969 (during the May regime) and in 1989 (during the Inghaz regime). However, doing so caused severe functional and social imbalances in the region.

The man responsible for native administration in a Darfur tribe today is viewed by his community as a leader and a symbol for the tribe. He is not like a civil servant, who works within a certain functional framework and is subject to posting to other places on a regular basis by his employer. A native administrator stays with his people forever, unless exceptional circumstances, such as committing a crime, occur. The merits of this continuity include an eagerness for the administrator to know every detail in the community. This qualifies the native administrator to be an expert in solving the problems of his people and applying

260. Separate interview with Abdelrahman Mohamed Bahraldin, sultan of the Masalit tribe; Osman Hashim, sultan of the Gimir tribe; and Bushara Dawsa, sultan of the Zaghawa Kobi tribe, May 1987.

the customary laws of the tribe. The native administrator is also the keeper of customary laws. This accords him the required respect and veneration to perform his functions in a proper way. Before the dissolution of the native administration in 1970 and the application of the Regional Governance Act in 1980, the selection of native administrators was made through consultation between commissioners (the Darfur commissioner, for instance) and the minister of the interior (initially) and the minister of local governments (at a later stage in the process). This process was subject to rigorous rules and many considerations, such as security of the local community, competence, and the ability of the candidate to perform multiple functions. The process was also to be carried out according to observed customs and traditions that were in line with native beliefs. This wise arrangement was neglected by successive regimes and, accordingly, the native administration sustained a deep wound. In later regimes, the exercise of choosing a native administrator became subjected to the whims of the ruling oligarchies without consideration to the administrative heritage that had governed the process for so long. Moreover, certain regimes, such as the Inghaz regime, politicized the process to favor its supporters without considering their eligibility and competence.

In 1988, confidence was unanimously reinstated to most native administrators in North Darfur, with the exception of one administration, Dar Tor in Umbaro. Dar Tor's administration was subject to a number of special circumstances, which are discussed separately further below. This unanimity clearly reflected the nature of native administration, which in turn was based on leadership qualities, generosity, patience, and courage. There was a big difference between selecting a native administration leader from within a tribe or clan's community and selecting a representative for that community from a local or national legislative council.

In addition to policies described above that fragmented native administration in Darfur, other factors facilitated a slide into fragmentation. One of these factors was the death of some of the best native administrators in Darfur during 1995–2005. These men maintained a great heritage not only within their respective tribes but in the whole of Darfur. It is important to document something about these great men to honor the role they played in reinforcing stability and security in Darfur.

Two pillars guided the philosophy of native administration in the minds of those great leaders: peaceful coexistence and sharing resources according to observed customs and traditions. In addition, these native administrators were contemporaneous to the British administration's reorganization of native administration during the 1920–1930 period. The new structures introduced by the British transformed the native administration in Darfur from a well-entrenched African system to a new one based on tradition, but differing in concepts and tools. For example, British district commissioners, province directors, and a governor general replaced the sultan's bureaucracy. However, basic tribal structures and customary laws remained intact. In southern Darfur, the British introduced a type of confederation between the Arab tribes. Although this change was rather bitterly received in the beginning, it eventually led to stability and put an end to all types of lawlessness (South Darfur Commissioner 1951). The next section documents examples of native administrators who were groomed to be leaders by their fathers and grandfathers. All of them witnessed the transitional period introduced by the British between 1920 and 1930.

5-2 Examples of Men in the Native Administration of Darfur

5-2-1 Abdelrahman Mohamed Bahraldin

The first of these examples is Sultan Abdelrahman Mohamed Bahraldin of the Masalit tribe, who passed away in 1999, leaving behind a huge heritage of native administration wisdom built upon 51 years of experience. Sultan Abdelrahman was a well-built, but rather shortman who was inclined to be less talkative, yet very humorous. His impact on his people as well as on all other tribes living in Dar Masalit was very obvious. He was rather clever in dealing with subordinates and with officials of the Darfur province, in addition to keeping good relations with his native administration counterparts throughout the whole region. Sultan Abdelrahman never intervened much in relations between different clans of his tribe, but at the same time he was very decisive when any clan stepped out of the tribal norms and traditions.²⁶¹ All these qualities and traits gave Dar Masalit stability until 1995.

Sultan Abdelrahman was the son of Sultan Mohamed Bahraldin (Andoka), who laid down the rules of modern administration in Dar Masalit and applied the provisions of the agreement concluded with the British in 1919. He was also the grandson of Sultan Tajaldin, who fought the French in the west and Sultan Ali Dinar in the east to maintain the independence of his kingdom. This great heritage gave Sultan Abdelrahman pride and confidence. He was well aware of the customs and traditions that guided both his local community and the communities of his neighboring kingdoms to the west, such as the Waddai and Fulanji. He kept good relations with his neighbors and exchanged cordial visits, gifts, and correspondence with them. Inside his kingdom, although he was decisive with his aides, he treated them like a father. He enjoyed wealth and prestige as well as the respect of his people. For five decades he was the principal figure in all reconciliation conferences that occurred throughout Darfur since he was the eldest native administrator in Darfur region. He adjudicated tribal conflicts among all tribes and was regarded as the “godfather” of all the tribes of Darfur until his last days. I met him for the last time in his capital of Elgeneina in 1997, during the war between the Arabs and the Masalit that erupted following the new native administration decree of 1995. He said to me with great sorrow, “I wish I never live to see my people from Arabs and Masalit fight and destroy their land because of decisions of the rulers.” He passed away at the end of the 20th century, leaving behind a vacuum that was never filled (Darfur Province Classified file no. D/S/66/3 vol. 3, n.d.).

5-2-2 Bushara Dawsa

Only months after the death of Sultan Abdelrahman, in January 2001, Darfur lost another of its great native administrative pillars, Sultan Bushara Dawsa of Dar Kobi (the Zaghawa Kobi tribe).²⁶² Sultan Bushara Dawsa was a tall, thin, humorous, generous, and highly intelligent man.

261. Interviews with Sultan Abdelrahman Mohamed Bahraldin, Elgeneina, 1997.

262. Different interviews in Altina village in 1997, including with Sultan Bushara Dawsa and Tegani Mahmoud Altayeb.

He lived with his father Sultan Dawsa, who ruled for 68 year until his death in 1982. Sultan Bushara Dawsa assisted his father during this long reign, starting in 1940 when he was appointed as deputy to his father by Mr. Moore, North Darfur's commissioner. He took over as sultan immediately following his father's death. This long period of practice in native administration made him highly knowledgeable of all details of tribal customs and traditions. For this he was considered to be a main source of information for the Zaghawa people and their paternal leader during the last few decades of the 20th century. During the period I knew him, he was strictly managing the affairs of the Zaghawa Kobi sultanate as well as maintaining good relations with other Zaghawa clans in Chad.

Sultan Bushara Dawsa was a very proud man and was also very fond of his father, Sultan Dawsa. He once told me in a proud manner about an incident that happened with his father. He said that when King Faisal of Saudi Arabia visited southern Darfur, Sultan Dawsa was a bit embarrassed to pay him a visit at Sibdo, the reason being that kings should come to sultans and not vice versa. Moreover, he felt embarrassed about dining with kings, sharati, and nazirs during the same event because they were just commoners (*awlad masakeen*).

The Zaghawa Kobi sultanate was one of the old sultanates in Darfur and was established by Sultan Kori during the reign of Sultan Ahmed Bakor of the Fur sultanate during the 18th century. Because of continual wars between the Waddai and Fur sultanates, the Zaghawa Kobi sultanate remained in turmoil from the time of its establishment until its division between French authorities in Chad and British authorities in the Sudan in 1922. This disturbed history produced dozens of heroic stories about champions of the Kobi clan, who were Sultan Bushara Dawsa's grandfathers. This explains why he was so proud of the stories about and battles fought by his grandfathers. With his death, a glorious chapter of Darfurian wisdom was closed.

5-2-3 Osman Hashim

Sultan Osman Hashim of Dar Gimir was born in 1914, that is, before entry of the British army into Darfur. He was from the Gamaraldin dynasty, which established the Gimir sultanate in the northeastern corner of Darfur. This sultanate preceded the Masalit sultanate by centuries and was contemporaneous to the early days of the Fur sultanate. It remained independent until its annexation to the Fur sultanate by Sultan Ahmed Bakor at the end of the 18th century.

Despite this annexation, the Gimir sultanate remained semi-autonomous and was in constant struggle with both bigger sultanates to its east and west, that is, the Fur and Waddai sultanates, respectively.

Relations between Sultan Hashim (father of Sultan Osman) and Sultan Ali Dinar were antagonistic, and they were always engaged in bloody battles. The geographical position of the Gimir sultanate between the Waddai sultanate (Bargo) to the west and the Fur sultanate to the east made the Gimir sultanate a fighting region that was engaged in continuous wars with its large neighbors. Because of this, one of its sultans was nicknamed "Hamad Wagif" (the standing sultan). Sultan Osman Hashim, who died in 2001, was a descendant of this dynasty. He was a big man with small deep eyes. At the same time, he was famous for his piety

and cautiousness. Sultan Osman Hashim dealt with his Masalit, Zaghawa, Tama, and Fur neighbors with great respect and in accordance with observed customs and traditions, which is why he commanded the respect of his tribe. He was knowledgeable about the customary laws of all the tribes of Darfur, which is why his judgment was acceptable to most disputing tribes. His departure created a vacuum that could not be easily filled.²⁶³

5-2-4 Hasan Bargo Hasan Dogi

Sultan Hasan Bargo Hasan Dogi was the sultan of the Zaghawa Kabka tribe. He was as simple as his village of Tundubaya, yet a tall and handsome man. He was very cautious in dealing with officials, and scrupulous in choosing his words, but at the same time rather witty. He was knowledgeable about the history of Darfur's sultanates, especially those neighboring his own. His memory was sharp when he narrated incidents and specified locations. Sultan Hassan Bargo was also pious and honest. He was very proud of the fact that he took over from his uncle as sultan in 1948 when he was only a young man. He took very good care of the advice given to him by the British commissioner who groomed him to be sultan: "[B]e just and never do injustice to any of your subjects." Because of his well-known credibility, not a single complaint was ever filed against him from anybody inside or outside his dar.

Sultan Hasan was inclined to stay with his people and never liked travel. When I visited him in relation to a renewal of confidence in him as sultan, he took me to a big lake about 10 kilometers away from his capital on the western side of his sultanate. This place used to be a venue for conferences during the reign of the British administration. I was pleased to see the lake, and I appreciated his deep sentimental attachment to the land of his fathers and grandfathers. Despite his courage, Sultan Hasan Bargo who was born in 1909 became old in his last years and was unable to contribute with his neighbors in securing stability as he had previously done. He must have left a great vacuum when he passed away in 2000.²⁶⁴

5-2-5 Basi Salem Tagal

Basi Salem Tagal was the chief of Awlad Digain in Muzbad, in northern Darfur. Basi is another title used by the Fur sultanate like the shartaya, dimlij, and farsha. There is disagreement about the status of the basi. Some, including inhabitants of Dar Zaghawa, see the basi as Mandub or a delegate for Zaghawa awlad Degen branch in Dar Tor administration while others see the status of the title as the shartaya in the same administration

Basi Salem was undoubtedly one of the best native administrators in northern Darfur during the last decades of the 20th century. He was a dark, tall, and well-built man with small deep eyes. He took over as chief in 1948 and was the first in his dynasty. For this he was proud to be the founding father. He was knowledgeable about tribal heritage and was the referee for all local incidents. He spoke Arabic fluently, as he grew up with Ziyadiyya Arabs in Mileet.

263. Different interviews with Osman Hashim, sultan of Gimir, the last of which was in March 1999 in Kulbus.

264. Multiple interviews with Sultan Hasan Bargo Dogi, the last of which was in Tundubaya in March 1999.

He saw himself as the godfather of all the Awlad Digain Zaghawa. He fought fiercely to keep his administration independent of that of Tor Umbarao. This man belonged to the generation of native administration giants like King Sayah, Shaikh Hilal, Madibo, al-Ghali Tajaldin, and Nazir Mohamed Ibrahim Dabaka, who left behind a wealth of native administration skills. Basi Salem passed away in 2000 and with his death Darfur lost a keeper of customary law.²⁶⁵

5-2-6 The Awlad Mohamadain

Lastly, I must conclude these examples with the group of Awlad Mohamadain of Dar Tor because of the peculiarity of this Zaghawa clan's administration which shows how internal factors may lead to the disintegration of customary tools in rural communities. This disintegration resulted from the advent of modern tools, and its negative aspects. This could have been contained with some administrative measurements and understanding. This particular administration was in a process of transition. That is the case when traditionalism faces modernity. Because of early schooling of the younger generation of this clan they adopted modern ideas. The old elite of native administration were still traditional in their outlook. The younger generation contested this. Then the native administration institution was decaying. Because of this, during the reestablishment of the native administration in 1989, clan members were very divided about who was going to lead their tribal administration.

The Awlad Mohamadain had historically been the ruling family within the Agba clan of Zaghawa tribe. However, the wealth and prestige enjoyed by the Awlad Mohamadain family evaporated in the late 20th century with the emergence of new social groups that benefitted from education and travel abroad. Consequently, the Awlad Mohamadain family lost its control over the clan, and during the 1985–1989 period, leadership of the clan passed to a new wing of the ruling family, represented by Tijani Saif al-Nasr. However, for Awlad Mohamadain to regain the native administration of their clan will remain a challenge and the divisions among the different family groups will damage the effectiveness of the native administration as a governing institution.²⁶⁶

Each of the above native administrators and their contemporaries established and reinforced the native administration in Darfur. With their departure, Darfur lost a wealth of experience and knowledge, which has had an obvious impact on the clear deterioration of native administration.

265. Multiple interviews with Basi Salem Tigil, the last of which was in Muzbad in March 1999.

266. Interviews with Ali Mohamadain, Mahmoud Mohamadain, and Tijani Saif al-Nasr, Umbaro, May 1989.

5-3 The Philosophy and Approach of British Policy towards Native Administration in Darfur

A fundamental fact is that customary law develops alongside the development of society as a whole, and through the development of the tribes themselves (Thompson 1965, 474–514). Thus, the Dali Law, which was implemented around the 16th century, as hinted by Nachtigal (1971, 277) and O’Fahey (1980), saw fundamental changes in later centuries, as individual tribal communities became governed by political arrangements and administrative structures that stemmed from their unique cultural and historical characteristics. This section considers how relatively recent political systems have handled the cultural and historical peculiarities of the Darfur community. It focuses on the period of British colonization after Kitchener, the new governor general of the Sudan, issued his famous 1900 memorandum to all district commissioners, outlining the political philosophy of the new British administration. At this point in time, Ali Dinar was striving to reinstate the old political and administrative structures of the Fur sultanate with regard to symbols, functions, and competences after the sultanate had seen many changes during the two decades of Mahdist rule. It is also worthy of note that Darfur’s tribal entities had seen great turmoil resulting from involuntary migration during the reign of Osman Adam Jano, the Mahdist agent in Darfur. Although rebuilding the sultanate along old lines was a daunting exercise, the British authorities’ recognition of Ali Dinar and the correspondence exchanged between the two parties allowed Ali Dinar to be fairly successful in his reorganization mission, until the British administration executed him in 1916.

The northern and eastern parts of Darfur were annexed to Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in 1916 by a decree issued by General Wingate on July 8 of that year (Theobald 1965, 207). Western Darfur, which included the sultanates of Masalit, Gimir, Tama, Sala, and Kobi, was annexed in later years. The Masalit sultanate was annexed by means of a separate document in 1922, while other sultanates remained independent until an agreement was reached between the French and the British to settle the western border in 1924, at which time the remaining four sultanates were divided between the colonial powers.

Knowledge about the general political history of Darfur was a prerequisite for the British authorities to implement their new policies. Opinions vary about the success or failure of these policies in Darfur with regard to creating areas of economic growth and halting long distance trade with North and West Africa, which was reinforced through old historical relations between these places and the Fur sultanate (O’Fahey and Spaulding 1974, 160). This trade was stifled and dried up during the colonial era and, consequently, a period of economic recession was ushered in, which affected development in Darfur until today. However, this British policy was certainly judicious in the eyes of the British, as it achieved many of its goals, especially in the areas of security and stability. Importantly, the British administrative and political approaches in Darfur were different from those it adopted in the rest of Sudan. This was attributable to the region’s special historical and social circumstances as well as the general evolution of British policies in Sudan in general and in Darfur in particular. This evolution came in phases, based on experimentation.

There is a bit of a misperception regarding the administrative history of modern Sudan, and this is attributable to a misunderstanding that, with the exception of southern Sudan, the British administrative approach was the same all over the country. This misperception which has been shared not only by ordinary people but also by elites, shall be explained further below. As a matter of fact, the British policy approach in the Sudan was quite different from its approach elsewhere in the British colonies. There were two schools of thought at that time: one was led by Lord Lugard in West Africa (Nigeria) and called for indirect rule, while the other in Central Africa (Tanganyika) called for native administration. In the Sudan, the British experiment combined both in a special way. This pragmatic approach adopted by the early British administrators in the Sudan gave the Sudanese experiment its uniqueness; Darfur constituted an important part of that approach during the third decade of the 20th century (Bakheet 1972, 254).

5-4 British Administration and the Establishment of Native Administration in Darfur, 1917–1950

The British army conquered Darfur after killing Ali Dinar (the last of the Fur sultans) in 1916. Governor General Wingate issued a decree annexing the northern and eastern regions of Darfur to Anglo-Egyptian Sudan on 8 July 1916. After this, Huddleston Pasha, the commander of the conquering army and governor of Darfur, and his associates deliberated on the best way to govern this vast region, with its ethnic and tribal diversity. It was obvious to the British administrators that the region, which had been ruled as an autonomous Sudanese kingdom, enjoyed a great heritage of local native administration experience.

Although the area's governance system was local in nature, it had benefitted from proximity to other past and contemporaneous centers of power. To the east of the Fur sultanate was the Sudanic Funj kingdom, which drew on the experiences of the Nilotic Nubian kingdoms. The Funj kingdom influenced the Fur sultanate in many areas, including land tenure and governance. The two powers also had strong commercial, cultural, and religious relations (O'Fahey and Spaulding 1974, 160). To the west of the Fur sultanate were other Sudanic kingdoms that had been established around Lake Chad as early as the 12th century, such as Kanem-Borno and the sultanate of Waddai, which was contemporaneous to the Fur sultanate. The influence of these kingdoms and sultanates on the Fur sultanate was evident because they were close to the Fur sultanate in terms of population intermingling, trade, successive migrations, and travels to the holy lands. Their cultural influence was obvious, especially in the areas of governance and administration. In this regard, it has been reported that the idea of dividing the sultanates into provinces introduced by the founding sultan Dali was borrowed from these kingdoms (Arnell 1951, 267). The geographical location of the Fur sultanate between power centers to the east and west gave Darfur diversity and richness in all cultural areas, especially those related to governance and land management. This also gave it elements of continuity for more than three centuries. Likewise, this richness gave British administrators a helping hand in restructuring Darfur's governance to support the objectives of the new British administration. This is detailed later on in this book.

5-5 The Establishment of Native Administration in North Darfur

5-5-1 The Establishment of Native Administration in the Central Region (Elfasher)

After Ali Dinar's execution by the British in 1916, the British administration put in place a bureaucratic government to replace the traditional native administration, as reported by Pence Benbrook, commissioner of the Darfur province from 1924 to 1928. However, in 1927, Benbrook expressed his opinion that as long as tribal authorities were effective they should be supported, in order to quell any subversive movements and to create a shield against neo-Mahdism. Consequently, he reinstated the traditional administrative units, including magdooiya. Benbrook also allowed tribal authorities to exercise their judicial and administrative powers and appointed the nazir of Rizaigat as the magdoom of all the Baggara tribes. He also appointed one of the sons of Caliph Abdalla as emir of Nyala and a ruling family member as emir of Fur in Zalinji (Bakheet 1972, 182–183).

The British authorities chose the former capital of the Fur sultanate, Elfasher, as the new center for the region's administration. This choice had negative ramifications, as there were no prominent figures in town who could be appointed as senior administrators, since the area had been dominated by sultans for centuries. Nonetheless, the British recruited personalities such as Yousuf Torjok, Daw al-Bait Abdeldaim, and Judge Abdelwahab Moheidin in the eastern part of the center, as well as Mahmoud al-Dadingawi, al-Faki Salih, and al-Mufti Idris in Elfasher, to assist in limited capacities (Elfasher district commissioner 1942).

In the early stages of rebuilding the native administration, it was obvious that the tribal entities had fragmented into numerous small units that were competing with each other. It became apparent that the eastern area (Um Kaddada) ought to be developed separately from Elfasher, and that two different centers ought to be established. Elfasher district inspector McMichael found himself faced with a new chaotic reality resulting from the collapse of the old regime.²⁶⁷

Under these circumstances, McMichael resorted to forming a consultative council called the "kings' council." The council was made up of leaders from the former regime, including King Mahmoud al-Dadingawi (former prime minister), Faki Salih, Mustafa Jalgam, Ali as-Sanousi, Emir Hasan Ibrahim, Yousuf al-Magdooom Sharif, Mufti Idris Abdalla, Fadul Ahmed, and Haj Hamza Sammani.²⁶⁸ They all helped the new administration to rebuild the native administration.

This council was tasked with solving on site a variety of issues and problems pertinent to loyalty, border disputes, and other disputes between the different small administrative units

267. MacMichael came to Darfur as an intelligence officer with the army that annexed Darfur. After serving in different posts he later became administrative secretary to the governor general of the area.

268. Most of these members passed away early on: Mustafa Jalgam in 1931, Emir Hasan in 1933, and Faki Salih in 1939. Ali as-Sanousi was made nazir of Ta'aisha in 1928, and Yousuf became magdoom of North Darfur district in 1926. The rest were discharged from the council by means of a 1942 memorandum by the Elfasher district commissioner.

(*omodiyas*) around Elfasher. As this was a transitional period between two radically different regimes, it was only natural that the whole area witnessed widespread turmoil. The death of King Mahmoud al-Dadingawi in 1920 was a major blow to the new council, as he had no son ready to replace him (all his sons were too young at the time). Chairmanship of the council therefore transferred to his brother Faki Salih, who served both as chairman of the council and as omda of Elfasher. The omda of Elfasher was a very important post, and its occupant commanded respect and had great influence in the town, especially given Elfasher's special status as an important spiritual and political place and the former capital of the sultanate.²⁶⁹

The council conducted its tasks until 1927, and Faki Salih was given more powers and started to collect taxes. In the late 1920s, native administration in Darfur saw accelerated development following new policies introduced by Sir John Murphy, who became governor general of the Sudan in 1926 after gaining his administrative expertise in India. In January 1927, he adopted an indirect rule philosophy that lasted until 1933. His justification for this step was mainly political, as he wanted to use tribal authority as a shield or a buffer between potential rioters and the British bureaucracy. In this way, he sought to prevent any future transmission of national jealousy from Khartoum to Darfur (Bakheet 1972, 42–47). The indirect rule policy, had been recommended by Sir Milner in 1920, and experiments applying this philosophy were conducted all over the Sudan. Under this philosophy, in 1927 the kings' council was transformed into a court of law under Faki Salih, which gave the body a popular legitimacy and recalled some of the prestige of the sultanate's authority, as noted by the Elfasher district commissioner (1942).

In 1921, the first steps to amalgamate smaller native administrative units into larger units were initiated with the reinstatement of the old *shartaya* system. This was coupled with reinstatement of native courts to give the system more momentum. Heads of these courts were the *sharati* themselves in their respective units. Two new *shartawiyas*, Mala and Sumyat, were established in 1931, and another new one, Goaz Bina (to the south of Elfasher), was established in 1935. Although the new *shartaya* system followed the lines of the old one, the boundaries of *shartawiyas* in the new system were not identical to the old ones. However, the new system was a step forward in establishing courts along the lines of customary law. The old *dimlij* system was reinstated in some places and was given judicial powers to look into cases pertinent to land and blood. This was also a time that witnessed the establishment of the Wada'a, Goaz Bina and Sumyat *shartawiyas*, which had administrative and judicial powers in the eastern and southern areas (Elfasher District Handbook 1942, 6–7). When the Mala *shartawiya* was established in 1931, the Tura, Khiraiban, Garfa, and Garni *dimalij* were added to it. Later, and for legal reasons, Bira and Kila were added to this *shartawiya*. With the deterioration of the health of Shartaya Ahmed Mandi, this addition created some difficulties. Consequently, the authorities reorganized this *shartawiya* in such a way that agents were appointed to run Bira and Mala under the supervision of the Korma *shartawiya*, and a small native court was established in the area under the supervision of the Elfasher court (*ibid.*).

²⁶⁹ The post of omda of Elfasher was held by Mohamed Osman Abu Takiya at the beginning of the occupation. He was succeeded by Yousuf Magdoom Shareef and then Faki Salih (Elfasher district commissioner 1942).

In the western area of the center, three Fur omodiyas were retained in Taweela, Jabbaiyn, and Dobo (between Elfasher and Jebel Marra). These three omodiyas were later amalgamated into one court in the Tarni village under the supervision of Abu Fouri. However, later disagreements forced reformation of the court chairmanship on rotation basis between the omad. Other omodiyas such as Jago Jago, Jadeed, Tarni, Kosa, and Kaneen were added to the Elfasher court. This allowed the Elfasher area to be governed according to a well-organized administrative and judicial system in a pyramidal structure that ended with the district commissioner and the province director. Looking into the sophistication of this system, one can clearly see the high level of professionalism the British administrators enjoyed.

5-5-2 The Establishment and Development of Native Administration in the Eastern Region (Um Kaddada, Tuwaisha)

The establishment and development of native administration in the eastern part of Darfur was easier and smoother than in the central region because of its geographical location away from the center of the Fur sultanate in Elfasher, vast sandy lands that separated it from the center, the extensive presence of the Barti tribe, and the area's proximity to Kordofan and the Nilotic Sudan. At the time when the native administration was established, the Dorak family in the Tuwaisha area was already among the leaders of the Barti tribe in the entire eastern area, in spite of the presence of a clan from the Bani Omran tribe led by Yousuf Torjok. Religious leadership was represented by the Tubluk family led by Judge Abdelwahab Moheildin. Judge Abdelwahab Moheildin was appointed government judge in Um Kaddada, while Yousuf Torjok and Ali al-Daw (head of the Dorak clan) were recognized as sharati. In 1920, Shartaya Ali al-Daw was dismissed and Abdeldaim (from the same family) replaced him. In 1929, a new shartawiya was established in Jebel Hilla under the leadership of Shartaya Mahdi Sabeel from the Abu Kadoak clan.²⁷⁰ Thus, the whole eastern Barti area came under these sharati with five omodiyas still remaining out of the shartaya system. However, the omodiyyat were represented in the native courts where their border disputes were settled ("Elfasher District Handbook" 1942, 13-14).

The native court was established in 1929, and the articles of establishment stipulated a composition that included a chairman and five deputies. Shartaya Abdeldaim was appointed chairman of the court. In 1946, articles of establishment were reviewed and this native court became the area's main court with five branches in the area.²⁷¹ Within the context of future planning, this area was seen as a possible magdoomiya, but this did not materialize until independence and the expulsion of colonizers in 1956.

270. Mahdi Sabeel was raised in Omdurman. He worked as a warehouse keeper in an agricultural scheme for four years and then returned to Jebel al-Hilla in 1918 to replace Mahdi Aradaib as omda. He was unanimously chosen as shartaya of Jebel Hilla in 1920.

271. See the Native Courts Act of 1932.

5-5-3 The Establishment and Development of Native Administration in the North District (Kutum)

This area was historically known as Dar Reeh (or Dar Takanjawi), as reported in the introduction of this chapter. According to the administrative traditions of the Fur sultanate, the takanjawi was chosen from the Kanga clan of the Tunjur tribe that lived around the Fataborno area.²⁷² It is known that the Fur sultanate succeeded the Tunjur kingdom, which had its center in the eastern corner of Jebel Marra (that is, in the Jebel Fornong area) and its capital at A'in Farah (Theobald 1965, 17).

It was customary for the Fur sultans to leave the administrative systems and leadership of the areas they annexed intact, provided allegiance was paid to the Fur sultan.²⁷³ Hence, the customary presence of the takanjawi in the north was maintained as the British followed the well-known systems of the Fur sultanate (the systems of magdoom and takanjawi).

(A) Takanjawi and Administrative Heritage in North Darfur

Before establishment of the magdoomiya system, this area was ruled by the takanjawi on behalf of the early Fur sultans. This takanjawi, like others, enjoyed administrative, executive, and judicial powers. To obtain tight control over his vast area, he divided it into a number of smaller administrative units (hawakeer), each of which was governed by one of his tribesmen as shartaya or king. Each shartaya or king had a number of damalij under him who supervised the work of the village shaikhs who ran community affairs at the bottom of the administrative ladder.

The administrative responsibilities of the takanjawi had traditionally involved security, especially with regard to routes, crops, commerce, water, agricultural resources, markets, and trade stations. He also enjoyed wide judicial powers, including the ability to issue and execute the death penalty. He was aided by religious scholars and customary law experts who helped him perform his duties. This lasted until the Turkish invasion in 1874 and was reinstated by Ali Dinar (who ruled from 1896 to 1916). Despite the fact that British authorities ignored the title of takanjawi and endorsed and entirely depended on the magadeem, certain functions traditionally associated with the takanjawi continued to be performed by the takanjawi until his powers began to fade gradually and finally vanished completely in northern Darfur by 1950 (Tahir 1988).

(B) The Administrative Composition and Borders of the Magdoomiya in Kutum

Kutum, the administrative unit known as the north magdoomiya, included a vast desert and semi-desert area in northern Darfur. This area was inhabited by a large number of tribal entities that included both nomads and settled populations. According to Magdoom Mohamed Sherif, the area “extend[ed] from Kaja Sorouj in Kordofan to Dar Kobi next to Dar Bargo—i.e. Waddai Sultanate—to the west” (Sharif 1932). He continued by explaining, “When my father died I was only two years of age. He was killed in [the] Murtal area fighting for Sultan Haroun following the occupation of Darfur by Zubair Pasha” (ibid.).

272. Interview with Ahmed Abdalla Nimair, chairperson of the North Darfur legislative assembly’s legal committee, from the Tunjur tribe, Kutum, 1998.

273. Interview with Magdoom Tijani Yousuf Shareef, Kutum, July 1999.

Tracing reports in documents and oral traditions, it appears that all the tribal units included in this area remained semi-independent from the central authority of the Fur sultanate and were not much affected by the major incidents that occurred in the center in Elfasher. However, the area nonetheless remained nominally loyal to the center. The importance of this area stems from the fact that it guarded the commercial route (Dar al-Arbaa'een) that linked the commercial capital of Kofot with southern Egypt; as well, it was the main center for the production of rock salt (Browne 1799, 245).

The northern Darfur magdoomiya included a number of small tribal administrative units under the supervision of the takanjawi. These units covered desert and semi-desert areas and included the areas and entities shown in the table below:

AREA	TRIBE
Dar Artaj	Zaghawa
Dar Bani Husain	Bani Husain
Dar Barak Allah	Fur
Dar Biri	Zaghawa
Dar Eraigat	Rizaigat
Dar Etaifat	Rizaigat
Dar Fornog	Tongor Fur
Dar Frook	Fur Tunjur
Dar Gula	Gula
Dar Hamra	Tunjur
Dar Inka	Fur Tunjur
Dar Kabka	Zaghawa
Dar Kobi	Zaghawa
Dar Kunar	Fur
Dar Madi	Fur
Dar Mahameed	Rizaigat
Dar Mahriyya	Rizaigat
Dar Mala	Fur
Dar Midob	Midob
Dar Sambu Kara	Fur
Dar Sambu Kori	Fur
Dar Siraif Humaru	Awlad Mana
Dar Suwini	Zaghawa
Dar Ziyadiyya	Ziyadiyya

Table 5-1: Tribes that formed part of the Kutum magdoomiya

Source: Interview with Mahmoud Hasan Shareef, of the Tunjur tribe, Kutum, July 1999.

In addition to this large number of administrative units, there were other smaller entities of some tribal clans. As was suggested earlier, the area remained outside of the influence of Elfasher but this was not the case with the magadeem and the magdoomiyas. The magdoom was the personal representative of the sultan and enjoyed wide powers; thus, he could command armies of the sultan in the area if the need were to arise (O'Fahey 1980, 90).

(C) The Development of the Title of Magdoom in Northern Darfur during the British Rule

Competencies of the magdoom covered, first and foremost, traditional administrative and judicial matters. Magdoom Mohamed Sharif (1932) explained,

I stayed with Sultan Ali Dinar in Elfasher for one year. Then I was appointed as Magdoom of Dar Reeh (the east) and proceeded to Kutum in northern Darfur. The force sent with me was made up of not less than 350 soldiers, 200 with firearms and 150 with spears and horses. Throughout my stay with the Sultan I acted as his deputy in his absence in the presence of his Minister Adam Rijal. After that the Sultan ordered me to command an army against Bidiat tribe. I learnt that the government was marching against Darfur. Sultan Ali Dinar ordered me to come back without my force. After I returned to Elfasher and after twenty days of stay Darfur was occupied by the government. I accompanied Sultan Ali Dinar to Bir Taweel and told him at night that my family and all my belongings were at Umbaro and I asked for permission to go there with some military escort (13 soldiers). He allowed me to travel. Before the arrival of my family I contacted the government in Elfasher offering my surrender. Before I travel to Elfasher HE Major General Huddleston Pasha arrived in Kutum. I proceeded to Elfasher and handed over to the government all my weapons and horses. The government allowed me to keep what I needed of that property. I was ordered by the government to help locating monies of Sultan Ali Dinar in the area and to comfort people in the area. I was appointed Nazir of the area.

Sharif died in 1921, and his son Yousuf was appointed in his place in 1926. This appointment came after the British authorities' settled in Darfur after resolving their border dispute with the French. The new borders reduced the size of the northern part of the Fur sultanate, which in turn reduced the area covered by the historic magdoomiya of the north.

In spite of strong support from Elfasher authorities to concentrate powers in the hands of Magdoom Yousuf, his appointment as magdoom was met with strong opposition from some tribal leaders in the area who had been in disagreement with his father. Some of these leaders protested concentrating powers in the hands of Magdoom Yousuf and suggested that the magdoomiya be divided into three independent administrative units, as follows:

- an eastern magdoomiya, which would consist of Um Sayala, Barti, Midob, and Ziyadiyya under King Tamim Ahmadai, the king of the Barti tribe in Mileet;
- a central magdoomiya, which would consist of Dar Suwaini, Dar Zaghawa, and all western administrations up to the Chadian border; and

- a third magdooimiya, which would consist of the Jebel Ce, Serief Humaro, Dar Farnag, Dar Farak, Dar Suwaini, Dar Kobi, Dar Gula, Dar Biri, Dar Hamra, and Farook areas.²⁷⁴

Another group of leaders supported Magdoom Yousuf and were against this proposed division. This group included King Rifa Abbakar of Dar Simbi Kori, Abu Shoak of Simbi Kara, King Adam Bija of Siraif Humar, Sultan Dawsa Abdelrahman of Dar Kobi, Shartaya al-Tayib Salih of Dar Gula, King Jamie' of Midob, and Idris Jizzo of Ziyadiyya.

This stage of turmoil and conflict associated with the concentration of powers in the northern magdooimiya finally came to an end in 1935 with the establishment of the North Magdooimiya Court and its branches. Magdoom Yousuf was appointed president of this court through an order by the governor general, thus reinforcing his inherent judicial powers.²⁷⁵ Following the establishment of the North Magdooimiya Court, branch courts were established around the magdooimiya, including in Mileet, Midob, Zaghawa, Mahriyya, Um Jaloal, Bani Husain, Suwaini, Farnag, Faroak, Dar Siraif, and Dar Hamra. Rulings from these lower courts could be appealed to the magdooimiya court. Hence, all administrative and judicial powers (with the exception of military powers) were concentrated in the hands of Magdoom Yousuf.²⁷⁶

Nonetheless, other personal disagreements between Magdoom Yousuf and the North Darfur district commissioner affected the magdooimiya's performance and efficiency. These disagreements started when Mr. Moore, Kutum district commissioner, attempted to start Christian missionary work in Dar Zaghawa during the 1937–1942 period. Remnants of this activity are still present in the form of a wooden cross in Jebel Forawiya and traces of a church in Umbaro. Magdoom Yousuf and religious scholars protested against this move and fought it fiercely until they were able to end it and spoil Mr. Moore's plans. To avenge this, Mr. Moore put Dar Zaghawa, the largest portion of the magdooimiya, under the Closed Areas Act just as had occurred in southern Sudan, the Nuba Mountains, and the Funj area (Tahir 1988).

The Closed Areas Act allowed the district commissioner to close the area completely. Entry into or exit from it was not allowed without permission from him or from the province authorities in Elfasher. This had serious social and political repercussions. Mr. Moore's antagonism did not stop there, either. He worked ferociously to disassemble the magdooimiya when he was unable to replace Magdoom Yousuf. He established other main courts with the same competencies in Umbaro, Kornoi, and Tina (that is, in the Zaghawa tribal areas), as well as in Siraif Humar, Kabkabiya, Malha, and (later) in Muzbad, Dor, Hamra, Anka, Fata Borno, and Dar Sambakara. Hence, he de facto reduced the Magdoom Yousuf's authority over the region. In 1987, when the administration of Sayed al-Sadig al-Mahdi the prime minister of Sudan (1986-1989) attempted to reinstate native administration, most tribal leaders

274. Interview with Mahmoud Hassan Shareef, teacher, of the family of Magdoom Yousuf Shareef, Kutum, 1999.

275. Order of establishment of the court, March 1920.

276. In Sharif's (1932) document, as well as in other references, it was clearly stated that military matters were part and parcel of the magdooim's duties, however.

in the Kutum area refused to reinstate the northern Darfur magdoomiya.²⁷⁷ The procedures were halted in the hope that the matter would be considered in the future. This did not happen, and the magdoomiya has now disappeared forever (North Darfur commissioner 1989).

5-6 The Development of Native Administration in Southern Darfur

5-6-1 The Magdoomiya of Southern Darfur

If the status of Elfasher as a capital of the Fur sultanate for two centuries reinforced the bureaucratic rule around the sultan and produced many knowledgeable men to take over at the time of the establishment of native administration, the story was quite different in southern Darfur. The situation was not at all conducive to the British reestablishing a native administration. Most notable leaders were gone as a result of the successive wars seen in the area during the last days of the Mahdist regime and the reign of Sultan Ali Dinar that followed. The last days of Caliph Abdalla al-Ta'aishi saw conflicts between most of the tribes in southern Darfur, including the caliph's own tribesmen. These tribes and the caliph's armies, led by Osman Jano and Mahmoud Ahmed after him, fought these bloody wars. The main cause of these wars was the caliph's decision to force migration of all these tribes to Omdurman. This was clearly evident in the treatment of the Habbania tribe at the hands of Osman Jano when the tribe arrived at Elfasher. Osman Jano rid them of their horses and took more than 1,114 of their slaves and 8,050 of their cattle. He gave them only 470 camels to transport their women and children to Omdurman. An Ansar (Mahdist supporters) force was then directed by Mahdist agents towards Dar Rizaigat (al-Mubarak, n.d.). These wars were directed against all tribes of southern Darfur with no exception.

The wars of Ali Dinar against these tribes during his 1896–1916 rule were incredibly crushing. Notably, these tribes, especially the Rizaigat and Habbaniyya, disobeyed Ali Dinar's orders during the Mahdist regime and refused to succumb to him upon his return. Their subversion created turmoil and instability even amongst other, settled tribes such as the Fur, Birgid, and Dajo tribes. As well, the wars fought between the Rizaigat/Habbaniyya and Ali Dinar's forces wiped out thousands of men and women, including the tribal commanders who had led their respective tribes' armies against the Mahdist armies in earlier years and fought against Ali Dinar's armies in later years.

Another obstacle that hindered development of native administration in southern Darfur was the rebellion of Faki Abdalla Mohamed Idris al-Suhaini.²⁷⁸ Al-Suhaini was born in Dar Aranga and was nicknamed Mohamed al-Saghayir ("the little one"). He was a staunch Mahdist

277. At the time when I was commissioner of North Darfur (1986–1989), all the former native administrative units had been reinstated except for this magdoomiya in north Darfur district (Kutum). Leaders in the area were adamant that this unit should not be reinstated.

278. Interview with Abbakar Abdalla al-Suhaini, 1999.

who announced he was the prophet Jesus on September 21, 1921 before declaring a holy war against the government. He addressed the nazir of Rizaigat, Ibrahim Musa, calling him to join this *jihad* but he declined (Hassan 1979, 459). Al-Suhaini attacked the center of Nyala with 5,000 fighters, gained control of the garrison, and killed 43 people, including a commander and the district commissioner McNeil.²⁷⁹ Although this revolt was crushed and al-Suhaini and many of his followers were hanged, British authorities reacted rather violently against the entire population of southern Darfur. The province director, Saville, dispatched Brigadier Grieg and Brigadier Huddleston on a mission to make a show of force. They ransacked the whole area, looting cattle and burning entire villages in a punitive campaign against all tribes in southern Darfur. This created an atmosphere of fear that was not at all conducive to the British returning to reestablish a native administration that would represent the people of the area.

In addition, the headquarters of South Darfur was moved from Dara to Nyala in 1920 because of a water shortage. Dara had been the center of the magdooiya as well as a military garrison. It had remained the capital of the southern region of Darfur throughout the Turkish era, and it was the garrison from which von Slatin had handed over command of the Mahdist army to Mohamed Khalid Zugul in 1822 (Slatin Pasha 1896, 263). A number of magadeem had run the magdooiya of Dara, including Abdelazeez al-Kamari beginning in 1809, followed by Abdelseed Abdelmaulaand Adam Bosh of the Midob tribe, Adam Bosh's son Bakheet, and Abdalla Ronga (who was killed by al-Zubair Pasha). Afterwards Magdooom Rahama Goomo paid allegiance to Imam al-Mahdi during the reign of Caliph Abdalla. He was succeeded by his son Imam Jaroot, grandfather of Shartaya Karamaldin.²⁸⁰ All of these men were military commanders of the Fur sultanate armies. Their main duty was to crush any tribal rebellions as well as to engage in other administrative duties. The early presence of these leaders in Dara shows that the Fur sultanate initially established the administrative center in this place, which was called Dar Omang by the magdooiya of the south.

The British abolished this magdooiya at the beginning of their invasion of Darfur, moved the new center to Nyala, and created a military garrison in Nyala, which at the time was a small town that consisted of only three neighborhoods.²⁸¹ By 1916, however, Nyala had expanded following the exit of Sultan Ali Dinar from Elfasher and the entry of British forces into Darfur. Large numbers of the sultan's soldiers and slaves fled Elfasher and settled in Nyala. The majority of these were of Bargo who were members of the army led by Ramadan Burra the military leader of sultan Ali Dinar forces in the last battle between him and the British in Saily area in Elfasher in 1916.

Following the entry of the British army and the establishment of the Nyala military garrison, the town was divided into four neighborhoods, and Mustafa Jalgam was brought from Elfasher and appointed president of the native court. After a short while, Mustafa Jalgam returned

279. McNeil joined Sudan's political service in 1912. He served in the Blue Nile Province until 1917, when he was posted to Darfur. He was only 34 years old when he was killed.

280. Information obtained from the papers of Sabeel Adam, son of Shartaya Adam, head of the Birgid tribe, who passed away in 1996.

281. Interview with Shartaya Abdelrahman Adam Abo, of the Dajo tribe, Nyala, May 1999.

to Elfasher to become a member of the king's council. Adam Al-Nour was brought from Shurkaila in Kordofan to replace Mustafa, serving from 1919 until 1921. Adam Al-Nour was later appointed omda of Buram and Tibin Sa'ad (of the Fur tribe) was appointed king of Nyala, with Bakheet Omdurman as his deputy. Tibin Sa'ad's appointment in 1920 marked the beginning of the reinstatement of native administration in southern Darfur.²⁸²

Some tribes protested following the appointment of Bakheet Omdurman. They included the Dajo tribe under Sultan Adam Bakheet, the Fur tribe under Shartaya Abdelrahman Adam Rijal, the Bigo tribe under Sultan Mohamed Kabkabi, and the Birgid tribe under Shartaya Karameldin Imam. These tribes petitioned the district commissioner to remove Bakheet. The commissioner conceded and reformed the administration by appointing Shartaya Abdelrahman Adam Rijal as deputy to King Tibin, with Bakheet returning to be shaikh of his neighborhood in the town. When King Tibin died, he was succeeded by Shartaya Abdelrahman Adam Rijal who appointed his son Adam Abdelrahman as shartaya of Wadi Bulbul.²⁸³

Finally, in 1935 the southern Darfur magdooimiya (Nyala) was reformed under the chairmanship of Magdooim Abdelrahman Adam Rijal to include the administrations of the Fur, Messiriya, Bigo, and Tarjam tribes. A large native court was established to supervise the work of all the following minor courts in the magdooimiya:

- Messiriya court, Nitaiga
- Birgid court, Garabsha
- Dali court, Ras al-Feel
- Bigo court, Kilaikli
- Tarjam court, Tambasco
- Abu Ajoora court
- Kindair court
- Jawa court
- Bani Mansour court, Malam
- Zaghawa court, Um Kardoas

Until his death in 1958, Magdooim Abdelrahman Adam Rijal oversaw all criminal and civil cases referred to him by the district commissioner as well as cases on appeal raised to him by branch courts. With the establishment of the magdooimiya with its various tribal administrations, a judicial apparatus was also established in the native courts to practice traditional customary laws as known in Darfur. A native administration was also established in the district of Nyala in southern Darfur, in order to govern the affairs of all of the tribes there—with the exception of the Baggara tribes whose administration was established later on (see map 5-1, drawn in 1928, which shows details of this administration).

282. Interviews with Ahmed Mohamed Tourkosha and Fatima Alsheikh Ali Bakheet Omdurman, Nyala, 1999.

283. Interviews with Shartaya Abdelrahman Adam Abo, of the Dajo tribe, and Ahmed Mohamed, Nyala, 1999.

5-6-2 Baggara Nomad Administrations in Southern Darfur

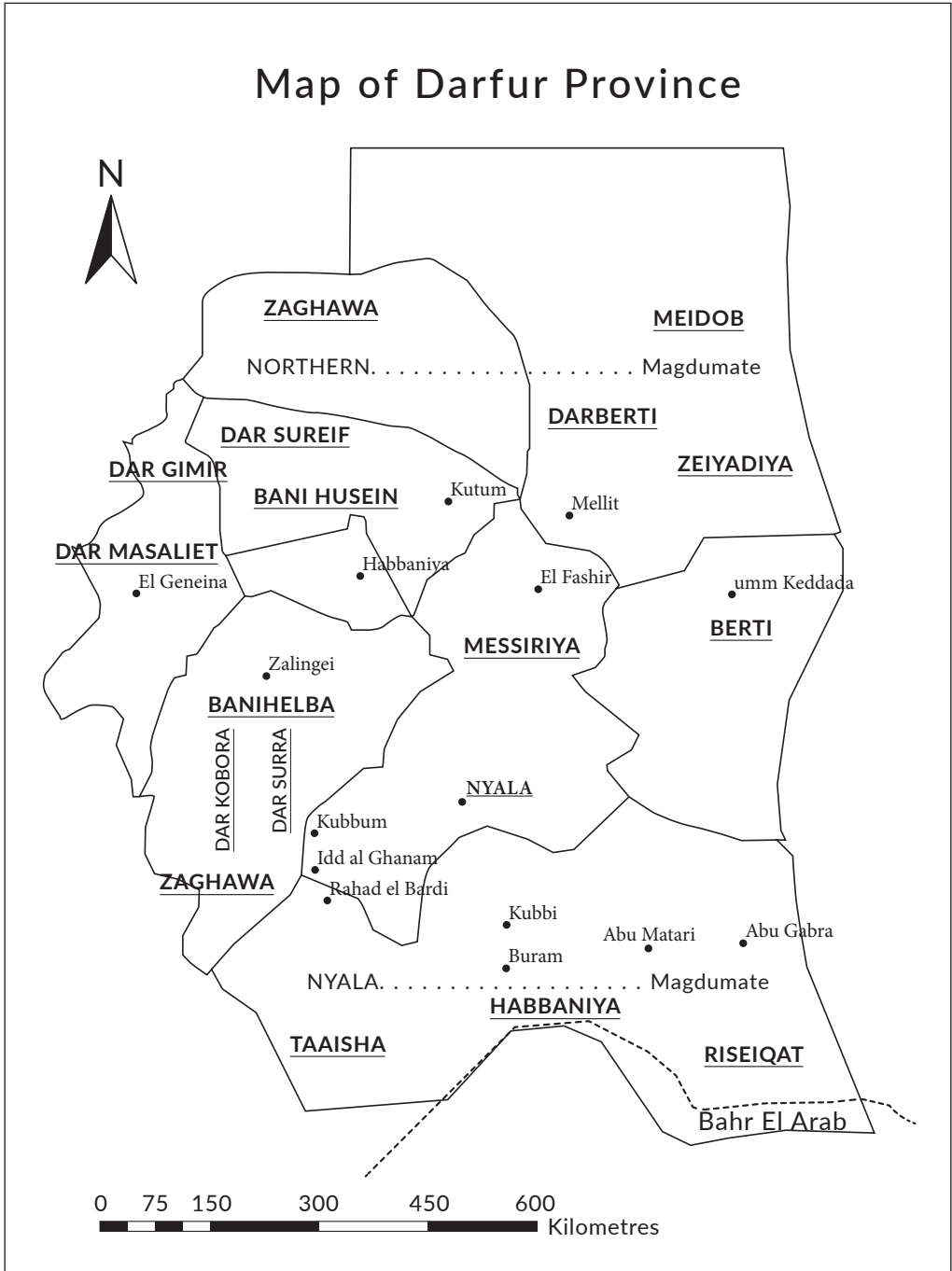
The area of the Baggara nomadic tribes lay to the east, south, and southwest of the Nyala district of southern Darfur. Hence, it constituted a buffer zone between the Fur sultanate and the Nilotic tribes of southern Sudan. Its location away from the power center in Elfasher, in addition to the nomadic nature of these tribes, made this area a place of turmoil and successive wars throughout the history of most of the Fur sultans. These conflicts included wars between Ali Dinar and the Rizaigat, Ma'alia, and Bani Halba tribes. Administration of these tribes had always been in the hands of their respective tribal shaikhs, without the consent of Elfasher. The area never witnessed any institutionalized stability, except during the British administration period, as is discussed further below in relation to the Bani Halba, Habbaniyya, and Rizaigat tribes.

(A) The Bani Halba Administration

After the collapse of the Mahdist state, administration of the Bani Halba tribe came into the hands of the family of Shaikh al-Bilail of the Nimir sub-clan, part of the Jubarat clan of the Bani Halba tribe. Both the families of Shaikh al-Wali and of Nazir Mohamed Ibrahim Dabaka were affiliated to the al-Bilail family. Both were also part of the group that accompanied Ali Dinar home after the battle of Karari in 1898. When Ali Dinar arrived in Elfasher and secured power, Emir Abdelrahman Abu Habu left Elfasher for his homeland of Id al-Ghanam. He led his people there until he was called upon by Sultan Ali Dinar to be part of his army under the command of Adam Rijal against Faki Sineen in Kabkabiya.²⁸⁴ After defeating Faki Sineen, Abdelrahman Abu Habu returned to Id al-Ghanam to lead his people. However, his relations with Sultan Ali Dinar deteriorated to the point that the sultan wanted to get rid of him. When he learned about the sultan's intentions, Abdelrahman took a large group of his kinsfolk from Dar Bani Halba and proceeded to Sultan Abu Reesha of the Dajo tribe, where he took refuge in Dar Sila. This flight was known as "al-Kasra" (Habu 1999).

During Abdelrahman Abu Habu's absence, Sultan Ali Dinar appointed Habu's brother Eisa al-Nagi as chief of the Bani Halba tribe. However, relations between the sultan and this new chief deteriorated and Eisa was dismissed and jailed in Dara. Omar al-Bushari was then appointed as chief for a brief period. He was later dismissed and Mukhtar Ibrahim al-Nagi was appointed in his place. Mukhtar stayed in Kabum instead of in Id al-Ghanam, the traditional administrative capital (*ibid.*). During the period of Mukhtar al-Nagi's leadership, the British army occupied Darfur and killed Sultan Ali Dinar. Abdelrahman Abu Habu seized this opportunity to return to Elfasher where he met with the new authorities. He was reinstated as chief of the Bani Halba tribe. He died in 1918, and his son Abdelrahman succeeded him. The British authorities accused a group of Bani Halba tribal members of stealing cattle of Sultan Ali Dinar and demanded return of the livestock. An expedition (known locally as the Jillian expedition) was sent after the group in 1918. The authorities accused Abdelrahman

²⁸⁴. Abdelrahman Abu Habu and Adam Rijal were cousins; their mothers were sisters and descended from Sultan Mohamed al-Fadul.



Map 5-1: Native administrations in South Darfur, 1928
Source: Private papers of Omar Ali al-Ghali, wakeel nazir of the Habbaniiya tribe

Abu Habu of being lenient about the stolen cattle, dismissed him and appointed Mohamed Ibrahim Dabaka (from the same family) in his place (ibid.).

Despite the rebellion of al-Suhaini in 1921, the administration of the Bani Halba tribe saw relative stability after the appointment of Mohamed Ibrahim Dabaka, who held the title of nazir until his death in 1948. He was replaced by his son Eisa Mohamed Ibrahim Dabaka, who worked as deputy nazir early on. Eisa was known for his tolerance and enthusiasm for serving his people. During the reigns of Mohamed Dabaka and his son Eisa a number of omodiyas, covering the Bani Halba and other tribes living with it, were established. These Bani Halba tribe omodiyas included Awlad Jama'an, Misaweeia, Rajabiya, Hazazra, Zananit, Awlad Ali, Ghayad, and Bani Mansour. Omodiyas of the tribes coexisting in Dar Bani Halba included Salamat, Khuzam, and Kateela. The status of the Kabum magdoomiya was redressed under Magdoom Yousuf Haroun.²⁸⁵

In 1941, a Kabum branch court was established under the chairmanship of Mohamed Ibrahim Dabaka. This move sidelined the magdoomiya, although the Bani Labeed clan attempted to cling to its administrative heritage.²⁸⁶ Customarily the magdoom led consultations to select the new nazir in cases of death. The establishment of the nazir's court and its branch courts according to the provisions of the Native Courts Act of 1932 empowered these leaders and gave them judicial powers to play their role in bringing much needed stability to Dar Bani Halba and other parts of Baggara diar in south Darfur.

(B) The Ta'aisha Administration

It was only natural that the Ta'aisha tribe supported the Mahdist regime, as they were the kinsfolk and descendants of Caliph Abdalla al-Ta'aishi, who was second after the Mahdist leader Mohamed Ahmed al-Mahdi. In spite of this strong support of the Mahdist regime, however, some groups within the Ta'aisha tribe opted to remain at home in Darfur and resisted the compulsory migration policy imposed by the caliph. These groups united behind Ghazali Ahmed Khoaf, chief of the Sinnah clan of the Ta'aisha tribe. There had been an ancient rivalry between the Sinnah clan and the Jubarat clan of Caliph Abdalla even before the Mahdist regime. Thus, Ghazali, chief of the clan, was unwilling to succumb to an ordinary member of a rival clan and all opposition to the Ta'aisha tribe united behind Ghazali. The caliph and his agent in Darfur, Osman Adam Jano, were furious at this and mobilized a huge army of 10,000 fighters against Ghazali. Many other Ta'aisha tribal members joined the expedition to burn the villages and farms of Ghazali's supporter (al-Mubarak, n.d., 145).

The battles between the Mahdia agent Osman Gano and some leaders in Dar Ta'aisha, in addition to the policy of forced migration of Khalifa Abdullahi emptied the Dar Ta'aisha of most of its population, especially young men who could bear arms and fight. Caliph Abdalla depended entirely on this tribe as they were kinsmen whom he could trust, especially

285. Interview with Abdelrahman Ahmed Didi, Id al-Ghanam, 1997.

286. Interview with Mohamed Ibrahim Dabaka, Kabum, 1997.

after eruption of his conflict with the *ashraf* (kinsmen of al-Mahdi). The caliph confined nearly all important appointments to his tribesmen, especially those to the position of army commander or regional viceroy. Table 5-2 below shows this.

NAME	CLAN, FAMILY
Ab Sam	Jubarat, Awlad Hasba
Ahmed Dafa'allah	Jubarat, Awlad Hasba
Ahmed Fadeel	Jubarat, Awlad Um Surra
al-Khateem Musa	Jubarat, Awlad Hasba
Ali as-Sanousi	Jubarat, Awlad Jeed
az-Zaki Tamal	Jubarat, Awlad Um Surra
Ambadi ar-Radi	Jubarat, Awlad Um Surra
Bushari Raida	Jubarat, Awlad Sarhan
Hamdan Abu Anja	Jubarat, Awlad Um Surra
Ibrahim al-Khalil	Jubarat, Awlad Um Surra
Mahmoud Wad Ahmed	Jubarat, Awlad Um Surra
Mohamed Bushara	Jubarat, Awlad Hasba
Osman Adam Jano	Jubarat, Awlad Hasba
Younis Wad ad-Dikaim	Jubarat, Awlad Um Surra

Table 5-2: Names of military and administrative leaders from the Ta'aisha tribe used by Caliph Abdalla to reinforce his power

Source: Interview with Shaikh Sam al-Zubair Sam, grandson of Nazir Ta'aisha, from the Awlad Hasba family of the Jubarat clan (of the Ta'aisha tribe), Nyala, 1999.

For these historical reasons, the Ta'aisha tribe dispersed and only a very limited number of its members remained at home. When the Mahdist regime ended and most tribes of Darfur returned home, the few members of the Ta'aisha tribe returned only to find that a sizable portion of their tribal lands had been taken away and given to French Africa (Chad and the Central African Republic).

Administration of this the Ta'aisha, like other tribes, was divided amongst a number of clan shaikhs. The tribe had never united before the British period. When the Mahdist regime ended, Emir Ali as-Sanousi and Emir Sam of the Ta'aisha tribe were among the men who accompanied Sultan Ali Dinar back home. The sultan granted them lands for farming and grazing in Goaz Abu Ziraiga and Karbaiya to the south of Nyala. After entry of the British in Darfur, Emirs al-Sanousi and Sam accompanied the director of Darfur Province, Mr. Saville, on a visit to Dar Rizaigat to see Nazir Ibrahim Musa. Upon return to Elfasher, the two men asked the director to establish a similar nazir system in Dar Ta'aisha. He promptly agreed, and Emir Ali as-Sanousi was appointed nazir of Ta'aisha in 1918 with Emir Sam as his deputy.

A short while later, Ali as-Sanousi was recalled to Elfasher and his son Sanousi was appointed in his place with Emir Sam continuing as deputy. Sanousi was later dismissed and Sam was appointed nazir in 1926. He stayed in power until 1928, when disagreements erupted between him and Ali as-Sanousi and the latter was appointed nazir for the second time; Ali as-Sanousi held the post until his death in 1964.²⁸⁷ The most remarkable achievement of Ali as-Sanousi was the unification of the tribe.

Immediately after independence, in 1956, Ismael Mohamed Bakheet Habba was appointed as Nyala district commissioner. He divided the region into four administrative units, as follows: (1) the Rizaigat tribal administration, which included the Rizaigat and Ma'alia tribes; (2) the Kalka administration, which included the Habbaniyya, Fellata, Masalit, and Arab tribes; (3) the magdoomiya administration, which included the Fur, Dajo, Messiriya, Birgid, and Tarjam tribes; and (4) the west Baggara administration, which included the Bani Halba, Gimir, and Ta'aisha tribes. Nazir Ali as-Sanousi refused to be part of the Bani Halba tribal native administration, preferring to join his kinsmen in Chad, but he was given the title of nazir like the leaders of the other Baggara tribes and remained in Sudan. At the time, he was the eldest of all nazirs in southern Darfur.²⁸⁸ Nazir Ali as-Sanousi died in 1964. His son Bushara replaced him and remained in charge until 1997.

(C) The Habbaniyya Administration

The Habbaniyya tribe was not more fortunate than its neighbor, the Ta'aisha tribe, in terms of the destruction of villages and forced migration to Omdurman. However, the Habbaniyya were elusive in responding to the calls of Osman Jano for migration. Some of them deceived Jano by agreeing to migrate at first, but then escaping to the area of Bahr al-Arab. Osman Adam Jano chased them through his agent Fadlallah Sharafuldeen, who engaged them, defeated them, and brought them as captives to Kalka (al-Mubarak, n.d., 136–137).

The misery and poverty of the Habbaniyya tribe in the years immediately following the Mahdist regime was reported by Nazir Mahmoud Wad Abu Saa'ad to Shaikh Babikir Badri in 1926 when he met him in Buram after Shaikh Babikir had returned from a mission in Elfasher. Shaikh Babikir mentioned to the nazir that the province director blamed the nazir for not paying taxes (although the amounts owed were very little). The nazir replied by saying, "I found the tribe very poor and has nothing to give to the government. I cannot force people to do the impossible. If the Director is not convinced he may dismiss me and return me to the Nile, i.e. Omdurman" (Badri 1960, 239).

Just like other Baggara tribes, the Habbaniyya tribe was never united before the advent of the British administration. It was divided into a number of shikhdoms during the last years of Turkish rule. One of the Habbaniyya shaikhs maintained that al-Areefi Wad Ahmed was a famous shaikh who fled his homeland and proceeded to Dar Bani Halba following a revolt

287. Interview with Sam al-Zubair Sam, Nyala, 1998.

288. Interview with Ahmed al-Tayib Ibrahim, Secretary of Nazara during the reign of Ali al-Sanousi, Rihaid al-Birdi, 1998.

against him by his own people.²⁸⁹ He was killed there and his property was looted. He was a friend of von Slatin and fought a number of battles at his side against the Rizaigat tribe (von Slatin 1896, 207). Shaikh al-Areefi was replaced by Shaikh Abu A'in, who was later replaced by Shaikh Bushara Tajeldin. This all occurred in the western regions of the Habbaniyya tribe. On the eastern side, a certain shaikh maintained that Kalka was comprised of different shaikhdoms led by Saeed Shimais, who was a good friend of al-Zubair Pasha.²⁹⁰ Upon his death, Takana Mohamed and Mahmoud Abdelkarim competed over the title of chief, which went to Takana who took Buram as his capital.

Musa al-Mubarak related,

Habbaniyya Shaikhs told me that Shimais was chief of Habbaniyya when al-Zubair Pasha entered Darfur. The later confirmed the former in the post. When Shimais died a number of men competed to win the post and eventually it went to Mahmoud Abdelkarim. However, Takana compelled Mahmoud to migrate to Omdurman and Takana became chief of the Habbaniyya for a brief period before his death. (al-Mubarak, n.d., 114)

Caliph Abdalla was in contact with Takana regarding some local issues, including the forced migration of the Habbaniyya tribe to Omdurman, through correspondence with his agents in Darfur, Mohamed Hamid Zugul and Shaikh Mohamed Karkasawi (1885) (Abu Salim 2001, 50,310).

During the reign of Ali Dinar, Shaikh al-Ghali Tajeldin was confirmed as nazir of the Habbaniyya tribe, based on the agreement and demand of his people (Arbab 2002, 153). This was his first period as nazir. He was jailed in the Nyala prison on tax evasion charges after the entry of the British, but later (in 1920) he was appointed as deputy to Nazir Mahmoud Wad Abu Saa'ad, who administered the tribe through omodiyas under Masaa'ad Gaidoom of the Firaijat clan, Mahmoud Bilal of the Hilailat clan, and Hasaballah Abu Habsa of the Shaibon clan.²⁹¹

After the death of Nazir Mahmoud, al-Ghali Tajeldin took over as nazir and stayed in the post until his death in 1942.²⁹² During his reign the native administration saw stability and courts were established in accordance with the provisions of Native Courts Act of 1932 (Darfur Province official book).

289. Interview with Mohamed Hammad Idris Abu Zahra, Wad Hajjam village, March 1998.

290. Interview with Shaikh al-Manna Abu al-Gasim al-Kabur, Buram, March 1997.

291. Ibid.

292. Al-Ghali Tajeldin remained in power from 1927 to 1942. He was famous for his generosity and courage, yet he faced continual competition for power from various factions of his tribe, especially from the Raiafa sub-clan, which claimed that Nazir Shemais, Takana, and Abu Saad were all from their sub-clan. Mubasher Wad Gashash, who was from the sub-clan of Raiafa competed with al-Ghali in a battle that lasted 10 years, from 1930 to 1940. A large number of Habbaniyya men died, but al-Ghali won the victory and remained nazir of the tribe until his death in 1942.

(D) The Rizaigat Administration

As we have seen with other Baggara tribes, the Rizaigat tribe was divided into a number of shaikhdoms before the Turkish rule. Musa Madibo and Ogail al-Jingawi—both from the Mahriyya clan—contested the leadership of the tribe in the late 1800s. Madibo was chosen as nazir of the tribe but was deposed soon after because of complaints from the people. Ogail was then appointed as nazir for a brief period (six months during 1883) before he was deposed and Madibo returned as nazir once again (Abu Salim and Spaulding 1979, 47). Disputes and disagreements between the men continued to be fierce. In the end, Madibo proceeded to Gadeer, where he pledged himself to Imam al-Mahdi, who provided him with arms and the Mahdist flag, acknowledging that he was the undisputed chief of the tribe because the majority of the tribe believes in Mahdism. (Slatin Pasha 1896, 156).

During the reign of Ali Dinar, relations between him and Madibo were very tense. Madibo had visited the sultan in Elfasher in 1889, but the sultan put him in custody for a brief period before allowing him to return home to his people. Relations between the two men worsened afterwards, and Madibo proceeded to manage the affairs of his tribe in complete independence from Elfasher. He even visited Khartoum in 1909 to file a complaint against Ali Dinar, but the government directed him to succumb to the sultan's orders. In 1913, Sultan Ali Dinar sent an army, led by Ramadan Burrah, against Madibo, but it was defeated by the Rizaigat.

The Rizaigat tribe was united during the period of the British administration. In 1920, Musa Madibo died and his son Ibrahim took over as nazir. Ibrahim's start was relatively weak but with the support and encouragement of the British authorities he gained experience and became competent nazir. In 1941, a Baggara court was established with jurisdiction over all five Baggara tribes (Rizaigat, Habbaniyya, Fellata, Bani Halba, and Ta'aisha) as well as other small tribes in the vicinity. Ibrahim Musa Madibo was unanimously chosen as chairman of this court. This was an obvious recognition of the status of the Rizaigat tribe as the leader of all the tribes in the area (Abu Salim 1979, 47).

5-6-3 Native Administration in Western Darfur (Zalinji)

(A) The Fur Tribe Administration

The center of the Zalinji region was the home of the Fur tribe with its two branches, Keira and Kinjara. In the middle of this region lay Jebel Marra, the natural garrison of the tribe and its sultans to which they resorted when attacked from the east or west. This fortified geographical location helped the Fur sultanate to survive many hard circumstances. The Fur sultanate remained stable and strong from the time of its establishment by the early sultans; especially this strategic location had seen the early stages of the sultanate.

Ever since the early beginnings of administration in this area, the Fur sultanate was organized under one post, that is, the *dimangawi* (or Dar Dima). This was a very prestigious title and the person who held it was considered the sultan's right arm. He was called "abadima" as a word

of respect and was always surrounded by soldiers. He ruled 12 Fur kings and had a vast region known as Tomorka. He had whatever the sultan had except the *nihās*; instead, he had a drum known as the *dingar*. He marched with his soldiers to the right of the sultan (al-Tunisi 1965).

Dar Dima was made up of the administrations of Karni, Tabla, Tilingi, and Aribo. As well, in Wadi Salih the sultanate included the administrations of Kuli, Zami Baya, Zami Toya, Diar Wana, Turdi, Miri, Lunj, Norina, and Turra. The administrations of Jebel Marra (that is, Norina, Lunj, and Turra) were directly administered from Elfasher, but it is uncertain whether they were administered by the sultan directly or by other official in the palace of the Sultan in Elfasher. At the head of all these administrations were sharati. Each administration was independent from the others, but was supervised by the domangawi who was directly responsible to the sultan.²⁹³

The administrations of Jebel Marra (that is, the Turra, Lunj, Miri, and Norina administrations) constituted a special case because they belonged directly to the sultan and the domangawi had nothing to do with them. The tribes occupying these areas were enslaved by the sultan. They grazed the sultan's cows and provided the palace with grains, honey, salt, and military clothing. Before the arrival of these people the area occupied by them was unpopulated and very harsh; in fact, it had been used as a cemetery for the early sultans.²⁹⁴

If the domangawi was the right arm of the sultan in war and peace, the shartaya was the administrator who actually ran the hakoora. Sharati always depended on damalij in the management of land. The dimlij, who were lesser than an omda, had a number of shaikhs under his control. When the British controlled Darfur they annulled the dimlij system but retained the falagna (who were often from the same families as the shartaya or omda), using them to maintain law and order, to collect taxes, and to prevent fires.²⁹⁵

Responsibilities of the post of shartaya included the following:

- caring for all people inside the hakoora (regardless of their tribe), in accordance with customary law;
- maintaining the hakoora land and organizing its use;
- overseeing the settlement of tribes other than Fur in the hakoora, including providing them with land;
- maintaining law and order and trying offenders;
- performing duties tasked by higher authorities, such as collecting taxes, preventing fires, and clearing paths; and
- representing his people in meetings outside the shartawiya.²⁹⁶

293. Interview with Domangawi Fadul Sisi Mohamed Atim, Zalinji, March 1997.

294. Interview with Shartaya Arbab Rizig Sabi, administrator of Dar Kali starting in 1939, Garsila, and still in office during the interview in March 1997.

295. Interview with Shartaya Mohamed Suar Adam, Zalinji, March 1997.

296. Interview with Shartaya Mohamed Bashar Ahmed, Arola, April 1997.

Most administrative Fur sharati had symbolic meanings in their own language. For instance, Zami Baya meant “the long land plot,” Zami Toya meant “the old land,” and Dar Kirni meant “the wide dress.”²⁹⁷

When the British occupied Darfur, they retained this administrative system in Zalinji with some minor modifications at the grassroots levels, and they emulated the system in other places. The dimlij system was abolished and replaced with the omda system. At the top level, the British wanted to build a bigger and broader administrative system, like that adopted in Nigeria and India, that is, a system of indirect rule (Bakheet 1972). Under the influence of this philosophy, the British attempted to create large native administrations in Dar Masalit and Dar Baggara in southern Darfur; they nominated Nazir Ibrahim Musa Madibo to oversee this process, but he was rejected by the native other Baggara tribes of southern Darfur as they see themselves as an independent entities. They also wanted to create an emirate in Jebel Marra.²⁹⁸

To establish a Fur emirate in Zalinji, Emir Abdelhamid Ibrahim Garad, son of the Fur sultan Ibrahim (who had been killed by al-Zubair Pasha in Manwash in 1874), was brought in and appointed emir in Zalinji in 1928. He died in 1931, and his son Mohamed replaced him. Emir Mohamed was very bright and responsible, according to reports of district commissioners Sanderson and Caine. In May 1937, Emir Mohamed’s tenure came to an abrupt end, however, after he was implicated in burning financial books in 1938 and sacked. Mohamed moved to Elfasher, and this ended the British ambition of establishing an emirate in the area which in their view is much grater and more powerful than the traditional dimingawe. It could had been like the colonial British administration implemented in other parts of Africa like Nigeria. When this plan failed, they turned to put the former dimingawi system in Fur area.

(B) The Masalit Tribe Administration

Because of the special status of the Masalit sultanate discussed earlier, the British administration depended entirely on traditional tribal institutions, in accordance with the Dar Masalit Charter of 1919. According to this agreement, all native institutions (such as the courts and prisons) were left in the hands of the sultan in Elgeneina while other official British institutions (such as the army, police, and office of the district commissioner) were established in the Ardamata township about two miles away from Elgeneina. Through this administrative arrangement, the shartawiya of Aringa and the shartawiya of Messiriya Jebel were united and left to the sultan, while the Gimir sultanate remained in the north where it retained relative independence under the administration of the district commissioner of Ardamata.²⁹⁹

297. Interview with Al-Zain Ali Bakheet, Garsila, June 1999.

298. Ibrahim Musa Madibo’s appointment was met with strong opposition from the nazirs of the Habbaniyya, Bani Halba, Ta’aisha, and Fellata tribes. It never materialized, though a greater court was established for the purpose under the chairmanship of Madibo himself.

299. Interview with Shaikh Ibrahim Abu al-Gasim, Elgeneina, May 1998.

The establishment of the native administration in Dar Masalit dates back to the reign of Sultan Abbakar Ismael (from 1888 to 1905). He was responsible for establishing the ruling oligarchy from his clan after removing all former occupiers of the traditional posts. To enable his clan to tighten its grip over power, he linked appointments to land grants and divided Dar Masalit in a feudal way. His agents collected taxes and sent them to him (Kapteijns 1983a).

Following the annexation of Darfur by the British in 1916, the administration adopted the agreement of the previous Masalit sultan and called it the Dar Masalit Charter. The provisions in this agreement remained the foundation of the administration in Dar Masalit throughout British rule in the Sudan. In accordance with this agreement, Sultan Mohamed Bahraldin ruled Dar Masalit until his death in 1951. He was succeeded by his son Abdelrahaman, who remained in power until his death in 2001.³⁰⁰

In 1919, British authorities in Sudan, French authorities in Chad, and Sultan Mohamed Bahraldin (who governed the area along the border between Sudan and Chad) reached an initial agreement regarding the borders of the region. The agreement was developed further and adopted in 1924. Today it constitutes a key reference on the issue of borders between the two countries.³⁰¹

As noted earlier, British authorities left the apex of the power pyramid in the hands of the sultan followed by the furash, which were higher than shaikhs, kings, or caliphs. These were followed by damalij and at the bottom of the pyramid were the village shaikhs. The post of dimlij has remained important in Dar Masalit until today because of its connection to land management. Prior to the eruption of conflicts in the early 2000s, Darjail hakoora, the homeland of the sultan's clan, had seven damalij according to clan divisions, as follows (Takana 1997):

- King Haroun, Dising sub-clan
- Dimlij Abu Adam, Nimsa Graing sub-clan
- Dimlij Mohamed Adam, Gamro sub-clan
- Dimlij Muhajir Ibrahim, Afrandag sub-clan
- Dimlij Ahmed Sherif, Graing sub-clan
- Dimlij Abdelrahaman Adam, Dajo sub-clan
- Dimlij Masalit, Dising sub-clan

This native administration organization continued intact in a semi-autonomous manner with no addition during the British administration period, except for in the judicial area, where the sultan's court was restrained in certain kinds of rulings, such as issuing the death penalty or imposing financial penalties above a certain amount.

300. Interview with Shaikh al-Tijani Abdelmalik, deputy chief of the sultan's court in Elgeneina, Elgeneina, May 1998.

301. Border Protocol between French Africa and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1924.

5-7 Native Administration under National Regimes, 1955–2002

The introduction to this chapter referred to fact that the death of a large number of keepers of the customary laws led to an administrative chaos that contributed to a state of lawlessness in Darfur that lasted for decades. The next sections of the study consider the national administrative elites who took part in administering Darfur under different national regimes.

5-7-1 Native Administration under Early National Regimes, 1956–1969

In the early days of national governance in Sudan, there was competition among the different Sudanese national elites as to who would govern the Sudan after the British administration was expelled. In such political conditions, an idea circulated among the ruling national political elites that the Sudanese administrators in the different provinces and districts had inherited their status and values from the British colonial administration. Therefore, the political elite in different political parties thought that the national professional administrators made up a conservative group whose primary concern was to preserve their status. Thus, they acted conservatively, focusing on maintaining law and order rather than putting forth new ideas about how to establish the new government most effectively.

In Darfur, the first to replace the British governor of Darfur in the post of province director was Ali Abdalla Abu Sin, who was a member of a well-respected family with a rich history in native administration. His family had led the Shukriyya tribe in central Sudan. His background helped instill in him a great respect for the heritage of native administration in Darfur and to deal with the people of Darfur with high degree of respect and decency. When initially appointed to his Darfur post he collected information about the geography of Darfur, different ethnic groups, the tribal native administration and other information, and wrote a very famous memorandum that was known later as the “Abu Sin Memo” and has become a reference for all the administrative systems and tribes of Darfur today. Ali Abu Sin was well aware of the political circumstances that made administering Darfur unique. In his memorandum, dated September 6, 1956, he wrote to the undersecretary of the Ministry of Local Governments, Makkawi Sulayman Akkrat, about postings and transfers of administrators to the province of Darfur. He explained,

[T]he situation in Elgeniena is odd and differs from all other centers in the Sudan. We have studied the situation and started to change previous things. If you bring in a new person, he will not be able to execute any idea and his contact with people will be weak. Our study was started before us by previous inspectors. I urge you to let Zalinji inspector in his place. This province resembles southern provinces and may be even worse. (Abu Sin 1956)

The special situation in Dar Masalit was due to the fact that the governor general of the Sudan directly appointed its sultan, Mohamed Bahraldin, in a letter to him on 24 March 1924 (Abdelrahman 2009, 459), according to what was known as the “Dar Masalit charter” which

was catering for Dar Masalit governance as a semi-autonomous area within the Sudan. Ali Abu Sin's remarks and comments do not just indicate a high degree of professionalism; they also show his high sense of patriotism and deep understanding of the wider administrative arrangements in Darfur. This was the practice followed by all early national administrators who worked in Darfur.

For example, the former director of the Darfur Province, al-Tijani Saa'd, discussed the need to maintain tribal security in a memorandum regarding Darfur's native judicial system that he wrote to the undersecretary of the Ministry of the Interior, dated December 8, 1965.³⁰² He explained that maintaining tribal security should be a priority for achieving stability in Darfur, pointing to the Midob tribe as an example of what could happen if security was not achieved. The Midob native administration was weak and unorganized in comparison with neighboring tribes, which resulted in members of the Midob making unrestrained attacks on neighboring tribes (Saa'd 1965).

In an earlier memorandum from 1963, al-Tijani Saa'd addressed the native judicial perspective after national administrators wavered in their use of security powers by saying,

[I]t is a disastrous mistake to think that security powers are only those associated with policing. Security issues include problems of agriculture, grazing, borders, tribal problems and many more. Attention paid by native administrators to these problems constitutes the essence of running affairs in these areas. (Saa'd 1963)

The national administrators' shared understanding of the importance of issues such as security and tribal stability in Darfur helped local societies in the area avoid fragmentation for two decades after independence in January 1956.

Husain Sharfi was another outstanding administrator. He served as district commissioner in Kutum before becoming the Darfur province director. On April 10, 1959, when he was still district commissioner, he wrote the following in a memorandum to the province director:

Nazirs, Omdas and heads of native administrations are administration officials. Some of them enjoy administrative, executive and judicial powers. I think they are much more important than regular officials of the civil service. It is dangerous to the administration entity to let people like these enter into local elections which make them politicians, not professional officials engaged in the running of peoples' affairs. They will not be neutral and they cannot apply laws and regulations; they cannot do something against the people who put them in executive chairs. (Sharfi 1959).

302. At the time, the undersecretary of the Ministry of the Interior was Emir al-Sawi.

He went on to say,

[A]dministration in our country is known to be the best in the Middle East. I believe this is attributable to fact that the admin structure of the Sudan is quite appropriate to the geography of the Sudan; secondly, the traditions laid put local chiefs in place in accordance with their respective circumstances. I believe elections of local chiefs will be the rock at which all our admin values collapse. (Ibid.)

Husain Ahmed Sharfi, with his vast administrative expertise, clearly pinpointed the problem. From the early days of independence, the political struggle between the elites and native leaderships affected all facets of public life. This struggle, in turn, cast a thick shadow over what political literature calls 'the struggle between center and peripheries.' This led to civil wars between almost all peripheries and the center in Khartoum. The same struggle led the nation into a trap of tribalism and regionalism that has threatened the country's very unity.³⁰³

Darfur was the last and weakest area to be annexed to the Sudanese state. Most people do not know that all of Darfur was not added to Anglo-Egyptian Sudan until 1919 when Dar Masalit was added to the territory. In addition, some parts of Darfur remained under the Closed Districts Ordinance, as was the case with the provinces of South Sudan and South Blue Nile until the last years of the colonial period. Because of this, other citizens of the Sudan were not allowed to enter Darfur without a written authorization from district commissioners. Mr. Moore, Kutum district commissioner, was very famous for his refusal to allow his district's Zaghawa population to move outside the district to the southern or western regions of Darfur as a punishment.

It suffices to demonstrate this isolation by mentioning the incident of Shaikh Mustafa al-Tinai, a representative of the al-Neel newspaper, who visited Elfasher in March 1939. He was denied access to the West Baggara district in southern Darfur and expelled from Elfasher. The administrative secretary in Khartoum and Elfasher exchanged correspondence on this incident (Darfur Province 1939).

5-7-2 Native Administration in Darfur between the October 1964 Uprising and the May Regime, 1969–1985

Sudan has seen a number of government experiences that resulted in a loss of political stability between the early days of independence and today. These experiences occurred intermittently between short periods of democratic partisan rule. However, the longer periods were dominated by military ideological regimes varying from leftism to theological Islamism. It was only natural that the reaction of Sudanese societies varied from one area to another, according

303. During the time I was writing this study, South Sudan was about to hold a referendum on self-determination, the Blue Nile and South Kordofan states were awaiting the results of popular consultations in accordance with the provisions of the CPA, the civil war was still going on in Darfur, and the situation in East Sudan was rather tense.

to the orientations and aspirations of different local communities. The southern society chose withdrawal and initially opted for rebellion in an attempt to protect its identity, especially under military regimes with theological orientations (such as the Abboud military regime in 1958 and the Inghaz regime in 1989). This maximized political regression, and the rest of the story is known to all (Alier 2003). This regression became the pivotal issue of struggle in the south. In Darfur, the story was different because of distinctions in the area's political history and its unique ethnic and cultural identity. However, reactions there also took the form of violent actions. The danger of this is evident in the fact that neither the Darfur communal leadership nor the central authority in Khartoum could stop the destructive violence that came to face Darfur in the early 2000s.

This was clearly evident in the policies of the May regime and the repercussions of those policies on the beginning of the collapse of native administration institutions. These policies surfaced early on in a memorandum of the Communist Party, written by al-Shafei' Ahmed al-Shaikh on the subject of native administration. It is worthwhile mentioning here that the downfall of the Abboud regime led to widespread instability both in the center and the provinces, so much so that a notable administrator, Jaa'far M Bakheet said in 1972, "[T]he stature of power in the Sudan almost evaporated."

This turmoil has encouraged all political and administrative entities to enter into strong competition to fill the vacuum created by the collapse of the strong Abboud military regime (*ibid.*, 264). In this disturbed political climate, the October government was formed from the so-called "institutional front," which represented the "modern forces" led by the leftist parties. It was only natural that the memorandum of al-Shafei' Ahmed al-Shaikh, representative of the labor movement, represented the leftist vision. His memorandum read, "[A]mple evidence reiterates that native administration is not commensurable with the aspirations of citizens and is not in tandem with the spirit of the October Revolution 1964." Hence, he suggested that laws and regulations be amended so that native administration councils would become elected institutions. Pending implementation of that, the following measures were to be taken: (1) freezing the native administration in northern Sudan and transferring its competencies to concerned agencies; (2) annulling the Native Courts Ordinance of 1932 (3) withdrawing judicial powers from nazirs, omad, and shaikhs; (4) strengthening the regional police forces; (5) forming committees to discipline abusive native administration officials; and (6) for the government to demonstrate its seriousness, immediately annulling the native administration and setting up a plan for a similar annulment in the south (Bakheet 1972, 265).

This memorandum was both inept and naïve, however, as it viewed all provinces of northern Sudan as the same in terms of historical background, degree of development, and national affiliation. It ignored deep differences in traditional government and administrative structures between those provinces and the center. The memorandum also aimed to eliminate deeply rooted institutions entrenched in those societies for more than three centuries, institutions that had legitimacy based on proven justice and cultural affiliations. Nonetheless, the media reflected on this memorandum, and seminars and symposia were organized on the subject. These events had deep ramifications on rural communities with regard to native administration. Deep divisions started to appear amongst clans of large tribes and developed into tribal

alliances (Mohamed and Wadi 1998, 67). Struggles intensified inside tribal entities for and against native administration dissolution. Large tribal clans literally encouraged smaller clans and guest tribes living with them to cooperate against the issue of dissolving the native administration (Takana 1998). As tribal struggles became even more extreme, everybody looked toward the decision makers in Khartoum and the government abolished the system of native administration in 1970. It is clear now that this was the spark that ignited the disintegration of the Darfur community, which has lasted until today.

It could seem that the phenomenon of tribal fragmentation associated with this stage was a good sign—one of moving from tribal affiliations towards a unified national identity. Alas, this would be mere illusion. Inter-tribal struggles led to intra-tribal struggles revolving around clans and smaller tribal units. This affected administrative centers in the provinces as well as in Khartoum. Native administration leaders ignored their duty to collect taxes and other levies, a development that annoyed executive authorities at the local and central levels. From this point on, all high-ranking professional officials in the provinces and districts in Sudan sided against policies of dissolving native administration system (Bakheet 1972, 269). Al-Shafei' Ahmed al-Shaikh, the minister and the leftist labor leader, was calling for removal of “reactionary” elements and abolishing the system of native administration while on the other side, another leftist leader, A'abdeen Ismael, minister of local governments said, “[D]issolution of native administration only means its development and the introduction of some amendments to enable it cope with the development of society” (Bakheet 1972, 266). That indicates even the leftist political leaders in Sudan at the time were not unified in their views of the system of tribal native administration in Sudan.

Although conservative political powers, including tribal leaders, were able to repress the memorandum of Minister al-Shafei' and even topple his government and curtail the competencies of the Jadalrab Committee, the memorandum had very destructive ramifications on the political climate, including the future of the native administration, especially in Darfur.³⁰⁴ The position of the “traditional parties” was rather illusive on the issue of native administration dissolution.³⁰⁵ They tried to appease their “modern” elitist membership until the political climate began to shift with the campaign for new elections.

In his memorandum, al-Shafei' Ahmed al-Shaikh described native administration as a backward system created by imperial powers to weaken the national movement. He argued that the system was inherited by the national government without change. Not only that, but the Abboud regime strengthened the native administrative system, so that the ruling military oligarchy could subdue the rural areas and prevent development from reaching local people. This revolutionary spirit was reflected in some professional circles. For example, in a meeting regarding the judicial leadership in Khartoum in December 1964, it was decided to withdraw judicial powers from native administration and recommended

304. The Jadalrab Committee, headed by a retired police officer, had been established by the council of ministers 1965 to consider dissolving the native administration.

305. In Sudanese political literature, the term “traditional parties” refers to the Umma Party and the Democratic Unionist Party.

to transfer the native courts' budget from the Ministry of Local Governments to the judiciary. Hence, this was the first practical step in dismantling the native administration. The cabinet formed a committee in 1964 to study the al-Shafei' memorandum and other memoranda dealing with the subject of dissolution of the native administration (Bakheet 1972, 266). This meant that the cabinet had accepted in principle the dissolution of the native administration pending receipt of recommendations of the committee on how to implement this dissolution. This committee, chaired by retired police officer Osman Jadalrab, started its mission amidst strong mobilization against it. At this time, the Kordofan Native Administration Leaderships' Association was formed (Abushouk 2009, 136). Objectives of the association were as follows:

1. The promotion of the status of native administration leaders in such a way as to enable them to perform their duties in a manner that would serve their people and the public interest;
2. The achievement of unity among native administration leaders, so that they could jointly stand against any aggression targeting their rights and freedoms;
3. The undertaking of appropriate measures to advance tribal affairs and create leaderships acceptable to rural people; and
4. The setting forth of demands that would allow tribes to develop and promote their respective identities within a governance framework that took into account tribal leaders.³⁰⁶

This measure led to new confrontation between the elites and traditional forces represented by native administrators. The confrontation between political parties produced a new political reality in which attention was focused on a new agenda, most notably, the attempt to address war in the south through preparations to hold a roundtable conference in 1965. This was associated with issues of the constitution and political struggle, which ended with the expulsion of the Communist Party from the constituent assembly. This political climate, which focused on central issues in Sudanese politics, created an opportunity for native administration leaders and their allies to renew their attempts to restore native administration. The effects of the October Revolution ideas and slogans were too deep to be renovated until the advent of the May Regime in May 1969, with leftists at its vanguard. The leftists had forgotten neither their defeat at the hands of the native administration nor the expulsion of the Communist Party from the constituent assembly. Now they had the power to avenge all of that (Khālid 1985, 7–8). Thus, at the first opportune moment, in 1970, May regime authorities dissolved the native administration in all of northern Sudan. This was a major blow that removed the power of native judiciary and native administration in Darfur.

Customary law and government traditions that had been accepted in the Darfur community for centuries were now gone forever. The Darfur community became exposed to every wrong doing by outlaws without the cover of native administration. The spirit of detachment from customary and legal controls began to prevail. Rebellion initially included individuals and

306. The memorandum was strongly worded. Leaders claimed that they represented people and tribes, as described in a letter from Sulayman Wagei'alla (Kordofan director) to the Minister of the Interior.

groups here and there. But over time, this spirit expanded and involved violations by all groups antagonistic to native administration leaders; the tribal community gradually began to slip away into chaos.

The decision of dissolution of native administration represented hastiness that was synonymous to inadvertence and misunderstanding of the Sudanese society. The May military regime attempted to develop alternative institutions, but these failed to replace the well-entrenched native administration institutions. After annulment of the 1950 Local Government Act in 1971, the new institutions included popular courts and popular administrative councils. However, judges on the popular courts lacked expertise and legitimacy, and the popular administrative councils became political mobilization forums. The regime failed to understand that these new institutions—tools created by official visions—were replacing deeply rooted institutions that had been tested over centuries until they had become part of the community's culture and heritage. Moreover, the community owned tools to hold its native institutions accountable, while the new institutions derived their legitimacy from a government that lacked popular support and was very weak in remote rural areas.

In short, the new institutions were weak, and their role was confined to mobilizing the masses during visits of high profile visitors from Khartoum to rural areas in Darfur. It is therefore no surprise that these institutions fell with the downfall of the May military regime in April 1985. Nonetheless, the period of the May regime constituted the real beginning of the creation of an administrative vacuum in Darfur. This vacuum reached its worst with the advent of the Inghaz military regime in 1989.

Two factors need to be highlighted with regard to the incapable executive institutions created by the May regime—the popular administration councils and village development councils. The advocate of these institutions, Jaa'far M. Ali Bakheet (1972) strongly supported native administration institutions, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Why, then did he stand behind the destruction of the very native administration he admired? This apparent incongruity highlights the role of the Sudanese elites in supporting political regimes. Bakheet himself had his own view on this. He explained his belief that if native administration institutions were allowed to be strong, like the Kabaka in Uganda or the Ibo in Nigeria, they would pose a danger to the central authority. On the other hand, if their political ambition were curtailed to the local level, they were bound to be very effective in local communities.

The inevitable result of the May regime policies was a vacuum and weakness that struck native administration institutions. This was evident in the overall performance in Darfur during the 1980s, when armed robbery became common. The institutions created by the regime became isolated and corrupted. The values and traditions of the native administration evaporated, and Darfur entered into a deep governance crisis at political and local levels.

5-7-3 Native Administration under the Inghaz Regime, 1989–2002

In the third period of democracy that followed the April 1985 uprising, the cabinet formed a ministerial committee to set up a vision for a new status of native administration. The cabinet set up this committee in 1987, and it included (among others) the minister of local government and the minister of public works. After the committee conducted studies that covered most of Sudan's northern and southern provinces, it provided its final recommendations to the cabinet on May 7, 1987. The cabinet approved these recommendations, added the attorney general and the minister of the interior to the committee, and tasked the committee with drafting a bill for a new native administration act in addition to regulations for the implementation of the new act. The main recommendation approved by the cabinet was the division of the country into three divisions based on the nature of each area, as follows:

- areas of nomads, semi-nomads, and border zones—where comprehensive administrative, judicial and security powers would be granted;
- settled rural areas—where administrative, security, and semi-judicial powers would be granted; and
- towns, municipalities, and modern production areas—where only limited administrative powers would be granted.³⁰⁷

The committee also recommended that flexibility be observed in the above divisions.

In the same year, 1987, reinstatement of confidence in the native administration in Darfur began in preparation for the implementation of the new law. However, all policies changed dramatically when the military coup that brought in the Inghaz regime took place on the morning of June 30, 1989. In 1995, the Inghaz regime organized a native administration conference. Article 7 of the directives of that conference provided,

[T]he tribal system should not be confined to the affairs of the tribe without opening up for renewal of the faith to extend hands to brothers in the religion in accordance with the teachings and values of the religion. Leader of the tribe should confine his business to caring for his people but should also act as Imam in the performance of all religious rituals and be an ultimate example for them with regard to religious values. (As quoted by al-Zain 2008)

According to Adam al-Zain, the last sentence of this quotation clearly states that native administration leaders, as seen by the government, should no longer be only concerned with the maintenance of law and order in their respective areas but should also be concerned, more importantly, with leading a movement of renewing the faith. This means replacement of all known rules and customs of native administration with those of the new political doctrine. Adam al-Zain further believes that native administration in Darfur received

307. Final report of the ministerial committee tasked according to the Cabinet Resolution no. 201/1986, May 7, 1987.

a fatal wound and its leaders were replaced with warlords (commanders of different militia groups). Some native administration leaders were mobilized as warlords while others became cornerstones for the so-called “cultural scheme.” The latter became agents for recruiting their respective followers into fighters alongside the government (in the south first and later in Darfur). When war intensified and most people were forced to flee their homes, those leaders became members in the ruling party (the National Congress Party, or NCP) but without their followers. As life does not accept vacuums, new leaders have emerged in internally displaced people (IDP) camps to organize lives of former followers of native administration leaders. This has created new realities on the ground and new challenges for those leaders (al-Zain 2008, 143).

Darfur was the focus of Inghaz central regime policies right from the beginning because it was considered one of the main bases of one of the rival political parties (the Umma Party). Moreover, Darfur was an ideal place to implement the Inghaz policies, since it had been associated with Sunni Islam since the days of the founders of the Fur sultanate, as indicated in the archives of Saudi Arabia.³⁰⁸ The recent history also certifies this in the form of the *Mihmal* of sultans Mohamed al-Husain, Yousuf Ibrahim Garad, and Ali Dinar (Abushoak 2009). The Islamic faith is well rooted in Darfur, and Darfur was opened to Islamic culture centers around Lake Chad and in the basins of River Niger and River Nile since early times (Shinnie 1968, 75). Sunni Islam also came to Darfur from Morocco through Tijaniyya Order scholars such as Sidi al-Mukhtar (the son of al-A’alia) and Shaikh al-Taher al-Haimadi.³⁰⁹

Darfur also had become exposed to Sunni Islam through al-Azhar in Egypt, where Darfurians had their education. Likewise, Darfur had strong connection with Islamic centers in the Nile valley, and young men from Darfur had studied at various centers there (Bin Daifalla 2009, 180). This deep Islamic heritage encouraged the Sudanese Islamic movement to invest in Darfur. When the Inghaz regime seized power in 1989, the native administration in Darfur was still trying to recover from the blows of the October 1964 uprising and the May 1969 regime. The reinstatement of confidence in native the administration program was completed in 1988, but the native administration was still scrunched up. When its leaders returned after two decades of absence, they found their communities in a state of lawlessness. The fierce struggles between the Fur and Arab tribes in 1988 also began to erode social ties in the Darfur community. Moreover, armed robbery intensified. In this turbulent climate, the Inghaz regime ushered in new policies.

In 1993, the Darfur region was divided into three states within the framework of the federal system. The states were divided into smaller administrative units. The purpose of all those divisions was the tightening of security. These policies, furthermore, aimed at fragmenting large, stable tribal entities to ensure loyalty to the new regime. With these policies in place, what was left of the native administration was destroyed.

308. Evidence of this is available from a document that is in the possession of Shartaya Abbakar Rasheed, Jebe Hiraiz, North Darfur.

309. Interview with religious Tigania sect Shaikh Ibrahim Sidi Mohamed al-Haj, Elfasher, 1998.

When the Inghaz regime assumed power in 1989, there were already weakening factors in the body of native administration planted by previous regimes, as has already been discussed in this chapter. All those policies ignored the special identity and the heritage of Darfur community in governance and other related institutions of the Darfur community. The Inghaz regime (1989-2015) emptied native administration institutions of their customary content, and consequently the system lost its legitimacy. With the collapse of the native administration, other institutions started to crumble one by one, including those governing land, customary law, and natural resources. The collapse of the native administration thus translated into disintegration of all social norms and customs. In turn, the struggle over resources was transferred from its communal framework to an armed struggle and wars between the various Darfurian entities.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This study has dealt with the political, economic, and social history of Darfur since the rise of the Fur sultanate in 17th century from the perspective of the struggle over power and resources. It concludes that the rise of the sultanate in its early stages was based, *inter alia*, on the factor of domination over resources that would enable the Keira clan to establish this sultanate.

After the establishment of the seat of power and the control over resources, especially land, the Fur sultanate established governance institutions to organize resources and competition over them. These institutions included land use and the organization of its resources in addition to the organization of rights and responsibilities associated therewith. Institutions also included the setting up and enforcement of customary laws that would govern and control relations between individuals and ethnic and tribal groups within the sultanate.

These institutions developed through the accumulation of experience and became an integral part of the heritage of Darfur tribal communities in governance and politics. They also acquired moral legitimacy in land resources, land use, land tenure, and other facets of life in Darfur. These institutions were not isolated from centers of power in neighboring sultanates and kingdoms. As a matter of fact, Darfur took elements that suited it from those kingdoms and adapted them to the realities of Darfur. All these kingdoms and sultanates were in touch with each other through trade, religion, culture, and politics. The strong intermingling between them provided Darfur with opportunities to benefit from the experiences of each other in governance, culture, and knowledge in general. Through this strong intermingling with its neighbors to the east (the sultanates of Sinnar and Tagali) and to the west (the sultanate of Kanem-Borno), the Fur sultanate's institutions reached full maturity during their apex in the 18th and 19th centuries.

However, contact with outside world was not all good for the sultanate. The same kingdoms and sultanates with which Darfur interacted to develop its resources were also eager to control these resources, and the Fur sultanate engaged in many wars over control of these resources. The struggle between the Fur sultanate and foreign powers over its rich resources occurred in a number of stages. The first war was with the sultanate of Waddai, its western neighbor. Although these wars were rather costly, Darfur managed to survive them all.

The real menace to Darfur, however, was from the powers that controlled entities in the Nile valley, that is, the Egyptian-Turkish colonial power during the reign of Mohamed Ali Pasha.

The first attempt of Mohamed Ali Pasha to control Darfur came in 1874 when he collaborated with al-Zubair Pasha Rahama (a merchant from northern Sudan, based in Bahr al-Ghazal, whose trade in Darfur was affected). Al-Zubair Pasha managed to gain control of Darfur and add it to the properties of Mohamed Ali. This isolated Darfur and endangered the continuity of its governance heritage. Then came the Mahdist period in 1885, which almost ruined what was left of that heritage, despite fierce opposition to it by the sons of sultans and tribal leaders. At last, the Anglo-Egyptian colonization conquered northern Sudan in 1989 and annexed Darfur in 1916.

During the Anglo-Egyptian rule, which lasted until 1956, British colonists attempted to revive the heritage of the Fur sultanate in governance and administration. However, this revival came in different political circumstances, since the single ruler was not the sultan but the British director and his men. Thus, the revival process lacked authenticity and popular support.

This revival process created hybrid institutions with new conceptions to serve the interests of the colonizer; however, it managed—through 50 years of implementation—to develop and become effective in providing security to and organizing the lives of the people of Darfur.

After independence, Darfur became an integral part of the Sudan. National governments, especially military regimes (Abboud, 1958–1964; Numairi, 1969–1985; and al-Basheer, 1989–2015) brought in radical policies towards customary laws and native administration. The Abboud regime weakened native administration, and the Numairi regime completely dissolved it in 1970. Darfur lasted two decades through a political and administrative vacuum that led to instability and a state of lawlessness that brought in struggles and tribal wars.

In 1988, instability in Darfur prompted the national cabinet in the multi-party government in Khartoum to reinstate native administration. As this was done in turbulent political circumstances, a military coup, under the leadership of Omar al-Basheer, the current president of Sudan, took over power in 1989. This development, with the advent of Islamist regime, ruined the native administration by taking from it all customs and traditions that had previously given it legitimacy and allowed for it to be accepted by the tribal communities.

All these contradicting policies adopted by the central government in Khartoum towards native administration's institutions weakened these institutions and removed the cover of popular legitimacy from it. This development, in turn, prompted the people of Darfur to compete over resources in an uncontrolled manner that made the whole community slip into chaos, struggle, and armed violence at the beginning of the 21st century.

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Appendix

Appendix A: List of individuals interviewed

The following is a list of the names of people interviewed in the course of preparing the study. The arrangement of the names does not reflect the status of any person or the importance of the information he or she provided. Names are arranged by the place where the interview was held.

State of North Darfur

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE	TRIBE	POSITION	DATE OF INTERVIEW	PLACE OF INTERVIEW
Sulayman Mohamed Nouraldin	Awlad Alrif	Freelancer	1998	Elfasher
Mustafa Ahmed Musa	Awlad Alrif	Freelancer	1998	Elfasher
Mohamed Ahmed Kinain	Zaghawa	School Teacher	1998	Elfasher
Bousha Al-Zarief	Habaniah	Police officer	1998	Elfasher
Yahya Ibrahim Yousif	Not sure of his tribe	Citizen	1998	Elfasher
Ali Abdalla Salih	Dadinga	Soni member	1998	Elfasher
Abdallah Ali Ishag	Tunjur	Shartaya	1998	Elfasher
Abbakar Rasheed	Tunjur	Shartaya	1998	Shangil Tobay
Ishag Abkair Ahmed	Dar Hamid	Omda	1998	Elfasher
Mahmoud Hassan Shareef	Tunjur	Teacher	1999	Kutum
Ali Mohamadain	Zaghawa	Son of native administrator	1999	Umbaro
Mahmoud Mohamadain	Zaghawa	Son of native administrator	1999	Umbaro
Tijani Saif al-Nasr	Zaghawa	Former native administrator	1999	Umbaro
Basi Salem Tigil	Zaghawa Awlad Digain	Basi	1999	Muzbad
Hasan Bargo Dogi	Zaghawa Kabka	Sultan	1999	Tundubaya
al-Tijani Yousuf Shareef	Tunjur	Local government	1999	Kutum
Ahmed Abdallah Nimair	Tunjur	Teacher	1998	Kutum
Al Sheikh Hassan Hilal	Rizaigat Mahameed	Mahameed tribal administration	1999	Kabkabia
Al Sheikh Mohamaden Aldood Madani	Rizaigat- Mahriyya	Nazir of the Mahriyya tribe in North Darfur	1999	Kutum

(The table continues on next page)

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE	TRIBE	POSITION	DATE OF INTERVIEW	PLACE OF INTERVIEW
Al Sheikh Adam Gali Abu Gasi	Awlad Rashid	Omda in the Awlad Rashid tribe	1999	Kutum
Mohamed Hamid	Bani Hussain	Teacher	1999	Kabkabia
Sheikh Hamad Abdallah Gebriel	Eraigat	Chief of the Eraigat tribal administration	1999	Kutum
Mahmoud Musa Mahmoud Gamar Aldeen	Barti	Teacher	1999	Elfasher
Abdo Alsamad Abdo Almotaleb	Dadinga	Retired employee of Jebal Marrah devolpment project	1998	Elfasher
Shareef Adam Tahir Noren	Zaghawa Kitinga	Teacher and chief of the Dar Soweni administration	1999	Kutum
Yahya Adam Ahmed	Awlad Mana	Teacher	1999	Elfasher
Ali Abdallah Salih	Dadinga	Citizen	2003	Elfasher
Abdallah Mohamed Alzebair	Dadinga	Government employee	2004	Elfasher
King Rahmt Allah Mahmoud	Dadinga	President of the Elfasher native court	2001	Elfasher
Mohamed Seedi Ahmed	Barti	Member of the North Darfur legislative council	2001	Elfasher
Adam Musa Abdalrasool	Fur Keira	Veterinary officer	1999	Kutum
Malik Adam Mohamed Nooren	Zaghawa Kitinga	Chief of the Dar Barti administration in Kutum	1999	Kutum
Mohamed Hamid Ibrahim Malik	Unknown tribe	Member of the North Darfur legislative council	1998	Kabkabia
Abdalrahman Mohammed Mahmoud	Ziyadiyya	Local government officer	1998	Elfasher
Mahi Aldeenn Mohamed Ahmed	Rizaigat Mahriyya	Teacher	1999	Kutum
Hamid Ahmed Adam	Mima	Shartaya of the Mima tribe and chief of the Waddaa native court	1998	Wada'a village
Abdallah Ali Ishag	Tunjur	Shartaya	1998	Elfasher
Mahmoud Ai Nagm Aldeen	Gawamaa	Member of the Elfasher native court	1998	Elfasher

(The table continues on next page)

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE	TRIBE	POSITION	DATE OF INTERVIEW	PLACE OF INTERVIEW
Abakar Rasheed Ahmed Rasheed	Tunjur	Shartaya	1998	Shangil Tobay village
Ansari Ahmed Mansor	Musabaat	Chief of the Jogo Jogo native court	1999	Elfasher
Fatima Mohamed Busati	Borno	Land owner	1998	Elfasher
Bosha al-Zareef Abu Kalam	Habbaniyya	Police captain	1998	Elfasher
Hamid Essa	Rizaigat	Executive officer of Nyala rural local council	2006	Elfasher
Tegani Mahmoud Altayeb	Zaghawa	Teacher	2006	Elfasher
Mahmoud Salih Tegani Altayeb	Zaghawa	Teacher	2006	Elfasher
Bushara Dawsa	Zaghawa	Sultan	1987 and 1997	Altina village
Rabee Bahr Aldeen Ali Dinar	Fur	Sultan	1999	Elfasher
Khalil Abdalkareem	Fur	Teacher	2006	Elfasher
Ismail Alrasheed Abakar	Fur	Head of the Shoba organization	2006	Elfasher
Abbas Abdallah Abu Shok	Fur	Former military officer (captain)	2002	Omdurman
Mohamed Adam Ali Ayad	Rizaigat Mahriyya	Member of the North Darfur legislative council	2006	Elfasher
Abekair Ahmed Abdallah	Awlad Agoy	Omda	1998	Elfasher
Khatir Abdallah Tahir	Fur Musabaat	Local government officer	1997	Kutum

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF NATIVE ADMINISTRATION OF NORTH DARFUR, WHO WERE INTERVIEWED IN ELFASHER IN MAY 2006		
Malik Shareef Adam Taher	Zaghawa Kitinga	Head of the native administration in Dar Sweni
Adam Marmar Ateea	Zaghawa Dar Gala	Omda
Haroon Gesh	Tunjur	Omda in the Shangil Tobay native administration
Mansour Dosa	Zaghawa Kobi	Sultan
Albador Issa	Rizaigat Mahameed	Omda
Haroon Hamid Adam	Wad Dakona	Omda in the Waddaa native administration
Mohamed Adam	Awlad Ras al-Thoar	Omda
Ibrahim Mohamed Noor	Zaghawa	Wakil in the Kutum native administration
Adam Saeed Hassan	-	Wakil in the Kasar native administration
Abdalrahman Abo	Tunjur	Omda
Rizig Maragan Abo	Zaghawa Kobi	Wakil
Hassan Abdallah Omda	Tunjur	Omda
Mahmoud Mohamadeen Adam Sabi	Zaghawa	Wakeel in the Dar Tur native administration
Sulieman Ishag Gido	-	Wakeel native administration kheir ban area
Adam Subahi	Zaghawa	Shartaya in Dar Tur native administration

State of South Darfur

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE	TRIBE	POSITION	DATE OF INTERVIEW	PLACE OF INTERVIEW
Mohamed Atim Salama	Fur	Administrator officer in Nyala rural council	2003	Nyala
al-Tareeh al-Mahdi Adam	Habaniyya	Citizen(Nomadic)	1998	Buram
Abdalla Abbakar al-Suhaini	Gimir	Citizen	1997	Khur Shamam village
an-Nour Khairalla	Bani Halba	School teacher	1997	Id al-Fursan
Mohammed Ibrahim Bakhaisa	Bani Halba	Dimlij of the Rajabiya clan	1997	Kabum
Abdelrahman Ahmed Didi	Barno	Former clerk in Bani Halba tribe native court	1997	Id al-Ghanam
Ahmed al-Tayib Ibrahim	Ta'aisha	Secretary of Nazara during the reign of Nazir Ali al-Sanousi	1998	Rihaid al-Birdi
Idam Abdelrahman	Falatta Futa	Inspector of local government department	1999	Nyala
Sam al-Zubair Sam	Ta'aisha Gubarat	Citizen	1999	Nyala
Ahmed Adam Rigal	Fur	Magdoom	1997	Nyala
Sulieman Mohammed Adeeb	Habbaniyya	Citizen	1998	Nyala
Mahmoud Khalid Mohamed Nour	Rizaigat Nawaiba	Omda	1997	Fardows village
Kabour Shogra	Rizaigat Nawaiba	Omda	1997	Fardows village
Omer Khalid Mohamed Nour	Rizaigat Nawaiba	Teacher	1997	Aldeain
Habib Mustafa Hasabo	Zaghawa	Trader	1997	Aldeain
Adam Shareif Salim	Ma'alia	Omda	1997	Abu Karenka village
Mohamed Ahmed Buram	Rizaigat Mahriyya	Citizen	1997	Aldeain
Adam Tema	Fur	Clerk of the chief native court in Nyala	1997	Nyala
Mohamed Adam Abdalrahman Rigal	Fur	Shartaya	1997	Nyala
Musa Galis	Birgid	Nazir	1997	Nyala
Tameem Ahmed Ameen	-	Omda	1997	Nyala
Tigani Abu Sadeea	Bargo	Omda	1997	Nyala
Mohamed Yagoob	Tarjam	Nazir	1997	Nyala

(The table continues on next page)

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE	TRIBE	POSITION	DATE OF INTERVIEW	PLACE OF INTERVIEW
Tigani Abdalgader	Misairiyya	Nazir	1997	Nyala
Sulieyman Hasab Allah	Fur	Shartaya	1997	Nyala
Mansour Abdalgadir	Fur	Emir	1997	Nyala
Hassan Bakhiet	Birgid	Citizen	1997	Nyala
Ateem Mohamed Salama	Fur	Local government officer	1997	Nyala
Ahmed Mohamed Tourkosha	Masalit	President of the committee for tribal affairs	1999	Nyala
Abdelrahman Adam Abo	Dajo	Shartaya	1999	Nyala
al-Haj Adam Dawood	Fur Masabit	Omda	1998	Nyala
Mohamed Daood Mohamed	Fur Masabit	Nyala court guard	1997	Nyala
Adam Abdalkareem Dagash	Fur	Teacher	1997	Nyala
Ali Saeed Takana	Habbaniyya	Director of education	1997	Nyala
Mohamed Sati Ibrahim	Bederia	Trader	1998	Nyala
Siddig Abdalnabi	Birgid	Former Aldeain district commissioner	1999	Nyala
Abdallah Abu Noba	Rizaigat Mahriyya	Omda	1999	Nyala
Abdalahim Alsanosi	Zaghawa Um Kamalti	Dimlij	2006	Nyala
Abdallah Hussien Adam	Birgid	Citizen	2006	Nyala
Mohamed Ahmed Yagoob	Zaghawa Um Kamalti	Omda	2006	Nyala
Ahmed Mohamed Ali Abdalahman	Birgid	Citizen	2006	Nyala
Mohamed Ilssa Abdalmola	Fur	Chairperson of the Fur shura council	2006	Nyala
Abdalmoneim Alrayah	-	Chairperson of farmers' association	2006	Nyala
Mohamed Salah Aldein Kenain	-	UN officer	2006	Nyala
Ahmed Adam Rigal	Fur	Magdoom	2005	Nyala
Abdalaheem Mahamado Mohamed Adam Sabi	Zaghawa	Former military officer	2006	Nyala
Idris Ibrahim	Zaghawa Um Kamalti	Chairperson of the Um Kamalti shura council	2006	Nyala
Mahadi Almanzool	Bani Halba	Secretary general of the South Darfur government	2006	Nyala

(The table continues on next page)

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE	TRIBE	POSITION	DATE OF INTERVIEW	PLACE OF INTERVIEW
Abdalrahmman Bushara Ali Alsanosi	Ta'aisha	Nazir	1997	Rehed Alberdi
Mohamed Altahir Dofaa	Ta'aisha	Omda	1997	Rehed Alberdi
Ahmed Altayeb Ibrahim	Ta'aisha	Chairperson of the Ta'aisha shura council	1997	Rehed Alberdi
Abdelrahman Ahmed Mohamed Dedi	Barno	Former clerk of the chief native court of the Bani Halba tribe	1997	Id al-Ghanam
Mohamed Ibrahim Dabaka	Bani Halba	President of the native court in Kabum (of the Bani Halba tribe)	1997	Kabum
Alnoor Daood Kheir Allah	Bani Halba	Teacher	1997	Id al-Ghanam
al-Hadi Eisa Dabaka	Bani Halba	Nazir	1997	Id al-Ghanam
Adam Mohamed Ibrahim Dabaka	Bani Halba	Mandoob for tax collection	1997	Kabum
Mohamed Haroon Yousif	Bani Halba	Teacher	1997	Kabum
Ibrahim Adam Altigani	Bani Halba	Teacher	1997	Kabum
Terab Abakar	Bani Halba	Teacher	1997	Kabum
Abdallah Adam Idris	Salamat	Omda	1997	Kabum
Ismaiel Zakaria	Barti	Citizen	1997	Kabum
Alimam Toto Alhaj Hussein	Hosa	Citizen	1997	Kabum
Mohamed Ibrahim Bikhaisa	Bani Halba	Dimlij of the Rajabiya clan	1997	Kabum
Mohamed Osman Dako	Bani Halba	Teacher	1997	Kabum
Al-Tayib Abu Shamsa	Bani Halba	President of the customary court in Kutum	1997	Kabum
Ali Zakeen Jar al-Nabi	Bani Halba	Omda and dimlij	1997	Markondi village
Abdalrahman Mohamed Izzaldeen	Bani Halba	Teacher	1997	Id al-Ghanam
Yousuf Ali Abbakar Omar Naga	Bigo	Sultan	1998	Nyala
Abdalrahman Abakr	Dajo	University lecturer	1997	Nyala
Abdalrahman Ali Mogadam	Rizaigat Gedyaat	Citizen	1998	Alhaj Yousif, Khartoum
Nooh Omer Youdif	Falatta Wella	Citizen	1998	Khartoum
Abdalrahman Yousif Ahmed Ishag	Falatta Goba	Citizen	1998	Algazeira Aba

(The table continues on next page)

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE	TRIBE	POSITION	DATE OF INTERVIEW	PLACE OF INTERVIEW
Adam Idam Hussain	Gimir	Member of the Gimir native court in Kateela	1997	Kateela
Mohammed Yousif Ahmed	Gimir	Omda	1997	Kateela
Abakr Abdallah Alfaki Alсахini	Gimir	Citizen	1970	Khor Shamam
Mukhtar Mohamed Suleiman	Gimir	Citizen	1997	Intakena village
Zakaria Ibrahim Abu Habo	Bani Halba	Department head of the labor office in Nyala	1998	Nyala
Abdalhameed Madibo	Rizaigat	Citizen	1997	Aldeain
Mahmoud Mussa Madibo	Rizaigat	Deputy nazir	1997	Aldeain
Ali Adam Mohmed	Rizaigat	Trader	1997	Aldeain
Ibrahim Hamad Ahmed	Habbaniyya	Director of extension department in the ministry of agriculture in Nyala	2003	Nyala
Altreah Almahadi Adam	Habbaniyya	Citizen	1998	Buram
Basheer Madani Ishag	Habbaniyya	Police officer	1998	Nyala
Yousif Saeed Takana	Habbaniyya	Shaikh	1998	Tegreeba village
al-Manna Abu al-Gasim al-Kabur	Habbaniyya	Citizen	1997	Buram
Ayoub Mohamed Balol	Habbaniyya	Omda	1998	Buram
Omer Ali Alghali	Habbaniyya	Deputy nazir	1998	Buram
Abdalgabar Yousif Gadai	Abu Aldarak	Sheikh	1998	Wad Haijam village
Mohamed Hammad Idris Abu Zahra	Habbaniyya	Citizen	1998	Wad Haijam village
Umbady Hamid Umbady	Habbaniyya	Dimlij	1998	Buram
Taj Aldeen Ahmed Alhelo	Habbaniyya	Member of the national legislative council in Khartoum	1998	Buram
Ali Rahal Ali	Habbaniyya	Omda	1998	Buram
Sharofa Mohamed Sharaf Aldeen	Habbaniyya	Retired Teacher	1998	Buram
Ahmea Alsamani Albashar	Falatta Futa	Nazir	1998	Tulos
Adam Tajaldeen Ibrahim	Binga Fertit	Citizen	1998	Alrdoom village
Hajar Droob	Dango Fertit	Omda	1998	Alrdoom village
Abdalgabar Mohamed Daood	Falatta Futa	Citizen	1998	Alrdoom village

(The table continues on next page)

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE	TRIBE	POSITION	DATE OF INTERVIEW	PLACE OF INTERVIEW
Fadol Mohamed Baleel	Falatta Futa	Faki	1998	Fifi village
Ibrahim Saboon	Frawgi Fertit	Citizen	1998	Fifi village
Abdallah Mohamed Abu Asha	Falatta	Leader of the tribal militia	1998	Tulus village
Abdalmoneim Hamad	Soa Fertit	Citizen	1998	Kadad village
Abdalmawlla Hamad Hussein	Masalit	Member of the Gereda native court	1998	Gereda village
Mohamed Yagoob Almalik	Masalit	Tribal chief (maalik) of Masalit	1998	Gereda village
Mohamed Ahmed Habib	Mahadi	Omda	1997	Dito
Abdallah Bakheit	Masalit	Sultan	1998	Gogana village
Mohamed Ali Alyas	Fur	Police officer	1998	Nyala
Hassan Mohamed Hamad	Salamat	Former commissioner	1998	Nyala
Alhadi Alsaer Abdallah	Zaghawa Um Kamalti	Citizen	1998	Nyala
Hussein Badgadi Fadli	Habbaniyya	Director general of a rural development project in West Darfur (Id al-Ghanam)	1998	Nyala
Khalil Mohamed Ahmed	-	Teacher	2006	Nyala
Alsayed Madani	Fur	Teacher	2006	Nyala
Salih Ahmaday Abdallah	Barti	Agricultural engineer	2006	Nyala
Adam Ibrahim Khalil	Fur	Director general of agriculture in Nyala	2006	Nyala
Mohamed al-Haj Arbab	Fur Boldanga	Omda	1998	Nyala
Altayeb Mohamed Yahya	Habbaniyya	Engineer	2006	Khartoum
Fatima Alsheikh Ali Bakheet Omdurman	-	Midwife	2006	Nyala

State of West Darfur

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE	TRIBE	POSITION	DATE OF INTERVIEW	PLACE OF INTERVIEW
Shaikh Hasaballah Osman	Mahadi	Nazir (tribal chief)	1999	Um Tajoak village
Hassan Bargo Dogi	Zaghawa Kabka	Sultan	1999 (last interview)	Tundubaya village
Ibrahim Abu al-Gasim	Barno	Shaikh of Tijaniyya religious sect	1997	Elgeneina
Tijani Abdelmalik Ali al-Sanousi	Barno	Deputy court of Sultan in Elgeneina	1997	Elgeneina
al-Hussein Saeed al-Hilo	Rizaigat	School teacher	1999	Zalengi
Abdalla Ahmed Shinaibat	Bani Halba	Nazir (tribal chief)	1998	Elgeneina
Izadin Ibrahim Mohamed	Masalit	Religious man (Faki)	1996	Elgeneina
Arbab Ahmed Arbab	Masalit	Farsha of the Mistring hakoora	2001	Mistiri village
Haj Khatir Fidail	Asangor	Member of the native court	2001	Abu Soroj village
Mohamed Naheed Hagar	Sinar	Fursha	1999	Forbaranga
Mohamed Suar Adam	Fur	Shartaya	1999	Zalinji
Joada Yousuf	Rizaigat	Omda	1999	Zalinji
al-Husain Saeed al-Hilo	Rizaigat	Emir	1999	Wadi Salih
Hamid Dawai	Awlad Rashid	Emir	2001	Baida
Arbab Rizig Sabi	Fur	Shartaya	1997	Garsila
Hashim bin al-Tahir	Gimir	Shaikh and son of Sultan Abbakar	1999	Kulbus
Farsha Ibrahim Yaqoob	Masalit	Teacher and fursha	1997	Kirink
Osman Hashim	Gimir	Sultan	1987	Kulbus
Abubaker Adam Omar	Gimir	Citizen	1999	Kulbus
Abdelrahman Mohamed Bahraldin (First and second interview)	Masalit	Sultan	1987-1997	Elgeneina
Fadul Sesi Ateem	Fur	Dimingawi	1998	Zalengi
Mohamed Swar	Fur	Shartaya	1998	Zalengi
Goda Afandi Yousif	Rizaigat Mahameed	Omda	1998	Zalengi
Fadol Ahmed Alnoor	Khuzam	Omda	1998	Zalengi

(The table continues on next page)

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE	TRIBE	POSITION	DATE OF INTERVIEW	PLACE OF INTERVIEW
Abdalah Adam Abdalgabar	Fur Hawari	Shartaya	1997	Kas
Khalil Abdallah Abu Nobl	Alababda	Retired Teacher	1997	Kas
Adam Salih Mohamed Ateem	Fur	Omda	1997	Kas
Sirag Mohamed Sirag Idris	Fur	Clerk of the native court	1997	Kas
Musa Hamid Altahir	Khuzam	Faki	1997	Kas
Yousif Hassan Bara	Fur	Citizen	1997	Nertati village
Sulieman Abdalrahman	-	Faki	1997	Nertati village
Alhusein Saeed Alhelo	Rizaigat Nawaiba	Emir and teacher	1998	Wadi Salih
Alfadil Abdallah Ahmed Tambour	Fur	Teacher	1997	Zalengi
Omer Mohamed Fadl Almwala	Fur Kingara	Teacher	1999	Wadi Salih
Abdallah Dahab Yahya	Awlad Rashid	Omda	1999	Wadi Salih
Adam Ahmed Bakheit Ameen	Fur Keira	Shartaya	1999	Wadi Salih
Arbab Rizig	Fur	Shartaya	1999	Wadi Salih
Mohamed Naheed Hagar	Sinnar	Clerk of the native court	1999	Forbaranga
Abdalmageed Mustafa Hashim	Gimir	Financial officer of the Elgeneina rural council	1997	Elgeneina
Yahaya Mohamed Ulma Bosh	Asangor	Teacher	1999	Elgeneina
Ibrahim Abakr Idris	Arenga	Agricultural officer	1997	Abu Soroog village
Mairam Batool Sultan Idris	Gimir	Mairam	1997	Elgeneina
Abdallah Abdalnabi	Rizaigat Mahriyya	Teacher	1997	Elgeneina
Yagoob Moni	Rizaigat	Omda	1999	Elgeneina
Ebaid Diko	al-Mahadi	Teacher	1999	Elgeneina
Hasaballah Osman Addallah	al-Mahadi	Omda	1999	Amtagok
Ahmed Mahadi Mahin	Meseria Gebal	Fursha	1999	Sileaa village
Mohamed Aldoom Farah	Otoria	Omda	1999	Elgeneina
Adam Ismaeil Alyamani	Masalit	Police officer	1999	Elgeneina
Ahmed Abdo Alfarag	Masalit	Teacher	1999	Elgeneina
Abdallah Abdallah Abdallah	Masalit	Teacher	1999	Elgeneina
Ali Shaefoon	-	Chief clerk of the Elgeneina rural council	1999	Elgeneina
Ibrahim Yagoob Ibrahim	Masalit	Teacher and fursha	1999	Elgeneina

(The table continues on next page)

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE	TRIBE	POSITION	DATE OF INTERVIEW	PLACE OF INTERVIEW
Arbab Mohamed Arbab	Masalit	Fursha	1999	Mastare village
Mohamed Abdoalgader Nemesa	Masalit	Shaikh	1999	Elgeneina
Ibrahim Yahya Abdelrahman	Masalit	Former wali (governor) of West Darfur	1999	Elgeneina
Mohamed Abdallah Aldoma	Masalit	Lawyer	1999	Elgeneina
Abu Abakar Omer Alsultan	Gimir	Citizen	1999	Kulbos village
Hasan Bargo Dogi	Zaghawa Kabka	Sultan	1999	Tundubaya
Izzaldin Mohamed Ibrahim	Masalit	Member of the Elgeneina native court	1999	Elgeneina
Alamin Hassan Gibreel	Masalit	Omda	1998	Elgeneina
Ibrahim Alsheikh Abualgasim	Borno	Leader of a religious Sufi order	1997	Elgeneina
Altigani Abdo Almalik Ali Alsanosi	Borno	Deputy president of the Sultan native court in Elgeneina	1999	Elgeneina
Mohamed Adam Ishag	Gimir	Citizen	1998	Kulbos village
Ishag Sami Gido Adam Idris	Marrasa	Omda	1999	Kurbos village
Ibrahim Adam Ibrahim	Dajo	Tailor	1999	Forbaranga
Abdallah Nooraldin	Masalit	Former soldier and a leader of the Soni military organization in Darfur	1998	Omdurman
Saad Abdalrahman Bahraldeen	Masalit	Deputy sultan of the Masalit tribe	2006	Elgeneina
Mohamed Yagoob Rizig	Masalit	Fursha	2006	Elgeneina
Ahmed Issa Yunis	Awlad Rashid	Omda	2006	Elgeneina
Abashar Gamaa Abdallah	Arenga	Commissioner for the city of Elgeneina	2006	Elgeneina
Yahya Olma Arabi	Asangor	Teacher and member of the Asangor shura council	2006	Elgeneina
Zakaria Khatir Fadol	Asangor	Chairperson of the Asangor shura council	2006	Elgeneina
Nouraldin Ishag	Asangor	Member of the Asangor shura council	2006	Elgeneina

(The table continues on next page)

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE	TRIBE	POSITION	DATE OF INTERVIEW	PLACE OF INTERVIEW
Aldoom Abdallah Abdalrahim	Misairiyya Gabal	Citizen	2006	Elgeneina
Saif Aldeen Osman Abakar	Gimir	Lawyer	2006	Elgeneina
Abakar Haroon Sulieman	Tama	Omda	2006	Elgeneina
Gaafar Ismaeil	Tama	Member of the state legislative council	2006	Elgeneina
Mohamed Ishag Haroon	Tama	Citizen	2006	Elgeneina
Musa Yahya Idris	Tama	Citizen	2006	Elgeneina
Alzain Ali Bakheit	Fur	Clerk of the native court	1998	Garsila
Mohamed Bashar Ahmed	Fur	Shartaya	1997	Arola and Garsila
Tigani Saifaldeen Babekir	Fur	Omda	1999	Nertati village

MEMBERS OF THE STATE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL IN WEST DARFUR WHO WERE INTERVIEWED IN ELGENEINA IN 2006

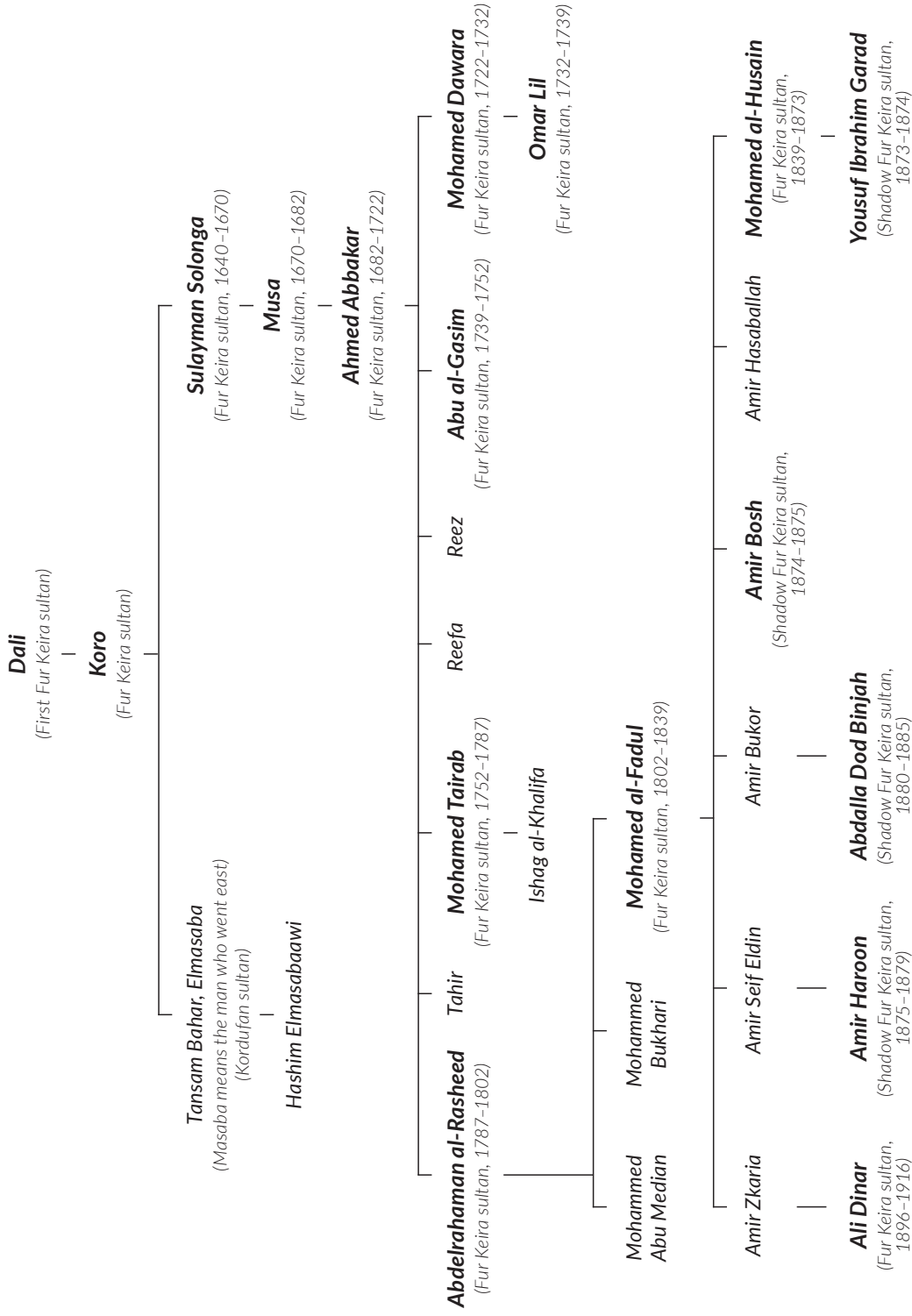
Mohamed Omer Fadeel	Chairperson of the security committee
Fadol Haroon	Chairperson of the financial committee
Saeed Alhelo	Chairperson of the peace committee
Dahia Karama	Chairperson of the services committee
Yuones Abdalrahman	Chairperson of the culture committee
Salah Babekie	Chairperson of the members committee
Ishag Ibrahim	Member of the state legislative council
Musa Karama	Member of the state legislative council
Alsadig Abitta Nitiko	Member of the state legislative council
Mohamed Adam	Member of the state legislative council

Others:

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE	TRIBE	POSITION	DATE OF INTERVIEW	PLACE OF INTERVIEW
Abbas Abdalla Abu Shouk	Fur	Military officer	2002	Omdurman
Idris Ibrahim Adam	Fur	Warrant Officer	2002	Omdurman
Abdalla Nouraldin	Masalit	The leader of Soni military organization	1998	Omdurman
Abdelgader Mone'im Mansour	Hamar	Nazir (tribal chief)	1998	Khartoum
Abdelrahman Ali Mugaddam	Rizaigat	Citizen	2002	Khartoum

Appendix B: Generations of Fur Keira sultans

1. The chart below shows male descendants of the Fur Keira royal family, as described by al-Tunisi (1965). Spellings of names have been edited for consistency with the rest of this study. Please note that there are slight differences in some of the dates in this chart and the dates found by other historians.
2. According to the Dali law the eldest son should inherit the sultanate after the death of his father the Sultan. If the oldest son is not suitable then the second oldest son is to become the Sultan.
3. Beside this general principle the transfer of power from one Sultan to another in the Fur Keira sultanate witnessed many conspiracies and changes.



DARFUR

STRUGGLE OF POWER AND RESOURCES, 1650-2002

The conflicts in Sudan have been driven by multiple causes, a major one being increasing competition over natural resources. This is very much the case in Darfur, and Takana's book addresses both the historical root causes of such competition as well as the current implications, including the dismantling of local administrative structures, increasing fragmentation and very serious local and regional conflicts.

Takana's analysis is based on both historical records and a large number of interviews. He is himself a member of the Habbania tribal group, grew up in Darfur and has held a number of administrative and political positions which have provided him with deep and detailed knowledge of Darfur politics in all its aspects as well as the role and policies of different governments in Khartoum towards this large and important region.

Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed

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