

An Annotated Bibliography of Social Research on the Nuba Mountains

Edited by
Enrico Ille

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OF SOCIAL RESEARCH ON THE NUBA MOUNTAINS

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It was possible for this volume to come together in a few months only because of previous efforts of long-time colleagues in my research on the Nuba Mountains, most of all Richard Rottenburg and Guma Kunda Komey. The basis of this annotated bibliography is a list of references, the Nuba Mountains Bibliography, which is published and regularly updated on the website of the Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Halle in Germany, as part of the Law, Organisation, Science and Technology (LOST) Research Group.¹ The list was originally a bibliographical database based on two four-year research projects funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG), which examined the relation of nomadic and sedentary people in South Kordofan, as well as markets and other economic institutions in the post-war period between 2005 and 2011. The projects were headed by my doctorate supervisor Richard Rottenburg and involved Guma Kunda Komey as senior researcher and myself as student assistant, and later doctoral candidate.² The bibliographical work was also conducted by the assistants Uta Mahadi, Ronn Müller, Jasmin Weinert and Konstantin Biehl; Konstantin Biehl representing the backbone of the effort to turn the list into an annotated bibliography. Theses submitted at the University of Khartoum up to 2010 were collected by Amira al-Jizouli. Her work was continued, up until the end of 2014, by Rania Awad at other universities in Khartoum. This added substantially to the number of Arabic writings in this bibliography.

¹ www.ethnologie.uni-halle.de/lost/nms

² www.nomadsed.de/en/projects/projects-2008-2012/project-dg/index.html

Preface

Ten years ago, an annotated bibliography of social research on Darfur was published, similar in intention and structure to the one at hand. Its main editor, Munzoul Assal, noted at the beginning of his introduction that “[a] humanitarian catastrophe of a serious scale is unfolding in Darfur” (Assal 2005, 4). That same year, in 2005, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), prompting the many hopes for a better political future of the country. It is now safe to say that that future did not materialize, as the cycle of blatant violence and short-breathed agreements continues. There are now two Sudans, separated under the assumption that they have separate issues to resolve, an assumption being questioned by the militarily organized political contest and securitization of the state apparatus in the “new” South Sudan. The same kinds of grievances also persist in the “old” Sudan, addressed by the armed rebellion in the southern regions. Such grievances are not only a bitter continuity of the “southern problem,” as “the south” is still seen most of all as a problem, but also an indication that the CPA had only temporarily stopped the war between two war parties, and did not provide feasible solutions to the underlying malcontent. One of the regions suffering most as a result is that of the Nuba Mountains.

Given that the subject of this bibliography is a region that experienced intensive and extensive violent conflicts for most of the last 20 years, one may question the rationale behind a bibliography listing published social research of about 100 years, especially since the many works on “root causes” of conflicts and peace-building efforts seem not to have made much of a difference on the ground. While the basic function of this bibliography is quite clear; namely, to provide an initial guide for anybody interested in social research on the Nuba Mountains, it may give readers pause to attempt to contextualize this function. As often happens, answers lie in how one individually relates to societal issues. My own motivation contains the professional academic interest to share accumulated references after ten years of experience within the region, especially in response to repeated claims of how little research has been done on the region, but goes beyond that. It connects to an issue of wider interest; namely, the issue of visibility and how it is created. Whether we apply the lens of victimhood or resistance, the lens of authenticity or creativity, the lens of social order or social ordering, makes a difference in how we get to know a place and the people that make it a place. There is value not only in studying how places and people have been made visible, but also in creating new ways in which to make them visible. The effect of such visibility has little predictability, but it is more than a whimsical effort to contribute to the perception that there is more to the places and people that make up the Nuba Mountains than remote mountains and targets. The rich history of social studies presented here bears witness to that.

This being said, it is important to point out the limits of this volume. While it covers social research from 1910 to early 2015, it is neither intended as a complete catalogue of such research nor as a judgment on relevant and irrelevant publications. It merely gives a sense of “what

is out there” and of who has been working on the region. It is an invitation to start looking, and then find more. Through this bibliography, researchers in Sudan will be able to access information on where to find some of the listed publications in Khartoum. For the most part, only studies in English and Arabic have been included, the two languages dominating research on the Nuba Mountains; exceptions are some important ethnographic studies in German (Fritz W. Kramer and Gertraud Marx 1993; Richard Rottenburg 1991; Gerhard Hesse 2002) and French (Patricia Musa-Launay 1992), as well as the overarching work of Rolf Husmann (1984). Of the numerous unpublished theses, only those submitted for a doctoral degree have been considered here. That leaves us with a huge number of Master theses worthwhile discovering; in fact, one of the central publications on the region, R. C. Stevenson’s *The Nuba people of Kordofan province* (1984), is a Master thesis.

The Nuba Mountains have been analyzed as a geographical region, which means that studies on people belonging to the region, but not living there (i.e., refugees and migrants located in different parts of the world), cannot be found here either. The settlement areas in northern Kordofan, such as Jabal Harāza, were also not systematically included. Finally, the field of social research was understood to encompass only those studies that specifically examine social relations as such, thereby omitting the pure study of biological and environmental conditions. More specifically, this excluded medical and environmental science studies, such as geology and biology, unless they were actively related to human social interactions. Similarly, pure linguistic analyses, which constitute a large body of literature, are not part of this bibliography. However, the bibliography continues in the effort that Munzoul Assal’s 2005 publication made in assembling several governmental and non-governmental reports that may be relevant to assess additional data sources. What is left to future projects is a systematic list of archival sources, especially in the National Records Office of Sudan and the Sudan Archive in Durham. To be noted is that, a number of recent studies published in Arabic in Sudan were not available for immediate inclusion in the annotation. These sources, as well as many unpublished papers from conferences and workshops, will appear in the Nuba Mountains Bibliography.³

The selected entries were organized into six categories, followed by the technical reports, which have not been annotated (category 7). The six categories are based on perceived topical focus points that developed in social studies of the region. As in any categorization, the boundaries could have been drawn very differently and many entries are ambiguous and belong to more than one category, although they only appear in one. Therefore, a few words on the different categories are necessary in order to explain why aspects that may seem very close to each other have been differentiated.

The first category, “Pre-colonial history,” includes the literature that discusses the history of the region before the British colonization, starting in 1898. The colonial period (1898-1956) is not a category within itself, as most discussions of this period strongly connect it to post-colonial developments, especially concerning colonial administration and its consequences after independence. The second category, “Human geography and ethnographies,” is a collection of

³ www.ethnologie.uni-halle.de/lost/nms

general overviews of the region's population and its environment, in addition to ethnographic monographs that cover a number of aspects. "Socio-cultural ideas and practices," the third category, grasps all aspects of social distinction; i.e., those processes of social ordering that lead to integration and differentiation, encompassing religion, language, arts, etc. Economic aspects (i.e., the creation and distribution of life-sustaining material goods) are discussed in the fourth category, "Economy and livelihoods," which is closely connected to the fifth category, "Administration and development," relating to socio-economic changes. However, while the studies placed into the fourth category took an overall descriptive approach of these changes, related studies placed in the fifth category address them as "development;" i.e., directional changes that are pursued by state and non-state actors. The sixth category, finally, gathers studies with a focus on causes and patterns of violent conflicts, mostly with regard to the developments since the mid-1980s.

Tragically, it is the sixth and last category that has seen the most additions during the last years, in spite of a window of opportunity for varied research between 2005 and 2011. This annotated bibliography, apart from being a handbook for those social researchers interested in the region, is also an expression of hope that such a window will open once again at a time when how to cope with violent conflicts is no longer the primary concern, but rather the focus shifts on how to improve lives. If this is a worthy endeavor, the volume may be regarded as an incipient step to systemize knowledge production around the Nuba Mountains that can lead to more expanded, collaborative works in the future. Another quote from Munzoul Assal's previous work: "Errors and shortcomings are my own responsibility" (Assal 2005, 8) aptly concludes this preface.

Enrico Ille

Khartoum, 2015.

Romanization table

Romanization in this publication follows, with one exception, the Hans Wehr transliteration system, which largely corresponds to ISO 233:1984. The table shows Arabic and transliterated letters, the asterisk indicates a deviation from the original system.

Letter	Transliteration
ء	'
ا	ā
ب	b
ت	t
ث	<u>t</u>
ج	j *
ح	ḥ
خ	ḫ
د	d
ذ	<u>d</u>
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	š
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	c *
غ	ġ
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	w, u, or ū
ي	y, i, or ī

Introduction

Nuba Mountains: a bibliographical essay

Enrico Ille

A short history of identification

“Nuba Mountains” describes a mountainous region approximately 10° to 12° N, and 29° to 31° E, surrounded by plains. It is also a region that, for the most part, lies in the federal state of South Kordofan. These two names are often used to describe only slightly different geographical areas, but they have different connotations, at times in opposition to each other. The first rather connects to a history of ethnic identification, while the second places its emphasis on the territorial administrative organization of the present Republic of Sudan; whether the focus is on one or the other is an issue of political contention.

The geographical convergence of both descriptions happened only recently. Clearly distinguished from Kordofan in pre-colonial times, though connected to its political development, the Nuba Mountains became under British colonial rule a closed district (1922-1949) that required official permission for entry and exit. The area was divided into districts by successively amalgamating sections of so-called Native Administration; in 1929, it was administratively linked to Kordofan as the Greater Kordofan province. More than 40 years later, in 1971, there was, for the first time, a separate province called “South Kordofan,” but a united “Kordofan Region” was again reinstated under the Regional Government Act of 1980. A federal system reform in 1991 created three states, North, West, and South Kordofan (Teraifi 1987, 57, 60; Komey 2004, 189-190). This was changed again after 2005, when the Comprehensive Peace Agreement stipulated in Chapter V, Paragraph 2 that “[t]he boundaries of former Southern Kordofan/Nuba Mountains State shall be the same boundaries of former South Kordofan Province when Greater Kordofan was sub-divided into two provinces.” The existing controversy over the right name for the region, Nuba Mountains or South Kordofan, was referred to in footnote 2 of the same chapter and delegated to a committee. The official adoption of the name “South Kordofan” did not stop the controversy, which continued parallel to struggles over political representation and the drawing of borders and boundaries inside and around the state. In July 2013, in the midst of a war that had started in June 2011, the central government of Sudan reintroduced the division into South and West Kordofan, the latter with a minority of Nuba population; e.g., in Lagawa.

The name “Nuba Mountains” can be found in writings of, at least, the last two centuries, but the name “Nuba” itself has been a changing notion. While it was always connected to

Sub-Saharan populations, it only recently exclusively referred to the population of the Nuba Mountains. For a long time, “Nuba” covered a wide range of populations, located generally south of Egypt in writings of ancient European and medieval Arab geographers, and more specifically in unchartered areas of Sudan in accounts of European travelers of the 19th century. What had been predominantly a name given by others (exonym) gradually turned into a name people of the Nuba Mountains used for themselves (endonym), a process that had a first important impetus with British attempts to establish colonial rule in the region during the first half of the 20th century, but grew to full strength during political developments of the century’s second half.

The increase of interconnections between Nuba and those using the exonym both strengthened the existence of the endonym “Nuba,” and, to some extent, reduced the perception of Nuba as remote people in a remote area. This process generated a debate among British colonial administrators, on if and how to preserve the population’s native, authentic development (Gillan 1931; Henderson 1953, 41-98). This was in reaction not just to a cultural image and to the spreading of Islam, but also to a perceived power asymmetry between Nuba and northern Nile Valley-based traders. This “conservative” stance and the subsequent Closed District policy had wide-ranging consequences, which are still discussed today (e.g.; Ibrahim AUM 1977, 1985; Salih 1990; Willis 2003; Abu Saq 2003; Abdelhay 2010). It has also been argued that the only larger ethnographic study from this period (Nadel 1947) was interwoven with colonial rule (Faris 1973); Nadel himself argued that his work was relevant for the administration in applying for the permission to conduct his study (Henderson 1953, 496-500). It may be safe to say that since that time, a deterministic cultural and educational policy towards the Nuba has been a dominant trait of the governments’ interaction with them.

In general, historiographic attempts to trace the relation between people of the Nuba Mountains and others in detail face many challenges, although Nadel felt confident enough to claim that, up to his time, migrations were “on a very small scale” (Nadel 1947, 5). Indeed, the small number of pre-colonial studies that have been conducted (e.g.; Husmann 1984; Spaulding 1987; Ewald 1990; Ille 2011) indicate a significant role of migration, trade, and military campaigns in most parts of the region, in clear contrast to images of untouched authenticity celebrated, most of all, in accounts of visitors with preconceived judgments of the area (e.g.; Riefenstahl 1973-1976/2006; Castiglioni & Castiglioni 1977).

Jay Spaulding’s claim that “[n]o scholar has yet deliberately undertaken to write a history of the Nuba” (Spaulding 1987, 369) can still be challenged only with regard to R. C. Stevenson’s historical introduction in his Master thesis (Stevenson 1984), to some efforts in German (Husmann 1984; Dabitz 1985), and to less rigorous accounts published in the form of an author’s edition (Andalī 2002) or online (e.g.; the 2001 ‘History of the Nuba’ by Nanne op’t Ende on www.occasionalwitness.com). The difficulties in building up a larger repertoire of historiographical works of reference have not hindered detailed discussions of specific areas (Ewald 1990; Aḥmad 2008; Ille 2011) and specific periods (ʿAṭā 1973; Ḥassab Allah 1998), with a number of journal articles and book chapters adding to the material (see the “Pre-colonial history” category in this volume). But these efforts are still far from the potential outcomes of collecting and co-reading sources in a number of different languages, among them documents

and publications in Turkish, Arabic, German, French, and Italian, as well as a newly and previously collected oral history—e.g.; the work done at the Institute of African and Asian Studies, University of Khartoum—in collaboration with archaeologists, historical linguists, historians, and anthropologists. At the same time, the present situation is not favorable to such initiatives, not just because war and want of basic means seem to make them a secondary concern. The radicalization of identity politics in the region also carries a strong politicization of origins that loads debates on links to ancient Nubian kingdoms, on autochthony of Nuba communities and the timing of “Arab” pastoralists’ immigration with meaning far beyond historical accuracy (Komey 2010a; Ille 2015a).

So, in spite of the previous and the present effort to bring together documents and publications on the Nuba Mountains, there is a crippling combination of aggravating circumstances that prevents from drawing more than general lines of past population settlements and movements. Pre-colonial documents by Arab-speaking and European travelers give mostly vague descriptions of black populations (e.g., slaves in the kingdom of Funj), and only during the Ottoman rule in the 19th century were more extensive travels to the Nuba Mountains themselves recorded. Towards the 1880s, more direct observations can be found, and in spite of the widespread destruction of previous documents and the disruptive effects on people’s collective memories, the Mahdiyya is the first period that can, to a significant degree, be historiographically redrawn for most of the region (Ille 2015c).

Among the first references to areas possibly close to or corresponding to today’s Nuba Mountains were some geographical writings in Arabic; e.g., by Abu al-Ḥassan ‘Alī al-Mas‘ūdī (ca. 896-957), Abu al-Qāsim Ḥawqal al-Naṣībī (d. 977) and Taqīyyu al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī (1364-1442). Stevenson saw a possible reference in the writings of Ibn Ḥawqal, who described the southern limit of Egypt as *balad al-nūbā* (land of the Nuba) (Ḥawqal 977/1996, 126) and *al-jibālīyyūn* (the mountain people) as rulers of Dongola (Stevenson 1984, 32). Spaulding made them out to be ancestors of Nubian speakers west of the Nile, including the so-called “hill Nubian” groups in the northern Nuba Mountains (Spaulding 1998, 48). In a similar way, he detected the Nuba Mountains in the vague description of a southern area as a “vast district with innumerable villages, various peoples speaking different languages, which cannot be counted and whose frontier cannot be described” (translated in Vantini 1975, 166; Spaulding 1998, 49).

The variations in identification perceptible in sources from the 18th century onward, especially the writings of European travelers and geographers before the 20th century, show a successive application of the term to people residing in, or coming from, the mountainous area between 10° to 12° N and 29° to 31° E. This represents an adoption of a historical denotation of “negro or negroid peoples further south” (Stevenson 1984, 2), first by immigrant groups of “Arabs,” then by Europeans, who were mostly guided by or at least accompanying Arabic speakers. In any case, the resulting practices of naming were not uniform or necessarily moving in the same direction, as even “Barabra” was in use to denote the people of the region, at least up to the early 1800s (Trout Powell 2003, 277 fn 43; Seligman 1917, 402).

A history of identification has to deal with one of the most immediate consequences of limited alternative sources for any documented event and observation; namely, that triangulation is often impossible. This makes historical narratives to a large extent dependent on the different writers' positionality. Many writers, some far into the 20th century, dealt with the region as *terra incognita*, while the term "Nuba" only successively overlapped with it (see Ille 2015b for more details). The Latin name "Nubae" appeared in writings of Erastothenes (ca. 276–ca. 195/194 BC), reported by Strabōn (64/63 BC–ca. 24 AD), and Klaudios Ptolemaios (ca. 90–ca. 168) in reference to varied social groups supposedly living in areas south of Egypt at Merowe or further east, which became gradually known in the wake of Roman military expansion (Ille 2015b, 3). In a similar way, older sources forming names with the root -nb-, going back to ancient Egypt (Keane 1885; Kirwan 1937; Arkell 1961, 177), denoted, in general, people present south of Egypt and mostly carried a connotation of potential or actual slaves, with or without a connection to gold mining (Stevenson 1984, 31; Ibrahim HB n.d, 9; Fayrīn 2012).

A convergence of naming of people and naming of the geographical region developed throughout the 19th century in the writings of European travelers. Already in 1772, James Bruce had referred to "pagan Nuba" stationed as soldiers around Sennar, the capital of the Funj kingdom, forming a separate group of neither Christians nor Muslims coming from today's Nuba Mountains including Jabal Al-Dā'ir, but also from Fazugli at the border of what is now Ethiopia (Bruce 1790, 419–421). A later visitor, Johann Ludwig Burckhardt, said more generally that "[t]he name of Noubia is given to all the Blacks coming from the slave countries to the south of Sennar" (Burckhardt 1819, 311), but qualified them as a population from mountainous areas, not as dark as "the true Blacks" and also slightly higher in the social hierarchy than these "Negroes." Again some years later, Frédéric Cailliaud described—using Arabic terms—a racialized social system in Sennar that put Nuba/slave (*abd*) on the lowest level (Cailliaud 1826, 274). Although these short notes leave doubts as to whom the authors exactly were referring to, similar to references to "Nūba" in the Funj Chronicle (Holt 1999), they are among the first more specific references available.

In one of the few publications following to some degree first-hand observations, Wilhelm Ruppell depicted the region as composed of people or "nations" (Ruppell 1829, VIII) living as small isolated groups on hills, free and independent apart from the northern areas. In spite of his presence in the region, his information was mostly second-hand and contradictory. He identified in one part of the book four main languages, Koldagi, Schabun, Takele and Deier (Ruppell 1829, 152–153), but listed seven "Nuba languages" in the appendix, also including Darfur, Fertit, Dgnke [Dinka] and Schilluk (Ruppell 1829, 370–371). Other writers either perceived single groups as representative of the whole Nuba Mountains, such as Arthur T. Holroyd describing speakers of a language similar to Koldagi as the "inhabitants of Jebel Nubah" (Holroyd 1839, 191), or made Nuba one of the groups, albeit the largest, in the region, as Ignatius Pallme did, who saw them aside the "Negroes" of Tegali, Kadero, and Shaybun (Pallme 1843/2002, 116).

Apart from the differences in the writers' sources and conditions of observation, the linguistic practices in these few publications also vary through the translation into different languages.

German writers, for a long time, did not differentiate Nuba and Nubian, using for both “Nuba” and “nubisch” (Stevenson 1984, 2). In Arabic, both are still often called *nūbā*, ending with *alif* or *ta marbūṭa*, and while Nuba is sometimes written in the latter way and Nubians are also differentiated as *nūbīyyūn*, this is far from universal.

The heterogeneous naming continued well into the 20th century. The anthropologist Siegfried F. Nadel recounted in 1947 that “[o]nce or twice I [...] heard the Dinka referred to as ‘Nuba’” (Nadel 1947, 2). However, the 19th century also saw, parallel to military expansions facilitating traveling, an increasing differentiation of ethnonyms in geography and general usage. In the documents of the Mahdiyya and in British reports towards the end of the 19th century, Nuba were almost exclusively identified as the inhabitants of the Nuba Mountains, while the pejorative connotations continued, as shown in Major Prout’s 1877 description of the people of Kordofan as “mean-spirited, incontinent, lazy, rascally race” (Prout 1877), the same racist generalization of Nuba as “evil, decadent and deceptive” made by Mahdist commander Ḥamdān Abu ‘Anja in 1886 (‘Atā 1973, 93).

Behind almost all of these writings, however, there was only limited actual interaction with the population being described, and if there was an interaction, it was under conditions of militant confrontation. During the 20th century, this started to change with anthropological studies based on long periods of ethnographic work, while Nuba intellectuals and politicians started to proactively propel “Nuba” as a notion of positive self-identification.

The studies of social anthropologists started with Charles G. and Brenda Z. Seligman, who summarized their findings in two encyclopedic articles (Seligman 1917; Seligman & Seligman 1932/1965). They discussed, critically, the limitations such studies have to face, regarding their primary and secondary sources, but also the challenge in defining units of observation; i.e., social groups observed without blindly following their pre-given name, which, as has been shown, was all but consistent and free of—mostly negative—valuations. The challenge inherent in identifying “the Nuba,” accompanied subsequent anthropological studies as well.

The Seligmans saw, subsequent to several visits around 1910, both a social unit and, similar to Wilhelm Ruppell, a difference between an exposed northern area and a rather isolated southern area. Since they believed that cultural influences would be mostly Islamic, they perceived the absence of clothing and circumcision as an indicator of such a cultural isolation, arguing that these normally disappear under the influence of Muslims. In spite of their initial cautious remarks, they also underlay a historical territorial unit, a kingdom, under a present territorial unit, Dar Nuba, which indicates the generalization of a part of the region, Tegali, with a complex, dynamic history far from consolidated territorial rule (Ewald 1990).

The British colonial officials stationed in the Nuba Mountains started to develop a spotty familiarization with social life in the region and subjected it to administrative interventions (Abdelhay 2010). This happened based on a very limited understanding of how society worked before that, and only at the end of the 1930s a thorough social study was commissioned by the government. Although this work placed the subsequent anthropological study of Siegfried F. Nadel under certain conditions of colonial administration (Faris 1973), the monograph *The*

Nuba contains the first body of systematic observations for a great number of—strategically selected—social groups. The administrative imperative of the study certainly shaped the initial approach to *the* Nuba, based on the perception of the Governor of Kordofan Province “that the material advance of the Nuba was outstripping their mental and cultural advance” (Nadel 1947, xi). But Nadel observed that the people of the Nuba Mountains “present a far from homogenous or pure racial unit” (Nadel 1947, 1), and even less a culturally uniform unit. What is important is that although most people identified as “Nuba” had not started defining themselves as such, the term became more and more established, not the least “under the influence of accepted Government nomenclature” (Nadel 1947, 2).

Stevenson started his own study, *The Nuba People of Kordofan Province*, with the observation that the name “is hardly possible to avoid” (Stevenson 1984, 3), having become a recurring reference in public administration and dynamics of social identification. At the same time, the insistence on using some form of plural to speak about the cultural groups summarized in this way had become common practice, at least in anthropological studies. This was in reaction to observations of significant differences in cultural practices, especially those not related directly to the similar natural environment all groups shared, which increased with the spatial extension of cultural interactions, in contrast with many depictions of the region predating the 20th century. It draws also attention to the ambiguous existence of the name as a term of self-identification, which was often avoided based on its perception as a term filled with contempt. Stevenson gave several examples, and among them were the people of Tegali, the heterogeneous Shawabna and “the more educated,” of those, who actively refused this name regarding it as “the reverse of a status symbol” (Stevenson 1984, 3).

Having become canonical monographs on the region, both Nadel’s (1947) and Stevenson’s (1984) studies have continuously been used to identify “Nuba” as a social unit; disregarding both their caveats and the historical period they talked about. In 1987, a paper of physical anthropologists cited both works to claim that Nuba was “a human enclave of relatively pure negroid origin [that] were not influenced by Arabs, Islam, or Christianity until the beginning of [the 20th] century” (Bayoumi and Saha 1987, 380). Blood samples of “Nuba” individuals then served as indicators of characteristics of this anthropological unit (see also Seligman 1910; Mukherjee, Rao and Trevor 1955; Krings et al. 1999). While this may be seen as a scientific lapse, it is also unconsciously embroiled in dynamics of identification, which became of grave importance to those being identified. Already Stevenson had pointed out the development of “Nuba” as an element of cultural and political self-identification that increasingly took the form of citizens’ demands within a nation-state, enhanced by the growing number of people not just experiencing, but actively involved in the workings of this state (Stevenson 1984, 75-76).

Highlighting this development serves to contextualize the way social identification became a non-trivial, political issue in social studies as well. While Nadel’s and Stevenson’s writings have received attention by most scholars writing exclusively in Arabic (e.g., Amīn 2002; Ḥālīd 2002; Aḥmad 2008), many social studies published in English and other languages in the following decades were mostly ignored or were not available (but cf. Šurkyān 2006).

The social anthropologist Gerd Baumann spoke directly of “national integration and local

integrity” in his study of the Miri, an ethnic group with its main settlements east of Kadugli. Baumann’s work belongs to a shift towards ethnographies of single groups rather than general monographs, and predates a more recent shift to issue-specific studies. Inversely, however, the negotiation of “Nuba-ness” became center stage as a social and political process of identification. So, while the heterogeneity of “the Nuba” was no longer in dispute, the existence of strong references to “Nuba” was undeniable, so that it became rather “a matter of judgment on selective criteria whether there is a social or cultural framework shared by the Nuba at large” (Baumann 1987, 9).

But Baumann also stressed the strong element of dichotomous distinction that set “Arab” against “Nuba” with “a direct bearing on the processes of regional and national integration” (Baumann 1987, 9). This and other dichotomies, while never equivalent to social practices, were recently subject to political accentuation and polarization that exceeded British ideological constructs by far. A juxtaposition of Richard Rottenburg’s (1991) and Leif Manger’s (1994) interpretation of these processes shows the radicalized turn these processes have taken during the last three decades. Rottenburg still focused on processes of cultural translation, which turn something from “outside” into something familiar, the “unique dynamics of adjustment and distinction” (Rottenburg 1991, 16; translation by author) that he captured with the concept of *Akkreszenz* (accretion). Concerning these dynamics, which he studied at the beginning of the 1980s among Moro (Lemwareng) on Lebu, he perceived that “the political landscape and the related consciousness are not characterized by the drawing of stable and reliable boundaries that are strengthened under threat, but flexible and unstable alliances that are shifted under threat” (Rottenburg 1991, 16; translation by author).

Only a few years later, the drawing of boundaries started to become an existential matter of life and death, as the Nuba Mountains were infused by a war, in which enemy lines were drawn in broad strokes of antagonistic identification. While the policy of targeting Nuba for being “Nuba” continued, based on disparate models of cultural development in Sudan, radical religious notions were not just put to the fore, the right to live became connected to them as struggles for cultural emancipation turned into struggles of cultural and even physical survival. So while the term “integration” appeared in the title of Manger’s monograph and the author continued the anthropological argument for engaging with cultural complexity rather than accepting “Nuba” as a fixed unit, the term “Nuba” itself became an elementary part of the situation the Nuba experienced:

[T]he Nuba have not only been faced with threats to their physical and economic survival. Their survival as different cultural groups is also at stake. [...] An important element of the conflict [that erupted in 1983] is the definition of the Sudanese identity, and the application of the *sharia* dramatized to people of southern Sudan, as well as northern groups such as the Nuba that their identity was at stake and that their position as equal citizens in their country was far from settled. (Manger 1994, 9-10)

The similarities and differences drawn by social studies are thus confronted with the powerful presence of models of social reality that put their own weight on how people can and want to act. “The Nuba” are entangled in violent negotiations of legitimacy and illegitimacy of ways

of living and their socio-economic foundations:

There has been a “hardening” or a politicization of identities. While an identity may be an archetype and not reflect the realities of many or even most persons potentially included within that identity, the politicization of the identity allows it to be an active factor in peoples’ lives. (Saavedra 1998, 223-224)

Nuba leader Yousif Kuwa Mekki expressed this concept through an account of how “being Nuba” impacted his own life when he was constantly addressed—and treated—as a “Nuba” by people outside the Nuba Mountains (Ende 2001). In the end, the name had manifested itself to such a degree that “being Nuba” became a consolidated notion of a social group, which could be described with generalizations of what Nuba society is. Making this group conscious of its belonging became a political cause, institutionalized through the formation of the Komolo youth movement, dedicated to the achievement of political rights for the Nuba as equal citizens of Sudan (Ende 2001; Jallāb 2006). However, experiences with parliamentary work since the 1960s had shown that individual participation in central governmental organs did not easily lead to changes in the Nuba Mountains themselves, which increasingly made armed struggle the only option, especially since “the right to be Nuba” had turned into a battleground of identity politics (Rahhal 2001; Manger 2001). At the same time, the notion that Nuba exist as a unified, unique group that was represented in the All Nuba Conference in Kauda in 2002 not only contrasts with the strong political dissent present among them, but also coexists with a wide range of cultural traits.

These continuing ambiguities of identification, the contradictions between a developing positive self-designation as “Nuba” and the history of this term as a pejorative reference to “inferior blacks,” have been carried over into the present.

A short cartographic history

A different way to approach how specific kinds of visibility and accessibility of the Nuba Mountains have been created is through a history of map-making. Reflecting efforts to capture the region’s geographical and anthropological features, they were often closely connected to the development of planning and intervention, administratively, but also militarily. Most European travelers in the 19th century created sketch maps, reproduced in geographical journals and atlases. While other travelers followed second-hand descriptions of locations and distances (e.g., Cailliaud 1823-1827), German traveler and naturalist Rüppell reproduced the route Mehmet Beg al-Daftardar took at the beginning of the 1820s south of contemporary Kordofan (Rüppell 1829; Ibrāhīm 1991). The Austrian geologist Joseph Russegger, who had been recruited by Muḥammad ‘Alī to find iron and gold, instead provided cartographic data (Russegger 1844). Such as the administration during both Turkiyya and Mahdiyya, most of all dedicated to slave raids and other forms of coercive extraction, the collection of information was ad-hoc and reacted to perceived areas of support and resistance.

The administrative system that the British colonial rule established since the beginning of the 20th century came with systematic attempts at collecting data on the region, having only

a few precedents in the 19th century (e.g., Prout 1877). Apart from, for instance, the annual reports on the Kordofan province in the first decade of the 20th century, this culminated in the maps of the British Sudan Survey Department in the 1930s. These maps are indicative of the development, or lack thereof, after independence, as they remained the most accurate depiction of several areas up until the GIS maps produced after 2005. Maps no longer related to a governmental effort, but were delegated to non-Sudanese agencies. Further topographic and geological maps were produced in the 1980s (e.g., Hunting Technical Services in 1981). The most accurate recent depiction of roads appeared on Russian topographical maps from the 1980s. The Australian Agricultural Consulting and Management Company made a map atlas for the South Kordofan Agricultural Development Programme in 1992, followed by detailed South Kordofan maps of the post-war period, such as the Topographic Field Map 1:250,000 km of the Nuba Mountains, Centre of Development and Environment, University of Bern, Switzerland, 2005 (used by the Joint Military Commission, JMC) and the Southern Kordofan and Abyei Transhumance and Land Use Map 1:500,000 km, Threat and Risk Mapping and Analyses, UNDP Khartoum, Sudan, October 2007.

In the meantime, maps were produced for specific publications, such as historical maps of Tegali in Ewald 1990, or in the context of geological and hydrological studies. Geological mapping comprises of the works of Vail (1985), Sadig & Vail (1986), Dill et al. (1991), Brinkmann et al. (1994), Schwarz (1994), Sam & Holm (1995), Mohamed et al. (2001), Adam & Eltayeb (2012), Adam et al. (2014). Geological data gained higher importance with the recent rise of industrial exploitation of minerals (Ille & Calkins 2013), but a first comprehensive geological map of the south-western Nuba Mountains had already been created in 1985 through a Sudanese/German exploration project. Extensive studies on water resources included some groundwater studies (Rodis, Hassan and Wahadan 1968; Ahmed et al. 1984), while more general information was gathered during the 1960s and 1980s, mostly by development and consultancy organizations (e.g., FAO & Doxiadis 1964-1966; HTS 1978-1982; and Riley 1985; see also Lebon 1956) and more recently academic research (e.g., Osman et al. 2008; Abdalla 2009; and Mohamed et al. 2011). Being embedded in attempts to provide a background to administrative and development interventions, these efforts were accompanied by studies on water planning and administration (Shepherd, Norris and Watson 1987), and on the socio-economic and environmental impact of how new sources of water are located (e.g., Tayeb 1981; Ahmed 1982), but also more comprehensive studies on contentions over water in rural South Kordofan, especially regarding concurrent usage of water sources by pastoralists and farmers (e.g., Saeed 1982; Khalifa et al. 1985, 58-64; Manger 1988; Abdul-Jalil 1998; UNDP 2006; Siddig, El_Harizi and Prato 2007; Saeed 2008; Chavunduka & Bromley 2011). Natural vegetation was much less subject to systematic documentation (see Kotschy 1868 for a rare early example). Fruit trees and other non-timber forest products were documented in works by Bridel (2003), and by Tahir & Gebauer (2004). Another botanical study about trees in Rashad District is Mohammed & Salih (2007), while biodiversity was subject of a recent research project (Wiehle et al. 2014; Goenster et al. 2014).

By far the highest number of cartographic work has been done for the study and planning of agricultural practices. As in any mountainous area—the top of the mountain of Ebanj is the highest point in the Nuba Mountains, with an elevation of 1,326 meters (UNEP 2007, 52)—

the soil structure in the Nuba Mountains is very complex, and most economic studies have a section on soil types. Several natural science studies have been published specifying soil types and soil characteristics (Findlay et al. 1964; HTS 1978-1982; Nawari & Schetelig 1991, 1992; Olsson & Rapp 1991; Poussart et al. 2004; Elgubshaw 2008; Mubarak et al. 2012). The most influential classification had been made by Colvin already in 1939 (Colvin 1939, 1-3). Most of the later social studies on agriculture used similar classifications (e.g., Rottenburg 1991), but also documented significant variations of classifications among farmers (Ille 2013b).

This focus on agriculture allowed for significant wealth of information on human activities in nature to be amassed. While M. F. Rose still claimed in 1950 that Nuba farmers cultivated without a clear system (Rose 1950), intensive economic studies documented a variety in field organization and crop rotation. Nadel's classification of agricultural fields as house, hillside and far farms has been adopted by most succeeding studies (e.g., Iten 1979; Pantuliano 2005b) with minimal variations. But over the years, this documentation also included the distance between fields and homes (e.g., Mohammed 1986) and field sizes (e.g., Kersany Mohamed 1981; Ahmed 1983; Battahani 1983). Furthermore, a recent Strategic Map for South Kordofan aggregated data based on four types of farming: traditional smallholder rain-fed, smallholder mechanized rain-fed, mechanized rain-fed, irrigated. Smallholder mechanized and irrigated farming were seen as marginal efforts found in the projects of the Nuba Mountains Agricultural Corporation (1967-1994) and horticultural production, respectively (HSC 2008, 7-8), while the map of agricultural areas shows them divided into mechanized and traditional farms (HSC 2008, 10).

This dichotomous classification has wider implications, which have to do with the overall development of the agricultural sector. There had been several attempts to integrate the modernization of agricultural production throughout the state, for instance through the USAID-funded Western Sudan Agricultural Research Programme, which had a research station in Kadugli. Taking the marketing of crops as a way to integrate smallholders within the national economy, several general market analyses were conducted (Speece & Gillard-Byers 1986; Speece 1989, 1990), in addition to discussions of agricultural credit (Ahmed 1983) and wider studies of trade and traders (Manger 1984, 1988; Sultan 1993; Hesse 2002; Elamin et al. 2009). Another issue was the propagation of cooperatives (Wörz 1966; Khider & Simpson 1968; Bardeleben 1973; Mohammed 1979; Abdelrahman & Smith 1996), whose social implications were critically discussed as well (Baumann 1984; Ille 2013a). A newer approach was the creation of the Nuba Mountains Bank in 2006, in response to continuous difficulties of small-scale farmers getting access to capital.

This last approach points to several crises of food supply. In some representations, the widespread food insecurity in the region was related to shortcomings in agricultural development. So an assessment led by WFP Sudan in 2009, commissioned by the governmental Humanitarian Aid Commission (HAC), the Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission and South Kordofan's Food Security and Livelihood Coordination forum, diagnosed that the problems were caused by "widespread crop failure due to insufficient rains during the 2008/2009 agricultural season and the continued influx of returnees to South Kordofan" (WFP 2009, 2). The 2008 Strategic Map for South Kordofan, saw the solution in the improvement of infrastructure,

capacity building, backstopping services, conservation of natural resources, productivity improvement, agricultural rural small-scale industry and overall modernization of the sector (HSC 2008, 23-25).

These assessments not only underrepresent the conflicts existing due to de facto competition over natural resources between commercial mechanized and subsistence farming in the region. They also blend out governmental policies instigating and intensifying these and other conflicts, notwithstanding the impact of a devastating war, halted only for a short period between 2005 and 2011. Conflict studies focusing on questions of land rights, land property and land use had long identified them as one of the central contentions in the region, partially even more intensified after the war. Many unresolved contestations of land rights were addressed by legal approaches that put systems of individual land registration against customary and communal rights, and fixation of communal boundaries by land commissions against a history of fluid intergroup relations, apart from a general radicalization of hostility that, to a large extent, had to do with antagonizing governmental policies (Manger 2008; Komey 2008a-c, 2010a-d; Wily 2010; Large & El-Basha 2010). In contrast to analyses claiming that the developmental gap was to be bridged by modernization, a number of studies highlighted the political implications of how “modern” mechanized farms were expanded in the region (Battahani 1980; Saeed 1980; Hassan 1988; Bascom 1990; Abdelgabar 1997; Saavedra 1998; Harrigan 2003; Ijaimi 2006; Battahani 1986/2009; Komey 2010a).

There have been contentious issues around the location of human settlements as well. The up-hill settlements of the Nuba Mountains have long been a defining feature of their human geography, and people fleeing the present war in the mountains follow the same environmental circumstances leading to Nadel’s observation that “hills and hillsides offer the only sites with perennial water supply in a poorly watered country; and the fastness of hills and hillsides alone offered protection” (Nadel 1947, 6). Previously being merely an unwanted obstacle to military domination, these settlement structures started to become an administrative issue under British colonial rule, both as obstruction to “pacification” and as disagreeable to the revenue-generating schemes envisioned for the region, most of all cotton production.

Donald Newbold, Governor of Kordofan from 1932 to 1938, assessed the infrastructural situation of the Nuba Mountains during that time most of all focusing on the facilitation of export and revenues (Henderson 1953, 492, 494), while Rolf Husmann speculated later that the improvement of transportation for cash crops was also seen as welcome furtherance of accessibility for administrative and, when demanded, military interventions (Husmann 1984, 92, 200). However, while the changeful history of cotton production in the Nuba Mountains has been well documented (Rose 1951; March 1954; chapters in Husmann 1984; Ibrahim HB 1988; Battahani 1986/2009), historical studies of infrastructure have been peripheral and rare (Hill 1965, 125; Ille 2013a, 114-119).

In any case, the extension of logistic and administrative infrastructure was closely connected to a colonial construct called “Native Administration” that has been considered as a doorway to communities (Henderson 1953, 495). Built around central authorities, the Native Administration was supposed to function as an extension of the governmental court system, as well as of

administrative units for budgets, markets, wells, roads, and sanitation (Stevenson 1984, 70). Though equipped with a legal framework, specifically, the Power of Sheikhs Ordinance of 1922 and its amendments (e.g., 1927, 1954), this never developed into a consistent system (Ibrahim AUM 1985), nevertheless establishing the basic model for governance in rural areas up to today.

Deriving from the term *‘umda*, used for the highest administrative position in most villages across northern Sudan, a so-called *‘umudīyya* map accompanied the first population census of 1955/1956, manifesting a spatial ethnic concept of Native Administration. This ethnicization of space was one of the strong antagonistic principles that increasingly divided the region during and after the war (1987-2005), to various degrees parallel to a military division into areas under the control of the central government in Khartoum (GoS) and areas under the control of the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). In addition, after 1992, the GoS concentrated populations in militarily guarded “peace villages” under the Foundation for Peace and Development (*mu’assasat al-salām wa al-tanmīyya*) in Abu Gebeiha, which was also supposed to facilitate public services. In the course of these resettlements on the basis of military zones, neighboring villages were surrounded by governmental armed forces. When the organization African Rights was in the Nuba Mountains in the early 1990s to conduct interviews, these “peace villages” had already become notorious as bases for attacks and the work of security forces (African Rights 1995).

The SPLM administration started to re-organize community representation through a new spatial concept, with either one large or several smaller villages forming a *buma*, several *bumas* forming a *payam*, several *payams* forming a county, and several counties constituting a state. “People’s councils” at the *buma* level were then intended to select a *buma* representative, whose function was to interact and cooperate with the SPLM administration of a *payam*. In fact, the structure functioned not only for military recruitment and communication, for instance orders to supply soldiers with food and other services, but also facilitated control over the population through civilian agents who formed so-called revolutionary committees (see Ille 2013a, 131-135). As has been shown for health services, however, the relation between SPLM/A and the civilian population was complex and ambiguous, containing also the provision of additional public services through military personnel, in addition to, and partly in cooperation with, the work of non-governmental organization (Sharif 2013, 2014).

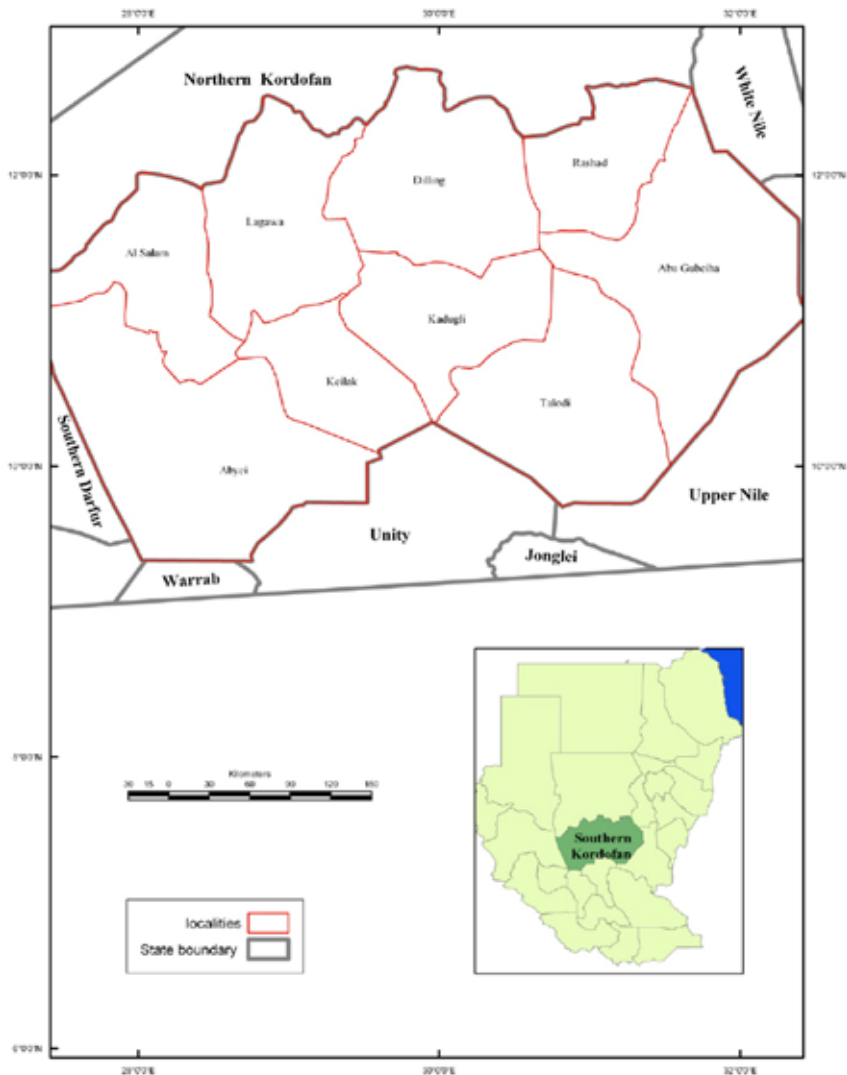
These alternative and actively opposed systems of administrative organization not only transformed the structure and functioning of settlements inside the military zones. Amidst years of military confrontations, which still continue, the perception of the region was increasingly transformed through the omnipresence of ethno-political claims. The war was perceived as a confrontation between Nuba as African Christian farmers loyal to SPLM/A and Baggara as Arab Muslim pastoralists loyal to the GoS (Suliman 1998). These antagonistic claims did not correspond with how people in the region dealt with each other, as can be seen in non-aggression agreements made across such lines in the present war (Gramizzi & Tubiana 2013). However, apart from the ruptures in the social fiber that had kept confrontations before the war recurrent, but also to some extent regulated and mediated, this perception has become a strong reference both inside and outside the region, also forged into a generation of maps highlighting “SPLM/A areas” as former war zones.

In this regard, the 2000s were the most productive period. After the Ceasefire Agreement of Bürkenstock in 2002 the UN Resident Coordinator Office (RCO), the Humanitarian Affairs Commission (HAC, under GoS) and the Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (SRRC, under SPLM) agreed on the formation of the Nuba Mountains Programme Advancing Conflict Transformation (NMPACT). The war zones were at that time under monitoring of the Joint Military Commission (JMC), a military force with support of USAID and the World Bank, among others. While the basic function of the JMC was safeguarding the ceasefire agreement, the NMPACT was commissioned to assess the humanitarian situation and provide relief (NMPACT 2002; OUNRHC Sudan 2003; NMPACT 2005). This function was handed over to the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) and a local Resident Coordinator Office in May 2005, after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) had come into effect. After wrapping up the NMPACT period (Bradbury & Gamal Eldin 2006), a period of rehabilitation was supposed to start. In contrast to what actually followed, both the JMC and the NMPACT were often represented as a positive example of politically challenged, but effective and “integrated response” (Pantuliano 2005a-b; Matus 2007).

The CPA had established a new designation of the Nuba Mountains and other war-affected areas as the “Three Areas,” which were not regarded as part of southern Sudan. Many organizations, such as the World Bank and several UN agencies, now started interventions in these areas, coordinating with the GoS and SPLM/A, which were planned to form an integrated government in South Kordofan as an extension of the Government of National Unity (GoNU). A Multi-Donor Trust Fund had been formed to bundle funds pledged in a donor conference in Oslo in April 2005, and a Joint Assessment Mission (JAM) was set up to prepare a comprehensive rehabilitation plan (Hockley 2005).

The effects of hostile polarization continued after the peace agreement, not just ultimately resulting in another war, but also forming the conditions, under which the supposed post-war period took shape (Ille et al. 2015). Conflict prevention and conflict resolution were of course part of the agencies’ agendas during this period, and mapping conflicts and development interventions was regarded an essential element. UNDP’s Resident Coordination Officer (RCO) in Kadugli requested a database from the agency’s Threat and Risks Programme (TRP) in 2008, gathering information on non-governmental institutions and their activities. The TRP functioned as an information hub under UNDP’s Bureau of Crisis Prevention & Recovery, assembling data from sources such as UNOCHA and the RCOs, but also establishing alternative forms of projecting information. So-called Threat and Risk Mapping Analyses (TRMA) were intended not only to give an overview of public services and development projects, but also to identify public needs and potential conflict areas to assist governmental work (discussed in more detail in Ille 2013a, 169-172).

Also in the field of map-making, the administrative division of territories entered the collection and display of data. The JMC had commissioned an operational map, based on, among other sources, GPS measurements taken on exploratory tours. Later maps used by UN and other agencies added further sources in their cartographic work, but often without direct empirical verification of coordinates. On a map produced on behalf of WFP in February 2006, for instance, this led to multiple appearances of the same villages, often several kilometers apart



South Kordofan state in the former united Sudan, 2009 (Source: Rottenburg et al. 2011/2015)

and written in a slightly different way. In some cases, such as in the case of the Tira Mandi, the same village was allocated to two different administrative units dominated by the SPLM and the GoS, respectively, which indicates how struggles over political domination could enter the circuits of data processing for developmental planning (Ille 2015a).

The organization of humanitarian activities itself was affected by the administrative division. Guma Kunda Komey has noted that “the war-imposed settlement pattern of boundary-making along ethnic lines in the same locale is being consolidated by certain key peace and

development partners, including state institutions, UN agencies, international NGOs, and community-based organizations (CBOs)” (Komey 2010a, 224). Furthermore, organizations operating in SPLM areas and covering a significant part of public services, such as NRRDO (PRECISE 2005), Samaritan’s Purse, Concern Worldwide and Mercy Corps, were under great strains to register under HAC, which was often seen as a tool of the ruling National Congress Party (NCP) to control the civil society sector. Only some of the organizations went through the registration process, while others continued to operate through offices in Juba and Nairobi, and the expulsion of NGOs in 2009 (Pantuliano et al. 2009), following the indictment of President Omar Al-Bashir by the International Criminal Court, supported the impression that registration was used as a political instrument. For these organizations, the outbreak of war in June 2011 meant also a return to the previous practice of avoiding northern Sudan.

In fact, several interventions had been designed to address divisions stemming from the long-term war. So UNDP launched a governance program to review administrative structures in South Kordofan and assist civil service integration (Klugman & Wee 2008, 49). But the official integration of SPLM staff on 4 August 2008 did not change much in terms of actual cooperation, not the least because centralized structures of public finance not only continued, but were also continuously marginalizing war-affected areas, such as South Kordofan. In spite of being a central item in the post-war recovery plan, a World Bank Public Expenditure Review noted in 2007 that the budgets for the Three Areas were constantly more than 30% under the amount planned by the JAM; i.e., with involvement of both the government and the donors (World Bank 2007, viii). In 2008, the relative share of the Three Areas in financial resources decreased again, although the absolute amount increased (Klugman & Wee 2008, 37). When Ahmed Haroun Kafi was appointed as new NCP governor at the end of 2008, the flow of money was significantly augmented, but mostly took the form of construction and service contracts signed in Khartoum. The SPLM vice governor serving at the same time, Abd al-Aziz al-Hilu, left Kadugli in June 2011 as a military enemy, demonstrating that what drove people to violent confrontations had not ceased to exist. The development programs’ presupposition of a benevolent state apparatus was not met by the political decisions taken during those years.

A final example is the conduct of the Fifth National Population Census planned for 2009 to prepare general elections in 2010. The first census of 1955/1956 had often served as demographic reference, especially for summary statements on ethnic and linguistic majorities and minorities, not superseded by subsequent counts in 1973, 1983 and 1993. In this regard, the hope was that a new comprehensive census would clarify the changes in population all over Sudan during the course of half a century. But instead of being implemented independently through the tools and techniques developed for demographic statistics, the census soon derailed into harsh political disputes over future electoral constituencies and their presumed loyalties vis-à-vis the former war parties, a process that has been well-documented for South Kordofan (ICG 2008; Verjee 2011; Rottenburg et al. 2011/2015) and led to questionable results in other areas as well (DRDC 2010). Rather than taking this as a chance to develop consensual institutional solutions to such foreseeable disputes, tensions were allowed to turn into hostility, which led to the elections failing before they had even started. Contrary to demographic clarity or some kind of sustainable political gains, the census became thus one of the steps towards another period of human suffering.

A short people's history

From these outside perspectives, the Nuba Mountains have always been remote, difficult to get to, difficult to settle in and even more difficult to control. While some communities seem to have escaped violent conflicts for some time, the region's history is full of slave raids, warfare, displacement and forced resettlement, at least since the 19th century. Historiography is inevitably limited in clarifying the extent of these events, since most early sources were created in the wake of attempted military expansion and described dislocated members of slave armies (MacMichael 1912/1967; Prunier 1992; Kurita 2002, 2003) rather than social life in the region itself. In any case, the population of the Nuba Mountains emerges as the result of complex movements into and out of the region that contrast a common image as people untouched for centuries by outside influences, without being able to completely dismiss it for all of the region.

In order to come to terms with the types of social worlds existing in the region, several generations of researchers have studied group formation and group relations. Apart from a long tradition of linguistic studies (see Schadeberg & Blench 2013 and its references as state of the art), also for historical conclusions (Thelwall & Schadeberg 1983; Thelwall 2002), there has been a small number of intensive ethnographic works (e.g., Faris 1989; Musa-Launay 1992; Kramer & Marx 1993; Davidson 1996; Hesse 2002; in addition to the references in previous sections). Much more and continued attention has been paid to ethnic relations in the frame of political history (e.g., Ibrahim AUM 1977, 1985; Salih 1982, 1990; Battahani 1986/2009, 1998; Ibrahim HB n.d., 1988, 2002; Saavedra 1998; Jedrej 2006; Elsayed 2005; Aḥmad 2008; Komey 2009; Abdelhay 2010). Social change among migrants, an issue not generally covered in this bibliography, was also widely addressed and is one of the growing fields of study (e.g., Mohamed Salih 1983, 1991, 1994; Fihail 1988; Meier 1989, 1990; Mohamed 1990, Häußler 1992; Makris 2000; Lamoureaux 2010, 2011). Apart from the core issue of land rights (see above), the main body of recent social research dealt with violent conflicts and their social implications (e.g., Suliman 1997; Manger 2001, 2003, 2007; Rahama & Mansour 2005; Komey 2010a-c), to a lesser extent also looking at gender issues (e.g., Freeman 2009; Hale 2010, 2015; Ille 2013c).

From this body of literature, the people of the Nuba Mountains emerge, historically, in the form of “hill communities” of subsistence farmers (Nadel 1947, 24), whose “repeated movements, the natural growth of one or the decline of another settlement, [kept] its boundaries fluid” (Nadel 1947, 88). Moving between more or less accessible areas, there seemed to have been little accumulation of administrative connections, apart from Tegali, whose partial rule over the Nuba Mountains is still subject to historical debates (Spaulding 1987; Ewald 1990; Ille 2011). One of the functionaries that held a mediatory position between hill communities and outsiders, *sīd al-darīb* (master of the path), has been interpreted both as part of the Funj kingdom's influence in the region via Tegali (Spaulding 1984, 33) and as a sign of strength and independence of the communities, providing a representative for inter-communal agreements (Ewald 1990, 25).

Another contested and similarly under-researched issue is the presence of pastoralist nomads,

mostly cattle herders grouped under the name Baggara, whose seasonal but persistent appearance in the plain areas around the Nuba Mountains has been estimated to have started between the 18th and the mid-19th century (MacMichael 1922/1967; Henderson 1939; Cunnison 1966; Michael 1987), probably causing Nubian speakers in the area to resettle on the northern fringes of the Nuba Mountains (Stevenson 1966, 208-209). While much has been said about the slave raids perpetrated by these groups, neither were power relations fully asymmetric in favor of the pastoralists, nor were cooperative arrangements completely absent. A closer look at one of the most turbulent periods for the region, the Mahdiyya, shows, for instance, a huge number of pastoralist groups from northern Kordofan seeking protection from Mahdist forces among communities in the Nuba Mountains (Ille 2015c).

It was under British colonial policy that social groups were systematically perceived and organized through territorial units under Native Administration (Sanderson 1963; Ibrahim AUM 1985). The formulation of a “Nuba policy” was instrumental for the ethnicization of these territorial units. The demographic and cultural policies that were initiated at that time had their effect long after independence. People were enticed or forced to move from the mountains to the plains with several implications for their social and economic life (Roden 1972; Ibrahim AUM 1985; Manger 1994). Furthermore, the perception of Nuba as victims of the expanding activities of northern, Nile Valley-based Muslim traders were met by regulations restricting access to the region (Nasr 1971), reversed after independence through coercive policies of Arabization and Islamization, especially through education (Manger 2001-2002; Sharkey 2008).

In fact, although domination through Nile Valley-based economic and political networks was indeed increasing, and continues to increase today, the spread of Islam, also targeted by British colonial administration, had only partially taken place through coercion. While Muslim traders had been part of Nuba Mountain communities at least since the 19th century, marrying and having children there (Rüppell 1829, 144), Stevenson, who traced the history of Muslim influences in the Nuba Mountains to holymen visiting Tegali in the mid-16th century (Stevenson 1966; see also Trimingham 1949, 244-251; Kantül 2009), noted:

The spread of Islam among the Nuba – not indeed a new thing – has been aided by many factors, among them the establishment of centres like Dilling, Kadugli, Talodi with their government posts manned by Muslim officials, markets and Arab shops, and cotton ginneries, the opening of roads to transport, pacification which has made it easier for Islamic fekis to travel and settle, the development of local government which brings Meks and sheikhs regularly to town centres, by many Nuba going outside the hills for wage-labour or serving in the army or the police, and by the teaching of Islam in schools. (Stevenson 1984, 73)

These towns, with their governmental organs and agricultural schemes, often did not develop in cooperation with and inclusion of the population in the region, entangling cultural influences with over-powering policies of resource extraction. The fertile plain areas around the Nuba Mountains drew the attention of development planners and private investors early on, under British colonial rule for cotton, and as the potential national breadbasket after independence (Kursany 1983; Komey 2010a). Instead of translating agricultural investments into local constructive initiatives, however, the negative effect of mechanized farms on subsistence farmers

and pastoralists was ignored and resistance punished with negligence or open displacement, cumulating during the 1990s into open destruction of livelihoods, which did not have much of a chance to recover after 2005 (Hassan 2009). Furthermore, oil fields southwest of the Nuba Mountains enhanced economic interest in the region beyond national boundaries and subsequently boosted steps to control it, also militarily, augmenting contestations and conflicts (Human Rights Watch 2003; Patey 2006, 2007; James 2011).

It is thus a blunt simplification when “local” conflicts are analyzed as confrontation of different land uses in the region, especially if reduced to antagonism between rain-fed subsistence farming by sedentary Nuba and seasonally migrating Baggara pastoralists. Apart from national and global dynamics of resource exploitation, this misses the point that sedentary farmers practice husbandry and nomadic pastoralists agri- and horticulture, as stressed by thorough economic studies. In addition, farmers and pastoralists have both been affected by mechanized farming, introduced to the region beginning in the 1960s, dominated by Nile-Valley-based trading and business networks linked to the power structures centered in Khartoum and with little benefits for adjacent populations (Battahani 1980; Manger 1984; Bascom 1990; Sultan 1993; Komey 2010a). Although this land-grabbing was initially limited—and the mechanized schemes not very successful (Saeed 1980; Manger 1988)—it increased in the 1970s and recently found a continuation on an unprecedented scale (Umbadda 2014).

Given their socio-economic situatedness towards central governments, the whole population of the Nuba Mountains and other rural areas could have pressured governments to implement more integrative economic policies and to invest in public services. Instead, they have engaged in intraregional violent conflicts since the 1980s. Baggara let themselves be armed and instigated against “fifth-column” Nuba, and Nuba followed political and military mobilization under the banner of threatened socio-cultural identity, where all “Arabs” appeared as enemies. However, and to avoid generalizations, not all Baggara and Nuba took part in these conflicts, and the categories “Baggara” and “Nuba” most definitely do not describe inherently hostile groups. But the ethno-politics both the GoS and the SPLM/A used to mobilize them, made such alliances increasingly relevant for the aggravation of conflicts.

At the same time, responses to negative identification as “Nuba” and subsequent marginalization had been at the heart of political mobilization throughout the history of independent Sudan. While Stevenson still observed that in the colonial period “the different hills did not combine and therefore pockets of resistance could be dealt with piecemeal” (Stevenson 1984, 61), post-independence developments saw more and more critical reflection of the Nuba’s situation and the formation of social and political movements, targeting equal participation in the nation-building process (Battahani 1998; Kadouf 2001; Komey 2009). So the Nuba Mountains General Union (NMGU), formed in 1957 with a more regional than ethnic program, reacted to agrarian policies under both British colonial and Sudanese independent rule that favored interests of large-scale and corporate entrepreneurs over peasant livelihoods, not the least following the lead of the World Bank in agricultural development programs in the 1960s. In this regard, the Nuba Mountains Cotton Industry, later Nuba Mountains Agricultural Corporation, was especially damaging through exploitative and coercive policies of taxation and agrarian development.

Different to unions formed to address the issues of political economy in general, the Black Bloc of the late 1930s was revived in 1953 to counteract ethnic and racial exclusion, first by the Graduate Congress, later by the independent central government (Battahani 1986/2009, 242). It was, however, the more inclusive NMGU that first achieved, under Philip Abbas Ghabush, a majority of regional seats in the democratic parliament of 1965; an electoral success repeated in 1986. Instead of leading to political struggle by peaceful means, however, the representatives remained outside the main circuits of decision-making in the central government and both the economic marginalization and coercive programs of Islamization and Arabicization continued. With the frustration of participation in central political institutions, the more exclusive and later militant organizations grew in importance. So, groups such as the Nuba Youth Club, the Nuba Sons and the Social Organization of the Nuba Mountains combined social services and activities with underground political work that culminated in the middle of the 1960s in the General Union of Nubas that aimed for “eventual black rule over the whole country” (Abbas 1973, 37).

While this union still included parliamentary work in its strategies, the lack of results soon motivated secret organizations, such as the United Sudanese African Liberation Front, even before the military coup of 1969 and the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972, whose stipulations and aims left many politically active Nuba just as frustrated as the CPA, showing the cyclical and tragic nature of subsequent violent conflicts (Ille et al. 2015):

The Addis Ababa agreement offers nothing to the non-Arab Sudanese in the north. The twists and turns of General Nimeiry’s policies - inspired by a strong will to survive - have done nothing to inspire confidence that he is determined to correct the basic injustices in Sudan. Ministers have even stressed that the right of local self-government will not be extended to regions in the north because there is no evidence of a demand for it. The message is clear: only open rebellion will be accepted as evidence of local discontent. And it is likely that having used western black troops in the past to try and crush the southern struggle for freedom, the Khartoum government will be able to rely on southern black troops to crush any future uprising in the non-Arab north. (Abbas 1973, 43)

With the Islamist turn of the Nimeiri regime at the end of the 1970s there was a shift to open coercive social policies, leading to the adoption of sharia-based laws in 1983. The process of expropriation described above was now combined with a more systematic attempt at socio-cultural homogenization. All was accomplished while maintaining economic stratification through a racialized division of labor and payment practices. Furthermore, the gentrification of new “planned” areas in the capital Khartoum was often accompanied by the forced resettlement of unregistered dwellers from the Nuba Mountains and other regions to badly connected outskirts, instead of gradual integration in existing public service networks and poverty reduction programs (Africa Watch 1992; Komey 2002; Assal 2004).

The gradual turn to violent resistance, different from the resistance in some other parts of northern Sudan (Okazaki 2002), found an affine organization in the SPLM/A, which several Nuba activists, among them Yusuf Kuwa Mekki, joined in 1984. The approach of SPLM/A forces and the armament of Baggara, whose grazing lands and settlements were beginning

to be affected by fighting, by the government under Sadiq Al-Mahdi in 1986 threw the region into the spirals of violence that continue today. As SPLM/A had started to target Baggara settlements, many Baggara militias attacked Nuba communities, whether supportive of SPLM/A or not, thereby reinforcing the transformation of a proxy war into an ethnic issue (Africa Watch 1991, 1992; African Rights 1995). Conflicts over natural resources and their social repercussions were thus intentionally augmented, even considering the impact of the 1984-85 droughts; social institutions that had stabilized such conflicts to a large extent were overturned. The population was pushed into taking sides, which contradicted many existing dynamics of mediation, cooperation, or even symbiosis, such as farmers' cattle being supervised by pastoralists and pastoralists' cattle feeding off harvested fields, while fertilizing them with manure (Suliman 1999; Ibrāhīm 2002).

Already the counter-insurgency policies of the democratically elected government (1986-1989) had started to define the conflict in the area as anti-Arab and anti-Islam. This polarization towards ethnic and religious divisions was sharply intensified after a military coup in 1989, especially through further recruitment of Baggara and other "Muslim Arabs" into the Sudan Defence Forces (later Sudan Armed Forces) or para-military groups called Popular Defence Forces (PDF). The coup took place under the auspices of the National Islamic Front (NIF), whose radical notions of Islamic state-building turned political opposition into a form of apostasy. The regime under the later National Congress Party oversaw the initiative of radicals in El Obeid, who issued in April 1992 a *fatwa* declaring war against Nuba, whether Christians or Muslims, as they were all viewed as SPLM/A supporters and thus apostates. The massacres that followed escalated the radical nature of the war, shown also through the burning of mosques in the Nuba Mountains as a resulting ethnicization and racialization of religion (Manger 2001; Waal 2006; Varhola 2007).

This transgression of all international conventions of warfare and the notion that governmental violence targeted not an armed rebellion but an ethnically defined part of the population brought forward allegations of genocide, in spite of strong government measures to isolate the region from outside observers. What has been termed an attempted "genocide by attrition" (Fein 1997; Totten 2012) caused multiple deaths by intentionally induced hunger, widespread diseases without access to health care, large-scale displacement and other dynamics disrupting people's lives and livelihoods (Mohamed Salih 1995, 1998a, 1998b, 2015; Manger 1998; Totten & Grzyb 2014). In 1997, the NCP government tried to end the war by a process called "peace from within," which included individual agreements with leaders, who only had limited influence however on the conflicts. Thus, violence continued unabated; the armed forces of the central government continued to bomb villages and made small-scale gains and losses on the ground, while SPLM/A in the Nuba Mountains (SPLM/A-NM) continued its mountain-based guerilla tactics.

When a Ceasefire Agreement for the Nuba Mountains was signed in 2002, designed as a test for a more comprehensive agreement (Johnson 2011), the leaders of the SPLM/A and the GoS were the only parties involved, a bilateral arrangement that was continued in the so-called Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2005. Instead of a broad participation of political forces, the conflicts in Sudan were once again reduced to a dichotomy, which involved the main

military actors, but not the main social actors. South Kordofan, Blue Nile and Abyei, the so-called Three Areas, were supposed to conduct little defined “popular consultations,” which neither took place nor prevented a new outbreak of violence (Komey 2014).

As a political agreement to halt hostilities and engage in power-sharing, the CPA failed to address the escalation of social differences the war had produced, and did not recognize the destruction of the social fiber that had taken place, beyond an intended transition to democratic rule. The weakly supported reconciliation processes, which were mostly treated as community matters, did not prevent the continuation and partly intensification of inter- and intra-communal conflicts. On the contrary, the instrumentalization of such conflicts for purposes of political mobilization continued and inevitably doomed efforts of non-violent political contest to failure. The most blatant indication for the voidance of peace-building efforts was the landmine situation (Moszynski 2001), which improved immensely due to demining by the National Mine Action Authority, Danish Church Aid and UN Mine Action Office, slowly transforming a landscape of “unexploded ordnances.” Being for the most part a technical exercise that did not address unresolved tensions, this transformation was all but sustainable. Already on 11 June 2011 new landmines were spotted around Kadugli (UNOCHA 2011).

It may be regarded as symptomatic of the dichotomies taking center stage in the political arenas of the Nuba Mountains that most studies conducted between the wars attempted to identify reasons and solutions for “the conflict.” Hopes for a brighter future marked especially the first years after the CPA, with more political participation, more cultural freedom, more chances for individual entrepreneurship, and more distribution of wealth in favor of public services. What prevailed, in the end, was the perception that peaceful demands were easily brushed aside, while military strength and exclusive political networks decided over participation in decision-making. With the separation of South Sudan, the Nuba Mountains are now part of a vast borderland, which has developed its own complex dynamics (Johnson 2010; Komey 2013), but continues to be regarded through the dichotomous lens of bilateral relations.

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Category 1: Pre-colonial history

MacMichael, Harold Alfred. 1912/1967. *The tribes of Northern and Central Kordofán*. 2 ed. London: Frank Cass

Mac Michael's text, first published in 1912, outlines a general history of Kordofan from pharaonic times till the early 20th century. He describes how the Sultanates of Sennar and Darfur, as well as the Turkiyya and Mahdiyya regimes, ruled over the region through taxation and punishment. He gives examples such as the enslavement of 200,000 Nuba by the Viceroy of Egypt in 1839, the raid in 1885 by Abu Anga as punishment for the lack of support for the Mahdists, and another punitive raid after the death of El Sayyid Mahmud on Jebel Ghulfan. It also contains histories and genealogies of Nuba groups. In the appendices the origin of the word Kordofan is discussed.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 307.77209628 MAC

Location (online):

- archive.org/details/tribesofnorthern00macm

Newbold, Douglas. 1924. Some links with the Anag at Gebel Haraza. *Sudan Notes and Records* 7 (1), 126-131

Newbold, Douglas. 1924. The White Nuba of Jebel Haraza, and white races of North Africa. *Sudan Notes and Records* 7 (2): 29-44

Both articles discuss the population of Jabal Harāza, the first one with a focus on genealogical and linguistic evidence for links to Anag ancestry. The second article examines the phenomenon of light-coloured people in mostly dark-skinned areas. After a historical review of the issue of albinism and fair complexion in Africa, going back to Greek and Roman sources, it presents a contemporary look at "white tribes" in northern Africa, especially in Maghreb, Libya, Egypt and northern Sudan. Looking at individual albinos of Jabal Harāza, Newbold discusses local legends relating albinism to Anag ancestry and reconsiders evidence of Berber origins.

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/volo7.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoa?e=0roff---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.2.5.1&d=SNRVolo7

Hillelson, Sigmar. 1925. Notes on the Dago with special reference to the Dago settlement in Western Kordofan. *Sudan Notes and Records* 8, 59-73

The article explores the Daju branch in southwestern Kordofan and their relations to the Daju in Darfur. The article notes the history of Daju migration to Kordofan and describes the social organization of the group, seeing traces of older monarchical institutions. Oral histories conveying that the Daju of Darfur once ruled over a part of Darfur are not distributed among the Daju of Kordofan. The Daju also lack knowledge of several ancestral myths common in Darfur, but they still maintain a relationship with a Daju group at Dar Sila. The article also describes the structure of the local government, which is headed by a sultan chosen by general consent, and religious institutions such as the high god Kalge or the rain-making ceremony. Finally, it details the relation between the Daju and the Bego of Darfur. The article includes material from MacMichael's work and comparison of languages, physical aspects and social organization.

Location (print):

- Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology (Khartoum University)

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/volo8.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pageessoat?e=01off---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.2.6.1&d=SNRVolo8

Hillelson, Sigmar. 1930. Nubian origins. *Sudan Notes and Records* 13, 137-148

The article discusses hypotheses and theories on the linguistic and ethnic connection between the Nuba of South Kordofan and the Nilotic Nubians. The article focuses on the research of Zyhlarza and his theory that Kordofan, and not the Nile Valley, is the original homeland of the Nubian languages and the Nubian people. He also suggests that the migration and dispersion of the Nubian groups took place much earlier than thought. These assumptions differ from other, earlier theories of Nubian linguistics and origins. The text discusses the differences between MacMichael and Zyhlarza. It sketches a history of the Nubian groups on the Nile, in Libya and in Kordofan, from ancient times until the 15th century, the fall of the Dongala kingdom and the rise of Muslim rule in the area. His analysis of Zyhlarza's theory is generally positive, although he criticizes the established scientific nomenclature as oversimplifying the heterogeneity of the Nuba groups.

Location (print):

- Faculty of Education (Khartoum University): 962.4 Maffey

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/vol13.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pageessoat?e=01off---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.3.1.1&d=SNRVol13

Henderson, Kenneth D. D. 1931. Nubian origins. *Sudan Notes and Records* 14, 90-93

The text follows an earlier publication in *Sudan Notes and Records* 13, 1930. It explains the origin of a so-called “Group B” of Nubians, which consists of the black inhabitants of Kordofan and Gezira, as descending from a non-nomadic people that invaded dynastic Egypt but never established a state in the north. Group A is instead a non-black, nomadic group that established a kingdom in Dongola in the sixth century, sometimes called Red Nuba. Their possible societal advance is explained within the tradition of the Hamitic hypothesis. The discussion continues in a subsequent short article by Henderson in *Sudan Notes and Records* 18, 1935.

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/vol14.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pageesso?e=01off---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.3.2.1&d=SNRVol14

Henderson, Kenneth D. D. 1932. Origin of the Dagu. *Sudan Notes and Records* 15, 151-152

The text compares wordlists by MacMichael, MacDiarmid and Macintosh and suggests that the Dagu dialect has strong similarities to idioms spoken in Darfur. The author refers to a theory by Hillelson who assumed that the Dagu originated from the west, and not, as their own traditions state, from the east. The text further outlines Baggara migration legends to strengthen its argument, and it shortly refers to the kingdom of Tegali.

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/vol15.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pageesso?e=01off---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.3.3.1&d=SNRVol15

Elles, R. J. 1935. The kingdom of Tegali. *Sudan Notes and Records* 18 (1), 1-35

The article gives a historic overview of the kingdom of Tegali in the Nuba Mountains. According to Elles's account, a wandering warrior or holymen of a riverian tribe founded the kingdom at the end of the 18th century. Acknowledged by the neighboring Arabs, and independent from Turkish rule, this warrior's 19 descendants have ruled since. The rule was autocratic and the king himself held all power and authority. The development of a united kingdom was mainly facilitated by the spread of Islam and its utilization as an element of governance. The historic overview covers the time prior to the kingdom; the establishment of the kingdom and the expansion of its rule over neighbouring Nuba communities; the zenith of the Tegali during the reign of Nāṣir and Adam Daballu; its fate during the Mahdiyya and the end of its independence under British rule. The article also provides a genealogy of the Tegali kings via several tables.

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/vol18.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoa?e=01off---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.3.6.1&d=SNRVol18

Henderson, Kenneth D. D. 1939. A note on the migration of the Messiria tribe into South-West Kordofan. *Sudan Notes and Records* 22 (1), 49-74

The article explores the migration of the Messiria Baggara to southwest Kordofan. The Baggara are described as having been forced to herd cattle because their homelands did not allow camel herding. The article details the geographical features of the area and explores the history of the Baggara, originating in Egypt and settling in today's Chad, Darfur and Kordofan. The text also provides a description of the Baggara's neighbors; namely, the Shatt, Dago, Nuba and Dinka. In a historical outline, the article shows how the Baggara moved from Darfur to Kordofan and settled in that area. The whole text features historical details and places its emphasis on clan structure, political changes and inter-clan relations. It ends with an overview of the changes in Baggara lifestyle during colonial rule.

Location (online):

- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoa?e=01off---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.3.10.1&d=SNRVol22

Whitehead, George O. 1940. Mansfield Parkyns and his projected history of the Sudan. *Sudan Notes and Records* 23, 131-138

The text starts with some biographical notes on Mansfield Parkyns and his stay in Sudan. It further describes his meeting with Francis Galton in 1846 and his travels to Nubia, Sennar, Kordofan, the White Nile and Egypt. A list of Parkyns's notes from his travels contains descriptions of the Arabs of Kordofan and their customs, notes on the geography of Kordofan, a letter by Grabau, an Italian merchant who gives an account of the population of Kordofan, the slave traffic, climate agriculture and culture of the inhabitants. It includes a description of Nuba tribes, probably based on an Arabic source, along other notes on Kabbabish, Nuba and the history of Nubia. The text ends with descriptions of ornithological objects, carved figures and a knob brought to England by Parkyns, and a review of the little reception he got as a traveler to Sudan.

Location (online):

- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoa?e=01off---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.4.1.1&d=SNRVol23

Toniolo, Elias. 1946. The first centenary of the Roman Catholic mission to central Africa, 1846-1946. *Sudan Notes and Records* 27, 99-126

Toniolo's article gives an account of the Roman Catholic mission in Sudan, starting with the 3 April 1846 decree by Pope Gregory XVI, which established the Apostolic Vicariate of Central Africa. In 1847, a first expedition supported by Mohammed Ali started in Alexandria, reaching Khartoum in February 1848, and establishing a mission there. The text describes the first year of the mission, further expeditions to the Upper Nile and the missionaries' actions against the slave trade. The work and ideas of Daniele Comboni are explained as the early example of indirect administration in the missionary world. Missions in Kordofan began in the early 1870s with travels to El Obeid, from which the exploration of Nuba territory began. The text ends with a depiction of the fate of the missions during the Mahdi uprising.

Location (online):

• sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoa?e=01off---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.4.6.1&d=SNRVol27

Wainwright, G. A. 1947. Some ancient records of Kordofan. *Sudan Notes and Records* 28, 11-24

The article explores the relations of the ancient kingdoms of Napata and Meroe with the area of southern Kordofan. It argues that the influence of these kingdoms was significantly weaker than on the eastern side of the Nile and that their relation was mostly violent and warlike. Wainwright identifies the "Deserters" mentioned by Herodotus and Pliny as based in southern Kordofan and distinguished them from the Sembridae. He discusses the accounts of these groups given by several ancient authors, basing his assumptions on a geographical comparison of ancient texts and modern knowledge. He furthermore lists several of the conflicts between the Deserters and the Ethiopian Empire, and provides information on pillage and lists of prisoners. Finally, he discusses references to the area in Roman times and a Roman expedition searching for the source of the Nile under Nero.

Location (online):

• sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoa?e=01off---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.4.6.1&d=SNRVol27

ʿAwaḍ ʿAbd al-Hādī al-ʿAṭā. 1973. *Tārīḥ Kurdufān al-siyāsī fī al-Mahdiyya, 1881-1899*. Al-Majlis al-Qawmī li-Racāya al-Adāb wa al-Finūn, Wazārat al-Ṭaqāfa wa al-Iclām, Jamhūriya al-Sūdān al-Dīmūqrāṭiyya

The book documents the political and social developments in Kordofan during the Mahdiyya, mostly based on Mahdist documents. It covers the early years of Muḥammad Aḥmad, the Mahdī, the regime's turbulent and shifting relation with Tegali, the numerous

punitive campaigns throughout the Nuba Mountains, as well as the influx of pastoralist and other groups from northern Kordofan. Due to its source material, the focus is very much on Mahdist leaders, such as Maḥmūd cAbd al-Qādir and Ḥamdān Abū cAnja, and their different missions, while giving also some insight into the thinking of these leaders, and their social and cultural policies.

Thelwall, Robin and Thilo C. Schadeberg. 1983. The linguistic settlement of the Nuba Mountains. *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 5, 219-231

The article provides an overview of the complex linguistic landscape of the Nuba Mountains and the more than 40 different Nuba languages, including references to previous literature on the topic. The article starts with a brief exploration of the connection between the terms Nuba and Nubia and the characterization of the Nuba Mountains as an old retreat area. The Nuba languages are classified in ten groups, and the authors note connections to languages outside the region. The text concludes with a hypothesis on the chronology of the linguistic settlement of the area and provides maps of the distribution of the language groups in South Kordofan, along with classification tables.

Location (online):

• openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/8810/5_1234891_027.pdf

Ewald, Janet J. 1985. Experience and speculation: history and founding stories in the kingdom of Taqali, 1780-1935. *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 18 (2), 265-287

The paper covers the stories relating to the origins of the Taqali kingdom and describes them as answers to questions of descent rather than descriptions of a remote past. The three founding stories show theories about the kingdom's history, its relation with other entities in Sudan and the processes of religious and political evolution that emerged in the 19th century and are still discussed today. Recent historical developments and experiences have influenced the narratives and changed the stories. Knowledge is informed by the practice of oral narratives and by common elements of pan-Sudanese culture. The history of the kingdom is always told in terms of a pan-Sudanese historiography, resulting from the desire to not only connect it to the wider Sudanese society, but also to present these insights to other Sudanese. In an "intellectually economical" way the Taqali composers adopted stereotypical elements and used them in their own stories. Two main historical topoi, borrowed from other Sudanese historiographies and generally widespread in the region, are the story of a Wise Stranger who arrives as an immigrant-hero to found the kingdom and the use of ethnic categories to describe the political and social relationships of the past. Hamaj, Funj, and Arab are popular categories.

Spaulding, Jay. 1987. A premise for precolonial Nuba history. *History in Africa* 14, 369-374. DOI: 10.2307/3171848

The article starts from the observation that a general Nuba historiography has still to be written. Although many scholars provide different theories surrounding the origin and history of the Nuba groups, the issue is not at the center of their studies. The entirety of these accounts provides inconsistent Nuba historiography. The article aims to discuss the contradicting comments on Nuba history in different studies. The main question is whether a form of state or central government ever existed in the Nuba Mountains. Researchers during the colonial and postcolonial era always explored the influence of successive Sudanese governments on the Nuba groups; their conclusions however differed greatly. In colonial times, most scholars denied the existence of a Nuba state and described their history in terms of "Völkerwanderungen," miscegenation, and Islamization. Another school of thought, fueled by the methods and concepts of classical archeology, traced the Nuba back to the ancient Nubian monarchies of the northern Nile. The author argues that all these attempts should have been supported by available sources on precolonial Nuba history, which provides rich evidence of a state form of government covering almost the entire Nuba Mountains. It also gives some accounts of the quality of this government.

Ewald, Janet J. 1988. Speaking, writing, and authority: explorations in and from the kingdom of Taqali. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30 (2), 200-224. DOI: 10.1017/S0010417500015164

The article explores the historic sources relative to the kingdom of Taqali, which flourished in the northeastern Nuba Mountains between 1780 and 1884. Although the kingdom was Islamic, writing was known and the political agenda was not especially conservative, juridical and political scripture was barely used. The article explores the reasons for the lack of written sources and the unsystematic nature of oral histories. It argues that the lack of information does not hinder historical reconstruction but provides important facts on the nature of political relationships in Taqali. It highlights that document-based historical methodology has its implications. The article further outlines how orality was a core element of the government in Taqali, as it mostly dealt with illiterate groups. The oral political culture of Taqali allowed a diverse state that remained autonomous even in the context of the Turkiyya's expansion and that acknowledged the partial autonomy of its subjects.

Ewald, Janet J. 1990. *Soldiers, traders, and slaves: state formation and economic transformation in the Greater Nile Valley, 1700-1885*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press

Ewald describes the rise of the kingdom of Taqali in the 18th century in the Nuba Mountains. It is characterized as a dynasty of Muslim Warrior kings establishing themselves on the frontier of Islamic Sudan. The state defended its independence against

several larger empires and only came under external rule in the 20th century. The book is the first comprehensive study on origin and development of the Taqali kingdom. It explains how events originating from far outside the Taqali hills enabled local Muslim soldiers to crown themselves as kings and establish a long lasting reign. But the rule of the Taqali kings was not centralized and did not allow them to gain control over the means of production against the fierce resistance of the local highland farmers. Both sides used religion as an ideological weapon, as the Taqali farmers defended their local beliefs against the Muslim overlords. This conflict also had several unintended economic consequences described in the book. Ewald's history of the Taqali kingdom questions established views on the impact of Islam, merchant capitalism, and Egyptian military administration in 19th-century Sudan.

Spaulding, Jay. 1998. Early Kordofan. In *Kordofan invaded: peripheral incorporation and social transformation in Islamic Africa*, edited by Endre Stiansen and Michael Kevane. Leiden: Brill, 46-59

Jay Spaulding's chapter on early Kordofan spans from the Mesolithic period to the early 1800s. It focuses on the competition for scarce resources and uses comparative linguistics as well as contemporary texts to show how pastoralists came to dominate the plains while the hills were a refuge for groups practicing horticulture. At the same time, the author considers the relation to several larger state formations, among them the southern Nubian kingdom of Alodia, Sinnār and Darfur (Keira dynasty).

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 306.3209628 KOR

ʿAbd al-Qādir Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir Dawrah. 1999. *Mamlaka taqalī al-islāmiyya*. Khartoum: Al-Muʿasasa Al-cĀma Lil-Ṭibāca wa Al-Našr wa Al-Tawzīc wa Al-Iclān. Republished in 2003 as *Al-wisāda li-tārīḥ mamlika taqalī al-islāmiyya*. Khartoum: Sūlū Lil-Ṭibāca

This book deals with the history and heritage of the kingdom of Tagali, based on the author's personal knowledge of the area and data collection. Considered one of the historically significant state formations in Sudan before the Turko-Egyptian invasion of the 19th century, next to Funj and Darfur, it is presented as central to Sudan's historiography and the development of ruling systems in Sudan. Apart from making a contribution to the field, the book is also intended as an alternative to the work of Janet Ewald, whose writings, being both in English and expensive, are inaccessible for most Sudanese readers.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 962.402 ʿAbd al-Qādir
- National Records Office: 864/61/1
- College of Education (Sudan University): 962.4 (earlier version, 1994)

Muḥammad Kunda Andalī. 2002. *Tārīḥ al-nūba al-‘aẓīm ba‘d al-ṭawfōn wa ila al-ān wa aṭar al-ṭaqāfa al-islāmiyya ‘alayhu*. Author’s edition

This study outlines Nubian and Nuba history, which is understood to start with the kingdom of Kush after the great flood and describes Nuba of the Nuba Mountains as descendants of the original population of Sudan and Egypt. The book also contains a discussion on the influences of Hawazma and Islamic culture on Nuba, as well as the impact of tourism in South Kordofan.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 307.772 Muḥammad

Muḥammad Kunda Andalī. 2003. *Al-irt wa al-luġa al-muṣṭaraka bayn nūba al-jibāl wa al-šimāl*. Author’s edition

This book traces the links between Nuba in the Nuba Mountains and Nubians in northern Sudan, both historically and linguistically. It sets out with the thesis that this link was established by displacement from the north, which followed the Aksum invasion of the Meroe kingdom in 325 AD; another wave came with the Mamluk invasion of the Dongola kingdom. This leads to the claim that Nubian cultural elements, especially Christian religion, customs and traditions, were carried early on into the Nuba Mountains and established a cultural link, which was severed through historical events, and in particular by the later Closed District policies under British colonial rule. However, cultural similarity is argued to still persist. A discussion of language groups and their relation to Nubian languages extends this argument.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 407.209628 Muḥammad

Ewald, Janet. 2005. *Building a state and struggling over land: the Taqali kingdom, 1750-1884*. In *Land, literacy and the state in Sudanic Africa*, edited by Donald Crummey. Trenton: The Red Sea Press, 105-126

The question this paper poses is how the ruling elite in Taqali gained its sustenance. What were the relations between exercising state power and gaining access to the produce of the land? The argument is that one has to look behind formal institutional arrangements and royal prerogatives to the processes that produced rights over land. These struggles involved not only elites, but also their peasant subjects. The history of Taqali shows how Sudanic farmers, engaged as political actors, shaped the links between state, land, and society, and therefore provides insights into the nature of pre-state societies and state formation. The study places the common peasant in the middle of the analysis and focuses on actions from below.

Jedrej, Marian C. 2006. Were Nuba and Hadjeray stateless societies? Ethnohistorical problems in the eastern Sudan region of Africa. *Paideuma: Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde* 52, 205-225

The article discusses the dichotomy between state and stateless society in light of the civil wars in Sudan. It reviews ethnographic and historical literature about the Hadjeray from Chad and the Nuba from South Kordofan to discuss how the approach of the “state or stateless” classification shaped the view of these groups. It examines how these narratives enabled a vision of historical continuity that emerges powerfully in recent conflicts. The text shows similarities between the two groups in terms of geographical, historical, and political environment. Nuba identity is argued to vary much in the different areas of the mountains. However, in the north of Sudan a common group identity existed. While clanship was one of the most important factors of sociality, it has not affected the construction of alliances or feuds on the inside. Furthermore, asymmetric alliances with outside powers connected the Nuba communities to neighboring power centers like in the case of the relation between Dilling and the Funj Sultanat. This shows that the narrative of a uniformed Nuba ethnicity that opposed foreign invasions in history does not correspond with reality but is a strong element of the recent political struggle. The article argues that the importance of historical misconceptions for current political struggle should not shield it from a critical analysis.

Yūsuf Ishāq Aḥmad. 2008. *Al-māḍī al-mucāsh fi jibāl al-nūba: minṭaqat al-ajānj*. Khartoum: Dār cAzzah Lil-Našr wa-Al-Tawzīc.

This book attempts to contribute to the historiography of the Nuba Mountains with focus on Ajanj as an old population of the region. Tracing the historical relations to the Nubian kingdoms, as well as other groups in Kordofan and Darfur, the effect of this history on present relations is considered as well. Limits in sources for such a contribution are identified in the late introduction of writing to the area, a geographically and perspectively narrow focus of colonial studies. Therefore, much of the material for the study was collected in the form of oral history through direct interviews in the area in 1995 and 1996.

Ille, Enrico. 2011. *Tracing golden past. Historical narratives about Shaybun and Shawabna in the Nuba Mountains, Sudan*. Leipzig and Weissenfels: Ille & Riemer.

This book retraces the history of Sheibun, both a mountain and a former settlement, which was a widely known gold market in the Nuba Mountains until the mid-19th century. It was later deserted. Its further history is connected with a present ethnic group, the Shawabna, who are as heterogeneous as the Sheibun settlement itself. This left its inhabitants in a contested position between being Arab and being Black African during British colonial times and recent ethnic polarizations. Rather than “clarifying” their identity, this book discusses different narratives surrounding these questions of

origin, and thereby contextualizes historical accounts by their conditions of creation. Simultaneously, the text considers the political and scientific interpretation of uncertain, therefore imagined, resources, which appeared in narrative representations of Sheibun throughout its traceable history.

‘Abd al-Bāqī Ḥassan Fayrīn (Amūn). 2012. *Al-āmāwiyyūn (al-nīmānġ). Baqiyya al-šach al-marawī (barwā) al-cazīm*. Author’s edition

In this book, the author argues for a strong historical link between the kingdom of Merowe and the Ama/Nyimang group of the Nuba Mountains. This includes a discussion of cAnj / Ajanj, the immigration of Ama to northern Kordofan and the Nuba Mountains, and of religious and linguistic continuities and differences along this historical line. In the conclusion, the author demands a respective review of Sudanese history and linguistic studies, as well as interdisciplinary work of historians and anthropologists on the psychological setup of societies that keep an active link to their past. This can also facilitate integrative nation-building in Sudan. The book ends with short biographies of, and statements on, Nyimang leaders, mostly of the 20th century.

Ille, Enrico. 2015. The Nuba Mountains between coercion and persuasion during Mahdist Rule (1881-1898). *Northeast African Studies* 15 (2), 1-62

This article presents a historiographical study of the Nuba Mountains during the Mahdiyya. Its chronological account of the period is based on an extensive review of the English and Arabic literature; however, the author highlights the tentative quality of the account, as historical information is limited and often strongly contextual. The conceptual frame of the study is informed by a distinction of coercion and persuasion. Both relate to the intention of changing someone’s ideas and behavior, but only the former is connected to the usage or threat of violence. The article concludes that persuasion existed in the dealings of Mahdist leaders with the population, but that coercion was, by far, the most frequent and prevailing approach. At the same time, the Mahdists’ failure to achieve a sustainable dominant position in the Nuba Mountains also shows that a historical discussion focusing exclusively on the “big players,” i.e. the Mahdist rulers and their European opponents, will miss significant differences in the local distribution of power.

Category 2: Human geography and ethnographies

Seligman, Charles G. 1910. The physical characters of the Nuba of Kordofan. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 40, 505-524. DOI: 10.2307/2843269

The article is based on body measurements taken in the southern Nuba Mountains, particularly Jebel Eliri, Talodi, Jebel Lumun, Tir Akhdar, Tira Mandi, and Kanderma. The data collected on Nuba physical features is compared to research results from the Shilluk and Dinka. The article provides a map of the research area and several lists of weights and facial features of individuals of different gender and from different places. It also describes the scarification of women as body art, and female circumcision and tattooing as not common in the area. It provides details on the fact that both genders' incisors are removed and the lower lips are perforated and the perforation filled with quartz ornaments. Material collected by Myers and Tucker in the Central and Northern Nuba Mountains is used to compare the physical features of the Southern Nuba with other Nuba groups. The article further contains lists with the measured results and photographs of Nuba individuals.

Seligman, Charles G. 1913. Some aspects of the Hamitic problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 43, 593-705. DOI: 10.2307/2843546

The paper uses the Hamitic theory to discuss the origin of several groups in Sudan. It classifies the "Hamitic race" as a sub-group of the "Caucasian race" and describes it as more advanced than the Negroid population of Sub-Saharan Africa. Using material obtained during his expeditions to Sudan in 1909-10 and 1911-12, Seligman develops a theory of a Hamito-Semitic culture and further discusses cultural, linguistic and anatomical evidence for his theory. He illustrates his theory with ethnographic descriptions of the Beja, Barabra, nomad Arabs, especially the Kabbabish, groups he classifies as Nilotes and Half-Hamites. In the case of the Barabra he explores the alleged influence they had on the Nuba of northern and middle Kordofan. His points are mostly linguistic, and he uses them to explain the difference in languages spoken in these areas in comparison to southern Nuba languages. He further describes several social practices, like female genital mutilation, scars as body art, social and family organization in general, totemism, customs connected to cattle and milk, the importance of the placenta after birth, the belief in high gods and a connected cult of the dead, a cult of divine kings responsible for rain, and the position of the body in the grave.

Sagar, John W. 1922. Notes on the history, religion and customs of the Nuba. *Sudan Notes and Records* 5, 137-156

The text was written before the First World War but only published in 1922 as it was considered to be still up to date and newsworthy. It focuses on the Dilling Nuba and contains some further information on the Nyima and Koalib. Some basic historical background on these groups is provided. The text then describes laws of property inheritance, which favour the eldest son over his brothers and exclude women. It also briefly explores the relationship of Arabs and Nuba and describes them as complementary, the Nuba as producers of agricultural goods and the Arabs as haulers to markets. A short section about land ownership provides basic information on the topic. Short notes also cover marriage, religious, and other social practices.

Location (print):

- Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology (Khartoum University)

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/volo5.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoa?e=0ioff---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.2.3.1&d=SNRVolo5

Kauczor, Daniel. 1923. The Afitti Nuba of Gebel Dair and their relation to the Nuba proper. *Sudan Notes and Records* 6 (1), 1-34

The article describes different Nuba groups from Jebel Dā'ir. In the southern part of the area, the inhabitants of the villages of Defe, Māndūk, and Al-^cAyn speak a language that belongs to the same linguistic group as that of the people from Dilling, Ghulfan, Kodr, Kadero, and Karko. The people living on the mountain range itself are divided in two groups: the Sidr or Afitti, and the Ketiri or Ditti. For the latter no linguistic information is available. The text concentrates heavily on the Afitti but compares their customs with neighboring groups, especially from Dilling. After short linguistic and historic considerations, which connect the Afitti group to a vanished Nuba Kingdom, the text describes their belief surrounding the ancestral spirit Aro, as well as their rituals. It includes a transcript of a consultation of an Afitti priestess and details the great festivals connected to sowing and harvest, blessings of newborns, circumcisions, and burials.

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/volo6.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoa?e=0ioff---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.2.4.1&d=SNRVolo6

Hawkesworth, Desmond. 1932. The Nuba proper of Southern Kordofan. *Sudan Notes and Records* 15, 159-199

This early attempt at providing a general outlook on Nuba is based on the intention to serve as guide for the colonial administration. Its material is mostly anecdotal, but collects statements on Nuba languages, spiritual culture, life cycles, marriage, inheritance and land tenure, gender relations, death and afterlife, as well as administration of law and justice.

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/vol15.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pageesso2e=01off---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.2.4.1&d=SNRVolo6

Seligman, Charles G. and Brenda Z. 1932/65. The Nuba. In *Pagan tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 367-412

The article provides a general overview on Nuba culture and society. It describes the Nuba as indigenous to the Nuba Mountains, but also mentions the spread of Arab-speaking groups who now inhabit the northern part of Nuba's original settlement area. The Nuba are described as skilled cultivators that, by 1910, mostly cultivated the hill plateaus. Their linguistic heterogeneity is briefly described and some languages like Eliri are mentioned in more detail. The larger part of the text discusses social regulation and how society is structured. In the section on religion, the practice of rainmaking, the spirits and the funeral rituals are the most prominent topics. A central figure of the communities is the rainmaker, an individual practicing magic who is also an important figure in social organization and the main decision-maker among the Nuba. The text provides further details on the role and genealogies of certain rainmakers among the Lafafa Nuba. Other topics of the text are the structure of family and kinship, and marriage. Nuba women are portrayed as independent, with Nuba girls choosing their own mates.

Location (print):

- Graduate College (Nilein University): 910.03063
- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 305.8927624

Location (online):

- archive.org/details/PaganTribesOfTheNiloticSudan

Bolton, Alexander R. C. 1936. The Dubab and Nuba of Jebel Daier. *Sudan Notes and Records* 19 (1): 93-108

The article starts with a general description of the features of Jebel Daier and then discusses the origin of the Dubab. While the Dubab claim a Ja'aliyyin descent, MacMichael

stated that they are a slightly Arabicized group of Nuba. They are Islamic and live in thirteen villages. The origins and location of these villages are discussed further also thanks to the use of a map of the area. In its third section, the article focuses on the ceremonies and customs of the Dubab. The center of the Dubab is Dar el Kebir where the Shawi, a council of elders, resides. The Shawi is only concerned with cases of marriage, divorce and inheritance, but before the colonial rule it handled all kind of conflicts. Several other elements of customary law are then highlighted. The last section of the article describes the origins and ceremonies of the Nuba in the area. It explores the clan structure of the Nuba and sketches their marriage customs and religious practices. In the conclusion the article discusses the relation between Nuba and Dubab and traces the name Dubab to several possible origins.

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/vol19.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoat?e=01off---v---100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.3.7.1&d=SNRVol19

Stevenson, Roland C. 1940. The Nyimang of the Nuba Mountains of Kordofan. *Sudan Notes and Records* 23, 75-98

The article provides a general overview of the social life and culture of the Nyimang, who the author described as being one of the, almost unstudied, Nuba groups. The text elaborates on their origin, their settlement in the area, and further explores the local form of their tribal government, family structure and clan system. The father is the center of the family, controlling all cattle (including the cattle of his married sons); polygamy is common but rarely practiced because of the high costs connected to it. The text provides a very brief description of the agricultural system and a detailed account of the agricultural cycle. It further depicts social activities and ceremonies of the life cycle, such as initiation, marriage, and funeral rituals. Finally, the article analyzes characteristics of the Nyimang religion and describes the spirit cult and different sacrifice practices.

Location (online):

- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoat?e=01off---v---100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.4.1.1&d=SNRVol23

Nadel, Siegfried F. 1942. The hill tribes of Kadero. *Sudan Notes and Records* 25 (1), 37-79

The article is concerned with a small group of Nuba tribes, perhaps 7,000 people, who live in the Kadero hills. The name Kadero marks a low mountain range on the northern edge of the Nuba Mountains, east of Dilling and northwest of Delami. The text explores the origin of these groups according to local traditions, which differ within and between communities. Some trace their origin to the kingdom of Ghadayat

via their chief genealogies; others claim their origin is tied to the Sennar kingdom. A shared language and culture still provides a foundation for the unity of the groups, explored through the exogamous clan structure, the ancestral spirit cult and the role of the kujur priests. The social organization of the Kortala community is described in terms of housing, family and clan structure as well as marriage, ritual and political obligations. The clan system is presented on a structural level and characterized as a symbiotic order built on rights and obligations, which can differ significantly from clan to clan; the text describes different clan rights for the three main groups: Tekalko, Kudal, and Minyan. There are also notes on the genealogy of the Kortala chiefs, and definitions of war and peace. Shorter, but similarly constructed, are the descriptions of the social organization of Dabatna and Kodoro.

Location (online):

- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pageessoal?e=01off---v---100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.4.3.1&d=SNRVol25a

Nadel, Siegfried F. 1947. *The Nuba: an anthropological study of the hill tribes of Kordofan*. London: Oxford University Press

This study represents the first comprehensive effort to depict social life in the Nuba Mountains based on thorough anthropological research. Most anthropologists have since focused on a single group. This research was conducted among ten Nuba groups, most extensively among Heiban, Otoro and Tira. The author then spent two months among Moro, Korongo, Mesakin, Tullishi, Kawalib, Nyimang, and Dilling. Nadel tried to make sense of the “bewildering complexity” of Nuba languages by reducing them to groups, based on culture and social structure, while observing that lines of cultural division did not invariably coincide with tribal boundaries. Apart from general observations on history, the natural environment, and livelihood strategies, the book focuses on data for settlement and social structures. The conclusions are informed by Nadel’s attempts at social psychology and a “pan-Nuba” perspective, his work resulting from the colonial administration’s hope to benefit from anthropological research in its interactions with the population. Nadel recommends a federation of Nuba groups if Arabicization was to be curbed, which he himself thought to be unrealistic.

Location (print):

- Graduate College (Nilein University): 962.8

Location (online):

- archive.org/details/TheNubaAnAnthropologicalStudyOfTheHillTribesInKordofan

Stevenson, Roland C. 1962. Notes on the people of Liguri and neighbouring hills in the Kadugli Area. *Sudan Society. Journal of the Social Studies Society, University of Khartoum* 1, 45-59

The article provides an ethnographical description of the Liguri and Shatt living in the hills around Kadugli. The text traces their movements and language; originally they emigrated from Darfur and speak languages of the Daju group. They are a sub-branch of the, now, scattered Daju, who traditionally ruled them. The article gives a historical overview and explores the linguistic features of the group. It further explains the social organization of the local communities and provides a table of lineage groups.

Stevenson, Roland C. 1965. The Nuba people of Kordofan province: an ethnographic survey. Master thesis. Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences, University of Khartoum

Published in 1984 as Graduate College Publications Monograph 7, Khartoum: Khartoum University Press

This study is one of few overarching ethnographic works on Nuba, and includes an overview of the linguistic, physical anthropological, demographic and historiographical knowledge of the time. After an initial discussion on the origin of the name “Nuba,” a geographical overview connects to a debate on different possible classifications for the different groups living in the Nuba Mountains. There is a discussion on physical characteristics, which include stature, cephalic indices, blood groups, and ethnic types. Extracts from the 1955-56 population census and a chapter on “general history,” which still represents one of the most comprehensive attempts at a historiography of the region, follow. Finally, the text presents intensive ethnographic case studies on Nyimang and Temein.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 962.800496 STE
- Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology (Khartoum University)

Baumann, Gerd. 1980. Society, culture and musical activity in Miri: an ethnography of a Nuba mountains village (Sudan). Doctoral dissertation. Queen's University, Belfast

This study is based on fieldwork conducted during the mid- to late 1970s in the village of Miri Bara. The book provides general data on Miri culture and economy as well as concepts and practices of kinship and marriage. While it builds on the work of Nadel, the study systematically includes information on music and dance, which Nadel almost entirely ignored. The author rejects the reflexive approach to music and dance, which regards them as a reflection of social structure and denies that either could independently contribute to the socio-cultural system of a group. He favors the concept of affective culture that can be adequately analyzed by studying dance and music of a

group as a formative part of social life. The data on music pertains to different social categories and their activities, including musical expression among young people, married people and specific social groups such as the Daluka girls or the Firqa dance clubs. Furthermore, the author explores the role of music and dance in specific rituals and ceremonies throughout the year cycle.

Husmann, Rolf. 1984. *Transkulturation bei den Nuba. Ethnologische Aspekte des kulturellen Wandels im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Göttingen: Edition Herodot

This study of cultural changes among Nuba in the 19th and 20th century is based on a broad literature review. The author attempted to identify both continuities and transformations, in order to provide a differentiated socio-cultural history of the region. After a short discussion of historical anthropology, the historiographical value of different sources is assessed. An analysis of cultural characteristics in the 19th century, and from 1900 to 1945, follows an outline of the human geography of the region. The outlined characteristics include demographics, intercommunal contacts, political organization and law, kinship and social structure, economy, nutrition, material culture, religion, birth, marriage and death, as well as feasts, customs, body transformations and sports. Based on these observations, the author formulates a number of hypotheses about the nature of cultural change among Nuba.

Baumann, Gerd. 1987. *National integration and local integrity: the Miri of the Nuba Mountains in the Sudan*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

In this detailed ethnography of Miri, Baumann discusses the complex relation between Miri's integration in the national context of Sudan and their maintenance of a distinct ethnic identity through the concept of "redintegration." Miri are shown to have been receptive to a wide range of influences, among them cultural elements of Muslim northern Sudan, while their local integrity is described as having been preserved, though transformed. In relation to regional ethnography, Baumann deconstructs Nadel's classification of the Nuba groups in four sections, which had been based on matriarchal or patriarchal kinship structures, the possession of shamanic cults and the specification of clan roles in rituals. Baumann also makes the widely recognized point that Nuba identity is much less defined by cultural or socio-economic similarities of the groups than by differentiation from the Arab-Sudanese society surrounding the Nuba Mountains. Baumann furthermore discusses the agricultural economy of the Miri and shows how their group identity is based on joint labor, which improves their farming productivity as well as strengthening their social cohesion. He assumes that their subsistence economy would not function without these interdependencies.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 305.8009628 BAU

Michael, Barbara J. 1987. Cows, bulls and gender roles: pastoral strategies for survival and continuity in Western Sudan. Doctoral dissertation. University of Kansas, Lawrence

This singular and extensive study of Ḥawāzma Baqqāra approaches the pastoral nomads through their economic strategies and their social organization, with a focus on gender roles. In a period when sedentarization programs were a mainstay of rural development policies, Michael pointed out that sedentarization was already a fully integrated, if temporary, livelihood strategy. At the same time, the studied group displayed a strong tendency to keep its pastoral nomadic lifestyle, which depended to a large degree on segmented gender roles that were assigned contextually and situationally.

Location (online):

- kuscholarworks.ku.edu/handle/1808/18034

Rottenburg, Richard. 1991. *Ndemwareng. Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in den Morobergen*. München: Trickster

This monograph on the Moro of Lebu not only attempts to fill an ethnographic gap by providing an intensive analysis of economic practices and social relations, but also aims at presenting a larger perspective on processes of cultural change. To this end, the author develops the concept of *Akkreszenz* (accretion), which points at the complex process of integration of new cultural elements. Among Moro, this included mimicry, addition, and substitution, but kept a qualitative difference between an inner and an outer world of the social group, even in the face of more and more intrusive dynamics, such as restrictive governmental policies and the expansion of market economy. The argument is carried through several aspects of economy and society, such as its spatial organization, economic strategies, descent and neighborhood, marriage and kinship, and age-group organization.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 305.8965 ROT

Manger, Leif O. 1994. *From the mountains to the plains: the integration of the Lafofa Nuba into Sudanese society*. Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institut of African Studies

The study, the first comprehensive analysis of a matrilineal Nuba group, discusses the relationship between the Lafofa Nuba and their societal context in and outside the Nuba Mountains. Through detailed analysis of processes of interaction with Sudanese society, it also gives new insights into processes of Islamization and Arabicization. The local processes affecting the economic and cultural survival of the Lafofa are presented in the context of the wider political history of the Nuba Mountains, which started to become again more threatening and destructive at that time. It is thus a contribution to the wider theme of integration of Nuba into Sudanese society and addresses the essential

observation that national identity in Sudan is not a unidirectional issue of “Arabs” and “Muslims,” and Arabicization and Islamization, but also concerns the conditions and the aspirations of other cultural groups.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 305.8965 MAN

Location (online):

- www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:273465/FULLTEXT01.pdf

Hesse, Gerhard. 2002. *Die Jallaba und die Nuba Nordkordofans: Händler, soziale Distinktion und Sudanisierung*. Münster, Hamburg: Lit

This rare ethnography of the Nuba of North Kordofan focuses on their relation with Nile Valley traders, who were instrumental in the spreading of urban Muslim culture of riverian Sudan. The study examines how much these traders changed values and lifestyle of the Nuba peasants, “Sudanizing” them in the process. Genesis and relation of the two groups are therefore traced back in history, looking at the role of trade, Islam and its dominating rule, both before and after the 1989 Islamist coup. The author also elaborates in detail recent changes in local peasant culture, covering the aspects of festive culture, spirit possession, agriculture, as well as customs and religion.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ḥālīd. 2002. *Jibāl al-nūba. Itniyyāt wa turāt*. Khartoum: Širka Maṭḥaca Al-Nīlayn Al-Maḥdūda

This book describes the cultural diversity of the Nuba Mountains and argues it deserves to play a major role in the formulation of Sudanese cultural identity, as a bridge of communication between the north and south of the country and as a meeting point of Arab and African cultures. As the result of a long history of convergence and mixing, the distinct heritage of material and immaterial culture of the Nuba is claimed to have been misunderstood by the colonial rulers and isolated. On this basis, the book follows customs and traditions related to human life circles, but also documents the spread of Islam, including biographies of the Islamic preachers Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Qiršī and Muḥammad ʿAbd Allah Al-Burnāwī. It describes some areas as “still ignorant” and pagan in their beliefs. It also notes the results of a two-year roundtrip, with notes on history, folk architecture, sports, handicrafts and arts. Overall, the author expresses hope for a future of religious tolerance.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 305.8965 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz
- Central Library (Nilein University): 301.22096248

Meerpohl, Meike. 2012. *The Tima of the Nuba Mountains (Sudan): a social anthropological study*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe

The book provides a comprehensive ethnographic study of the Tima group in the Western Nuba Mountains. The Tima, one of the smaller Nuba groups, include approximately 7,000 people. The region suffered heavily during the civil war between 1987 and 2002 and, even after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement that ended the violent conflict in 2005, economic development started slowly. The isolation and the wars in the region prevented a thorough research on the Tima, and the book is an attempt to describe the economic, cultural, religious, social, and political changes the Tima experienced in the last decades. Many cultural practices like songs, dances, rituals, ceremonies or games had already vanished at the time of the study; others were barely practiced any more. Since the Tima's social organization is constantly challenged, the once central belief in the kajara as spiritual and social leaders is in decline. The book aims to document these practices and contribute to the research on the Tima at a time when the future of the group itself is uncertain.

Category 3: Socio-cultural ideas and practices

Seligman, Charles G. 1917. Nuba. In *Encyclopedia of religion and ethics*, Vol. 9, edited by James Hastings and John A. Selbie. London: Kessinger Publishing, 401-406

This encyclopedia entry describes the Nuba as the aborigines of Kordofan who now only live in the Nuba Mountains, but who were, historically, also in North Kordofan. Seligman denies larger cultural influences of outside communities, Arab or Shilluk, on the Nuba communities, but briefly describes the history of interventions by foreign powers in the area. What follows are sections on linguistic differences and similarities of Nuba languages to neighboring languages, physical features of Nuba and Barabra, the political autonomy of Nuba, as well as the status of women and agricultural issues. The focus of the article, however, is on religion and ritual practices, as well as on the regulation of public life by the rainmaker. The text describes how the spirit of a predecessor gives the rainmaker his power and reports different rainmaking techniques. There are also other practices mentioned in the article; for example, those performed by experts on sickness, grain, and corn. The text ends with a description of the oaths spoken in Jebel Kawarma.

Location (online):

- archive.org/details/EncyclopaediaOfReligionAndEthics.Hastings-selbie-gray.13Vols

Yunis, Negib Eff. 1922. Notes on the Baggara and Nuba of Western Kordofan. *Sudan Notes and Records* 5, 200-207

This article contains descriptions of cultural practices among the Baggara and Nuba of Western Kordofan based on the author's seven-month-long medical tour. The Baggara cult of bravery is portrayed as a system of honor that defines a man's standing with the other gender. Three exemplary stories of acts of bravery further describe this cult. Marriage, the interactions of unmarried women with men, and female circumcision are described in this text as well. The author examines the role of the *fugara*, religious leaders who also serve as healers, as well as ideas on the treatment of syphilis, the concept of the sleeping foetus, and infertility. Notes about the Nuba contain a narration of a Daju mourning celebration in Silikki. There is also an explanation of the succession rules to the Daju sultan's throne and of a mourning practice that entails sexual abstinence for the son of a dead man for one year.

Location (print):

- Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology (Khartoum University)

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/volo5.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoal=CL5.2.1.2.3.1&d=SNRVolo5

Crowfoot, John W. 1924. Nuba pots in the Gordon College. *Sudan Notes and Records* 7 18-28

The article discusses origin, design and materials of 80 pots from the Nuba Mountains, part of the collection of the Gordon College Museum. The article describes the production process in detail and provides a classification system for the pots. Elderly women make pots among the Nuba, while men take no part in the production process. The article provides photos of objects, such as *teibar*, *burma*, *warrad*, *kalol*, *doraiya*, *sakhkhan*, *dullag*, *qadali*, *mibkhar* and *tafur*.

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/volo7.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoal=CL5.2.1.2.5.1&d=SNRVolo7

Crowfoot, John W. 1925. Further notes on pottery. *Sudan Notes and Records* 8, 125-137

The article provides an overview of pottery production and products in the Nuba Mountains, following up on a 1924 article by the same author. The study covers Tegali, Rashad, Gedir and Lafofa, as well as other areas outside the Nuba Mountains. There is a detailed description of pottery production in Rashad and El-Liri; namely, paste mixture, shaping, decoration, polishing, and burning. The article includes photos of the production process and sketches of decoration tools.

Location (print):

- Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology (Khartoum University)

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/volo8.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoal=CL5.2.1.2.6.1&d=SNRVolo8

MacDiarmid, Donald N. 1927. Notes on Nuba customs and language. *Sudan Notes and Records* 10, 224-233

The article notes the state of research on the Nuba language in 1927 and provides some notes on significant features of the Nuba grammar. Notes include remarks on word groups, singular and plural, cases, verb conjugation, numerals, and the structure of sentences. The second part of the text describes different customs practiced among the Nuba, including naming of children, building of new houses, initiation rites, healing, and burial ceremonies and customs. Per this article, the Nuba have no religious knowledge

about their origins and only share very few myths on their origin. The last part of the text contains three Nuba tales. “The porcupine and the hare” is a story of how a hare denied a porcupine his share of their beans and how he is defeated by his antagonist. “The girl and the leopard” is about a girl caught by a leopard and rescued by her former husband. The last story, “The woman and her daughter Kwoma,” describes how a girl flees from her mother to marry a boy.

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/vol10.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoa?e=0ioff---v---100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-i&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.2.8.1&d=SNRVol10

Hillelson, Sigmar. 1929. Songs of the Baggara. *Sudan Notes and Records* 12 (1), 73-83

The article provides several examples of Baggara songs together with translations of the verses and a few contextual notes. It describes the songs as simple and artless improvisations. Due to their spontaneous nature they appear, according to the author, much fresher than the conventional set pieces of groups in the east or on the riverbanks. Songs can be composed by men or women and are sung at the dancing ceremonies; female poets (*hakkāma*) can either praise or mock someone. The songs contained in the article were composed by men, usually sung in a staccato chant, and were selected from three different Baggara groups: Missiriyya, Humr and Rizeigat.

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/vol12.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoa?e=0ioff---v---100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-i&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.2.10.1&d=SNRVol12

Corkill, Norman L. 1935. Snake stories from Kordofan. *Sudan Notes and Records* 18, 243-258

This is a collection of five stories about snakes from Kordofan, each accompanied by a commentary on snake species and their distribution in the area. The first story, “A house infested by vipers,” takes place in Kadugli and deals with the deaths of several people bitten by snakes in a single house. The second story, “A flaying snake at Fiki’s charm,” is about a special charm, *aroba*, for which the skin of a snake is needed. The third story, “Snake bite treatment secundum artem,” describes the method used for healing snake bites and extracting snake teeth from the wound. In the comment, the author discusses the medical and magical elements in healing snake bites, as well as other rituals, procedures and herbs used for healing. The fourth story, “The lethality of the carpet viper,” is about a man who was bitten eleven times and never experienced severe consequences. The fifth story, “Frailty among the serpents,” is about the killing of two snakes and the revenge of a third snake.

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/vol18.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoa?e=0ioff---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.3.6.1&d=SNRVol18

Corkill, Norman L. 1935. A Kadugli cobra trap. *Sudan Notes and Records* 18, 131-134

The article features the story of Suleiman Saleh, an employee of the Kadugli Merkaz, who also hunts snakes. It describes an Egyptian Cobra caught by Saleh in January 1934 and brought to the local hospital. There are notes on the consequences of a snake bite as well as on the function of snake traps (*nubula* in Arabic, *sherah* among the Nuba), which are described and illustrated in several sketches. Most of the author's further comments focus on the similarities between Egyptian and Indian cobras and on other characteristics of the species.

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/vol18.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoa?e=0ioff---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.3.6.1&d=SNRVol18

Corkill, Norman L. 1939. The Kambala and other seasonal festivals of the Kadugli and Miri Nuba. *Sudan Notes and Records* 22, 205-219

The article provides detailed descriptions of the most important seasonal festivals of the Miri and Kadugli Nuba. While the importance of cultural festivals and other traditional religious practices reportedly declined, due to processes of Islamization, the rituals related to agriculture remained very important. The festival of the antelope is held before the rains and involves the sacrifice of an antelope, accompanied by ritual beer drinking and dancing. The rain ceremony takes place in the event the antelope sacrifice fails, but is also an emergency measure for the lack of early rainfalls. The festival of Kambala is the biggest annual festival and its name derives from a characteristic dance, which is also practiced on other occasions. It is a harvest and fertility ceremony usually held in December, and among its main elements are the ceremonial beating of members of the Kambala age group and horns of bulls and/or cows worn on the head. Finally, there is a brief outline of the December festival of fire.

Location (online):

- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoa?e=0ioff---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.3.10.1&d=SNRVol22

Nadel, Siegfried F. 1941. A shaman cult in the Nuba Mountains. *Sudan Notes and Records* 24, 85-112

Nadel describes the religious practices of the northern groups in the Nuba Mountains as a special mediumistic cult that he classifies as shamanism. It is characterized by a belief in spirit possession, like in Siberia and North America, centered on special individuals that are able to reach a state of trance and mental dissociation, which is believed to be the result of spirits visiting. Unlike typical shamans, the possessed Nuba priests do not use music or dances to reach their ecstatic state, instead they rely only on their personal power of concentration and autosuggestion. The text further explores the case of the *bayel* among the Koalib, a cult described as missing any mythology, and a ceremony for the appointment of a new shaman. A final discussion explains the psychological, economic and political side of shamanism and gives account of the large number of shamans in the research area.

Location (online):

• sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoal?e=01off---v---100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.4.2.1&d=SNRVol24

Corkill, Norman L. 1943. Traps from the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 73, 107-118. DOI: 10.2307/2844360

The article gives an overview of different types of traps used by different groups in the Nuba Mountains in the 1930s. There are several kinds of traps: prison traps, noose traps, crush traps, spit traps, poison traps, adhesion traps, and assault traps. Detailed information, with sketches and photographs, on thirteen different traps is also presented. Specific trap technologies are not exclusive to one group but used in the whole area. The article further provides a map of the Nuba Mountains.

Kenrick, John W. 1945. A Nuba age-grade initiation ceremony. The Sibrs of the tail and of the shield. *Sudan Notes and Records* 26, 311-318

The article describes two initiation festivals, sibrs, in frame of the age-grade system of the Nuba in the Talodi area. It follows Radcliffe-Brown and Evans-Pritchard's distinction between age-set and age-grade, and provides a list of the age-sets. The sibrs of the shield and tail are performed together, but not by the same age-set. The first ceremony is the sibr of the tail, followed two or three years later by the sibr of the shield. The article discusses the change to Arabic names for the age-sets in the early 20th century and explores the social dimension surrounding the festivals. It provides a detailed description of a ceremony held in Tata, in Jebel Talodi in June 1944. The text ends with a brief outlook on later ceremonies of the age-grade system.

Location (online):

- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoa?e=01off---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.4.5.1&d=SNRVol26

Nadel, Siegfried F. 1946. A study of shamanism in the Nuba Mountains. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 76 (1), 25-37

The article describes religious systems among Nuba and likens them to the classic shamanism of Central Asia and North-West America. Central to this assumption is the local belief that spirits may possess humans, enabling an active communication with the supernatural. Nadel identifies six Nuba groups practicing shamanism: Nyimang, Dilling, Koalib, Tabak, Tima, and Miri. This article specifically concentrates on the Nyimang and the possessing spirit *kuni*. It describes the process of incarnation and connected ceremonies, as well as the life histories of some shamans. There is an analysis of the role of the shaman in the community and how it changed in colonial times, followed by a psychological interpretation of shamanism.

Nadel, Siegfried F. 1950. Dual descent in the Nuba Hills. In *African systems of kinship and marriage*, edited by Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde. London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 333-359

Nadel's text discusses a type of kinship system that is based on double unilateral descent; meaning a clan affiliation exists in the paternal as well as the maternal line. Both clan categories coexist side by side, so every person belongs to a patrilineal and a matrilineal exogamous descent group. These types of kinship organization in Africa were known at that time but had not been analyzed systematically. Such systems were reported in several parts of West Africa, among the Ashanti, Fanti, Ga and Yako, and Nadel details several features of two Nuba groups that are similar to those of these West African groups. While noting these similarities, there is no attempt to explain them by groups' migration patterns or to identify a former ethnic unity because of the limited information available to him.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 392.5096 AFR
- Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology (Khartoum University)

Location (online):

- archive.org/details/africansystemsof00radc

Stevenson, Roland C. 1950. The doctrine of God in the Nuba Mountains. In *African ideas of god*, edited by Edwin W. Smith. London: Edinburgh House Press, 208-223

The chapter provides an overview of the main characteristics of Nuba's religious systems. It identifies three levels of religious thought: high God, spirits, and magic. The "high God" can be identified with special natural elements, such as the sky or rain, but this identification may not be complete. His relationship to the Nuba is vague. He is the mighty creator of all spirits, although he is not responsible for their actions. Stevenson perceived that the "high God" is only invoked during major crises; in daily life the spirits of the dead and nature play a more central role. These spirits "reside" in a professional medium, often called a *kujur*, in an animal or in a specific location. Their names are widely known, and they are often addressed in prayers. Ceremonies and ritual practices are strongly connected to the annual agricultural cycle. Rituals, like sacrifices for weddings, planting or harvesting, are common and are an opportunity for local communities to gather. The third, and last, religious level is the power of certain medicines, or curses and spells.

Nadel, Siegfried F. 1952. Witchcraft in four African societies: an essay in comparison. *American Anthropologist* 54, 18-29. DOI: 10.1525/aa.1952.54.1.02a00040

The article presents a small-scale model of comparative analysis of witchcraft. Nadel uses Durkheim's concept of "concomitant variations" in his research to explore the social facts he describes. Indirectly, he also discusses the theory that infantile experiences exceedingly determine culture. He compares the Nupe and Gwari of Northern Nigeria with the Korongo and Mesakin groups in the Nuba Mountains. He identifies a high number of cultural similarities among the two pairs and also highlights several differences, such as the cultural divergence in witchcraft beliefs. He develops two hypotheses: 1) any relevant cultural divergence leads to further accompanying divergences in the respective group, and 2) witchcraft beliefs are founded on frustrations, anxieties or mental stress. He further compares these hypotheses with the relation of mental disorders to psychopathological symptoms.

Location (online):

• onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1525/aa.1952.54.1.02a00040/pdf

Nadel, Siegfried F. 1954. Caste and government in primitive society. *The Journal of the Anthropological Society* 8, 9-22

The article discusses Gumplovitz's sociological theory, which postulates that states can only evolve with ethnic heterogeneity. Anthropologists criticized this theory because they found that it failed to provide evidence from non-Western societies. Nadel aims to expand Gumplovitz's theory by adding non-Western examples, but also describes a kind of caste system originating in social processes different from those of the satisfaction

of human needs or the exploitation of foreigners used by Gumplowitz. Nadel provides examples from West Africa, the Sudanese Beni Amer and from the Nuba Mountains. He describes the Nuba clan system as a caste system based on mystic duties, not occupations, and postulates that this might be the root of a more strict caste system. Nadel uses these examples to describe a classification of caste systems, which meet three conditions: a division of social tasks, a religious sanction of this division, and an attitude of fear towards these tasks.

Nadel, Siegfried F. 1955. Two Nuba religions: an essay in comparison. *American Anthropologist* 57 (4), 661-679. DOI: 10.1525/aa.1955.57.4.02a00020

In this study, Nadel compares the religions of Heiban and Otoro, who are considered ethnically related, and who live in the same area, share similar house and village designs, and use economic practices based on the same types of resources and technologies. They intermarry occasionally and speak almost identical languages. Their terminology for kinship shows no differences; the clan system has only minor exceptions. They also share several cultural features like their abstract art, dances and ceremonies. The crucial variations occur in the spheres of social and political institutions, and in religion. While both share numerous elements in their religious systems, Nadel focuses on the differences that distinguish the types of religious beliefs and practices characterizing the two groups.

Location (online):

• onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1525/aa.1955.57.4.02a00020/pdf

Kronenberg, Andreas. 1958. Nyimang circumcision. *Sudan Notes and Records* 39, 78-82

According to Kronenberg, circumcision among Nyimang represents the initiation into manhood and is a crucial precondition for marriage. It plays an important role in the age-grade system and is rooted in religious beliefs of ancestral spirits and fertility. It is performed annually, usually one year before marriage, and the circumcised men, who receive new names after the ritual, are in their early to mid-twenties. Being circumcised together establishes a bond of solidarity and peace between the men. Central figure of the circumcision is the local priest (*kuni*). The text thoroughly describes the preparations and the procedure of circumcision, listing songs and dances that are conducted at different stages of the ritual. After the ritual, the circumcised live segregated in a cave for one month. A month of wrestling against the uncircumcised takes place in the house of a *kuni*. A beer-drinking ceremony ends the ritual.

Kronenberg, Andreas. 1959. Some notes on the religion of the Nyimang. *Kush. Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service* 7, 197-213

The article identifies four core concepts of Nyimang's belief system: the human soul and how its transformation is connected to many aspects of social life; an otiose god who gave the power to the rainmaker (shila); the standardization of behavior connected to different taboos; witchcraft. The section on the soul describes three different elements; namely, Lu, a spiritual shadow able to possess living beings; Swe, the two souls a man possesses—one good, one bad; and Geshin, the dead forms of Lu that influence the living. The text further describes burial customs, bull sacrifices connected to the transformation of souls and how very powerful Geshin can become kuni, taking hold of priests (kujur). The article also examines the concept of a high god in Nyimang religion, lists several taboos, and finally explores concepts of witchcraft. It also provides photographs of material elements of cultural practices.

Stevenson, Roland C. 1963. Some aspects of the spread of Islam in the Nuba Mountains. *Sudan Notes and Records* 44, 9-20

The text outlines the spread of Islam in the Nuba Mountains, starting in the early 16th century when Juhaina groups from Dongola and small groups of indigenous Muslims from Sennar started to move into Kordofan. While Nubian-speaking people in the north were completely absorbed, the Nuba located in the hills of the Nuba Mountains have retained their language and culture. The text describes the process of settlement and intermarriage as well as the cultural and linguistic Arabization. Main actors in the spread of Islam were single holymen like Muhammad al-Ja'ali, who settled in Tegali, as well as traders who established settlements like Sheibun and exploited nearby gold-washing sites. The text discusses other ways of Islamization, for example through escaped slaves from Sennar, and the extent of the assimilation in different areas of the Nuba Mountains. Tegali was the first part of the hills that was influenced by Islam; the line of the local kings is traced back to the mentioned Muhammad al-Ja'ali, and Islam is seen as one of the main reasons for the success of the realm. The history of Tegali is compared to that of Koalib, where Islam had only very little influence, to those of Dilling and some Nyimang villages, where Islam was adopted but never changed the tribal system, and to those of Moro and Tira, where acceptance of Islam has been very low. The text also speculates on the relation of socio-political structure and the spread of Islam.

Faris, James C. 1968. Some aspects of clanship and descent amongst the Nuba of southeastern Kordofan. *Sudan Notes and Records* 49, 45-57

The article is a critique of Nadel's work on the descent systems of Kao, Nyaro and Fungor in the southeastern Nuba Mountains. It explores the kin groups of patrilineal and matrilineal descent, which have clear functions and rules of property inheritance.

While far-farms and houses are passed down the male line, near-farms, money and animals are inherited through the female line; still, it is men who own all these goods. Presently uncultivated parcels of land belong to the clan, even if somebody used it in the past. Clan members and their leaders broker rights to natural resources, such as wild fruits and trees. Digging wells is a task for the matriclan, although, as long as there is enough water, the whole community has the right to utilize it. When the water source dries up, this right ceases and the water can only be used by the matriclan who dug the well. However, Faris notes that, through contact with the Arab patrilineal descent system, animal inheritance and other rules can change.

Faris, James C. 1969. Sibling terminology and cross-sex behavior: data from the southeastern Nuba Mountains. *American Anthropologist* 71 (3), 482-488. DOI: 10.1525/aa.1969.71.3.02a00080

The article argues against the findings of Nerlove and Romney (1967) on sibling terminology and cross-sex behavior, discussing the case of the southeastern Nuba. It points out that the sibling terminology of the southeastern Nuba has a primary “sex-of-speaker” component. The suggestion is that their theory of the cross-parallel distinction in sibling terminology is false. The central hypothesis of the article is instead that different levels of explanation in kinship usage exist and that further research should be focused on cultural conceptions of cross-sex relations.

Location (online):

• onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1525/aa.1969.71.3.02a00080/pdf

Faris, James C. 1972. South-eastern Nuba age organisation. In *Essays in Sudan ethnography: presented to Sir Edward Evans-Pritchard*, edited by Ian Gunnison and Wendy James. London: Hurst, 1-30

The article explores and classifies the age-class systems among the Nuba groups in the southeast of the Nuba Mountains. It relates the wide variations among the different groups to the colonial history of the region. It gives a brief description of the age organization of these groups and compares it with other age systems in Eastern Africa, from which they differ. The Nuba move through a fixed lineage structure while other groups such as the Karimojong or Turkana people are organized in peer group sets following a cyclical system. Although there are several similarities between the Karamajong and the Fungor *talmara*, the latter are absolutely equal in their formal age organization and widely equivalent in their functions. The author argues that a synchronic comparative approach does not provide sufficient explanation for differences in this case. In the case of a definite social sphere of a single group, such as the age system, the wider context of colonial history cannot be ignored. Historical materialism must be a critical part of the analysis of societal organization in Africa.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 305.809624 ESS
- Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology (Khartoum University)

Faris, James C. 1972. *Nuba personal art*. London: Duckworth & Co

The book explores the body art practiced by the Nuba communities in the southeast corner of the Nuba Mountains. They are patrilineally organized but their social structure still bares the signs of a former matrilineal society. The most important and widespread form of art is body decoration, such as oiling, painting, and scarification. The designs vary; some are related to special social roles, other to stages of life or practices. The specific patterns, hairstyle or headdress form a single art concept with the human body, which is both background and inspiration for the design. Body art is practiced as a celebration of the strong and healthy body, but the motivation is aesthetic rather than symbolic or ritual. The patterns of the body art range from geometric to zoomorphic. The amount of ochre (used as paint) taken from the ochre-bearing caves suggests that its use dates far back. None of the neighboring groups practices a similar form of body decoration nowadays. The Islamization policy of the central government of Sudan is bringing an end to this artistic practice, a tendency witnessed by the author during his fieldwork.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 391.6 FAR

Faris, James C. 1972. Non-kin social groups of the south-eastern Nuba. *Sudan Society. Journal of the Social Studies Society, University of Khartoum* 5 (5), 10-15

This article complements the author's previous articles on kin-based social groups, whose membership is clearly determined, but whose rights and obligations are subject to individual interpretation and commitment. Here, a number of other social groupings are presented, based on coincidence of social events, residence, age, sex or particular skills and occupations, among others. These numerous groupings form a complex social structure, in which an individual holds more than one social status.

Nasr, Ahmed Abdel Rahim. 1972. Blood brotherhood among the Nyimang of the Nuba Mountains. *Sudan Society. Journal of the Social Studies Society, University of Khartoum* 5 (5), 28-36

The article explains the term "blood brother" and analyzes three equivalent words in Nyimang: *temel*, *kwordi* and *kerla*. *Temel* can be simply translated to "friend" or "age-mate," but it is more specifically used to denote a relationship based on experiencing a rite of passage, or another socially significant event, together. *Kwordi* is the best man of the bridegroom and performs a certain rite during marriage. *Kerals* are young

men who marry from the same village; their relationship resembles that of the *temel*. Based on the semantical content of these terms, the author frames a concept of strong friendship between two or more persons that is based on social and supernatural principles. This blood-based brotherhood is essential in Nyimang ethics and includes people of different gender, age and status. These individuals are bound together and must avoid any conflict or fight against each other.

Tayib, Hassan Abdel Rahim El. 1972. The stick-fighting of the Nuba Muru. *Sudan Society. Journal of the Social Studies Society, University of Khartoum* 5 (5), 1-9

The article explores the practice of stick-fighting among the Moro Nuba of the southwestern Nuba Mountains, in the hills around Um Durein. The text provides a short overview of their settlements and their local neighbors. The *duas*, or stick fighting, is an important part of the Moro annual cycle. The article describes a fight between a *kumbal* (champion) from Um Durein against a *kumbal* from Jebel Ab-Ghurban in 1963. Although the fight is a real duel with rules enforced by referees, it is framed by several ritual elements, such as singing; at the same time, fights without referees and protective gear can occur. The article also describes the *mandela*, a ceremonial dance accompanying the *duas* season, which is performed by unmarried girls and attended by young men. The text further provides an analysis of the role of the *duas* in the social life of the Moro and its importance as a prerequisite to marriage. The text ends with an outlook on recent changes in the practice and the failing attempts by governments and missionaries to end it.

Kadouf, Hunud Abia. 1981. The Nyimang law of property. Doctoral dissertation. School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London

Published in 2013 as *Law, custom and property rights among the ma/Nyima of the Nuba Mountains in the Sudan. An analysis of traditional property concepts in a historical perspective*. Singapore: Trafford Publishing

This thesis describes practices of customary property law among the Ama or Nyimang group in the Nuba Mountains. It explores the nature of property rights and the social organization and belief structure behind it. It especially focuses on traditional leadership in the highly segmented society, fragile due to inter-tribal wars and internal struggles over power. Several practices of traditional settlement and jurisdictional decision-making derive from local custom and state law. The egalitarian society adopted elements from the outside world and reacted to influences of modernity, especially the reception, and in many cases assimilation, of state law and sharia, which changed the local systems of ethics and morality. Starting with a general history and description of social and political institutions, the thesis continues with a classification of property relations among the Nyimang, and an exploration of property and domestic relations. It describes the family

system, the concept of illegitimacy, the position of the Nyimang father and his role in the management of the family property. Disposition and acquisition of property can occur by way of gift, sale, pledge and gratuitous tenancy. Succession and inheritance practices are also described. The thesis ends with a discussion on the protection of property rights and claims. In the 2013 conclusion, Ama, having been previously characterized as “impervious to foreign influence,” are described as involved in and affected by the political struggle of the inhabitants of the Nuba Mountains.

Ma'had Al-Ḥartūm Al-Duwalī Lil-Luġa Al-ʿArabiyya, and Al-Munazzama Al-ʿArabīyya Lil-Tarbiyya wa Al-Ṭaqāfa wa Al-ʿUlūm. 1981. *Taʿlīm al-luġa al-ʿarabīyya fī jībāl al-nūba, al-sūdān*. Khartoum

This volume is a collection of seven articles that relate to teaching Arabic to non-native speakers in the Nuba Mountains. The region is characterized by multiculturalism and linguistic diversity, which pose challenges to the theoretical and practical process of teaching the Arabic language. The contributors to the volume discuss the variation and the nature of these challenges by addressing such aspects as the development of Arabic language in the region, its present usage by adults and children, and the existing curriculum in schools. The linguistic situation in Sudan is presented as complex process of transition characterized by constant changes connected to economic, social and political factors that control the path of linguistic practices and interaction. This is interpreted as a “dialectic dynamic,” which results in a continuous spread of Arabic language amidst reduced usage of local languages in all areas of linguistic practice.

Location (print):

- Central Library (Nilein University): 372.651

Hodder, Ian. 1982. *Dirt, women and men: a study in the Nuba Mountains, Sudan*. In *Symbols in action: ethnoarchaeological studies of material culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 125-184

This article is part of a book on the remains of material culture of contemporary small-scale societies, based on fieldwork and archaeological investigations in Kenya, Zambia, and Sudan. The book aims to explore how objects are used as symbols in the context of social action and within particular worldviews and ideologies. It therefore attempts to connect archaeology with anthropological models to widen the understanding of material culture. The section on the Nuba Mountains presents findings of a visit of Moro and Mesakin compounds, discussing similarities and differences based on cross-communal relations. Building on observations of how households dealt with bones, of burial practices and of decorative design, the author also explores the relation between gender roles and concepts of dirt, purity and boundedness.

Baumann, Gerd. 1985. Conversion and continuity: Islamization among the Nuba of Miri (Sudan). *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies* 12 (2), 157-171. DOI: 10.1080/13530198508705415

The paper explores how the Miri Nuba community converted to Islam and at the same time preserved their cultural identity and practices. It points out how Muslim adherence is fragmented into separable practices during the process of conversion and how these practices are adopted, developed further and included into the local context. During this process they gain significance independently from their Muslim origin. Nadel had reported that Islam is broken into different elements and that there are continued cultural links between the pre-Islamic and the Muslim elements. Baumann questions this postulate of continuity and argues that it is not backed by the ethnographical material and theoretically questionable. Continuities cannot be found by comparing the customs themselves but in a wider religious system that connects Islam and traditional Miri rituals and practices.

Faris, James C. 1988. Significance of differences in the male and female personal art of the southeast Nuba. In *Marks of civilization: artistic transformations of the human body*, edited by Arnold Rubin. Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of California, 29-40

Nuba body art is age-based and is practiced by both young men and women. The different manifestations in the use of colors and patterns signal different age-grades and their associated status. They also indicate gender (e.g., only women practice scarification) and differing social and economic relationships. Faris sets up a male/female “visual diacritica,” which draws contrasts in quality, duration and significance of Nuba body art.

Ibrahim, Fouad N., and Helmut Ruppert (eds.). 1988. *Rural-urban migration and identity change: case studies from the Sudan*. Bayreuth: Druckhaus Bayreuth Verlagsgesellschaft

This book contains several detailed studies on rural-urban migration in Sudan and provides empirical material as well as theoretical considerations on contact patterns, information links, group affiliations, and ethnic identity. The articles on the Nuba Mountains explore socio-economic effects of migrants and returnees to the Nuba Mountains (Mohamed-Salih), contacts between migrants in Khartoum/Omdurman and their home villages (Babiker), as well as changes in identification among migrants with a strong group identity and close ties to the home area (El-Fihail on Miri). The articles show how migration affects social organization and marriage practices; it may also lead to Arabization and Islamization, and is of special interest due to the huge distances involved, both spatially and culturally. Ethnic identity still appears to be strong and the links to the home villages enduring, while assimilation is slow and mostly affecting specific groups of migrants.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 307.24 RUR
- College of Education (Sudan University): 307.2409624

Faris, James C. 1989. *Southeast Nuba social relations*. Aachen: Alano, Ed. Herodot

Faris' approach to social relations of the southeast Nuba, called here a "social form," is informed by the critical concept of "discourse" that looks for socially active ideologies, not a "reality" identified by an outside observer. This observer rather becomes part of the discourse, taking positions based on the own political calculation. Apart from presenting a lot of the material from the author's anthropological research, mostly in the late 1960s, social relations are analyzed with consideration to locally occurring ideological constructs that are argued to be socially significant, but also open to critique and judgment. By contextualizing the geographical, historical and economic conditionality of these constructs, the judgment is based on the author's political position on social relations. This is examined in relation to several elements of social relations, such as production and consumption, the constitution of the individual, life cycles, kinship, marital relations and clan structure. Included is also a discussion of the discursive logic of causality in terms of witchcraft and cosmology.

Manger, Leif O. 1990. From slave to citizen: cultural change among the Lafofa Nuba of central Sudan. In *From water to world-making: African models and arid lands*, edited by Gísli Pálsson. Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 121-134

The article explores societal changes among the Lafofa as they relate to increasing interaction with the Sudanese society outside the Nuba Mountains and to economic developments, such as the introduction of cash crop agriculture, local wage labor and the migration of workers to the cities. While local administration is also influenced by an expanding central government, daily interaction with Muslim neighbors and Islamic missionary activities increase the influence of Islam and Arab culture. Although these changes have an impact on different levels of Lafofa society, the article concentrates on processes of Arabicization and Islamization. These have a strong influence not only on social organization but also on concepts of identity, the outside world and the place the Lafofa have in it. The author concludes that the concept of "being Lafofa," as well as the behavior and thinking of the group, have changed radically in merely one generation.

Musa Launay, Patricia. 1992. *Histoires de familles: la représentation des relations familiales dans les contes Baggara et Nuba du Soudan*. Doctoral dissertation. Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Oriental, Paris

This study analyzes kinship relations among Baggara and Nuba through their tales. Tales are approached here as a cultural practice that allows a society to express particular

representations; they are a field of experimentation that can be used as an instrument of investigation. The dual function of the study is, on the one hand, to provide an ethnography of Arab Muslim Baggara and African animistic Nuba through their self-representation in tales, and, on the other hand, to contribute to debates on comparative methodology by presenting an experimental approach to the ethnological object. By observing slight variations in the way recurrent themes turn into specific tales, family relationships can be examined in their intra-cultural complexity. A comparison of Baggara and Nuba tales with similar themes, but different content, allows an analysis of the reasons behind such differences and of their significance for inter-cultural relations.

Faris, James C. 1993. Leni Riefenstahl and the Nuba peoples of Kordofan province, Sudan. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 13 (1), 95-97. DOI: 10.1080/01439689300260531

This essay briefly reviews the relation of German photographer Leni Riefenstahl and the Nuba peoples in South Kordofan. It approaches Riefenstahl's notion of Nuba "purity" and isolation as a clear misconception. It also describes the photographer's behavior towards the Nuba during her photo expeditions to the area as imperialist and racist. Her publications have seriously harmed not only the Mesakin and southeast Nuba but also the whole Kordofan society and further research in the area. Faris accuses her of "a grotesque perversion" of the Nuba that "replicates her earlier Nazi aesthetic style."

Kramer, Fritz W., and Gertraud Marx. 1993. *Zeitmarken. Die Feste von Dimodonko*. München: Trickster

This monograph provides a thorough study of the festive culture of Dimodonko (Krongo). The different feasts and customs relate to the annual and temporal structures of social life. This connects the study to the social anthropological debate on ecological time and the social organization of time in general, which is compared with Evans-Pritchard's work on Nuer. One of the major differences with Evans-Pritchard's work is the communal urgency of time and time organization among Krongo. The book also presents general ethnographical data on Krongo and refers to close bonds to neighboring groups, among them Arabs and Dinka.

Mohamed Salih, Mohamed Abdel Rahim. 1994. Age, generation and migration among the Moro of the Nuba Mountains of the Sudan. In *A river of blessings: essays on the honour of Paul Baxter*, edited by David W. Brokensha. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 113-128

Based on the work of Paul Baxter on the Boran, the article describes the influence of and impact of age-sets on social development. The Moro and the Boran share a similar concept of cosmology and their age-set systems resemble each other. But while their elders represent political philosophies, these groups developed different social values

and status configurations. The Moro elders control the rituals, while their juniors are the main performers during the ceremonies. Despite the social hierarchy, the social life of the Moro communities focuses on the younger individuals, the *epidi*. The study also includes material on recent socio-economic and political trends among the Moro. It addresses the question of how the age-sets maintain their roles as institutions of ritual life despite the socio-economic changes around them. The author found age organization in both groups as flexible, to a certain extent, and therefore adaptable to other social developments.

Baumann, Gerd. 1995. Music and dance, the royal road to affective culture? *World of Music* 37 (2), 31-42

In order to go beyond a study of music as reflecting other social facts, John Blacking paid sustained attention to the contribution of music and dance to “affective culture.” With this term he described the dimension inherent to all social actions that mobilizes and validates decision-making on non-purposive grounds. Using data collected among the Miri, the article traces the affective aspects of several genres of music and dance. Thus, the informal “moonlight dances” of the village youth are seen as a stylized form of the process of courtship itself. The rain-making dance, which is the high-point of the Miri ritual year, becomes an occasion of ritual communion. In evaluating John Blacking’s approach to music and dance as the chief media of affective culture, it seems appropriate to draw a clear distinction between folk reification of the “power” of music and dance, and anthropological attention to individual agency and social construction. With this distinction in mind, the study of music and dance has much to contribute to current research on the social construction of emotions and affects.

Bell, Herman. 1995. The Nuba Mountains: who spoke what in 1976? A paper presented to the Third Conference on Language in Sudan, Institute of African and Asian Studies, University of Khartoum, December 3-5, Khartoum

This paper describes the results of the Nuba Mountains language survey of 1976, which attempted to capture the linguistic diversity of the region. The survey was conducted by researchers from the Teachers’ Training Institute in Dilling and the Institute of African and Asian Studies of the University of Khartoum and covered an area of 50,000 square kilometers. A total of thirty samples from different communities were collected, twenty-nine in the Nuba Mountains and one in eastern Sudan. Studies on the individual samples had already been published but this paper was the first review of the entire survey. The paper focuses on the languages spoken in the research area. The survey prepared language profiles for the studied communities, identified patterns of multilingualism and evaluated the role of Arabic as lingua franca. Other topics of the survey were the usage of languages in specific contexts and situations, inter-ethnic patterns of communications, the development of different languages and their use, and finally issues of literacy and the role of language in the education system.

Location (online):

• org.uib.no/smi/sa/tan/Nuba.html

Davidson, Andrew Parks. 1996. *In the shadow of history: the passing of lineage society*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers

Davidson examines, based on fieldwork in Somasem, Shair Tomat and Shatt Damam, how individuals and families respond to the constant uncertainty that accompanies externally induced changes to the rural environment. These changes, especially in agriculture and in market activities, had social effects in the form of a rationalization process, which Davidson presents as a mediating structure between the individual and the larger society. Household livelihood strategies are subsequently seen as a microcosm of uneven development that comes with modernization and differences in individual capacities and limitations. "Development" is part of historical transformations. Davidson argues that the lineage system, building on communalism, kinship and age organization, is superseded by re-orientation of individuals and by new forces of social organization. This has dissolved a previously cohesive social life and made Nuba susceptible to the destructive effects of central government policies and civil war.

Manger, Leif O. 1999. On becoming Muslim. The construction of identity among the Lafofa Nuba of the Sudan. In *Muslim diversity. Local Islam and global contexts*, edited by Leif O. Manger. Richmond: Curzon, 224-243

The text explores how the claim to be Muslim among the Lafofa is often used by community members, but frequently denied to neighbors. This relates to debates on what constitutes proper Islam, which is common in most Muslim communities. In El-Liri it is less a competition of Islamic traditions than one between Islamic and non-Islamic traditions. The process of conversion among the Lafofa enables the understanding of the merging of Islam with local African traditions and the construction of an African Islam. The text positions these religious developments in the wider framework of social identities. The modernization process and the integration of the Nuba Mountains in the Sudanese modern state induced a shift from a tribal identity to a new identity, which includes being Muslim. Being Muslim in this context may consist of practices such as wearing clothes and not eating pork but may not include Islamic commandments like praying, fasting and abstinence from alcohol. This undogmatic adaption of Islam among the Lafofa caused several problems in the early 1980s when the sharia was introduced as the dominant law. At the same time, not all changes are directly related to Islamization but are labeled Islamic in local discourses.

Muḥammad Hārūn Kāfī. 2000. *Al-kujūr. Dūr al-carāfa al-afriqiyya fī jibāl al-nūba*. Khartoum: Maktaba Al-Šarīf Al-Akādīmiyya

Original published in 1978 by Institute of African and Asian Studies, University of Khartoum, Khartoum

This book contextualizes the social figure of the kujur as part of African traditional life, beliefs and religion, although specifically related to the Kawalib. It describes kujur as a person inhabited and guided by sacred spirits. The path to becoming a kujur is explained along with the work and duties related to this figure, such as purification ceremonies, fighting of bad spirits, sacrifices, rain-making, blessing of agricultural activities and marriages, healing, preparation and protection of the fighters, as well as seasonal rituals.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 398.4509624 Muḥammad
- Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology (Khartoum University)

Manger, Leif O. 2001-2002. Religion, identities, and politics: defining Muslim discourses in the Nuba Mountains of the Sudan. *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 4, 132-152

The article sketches the increasing role of Islam in religious and social life in Sudan. It uses the case of the Lafofa Nuba and explores their relation with the Arab and Islamic traditions of Sudanese society at large. The text analyzes the belief system of the Lafofa and discusses identity management among the group. Islam was not adopted in a single process of conversion; nor is it perceived as one unified system. Elements of Islam and Islamic practices are rather used as symbols for acceptance of the religion and cannot be analyzed without a wider consideration of the social, economic and political situation of the group. The author furthermore sketches the theories of Talal Asad on Islam as a discursive tradition and of Robert Launay on Muslim communities as moral communities, relating them to his research material.

Location (online):

www.lancaster.ac.uk/jais/volume/docs/vol4/4_132-52MANGERorb.pdf

Chevalier, Jacques M. 2002. Heteroculturalism. In *The corpus and the cortex. The 3-D mind*. Vol. 2. Montréal et al.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 85-92

Chevalier's text discusses, based on the arguments of Mohamed Suliman, the relation between Nuba and Baggara as case of heterocultural identity formation through internal and external reciprocities of social life, which include both cooperative and conflictual bonds. This is based on interdisciplinary theoretical work on affects and norms, which

• www.iaa.cdu.se/publications/iaa_magazine/african_studies/34/ - 020/020

from the outside world. The analysis does not only include her photographs but also her comments, which reveal her questionable motives.

Mugaddam, Abdel Rahim Hamid. 2006. Language status and use in Dilling City, the Nuba Mountains. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 27 (4), 290-304. DOI: 10.2167/jmmd444.1

This survey aims to provide an overview of language status and use in the Nuba Mountains. The underlying research material contains 1,496 questionnaires answered by people from 37 different ethnic groups. Questions cover language proficiency, language use in different domains, and language attitudes. The analysis correlates categories like sex, generation, intermarriage, education, and urbanization to the observed shift of language among the groups. Especially among Dilling, Ama and Ghulfan there is a strong shift towards Arabic and away from local languages; factors like education and urbanization generally have a strong effect on this shift. Women in particular are leading this process of abandonment of their mother tongue, probably because of the increasing chances to participate in the socio-economic life and access to education.

Musa-Launay, Patricia. 2006. Bacīdan can al-majāz. Al-ṣirāc ka-hawiyya ṭaqāfiyya. Nazara iṭnūliyya fī al-tabādul al-ṭaqāfī fī al-sūdān. *Respect. Sudanese Journal for Human Rights' Culture and Issues of Cultural Diversity* 4

The article starts from the observation that conflicts between cultures are a perceptible reality in Sudan, which the author experienced during her PhD fieldwork among Ḥawāzma and Nyimang. However, although having distinctive characteristics, both groups share certain practices, such as wrestling. Capitalizing on the fact that the same Arabic word can be used for conflict and wrestling (al-ṣirāc), the author proposes to turn conflict into exchange, both on an individual and a communal level, through these common cultural practices.

Location (online):

- sudan-forall.org/sections/ihtiram/pages/ihtiram_issue4/patricia_musa.pdf

‘Abd al-Qādir Sālim. 2006. *Al-ḡunā’ wa al-mūsīqa al-taqalīdiyya bi-iqlīm kurdufān*. Khartoum: Širka Maṭābiḥ Al-Sūdān Lil-cUmla Al-Maḥdūda

This book identifies the names and types of singing in Kordofan, and the accompanying kinetic performances (folk dancing), many of which are simulations of various animals. It thereby confirms the role and impact of the natural environment on the movement patterns of dances, as well as the contents of songs that embody images of the social environment. Musicological documentation of the songs confirms the presence of a semitonal pentatonic scale, different from the pentatonic scales prevalent in North

Kordofan and the other regions in Sudan, as well as six- and seven-tone scales among cattle herders in southern Kordofan.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 782.42 ʿAbd al-Qādir
- Faculty of Education (Khartoum University): 782.44624 ʿAbd al-Qādir
- Music Library (Nilein University): 780.96248

Tāriq Aḥmad cUṭmān. 2007. Wāqic al-dacwah al-islāmiyya fī minṭaqa al-nūbā. Khartoum: Munazzamat Al-Dacwah Al-Islāmiyya, Machad Mubārak Qism Allāh Lil-Buḥūṭ wa al-Tadrīb

This book, divided into four parts, discusses the development of Islamization in the Nuba Mountains. The first three parts are an introduction to the area, its main geographical and cultural features, as well as the activities of Christian missions and missionary schools. The fourth part follows the spread of Islam in the area, identifying the appearance of Muḥammad Al-Jaḥlī around 1530 in Tegali as the starting point. Among the Islamic missionaries of the 20th century that are presented, there are sheikh cAbd al-Raḥīm Adam Wad Rašāš, sheikh Badawī Abū Ṣafiyya, and sheikh Aḥmad Al-cAbbās Al-Sinūsī. There is a description of the different organizations working for the spread of Islam, as well as the challenges they face, such as traditional African customs, social and economic effects of war, prejudices against “Arabs,” and conflicts between Muslim communities.

Narraway, Guinevere. 2008. Control and consumption: the photographs of Leni Riefenstahl. In *Riefenstahl screened: an anthology of New Criticism*, edited by Neil Christian Pages, Mary Rhiel and Ingeborg Majer-O’Sickey. New York and London: The Continuum International Publishing, 219-233

The article explores how Leni Riefenstahl constructed a notion of the Nuba as “untouched” and “primitive” yet “beautiful” people in her photographic work. This concept originated in the prioritization of form over content in the anthropological community of that time, challenged by poststructuralist critique. Using quasi-ethnographic texts and photographs, Riefenstahl established herself as a monological authority, speaking and representing a culture, she claimed was dying. Over time she could not defend this image of the Nuba as isolated and disconnected from the outside “civilization.” She therefore moved on to another topic—the non-human, underwater sphere of endangered coral reefs. Both non-human reefs and human Nuba are commodities in her photographs. Her description of the Nuba follows Eurocentric terms. She characterizes them as in harmony with nature and without history. By looking at the sales of her book “People of Kau,” this obviously colonial tradition proved to be very successful. The article does not agree with Susan Sontag’s description as “Fascinating fascism,” but endorses Fatimah Rony’s “fascinating cannibalism” in which Riefenstahl, and the consumer of the images, is described as a “savage” who devours the bodies of the Nuba.

Manger, Leif O. 2009. Food and identity. Processes of cultural change among the Lafofa Nuba of central Sudan. In *Food and foodways in the Middle East*, edited by Nefissa Naguib. Ramallah: Birzeit University, and Bergen: Center for Development Studies, University of Bergen, 89-110

Manger discusses socio-cultural changes among the Lafofa in the wake of their increasing contact with wider Sudanese society, connected to a general commercialization of their economy, an expanding role of the central government and exposure to Arab and Muslim influences, both through daily interaction as well as a history of missionary activities. The resulting changes can be seen on different levels of Lafofa socio-cultural and socio-economic life. This article focuses on Lafofa foodways and their ties to culture and social organization, particularly to processes of modernization, Arabization, and Islamization.

Manfredi, Stefano. 2013. Native and non-native varieties of Arabic in an emerging urban centre of western Sudan. Evidence from Kadugli. In *African Arabic: approaches to dialectology*, edited by Mena Lafkioui. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 13-51

The paper explores the different Arabic varieties spoken in Kadugli, characterized by a multilingual setting consisting of native and non-native varieties of Arabic. Different social and economic statuses can be derived from the socio-linguistic differences of the dialects. The non-native varieties give account of diverse settings of language contact and acquisition due to their individual variations. The text provides some linguistic and historical background and the ethnolinguistic setting of Kadugli. It further examines phonological and morphosyntactic features of the different varieties. It concludes that there are no shared dialectal norms in Kadugli and that the progressive development towards the widely accepted national koiné prevents the rising of a new urban dialect.

Location (online):

- www.researchgate.net/publication/278019651_Native_and_non-native_varieties_of_Arabic_in_an_emerging_urban_centre_of_western_Sudan._Evidence_from_Kadugli (pre-print)

Schadeberg, Thilo C., and Roger Blench (eds.). 2013. *Nuba Mountain language studies*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe

The book presents the proceedings of the first international conference on the Nuba Mountain languages, held in Leiden, 2-4 September 2011. Thirty-two original contributions explore the linguistic complexity of the area and outline a framework for further research. Most contributions in the volume concentrate on descriptive linguistics; however, several socio-linguistic studies are included as well. The latter discuss literacy education (Angelo Ngaloka Naser on Moro), health education (Mariam Sharif on Heiban), socio-linguistic profiles (Abdelrahim Hamid Mugaddam and Ashraf

Kamal Abdelhay on Tima), terminologies of economic and social organization (Leif Manger on Lafofa, Enrico Ille on agriculture of Miri, Krongo, Moro, Tira and Abol), as well as language politics (Khalifa Jabreldar Khalifa on Dilling).

Mugaddam, Abdel Rahim and Ashraf Abdelhay. 2014. The politics of literacy in the Sudan: vernacular literacy movements in the Nuba Mountains. In *African literacies: ideologies, scripts, education*, edited by Kasper Juffermans, Yonas Mesfun Asfaha and Ashraf Abdelhay. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 178-205

This article discusses the claim of literacy as value-free, especially concerning the development of vernacular literacy in Sudan. In contrast, ongoing literacy research, both academic and community-based, is informed by its socio-political circumstances. The authors demonstrate this process through the example of local language committees in Sudan; specifically, the Tima Language Committee. They are not only under-recognized and under-funded, but also connected to a colonial and postcolonial history of literacy in the Nuba Mountains. These socio-cultural conditions form the background to the present strategic mobilization around issues of language, literacy, and identity.

Location (online):

• khartoumspace.uofk.edu/bitstream/handle/123456789/4397/7%20The%20Politics%20of%20Literacy%20in%20the%20Nuba%20Mountains.pdf

Manfredi, Stefano. 2015. 'One tribe, one language': ethno-linguistic identity and language revitalization among the Laggorí in the Nuba Mountains. In *Multidimensional change in Sudan (1898-2011). Reshaping livelihoods, conflicts and identities*, edited by Barbara Casciarri, Munzoul A. M. Assal and François Ireton. New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 281-301

The chapter discusses the implications of a language revitalization intervention for Laggorí, a linguistic minority, by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). In contrast to the exclusive ethnic concept underlying the intervention, Manfredi points to the complexity of actors involved in ethnolinguistic identity building. This includes state actors and Native Administration, especially in the wake of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the minority language policies postulated in it. Both the intervention and the incoherent CPA policies reinforced the link between language and ethnic identity.

Manger, Leif O. 2015. Lost in translation. Understanding the Nuba as a movement between epistemic territories – between difference and sameness, between contingency and continuity. (Sudan Working Paper 2015: 2). Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute

The paper employs the concept of “translation” to overcome, through epistemological work, an ontological distinction between a “Nuba reality” and an “Arab and Muslim reality.” Opposing what is called an “ontological turn” in anthropology, the author argues in favor of an understanding of “Nuba” as evolving communication between concepts, questions and answers. In order to approach Nuba history, society and culture, three perspectives proposed are ethnicity, historical suffering and borderland identity, which lead to different, heterogeneous aspects of “being Nuba.” Concomitantly, the author argues that such an approach overcomes the deadlock caused by an ontological point of view, especially concerning the debate on Nuba’s position in Sudanese society, which is in need of dialogue and political interaction. This argument’s merit is illustrated in the paper through two examples of debates on land and on historical injustice.

Location (online):

- www.cmi.no/publications/file/5416-lost-in-translation.pdf

Category 4: Economy and livelihoods

Dunn, Stanley C. 1921. Native gold washings in the Nuba Mountains province. *Sudan Notes and Records* 4, 138-145

The text describes the gold digging in the Nuba Mountains. Most important digging spots were in Tira Mandi, Sheibun, Tira Khadra, Lukha, Shwai, and Tegali (Kerela). The author assumes that the early Nuba were driven from the north by either Egyptians or Arabic invaders and already possessed mining knowledge and skills. When exactly the gold digging started in the Nuba Mountains is impossible to determine, but in Tira Mandi traces of mining go back at least 200 years. Already in 1788 Sheibun and Lukha were well-known gold mining sites in the region. The text continues to describe how the gold was traded for cattle, beads or other metal, processed and ultimately traded in El Obeid. The decline of the gold washing started with the conquest of Mohammed Ali and the plundering of Kordofan's treasures. It finally came to an end during the Mahdiyya. It hasn't been revived since on any significant scale. The text furthermore describes the techniques of gold washing and the social system surrounding it. Each family reserved a certain area for digging and there were several rules for sacrifices and feasting after the discovery of gold nuggets. After a description of several deposits, the text ends with the conclusion that gold digging with European industrial techniques is not practical and the deposits too small to mine.

Location (print):

- Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology (Khartoum University)

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/volo4.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoat?e=01off---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.2.2.1&d=SNRVolo4

Bell, Gawain Westray. 1937. Shaibun gold. *Sudan Notes and Records* 20, 125-137

The text gives an overview of the gold production in the Nuba Mountains, starting from ancient Egypt through the Turko-Egyptian rule. Gold production in Sheibun started as late as the 17th century and reached its maximum output in the early 19th century. Local records from Tegali describe the taxation and rule to which the gold producers were subjected, claiming that it was foreign influence that led to the gold digging and trade, as local Nuba groups had no use for the metal. The text further discusses the existence of a second Jebel Shaibun in Beni Shangul, also a gold production site. There

is a description of local beliefs, according to which gold production was connected with a cult about supernatural creatures in the shape of snakes guarding the mines. The text also shortly explores gold mining in Tira Mandi, giving an overview on British geological surveys of the area.

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/vol20.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoap?e=01off---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.3.8.1&d=SNRVol20

Bell, Gawain Westray. 1938. Nuba agricultural methods and beliefs. *Sudan Notes and Records* 21: 237-249

The text explores agricultural techniques used by different Nuba groups. It describes sowing, harvesting and threshing techniques, as well as rituals connected to them. The section on land tenure contains a detailed description of a system of privately owned land among the Koalib Nuba, a system claimed to spread to most parts of the Nuba Mountains. The system is not used in Korongo and Talodi, where land cannot be sold, but only lent to others. The *karami* among the Shawaya, highly manured village parcels that are frequently disputed, is another example of land usage. While clay land is not normally for purchase in the plains, cleared land belongs to the cultivator for seven years in the valleys of Kuku Lumun in the Moro hills.

Location (print):

- Faculty of Education (Khartoum University): 962.4 Sudan

Location (online):

- journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/Sudan/vol21.pdf
- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoap?e=01off---v----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.3.9.1&d=SNRVol21

Colvin, R. C. 1939/1948. Agricultural survey of the Nuba Mountains. Khartoum: McCorquodale

This survey gives an overview of the agricultural potential of the Nuba Mountain area. It lists and classifies areas according to soil, water sources and rainfall. It states that in most areas good land is available but large parts of it cannot be cultivated due to scarcity of water. A better scenario is in the hills because of the heavy rainfall and the availability of more underground sources. The area is almost self-supporting as far as labor is concerned. Most Nuba engage in grain and cotton farming and, after the harvest, migrate to earn additional cash, mostly to pay their taxes. The survey lists agricultural methods, sorted by the ethnic group practicing them, and gives an overview of the most important crops, such as cotton, sorghum, sesame, dukhn, and groundnuts. Other subjects covered are production costs, animal husbandry and forestry, and popular

food. The appendix provides lists of sorghum varieties; trees usable for water and soil indicators; types and locations of wells; common trees and edible fruits and roots; and the physical features of the region and the areas suitable for cotton growing.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 338.1 COL

March, G. F. 1948. Kordofan province. In *Agriculture in the Sudan, being a handbook of agriculture as practised in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, edited by John Douglas Tothill. London: Oxford University Press, 827-850

The text gives an overview of the agricultural production of the Kordofan Province. It starts with a brief summary of population, administration, history, and geography of the area. There is an outline of the main groups of the province and of the region's transport system. The rest of the text is a history of agricultural development in the Nuba Mountains during colonial reign, mainly focusing on cotton. Cotton was introduced as a cash crop in the region according to the policy of "turning swords into ploughshares," which started in 1923. The production increased rapidly and eight ginning factories were established locally. The production rose from 13,000 small kantars in the season 1925/26, to 406,820 in the season 1934/35. This was about the maximum output for the region, under the given population and agricultural techniques. The assurance was that no dura cultivation (the main food source) would be sacrificed to grow more cotton. The text summarizes attempts to improve local growing techniques, fighting pests, and tests examining the relation between the start of the raining season and the quality of the crops. The text also contains a discussion on quality and prices of cotton, as well as on the use of the equalization fund to bolster prices when world market trends plummet (to reduce the risk for the cultivators). The text reviews flood-based cotton growing along the khor Abu Habil, which ended in 1927 due to low global market prices.

Location (print):

- Science Library (Nilein University): 631.624
- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 630.9624 AGR

Rose, M. F. 1950. Possible crops for the cotton rotation in the Southern Jebels area of Kordofan, A. E. Sudan. *Empire Cotton Growing Review* 27 (4), 262-274

Anticipating an increased use of the plain areas in the Nuba Mountains for agriculture, the author discusses crop rotation, recommending that cotton, oil and restorative plants follow the cultivation of food crops. Rose claims that no native rotation pattern existed, rather only the implementation of fallow periods after three to four years of cultivation. The introduction is followed by a generalized description of cultivation practices of sorghum, maize, dukhn, sesame, groundnuts, sunflower, and cotton. The information is heavily based on Colvin's agricultural survey (1939) and on the handbook *Agriculture in the Sudan* (1948).

Hassan, Sayed Gaafar al. 1963. Land use problems in the Nuba Mountains. In *Proceedings of the ninth Annual Conference on Surveying for Development in Sudan*. Khartoum: Philosophical Society of the Sudan, 47-57

The article discusses problems with the utilization of land in the Nuba Mountains. It notes several main characteristics of the area: groups of hills, heavy rainfall, and heavy black alkaline clay. The vegetation in the area varies based on differences in rainfall and soil types but, except in the northern part, perennial grasses and broad-leaved trees are common. The two main elements of land usage are rain-fed farming and animal herding, accompanied by timber production, gardening and hunting. Prior to 1925 farming was only practiced on the hillsides but, with the introduction of cotton farming, it spread to the valleys and plains. Still only a fraction of the fertile land is used, which the author relates to several problems: the waterlogging problem; lack of domestic water supply and bad management practices, like cultivation of sloping land; soil puddling; watershed clearance; accidental fires, and outdated cultivation methods. The text also provides a map of the area and rainfall statistics.

Location (print):

• Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 338.9624 PHI / PRO

Roden, David. 1969. Lowland farms for a mountain people. *The Geographical Magazine* 42, 200-206

The article discusses the relocation of Nuba agriculture from the hilltops to the plains. In the 19th century, most farms were located on the high plateaus and most groups had developed a very intensive rain-fed agricultural system there. Since then, many communities shifted their agricultural emphasis downwards to the valleys and plains. Very few solely depend on hill farming now. While the terraced homestead plots are mainly used for growing early maturing crops, the lowland clearings provide sorghum that is carried up to the granaries on the hills. The profits of these more productive farms are mostly invested in high-quality cattle. The article frames these developments in the context of social change during the colonial rule and in early independent Sudan and evaluates social impacts of the agricultural development, such as the weakening of the former rigid clan segregation.

Roden, David. 1971. Changing pattern of land tenure amongst the Nuba of Central Sudan. *Journal of Administration Overseas* 10, 294-309

Roden argues that, dissimilarly from most other Sub-Saharan African regions, customary land tenure in the Nuba Mountains has a strong tradition of individual ownership with full rights to transfer the land to others, probably as a reaction to land scarcity around uphill settlements. Downhill migration brought some changes in tenurial practices, which are documented and discussed here. The importance of inheriting land has been especially declining since 1940, and inheritance systems based on matrilineal descent in many cases have changed to a patrilineal practice, similar to inheritance laws among

other neighboring groups. The “down-migration” also led to a shortage of land in some lowland areas where suitable places for farming with proper soils and access to enough water had already been claimed. Roden suggests that further migration in and beyond the Nuba Mountains and an intensification of local agriculture are solutions for the increasing scarcity of farming land.

Wood, Roland. 1971. Agricultural systems in the Nuba Mountains, Sudan. Doctoral dissertation. University of California, Los Angeles

This study contains a description and analysis of agricultural systems in the northwestern Nuba Mountains of the Kordofan Province. It attempts to identify the causes of low production and the reasons for differences among agricultural systems. The majority of the data was collected between April and September of 1967 through interviews with farmers and government officials, direct observation, and inspection of government files in the study area. Maps, aerial photographs, articles and government reports added to the wealth of information. The author divides the study area into ten agricultural system and land-use classes: five traditional crop agriculture systems, each defined in terms of the importance of cash crops; two non-traditional systems of mechanized crop agriculture and irrigated gardening; three non-agricultural forms of land use, including grazing areas and a forest reserve. On this basis, characteristics and productivity of different crop cultivation are discussed, also considering different factors such as soil type and quality, technology, labor and financial surplus for additional input. Water is not among these factors, but is related to size and distribution of settlements.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): W/16

Roden, David. 1972. Down-migration in the Moro Hills of Southern Kordofan. *Sudan Notes and Records* 53, 79-99

The article explores how and why the Moro Nuba communities move from the hills to the plains. The Nuba Mountains in general witnessed a huge downward movement. They were one of the largest and most populated regions in the world to experience this trend. Among the Moro the downward movement started late, but increased at a very fast rate. At the time of the study several hill villages were in fact completely empty. But the development of a sustainable lowland lifestyle was slow and settlement patterns were still unstable in the plains. Some unsuitable villages were deserted, while others prospered and grew. Some Moro preferred to stay in the hills as the downward movement eased population pressure on land tenure and utilization practices. Transactions were now mostly concerned with distant sites used for cash crops (cotton) and barley food agriculture; forest clearing increased providing additional farm sites for the growing local population and at the same time the farms became much more fragmented than before. Many Moro farmers adopted irrigated gardening introduced by West African immigrants in the area. The higher amount of labor needed to cultivate the hills,

compared to that needed in the lowlands, led the author to speculate that there would be a further intensification of downward movement and farming in the plains.

Hadari, A. M. el. 1974. Some socio-economic aspects of farming in the Nuba Mountains, Western Sudan. *Eastern Africa Journal of Rural Development* 7 (1/2), 157-176

The article examines the traditional agriculture practiced in five different sites in the Nuba Mountains (Dilling, Lagawa, Kadugli, Rashad, Abu Gubeiha), based on observations made between April and May 1970. The cultivated sites were generally very small and fragmented, the lack of advanced agricultural technologies usually resulted in very poor yields. The farms also suffered from poor quality seeds, a non-existent transport system, especially to access markets during the rainy season, as well as the lack of a local credit system and the widespread “sheil” practice, in which merchants grant pre-harvest credit against a share of the expected crops at fixed prices. Generally, the farmers owned huge amounts of capital in cattle, but tax evasion and fear of the “evil eye” made it difficult to estimate exact numbers. The text argues for several measures to improve the local economy: introduction of agricultural technologies, like improved practices or chemically treated seeds; an agricultural bank system of short-term loans on mortgage on livestock or crops; improved access to drinking water; an improved and extended transport system.

Iten, Oswald. 1979. *Economic pressures on traditional society: a case study of the South-East Nuba economy in the modern Sudan*. Bern and Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang

The study describes the Southeast Nuba as a classless society with a unique system of duolineal descent. The first section explores the economic structures, the allocation of means of production, reactions to ecological change and inheritance of land and animals. The second section sketches the socio-economic relations with the invading outside world, represented by the Sudanese and Western economy. An example is the introduction of cash economy and its influence on the traditional sector. The last part criticizes development projects and strategies in the area, as economic pressure is put on the traditional Nuba economy by programs like the establishment of large-scale mechanization of agriculture.

Location (print):

• Central Library (Nilein University): 309.1624

Affan, Khalid. 1981. Effects on aggregate peasant labour supply of rural-rural migration to mechanised farming. A case study in southern Kordofan – Sudan. Doctoral dissertation. University of Sussex, Brighton

This study discusses how short-term rural-rural migration to mechanised farming (MF) effects aggregate peasant labor supply. The overlap of agricultural cycles in MF

and family farming (FF) informs the hypotheses that peasant labor for MF is either used more intensively or taken away from FF. The hypotheses were tested with data from cross-sectional surveys of two villages in southern Kordofan that represent maximal and minimal exposure to MF. The results show a clear trend towards the latter development. Further investigation showed that insufficient supply with grain and 'need for cash' were the primary reasons for labor migration. Consequences of this migration were not just less labor for FF, but also a decrease of cash cropping, or complete loss of land property due to poverty or due to the expansion of MF. Therefore, MF can be directly related to proletarianization of the peasant population in the rainlands of central Sudan. In the second part of the dissertation, the author looks at the effects of tractorization on land use, yield, and employment. He found, on the one hand, that grain production and employment had increased due to extensive land use. On the other hand, the productivity, yield per feddan, had decreased, and the farming process was of low quality due to negligence by the absentee owners or investors.

Haraldsson, Ingemar. 1982. *Nomadism and agriculture in the southern Kordofan province of Sudan*. Uppsala: Institutionen för ekonomi och statistik, Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet

This study approaches the conflict around land use in Sudan as a dynamic socio-economic conflict. Since the problem of clashes between pastoralist-nomadic lifestyles and mechanized farming cannot be simply generalized, this paper explores several factors like government policy, desertification and social change. The case study paints a comprehensive picture of the Hawazma Baggara and their social environment. It describes their specific form of nomadism and relates it to the different forms of agriculture practiced in Kordofan. The author identifies further development trends and formulates proposals for further research as well as a Land Use Plan. The text ends with an account of development activities ranging from the traditional sector and the Agricultural Bank of Sudan to projects from Germany and the Mechanized Farming Corporation. The study states that existing problems between pastoralists and mechanized farms could be solved on a technical level while the future expansion of farming threatens the role of nomadism as a central part of southern Kordofan's economy. The author argues that preserving the nomadic lifestyle is important for two reasons: the economic value of the livestock owned by the nomads now and in the future, and the possible catastrophic environmental effects a disappearance of the pastoralists might cause.

Mohammed, Gaafar Bashir. 1982. *An analysis of smallholder rainfed crop production systems. A case study of the Nuba Mountains area, Western Sudan*. Doctoral dissertation. Department of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University, Ann Arbor

The focus of this study is on rain-fed crop production systems in the Nuba Mountains; specifically, traditional farming and the Nuba Mountains Agricultural Production Corporation (NMAPC) modernization schemes. The objectives of the study were to

identify the input-output relations and constraints of the two smallholder production systems, and to assess the impact of policies and management alternatives aimed at improving performance in the two production systems. The general research approach employed representative models to focus on the production system at the farm level. Primary data were generated from two field surveys carried out in the study area. The FAO survey (1979/79) data were combined with data from the researcher's survey (1979/80) to provide a descriptive analysis of the smallholders' environment and production practices. Building on this foundation, the approach utilized descriptive statistics to derive three representative farm production categories, mainly on the basis of farm level resource differences. These three categories were then represented as sub-models in each of the two linear programming production models (traditional and NMAPC) that were constructed and used to assess cropping patterns, net returns, and productivity. The policy implications of the study indicated a need for applied research to improve smallholders' farming, a need to reduce costs of NMAPC and improve its services, and a need for changing the NMAPC's fixed tenancy size and crop mix policies.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): G/30

Saeed, Abdalbasit 1982. The state and socioeconomic transformation in the Sudan. The case of social conflict in Southwest Kordofan. Doctoral dissertation. University of Connecticut, Storrs

Using concepts of historical materialism, this dissertation explores social conflicts in southwestern Kordofan. While the classic explanation for the conflicts is centered on ethnicity, the author argues that class relations of production are the roots of conflict. The text aims at providing an explanation of origin and development of conflicts by describing social transformations as transformations of production and explaining the related conflicts that evolve from these changes. It describes social conditions such as tribalism, ethnicity, Sufism, and mystic association as forms of socio-cultural identification and modes of conflict articulation. The author also provides a reading of the conflict as manifestation of contradictory interests that originate from historical processes that can be described in terms of production relations. The socio-economic changes in colonial and independent Sudan are a good example for conflicts rooted in destabilizing social changes and an unequal distribution of wealth. In the Nuba Mountains, a shift from pre-capitalist accumulation of status and prestige was challenged by capitalist accumulation of money and private property, following the dispute over the previous social order by colonialism. After independence, the state was controlled by a national bourgeoisie engaged in client politics and thus used to further exploit indigenous communities. On the local level this class consisted of mercantilists, provincial bureaucrats, and tribal dynastic leaders. The text analyzes the relationship between this class and local farmers and argues that the conflict between pastoralists and sedentary farmers is no longer the main reason for conflict but capitalist exploitation of local producers.

Location (online):

- digitalcommons.uconn.edu/dissertations/AAI8213913/

Ahmed, El Awad Awad El Seed. 1983. Traditional agriculture in the northern district of South Kordofan province. In *Socio-economic change in the Sudan*, edited by Mohamed Hashim Awad. Khartoum: Graduate College, 39-66

The article reviews the Nuba agricultural systems, which are comparable to low-income regions in the world, dominated by family-driven farm units. These units are independent in management decisions, i.e. they have control over labor, and practice shifting cultivation. The article identifies three main types of Nuba farms: house farms, jebel farms, and plain farms. Together with factors such as water supply and type of soil, different historical processes have shaped the Nuba agriculture. Long periods of war have forced the Nuba to live on the hills to improve their ability to defend themselves. After the pacification, the farmers moved downwards and started to farm cash crops in the plains. Mechanization schemes further supported this trend and were to supposedly raise the productivity of the agricultural economy of the region. However, the potential of the modernization attempts was reduced by the concentration on commercial projects, the lack of socio-economic development along with the environmental damages extensive mechanized farming triggers, scarcity of water supply and labor, unfavorable conditions of cotton production, and the lack of a livestock development strategy. While the knowledge of modern agricultural technologies is spreading and the danger of famine is being reduced by recent developments, most farmers are not allowed a significant share of the benefits from modernization programs.

Location (print):

- Central Library (Nilein University): 330.9624
- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 330.9624 SOC / MOH

Babiker, Abdel Bagi A. G. 1983. Rural household energy in the Nuba Mountains - Republic of the Sudan: trends of use and impacts. *Erdkunde* 37 (2), 109-117

The article explores the problems of rural wood utilization for energy purposes in Sudan, using the case of the Nuba Mountains as an example. The overstrained usage of wood in the area has caused several ecological, economic and even survival problems. Due to the increasing population and the limited alternative energy sources (like charcoal and kerosene), the areas of wood collection have increased. The declining resources represent a growing burden for most households, which rely on wood products for lighting, cooking, heating and other purposes. The increasing amount of labor needed not only has direct socio-economic impact but also threatens the health of the women responsible for wood collection. The analysis of supply and demand in the Nuba Mountains shows ineffective utilization of natural resources.

Location (online):

- www.erdkunde.uni-bonn.de/archive/1983/rural-household-energy-in-the-nuba-mountains-republic-of-the-sudan-trends-of-use-and-impacts/

Bedigian, Dorothea, and Jack R. Harlan. 1983. Nuba agriculture and ethnobotany, with particular reference to sesame and sorghum. *Economic Botany* 37 (4), 384-395

The article explores the high level of diversity of cultivated sesame and sorghum in the Nuba Mountains. The geographical isolation and the immense cultural variation in religion, language, material culture, religious rituals and agricultural technologies are identified as a source of the large diversity of cultivated crops. Nuba agriculture is described as sophisticated and differentiated. The high level of genetic variations is the result of careful selection of crop variants, which are well adjusted to microenvironments of the area and best differentiated for several economic uses.

Kursany, Ibrahim. 1983. Peasants of the Nuba Mountains region. *Review of African Political Economy* 10 (26), 35-44. DOI: 10.1080/03056248308703527

The article gives an overview of several development strategies that have attempted to reorganize the agricultural economies and improve the socio-economic development since independence. The text focuses on the Nuba Mountains and on how state-sponsored capitalist mechanization schemes have been introduced. The agricultural production in the region was characterized by simple commodity, or “petty commodity,” production. But these modes of production were challenged and changed by the relation of the farmers with the invading capitalist economic system. Main trends were the sale of labor to neighboring agricultural schemes and the purchase of agricultural resources. This led to several changes of pre-capitalist forms of production and economic practices.

Mohamed Salih, Mohamed Abdel Rahim. 1983. Development and social change among the Moro of the Nuba Mountains. Doctoral dissertation. Faculty of Economic and Social Studies, University of Manchester, Manchester

The downward movement of the Moro Nuba from their traditional homes in the hills to new villages in the plains started in the early 1940s. While population pressure and population growth were the main drivers, migration was only possible due to the colonial pacification attempts that ended the Hawazma slave raids. The new settlement patterns in the hills and plains established new relationships of cooperation between different groups ignoring descent or clan origin. The introduction of markets in the area encouraged the Moro farmers to grow cotton as cash crop, adopt money as a medium of exchange and brought Jellaba merchants to the area to trade crops and manufactured goods. This integration in the capitalist market economy has increased further. Labor migration to the cities and to mechanized agricultural schemes has become a normal

feature of Moro life. However, while wage labor was accepted in the “outside world,” it was not practiced in the villages. Instead local customs like *nafir* (or collective labor), the age-set system and the agricultural rites prevailed and were even strengthened in some regards. The text therefore provides insights in the religious belief system of the Moro which consists of Christian and traditional elements and is used as a marker of identity and distinction from their Hawazma and Jellaba neighbors. However, the modernization strategy of the Nuba Mountains Agricultural Corporation and the Mechanized Farming Corporation was actively challenging the established subsistence economy. The pastoralist communities lost their grazing grounds, wage labor spread and the income gap between the owners of commercial farms and local farmers and pastoralists alike increased.

Rottenburg, Richard. 1983. Three spheres in the economic life of the Moro Nuba in South Kordofan. In *Preliminary reports of the Sudan Research Project*, edited by Fritz Kramer and Bernhard Streck. Berlin: Institut für Ethnologie, Freie Universität Berlin, 1-9

The article explores contemporary developments of Moro economy. Their socio-economic order was highly challenged by more competitive neighboring orders. Relations to the outside world led to the adaptation to certain trends; while, despite many incompatibilities, local practices, beliefs and concepts remained active. Rottenburg identifies three economic spheres: farming, trading, and labor migration, which are mixed for a sustainable economic existence and all concern the same closely connected community. Still, these spheres differ based on their own specific logic. To show the complex relation of inner and outer world, the author uses the example of modern medicine, how it was introduced in the area and how it has been used to widen the local Moro concept of healing.

Baumann, Gerd. 1984. Development as a historical process: a social and cultural history of development in a Nuba Mountains community. *Anthropos* 79, 459-471

The article describes social and cultural elements related to agricultural development. The case study focuses on the single community of Miri Bara in the Nuba Mountains. Labor migration from the area started in the 1930s parallel to an improvement of the local subsistence economy. A more contemporary development is the introduction of education and health facilities and the spread of mechanized agricultural technologies, cash-crop schemes, and flour mills. These economic trends seem to be unrelated to social and cultural features but can actually only be understood through a socio-cultural perspective. These elements contain the social division of labor, the re-apportionment of property and inheritance, religious conversion, and changes in the systems of kinship, marriage, and descent organization. To thoroughly explore the complexity of the related processes the ethnographic area of the study is confined; still, material from other areas of the Nuba Mountains is presented for comparative purposes.

Mohamed Salih, Mohamed Abdel Rahim. 1984. Local markets in Moroland: the shifting strategies of the Jellaba merchants. In *Trade and traders in the Sudan*, edited by Leif O. Manger. Bergen: Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen, 189-212

The article outlines a history of trade and economic relationship between the Moro communities of the Nuba Mountains and the outside world. In precolonial time, trade exchange was non-existent and the only economic relationship consisted of slave raids by surrounding pastoralist Arab groups. In the slave trade, the Moro were only a commodity and not partners. During the colonial rule of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, the area was pacified and the slave raids stopped, which led to a more peaceful coexistence of the local Nuba communities, the Hawazma and the Jellaba traders. The colonial Native Administration System, the introduction of cash crops and the emergence of a merchant class shifted livelihood strategies from cultivation to trade with agricultural products and manufactured goods, which also significantly changed Moro economy. Moro have been working as wage laborers on the Jellaba private farms since the 1940s. Later economic developments made them dependent on the traders to supplement their local economy. The core point of the article is, however, the enforcement of the economic basis of kinship by this integration of Moro into a colonial and, later, national capitalist economy. The author argues that traditional socio-economic structures are not as weak as often suggested by scholars and researchers.

Location (print):

• Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 381.09624 TRD

Babiker, A. A., H. A. Musnad, and H. Z. Shadad. 1985. Wood resources, and use in the Nuba Mountains. In *Natural resources and rural development in arid lands: case studies from Sudan*, edited by H. R. J. Davies. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 30-59

The text explores the environmental and economic consequences of the rising demand for wood products in the arid and semi-arid regions of Sudan, using the Nuba Mountains as an example. Wood is the most important resource for house and furniture construction as well as fuel (either directly as firewood or as charcoal). The rising population and an increasing urbanization led to a raising demand for wood. In turn, limited local supplies, which are often exhausted very fast, led to higher prices. Wood is therefore brought in from increasing distances to meet the high urban demands, causing serious problems for the environment. Due to several severe droughts (like the one from 1968 to 1973), an increasing number of farmers and workers are at risk because of poor harvests and a high loss of livestock. When these people turn to the environment for an alternative form of income, they often start to chop down trees and later sell them. The once dense forests of the Nuba Mountains suffered heavily from this practice. This research explores which economic, social and environmental factors cause the harmful exploitation of wood resources in the area. It maps existing forest resources and types, lists useful tree types, identifies major problems with wood usage and sketches contemporary forest management strategies.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 307.14 NAT

Location (online):

- archive.unu.edu/unupress/unupbooks/80504e/80504E00.htm

Manger, Leif O. 1987. Communal labour among the Lafofa: vehicle of economic and social change. In *Communal labour in the Sudan*, edited by Leif O. Manger. Bergen: Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen, 88-115

The article explores the communal labor system of the Lafofa Nuba in the southeast of the Nuba Mountains. Communal labor, including cooperation for defense, has a long tradition in the area but is gradually declining. This shows how society is changing and how people adjust to new economic environments. Communal labor is not only characterized by economic rules but is also influenced by other socio-cultural elements like solidarity and identity. Among the Lafofa the system built on the reciprocal exchange of labor and beer. The article provides a short historical background of the Lafofa migration and a detailed description of the different kind of labor groups. While the origin of the labor groups remains unclear, what is clear is that the economic cost for this system is increasing and that it is falling behind wage labor as the most effective form of labor organization. The chapter explores the change in costs and in the ability to mobilize labor groups. Finally, the text relates the labor groups to other dynamics of change like Islamization, migration, and shifts in social organization.

Michael, Barbara J. 1987. Milk production and sales by the Hawazma (Baggara) of Sudan: implications for gender roles. *Research in Economic Anthropology* 9, 105-141

This article is based on two years of fieldwork in the early 1980s among the Awlād Nūba lineage of the Hawāzma. Most of the Hawāzma stay in the Nuba Mountains during the dry season and migrate to an area south of El Obeid in the rainy season. The text gives an overview of the environment of the region and the annual cycle of the Hawazma and focuses on economic practices during the trek of 1983. Daily camp life and the highly segregated gender roles are described. An important consequence is the clear responsibility for decision-making in specific situations based on gender; therefore, there is great situational personal autonomy for men as well as women. Women are in general responsible for the household and children, while men are in charge of the animals, farming, and political decision-making. While women do not usually own cattle, they have exclusive access to milk. Milk is used for nutrition and sold for additional income. The text examines potential conflicts between men and women over the distribution of milk. The author provides figures on milk production and household incomes among the Awlād Nūba. There is also an outline of the change in the demand of milk due to industrialization and a growing urban demand in the region since the 1930s. The text concludes with a description of gender competence related to milk and sales income.

Mohamed Salih, Mohamed Abdel Rahim. 1987. The tractor and the plough. The sociological dimension. In *Agrarian change in the central rainlands, Sudan. A socio-economic analysis*, edited by Mohamed Abdel Rahim Mohamed Salih. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 108-128

The article explores the choice between different agricultural technologies through the socio-economic dimension of technology usage. It looks at existing experiences with animal traction as a labor-saving measure and as a form of cheap technology in other African countries, as well as the general lack of knowledge about this form of technology in Sudan in favor of tractorization. Animal draft technology can improve the living standards of the majority of the rural farmers and help them use the established mechanized schemes more effectively, which until then had mainly improved the situation for wealthy farmers. The article rejects the tractor as the only development option for Sudanese agricultural economy and favors a wider technological approach, which considers farm size, productivity and the potential of hoe cultivation, as well as general issues of political economy.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 338.109624 AGR

Location (online):

- www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:274058/FULLTEXT01.pdf

Manger, Leif O. 1988. Traders, farmers and pastoralists: economic adaptations and environmental problems in the southern Nuba Mountains of the Sudan. In *The ecology of survival: case studies from Northeast African history*, edited by Douglas H. Johnson and David M. Anderson. Boulder: Westview Press, 155-172

This text concentrates on the adaptive abilities of three groups of actors in the southern Nuba Mountains, who experienced increased environmental stress, such as droughts, but also political strains over resource distribution and disintegration of previous social and economic systems. The author uses a historical perspective of interdependent demographic, socio-cultural, economic, political and technological developments to explain the triggers for these processes. The process of adaptation can only be sufficiently analyzed while exploring the relationship between people and the natural environment, relations with other groups, may they be based on cooperation or competition, and the connections with societal structures like state or market. In the Nuba Mountains, this concerns, for instance, the only recently evolving primacy of settled populations over nomads, which played out in favor of the so-called *jellaba* traders and urbanized Arab elites. The different socio-economic groups have long histories of unsolved conflicts, which are an important part of the political dilemma of lacking regional political consensus.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 307.720961 ECO

Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ. 1989. Mutaḡayyarāt al-taʿāwun al-ijtimāʿī al-iqtisādī ʿind al-nūba – al-mūrū. *Majalla Al-Dirāsāt Al-Sūdāniyya* 1-2, 66-82

The article argues that little has been published on the Nuba Mountains by Sudanese scholars because the small number of Arabic writings and translations prevented many scholars and students from accessing the wide variety of research on the region. After outlining some of this research, the author presents his own work on cooperation among the Moro, such as *naḡīr* (cooperative labor) and cooperative herding. He identifies radical changes connected to the “down-migration” in the 1930s and 1940s, and shows them to be strongly connected to the integration of cooperative labor with a more general labor market. The subsequent commercialization of a previously cooperative segment of social life also had consequences for other social relations and rituals.

Location (online):

• journals.uofk.edu/images/stories/journal/1989.pdf

Speece, Mark. 1989. Market performance of agricultural commodities in semi-arid South Kordofan, Sudan. *Geoforum* 20 (4), 409-424

The text explores the impact of droughts in South Kordofan on the structure and performance of agricultural markets in the region. It is based on research conducted by the Western Sudan Agricultural Research Project. It describes how price volatility and high prices destabilized the agricultural commodity markets, resulting in small farmers and traders not being able to move their products due to the price uncertainty, as these groups were mostly aiming to avoid risk rather than maximizing profit. Issues arose when the responsibility for the function of the markets shifted to these small operators and producers. Another reason for holding products from the market was that these actors were barely able to finance their increased functional responsibility. The article urges policy-makers to consider these factors when developing strategies for the economic landscape of semi-arid areas like South Kordofan. It drafts policy recommendations for the transportation of products to improve the negative market reactions associated with drought.

Location (online):

• papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2569220

Mohamed Salih, Mohamed Abdel Rahim. 1990. Agro-pastoralists response to agricultural policies: the predicament of the Baggara, western Sudan. In *Adaptive strategies in African arid lands : proceedings from a seminar at the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, Sweden, April 1989*, edited by Mette Bovin and Leif O. Manger. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies (SIAS), 59-75

The chapter explains changes in pastoralist lifestyle through socio-economic and

environmental, as well as political, influences and discusses the issue as a mismatch between this development and agricultural policies implemented by the state. The livestock sector has widely been ignored in development plans since the colonial reign. The independent state continued to focus largely on mechanized farming schemes. In the case of the Hawazma in South Kordofan, more labor came from the households, the pastoralists relied more and more on livestock sales and tried to adopt different strategies to face these challenges. These have had an impact on the social organization of the pastoralists, as the cost of food has increased and undermined the traditional solidarity system. The author criticizes the ignorance policy planners showed towards the pastoralist lifestyles and outlines four dimensions in which the Hawazma are affected by the agricultural policies. The first dimension is searching for new market opportunities to compensate for their economic marginalization. The second concerns the contradiction between the strategy to acquire large herds to compensate for risks of animal husbandry while competition for grazing land and water increases. The third dimension is the erosion of traditional systems of solidarity. The fourth stems from the increasing migration to towns. The article concludes that several short-term survival strategies have emerged from the challenges to the traditional pastoralist lifestyle, rather than it being abolished.

Location (online):

- www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:276966/FULLTEXT01.pdf

Michael, Barbara J. 1991. The impact of international wage labor on Hawazma (Baggara) pastoral nomadism. *Nomadic Peoples* 28, 56-70

The article focuses on practices of wage labor among the Awlād Nūba lineage of the Ḥawāzma. The diversification of economic activities is a common practice of pastoralist households in general, and of Baggara groups in particular. The goal of labor migration is to provide a stable cash flow for the family. It is also part of the challenges pastoral lifestyle is facing and one of several economic strategies, also among them is sedentarization. The article focuses on the international migration of Ḥawāzma men to Saudi Arabia for wage labor and explores connected changes of gender roles, networks and socio-economic effects. The migration to Saudi Arabia is nearly risk-free for a man, as the economic chances are good, the prospects of cash relatively certain and even in case of economic failure the travel to Saudi Arabia provides him with the title of ḥājj (pilgrim). But the text also describes the impact on women and children at home, as well as important features of Saudi Arabian influence in Sudan, including influence on family life and gender relations.

Location (online):

- nomadicpeoples.info/pdf/NP_journal_back_issues/The_Impact_of_International_Wage_Labor_Migration_on_Hawazma_Pastoral_nomadism_BJ_Michael.pdf

Wakeel, Ahmad S. El, and Mohamed A. Abu Sabah. 1993. Relevance of mobility to rangeland utilisation. The Baggara transhumant of Southern Kordofan. *Nomadic Peoples* 32, 33-38

The paper discusses the usage of natural resources by the Ḥawāzma and Missiriyya of southern Kordofan. It describes how these pastoralists practice a transhumant, seasonal migration between a home base and seasonal camping sites for the wet and dry season. It notes obstacles to the full utilization of rangeland and points out that the pastoralist mobility is primarily an adaptive mechanism to fulfill the demands for grazing, water and labor, which are not always present in a single area. The management of migration is determined by the number of livestock, the timing of important actions and extra managerial efforts, as well as the access to water, grazing lands and the possibility to practice additional sedentary farming. Different developments such as the expansion of cultivated land, droughts and the outbreak of war in the area have forced the pastoralists to migrate over longer distances to reach safe grazing sites.

Location (print):

- Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology (Khartoum University)

Location (online):

- nomadicpeoples.info/pdf/NP_journal_back_issues/Relevance_of_mobility_to_range_land_utilization_AS_El_Wakeel_and_MAA_Sabah.pdf

Wakeel, Ahmad S. El, and Abuelgasim Y. Gumaa. 1996. Some traditional husbandry and ethnoveterinary practices of the Messerya Humr Baggara transhumants of Southern Kordofan. *Nomadic Peoples* 39, 147-154

The article reviews practices of livestock management and traditional animal health care practices among the Missiriyya Humr of southern Kordofan. They are one of the largest Baggara Arab sub-tribes in the region and own approximately six million cattle, which suggests an elaborated system of animal husbandry and care. The article examines aspects of husbandry practices such as mobility, grazing patterns, herd management, supplements, and breeding. It also investigates ethnoveterinary treatment of several widespread diseases and suggests a thorough analysis of the potential of these measures for other cattle herders. Little improvements are needed to implement these highly effective, but hardly cost-intensive, methods, such as oestrus synchronization and placenta expulsion. Other practices are yet to be evaluated but it is likely that additional useful knowledge will become available.

Location (online):

- nomadicpeoples.info/pdf/NP_journal_back_issues/Some_traditional_husbandry_and_ethnoveterinary_practices_AS_El_Wakeel_and_A_Y_Gumma.pdf

Michael, Barbara J. 1997. Female heads of patriarchal households. The Baggara. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 28 (2), 170-182

The article discusses the role of women and their influence in the household among the Baggara. The text argues that in patrilineal societies women can hold powerful positions without violating cultural norms by working legitimately in the system. Among the Baggara polygynous marriage usually leads to a nomadic, pastoralist and sedentary household. Households provide each other with needed goods and labor. Shifts in residence may occur several times during a lifetime for men as well as women, and in both directions. Women have a high income potential due to their control over the milk production and allocation process. They are tied to their specific household while men, responsible for herd management and animal husbandry, can assign their roles to any man in their patrilineage. This enables them to seek wage labor outside their area and internationally and to earn additional money, mostly used to buy more cattle. The labor migration of the men leads to increased autonomy of their wives and their economic activities, which allows for wage to be put aside for animal purchase. Therefore, sedentary wives often convert their household to a pastoralist one to earn enough money with milk sales to be self-sufficient. This shows that patrilineality cannot automatically be linked with patriarchy.

Michael, Barbara J. 1998. Baggara women as market strategists. In *Middle Eastern women and the invisible economy*, edited by Richard A. Lobban. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 60-73

Michael examines the economic role of Baggara women and their sphere of decision-making in the production and distribution of milk and dairy products. They independently milk the cattle, contribute to the management of the herds and organize the marketing. They substantially contribute to the household budget. Women control profits from the sales, which increases their autonomy even further. Control of all stages of this “invisible” economic activity by women is unusual in a pastoral setting. Women take several decisions during this process, including the allocation of milk between household usage (for nutrition purposes, tea and for several social affairs) and sale, and they must actively follow market trends as prices for dairy products change. The text also describes cooperation between women, such as joint transport and distribution. Notably, household budgets based on milk sales rose from one-third in the early 1980s to two-thirds in 1989 due to a higher number of milk cows and higher prices. This not only improved the diet in the camps as well as health care but may also lead to a further improvement of the herd quality in the future.

Suliman, Kabbashi Medani. 2000. The dynamics of rural change in dry agriculture in Sudan: case study from Southern Kordofan. Addis Ababa: OSSREA

The report examines rural development in African dry agriculture in general but also uses three case studies from South Kordofan. It examines how processes like mechanization and commercialization of agricultural livelihoods affected household production, consumption, and income. The text argues that the hypothesis that the main source of change is the influence established by the agro-industrial system over rural farmers lacks an understanding and proper analysis of processes on the micro-level. The study provides a household theory of production and consumption in subsistence households and explores the link of these households to the national wage economy. The study questions current theories about agricultural development in Sudan and assumptions about the proletarianization and eviction of peasant farmers. This is an attempt to establish an alternative reading of the dynamics of change in rural Sudan, with the behavior of small farmers situated at the center of the analysis. There is also an exploration of their relation to mechanized farms, their income structure and farming productivity as well as other non-farm work.

Location (online):

- publications.ossrea.net/index.php?option=com_sobi2&sobi2Task=sobi2Details&catid=11&sobi2Id=2649&Itemid=1

Bridel, Jacqueline. 2003. Study of indigenous plants and non-timber products as related to traditional medicine in the Nuba Mountains and Southern Blue Nile Region of South Sudan. Washington: USAID-USA PASA, and Columbia: International Agriculture Programs, University of Missouri

The study is based on research conducted between October 2002 and March 2003 with the intent to provide background information on plants and non-timber products benefitting integrative health administration in the Nuba Mountains and southern Blue Nile region. The data collection included interviews with individual members of communities, focus groups of healers and local leaders, but also primary and secondary data from the regional and international context to assess the interaction of so-called traditional healers and biomedical practitioners. The study also discusses medicinal plants gardens, communal conservation practices, and traditional healer associations.

Anyar, Akuot Gareng Apiu. 2006. Land and environmental degradation in South Kordofan state. Case study on Dilling area. Doctoral dissertation. Department of Geography, Faculty of Arts, University of Khartoum, Khartoum

The study examines the problem of the land degradation in the area of South Kordofan, Dilling, and Khor Abu Habil. It investigates the causes of the various forms of ecological degradation and corresponding socio-economic disruption from human exploitation

that overburden the natural carrying capacity of land resources. Land degradation is considered as a major environmental challenge that triggers issues related to deforestation, loss of biodiversity, range deterioration, decline of soil fertility, and changing patterns in land use. Hence, the author recommends that policies directed towards addressing these issues be integrated and not fragmented among different government institutions in short-term and ad hoc growth policies. These should include regulatory measures to define land use that is economically, socially, and ecologically sustainable, a balance between food export and food security, protection of range and grazing resources through legal recognition of traditional land use practices, development of a land use management plan and setting of laws governing grazing resources. Since stock water influences the use of available forage, the recommendation is to formulate water development points and related environmental protection measures.

Location (online):

• khartoumspace.uofk.edu:8080/jspui/bitstream/123456789/10959/1/Land%20And%20Environmental.pdf

Maki, Elsamawal Khalil and Belgis Attia Gebreel. 2009. The role of women in jubraka farming and household food security in Kadogli (South Kordofan State, Sudan). *Ahfad Journal* 26 (1), 40-57

This study explores the impact of household farms (*jubraka*) on food security with a case study on four villages around Kadogli. Data collection and structured interviews with 100 women were conducted between June and July 2005. The study found that household farming is widely practiced with a broad range of crops, mostly cereals and vegetables, for the family's own consumption, which substantially improve household food security. Most household farms measured between one and five feddan and were controlled by women.

Adam, Yahia Omar, and Jürgen Pretzsch. 2010. Contribution of local trade in *Ziziphus spina-christi* L. fruits to rural household's economy in Rashad locality, Sudan. *Forestry Ideas* 16 (1): 19-27

The study highlights the important economic role of the local trade in tree fruits for the cash income of households in the dry areas of Sudan. The contribution to the income and employment of rural households had been seriously underestimated in previous works. The aim of the study is to provide empirical data to demonstrate the extent of the local trade, especially in the spheres of income and employment, and to identify social factors determining the amount of cash created with tree fruit utilization. The study was based on interviews and direct observation in 70 rural households and was conducted in the 2008/2009 season. The data shows that the local fruit trade was by far generating the highest annual average cash income with US\$ 202.73, much more compared to the incomes generated by agriculture (US\$ 71.57), remittances (US\$

49.81), wage labor (US\$ 30.10), and livestock (US\$ 20.40). It also generated far more employment (30%) than other activities, although agriculture is right behind with 25%. The capacity of the households to create income with fruit trade varies significantly; this is related to personal characteristics and market variables. Identifying the local trade as the most important source of income and employment, the study argues for further development of the sector. The potential is not yet reached and microfinancing local sellers' organizations could further increase the economic returns from the local fruit business.

Location (online):

- forestry-ideas.info/issues/issues_Download.php?download=3
- research.uofk.edu/multisites/UofK_research/images/stories/research/Forestry/contribution%20of%20local%20trade%20in%20ziziphus%20spina-christi%20ol.%20of%20fruits%20to%20rural%20households%20economy%20in%20orashad%20locality%20sudan.pdf

Rābiḥ Muḥammad Nūr Rābiḥ Aḥmad. 2010. Al-taḡyīr fī nuẓum ḥayāza al-arḍ wa istiḥdāmātihā wa aṭariḥa fī jibāl al-nūba al-šarqīyya (1970-2009). Doctoral dissertation. University of Khartoum, Khartoum

This study examines how land use and land holding systems have changed in the eastern Nuba Mountains, and what consequences these changes have had. The analysis of these changes includes both natural and human factors, and considers the political and cultural history, as well as the nationally and internationally transitional character of the area. Primary data was collected through a questionnaire and based on a sample of 452 families, individual and group interviews, and direct observation. The theoretical framework combines historical, descriptive and statistical approaches with political ecology. The study found a significant deterioration of agricultural and forest products, family income, herd sizes, as well as the natural environment. Redistribution of land, especially from mechanized farming schemes, is essential to achieve distributive justice and ecological sustainability, as is the integration of agricultural and pastoral production with forestry, combined with appropriate rotation systems for agricultural soils and pastures.

Location (online):

- khartoumspace.uofk.edu/bitstream/handle/123456789/12309/1/ضرائل%20اقتصادي%20مظن%20يف%20تاريخي%20ال/12309/1/القبول%20لال%20اج%20يف%20ادراك%20اوام%20ادخال%20س%20او.pdf

Ahmed, Mey Eltayeb. 2010. *The national and indigenous management of environmental conflicts in the savannah belt, Sudan. Case studies of the Blue Nile and Nuba Mountains*. Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing

This study aims to understand the management of conflicts over natural resources in the Sudanese Savannah belt. It concentrates on the relationship between the means of

conflict management by indigenous and central government institutions. It provides analysis of the key actors' perception, interests and needs related to the conflicts and their management mechanisms. The author suggests conflict solution and management methods appropriate for the regional context, outlining how approaches of legal pluralism and conflict transformation can be synthesized and adjusted to different cultural settings to ease environmental conflicts.

Wagei Alla, Fatima Mohammed Ezzeldin. 2010. The livelihood strategies in Dalling and Kadugli rural areas, pre- and post-war. Doctoral dissertation. Department of Agricultural Extension and Rural Development, Sudan University of Science & Technology, Khartoum

The study investigates the socio-economic changes in the Nuba communities caused by the civil war and the subsequent humanitarian intervention of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), which tried to create new livelihoods after the conflict. The research material was gathered in 12 villages around Dilling and Kadugli. Based on close-ended questionnaires, basic information was gathered on household size and composition, sources of livelihoods and migration practices. Further focus group discussions, key informant interviews and wealth ranking were conducted to explore historical and recent socio-economic processes related to livelihood issues in the area. The research material was analyzed within the Sustainable Livelihood Framework.

Gumaa, Yahia Omar Adam. 2011. Contribution of local-level trade in non-timber forest products to rural development in Rashad locality of the Nuba Mountains, Sudan. Doctoral thesis. Faculty of Forestry, Geo- and Hydrosiences, Technical University Dresden, Dresden

The thesis reviews the potential to improve rural development and reduce poverty of non-timber forest products (NTFP) such as the *Adansonia digitata*, *Ziziphus spina-christi* and *Balanites aegyptiaca* in Rashad in the Nuba Mountains. In 2008 and 2009, data was collected based on purposive sampling of 221 non-trader household and 61 trader households, using interviews, household and market surveys, direct observations, and literature review. The text sketches the production-to-consumption system (PCS) of the three fruits and analyzes their overall contribution to household income and expenditures. *Adansonia digitata* contributed 51% to the households' income, *Ziziphus spina* contributed 42% and *Balanites aegyptiaca* 26%. While the last two represented a subsistence livelihood strategy, *Adansonia digitata* represents accumulative and subsistence livelihood strategies. The financial gain from fruit trade can be influenced by several factors such as access and distance to markets, the political situation, the characteristics of the producer, and quality and quantity of the resource. To evaluate the economic potential of the three NTFP, one must focus on the role of the product in financial capital creation and the related accumulative strategy. To promote the role

of NTFP in the reduction of poverty, different interventions are necessary, such as microfinance, capacity building and organization of the actors, while considering that not all NTFP are suited to improve local livelihoods.

Location (online):

• nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:14-qucosa-71489

Abtew, Asmamaw Alemu, Jürgen Pretzsch, Tarig El-Sheikh Mohmoud, and Yahia Omar Adam. 2012. Commodity chain of frankincense from the dry woodlands of Nuba Mountains, South Kordofan State, Sudan. *Small-scale Forestry* 11, 365-388. DOI: 10.1007/s11842-011-9189-4

The paper evaluates the role of frankincense as one of the major commercial non-timber forest products (NTFP) in Sudan. Frankincense is produced by tapping the bark of the *Boswellia papyrifera* (Del.) Hochst trees and is traded on local and international markets. The study describes the production chain, the main actors and their function, and estimates the benefits earned during the production and distribution phases. It also examines the processes by which the actors secure their share of the benefit. Key interviews, in depth semi-structured interviews, group discussion and direct observations were used to collect the data during the fieldwork in Rashad in the Nuba Mountains in 2008 and 2009. The study lists the average annual net income of tappers (US \$74), producers (US \$740), village traders (US \$1,300) and urban merchants (US \$11,230) and shows a skewed benefit distribution. The total relative commercialization margin of the product was 62.5%; the producers received 37.5% of the end market price, which suggests that the marketing of the product is more profitable than its production and that all chain actors generated profit from their participation in the chain of production. Different interventions of technical, financial or institutional nature could be applied to improve the income of the local actors, which may increase the sustainability of resource utilization.

Location (online):

• research.uofk.edu/multisites/UofK_research/images/stories/research/Forestry/commodity%20chain%20of%20frankincense%20from%20the%20dry.pdf

Adam, Yahia Omar, Jürgen Pretzsch, and Davide Pettenella. 2013. Contribution of non-timber forest products livelihood strategies to rural development in drylands of Sudan: potentials and failures. *Agricultural Systems* 117, 90-97. DOI: 10.1016/j.agsy.2012.12.008

The article reviews the recent trend to research the utilization of non-timber forest products (NTFP) in rural areas and their contribution to development and poverty reduction. It warns that the potential of such products may be overrated and that schemes to increase the usage of NTFP should be looked at with caution. The study

first analyzes the role of NTFP utilization in livelihood strategies in Rashad in the Nuba Mountains in 2008–09 and tries to evaluate chances, risks and failures of the local economic practices. It further explores how NTFP contribute to household income and which factors influence the share. Interviews, direct observations and market surveys were used to collect the data from 221 non-trader households and 61 trader households, selected via a purposive sampling technique. All households collected *Ziziphus spina-christi* and *Balanites aegyptiaca* to ensure a subsistence supply; some households collected *Adansonia digitata* to then sale it or as a form of subsistence strategy, while others used it as an accumulative strategy. The study also identifies several internal or external factors that play a positive or negative role for income creation via fruit sales. It concludes that the potential of NTFP for rural development is based on the establishment of NTFP utilization as an accumulative strategy to reduce poverty. To spread the NTFP contribution toward accumulative strategies, institutional, technical and financial support is necessary.

Ballal, M. E., Nagwa Kamal-Eldin, and T. D. Abdel Magid. 2014. Ethno-botany of natural forests of Nuba Mountains, South Kordofan State, Sudan. *Journal of Forest Products & Industries* 3 (1), 13-19

The paper explores the condition of the forest resources in the Nuba Mountains, their ethno-botanic value and the utilization of the resources by local households as a mean of income. The data for this paper was collected in four areas of the South Kordofan state, through a rapid rural appraisal method. The results were quantified based on an importance value index for human usage and classified accordingly. The most important categories, with the highest importance value of 0.95, were furniture, building and fencing materials, firewood and charcoal. Species such as the *Tamarindus indica*, *Ziziphus spina-christi*, *Balanites aegyptiaca* and *Adansonia digitata* were considered most important by the participants. The forest resources contribute significantly to household incomes: firewood and charcoal supply 29.3% of the total income; fruits, gums and fencing materials contribute 18.7%, 12.9% and 12.2% respectively. Non-wood products have an especially significant potential for alternative income and play an important role in improving local livelihoods. But the natural forest resources are threatened by an environmental crisis, and their sustainable management is necessary to secure the future usage and potential enhancement of their socio-economic role.

Location (online):

- researchpub.org/journal/jfpi/number/vol3-no1/vol3-no1-2.pdf

Bello, Abdel Raouf Suleiman. 2014. Agriculture communal labor in the Nuba Mountains. *Journal of Research in Peace, Gender and Development* 4 (3), 48-54. DOI: 10.14303/jrpgd.2014.023

The article explores the situation and social practice of voluntary agricultural communal labor in local sedentary communities in the Nuba Mountains. This study collected data by participant observation and found that communal labor is mostly used for undertakings that the basic production unit—the family—cannot conduct alone. Recently, several factors reduced the practice of communal labor, mainly the ongoing civil war, growing mechanization of agriculture in the region and the connected expansion of agricultural production. The paper argues that local NGOs could use the existing practice of communal labor to mobilize the communities for development projects, for example connected to resource management and utilization. It can also be useful to solve problems in agricultural-development projects that require a lot of manpower over a short period of time.

Location (online):

- www.interesjournals.org/jrpgd/june-2014-vol-4-issue-3/agriculture-communal-labor-in-the-nuba-mountains

Bronkhorst, Salomé. 2014. Hurdles for pastoralism as adaptation to climate change in Southern Kordofan, Sudan. In *Conflict-sensitive adaptation to climate change in Africa*, edited Urmilla Bob and Salomé Bronkhorst. Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 221-240

Headed by recent debates on global climate change and its effects, the chapter examines the prospects of mobile pastoralism in Sudan as a coping mechanism. Scholars have postulated that nomadic pastoralism is a viable and resilient option under conditions of high climate variability, which is examined here from a resource scarcity perspective for the case of pastoralists in South Kordofan. Considering ongoing conflicts with farmers, the author argues that legislative and not ecological changes in favor of state-induced land expropriation for mechanized farming are the main reason behind scarcity and subsequent conflicts in the region. Another argument traces the failure of resource management and conflict mitigation to the dismantling of the traditional institution of Native Administration by governmental policies. This socio-economic and political context has been a driving factor in conflicts between pastoralists and farmers, which threaten whatever form of adaptation there may be to climate change.

Location (online):

- www.accord.org.za/images/downloads/book/Conflict_Adaptation-3-4-Bronkhorst.pdf

Deafalla, Taisser H. H., D. M. Dafa-Alla, and M. M. El Abbas. 2014. The importance of non wood forest products for rural livelihoods: the case of South Kordofan state, Sudan. In *Science, policy and politics of modern agricultural system*, edited by Mohammed Behnassi, Shabbir A. Shahid and Nazia Mintz-Habib. Dordrecht: Springer Science+Business Media, 323-332. DOI: 10.1007/978-94-007-7957-0_22

The article discusses the role and potential of Non-Wood Forest Products (NWFP) in the local economy in South Kordofan, namely in subsistence, income generation and employment for households. In the recent past, foresters and different policy makers, not only in Sudan, have heavily concentrated on timber production and ignored the potential of NWFP as an ecological and socio-economical sustainable development strategy. While the research area is very diverse in its natural forest flora, the study concentrates on the species of *Zizyphus spina-christi*, *Balanites aegyptiaca*, *Adansonia digitata*, *Tamarindus indica*, *Acacia nilotica*, *Grewia tenax*, *Acacia Senegal*, *Croton zambesicus* and *Sterculia setigera*, which were identified as the most important for the local communities. Three hundred households were interviewed using a questionnaire. Their answers were processed with the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software to produce descriptive statistics. The quantitative data of the research suggests that local households heavily rely on the collection of NWFP for subsistence and income generation. Finally, the paper suggests that the application of forest management measures could help establish a more effective and sustainable utilization of NWFP.

Salih, Nagwa Kamal-Eldin M., and Abbas Hassan Ali. 2014. Wild food trees in Eastern Nuba Mountains, Sudan: use, diversity, and threatening factors. *Journal of Agriculture and Rural Development in the Tropics and Subtropics* 115 (1), 1-7

Data was collected for this study in 2010 in the eastern Nuba Mountains to examine ethnobotanical food and non-food uses of 16 wild edible fruit-producing trees. Through a semi-structured questionnaire, the data included quantitative and qualitative information from 105 individuals in 7 villages. Additional data was gathered through a number of rapid rural appraisal techniques, such as key informant interviews, group discussion, and direct observations, complemented by secondary data sources. Data analysis used fidelity level and informant consensus factor methods to identify the cultural importance of species and categories of usage. Timber products were found to be of higher importance to communities than fruits, especially when food scarcity was not an issue. *Balanites aegyptiaca*, *Zizyphus spina-christi* and *Tamarindus indica* fruits were mostly preferred over the other species and had a high marketability in most cases. The wild, edible food-producing trees were principally threatened by harvesting for timber, agricultural expansion and overgrazing; however, they played a significant role for food supply during armed conflicts or famines. The advantages of non-timber usage of wild food trees should be stressed in rural development programs.

Location (online):

• www.jarts.info/index.php/jarts/article/view/2014020344903/802

Wiehle, Martin, Sven Goenster, Jens Gebauer, Seifeldin Ali Mohamed, Andreas Buerkert, and Katja Kehlenbeck. 2014. Effects of transformation processes on plant species richness and diversity in homegardens of the Nuba Mountains, Sudan. *Agroforestry Systems* 88: 539-562. DOI: 10.1007/s10457-014-9717-2

This article is based on the study of 61 randomly selected homegardens (*jubrāka*) in four villages of the Nuba Mountains. The study followed the widely documented biodiversity of similar homegardens, sustainable agroecosystems with rich plant genetic resources. These agrosystems remain however understudied, especially in semi-arid and arid regions, despite the fact that biodiversity is often reported to be threatened by agricultural transformation processes, especially commercialization. In order to contribute to the documentation of such agrosystems, and verify their stated development, the homegardens' plant diversity parameters were calculated, accompanied by the analysis of soil samples and a socio-economic survey of the respective households. The homegardens under analysis had high biodiversity in comparison with semi-arid regions; the study found 110 species from 35 plant families cultivated together with 71 ornamentals. Species diversity was not substantially affected by commercialization, while species richness unexpectedly was increased by it. However, a high share of non-local and ornamental species suggests a loss of traditional farming practices under market influence.

Casciarri, Barbara. 2015. The predicament of access to, and management of, resources in 'globalised' Sudan. Some notes on Arab pastoralists in the Butana and Southern Kordofan. In *Past, present, and future. Fifty years of anthropology in Sudan*, edited by Munzoul A. M. Assal and Musa Adam Abdul-Jalil. Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute, 111-138

This study of contemporary pastoralists discusses the approaches and contributions of anthropological research in dealing with conflict-rich, crisis-ridden societies. Using French Marxist anthropology as the theoretical background, access to natural resources and their management are examined in terms of patterns, disruptions and the subsequent transformations. The author also incorporates an interpretation of Polanyi and recent debates on a "liberal world order" to combine her case studies on Ahāmda and Awlād Nūba with a general outlook on the implications of a "concerned anthropology" that is neither politically naive nor indifferent.

Location (online):

• www.cmi.no/publications/publication/?5499=past-present-and-future

Category 5: Administration and development

Gillan, James A. 1931. Some aspects of Nuba administration. (Sudan Government Memoranda No. 1). Khartoum

An administrative position paper rather than a study, this document is still central to the review of British colonial administration in the Nuba Mountains, as it spells out the different considerations and aspects surrounding the Closed District policies. The way in which a “Nuba policy” is discussed here is also central to an understanding of the cultural and political notions that directed governments in their dealing with the region, beyond British colonial rule.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 320.54

Kenrick, John W. 1948. The kingdom of Tegali, 1921-1946. *Sudan Notes and Records* 29, 143-150

Using an earlier article on the Tegali Kingdom written by R. J. Ellis (1935), this work starts with a short synopsis of its development from the Mahdiyya to 1921. It describes the transformation of Tegali from a centralized “Empire” to an entity of largely autonomous units. The article explores the actions of *makk* (king) Geili and the interactions with the British colonial administration, which continued to expand the Tegali district while improving local communication by building motor roads. The text shows how the *makk* used the colonial framework to improve his governance capacity and increase his sphere of influence and power. The independent remains of the old kingdom were united under a single power within 24 years. With the addition of the Talodi omodia in 1945, most of the Eastern Jebel District was under Tegali rule. The text also highlights the organizational changes that accompanied this development and which led to the transformation of the kingdom into a Rural District Council after the *makk* resigned in 1947.

Location (online):

- sudanarchive.net/cgi-bin/pagessoat?e=oroff---v-----100125--1-0-SectionLevel-0-0-1-1&a=d&cl=CL5.2.1.4.1.1&d=SNRVol23

Henderson, Kenneth D. D. 1953. *The making of the modern Sudan: the life and letters of Sir Douglas Newbold, K.B.E., of the Sudan Political Service, Governor of Kordofan 1932 - 1938, Civil Secretary, 1939 - 1945; Part I + II*. London: Faber and Faber.

The first book gives a chronological account of Newbold's time as governor of Kordofan, mainly based on the diary notes and letters written to his mother and others. The text includes descriptions of Newbold's expeditions to Tegali, Talodi and other places in the Nuba Mountains, as well as his critical comments on the colonial administration. Newbold recommended an improvement of primary schooling and education and an extension of the Native Government. The second book is thematically structured and based on extracts of Newbold's notes from his time as governor. It gives account of economic developments in the Nuba Mountains, describing projects, private enterprises, transportation, farming, education and the state of the Native Administration as well as the social structure. Furthermore, the author describes administrative problems and the communication between different bodies of the administration.

Location (print):

- Central Library (Nilein University): 962.43

Lebon, John H. G. 1956. Rural water supplies and the development of economy in the Central Sudan. *Geografiska Annaler* 38 (1), 78-101. DOI: 10.2307/520406

The article discusses the development of traditional non-irrigated agriculture and pasture in northern Sudan. It utilizes data from unpublished governmental reports and contemporary studies. The author sees traditional agriculture and pastoralism as the backbone of production since the Condominium, but, regardless, identifies a need for development for several reasons, all of which are discussed in the paper. In irrigated agriculture, the water from the Nile was reaching its limits; this called not only for newly negotiated international agreements but also for large and expensive engineering projects. Meanwhile, non-irrigated agriculture could largely profit from *hafir* digging, a traditional form of rainwater storage. The author considers results, economic trends and effects upon soil and vegetation of eight years of experience with *hafir* digging. He further discusses the necessity of new policies, which put grazing and the traditional forms of small-scale agriculture under stricter control. While giving an overview on the national level, the text also explores *hafir* usage in the Nuba Mountains and economic developments in the region.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 338.18 LEB (separate print)

Sanderson, Lilian. 1963. Educational development and administrative control in the Nuba Mountains region of the Sudan. *Journal of African History* 4 (2), 233-247. DOI: 10.1017/S00218537000040 47

The article argues that the administrative concerns of the Condominium regime could be divided between those of the south and those of northern Sudan. While a pacification of the north was a more urgent task, the scattered and heterogeneous groups in the south were no threat for the colonial rule politically speaking. The north could be regarded as part of the literate world of Islam and as connected to the traditions and techniques of the “Western” administration introduced during the Turco-Egyptian regime. Educational policies were expected to grow stronger on this basis, guided by both administrative convenience and, to some extent, a perceived welfare of the population. Regions such as the Nuba Mountains faced many problems arising from this north-south dichotomy; the article retraces the often erratic attempts to bring both educational development and administrative control there. Showing processes of administrative identification in the context of a Muslim/Non-Muslim dichotomy, and a subsequent proliferation of Qur’ān or missionary schools, Sanderson points to the ensuing contradictions throughout the colonial period, which were not compensated by the more consistent policy under Douglas Newbold after 1932. Sanderson expected the post-colonial policies of Islamization and Arabicization to have more efficient educational results, notwithstanding the question of their overall benefit.

Nasr, Ahmed Abdel Rahim. 1971. British policy towards Islam in the Nuba Mountains, 1920-1940. *Sudan Notes and Records* 52, 23-32

The paper reviews the British colonial policy in the Nuba Mountains, arguing that the colonial rulers patronized Christianity and constrained Islamization and Arabicization. It describes the area prior to 1920 and examines the policies of Gillan and Newbold, both governors of the Kordofan Provinces. With this historical outlook, Nasr attempts to give an alternative explanation for the unequal spread of Islam in the Nuba Mountains, contemplating the findings of Nadel and Stevenson. Nadel had argued that any differences originated in “the varying readiness for cultural assimilation,” while Stevenson saw the physical environment (accessibility of the hills) as the major reason. The author maintains, however, a primarily political approach. The Nuba Mountains were surrounded by Muslim areas in the west, north and south, with the Sudd region posing a geographical blockade further in the south. Muslim-Arab groups controlled most of the plains, with only one small Christian mission present in the area. But anti-Islam colonial policies actively hindered both Islamization and Arabicization by building a Nuba culture connected with Christianity and by providing administrative support for Nuba settlements in the plains, which were then shielded from Muslim-Arab influence.

Ibrahim, Ahmed Osman Mohamed. 1977. A history of the Nuba Mountains 1898-1947, with special reference to the British policy and administration. Doctoral dissertation. Faculty of Arts, University of Khartoum, Khartoum

The thesis examines the British colonial rule in the Nuba Mountains from 1898 to 1947, when the implementation of the so-called Closed District policy in the area ended. The thesis provides a basic geographic description of the region, some ethnographic notes on the inhabitants and a summary of the history of the Nuba Mountains prior to the British rule. It also details how the Nuba resisted the colonial power for almost three decades through armed struggle and critically hindered the establishment of colonial authority. Core to the colonial strategy was devolution, while one of the main challenges for the colonial administrators was the establishment of the rule of law among the previously independent Nuba. Main reason for the implementation of the Closed District policy in the Nuba Mountains was the concern the colonialists had about the Arab influence on the Nuba. The thesis aims to evaluate the actual extent of Arabization and the impact of the British policies to counter it. Finally, the text reviews the local education system and how it impacted the integration of the Nuba Mountains into the rest of Sudan.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University)

Adams, Martin E., and John Howell. 1979. Developing the traditional sector in the Sudan. *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 27 (3), 505-518

The article explores the failure of the national development strategy of independent Sudan. The government has, with the financial support of the Arab oil states, opted for the establishment of a large-scale modern agricultural sector and has given the development of the traditional sector a rather low priority. While in the rural areas of the south and west the modernization of the traditional sector is a state objective, the state failed to address the question of what “modernization of the traditional sector” means. The article uses cases such as the provision of modern industrial agricultural tools to farmers in the Nuba Mountains as examples for the lack of a general concept of development. The authors argue that the labor need of the industrial sector does not necessarily impact the traditional sector and that the competition between the two sectors for international funds does not exist because they aim for different development funds. Therefore, a prioritization in terms of funding is not necessary. The failure of the Sudanese government is a result of placing industrial schemes on the best parcels of land, ignoring the interests and needs of the traditional sector.

Naṣr, Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Raḥīm and Muḥammad cAlī Jādīn. 1979. *Al-idāra al-briṭāniyya wa al-tabṣīr al-islāmī wa al-masīḥī fī al-sūdān: dirāsa awwaliyya*. Khartoum: Wizāra Al-Tarbiyya wa Al-Tawjīh, Al-Šuʿūn Al-Dīniyya wa Al-Awqāf

In spite of administrative support of Christian proselytizing by the British colonial government, including the Closed District legislation, there was no significant spread of Christianity in Sudan. Among other reasons for the failed proliferation, the authors list divisions and competition among missionaries, resistance against what contradicted existing customs and beliefs, influence of Islam in some areas, as well as lack of educational and economic development parallel to the missionary activities. The study also maintains that northern intellectual opposition to British policies resulted from concerns that Christians would divide the national population, in contrast to the supposed unifying impact of Arab language and Islamic religion. On the other hand, anti-Christian policies and the enforcement of Islam after independence strengthened north-south conflicts and fuelled a civil war. This points to a generally negative effect of coercive religious policies. Democratic and voluntary policies can lead to harmonious relations, as shown by Francis Deng's study of Dinka Ngok-Baggara relations. On the basis of this argument, the study discusses British policy towards Islam and Christian missionaries in the Nuba Mountains (1920-1940 and 1941-1956), as well as related political developments after independence. The peaceful spread of religions is also elaborated through the activities of individual religious leaders, exemplified through the person of Muḥammad Amīn al-Qirṣī.

Location (print):

• Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 275.3709624 Aḥmad

Saeed, Mohamed H. 1980. Economic effects of agricultural mechanization in rural Sudan: the case of Habila, southern Kordofan. In *Problems of savannah development: the Sudan case*, edited by Gunnar Haaland. Bergen: Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen, 167-184

This paper discusses agricultural mechanization as a means for improving production, increasing incomes and raising living standards in rural areas. The author examines the economic feasibility of such mechanization in Sudan with a socio-economic case study on Habila, but also considers economic alternative practices. He states that mechanization through large-scale private investment increases both production and income differences. Feasible alternatives are the so-called modernized schemes with a broader participation of rural cultivators, such as those implemented by the Nuba Mountain Agricultural Production Corporation.

Location (print):

Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 338.109624 PRO

Kersany Mohamed, Ibrahim. 1981. The effects of capitalism upon the past and future development of precapitalist agriculture in the Sudan, with special reference to the Nuba Mountains region. Doctoral dissertation. School of Economic Studies, University of Leeds, Leeds

The thesis explores how colonialism and neo-colonialism have transformed the economic and social structure of Sudan, especially the parts rooted in pre-capitalist systems. It argues that the productive forces were dominated by cooperating external and internal forces, which controlled the means of production and the state bureaucracy before and after independence. This system shaped the social and economic relations within Sudan as well as the structure of economy and state. All central governments tried to launch agricultural development within the capitalist framework and with heavy reliance on the local merchant class. None of these attempts considered the specific modes of production in the different areas of Sudan and all attempts ultimately failed. This failure is documented in more detail through the example of the Nuba Mountains. The author argues that the long-term development of the national economy must be based on state farms and producer cooperatives (instead of private enterprises or foreign investors) because only these forms of organization can effectively support the industrialization of the country and utilize the productive forces of pre-capitalist agriculture. These policy changes must be accompanied by a complete change of the national political system, enabling the democratic participation of all people and a reorganization of class relations nationwide. Only such thorough societal changes can possibly encourage the productive forces to fully engage in national development.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): I/101

Adams, Martin. 1982. The Baggara problem - attempts at modern change in southern Darfur and southern Kordofan (Sudan). *Development and Change* 13 (2), 259-289. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-7660.1982.tb00120.x

This article explores different views on the “Baggara problem,” including local land governance. From the ecological perspective, the focus is on the response to population growth in a system of sustained production in arid regions with low rainfall and poor soils. The Baggara lifestyle is challenged by competing neighboring pastoralists and by the expansion of land cultivation. Sedentary farmers experience crop damage by livestock and also conflicts with pastoralists over land and water sources. However, the central government frames the Baggara problem in a wider context of economic and political imbalance, a problem that hasn’t been solved yet. The subsequent policies of settling nomads and introducing them to a sedentary lifestyle (practiced by central governments since the colonial rule) have increased how conflictual the situation is. The Baggara problem is a complex dilemma of seemingly irreconcilable interests. The article tries to give an overview of historic developments and offers suggestions for a peaceful settlement of all concerned groups. While placing its regional focus on southern Darfur, the paper relates the experiences to the national context and to the situation in South Kordofan.

Baumann, Gerd. 1982. Some notes on rural development in the Nuba Mountains (Sudan). *Journal of Research on North East Africa* 1 (2), 85-94

The article gives an overview of recent development strategies in rural areas in the Nuba Mountains. The focus shifts from large-scale mechanization schemes with a commercial purpose to small-scale projects, organized with, by and for the local villagers. This trend is similar to the development in other parts of Sudan and other African countries and is accompanied by socio-economic changes independent from agricultural development schemes. The planners of agricultural development have ignored these trends in the past. The success of future projects may heavily depend on the consideration and integration of societal changes in development policies. The study builds on anthropological fieldwork and discusses recent changes and future developments in the framework of particular local situations, to highlight certain aspects of the wider, ongoing discussion. It explores large-scale mechanization for a project in Habila, small-scale mechanization experiences in Al Berdab, and general socio-economic developments in the villages of the Kadugli, Katcha and Miri groups.

Salih, Kamal el-Din Osman. 1982. The British administration in the Nuba Mountains region of Sudan 1900-1956. Doctoral dissertation. University of London, London

The thesis reviews the British colonial administration policies in the Nuba Mountains between 1930 and 1956. The core principle of this policy was to “to preserve or evolve an authentic Nuba civilization and culture as against bastard type of Arabisation,” largely owed to Sir James Angus Gillan, head of the Nuba Mountains Area Administration from 1922 to 1930. The British administration faced the following problems in implementing its strategies: (1) establishing Nuba federations based on Nuba traditions to form a stable barrier against Arabization; (2) teaching Arabic language in Latin script in the Christian missions; (3) isolating Nuba soldiers from Arab soldiers and preventing the former from serving in the north; (4) introducing cash crop farming, especially cotton, in the area to build a sustaining agricultural economy in the hills and to prevent the migration of Nuba to the northern regions. The thesis explains the failures of these strategies and how the British administration abandoned the policy of a genuine Nuba development for a full integration of the Nuba in the society of northern Sudan. This policy shift manifested in the integration of Nuba and Arab military units, in the deployment of Nuba troops outside of Kordofan, in the introduction of a northern-style education system and the weakening of missionary schools, as well as in the establishment of administrative units containing Arabs and Nuba, both nationally and locally.

Location (online):

• ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.393127/ (with registration)

Battahani, Atta el Hassan el. 1983. A strategy for the modernisation of traditional agriculture in Southern Kordofan. In *Socio-economic change in the Sudan*, edited by Mohamed Hashim Awad. Khartoum: Graduate College, 67-79

The text starts with a brief account of geographical and climatic characteristics of the Nuba Mountains and then provides a historical background for the region's agricultural economy. It describes the pre-capitalist tribal economy as based on simple herding and shifting agriculture. The rights to land and labor were organized communally and the whole production was related to agriculture and basic means of defense. Still these societies were not static and their potential for societal development was based on the social division of labor. While the elders' privilege was based on status and not yet on class, there was a tendency to establish a privileged access to the social products, which influenced the access to the means of production. The establishment of trade relations with the outside world via Jallaba traders from the north and the pressure of slave and cattle raids by their neighbors further impacted this evolution. The study provides a detailed analysis of the mercantile era of economic penetration during the Turko-Egyptian and Mahdist period, of the colonial and postcolonial situation with an emphasis on the agricultural development and finally of the radical agrarian reform under the Nimeiri regime. It provides a historical analysis of economic conflict in the region, examining the class relations between farmers, traders and the administration.

Location (print):

- Central Library (Nilein University): 330.9624
- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 330.9624 SOC

Arifi, Salih Abdalla El. 1985. Local government and natural resources in the Sudan: the case of Lagawa Rural Council. *Geojournal* 11 (4), 349-359. DOI: 10.1007/BF00150769

The article explores how the local government has been responsible for the management, protection and promotion of natural resources in Sudan since 1971. While not entirely uncommon in developing countries, in a lot of other cases the central government establishes a specialized agency for these tasks. The paper uses an example of a single local government unit in western Kordofan to show how local governments in general have become more and more involved in the management of natural resources in Sudan. The field study focused on grazing, due to its central importance for the local economy, and the author analyzed official reports, as well as resource-related policies and control measures. He concludes that the council in charge of managing these natural resources has failed, as the livestock has exceeded grazing capacity by 49%, causing the spread of desertification.

Ibrahim, Ahmed Uthman Muhammad. 1985. *The dilemma of British rule in the Nuba Mountains 1898-1947*. (Graduate College Publications 15). Khartoum: Khartoum University Press

The book, an abridged version of the author's PhD thesis, explores the history of armed resistance by the traditionally independent Nuba groups against colonial rule during the Condominium. Challenges related to security and the establishment of an effective administration characterized the first 30 years of British colonial rule in the region. After the so-called pacification, the government tried to develop administrative policies and law enforcement, but failed in the implementation of its central element, the Closed District policy. The reasons for the abandonment are discussed here, as well as the preceding evaluation of the process of Arabicization. The book also explores the interaction between Christianity and Islam, as well as the work of the missionaries and the related issue of education.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 962.8 AHM

Battahani, Atta el Hassan el. 1986. *Nationalism and peasant politics in the Nuba Mountains region of Sudan, 1924-1966*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Sussex, Brighton. Published in 2009 by Khartoum University Press

The thesis describes the unequal opportunities of participation in politics and economy in Sudan. While northern Arab groups dominate the access to most resources, non-Arab groups suffer from socio-economic and religious marginalization. The study explores the perception of the political structure of independent Sudan by Nuba who saw it as ostensibly maintaining the existing system of Arab dominance and securing the existing monopoly of political power. While the different political parties in the north largely argued about questions of national unity and economic development, trends of disintegration and suspicion towards the state led to new political alliances and major shifts in the political landscape, not only in the Nuba Mountains, but all over Sudan. On this basis, the author examines Nuba nationalism starting with the socio-economic developments in the early independent Sudan. He also identifies the roots for the economic underdevelopment of the region and therefore discusses historical attempts of outside powers to dominate the Nuba Mountains and the Nuba's response to them. Only through this historical background, so the final argument, the recent violent struggle of the Nuba, their economic situation and the political conflict with the central government can be understood.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 320.54 ATT

Speece, Mark, and Thomas Gillard-Byers. 1986. Government market intervention in Kordofan, Sudan. *Northeast African Studies* 8 (2-3), 111-129

This article is based on a five-year research period of the Western Sudan Agricultural Research Project of the Washington State University and on the resulting economic data collected from 1984 to 1986. It points out that the Sudanese development policy is achieving the exact opposite of its intended goals. On the macroeconomic level, food production and income from cash crop production for foreign markets decreased, while the aim of the state intervention was an increase of agricultural production. On the microeconomic level, farmers and consumers suffered from government policies, with a worsening of their condition. The interventions of the central government over the 20 years previous to the study had been characterized by a strong state control over important sectors, which in southern Kordofan primarily include agricultural cash crops. State control was ensured through direct operation and a strict regulation of marketing channels. The failure of the Sudanese agricultural development policy can be inferred from raising food prices for consumers, depressed prices for farmers, uncertain supply and shortages of basic products, a decrease in general production and yields, and sharp drops in foreign exchange earnings.

Location (online):

- papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2569108

Ibrahim, Hamid El-Bashir. 1988. Agricultural development policy, ethnicity and socio-political change in the Nuba Mountains, Sudan. Doctoral dissertation. University of Connecticut, Storrs

The thesis describes the two main challenges for the Sudanese state after independence. The first is both a lack of national unity and the polarization of different social, ethnic and religious groups, which led to a crisis of legitimation of the state. The second is the crisis of development resulting from the frequent failure to effectively reorganize the agricultural economy and the ensuing scarcity of food. These two challenges are so interwoven with each other that one cannot be solved without the other. The state always regarded agricultural development as the core domain to address the issue of development and legitimation. The author argues that in the Nuba Mountains state policies failed due to the long-lasting antagonism between the different ethnic groups, which dates back to British colonial rule. Different political organizations based on ethnic affiliation rose in the area and failed in the attempt to address the inequality in the economic and political sphere. The text discusses the political history of development intervention by the state in the area and its failures, which further increase the conflict between the various competing groups of the region.

Location (online):

- digitalcommons.uconn.edu/dissertations/AA18901508/

Salih, Kamal Osman. 1989. *The Kordofan region of the Sudan, 1980-1985: a case study of the problems of regionalism*. (Monograph Series 35). Khartoum: Development Studies and Research Centre, Faculty of Economic and Social Studies, University of Khartoum

The book explores Sudanese regional politics and how the regions constitute political systems and shape themselves as civil societies. It uses the Kordofan region as a case study. The region was established by the 1980 Regional Government Act and constituted Sudan's ethnically and culturally most diverse region. It thus perfectly resembled a microcosm of Sudan and exemplified its Arab-African dichotomy. The study focuses on institutions, relations to the central government, the economic situation, and sectionalism. The data was collected from a random sample of 808 interviewees between January and March 1985. Among the interviewees were Sudanese civil servants, merchants, laborers, farmers, local headmen, and students. They were asked to evaluate the performance of regional institutions, central-regional relations, finance and intra-regional conflict. The data was collected in six districts, three in northern Kordofan (El-Obeid, Um Ruwaba, El-Nuhud) and three in southern Kordofan (Dilling, Kadugli, Abu Gibeiha). Additional data was provided by official regional legislative and executive branches and used as a comparison. The analysis examined the functionality of the Sudanese regionalism from 1980 to 1985 and how the public assessed the political system based on its socio-economic and political expectations.

Location (print):

- Development Studies and Research Institute (Khartoum University)

Salih, Kamal Osman. 1990. British policy and the accentuation of inter-ethnic divisions: the case of the Nuba mountains region of Sudan, 1920-1940. *African Affairs* 89 (356), 417-436

The article argues that the British authorities, in attempting to preserve, through the "Southern Policy" and the "Nuba Policy," an authentic Nuba civilization, were responsible for strengthening divisions between Nuba and Arabs, even while their pacification of the Nuba Mountains brought about greater mixing of the populations. The attempt to get Nuba groups to work together as a federation was unsuccessful as was the attempt to remove Arab suzerainty over certain populations in the District (such as Awlād Ḥamayd control over the Kao and Nyaro Nuba or the Rawawqa Ḥawazma control over the Liguri Nuba). In addition, there were attempts to restrict the enlistment of Nuba and prevent them from moving to towns. All these efforts succeeded only in blocking Nuba economic interests and making them vulnerable to exploitation. The text also mentions that Nadel was skeptical towards this attempt to build an "authentic" Nuba culture because of the "bewildering complexity" of their different groups and cultures.

Saavedra, Martha Eileen. 1991. Tractors and transformation: agricultural mechanization, farmers' unions and the decentralized state in the Nuba Mountains of Sudan. Doctoral dissertation. Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley

While most literature on the relations between state and society in Africa solely explores the state element, this thesis argues that the nature and actions on the societal side must also be explored to provide a full analysis of the relationship. The study employs this general approach in the field of agricultural economy in the Nuba Mountains. The state may provide the framework of productive resources but the actions and decisions on the societal level are often more important in establishing the use and results of production. The author therefore explores the expansion of production in farms not under state control and the use of tractors by farmers. While state input was initially very important for the introduction of mechanization in agriculture, later the establishment of a farmers' union and consolidation of the farmers' position by self-organization became much more important. This example highlights not only the dual character of the state/society relationship but also the initiatives coming from society.

Ḥasab Allah Muḥammad ʿIsā. 1992. *Tarīḥ jibāl al-nūba al-ijtimāʿī wa al-siyāsī fī qarn 1885-1985*. Khartoum: Nizār Al-Nūr ʿAlī Sulīmān

This book outlines social and political developments in the Nuba Mountains from the beginning of the Mahdist rule (1885) to the beginning of the second democratic period (1985), based on archival research and a literature review. The author identifies the Nuba Mountains as a meeting point of several Arab and African groups, and urges integrative politics for the region. The General Union of the Nuba Mountains is mentioned as a positive, non-partisan experience that was later hijacked by political sectarianism. The Sudan National Party is introduced as a contemporary example that might gain a similar integrative position in the region.

Location (print):

- Development Studies and Research Institute (Khartoum University): 300.9624 SOC

Sultan, Dawood H. 1993. Merchants and a bankrupt state: reflections on contextual imperatives and the genesis of predicament in Kordofan. *African Studies Review* 36 (3), 75-94. DOI: 10.2307/ 525174

State agents of independent Sudan continuously try to ensure state rule over the agricultural economy by controlling the markets on the local and the national level, which allows directing agricultural output. The antagonist in this struggle is a powerful commercial bourgeoisie that erodes the state control of the economy to ensure its own profit. Since the independence of Sudan in 1956, the majority of the population has been suffering from this ongoing struggle. The article explores the cotton exports of the Nuba Mountains as a case study to highlight this development. It shows how economic crises led to pressure on the resources of independent farmers and the acquisition of

these resources by an unproductive state bureaucracy. It further discusses the financial crisis of the farmers, the failures in the transformation of the agricultural economy and the lack of foreign investments caused by misguided state policy. The article explains the prolonged poverty of the peasant class and the frequent recurrence of famine due to environmental factors, a low marginal productivity in labor and an ineffective cost-benefit relation in the local farms. The author emphasizes, however, that these factors alone cannot sufficiently explain the crisis in Sudan and that the initially outlined political framework must be considered.

Abdelgabar, Omar. 1997. *Mechanised farming and Nuba peasants: an example for non-sustainable development in the Sudan*. Hamburg: Lit

This book argues that rain-fed mechanized farming has increased the occurrence of destructive conflicts over natural resources in Sudan, and supported the outbreak and continuation of civil war and social unrest in Sudan. This is due to the lack of compatibility between its farming system and local residents, both in terms of their economic activities and in terms of equity between them and the scheme holders. It is thus an unsustainable type of agricultural development. The argument is supported by a case study of Habila, a mechanized farming scheme on cracking clay soil located in the Dilling District and introduced in the late 1960s for the production of sorghum and sesame. The scheme's sustainability and impact on the area's peasant population is assessed in light of economic development policies towards the region before and after independence.

Battahani, Atta el Hassan el. 1998. On the transformation of ethnic-national policies in the Sudan: the case of the Nuba people. *Sudan Notes and Records (New Series)* 2, 99-116

The article explores several features of the politics of ethnicity and nationalism in the Nuba Mountains. It elaborates on the nature of modern political developments and asks if they represent a change in the nature of politics or rather a continuation of historical processes. The author does not necessarily try to answer the question, but rather intends to raise awareness towards recent shifts in the nature of politics while not ignoring the importance of historical continuity. While peasantization, acculturation and resistance against overpowering forces represent the element of continuity, shifts are apparent in the transformation of class-based counter-movements into ethnic-nationalist movements in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as their radicalization in the 1980s and 1990s. The integration of a historical and a contemporary perspective is thus also intended to integrate class and ethnicity as analytical tools.

Location (print):

- Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology (Khartoum University)

Guma Kunda Komey. 1998. *Malāmiḥ taḥṭiṭ al-tanmiyya al-īlīmiyya al-mutakāmila li-wilāyat janūb kurdufān. Majallat Abḥāt Al-Tanmiyya wa Al-Salām* 1 (1), 80-96

This article proposes several elements of planning for comprehensive regional development in South Kordofan. It is based on an analysis of the previous imbalance of national development planning and programs, as seen in ten- and five-year plans and their implementation since the 1960s. The author points to the subsequent vicious circle of migration from underdeveloped areas and further reduction of their priority in national development. He aims at providing a theoretical and practical framework for future interventions in favor of balanced regional development in the form of collaboration of researchers and practitioners.

Location (print):

- Centre for Peace and Development (Bahri University)

Saavedra, M. 1998. Ethnicity, resources and the central state: politics in the Nuba Mountains, 1950 to the 1990s. In *Kordofan invaded: peripheral incorporation and social transformation in Islamic Africa*, edited by Endre Stiansen and Michael Kevane. Leiden: Brill, 223-253

In this article Saavedra examines the development of political and social institutions in the Nuba Mountains. She shows that, despite a long history of conflict, groups were able to harmonize their interests to address new economic circumstances such as those caused by the establishment of new crop markets and mechanized agriculture. This harmonization ended when state governments started to directly intervene in local institution-building. The article presents the Nuba Mountains as symbolizing the three main political complexes in modern Sudan, the antagonistic concepts of “Arab” versus “African” and “local” versus “center,” and the impact of the development attempts in the agricultural sector. It describes the historical roots of ethnicity and the increased “hardening” of Nuba identity brought about by recent political developments. It explores the political impact of the Nuba Mountains Farmers Union, created in 1952, as well as the effect of “modernizing forces” such as the Nuba Mountains Agricultural Production Corporation (NMAPC) of 1967, and the Mechanized Farming Corporation of 1968. The writings of Atta el Battahani and the 1995 report of African Rights are major references to describe the political battles over mechanized farming and land, as are the parliamentary battles waged by Rev. Philip Abbas Gaboush, and the armed resistance against the government in 1985.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 306.3209628 KOR

Sharkey, Heather J. 2002. Christians among Muslims: the Church Missionary Society in the northern Sudan. *Journal of African History* 43 (1), 51-75. DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702008022

The article provides an overview of missionary activities conducted by the Church Missionary Society in Sudan. Starting in 1899, missionaries arrived with the aim to convert Muslims. But the strong rejection among the Islamic society and legal restrictions of the Anglo-Egyptian government almost entirely prevented successful missionary work and in 60 years only one Muslim converted. Despite the conversion failure, the missions succeeded in the establishment of medical and educational services in urban centers and in the Nuba Mountains, and for the first time in the area established facilities for girls' education. Yet, the attempt to educate their graduates was undermined by the use of "Romanized Arabic," a form of written colloquial Arabic in Latin print that had no practical relevance. This and other elements of the missions' history provide a deeper understanding of colonial relations in the spheres of power, religion and education.

Willis, Justin. 2003. 'The Nyamang are hard to touch': mission evangelism and tradition in the Nuba Mountains, Sudan, 1933-1952. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 33 (1), 32-62. DOI: 10.1163/157006603765626703.

The text gives an overview of the establishment and eventual failure of the Church Missionary Society at Salara, active from 1935 until 1950. After its foundation the mission was generously financed by the colonial administration and received further donations from the United Kingdom, still it failed to establish a local Christian community and was abandoned in the early 1950s. The article explores the conditions and processes that led to the end of the endeavor and argues that the missionaries' ambivalent attitudes towards tradition and modernity weakened their missionary work in Salara. These attitudes were connected to the colonial administration, which was struggling in dealing with the inhabitants of the Nuba Mountains, especially the Nuba themselves. Further uncertainty stemmed from the realization that a successful mission had to emphasize a local, African form of Christianity and from the doubts surrounding the reliability of African Christians.

Zailaee, Siddig D. Babiker El. 2003. British colonial policies in the Nuba Mountains of central Sudan 1899 – 1946. Doctoral dissertation. Faculty of Economic and Social Studies, University of Manchester, Manchester

This thesis starts from the hypothesis that the British first occupied Sudan because of strategic reasons. When Sudan was found suitable for cotton growing, projects serving British needs were carried out. The bulk of cotton growing was centered in the Gezira region, while other areas were left out and kept as reserves for cheap labor. The Nuba Mountains were part of these marginalized regions. There, communal land was converted into a commodity and labor was channeled to commercial agriculture in central Sudan. This commodification of land and labor led to the emergence of market economy and

a merchant class. The merchant class, apart from its central economic role, was also a powerful force of Islamization and Arabicization, integrating Nuba economy more and more into the national and international capitalist market. The “Nuba Policy” initially pursued by the colonial administration was projected to support a “Nuba identity” based on Christianity and an anti-Arab outlook. However, the socio-economic forces created by the colonial state itself undermined this policy. The radical socio-economic transformations triggered by the Second World War led altogether to the end of the policy in 1946. The official end of the “Nuba Policy” opened the doors for the integration of the Nuba into Sudanese society, which left them marginalized as well.

Location (online):

- ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.496380 (with registration)

Komey, Guma Kunda. 2004. Regional disparity in national development of the Sudan and its impact on nation-building: with reference to the peripheral region of the Nuba Mountains. Doctoral dissertation. University of Khartoum, Khartoum

The thesis examines the regional context of national development strategies and how different socio-economic and political actors contribute to the general nation-building process. When development starts at a specific spatial point, economic growth concentrates around this point while regional disparity continues to exist and even increases. This obviously happened in Sudan, where national policies clearly failed to address this development. The strategies of independent Sudan show striking similarities with colonial attempts to develop the economy. While the center diverts resources from the periphery, it provides necessary manufactured goods at unfair conditions, thus establishing economic control. This resulted in great inequalities of income, investment allocation, economic and political power, as well as social development. The text uses the Nuba Mountains as an example to highlight these developments and show the local results of these strategies. The Nuba remain marginalized despite their economic potential. They also suffer from a lack of political and socio-economic rights. The study argues that fair and equal economic growth in Sudan can only be achieved by economic reforms to establish more effective modes of production and allocation, and by political reforms that enable all groups to participate fully in the political process. The thesis concludes that the Comprehensive Peace Agreement is maybe the last chance to reach this goal and thereby secure the future unity of Sudan, because the current political condition of Sudan strengthens further disintegration.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University)

Komey, Guma Kunda. 2004. Dynamics of the marginalization process in Sudan: the Nuba Mountains case. In *Sudan: the challenges of peace and redressing marginalization*, edited by Hassan A. Abdel Ati. Khartoum: National Civic Forum, EDGE for Consultancy & Research, 54-87

The text discusses the historical failure to fulfill the development aspirations of the post-Second World War years. Sudan is a classic example of a developing nation-state, with three problematic characteristics: socio-cultural diversity, increasingly widening regional differences in development, and a problematic political centralization. While Sudan hasn't made progress in solving these challenges since independence, they have become centrifugal forces endangering its national unity. The author uses the example of the Nuba Mountains to explain how disparities between and within societies have increased. The author illustrates the marginalization progress with qualitative and quantitative evidence from his PhD thesis regarding the connection between nation-building and development.

Pantuliano, Sara. 2005. A 'principled' approach to complex emergencies. Testing a new aid delivery model in the Nuba Mountains. *Disasters* 29 (1), 52-66. DOI: 10.1111/j.0361-3666.2005.00284.x

This article explores the Nuba Mountains Programme Advancing Conflict Transformation (NMPACT) as presenting a new concept of emergency response to early food security crises. It was the only working program that brought both sides of the conflict together during the civil war. It succeeded in bringing diverse actors together for a common goal. The study clarifies the framework of the program, as well as its main elements and newly introduced approaches, such as the principles of engagement and the "political humanitarianism." In contrast with conventional methods used to ensure food security from the outside, for instance during Operation Lifeline Sudan, NMPACT focused on capacity-building, sustainable agriculture and market revitalization, together with conflict transformation and peace-building. The study further identifies weak points and limitations of the NMPACT and sketches experiences that could prove useful when using this same approach in similar complex emergency situations.

Pantuliano, Sara. 2005. Changes and potential resilience of food systems in the Nuba Mountains conflict. (Working Paper 05-07). Rome: Agricultural and Development Economics Division of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

This paper examines political causes of famine and identifies violent conflicts and wars as important factors for food insecurity. It further explores how short-term interventions, such as the provision of food, shelter and medical care by humanitarian agencies, do not target the root of the problem. This is primarily the consequence of the lack of long-term policies that aim to protect the livelihood of the affected population and to resolve the causes of the conflict. The text reviews the Nuba Mountains Programme Addressing

Conflict Transformation (NMPACT), which used the experiences of Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS) and aimed to provide a sustainable answer to the problem of food insecurity in the region. The main focus of NMPACT was capacity-building, sustainable agriculture and market revitalization, and also general conflict transformation and peace-building. The text provides a description of the region, the history of conflict and the relationship between sedentary farmers and nomadic groups. It identifies political marginalization and ethnic discrimination as the main causes of civil war, explores livelihood strategies of the people and examines different external shocks that challenged the local economy. It further discusses governmental as well as SPLM approaches to these problems, and finally reviews the NMPACT and its impacts on the local food supply. It concludes that the NMPACT, and especially its approach to strategic coordination, provide useful lessons for other emergency response programs.

Location (online):

- <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/008/af141e/af141e00.pdf>
- www.fao.org/3/a-af141t/

Salih, Kamal O. 2005. British colonial military recruitment policy in the southern Kordofan Region of Sudan, 1900-1945. *Middle Eastern Studies* 41 (2), 169-192. DOI: 10.1080/00263200500035066

This article examines the military recruitment policy under the British administration in southern Kordofan during the period going from 1900 to 1945 within the framework of the “Nuba Policy,” the administration’s fundamental policy in the region. Starting from its intent to protect an “authentic Nuba civilization,” the author discusses the Nuba’s origin. This is followed by a description of the recruitment campaigns among the natives of the region and of the resulting civilizing influences. Then the article elaborates on the effect of Egyptian propaganda in the Sudanese army of 1900-24 on Nuba soldiers, as well as on the consequences of the Nuba’s involvement in the 1924 revolt. The author analyzes the links between Arabicization and Islamization of Nuba soldiers and their deployment outside the Nuba region. In this regard, there is a review of the disbandment of the Nuba Company at Shendi. Another question that is touched upon is about difficulties to recruit pagan, non-Nubas into the Nuba Companies of the Camel Corps. Finally, the war conditions of 1940-45 are shown to have fundamentally altered the course of this military recruitment policy, apparent in the lifting of the restriction for Nuba migrants, who resided in the north, to be enlisted.

Muḥammad Dafʿ Allah Ḥūjalī. 2006. *Al-taʿlīm al-asāsī fī wilāyat janūb kurdufān: al-wāqīʿ wa al-rūʾyat al-mustaḡbaliyya fī ḍawʿ al-istrāṭijīyya al-qawmiyya al-šāmila lil-taʿlīm*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Khartoum, Khartoum

The thesis explores the role of the Sudanese comprehensive strategy for education (1992-2002) for framing the basic education system in South Kordofan. It examines the concept and philosophy of basic education and explores institutions and objects

related to it. It aims to evaluate the change and influences of the national strategy in the local context and how modern trends change the perception of basic education in the area. It uses the descriptive approach and focuses on key informants like teachers, supervisors and members of the educational administration in and around Dilling. After analyzing the research material consisting of questionnaires and interviews, the thesis concludes with a positive assessment of the comprehensive national strategy for education, which is considered an improvement of the educational system. The text further suggests an inclusion of culture in the syllabus, peace culture among pupils, an improvement of the school infrastructure, and a prioritization of education in central government policies.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): M/1757

Harizi, Khalid El, and Heather Klemick. 2007. Measuring and accounting for community capabilities in Kordofan, Sudan. (IFPRI Discussion Paper 00730). Washington: International Food Policy Research Institute

The Community Capability Index is one of the measurement instruments for natural resource governance that were developed to assess and analyze the relationship between empowerment and development. This paper not only details its methodological processes, it also illustrates it through empirical material gathered in 85 villages in North and South Kordofan. The findings are based on geographic, economic, and institutional variables of community capabilities and an analysis of the factors influencing these capabilities. Positive factors were found to be a village market, proximity to a town, access to credit, and good rainfall distribution. Negative factors were lower-quality aquifers, cracking clay soils, and war shocks. While the aforementioned results could be expected, a non-intuitive finding was a weak correlation between capabilities and wealth. Together with a strong correlation between institutional and social dimensions, and participation in donor-funded projects, this indicates that poverty reduction and community empowerment are not necessarily linked, especially with a focus on generalized, non-stratified community development. A further suggestion emerging from the findings is the need for context-specific interventions to strengthen relevant capabilities.

Location (online):

- ebrary.ifpri.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15738coll2/id/125266

Matus, Jason. 2007. The future of food security in the Three Areas of Sudan. *Disasters* 31 (1), 91-103. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-7717.2007.00351.x

The article shows how the slow implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the comparatively faster economic recovery led to greater gaps in incomes,

unsustainable urbanization, overexploitation of the environment, and more resource-based conflicts. All these aspects will ultimately cause chronic poverty and therefore undermine the aims of the CPA. The author favors a regulation of economic development to counter these effects and recommends agencies to carefully assist and support the CPA. The text then provides an analysis of food security in a wider framework of the current political, social and economic dimensions. It suggests to direct the attention on the least developed areas and to provide them with encompassing support considering all socio-economic groups. It especially discusses the role of the World Food Programme (WFP) as an actor related to the political context, which should support the peace process and political reforms. This consolidation of its activities requires adequate strategic partners and a capacity-building on the governmental and community level that must be preceded by an improvement of field presence and skill base.

Al-Qidayl Al-Nayl Al-Qidayl Arbāb. 2008. *Al-istrātījiyyāt wa al-ḥuṭaṭ al-tanmawiyya fī al-sūdān wa cilāqatihā bil-tanmiyya fī janūb kurdufān*. Doctoral thesis. Nilein University, Khartoum

This study explores the views of employers and heads of households in South Kordofan on the impact of development strategies, plans and projects intended to alleviate poverty and to increase the income level of families and economic growth. Data were collected by quantitative and qualitative methods; the conceptual framework was based on the modernization and dependency theory, as well as concepts of rural development, sustainable poverty and strategy. Field surveys with interviews and questionnaires were complemented with secondary literature. The study attributes the perceived weakness of the interventions to their primary concern with development policies for urban infrastructure, while projects attending to the needs of rural communities have failed due to lack of budgets. Development strategies, plans and budgets in the state were not built on the basis of balanced and sustainable development. Poorly qualified staff and poor diagnoses of existing problems, which allowed the continued spread of illiteracy and poverty, were also factors. The study's recommendations include a review of the state's developmental approach, a focus on education, improvement of public services and infrastructure, as well as development of the agricultural sector, especially through the rehabilitation of the Nuba Mountains Agricultural Corporation. It is also stressed that development in the state has to rely on democracy, broad political participation and decentralized decision-making.

Location (print):

- Central Library (Nilein University): 306.309624

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ḥālīd Faḍl Allāh. 2008. *Muškila al-indimāj al-waṭanī fī al-sūdān. Ḥālat jibāl al-nūba*. Doctoral dissertation. Nilein University, Khartoum

This research deals with the problem of national integration in Sudan through the case of the Nuba Mountains. The analysis is based on conceptual work around the notions of “ethnicity,” “nationalism,” “national unity,” and “subjugation/assimilation/functional integration,” which are discussed in light of examples from around the globe, such as the Kurds in the Middle East, Yugoslavia, and national integration in multi-ethnic Africa. Turning to issues of local government and civil administration in the Nuba Mountains, historical developments are discussed through the spread of Islam and British colonial policies vis-à-vis the Christian missions, as well as armed resistance against colonial rule; e.g., by sultan Ajabna and Faki Ali. With an additional view on experiences before and after colonial rule, the research identifies challenges for national integration in the lack of development, weak local political organizations and the war in the Nuba Mountains, but also traces the changing central policies towards the region as fluctuating between subjugation, assimilation, and functional integration.

Location (print):

- Central Library (Nilein University): 85.320

Ḥāmid Al-Ṭāhir Badawī Muḥammad. 2008. *Al-abʿād al-makāniyya li-l-jarīma bi-wilāyat janūb kurdufān. Dirāsa fī al-jigrafiyā al-ijtimāʿiyya*. Doctoral dissertation. Faculty of Arts, University of Khartoum, Khartoum

This thesis is concerned with the spatial dimensions of crime in South Kordofan. The region is seen as a culturally transitional area between South and northern Sudan, as well as one of the most war-affected areas in the civil war. Crime is conceptualized as a social phenomenon that is specific to a geographic area. In order to examine its spatiality, the author collected official police statistics, as well as data from questionnaires distributed in prisons of the area to identify characteristics not covered in official records, such as demographic, economic, social, and geographical background. The researcher also used focus group discussions with Nuba and Hawāzma groups to study the effect of culture on crime. The data were analyzed using SPSS and Excel; the analysis showed geographical and cultural variations in the distribution of crime, apart from the effects of war. The researcher therefore recommends the use of geographical methods to prevent crime in the area.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University)

ʿAṭā Muḥammad Aḥmad Kantūl. 2009. *Al-ḥarāk al-siyāsī wa al-dīnī fī jibāl al-nūba, 1932-1964*. Khartoum: Al-Dār Al-ʿAlimīya Lil-Našr wa Al-Tawṣīf

The paper discusses the development of political and religious movements in the Nuba

Mountains in the last thirty years of British colonial rule and the first ten years of independent Sudan. The linguistic, cultural and religious diversity of the area provides rich material for research on development and growth. Main points of the study are the relationship of the Nuba Mountains with northern Sudan and the spread of Christianity and Islam. The paper explores the British policy in the Nuba Mountains and how the colonial administration acted towards Christian and Islamic institutions. It further describes the Islamic reaction to the British administration and the relationship between Christian missionaries and the independent Sudanese state and its national governments. It also elaborates on the expulsion of foreign missionaries in December 1962 and on how Christian institutions developed afterwards, focusing on the Sudanese Council of Churches. The study aims to add new insights to the Islamic perception of Sudanese history and places itself within the tradition of the Islamic nation's messianic role.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 962.8 cAṭā

Sultan, Dawood H. 2009. Landmines and recovery in Sudan's Nuba Mountains. *Africa Today* 55 (3), 45-61. DOI: 10.1353/at.0.0054

The paper describes the history of land mine usage in the Nuba Mountains during the civil war starting in the mid-1980s. It explores how the explosives impacted livelihoods by restricting access to water and land-based resources, such as farming areas or forests. The spread of unexploded mines has caused different problems of ecological, economic, social, psychological, and sanitary nature. The obstruction of farmlands and water sources has led to an abdication of large farming areas and concentrated people and livestock in isolated places. While not fully examined, it is certain that this fostered the spread of hunger and human and animal diseases, challenged the local food markets and endangered the economic basis of the Nuba. Almost no research has examined the changes of traditional land use patterns and impact of the land mines on the relationship of the Nuba with the "outside world." This study aims to close the significant informational gap between the influence of land mines and the development and recovery of the region after the end of the civil war.

Abdelhay, Ashraf Kamal. 2010. The politics of writing tribal identities in the Sudan. The case of the colonial Nuba policy. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 31 (2), 201-213. DOI: 10.1080/01434630903515698

The author of this article argues that linguistics have been part of a colonial project to identify or arguably invent closed racial and tribal units in Sudan. The paper supports this argument by historicizing notions of "language" in postcolonial language-planning in Sudan through a look at the colonial "Nuba Policy," which was intended to maintain an assumed, but actually artificially created, racial tribal Nuba identity. Language and literacy were essential for this policy and paved the ground for both colonial and

postcolonial state-oriented language policy discourses that continued the essentialist notions of the “Nuba Policy.” In fact, language became a mode of political action, both in favor and against nationalist ideologies, which carried the tensions and contradictions of this action into issues such as the graphical representation of language. Beyond the ideological struggles, this involved basic issues of resource distribution in Sudan, which link colonial and postcolonial language policies as sites of social struggle. Only when linguistic research situates language in this social struggle, it can be emancipated from essentializing approaches.

Grawert, Elke (ed.). 2010. *After the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Sudan: Sign of Change?* Woodbridge: James Currey

After a long process of negotiations, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed on 9 January 2005 between the Government of Sudan (GOS) and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). The CPA initially raised hopes that it would form the foundation for lasting peace in Sudan, but invariably met challenges threatening its very existence. This book compiles scholarly analyses of the post-CPA situation, covering aspects such as the implementation of the power-sharing agreement, ongoing conflicts with regard to land issues, challenges of the reintegration of internally displaced people and refugees, and effects of the CPA on other regions of Sudan, as well as on neighboring countries. Four chapters of the book focus on the situation in the Nuba Mountains. Samson S. Wassara’s “The CPA & beyond. Problems & prospects for peaceful coexistence in the Nuba Mountains” (83-102) explores how the agreement changed the political, social and economic situation for the inhabitants and how people and institutions reacted to attempts to implement the agreement’s arrangements. An appendix to this chapter by Tayseer el-Fatih Abdel A’al describes the “Governmental and NGO structures in Dilling Locality, Southern Kordofan” (103-109), exploring the work and decision-making of two NGOs and situating their agenda in the political post-civil war situation. Guma Kunda Komey’s chapter “Ethnic identity politics & boundary-making in claiming communal land” (110-129) focuses on the question of land rights, identified as a root cause of violence. The text discusses the contradiction between autochthonous land claims and the principles of a modern state and the competing ethnic claims to the land by Nuba and other groups. The chapter also examines how the CPA addresses the problem of land. In “Return migration to the Nuba Mountains” (130-141), Samira Musa Armin Damin looks at the fate and challenges of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) from the Nuba Mountains who returned to their home region after the CPA. The article shows this return to be a huge challenge for the area because it heightened conflicts over land and further stressed the inadequate economic infrastructure.

Fathiyya Abakr Šāliḥ ‘Uṭmān. 2010. *Al-ḥaṣā’iṣ al-dīmūgrāfiyya wa al-iqtisādiyya wa al-ijtmāciyya lil-sukkān fī maḥaliyya al-dilinj fī al-fatra min 1983-2008*. Doctoral dissertation. Nilein University, Khartoum

This thesis provides an assessment of the demographic, economic and social characteristics of the population of the Dilling district. The region experienced natural disasters in the early 1980s, such as drought and desertification, armed conflicts and civil war throughout the 1990s and the early 2000s until the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2005, when it became part of the so-called Three Transitional Areas. Dilling suffered from demographic growth above economic and social development capacities, which affected access to food and poverty rates. The relatively high number of inhabitants put pressure on different public utilities, leading to more competition over them. In order to examine these dynamics in more detail, the study used an integrated geographical approach that involves descriptive and statistical, ecological and regional perspectives. Data was collected through questionnaires distributed among a random sample, through personal interviews with tribal leaders and relevant public authorities, as well as by direct observations. Statistical data was also gathered from the Central Bureau of Statistics, state offices and policy reports, both state and federal. The most important findings of the study are that population growth was indeed one of the main causes of increasing poverty, deterioration of public services, higher competition over resources and subsequent destruction of social ties.

Location (print):

Central Library (Nilein University): 304.6 m 5 ḥ

Hassan, Nasreldin Gadalla. 2011. *Socioeconomic impact of South Kordofan Rural Development Program on the small farmers*. Doctoral dissertation. Faculty of Agriculture, University of Khartoum, Khartoum

This thesis assesses the socio-economic impact of IFAD's South Kordofan Rural Development Programme (SKRDP) on small-scale farmers. The program was designed to increase small-scale farmers' productivity and income, and to improve their living conditions. It had its focus on infrastructure development, training, extension services, agricultural inputs and equipment, credit schemes and establishment of community-based organizations. In order to evaluate the program, accidental sampling was used to select 160 respondents from eight villages that had been part of the program for at least three years. Data was collected from this sample via a questionnaire, individual and group interviews, and direct observation; statistical analysis included cross-tabulation, x-square tests and Cramer's (V) coefficient. The findings suggest that living standards were slightly improved by the program, but that the area suffered from limited service delivery mostly due to insufficient and irregular financial commitment by stakeholders, especially the Sudanese government. Respondents' contributions mostly took the form of voluntary work. The author recommends involving individuals early on in the different phases of decision-making for similar programs.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University)

Ille, Enrico. 2012. The classification of drinking water between public administration and rural communities in South Kordofan, Sudan. Travelling models and technologies. *Sociologus* 62 (1), 73-93. DOI: 10.3790/soc.62.1.73

This article looks at the consequences of insufficient water resources in the village of Abol, based on fieldwork in early 2010. It is specifically interested in the processes of classifying water as potable or non-potable; a classification that became urgent when water from the only available water pump changed color and smell. On this basis, the author observed different approaches to classification, both among Abol's population and among officials in South Kordofan's public administration system. While the water users had very different approaches to the water crisis, both due to variations in belief systems and practical options, the public administrators followed more or less standardized procedures, which were only marginally relevant to the water users' decision-making processes. The article supports the usage of terms such as "translation" and "travelling models and technologies," as proposed by Richard Rottenburg, for the analysis of such heterogeneous approaches to a shared problem.

Černič, Jernej Letnar. 2013. State obligations concerning indigenous peoples' rights to their ancestral lands: lex imperfecta? *American University International Law Review* 28 (4), 1129-1171

The article discusses the obstacles for local communities to claim rights against the state over ancestral lands. It reviews international and national standards regarding collective land rights, including their normative framework and conditions for their implementation, especially concerning state obligations towards indigenous territories. The author argues that existing legal systems create this obligation. The situation of the Nuba peoples and their claims over ancestral lands illustrates the argument. The text describes land as the central element of Nuba culture, identity, language, customs and socio-economic survival. While customary laws regulated questions of land tenure for a long time, the independent Sudanese state law and policies actively challenged and devalued these laws. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) did not address the issue in an adequate way, meaning the continuation of a threat to the Nuba's physical and cultural survival.

Location (online):

- digitalcommons.wcl.american.edu/auilr/vol28/iss4/8/

Ille, Enrico. 2013. Literacy, translation, practices: groundwater location under stress in South Kordofan (Republic of Sudan). *Journal des Anthropologues* 132-133, 219-242

This article traces the process of establishing a new source of underground water in the village of Abol, which experienced severe seasonal water scarcity. Instead of being a clear-cut technical process stemming from a hydrogeological identification of an appropriate site, supplemented by community preferences, detailed observation showed the actual process to involve a complex negotiation of appropriate social action. Based on the concept of environmental literacy as the description of how specific people “read” specific physical and social environments, the analysis takes into consideration a wide range of social, economic and political aspects that influence how actors respond to the circumstances. The subsequent negotiation of more or less compatible social action is analyzed through the concept of “translation.” The case study is used to illustrate how observing a negotiation of present or future access to water closely reveals underlying tensions and contradictions. Such an observation can be relevant for a mediative approach where open-ended dialogue is possible.

Ille, Enrico. 2013. *Projections, plans and projects. Development as the extension of organizing principles and its consequences in the rural Nuba Mountains / South Kordofan, Sudan (2005-2011)*. Leipzig and Weissenfels: Ille & Riemer. Also Doctoral dissertation. University of Halle, Halle, 2012. DOI: 10.13140/2.1.2001.3768

This thesis discusses development interventions initiated after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005 and before the violent conflict resumed in 2011. Based on case studies from Heiban and the rural areas around it, the interventions are described as social sites where heterogeneous actors meet ostensibly to achieve a common goal. Taking examples from different sectors—agriculture, water supply, physical infrastructure and public administration—the study indicates different ways in which such a common goal was neither perceived nor achieved. On a more abstract level, the work has its thematic focus on processes of organizational changes, which are connected to the notion of “development.” With “development” defined as “change in direction of a desirable future,” the research is directed towards forward-looking imagination (projections) and attempts at its organizational realization (projects). While this also implies a personal, autobiographical level, the focus is on the interaction of actors in organizations on several levels of inclusion and exclusion; i.e., individual meetings, communities, state administration, companies, NGOs, and INGOs. Additionally, the research considers changes that are not necessarily intended within the context of projects, but which are part of overarching dynamics that are often more dominant. This means, for instance, processes of privatization, which devalue the outcome of small-scale projects, political and structural violence, technological advantages, and socio-economic and cultural mobility. By following these dynamics to individual situations related to development interventions, intention and planning in this interactional field are read against observable social action and practices.

Location (online):

- www.researchgate.net/publication/268631055_Projections_plans_and_projects_Development_as_the_extension_of_organizing_principles_and_its_consequences_in_the_rural_Nuba_Mountains_South_Kordofan_Sudan_%282005-2011%29

Ille, Enrico, and Sandra Calkins. 2013. Gold mining concessions in Sudan's written laws, and practices of gold extraction in the Nuba Mountains. In *Forging two nations. insights on Sudan and South Sudan*, edited by Elke Grawert. Addis Ababa and Bonn: OSSREA and BICC, 112-126

While gold mining is booming in Sudan, there is a notable difference between how specific, non-industrial processes of gold extraction are organized and perceived, and how such processes are defined and approached by governmental legal provisions and institutional policies. This paper traces this difference by juxtaposing the written code of law, especially the Mineral Resource and Mining Development Act of 2007, with practices of gold extraction. The terminology used to make this analysis builds on the differentiation of legality and legitimacy, the latter being a specific set of beliefs in certain rules of social interaction. In the case of gold mining, this concerns most of all the right to extract and distribute the mineral. The Nuba Mountains are an evident case of a wide discrepancy between what governmental actors define as legal and what local actors regard as legitimate gold extraction. This discrepancy is shown to be neither a recent nor an isolated phenomenon, but to be deeply entrenched in past and present struggles over natural and other resources in the region.

Allajabou, Hassan Abdelnabi and Abdel Raouf Suleiman Bello. 2014. Rural youth and agriculture 'problem' in Sudan: a case from the Nuba Mountains. *World Rural Observations* 6 (4), 70-74

This study identifies the individual characteristics that have an affect on the decision by rural youth to get involved, or not, in agricultural work. The data collection was conducted in the administrative unit of Al-Kurgul. One hundred respondents were selected by using a random sampling method; the respondents were interviewed face-to-face with a pre-tested questionnaire, supplemented by direct observations. The data was analyzed to calculate frequency distribution, percentages, correlations and chi-square values. The study found a significant negative correlation between the decision to work in the agricultural field and age, but no significant correlation with the level of education. It also showed no significant difference between sexes, or any relevance of marital status. The study proposed the provision of incentives, such as subsidies for agricultural inputs, banking facilities and extension services, to make agricultural work more attractive. To equip the youth with necessary skills and knowledge, technical and vocational training is suggested, while additional rural industries, public and private, are recommended to appeal to and absorb the rural young workforce.

Location (online):

- www.sciencepub.net/rural/ruralo6o4/o11_2752oruralo6o4i4_7o_74.pdf

Omer, Adam Hassan Takola. 2014. Agricultural development policies in the Nuba Mountains, Sudan: assessment in the context of empowerment approach 1960-2012. Doctoral dissertation. Sudan University of Science and Technology, Khartoum

This thesis investigates the causes of economic difficulties small-scale farmers and their households face, in spite of the availability of fertile arable land. The study identifies misallocation of agricultural resources and a lack of adequate governmental agricultural policies, especially concerning farmers' financial abilities to invest in agricultural equipment and inputs. Although small-scale farmers are mostly more efficient in production than large-scale farmers, additional capital is not obtainable from savings or formal credit institutions. Therefore, the study recommends adopting an empowerment approach for effective development in the Nuba Mountains. This entails the provision of basic services and infrastructure, development of small-scale agro-industries in rural areas, pro-poor market development with dispersed formal credit branches at village levels, and good governance at national and local levels. The author also suggests further studies using a holistic approach.

Location (print):

- College of Business Studies (Sudan University)

Calkins, Sandra, Enrico Ille, and Richard Rottenburg (eds.). 2015. *Emerging orders in the Sudans*. Bamenda: Langaa

This edited volume collects case studies that show the multitude of social orders in Sudan and South Sudan. Rather than postulating pre-defined, all-encompassing national systems, social orders are approached as temporary results of negotiations, in which both patterns and changes occur. Seeing social ordering as an ongoing practice of organizing social life, allows taking a close look at what shapes everyday life in the Sudans, without claiming constant fluidity. Among the recurrent patterns identified in the volume is the struggle and failure to find institutional orders valid and legitimate for all citizens. Political exclusion and economic exploitation are ongoing practices that influence social interactions in several ways. The chapters of the volume concerning the Nuba Mountains pay tribute to this observation, directly relating war and post-war developments. In "The order of iconicity and the mutability of 'the Moro language'" (95-118), Siri Lamoureux discusses the consequences of the national language policy, which is part of the prevailing authoritarian and exclusionary cultural policies. They turned the propagation of languages, other than Arabic, into an issue of cultural survival, which politicized the negotiation of a "correct" language that involves a wide array of actors. The article shows how attempts to centralize this negotiation, both by activists and by scientific experts, led to exclusionary practices that were similar to the national policies

in their equation of “correct language” to group identity. Enrico Ille’s chapter, “Greedy donors? Uncertainty and the organisation of seed distribution in the Nuba Mountains” (215-238), shows the failing attempt to transform a seed distribution program from relief to recovery. The participants refused to accept a new set of rules, which required them to return the same amount of seeds they received, changing the seeds from gift to credit. Their silent transformation from beneficiaries to market actors did not fit the context, which remained volatile and indeed reverted to war dynamics after a few years. Mariam Sharif shows, in “Institutionalisation and regulation of medical kits in an emergency situation in the Nuba Mountains” (239-250), a different development in the field of health care provision, where the delivery of medical kits during the war continued, but both contents and modalities of distribution changed, as provisions by NGOs and emerging commercialization of drug supply intermingled. Guma Kunda Komey wonders in his chapter, “‘Popular consultation’ as a mechanism for peaceful social order in the Nuba Mountains?” (251-272), if this weakly defined term can lead to procedures ensuring the representation of a wide range of political opinions in the region, which is regarded as a basic requirement for broader political participation and a more stable future. However, both the lack of effective regulatory institutional power and the lack of actual steps for its implementation prevented popular consultation from having any value.

Category 6: Politics and conflict

Abbas, Philip. 1973. Growth of black political consciousness in northern Sudan. *Africa Today* 20 (3), 29-43

Abbas describes the political activities and ideologies of the non-Arab population in northern Sudan. He argues that the Addis Ababa Agreement, ratified on 27 March 1972, gave the black peoples of the south the chance of political participation free from the northern, Arabic-speaking elite's control, while the non-Arab peoples in the north were ignored during negotiations, also by the international community, although they were in a similar position of political and social marginalization as the southern Sudanese. The agreement gave the responsibility of local affairs in the southern provinces to a High Executive Council of 12 men and to a regional assembly due to be elected within 13 months of the agreement; local security was transferred to the government in the south as well. Although they aspired to a similar level of autonomy, the indigenous peoples of the north did not start an armed rebellion. Abbas claims that their political actions are a result of historical and, partly, geographical reasons and followed different approaches than in the south, finally leading to the creation of several black power organizations in the Sudan, most of which were not militant at that point.

Mohamed Salih, Mohamed Abdel Rahim, and Sharif Harir. 1994. Tribal militia: the genesis of national disintegration. In *Short-cut to decay: the case of the Sudan*, edited by Sharif Harir and Terje Tvedt. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 186-203

The paper examines the rise of tribal militias in the beginning of the second Sudanese civil war, which started in 1983. The government first backed such militias after the Gardud massacre in 1985, when armed Dinka raided a Baggara village in southern Kordofan. How many militias were brought to existence is unknown. What is certain is that such militias were established among the Baggara of southern Kordofan, the Fur of southern Darfur, the Rufa'a of the White Nile, the Fertit, the Nuer of Bahr El Ghazal, and the Mandari and the Toposa of Equatoria. The civil war is often described as a conflict between center and periphery, and tribal militias are placed in the framework of a polarized Sudanese society. But while the rise of the militias is a core obstacle to national integration, the militias themselves are incorporated into the state's institutions of violence. Local systems of defense have been modernized in the process. The text provides brief accounts of the militias' history and organization and traces the origin of militias in Kordofan back to pre-war colonial times. The focus of the paper is on recent elements of warfare, ethnic conflict and its impact on national unity.

Location (online):

• www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:273412/FULLTEXT02.pdf

Mohamed Salih, Mohamed Abdel Rahim. 1995. Resistance and response: ethnocide and genocide in the Nuba Mountains, Sudan. *GeoJournal* 36 (1), 71-78. DOI: 10.1007/BF00812530

The aim of the article is to give an overview of the relationship between the Sudanese state and the Nuba. The Nuba have been marginalized in different ways in the spheres of politics and economy and experienced a long history of colonial and post-colonial oppression. The article traces the origins of this oppression inside and outside the Nuba Mountains by the different Sudanese regimes, from Condominium times to the present, modern Sudanese state. The traditional lifestyle of the Nuba was under constant pressure, and experienced extreme violence through genocide and ethnocide (or cultural genocide), as the Sudanese state supported immigrant Baggara and Jellaba ethnic groups with their claims over Nuba land and resources, and violated human rights by arming these groups against them.

Omaar, Rakiya, and Alex de Waal (eds.). 1995. *Facing genocide: the Nuba of Sudan*. London: African Rights

The book details the human rights abuses committed since the beginning of the war in the Nuba Mountains in 1985, but also includes detailed background information on Nuba identity, the history of relations with Arab-speaking tribes and the development of the Mechanized Farming Corporation. Quoting an extensive list of sources, the report describes how successive governments have supported an aggressive policy of expansion of mechanized farms, enacting ever-more-sweeping land legislation in order to allow confiscation. It also includes commentary on the creation of the institution of chieftainship amongst different Nuba groups. The rest of the book contains a detailed catalogue of human rights abuses, based on face-to-face interviews in the war-affected areas.

Waal, Alex de. 1995. African Aid: a case study. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 84 (336), 344-351

This text describes the situation of the people in the Nuba Mountains during the siege by the forces of the Sudanese government who couldn't control the area during the civil war. De Waal was one of the first outsiders who could travel to the region and describes his meeting with Nuba in the village of Regifi. He also attended a conference for religious dialogue held by the SPLA to strengthen the social and political bonds between Christian and Muslim Nuba. The administration in the SPLA-held areas is described as modestly democratic with a functional legal system, working schools, a nursing college and a civil Nuba parliament. The achievements of the Nuba stand in contrast to the lack of

social organization in South Sudan. This difference, de Waal argues, is due to a lack of foreign aid in the Nuba Mountains, since foreign aid programs tend to lead to moral distortion. In order to qualify for humanitarian aid, the SPLA would have to disavow the logic of war it is clearly following and accept the principles of humanitarianism, while at the same time fighting a war with the Sudanese government. This would lead to dishonesty on all sides to uphold the picture of universal aid outside of a political context. Aid in the context of a dictatorship is likely to strengthen its rule. The Nuba are yet another example of the fact that democracy tends to evolve in aid-free regions.

Fein, Helen. 1997. Genocide by attrition 1939-1993: the Warsaw Ghetto, Cambodia, and Sudan: links between human rights, health, and mass death. *Health and Human Rights* 2 (2), 10-45

The article defines genocide by attrition as an instrument of warfare, whereby a group is denied its human rights in the spheres of politics, jurisdiction and economy. This makes it impossible for the members of the oppressed group to maintain their health and results in mass deaths. The article explores the cases of the Warsaw Ghetto (1939-43), Kampuchea (1975-79), and Sudan (1983-93). It explains the political background of the civil war in Sudan and displacement, slavery and sexual abuse leading to genocide among Nuba and southern groups. In the case of the Nuba, the authorization of jihad by the governor of Kordofan in 1992 and the establishment of “peace camps” with grave living conditions were used to further destroy the Nuba culturally and physically. The text also discusses possible responses and why the international community is, in some cases, interested in ignoring genocides. Suggestions for future prevention of genocide by attrition are made to governments, health professionals, and aid workers.

Location (online):

• www.hhrjournal.org/archives/volume-2-issue-2/

Suliman, Mohamed. 1997. Ethnicity from perception to cause of violent conflicts: the case of the Fur and Nuba conflicts in Western Sudan. Paper read at the CONTICI International Workshop, July 8-11, Bern

The paper offers a materialist explanation of the conflicts in Darfur and the Nuba Mountains. It identifies material resources, either real or perceived, as the main source of conflict. However, ethnic, cultural and religious concepts starting as ideological categories can transform into concrete social forces over time. They themselves can become reasons for violent conflict between groups as contestable social resources. Often ethnic, cultural and spiritual dichotomies, originating from a new conflict, can become the intrinsic causes of that conflict. These increase the dimension and complexity of conflict and establish several deep-rooted obstructions to the containment and, finally, solution of the conflict.

Location (online):

- new.ifaanet.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/ethnicity_inversion.htm

Bradbury, Mark. 1998. Sudan: international responses to war in the Nuba Mountains. *Review of African Political Economy* 25 (77), 463-474. DOI: 10.1080/03056249808704326

The article describes the war in the Nuba Mountains in a wider framework of international politics in Sudan and the foreign strategies of humanitarian aid. It argues that the failure to help the endangered Nuba is not negligence but a consequence of the strategies the international community uses to uphold its humanitarian policy and manage the conflicts in Sudan. It further explores general features of the war in South Kordofan, the politics of the central government in Khartoum and the international aid regime. By doing so, it raises fundamental questions about the conditions of international engagement in Sudan.

Location (online):

- www.roape.org/pdf/7705.pdf

Suliman, Mohamed. 1998. Resource access: a major cause of armed conflict in the Sudan. The case of the Nuba Mountains. Paper read at the International Workshop on Community-Based Natural Resource Management, May 10-14, Washington

The paper discusses, with the background of the famine in Sudan, interpretations of post-colonial wars in Africa that frame them as “ethnic” conflicts. The civil war, which is widely seen as the main reason of the famine, is itself often viewed as originating in the political weakness of the post-colonial state of Sudan, where incompetent leaders are not willing to end the fight over ethnic and religious differences, with Muslim Arabs in the north and Christian Africans in the south. These theories assume that ending the war would also end the famine and the economic problems. The paper argues that concentrating on “ethnicity” when analyzing conflicts is not only harmful to a thorough understanding but can also hinder efforts towards conflict resolution. The study of three different, major violent conflicts in Sudan shows how useless this traditional approach is. The case study of the conflict in the Nuba Mountains sketches a history of violence in the area and discusses the (denied) access to natural and social resources, such as oil, water and especially land, as the main roots of violence.

Location (online):

- info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/97605/conatrem/conatrem/documents/Sudan-Paper.pdf

Jābir Muḥammad Jābir (ed.). 1999. *Dirāsāt Al-Salām* 1. Dīlinj: Markaz Dirāsāt Al-Salām, Jāmi'a Dīlinj

This special issue of a University of Dilling-based journal discusses several aspects of contemporary life in the Nuba Mountains. The first article by Ḥamīs Kaju Kunda shortly remarks on the role of ethnicity in the region, followed by Arbāb Ismā'īl Babikir's discussion of education in South Kordofan after 1985 and the impact of war during this period. Jābir Muḥammad Jābir contributed an analysis of the Nuba Mountains as linguistic and cultural melting pot, and the role Arabic has as an actual and potential common language. Sirāj Al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ghaffār presents an account of the war in South Kordofan, beginning with tensions between ethnic groups (Dinka / Missiriyya) before 1985 and military operations of SPLA after 1985, which are described in some detail. 'Abd Allah Al-Tawm Al-Imām's text revisits the issue of the first article in more detail, providing an overview of the ethnic setup of the Nuba Mountains and different forms of cooperation and peaceful coexistence. Aḥmad Al-Ḥasab 'Umar describes the stipulations of the 1997 peace agreement, while Hamid Elbashir examines, in the only English text of the issue, the origins of a political movement among Nuba (1940-1969).

Mohamed Salih, Mohamed Abdel Rahim. 1999. Land alienation and genocide in the Nuba Mountains. *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 22 (4), 36-38

The article provides an overview of the attacks on the Nuba people by their Arabic-speaking neighbors supported by the Sudanese state during the civil war. It describes the Nuba as the indigenous people of the Nuba Mountains and briefly examines their society and the political landscape of the area. It identifies the competition for fertile land as the most important root cause of conflict between the sedentary Nuba and the pastoralist Baggara groups. It further explores how the Sudanese state exploited this rivalry and integrated Baggara militias into its military system with the aim to destroy the Nuba. But the militias soon became too powerful to be controlled and autonomously conducted brutal raids on Nuba villages. The war against the Nuba is a demonstrative example for the neocolonial wars the Sudanese state wages against its indigenous people. On this basis, the author argues that the intensity and brutality of the murdering and persecution indicates that the central government is not aiming at Islamization of the Nuba but to destroy them entirely.

Location (online):

- www.culturalsurvival.org/ourpublications/csqa/article/land-alienation-and-genocide-nuba-mountains-sudan (not paginated)

Suliman, Mohamed. 1999. The Nuba Mountains of Sudan: resource access, violent conflict, and identity. In *Cultivating peace: conflict and collaboration in natural resource management*, edited by Daniel Buckles. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, and Washington: World Bank Institute, 205-220

The chapter gives a general background of the Nuba Mountains with a historical, economic and geographical roundup, picking up the theory of Nuba identity being created by contact with outsiders, as people were, previously, only aware of their clan affiliations. With the passage of time, however, the war led to ethnic and cultural differentiation, which was of limited consequence before becoming irreconcilable. The text explores the complex context of conflict between Nuba and Baggara and describes how their relation changed from uneasy peace, framed by socio-economic relations since the late 18th century, to irremediable enmity after the central government successfully included the Baggara in their crusade against the Nuba. Three peace agreements between both groups are presented and the text explains how the recognition of the catastrophic impact of the war on their livelihoods, such as the collapse of trade between them and immense losses of land, people and livestock, is a necessary prerequisite for peace.

Location (online):

- www.cmi.no/file/1863-The-Nuba-Mountains-of-Sudan-Resource-access-violent-conflict-and-identity.pdf (not paginated)

Kadouf, Hunud Abia. 2001. Marginalization and resistance: the plight of the Nuba people. *New Political Science: Quarterly Journal of the Caucus for a New Political Science* 23 (1), 45-63. DOI: 10.1080/07393140120030331

The article explores the construction of a unified political identity and consciousness among the Nuba groups. Drawing from the history of marginalization the Nuba experienced under colonial rule as well as in the modern Sudanese state dominated by a northern political elite. It shows how the recent conflict is a result of Nuba resistance against further repression by the central government to ensure political hegemony. The continued coercion leads to a growing rejection of the political system, and political marginalization, economic insufficiency and socio-cultural oppression are identified as core factors of the current conflict. The text further provides examples to highlight how the political elite in the north utilizes religion and (Arab) culture to assert its political and racial supremacy.

Manger, Leif O. 2001. The Nuba Mountains: battlegrounds of identities, cultural traditions and territories. In *Sudanese society in the context of civil war: papers from a seminar at the University of Copenhagen*, edited by Maj-Britt Johannsen and Niels Kastfelt. Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 49-90

In this article Manger explores the conflict between Nuba, Arabs and the Sudanese state following the themes of identity and territory. The civil war is seen in a tradition

of unrest and violence in the region's history, which was a result of the struggle for sovereignty over land and the right to decide one's own development. This conflict throughout history has been described in ethnic and religious terms. But the author resists the narrative of pre-colonial societies as integrated and modern societies as disintegrated, arguing instead that Nuba groups exercise agency to oppose structures that surround them. This outward struggle is accompanied by an inward struggle in which the Nuba are engaged to find their place in the Sudanese society, which can also take the form of an adaptation of cultural signs and symbols to seek acceptance by the neighboring Arabs and Muslims. The text describes different developments influencing Nuba identity: political organizations, the growing diaspora in Europe and the USA, as well as the independent political structures the SPLA established in the central Nuba Mountains. These tendencies privilege a certain type of Nuba in the western world, while the "Arabicized" Nuba of the southern Mountains, who live under government rule, are underrepresented. The text strengthens its points with ethnographic examples from the southern area, especially around El-Liri, in which he further explores the interaction with pastoralists and other local non-Nuba groups, identity and origin narratives, the role of Islam, administrative issues and change through economic development.

Rahhal, Suleiman Musa (ed.). 2001. *The right to be Nuba. The story of a Sudanese people's struggle for survival*. Lawrenceville: The Red Sea Press

The volume explores the resistance of the Nuba people to attempts by the Sudanese central government to eliminate them culturally and physically. It contains articles by Nuba activists, representatives, traditional and modern leaders, as well as scholars. The aim of the government to destroy the Nuba's cultural identity is realized through cultural, political, economic and military means. Hundreds of thousands of people fled the region; thousands were killed, raped, tortured or detained. Still, in the hills outside of the governmental control, the Nuba are resisting and maintaining their culture. Traditional music, dancing, wrestling, body-decoration and architecture are still practiced, and political institutions, such as local parliaments, are trying to build up a democratic system and enforce human rights of culture, freedom, and peace. The text is combined with photographs from outsiders such as the British photographer George Rodger, who traveled to the area in the 1940s, and others documenting the current struggle of the Nuba.

Ibrāhīm, Ḥāmid Al-Bašīr. 2002. *Fī al-baḥṭ can al-ḥikmat al-ġō'iba wa al-wacī al-mafqūd: muḥāwala li-faham al-cilāqāt al-qabaliyya wa dīnāmiyyāt al-ḥarb wa al-salām fī jibāl al-nūba*. Khartoum: Al-Ṭābicūn Maṭbca Al-Ḥurriyya. Republished in 2013

In this book, the author describes the Nuba Mountains in the past as marked by cooperation and intermarriage between diverse groups, especially Nuba and Arabs, rather than in the present, filled with hostility and violence. This past is presented

not only as a peaceful encounter, but also as a potential formula for indigenous peace-making institutions and values, as well as general inter-ethnic coexistence in Sudan. Thereby the author distinguishes the genuine local population from distant power elites and their policies. The latter fostered socio-political marginalization and drew the local population into an unwanted civil war, severing historical ties. Based on autobiographical self-reflection, as well as social research, the book tries to use past experiences as a resource for future solutions.

Kadouf, Hunud Abia. 2002. Religion and conflict in the Nuba Mountains. In *Religion and conflict in Sudan: papers from an international conference at Yale, May 1999*, edited by Yusuf Fadl Hasan and Richard Gray. Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 107-113

The belief system of the Nuba cannot be described as a single religion. Some Nuba practice Christianity while others are Muslims or adhere to traditional modes of worship. However, Nuba societies were never divided by religious boundaries. The spread of Christianity or Islam was not answered with aggression by the followers of indigenous religions. The introduction of a transcendent deity by Islamization was tied to certain trends in African cosmology that were already developing in the area independently from the spread of Islam. On this basis, this article tries to evaluate the potential of conflict resulting from Islamization. The root of conflicts in the area cannot be traced to the introduction of Islam. But Islam does represent a new dimension of religious interaction that was not relevant before; namely, political Islam that is interwoven in Sudan with a racial concept of Arabism. Still the sharia laws of 1983 are not the sole reason for the armed struggle of the Nuba peoples, and the author argues that such a claim of a religious motivation can be traced to the governmental propaganda of the Nuba uprising as directed mainly against Islam. Finally, the text examines the situation of Nuba migrants in urban areas, who have no access to traditional forms of conflict solution, and the impact of the sharia laws on their lives.

Okazaki, Akira. 2002. The making and unmaking of consciousness: two forms of resistance in a Sudanese borderland. In *Postcolonial subjectivities in Africa*, edited by Richard Werbener. London: Zed Books, 63-83

The article compares regional subjectivities in postcolonial Sudan, which are created under conditions of subjugation and marginalization. The creation of subjectivities is described as a strategic action to cope with the extreme situation of civil war in Sudan. Two case studies from the Gamk and the Nuba show how alternative subjectivities are formed. Both groups have been oppressed by the Sudanese government, attacked by neighboring groups and exploited by environmentally hazardous mechanized farms and multinational private investors assisted by World Bank policies. While the Nuba shape their cultural consciousness by engaging in the armed struggle against the Sudanese central state, the Gamk approach their challenging social environment through rituals. Their survival strategy relies on a dream consciousness. Gamk dreaming is neither a

subjective nor a personal experience, but a social and intersubjective activity involving many. Dreams are used in historical, economic, political, religious and therapeutic processes and constitute an important part of everyday life.

Suliman, Mohamed. 2002. Resource access, identity, and armed conflict in the Nuba Mountains, Southern Sudan. In *Transformation of resource conflicts: approach and instruments*, edited by Günther Baechler, Kurt R. Spillmann and Mohamed Suliman. Bern: Peter Lang, 163-183

The chapter examines the violent conflict in the Nuba Mountains and describes the different armed actors; namely, the Nuba, the governmental forces, and the Baggara Arab militias supporting the central government. While the cooperation between Nuba and Baggara has never been free of conflict in the last two centuries, the civil war has ended most channels of cooperation. The government enlisted the Baggara in their war against the Nuba by providing weapons and with the promise of exclusive access and rights to the Nuba land. After the war significantly harmed the Baggara communities who lost people, cattle and land, as well as the income from trade with Nuba communities, several peace agreements were negotiated on the local level. Not all agreements were executed and some were sabotaged by the government. Although the boundaries in this conflict are more and more along ethnic lines, to presume that the root of the conflict lies in ethnic difference is a mistake. The scarcity of natural resources must be considered, as does the environmental degradation that aggravates limited access to resources. While these material reasons may have been behind the conflict initially, concepts of identity and belonging soon became driving forces of the conflict itself. Perception becomes reality and what was once a consequence becomes a true cause. Still, access to natural and social resources is mostly expressed in terms of justice, fairness, equitable sharing, and equal development as the primary concern of people in arms.

Abu Saq, M. O. 2003. Background to the politics of the Nuba Mountains. *Sudan Intelligence Review* 3 (1/2), 2-8

The article describes how an uneven access to the political system and its socio-economic resources shaped politics in the Nuba Mountains. From colonial times onward, the integration of the area into the Sudanese central state was shaped by separation and isolation policies. The text examines the communal level of politics and uses tribalism, ethnicity and cultural identity as analytic framework. Several tribal, ethnic and religious or class-based groups are considered in their ability to form political organizations; the nation-building impact of intergroup relationship is examined as well. The impact of the migration of Arab clans into the region is shaped by the introduction of Islam, cultural Arabization, state formation and a social integration between the newcomers and indigenous groups. This integration fueled a notion of Africaness in the region that defines Sudanese nationalism. The reason for the Nuba insurgency is seen mainly

as a political disintegration in the state, which emerged when the constitutional development preferred the traditional elite over marginalized groups at the periphery. The text concludes with an analysis of the May revolution regime of Nimeiri and how its institutional political system impacted social relations.

Manger, Leif O. 2003. Civil war and the politics of subjectivity in the Nuba Mountains, Sudan. Paper presented at the 15th ICAES Congress, "Humankind/Nature Interaction: Past, Present and Future", July 5-12, Florence

The paper revolves around the question of relativism in anthropology. It emanates from the author's involvement in the Sudanese peace process as a Nuba Mountains expert for the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It discusses the recent processes of defining and redefining culture and ethnicity among the Nuba in the Nuba Mountains. Rather than emphasizing the pure existence of these dynamics, the paper focuses on the importance of understanding how and which perceptions of reality become dominant and how they influence and shape the political process and the future conflict transformation. In the Nuba Mountains, the situation in the central region is very different from that in the south, as the center is dominated by rather large groups of Nuba, while in the south a lot of smaller groups live together. Still, merging of these two areas is probable after the peace agreement. The success of this unification also depends on the development of joint worldviews.

Willis, Justin. 2003. Violence, authority, and the state in the Nuba Mountains of condominium Sudan. *The Historical Journal* 46 (1), 89-114. DOI: 10.1017/S0018246X02002856

This article explores how the British colonial rule claimed to use local "traditional" legitimate authority as the base for Native Administration, while at the same time changing the nature of government in African colonies. The colonial administration and its specific needs led to new institutions and power-holders fit to fulfill tasks given by the British colonialists. Willis discusses the transformation in the Nuba Mountains, then part of the Condominium in Sudan, which was in fact a British colony but is often excluded from historical considerations on the impacts of colonialism due to its unique juridical status. The Sudanese civil war was fought violently in the Nuba Mountains. This has often been explained with the encouragement of racial antagonism by the British rule. Willis argues that the colonial rule left behind, here and elsewhere, new types of government which were at odds with local ideas of spiritual power and legitimate authority.

Location (online):

• dro.dur.ac.uk/207/1/207.pdf?DDD17+dacohsg+dhiots+dulojk

Rahama, Amna, and Durria Mansour. 2005. *A case study of conflict in the Nuba Mountains. (Inter-communal conflict in Sudan: causes, resolution mechanisms and transformation).* Omdurman: Ahfad University for Women

The Nuba Mountains are inhabited by different ethnic groups; some consider themselves Arabs, such as the Hawazma, Kababish and Dar Hamid, others identify as Nuba, such as the Ajanj and Dilling. This is in clear contradiction to the colonial concept of “northern” and “southern” Sudan. The authors argue that this has to be taken into account when considering a framework for conflict analysis and conflict resolution for the region. The authors suggest a wide and diverse approach of conflict resolution and peacemaking to contain and finally solve the multiple conflicts of the area. They highlight how people from all different levels of society, from grassroots level to top leadership positions, and representatives from within both the “modern” and “traditional” sectors must join in this dynamic process. The study provides examples of such actors and explores several projects and strategies already practiced, as well as possible future activities of peace-building in the Nuba Mountains.

Location (print):

• Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 303.609628 AMN

Munir Ṣayḥ Al-Dīn Jallāb. 2006. *Kumūlū: al-ḥilqa al-mafqūda fī al-tārīḥ al-siyāsī al-ḥadīṯ li-jihōl al-nūba min 1976-2006.* Khartoum: Al-Maktaba Al-Waṭaniyya

This short book describes the beginnings and further development of the secret organization Komolo, which formed in the early 1970s among young Nuba intellectuals, most of them graduates. Based on personal experience, the organization’s development and ambiguous relationship to other political organizations in the north, and also to the SPLM, is described, especially in light of the latter’s failure to support Nuba demands after the CPA, in spite of Nuba’s and notably Komolo members’ early commitment to the movement.

‘Umar Muṣṭafa Ṣurkiyān. 2006. *Al-nūba fī al-sūdān: nidāl ṣā‘b fī sabīl al-‘adāla wa al-muṣāraka fī al-sulṭa.* London: Dār Al-Ḥikma

This book contains a collection of essays by the author written between 1994 and 2004, a large part of which was published in Arab, Sudanese and Eritrean newspapers and websites. The first group of essays deals with ethnic and linguistic diversity, features of the history of Tegali, the social fiber of the Nuba people, civil society and the rule of law in the Nuba Mountains. These essays also describe the political transformation after the collapse of Nimeiri’s regime, and the policies of the government of Sadiq al-Mahdi towards Nuba issues. A second group of essays addresses the ethnic dimension of the political conflicts in Sudan, and details human rights violations in the Nuba Mountains by state agents throughout the years of civil war (1983-2004). These years

also saw restrictions on religious freedom and on freedom of expression, as well as arbitrary detentions. The peace efforts of former US President Jimmy Carter are then compared with the efforts of Senator John Danforth, an envoy of the then US President George W. Bush. Whereas Carter took a “traditional” approach to the war as a north-south conflict and focused on humanitarian work in southern Sudan, Danforth saw the national dimension of the conflict and aimed for a comprehensive solution, starting with a ceasefire agreement for the Nuba Mountains. A third group of essays focuses on historical injustices and the prospects for political solutions. To this end, the intellectual, political and cultural development of Sudan is analyzed, especially with regard to its “marginalized areas.”

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): 962.8 cUmar

Waal, Alex de. 2006. Averting genocide in the Nuba Mountains, Sudan. *Social Science Research Council Webforum: How Genocides End*

This article explores the processes that may lead to the end of violence in the Nuba Mountains. The first step to a long-lasting stable peace was the negotiation of a ceasefire between the Sudanese Government and the SPLA in Burgenstock, Switzerland, in January 2002. While only supervised by two-dozen ceasefire monitors without weapons, the ceasefire held and the Nuba Mountains gained a special status of autonomy in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. This might be a chance for the Nuba to rid themselves from the political, social and economic marginalization of the past and end the violence directed towards them by central governments. The paper shows how the special genocidal aspect of warfare against the Nuba was already constrained earlier, and after 1993 the survival of the Nuba as a distinct group in their native land was certain. Still, for another ten years, the war continued and the Nuba suffered from further burnings, killings, airstrikes, hunger and other atrocities, even if the genocidal force of the government campaign had ended. The text focuses on the incidents in 1993 when the government changed its policy towards the Nuba from attempting to eliminate them both physically and culturally to lower-intensity counterinsurgency practices.

Location (online):

- howgenocidesend.ssrc.org/de_Waal2/

Manger, Leif O. 2007. Ethnicity and post-conflict reconstruction in the Nuba mountains of the Sudan: processes of group-making, meaning production, and metaphorization. *Ethnoculture* 1, 72-84

The article examines the situation in the Nuba Mountains after the Ceasefire Agreement came into force in 2002. It acknowledges certain improvements in people's lives in the region, mostly due to the end of armed struggle. But Manger highlights several challenges

connected to the movement of civilians and goods, the opening of non-accessible areas and the aim to increase stability. Land-related challenges are the pastoralists' movement patterns, the return and extension of industrial farming and the return of displaced people. The text starts with tracing historical legacies of the conflict back to colonial time. Since then, questions of land rights and use have been framed in ethnic, religious and racial terms, with the Nuba's past as enslavable population being perceived as the basis for the relations with other groups. This problem still persists in the present social context and overlaps with a trend of social change throughout Sudan; marginalized groups of any origin try to establish socio-economic and political participation. The text seeks an understanding of this social process on different levels of analysis—individual identities, group identities and the state level—and applies this analysis to the Nuba identity politics and the role of the state. It challenges the perception of the civil war as a conflict between solid ethnic and religious groups and argues for seeing ethnic groups as “things in the making” and for looking at the process of identification rather than at fixed identities.

Location (online):

- www.emich.edu/coer/Journal_2007/Manger.html (not paginated)

Varhola, Christopher H. 2007. Cows, Korans, and Kalashnikovs: the multiple dimensions of conflict in the Nuba Mountains of Central Sudan. *Military Review* 87 (3), 46-55

The article outlines the 2002 ceasefire monitoring mission in the Nuba Mountains and connects it to the ongoing fighting and violence in Darfur and related discussions about US and international military involvement in Sudan. The conflict in the Nuba Mountains is often described as religious or about diminishing resources. While not inaccurate, these explanations are misleading if explored in isolation. The war in the Nuba Mountains started long before the actual fighting in the 1980s and is far more complex than the dichotomy between an Islamic/Arabic north and an African/Christian south. The current violent conflict is only the most recent product of a long history of enmities and fights that coalesce along socio-economic lines.

Location (online):

- www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA521639&Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf

Komey, Guma Kunda. 2008. The denied land rights of the indigenous peoples and their endangered livelihood and survival: the case of the Nuba of the Sudan. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31 (5), 991-1008. DOI: 10.1080/01419870701568940

The article explores the situation of indigenous people in Sudan and relates the land policies of the independent Sudan to the strategies of the colonial rule at the beginning of the 20th century. It points out the unintentional continuity of colonial institutions and policies from the time of the Condominium till today and the introduction of

more aggressive policies targeting indigenous people, especially the Nuba, by the government of independent Sudan. Using this framework and information on the brutal deployment of these strategies against the Nuba, the article analyzes how historical, social and political dynamics systematically marginalize the Nuba and deprive them of their customary land. The text concludes with an exploration of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and examines how the question of land was addressed as one of the main issues leading to recurring civil wars, especially in South Kordofan, but also in Sudan in general.

Rottenburg, Richard (ed.). 2008. *Nomadic-sedentary relations and failing state institutions in Darfur and Kordofan, Sudan*. (Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte 26). Halle: Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum, Universität Halle

In the introduction to this volume, Rottenburg frames contemporary conflicts between sedentary farmers and nomadic pastoralists in Kordofan and Darfur as a failure to establish state institutions that can foster non-violent contest over resources. Instead of blaming scarce resources or cultural diversity for the escalation of conflicts, this approach considers scarcity and diversity an inevitable part of social coexistence. Any escalation of violence can be prevented by adequate mediating social institutions. Leif Manger argues in his article “Land, territoriality and ethnic identities in the Nuba Mountains” (71-99) that an adequate response to the region’s ailments must pay attention to land and identification, as both are central to Nuba’s quest for self-determination, if not independence. At the same time, such development is strongly connected to the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial context of the region. In order to both understand and acknowledge these aspects, a thorough look at cultural variation and creativity is essential. Guma Kunda Komey presents in “The autochthonous claim of land rights by the sedentary Nuba and its persistent contest by the nomadic Baggara” (103-129) ethnographic material collected during fieldwork in the village of Keiga Tummero in the Nuba Mountains. It explores the relationship between transhumant Baggara and sedentary Nuba and shows how they simultaneously diverge from and adjust to each other. Both sides claim their rights to the land in terms of autochthony, meaning a collective claim of a group to land based on notions of belonging and strong ties to an ancestral homeland. The structure of this justification contradicts the principles of the modern state; namely, citizenship, modern contract law and state ownership of all resources below and above the surface of the land. References to any concept of “belonging” are often weakened after hundreds of years of migration, violent conflict, ethnic assimilation and forced displacement. While the coexistence between Baggara and Nuba communities in the Nuba Mountains is an important cultural feature, it is shaped by competition over land and water sources. The different modes of cooperation and conflict significantly changed during the civil war. Many forms of coexistence ceased to exist when one group lost their land rights entirely. After the Comprehensive Peace agreement, the return of displaced stakeholders to their lands was another potential source of conflict, calling for new institutional arrangements to cater to peaceful settlement.

Location (online):

- www.nomadsed.de/en/publications/bulletin-of-the-centre/index.html#c1969

McFarland, Sherri. 2008. The victimization of the Nuba women of the Sudan. *Journal of Third World Studies* 25 (2), 21-38

The text explores the impact of the civil war in the Nuba Mountains on the lives of local women. The war between the liberation movement in the Nuba Mountains and the army of the central government has caused tremendous changes for them. The endangerment of women and their devalued status are particularly discernable in local cultural traditions and practices, and identifiable through the growing influence of Islamic fundamentalism and Arab culture. Various atrocities, including slavery, discrimination and rape, rank among the threats for women in the Nuba Mountains. The author followed these developments through statements of Nuba exiles in different refugee camps in Egypt.

Saeed, Abdalbasit. 2008. Post-conflict peace-building and socio-economic integration issues in Southwest Kordofan. (Sudan Report SR 2008: 3). Bergen: Chr.-Michelsen Institute

The study examines the current relationship between the Missiriyya, Daju and Nuba in northern Lagawa and identifies modes of cooperation, as well as potential and actual conflicts between the groups. Part of the report is based on fieldwork conducted in the Nuba Mountains after an open fight between Missiriyya and Nuba in May/June 2008. The first part of the text reviews the roots of the conflict and its historical background, the war between the Nuba and the central government from 1985 to 2002. The concept of "state-in-crisis" is used to analyze post-conflict processes. This includes the contrast between the institution-building approaches laid down in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the existing practices for access to, and management of, natural resources. The paper also discusses threats to community security on the micro level, below state influence. These problems, so the argument, can be successfully approached by local initiatives and peace-building solutions at the grassroots level. The main consequences of the civil war, which endanger sustainable development, are the economic destruction and the sub-culture of violence based on cultural political dichotomies such as African/Arab and north/south. The report thus describes the "Nuba" identity as a reaction to the marginalization by the central government and a result of state failure and intervention in the Nuba Mountains. The author concludes that the implementation of the South Kordofan Protocol of the CPA is of utter importance to transform the conflicts.

Location (online):

- www.cmi.no/publications/file/3111-post-conflict-peace-building-and-socio-economic.pdf

Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir Muḥammad Adam. 2009. *Al-ṣirāʿāt ḥawl al-mawārid al-ṭabīʿiyya: al-asbāb wa al-aṭār wa al-natāʾij bi-maḥalliyyatay al-dilinj wa rašād, wilāyat janūb kurdufān*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Khartoum, Khartoum

The thesis examines Natural Resources Based Conflicts (NRBC) in Dilling and Rashad in the Nuba Mountains, and provides suggestions for a sustainable conflict resolution. It covers the period from 1975 to 2008 and studies the interrelated groups of the area; i.e., traditional farmers, owners of mechanized rain-fed farms, cattle-herding Baggara, camel-owners and nomadic cattle breeders (Ambararo). The study is based on descriptive and statistical approaches, specifically using the Political Ecology Approach and Complementary Environmental Analysis. The research reveals that the recent NRBC between farmers and nomadic pastoralists intensified after the CPA, because the pre-existing NRBC were no longer manageable within traditional conflict resolution patterns. The main cause for the NRBC is the competition for land, water and forest products, aggravated by mechanized farming mismanagement, as well as ecological decline of forests and fertile land. Secondary causes are the institutional weaknesses of the state, ethnic polarization, civil war, and the expansion of agriculture and animal husbandry. The lack of sustainable development strategies and the weakness of the administration are poor premises of conflict resolution, but the study identifies new independent tendencies among the youth of different groups. The final suggestion is that the primary target of conflict management must be both the primary causes and the underlying framework of conflict, as a more superficial approach is destined to fail.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): M/2406

Aḥmad Muḥammad Bānqā. 2009. *ʿAwāmil wa aṭār al-taḥawwal fī nuẓum milkiyya al-arḍ bi-maḥaliyya al-dilinj bi-wilāyat janūb kurdufān*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Khartoum, Khartoum

The study examines the development of the agricultural land tenure system in Dilling in the Nuba Mountains and the internal and external factors affecting its transformation. It starts by sketching the geographical factors that influenced the transformation of the agricultural land tenure, and then describes the patterns of cultivation and related regulations, as well as its socio-economic consequences. The study uses geographical as well as historical, descriptive and analytical approaches; the research data was analyzed through SPSS and Excel. The analysis identified profound changes in the agricultural system of the region, which triggered a decline in productivity, a raise of poverty and declining income and standards of living. The increased conflict over land also destroyed cooperative relationships, social order and cultural practices. As a consequence, displacement and migration increased and social links in the communities were weakened. The study further links the outbreak of the civil war in 1985 to the transformation of the land tenure system. The violent conflict further destabilized the region and destroyed infrastructure, livelihood patterns and social relations. Another consequence was the damage to the productive sector of the region and the control over local resources.

Location (print):

- Sudan Library (Khartoum University): B/327

Hassan, Jamila. 2009. *Conflict and livelihoods in the Nuba Mountains of Sudan: anticipated and unanticipated impacts*. Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller

The book discusses the relationship between conflict and poverty in the Nuba Mountains. It is based on the assumption that the relationship between poverty and conflict might be bidirectional, but that violent conflict invariably leads to poverty. Furthermore, a thorough and deep knowledge about the conditions of socio-economic livelihoods is needed if poverty is to be reduced. The book elaborates on Nuba identity, the causes and history of chronic conflict and war, the marginalization of the Nuba by the Sudanese state and their socio-economic situation. The war has divided the Nuba as they had to choose between the two sides of the conflict, the SPLM/A and the central government. But, for reasons unrelated to this choice, they suffered from violence, raids, rapes and expulsion from both sides. The book explores how these acts of violence have changed the livelihood and especially the social capital of the people. The book uses statements of Nuba who experienced the war and tries to evaluate the negative and possible positive aspects of the conflict experienced by Internally Displaced People (IDPs). The multidisciplinary approach of the study further aims to provide useful general insights in the situation of minorities in conflict.

Komey, Guma Kunda. 2009. Striving in an exclusionary state: territory, identity and ethno-politics of the Nuba, Sudan. *The Journal of International Politics and Development* 7 (2), 1-20

The article discusses socio-political discourses and strategies of the Nuba of South Kordofan and their responses to state policies that exclude them from communal lands. The Nuba Land Action Strategy of 2004 is analyzed in the context of the emerging political movements of the Nuba and as an answer to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). The article identifies land issues as the most dominant cause of conflict in Sudan and similar African cases. It highlights the importance of land for rural groups as a material and a symbolic resource. This is widely ignored by the policy makers in many African states. Habitats are marginalized in the national development, and local resources are often excessively exploited for the "public interest." The survival of the affected local communities is threatened as a result, while possibly leading to strategic concepts of belonging such as ethnicity and autochthony among the groups.

Komey, Guma Kunda. 2009. Autochthonous identity: its territorial attachment and political expression in claiming communal land in the Nuba Mountains region, Sudan. In *Raum - Landschaft - Territorium. Zur Konstruktion physischer Räume als nomadischer und sesshafter Lebensräume*, edited by Roxana Kath and Anna-Katharina Rieger. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 203-226

This chapter is an ethnographic analysis focusing on claims of an autochthonous identity among the Nuba. It explores Nuba myths of origin, their relation to the area and their political implications in the context of socio-political processes of the region. The center of these processes is competitive land claims of the sedentary Nuba, who self-identify as an indigenous group, and the pastoralist Arab groups. The overlap of their land usage leads to political conflicts between the two ethnic groups. Claims over communal land on the grounds of autochthony become a mean of identity politics themselves. The paper explains how the Nuba construct these politics and how the neighboring Baggara respond to the claims in the context and aftermath of the civil war. In a region that faced several waves of migration, abduction, domination and ethnic mix in the last centuries, claims made by the Nuba over land are a hard win. The Nuba present their land claims with ethnic, cultural and religious explanations, deeply connected with the concept of the Nuba Mountains as their ancestral land. These references are often not as clear as the Nuba claim and have been challenged not only by pastoral Arab groups but by the Sudanese modern state as well. This leads to a conflict between legality according to the state and the legitimacy of traditional institutions. The text ends with an account of problematic points in Nuba identity, especially the implication of a tie between territory and collective identity. Nuba claims are not directed towards well-defined areas of Nuba identity, and rather than being final, are constantly in the making through the process of assertion against state and pastoral groups.

Ylönen, Aleks. 2009. Marginalisation and violence: considering origins of insurgency and peace implementation in the Nuba Mountains of Sudan. (ISS Papers 201). Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies

The paper reviews investigations of the causes of conflict in the Sahel zone, building on Homer-Dixon's work on the connection between environmental scarcity and violent conflict. This hypothesis is supported by several studies on the role of natural resources in African conflicts. Despite the important role of scarcity in local conflicts, the paper highlights the necessity to read them within the wider socio-political framework in which resources develop their significance. The article draws from earlier studies on the Nuba Mountains, criticizing explanations solely based on natural resources and falling short in providing concepts for conflict resolution. Conflicts in Sudan cannot be explained with scarcity of resources only. They must be connected to the role of the state, marginalization and historical developments. Then a conceptually guided interpretation of these conflicts can analyze why they are triggered in Sudan's periphery and what solutions there might be.

Location (online):

- www.issafrica.org/uploads/P201.pdf

Hale, Sondra. 2010. Rape as a marker and eraser of difference: Darfur and the Nuba Mountains (Sudan). In *Gender, war, and militarism: feminist perspectives*, edited by Laura Sjoberg and Sandra Via. Santa Barbara: Praeger Security International, 105-113

This book section analyzes genocide in Sudan using the categories of gender, race and culture to provide a deeper understanding not only of the case studies but also of genocide in general. It explores reasons for the high volume of perpetration of gender-based and sexual violence in the conflicts in the Nuba Mountains and in Darfur. The data was collected via ethnographic fieldwork, interviews with Nuba women and travels to the specific regions. The text explains how women's bodies are used as a symbol for their given culture and therefore are an instrument of male power. Women's bodies are glorified and characterized as being worthy of protection. By attacking women's bodies in conflicts, their symbolic value is destroyed and women become "material." The text argues that during the conflicts in the Nuba Mountains and in Darfur rapes were not only perpetrated by individual men as a form of revenge, or to gain power or booty. They also targeted the culture of a specific group, as the mutilation of women's bodies is not only physical but also symbolic of the other culture's humiliation and degradation. Rape is thus simultaneously an attempt to eradicate and to display identity. Sexual violence hurts the body and psych of the women, but also their villages and social environment as well as their culture.

Komey, Guma Kunda. 2010. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the questions of identity, territory and political destiny of the indigenous Nuba of the Sudan. *International Journal of African Renaissance* 5 (1), 48-64. DOI: 10.1080/18186874.2010.500030

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement ended the longest war in contemporary Africa, but left many groups in Sudan disappointed with its implementation. The Three Transitional Areas—the Nuba Mountains, southern Blue Nile and Abyei—experienced an especially high level of frustration with post-war expectations. Being among the most war-affected regions, their description as "contested," "marginalized" or "border" areas may disguise the fact that the causes for the civil wars in Sudan are many and are strongly entangled. On this basis, this article argues that the political question of ethnic group identities and their link to specific territories may be the core factor for the spread of war to these three areas. The Nuba and their claim to the Nuba Mountains as ancestral land is used as a case study that shows the historical shift of the Nuba from peaceful political agitation to armed struggle. It then evaluates their political status during the peace process and finally explores how the Nuba politically reacted to the results of the CPA and its impact on their political strategies. The article also gives an outlook on the prospective impact of the April 2010 elections and the 2011 referendum on the independence of South Sudan.

Komey, Guma Kunda. 2010. *Land, Governance, Conflict and the Nuba of Sudan*. Woodbridge: James Currey

This book is an essential reference work for the interlacing of political, economic and cultural conflicts in the Nuba Mountains. It shows how the interests and rights of sedentary and pastoralist groups in the region often clash with each other and with governmental development strategies. The state intervention in local conflict, often prioritizing one side and excluding the other from land usage, is an important factor in escalating local conflicts into nation-wide civil wars. But the question of land is not only further complicating other conflicts, it also reduces the possibility to manage, contain or resolve the conflicts. These observations, covering historical, legal, geographical and ethnographic aspects, are also discussed in the wider frame of violent conflicts in Sudan and beyond. The central government in Sudan sees land as a main resource of the national economy, and private and public development. The divergent interests of rural communities are often difficult to harmonize. While most political and scientific analyses identify ethnicity as the key cause of civil wars in Sudan, this book argues that the question of land is the key to understanding Sudan's local conflicts and nationwide wars. The right to the land is described as a relationship between persons practicing different economic and ritual activities. The right to land is indissolubly connected to the membership to specific groups, from the family level to the nation-state. The control over land in Africa is an important factor in the spheres of identity and belonging as well as a tool to gain and control political power. Not only the land but also the membership in the communities that sustain such control is contested and subject to change.

‘Alī Muḥammad Nūr Muḥammad. 2010. *Dīnāmīkiyya al-cirqīyya al-mutasayyisa wa aṭaruhā calā al-tafācūl al-ijtimācī fī al-sūdān. Dirāsa taṭbīqīyya li-ḥāla al-nūbā wa al-carab bi-maḥaliyyat al-dilinj*. Doctoral dissertation. Nilein University, Khartoum

The essence of the study is to identify the variables significantly correlated to social interaction between Arab and Nuba ethnic groups. The study sheds light on how social interaction is related to politicized ethnicity and organized lobbies that have impeded social harmony between the two groups. To this end, the study proposes a measurement, which may be helpful to assess and address similar problems in Sudanese communities. After a historical account of the interaction between the two groups, the author presents a field survey based on a descriptive-analytical method and an anthropological design to describe the local community and its different structures, encompassing a questionnaire targeting 240 respondents, group interviews and participant observation. The study revealed significant correlation between social interaction, politicized ethnicity and organized lobbies as dependent variables, and social communication, social participation, and the influence of mass media as independent variables. Age, sex, education and income were found not to be correlated, while ethnic belonging and residential background were only partially correlated.

Location (print):

- Central Library (Nilein University): 302 c 1 d

Large, Judith, and El-Lazim Suleiman El-Basha. 2010. A bitter harvest and grounds for reform: the Nuba Mountains, conflicted land and transitional Sudan. (Working Paper). Berlin: Berghof Foundation for Peace Support

As so-called road maps and subsequent elections are an essential part of “liberal peace” narratives, which aim for the legitimization and consolidation of governance, the April 2010 elections in Sudan were broadly regarded as a crucial stage in the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). At the same time, the referendum on South Sudan’s independence was already in preparation, and de facto autonomy of southern Sudan existed well before it was conducted. In addition, reforms in north and Sudan Sudan were far from implementation. The Three Areas (South Kordofan, Blue Nile, Abyei) had been excluded from the referendum and were in dire need of reforms. The study looks, based on this assessment, at land access, use and ownership claims on several levels (local, regional, national and international) and argues that there is an urgent need to negotiate and clarify them to pave the way for transition into a functioning post-referendum Sudan. Since Sudan is significantly targeted by “global land-grabbers,” this dimension has to be considered as well. A differentiation between land “governance” and land “sovereignty” is therefore proposed in order to formulate processes that facilitate reform and violence prevention.

Location (online):

- www.berghof-foundation.org/fileadmin/redaktion/Publications/Other_Resources/SUD_Bitter_Harvest_and_Grounds_for_Reform.pdf

Wily, Liz Alden. 2010. Making peace impossible? Failure to honour the land obligations of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in central Sudan. Independent resource paper

This paper was written amidst preparations for a popular consultation in South Kordofan and the Blue Nile, as stipulated in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. The agreement detailed some land-related provisions that were identified as essential for legal and political change with regards to land rights, a major contention of the civil war. However, in addition to the already weak definition of these provisions, no progress was made in the years after the agreement, especially concerning the legal status of customary land rights and the establishment of Land Commissions for arbitration of the multitude of conflicts over land. In spite of some legal, technical and financial international support, a lack of political will to actually implement changes existed. This was most obvious in the continuation of centralized distribution of customary land to commercial investors, one of the major reasons for vehement local resistance, but legal per the existing laws. Apart from identifying these processes as impeding stabilization and peace-building, the paper also provides comparative material on state-people conflicts through Sub-

Saharan Africa, with a perspective on remedial steps for the Sudanese context. On this basis, six kinds of interventions are proposed to safeguard the political and legal arrangements envisaged under the CPA and the Interim National Constitution. The paper ends with the assessment that a failure to address these issues adequately will cause a new outbreak of violence.

Location (online):

- www.cmi.no/sudan/doc/?id=1305

Komey, Guma Kunda. 2011. Pastoral-sedentary market relations in a war situation: the Baqq ra-Nuba case (Sudan). In *Economic spaces of pastoral production and commodity systems: markets and livelihoods*, edited by Jörg Gertel and Richard B. Le Heron. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 79-106

This chapter discusses trade relations between Baggara and Nuba on the background of a war-based economy. Building on an analysis of involved actors, functionality and spatial distribution of markets, Komey shows how state-induced insecurity shaped pastoral and agricultural livelihoods by transforming trade exchanges into a risky survival strategy. Temporary smuggling markets sprung up as response of Baggara and Nuba to the war, but were also deeply embedded into the war parties' economic and military strategies. The links between local economies, national and global markets can be assessed as gradual subjugation in the framework of these trade chains. To understand pastoral-sedentary relations merely as local dynamics fails to grasp how national and global processes are reflected in them economically, politically and socially.

Reeves, Eric. 2011. Humanitarian obstruction as a crime against humanity: the example of Sudan. *African Studies Review* 54 (3), 165-174. DOI: 10.1353/arw.2011.0050

Reeves comments on the new outbreak of violence in Abyei, Blue Nile and the Nuba Mountains, which he blames on the government in Khartoum. He points out the difficulty for humanitarian aid to access conflict regions and connects these obstacles to the embargo on foreign aid during the civil war in the 1990s. He argues that these were actually crimes against humanity and an important feature of the attempted genocide against the Nuba people. Turning to the recent events, he highlights the existence of mass graves and roadblocks to cut the area from the outside world, describing the failure of the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) to protect people who sought refuge. Furthermore, he states that aerial attacks from the El Obeid airbase were resumed and mostly targeted civilians with the aim to exterminate them and the infrastructure necessary for humanitarian intervention. Reeves adds further examples of obstruction of humanitarian aid from the previous Sudanese civil war, Burma and Zimbabwe, among others, and explains the juridical background of "crimes against humanity," exploring the failure of the UN and the international community to intervene on the behalf of civilians facing genocide.

Rottenburg, Richard, Guma Kunda Komey, and Enrico Ille. 2011/2015. **The genesis of recurring wars in Sudan. Rethinking the violent conflicts in the Nuba Mountains / South Kordofan.** (Nuba Mountains Studies Working Paper 1). Halle: LOST Research Group, University of Halle

Republished in 2015 as “Tragic entanglements: vicious cycles and acts of violence in southern Kordofan” in *Sudan’s killing fields: political violence and fragmentation*, edited by Laura Nyantung Beny and Sondra Hale. Trenton: The Red Sea Press: 117-137

This working paper discusses the renewed outbreak of violence in the Nuba Mountains in June 2011. It starts with some general considerations on how evidence of violence can be evaluated and its reliability ascertained. While the Sudanese government denounces non-governmental sources as not trustworthy, as do some UN organs, it also prevents international observers from entering the area. At the same time, documentation from the war areas is provided from a variance of sources, reaching from occasional journalistic visits to constant visual and written accounts from eyewitnesses published on the internet. The authors therefore suggest evaluating the plurality of existing sources, among them also the state-controlled Sudan News Agency, SPLM-N statements and observations by UN agencies and several NGOs. The paper then describes the escalation of violence in Kadugli, Um Dorein and Talodi when the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) attempted to disarm SPLA units. The strategy of continuous airstrikes, with regular ground troops mostly staying in and around urban areas, shows not a governmental army trying to control its legitimate territory but a hostile force attacking an unfamiliar environment. Tracing the recurring war to processes of militarization before June 2011, the text analyzes the political situation with a focus on the election and its disputed results, as well as the failure of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. Taking a further step back, the long-term reasons for violent conflicts in the region are investigated and two main patterns identified: the economic and political marginalization, and the suppression of cultural self-determination. The paper concludes that the violence is not a result of the dominance of a political force but a, by now institutionalized, part of politics because the main political players operate for the most part militarily. The discussion of political arrangements, such as elections, as technical procedures, or their failure, cannot lead to an adequate assessment of the situation, which calls for a radical change of the principles of political contest.

Location (online):

- www.nomadsed.de/uploads/tx_pdfviewer/South_Kordofan_Report_Oct_2011.pdf
- www.ethnologie.uni-halle.de/lost/nms/

Verjee, Aly. 2011. Disputed votes, deficient observation. The 2011 election in South Kordofan, Sudan. (African Elections Project Research Paper). London, Nairobi: Rift Valley Institute

This paper argues that the 2011 election in South Kordofan was marred by deep flaws that international observers failed to address. In light of the following outbreak of civil war, the national and international endorsement of this election shows a stark misrepresentation of the process and a failure to consider the volatile situation and Sudan's electoral history. The author concludes that without an adequate review of the disputes around the election and of the observers' reports no firm basis for peace negotiations can be found.

Location (online):

- www.riftvalley.net/download/file/fid/861%20

Baas, Saskia. 2012. *From civilians to soldiers and from soldiers to civilians. Mobilization and demobilization in Sudan*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

The book explores the processes that made soldiers out of civilians during the Sudanese civil war and vice versa after the war, using DDR (Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration) as object of inquiry. On the background of continuing violent conflicts in Darfur, the Blue Nile and the Nuba Mountains, the book describes mobilization and demobilization in several armed movements in Sudan. It examines why civilians join armed struggle at a certain point during the war and what social and political consequences they experience as part of fighting in a guerilla movement. Finally, the text explores how the reintegration of former fighters back into civilian life works and what challenges this reintegration meets. The analysis is based on in-depth interviews with current and former combatants in Sudan. This allows a closer look at the micro-level of the violent conflicts from the viewpoint of the armed forces, including their social life and individual autobiographical perspectives.

Location (online):

- dare.uva.nl/cgi/arno/show.cgi?fid=361597

Totten, Samuel. 2012. *Genocide by attrition. The Nuba Mountains of Sudan*. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers

The book's aim is to throw a light on the genocide the central government of Sudan and its local allies committed against the Nuba of South Kordofan during the second Sudanese civil war in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The author argues that the atrocities are still poorly investigated and understood by both activists and scholars. The policy of forced starvation is explored in detail as "genocide by attrition," by identifying the main actors during the war, the strategies of the government to force the Nuba into starvation and survival strategies of the victims. The author discusses genocide as a state crime and

provides in-depth information from interviews in the region. Apart from intentional starvation, the book documents the destruction of civilian villages and farms, and the systematic political and socio-economic discrimination of Nuba. The author concludes with the reaction of the Nuba to the failure of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement to address their problems, as well as the fears that the central government will resume its genocidal attempts against the Nuba in the future.

Alessi, Benedetta de. 2013. The CPA failure and the conflict in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states. *UNISCI Discussion Papers* 33: 79-92

The article argues that the violent conflict in Southern Kordofan and the Blue Nile resulted from the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and its flawed design and implementation. The agreement was based on a north/south dichotomy that does not adequately address issues of self-determination in the different parts of Sudan. The inevitable consequence was the failure to implement changes towards democracy and the peaceful settlement of conflicts. The author argues that this can be traced back to concepts of liberal peace-building and their flawed application in Sudan.

Location (online):

• revistas.ucm.es/index.php/UNIS/article/viewFile/44816/42226

Komey, Guma Kunda. 2013. The Nuba political predicament in Sudan(s): seeking resources beyond borders. In *The borderlands of South Sudan: authority and identity in contemporary and historical perspectives*, edited by Christopher Vaughan, Mareike Schomerus and Lotje de Vries. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 89-108. DOI: 10.1057/9781137340894.0010

This chapter explores how, in the wake of South Sudan's separation, the Nuba Mountains emerge as part of a borderland with geopolitical significance. This new situation is most of all connected to a multitude of violent conflicts and contested boundaries, not only between the two Sudans, but also between several groups with economic and other interests in the area. The author focuses on this border as both resource and obstacle to the Nuba's armed and political struggle, which recently took again the form of civil war. The border did not become an impregnable barrier through internationalization and militarization, but still witnesses a significant number of cross-border social relations. While these relations are constantly endangered by the widespread presence of violence, there are opportunities and interests connected to it that cause a plurality of actors to engage across it, in cooperation or contestation.

Komey, Guma Kunda. 2013. Back to war in Sudan: flawed peace agreement, failed political will. In *Sudan divided: continuing conflict in a contested state*, edited by Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed and Gunnar M. Sørbø. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 203-222

The article reviews the history of state-building in Sudan from independence to the secession of South Sudan in 2011. It describes the history of independent Sudan as a failed nation-building project that took the wrong route from the beginning. The development of a state in Sudan was always uncertain and under pressure from different sides. The project to establish a national identity via uniformity failed and led to the disintegration of different social and ethnic groups. This culminated in two civil wars from 1955 to 1972 and from 1983 to 2005, the separation of South Sudan and the recent violent conflicts in the Blue Nile region, in the Nuba Mountains and in Darfur. The Nuba Mountains case is explored in the text. It is used to show three elements troubling contemporary Sudan: the relationship between diverse Arab and Non-Arab groups in Sudanese society; the repercussions of a development strategy preferring the center over the periphery; and the long history of different processes of marginalization by several central governments after independence. On this basis, the chapter reviews the peace negotiations leading to the CPA, with a specific focus on the “Protocol on the Resolution of the Conflict in Southern Kordofan and Blue Niles States.” The stipulations and implementation of this protocol are read against political, economic, social, and administrative concerns of South Kordofan, informing a concluding outlook at developments during the renewed violent conflict.

Reeves, Eric. 2014. Failure to prevent genocide in Sudan and the consequences of impunity: Darfur as precedent for Abyei, South Kordofan, and Blue Nile. *Genocide Studies International* 8 (1), 58-74. DOI: 10.3138/gsi.8.1.03

The article explores the ongoing failure of the United Nations and the international community to react to and stop the violence in Sudan. Despite the “responsibility to protect,” celebrated at the September 2005 UN World Summit, the National Congress Party regime is enabled by a culture of impunity to continue its atrocities against the inhabitants of Darfur, the Blue Nile region and the Nuba Mountains, which often reach the level of genocide. The article considers Sudan as test case for the “responsibility to protect” doctrine defined by paragraphs 138 and 139 of the World Summit’s Outcome Document and draws the conclusion that the recent acts of violence in Sudan show its total failure.

Tinsley, Rebecca. 2014. The Nuba people: out of sight, out of mind. *Genocide Studies International* 8 (1), 75-85. DOI: 10.3138/gsi.8.1.04

The paper explores how the critical situation of the Nuba people in Sudan has been widely ignored, despite the development of international legal and political infrastructure

for the prediction, prevention, and punishment of mass atrocities. The violence in the Nuba Mountains has rekindled since June 2011, and it is argued that the Sudanese government uses the same divesting tactics to attack the Nuba as in the 1990s. The article traces these tactics to a centuries-old Arab-Islamic perception of the Nuba that is strongly related to the past slave trade. Meanwhile, the international communities are said to have widely ignored the atrocities against the Nuba and to have focused on low-intensity hostilities between Sudan and South Sudan. At the same time, Sudan is successfully prompting other African states to ignore the International Criminal Court's indictment of President al-Bashir. The U.S. and the U.K., in 2005 guaranteeing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), are now unwilling to urge Sudan to fulfill the commitments of the CPA, to establish democratic institutions or at least to stop the bombing of the Nuba, because the uncertain outcome of a possible Arab Spring in Khartoum might bring unknown actors to power in Sudan.

Totten, Samuel. 2014. Paying lip service to R2P and genocide prevention: the muted response of the US Atrocities Prevention Board and the USHMM's Committee on Conscience to the crisis in the Nuba Mountains. *Genocide Studies International* 8 (1), 23-57. DOI: 10.3138/gsi.8.1.02

The article explores the reactions of the United States Atrocities Prevention Board and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's Committee on Conscience to the resurgence of violence in the Nuba Mountains from 2011 onwards. It provides an historical background by describing the genocide by attrition the Nuba faced from the Sudanese government from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s. It compares the situation of the civil war with the current crisis in the Nuba Mountains and evaluates impact, causes and extent of the violence. Finally, it explores similarities and differences between the two sets of events and relates them to the responses of both the Atrocities Prevention Board and the Committee on Conscience. It speculates why these responses have been almost nonexistent and absolutely ineffective.

Totten, Samuel, and Amanda Grzyb (eds.). 2014. *Conflict in the Nuba Mountains. From Genocide-by-attrition to the contemporary crisis in Sudan*. London: Routledge

This edited volume explores the conflict in the Nuba Mountains from the genocide by attrition, which the central government waged against the Nuba in the early 1990s, to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the outbreak of violence after the CPA. Contributors of different backgrounds, from politics, journalism and science, discuss the origins of the conflict in colonial times, the institutionalization of insecurity in the independent Sudan and the failure of the policies that were stipulated in the CPA. The volume further shows how important political and socio-economic concerns and problems of the Nuba groups were not addressed in the CPA nor resolved afterwards. The aim of the book is to provide a deep and thorough overview of the contemporary crisis in the Nuba Mountains and suggestions of potential future solutions.

Hale, Sondra. 2015. By any other name: gender and genocide – women of Darfur and the Nuba Mountains. In *Sudan's killing fields: political violence and fragmentation*, edited by Laura Nyantung Beny and Sondra Hale. Trenton: The Red Sea Press, 201-216

This chapter addresses the occurrence of gender-based violence, most of it sexual, in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur, by connecting considerations of gender, race and culture in the perpetration of genocide. Not every act of violence constitutes genocide, and even repeated rapes, abductions, enslavement, forced marriage and sexual companionship may not qualify as such. But the author maintains that sexual violence that aims, systematically and continuously, at degradation and social dislocation is a strong indicator for genocide. The same is true for a war that is carried out through attrition and arbitrary, "habitual" violence, which is the case in the state-sponsored warfare against Nuba. In this case, the existence or proof of "intent" is not necessary for genocide to effectively occur. The author also argues that under such circumstances gender-based violence can simultaneously mark the brandished integrity of the targeted group and signify the superiority of the opposing group.

Manger, Leif O. 2015. Comparing borderland dynamics. Processes of territorialisation in the Nuba Mountains in Sudan, southern Yunnan in China, and the Pamir Mountains in Tajikistan. (Sudan Working Paper 2015: 3). Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute

The Nuba Mountains experience what is debated in social science as borderland situation. The theoretical debate revolves around the observation of similarities between different areas that are in such a condition, but also around differences that may be explained historically, geographically or even evolutionarily. In reference to this debate, the paper makes the argument that not only such areas vary between violent "zones of exception" and "normalized" zones, such as free trade zones. Each of these areas can be understood as emergence of unique interactions of local, regional, national and international forces in which historical possibilities manifest and new patterns of global power and global assemblages are created. Such an approach is different from an evolutionary understanding, as well as from pre-defined criteria of "weak states" and "incomplete transitions/development." Manger presents three case studies; namely, the Nuba Mountains, the Pamir Mountains in Tajikistan, and south-western Yunnan. While the first two are marked by violent conflicts, Yunnan left a past of violence and war behind. However, in all instances, state-society relations cannot be taken for granted, which means that an existing balance can be fragile and an existing imbalance can be overcome. The author makes the point that only thorough ethnographic analysis can adequately support the endeavor to grasp the intricate interaction of states, markets and communities in such zones.

Location (online):

- www.cmi.no/publications/file/5417-comparing-borderland-dynamics.pdf

Mohamed Salih, Mohamed A. 2015. Regimes of truth: on genocide in the Nuba Mountains. In *Sudan's killing fields: political violence and fragmentation*, edited by Laura Nyantung Beny and Sondra Hale. Trenton: The Red Sea Press, 99-116

This chapter examines the reasons for the lack of responses to genocide in the Nuba Mountains. It argues against "regimes of truth" that negate genocide not merely based on a different concept of genocide, but by following a kind of thinking effectively supporting subjugation. The author maintains that analyzing violence against Nuba in terms of war and its power structures fails to grasp the dehumanizing way the Sudanese state is conducting the war. Since attacks on Nuba are legitimized by a distinction between a divine and a lesser humanity, they have to be discussed in light of a discourse on impaired humanity.

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