

ARTICLES

Nagmeldin Karamalla-Gaiballa

University of Warsaw

ORCID 0000-0001-7613-3334

Hanna Rubinkowska-Anioł

University of Warsaw

ORCID 0000-0001-7051-3969

Ethnic diversity and its impact on group identification in Darfur

Abstract

This study addresses historical and cultural problems of man's identity and ethnic origin in the Darfur region, famous for its cultural role throughout history. This subject deserves particular academic attention in order to understand the structure and identity of the Darfurian cultural features, their dimensions and characteristics viewed from different perspectives. The article explores the rich and complex centuries-old history of the Darfur region, including the rise and fall of various kingdoms and political entities, as well as the impact of external influences such as Arab immigration and the spread of Islam, besides studying the habitats of different ethnic groups, their culture, language, traditions, and the relationships between them. It shows that the cultural differences and identity based on being a member of a certain tribe are the key factors in shaping history and the complicated situation of Darfur today.

Keywords: Darfur, tribe, Sudan, Fur, Baggara, Dajo, Rizeigat, Tunjur, Zaghawa, Masalit

1. Introduction

This article aims at presenting basic factors related to tribal¹ diversity in Darfur which has influenced the political history and the contemporary situation in the region. Some crucial aspects of the history of civilization and political entities in Darfur are discussed through the lens of characteristics and the role of its people. It is an attempt to organise information on Darfur groups who describe the units of their social and political structures as “tribes” (Arab. *qabīla*²). The civilizations established by them and the cultures that have developed in the area since ancient times contributed to the creation of specific features distinguishing the region. Nowadays, this is reflected in the social and political situation, including conflicts. The authors of the article try to present the background of the ethnic and cultural situation and its political consequences, all the more so that we assume that the fact of diversity itself has an impact on human life and social interaction. We ask questions concerning the interaction between social structures and the development of the societies, including the interaction with the state. As a result of the history of the research on Darfur, a number of problems have been discussed which are common to the whole continent, among them the question of a sense of belonging to a community transcending tribal affiliations (e.g. as a citizen) and whether a process of such a development in the region is possible at all.

The social and cultural diversity as such is characteristic for the whole continent, thus the questions on the situation in Darfur are relevant also for different parts of Africa, the more so that specifically in the region a whole range of diversity occurs: language diversity, identity based on mythical origin, different attitude towards land and resources, towards livelihood security, etc. This makes Darfur a good example and area for conducting research on the subject. The scholarly literature in Arabic on the topic covers different perspectives to those offered by the literature in European languages. This article aims at analyses of these perspectives, confronting them with other scientific findings and attempts to present a broadened view on the subject.

¹ The authors use the term “tribe” with full awareness of its complicated history and the discussion it aroused. An attempt to address the question of tribe is made further in the text.

² In the article anglicised spelling was adopted for names of tribes, geographical places, some persons and other items which are commonly found in literature in these forms, while scientific transcription of Arabic language was used for everything else.

In terms of scholarly interest in the subject the literature is rather limited in number. The researchers dealing with Darfurian peoples and cultures focus on geographical and environmental conditions, social life, as well as economic and political issues both in terms of the current situation and the historical outline. Among the crucial works are volumes by MacMichael in which important information about the situation in Darfur in the beginning of the 20th century is collected. *A history of the Arabs in Sudan: And some account of the people who preceded them and of the tribes inhabiting Dárfūr* was first published in 1922. It reports the results of an ethnological research and provides detailed histories of the origins, movements, and degrees of relation between the indigenous groups in Sudan, based on oral histories collected from the interviews with local people, and on Sudanese genealogical records known in Arabic as *nisba* ('relation'). In MacMichael's *Brands used by the chief camel-owning tribes of Kordofán (a supplement to 'The tribes of northern and central Kordofán')*, first published in 1913, the history of the province is presented based mostly on genealogical information collected during interviews MacMichael conducted with local people during his long tenure in Kordofan. The ethnography's focus on local history and the history of different ethnic groups in Kordofan remains the primary source for the province's local history.

Among the contemporary studies O'Fahey's *The Darfur Sultanate: A history*, published in 2008, delves into Darfur's history until 1916. Also the works by de Waal (2005) and Flint & de Waal (2008) are of importance.

It is worth mentioning the work of the well-known Sudanese researcher Muḥammad Sulaymān (2010), and his book *Sudan: The war of resources and identity* in Arabic. The book provides highly accurate information about Darfur, including its geographical location, demographic composition, ethnic groups, and the intersecting relations between them, as well as the nature of the climate. Muhammad dedicates a significant portion of his book to ecological transformations in the region, the environmental degradation, and their connection to the increasing frequency of conflicts in the area, illustrated with explanatory charts. He explores social environment of the ethnic groups, their ecological classification, nomadic paths and movement, and the specific locations witnessing higher rates of conflict over time and place. Another noteworthy publications dealing with the subject are those by Ząbek (i.a. 1998), which are based on the author's own field research.

According to the experts, there are about three thousand peoples and tribes on the African continent, and each of them possesses a remarkable richness in its own local cultures, customs, and traditions (Martin 2011). In addition, according

to Nketia, a Ghanaian ethnomusicologist and composer, also the language situation in the whole continent is very complex (Nketia 1968: 157-171). Language groups form their own divisions, sometimes coinciding with the accepted ethnic divisions, sometimes forming different kind of entities. Societies and civilizations experience non-stop processes of change and it is not different in Africa, including in the Darfur region. Beyond any doubt, the era of colonisation brought extra triggers for the exchange of social and cultural values. However, even though African customs and traditions have been influenced by different factors and processes occurring in the world, tribal affiliation, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, remains an important factor as well as a source of pride for the people of the continent (Ismā'il 2023: 306-307).

2. The question of tribe

It is beyond the aim of this article to discuss the complicated problem of the terminology applied to the social divisions in Darfurian societies. However, some clarification is needed.

Specific characteristics distinguish African numerous social and political groups, which by the Africans and the researchers are called "ethnic groups", "peoples" and/or "tribes"³. Such unlimited diversity and multiculturalism rarely exist in other continents. Discussing the situation in Africa in general, and in Darfur in particular, the researchers face problems with terminology. Among different terms "tribe" is a controversial one, and also difficult to define. As Sangmpam in his illuminating considerations writes: "The term 'tribe' is generally contested and rejected, often mildly in the Americas and Asia and more vociferously in Africa. In its eight-volume *General history of Africa*, UNESCO prohibited the use of the term 'tribe'" (Sangmpam 2017: 8). However, what he proposes in conclusion of his book is that both concepts – of the tribe and ethnicity – are important in Africa, as they differ and none of them should be dropped in scholarly discussions. Moreover, he claims that "the literature fails to explain the particularity of tribal allegiance and its saliency. This failure cries out for an alternative effort to develop a social theory of the high saliency of tribal allegiance in SSA [Sub-Saharan Africa]" (Sangmpam 2017: 91).

In Africa, the term "tribe" is important and often in use, and what is essential to these considerations, this term is the key word in Africa and is applied when the

³ For the discussion of the complicated use of the terms, including different perspectives deriving from British and French scholarly experience and attitude, see Vorbrich (2012).

question about group's or one's identity is posed. This term is associated with extreme connotations – with African pride and at the same time with pejorative view on African peoples (Wiley 2013). Apart from the term “tribe”, in contemporary literature on Africa there are many references to “tribalism” which is perceived mostly as a destructive factor, be it in processes of democratisation or state-building.

The term “tribe” expresses two different areas or dimensions, even if there seems to be a degree of connection between them. On the one hand, anthropologists applied the term to characterize a type of traditional human society associated with man since the beginning of his first precursors, prior to more complex political entities or states. Thus the term “tribe” in some narrations indicates that it distinguishes a specific phase of the systems of human societies. This resulted in the understanding of the term as a description of something connected with the past and/or the earlier stage of development. Undoubtedly, the tribe constitutes a substantial brick of bricks of the first human society. Its intertwined customs and traditions were associated with the idea of the first tribe, its members and its tribal heritage, with all its complexities and accumulations throughout history (Uld Šayḥ 2013: 15). In this understanding of the term the idea of continuation as well as historical and cultural roots is well integrated.

The groups living in Darfur speak Arabic, in which the term *qabīla* is being used, meaning ‘the unit’ of the group identification. This Arabic term has been customarily translated in the English-language literature as “tribe”. What is also relevant in these considerations, the term has religious connotations as it is used in al-Qur’ān. Thus, it is perceived as the solely legitimate term (both in its Arabic and English version) for the purpose in question.

In order to understand the value of the tribes in the Arabic and Muslim vision, al-Qur’ān in Sūrat al-Ḥuḡūrāt is saying: “O people, indeed We created you from a male and a female, we made you into nations and tribes, so that you might know each other. Indeed, the most honorable of you in the sight of God is the most righteous” (al-Ḥuḡūrāt: 13). That shows positive connotation of the term “tribe” in Islam. It is also necessary to be aware of the changes which occurred in the meaning of the term in the pre-Islam and Islam eras, as well as temporarily. However, the topic being fascinating by itself is too broad to be discussed in this article. Also, it needs to be stressed that the term in the Arabic sources is applied with positive meaning. Many Arab writers applied it within the titles of their books. Hence, special branch of traditional research was developed, which concentrates on Arabic tribes, called “Arabic Genealogy” (Ismā’īl 2023).

2. Posing vital questions

Taking into consideration the situation in the region which will be presented, important questions arise referring to interactions among the peoples/tribes living in the area and their interaction with the state. Firstly, the immense social, cultural, and linguistic differentiation of the region is beyond the question. Peoples in Darfur not only speak different languages and look differently. They also have different attitude towards using the land, providing the means for living, etc. The differentiation as such makes an important factor in shaping conditions and rules for communication and coexistence in the area. The area – the land the tribes share – is the most important element which forces different groups to search for the solutions to coexist. One of the most often applied solutions is conflict: wars for the grazing lands, for water, etc., i.e. for the resources. However, different, peaceful solutions are also adopted, for example based on trade, religion or on intermarriage and alliances (Āi Dahab 2007). Looking at the history of Darfur one can claim that in this region conflicting elements prevail. However, the answer to the question about the reasons of this state of affairs is an extremely complicated one and different explanations can be suggested. The thorough analysis of the ethnic/tribal/cultural situation presented in this article is one of the clues for searching the answer. The situation in Darfur also needs to be analysed through processes taking place not only contemporary or in the perspective of history of colonisation, but within the context of *longue durée*, thus taking into consideration events and processes dating back to the earliest times. Only from this perspective searching for explanation why the idea of state did not develop in Darfur in a way that nowadays allows smooth functioning within one state elsewhere. All the more so because – as in the case of sultanates, e.g. the sultanate of Tunjur – the political organisations like “early states” developed in the area over the centuries. Another vital element to be considered in terms of political relations are migrations. The dynamics of migrations in the region stands out even in the continent of high migration rate (Carbone 2017: 58). Migrations are among conflicting factors and in case of Darfur clashes between people on the move belong to the picture of contemporary situation where working out peaceful solutions seems to be an extremely difficult task.

All the elements of the situation in the region mentioned above are strongly associated with the ethnical/tribal diversity and history related to this diversity. Thus, the information collected and provided below aim at constructing a base for further research in search for answers to the above questions.

3. Darfur: Ethnic diversity and some historical facts

The Darfur region lies in the far west of Sudan, extending from latitudes 16 to 10 degrees north and longitudes 22 to 27 degrees east, covering 549,000 km². Its western border is marked by the border of Sudan with Chad and the Central African Republic. The estimated population is over 8 million (Flint & De Waal 2008). The term Sahel (originally *sāḥil* meaning 'coast' in Arabic) is a narrow transitional band between the desert and the woody savannah stretching across Africa's width, from Senegal in the west to the Red Sea in the east. The climatic and natural conditions in North Darfur are similar to the ecological belt of the dry savannah that is part of the Sahel zone in Africa, distinguished in nature and topography (Takana 2016: 90). The Sahel has a semi-arid climate, with a dry season of eight to eleven months a year. Its landscape is distinguished by baobabs, acacia trees and sparse grass covers developed over the last half-century. The area is subject to excessive soil erosion caused by natural climatic fluctuations, overgrazing, and agriculture (Birtū 2009).

The researchers point out that the Darfur region, in particular, is unique, as it is characterized by unique human and ethnic diversity (Paul 2011). The cultural diversity developed according to the ethnic and ancestral diversity between the local population and immigrants living in this region over time. It can be said that the Darfur region represents a microcosm of the state of Sudan itself (the motherland), as the whole country is characterized by remarkable racial and ethnic diversity (de Waal 2005).

A group of modern researchers reached an important conclusion which indicates that about 10% of the population in northern Sudan today originally came from the regions of western Chad (Delmet 1994: 473-481) or from the regions in northern Nigeria. In Darfur some groups of inhabitants are perceived as "non-black people". They are among the oldest local populations. These elements mostly came from successive human migrations that included different ethnicities (Choucair 1981: 152-154). Some groups probably came from the northern regions, while other groups came from the west. There were also migrations from the east, as Darfur was a passage for human groups between the north and south of the continent and between the regions of the Nile Sudan and central Sudan, especially the lands of Chad (Choucair 1981: 155-160).

The region was divided in 1994, according to the tenth constitutional decree, into three states: North Darfur with its capital El Fasher, West Darfur with its capital El Geneina, and South Darfur with its capital Nyala ('Aluwu 2007). The

population of Darfur, estimated now to number more than 8 million, belong to more than 100 tribes, people speak more than 14 languages, and all profess Islam, mostly following the Maliki school of thought. These tribes can be divided into tribes of Arab origin and those of African origin. It is important here to point out that the word "Arab" represents a cultural identity rather than an ethnic one (Ząbek 1998). Therefore, it refers to those who speak the Arabic language and who mixed with the local non-Arab population through a long historical process. They carry features similar to the features of Africans more than the features of the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula (Aħmad & Manger 2006: 60-63). While some members of Arab groups claim that they are the only "racially pure", it needs to be said that Arabness refers primarily to the cultural heritage, not the "racial origin" or ethnicity. Thus, the name "Arab" usually denotes the Arabic-speaking population due to the interaction of historical processes in various local groups of non-Arab origin in African Sudan (Young 2006: 5-8).

The peoples of Darfur who make up ca. 10% of the population of Sudan are Fur, the largest tribe in the region considered, with its branches, the second largest ethnicity in Sudan after the Arabs. After the Fur come the tribes: Zaghawa, Masalit, Berti, Tama, Barhak, Fellata, Medoub, Tunjur, Qamar, and Dajo (al-'Awād 2007: 202).

As for the Arab tribes, the most important of them are Rizeigat, Ta'aisha, Banu Fadl, Ziyadia, Misseriya, Maharaja, Banu Halaba, Ma'alia, Mahamid, Hotiyyah, and Ratariyya (al-'Awād 2007: 203).

According to historians, Darfur was known in the world even before Islam. The ancient Egyptians and Romans had contacts with this country. Even one of the pharaohs' commanders, Hrkov, was said to have stayed in the Medoub mountains. Romans sought to maintain trade relations via the famous trans-Saharan route called the "Forty Days Road" (Arab. *ad-darb al-arba'in*), connecting the cities of Kutum in Darfur and Asyut in Egypt (Islamstory 2007).

The diversity of climate and natural conditions in Darfur attracted different peoples to settle in different parts of the area. For example, the Fur Tora tribes settled in Jabal Marra⁴, and the Tunjur, Zaghawa, and Khuzam settled in northern Darfur. Each of the tribal leaders ruled independently of the central authority.

⁴ Jebel Marra is a group of volcanic peaks as high as 3,000 meters spanning the three states of North Darfur, West Darfur, and Central Darfur. It contains the second highest peak in Sudan. The Marra plateau covers 12,000 km² from Tobago Hills to Tebella Plateau. The Marra plateau contains montane woodland (Vail 1972: 251-265).

They also regulated their relations with each other on their own (Sulaymān 2010: 115-118).

The lack of natural barriers has been conducive to successive, lasting migrations over the centuries. The influx of successive pastoral peoples, both from the east and west, seeking security and new areas with better water and fodder resources for animal husbandry contributed to the spread of the knowledge of iron smelting and blacksmithing, as well as other crafts and crops. Long-distance trade and cultural contacts between different regions and ethnic groups developed here, creating cities and statehood (Prunier 2005: 197-198).

The history of human activity in Darfur in early periods has not found much interest from researchers until now. According to local narrations, the first to rule the region were the Dajo. Tunjur replaced the Dajo as rulers of the region (Aḥmad & Manger 2006a: 1-23). As for the Sultanate of Fur, it emerged in the middle of the 17th century, under the leadership of Sultan Suleiman. He is a descendant of the Kira dynasty, which removed the Tunjur from power and then ruled Darfur until 1916 (Aḥmad & Manger 2006a: 52).

The intense migrations that characterize the Darfur region due to the movement of Arab and African tribes impact its history, customs, and traditions. These migrations brought cultural, social, economic, and religious influences and caused radical changes (Flint 2010: 203). From 1650 to 1874, a solid sovereign state called the Sultanate of Darfur existed in what is now Darfur (Takana 2016). It was an independent Islamic kingdom ruled by sultans, with its own currency and a state system similar to a federal one. The sultan was subject to individual tribal leaders, who, however, ruled independently in their areas and were utterly independent until the period of incorporation into Sudan, a province created by Egypt in 1821, at the time a part of the Ottoman Empire (Beauregard 1987: 1898-1934).

The Darfur area was neglected for many years, contributing to its increasing isolation from the rest of the country. Differences in the level of development between the region and the rest of the country concerned not only the economic plan but also political rights and cultural development. Regional administrative law, which has been in place in Sudan since 1982, has, in practice, maintained Darfur's economic backwardness and increased its political isolation (Flint & De Waal 2008: 103, 301).

Nowadays Darfur borders four countries: South Sudan, Libya, Chad, and Central African Republic. Because of the region's geography which are lowlands in the area of the borders, there are no natural barriers that would prevent the movement of people. Thus there are common tribes between Darfur and their

neighbours. The fact that tribes of Darfur spread in several countries influenced, among others, the formation of the Darfur crisis and its subsequent repercussions.

4. Distribution of the Darfur population

The geographical distribution of the population and its social and tribal divisions are also significant here. However, the administrative structure of the region is complex and hierarchical, Darfur remains one of the least integrated parts of Sudan and the most difficult to manage. This is due to its distance from the centre and poor communication with the capital. Rough roads linking the region to the other parts of the country and the condition of the railways that stretch across South Darfur underscore Darfur's isolation from the rest of the country.

Livelihoods in Darfur correspond to ethnic divisions. The group of Arab origin are nomads, engaged in raising cattle and camels, while the population of the non-Arab groups, except the Zaghawa people, lead a lifestyle based predominantly on traditional agriculture. Although the entire region is called Darfur (Arab. *dār Fūr*), which means 'house' or 'land' or 'homeland' (*dār*) of the Fur people, it is divided into other sub-areas (Flint 2010: 48). Thus, each "house" (*dār*) is a specific social, political, and cultural identity. What is important here is the collective cultural heritage located in space. Therefore, despite the formal division of the region into provinces, councils, and other units, the traditional division into "houses" (*dār*) remains the most important in the context of ethnic groups (Tubiana et al. 2012). Darfur province is traditionally divided into three main houses: Dar Zaghawa in the west and north, Dar Fur in the centre, and Dar Rizeigat in the south. Besides these, other small "houses" belong to smaller tribes (Young et al. 2009).

There are many branches of Rizeigat in Sudan. The Rizeigat tribe is divided into three: the Mahamid, the Mahariya, and the Nawabiya, additionally some of the Rizeigat live near Ouaddai (Wadai) in Chad (at-Tūnisī 1965). During the history all Rizeigat branches were united when some disputes and conflicts with the sultans of Darfur who opposed other Arab groups arose (at-Tūnisī 1965: 58). The Rizeigat groups frequently rebelled against the sultans and declared disobedience to them. This corresponds to a large extent with the nature of the "crescent bellies", which always tend to be independent and not be subject to any central administration or authority (at-Tūnisī 1965: 58-60). Mostly, if the Rizeigat fell into conflict with one of the sultans, they would flee far to the desert

paths and carry their children, offspring, and herds so that the Sultan of Darfur could not obtain anything from them or seize them.

Dar Zaghawa is inhabited by the camel herders (Abala), Dar Fur is inhabited by the farming communities (Hakurat), and Dar Rizeigat by the cattle herders (Baggara). Each had its own ecologically conditioned way of dealing with their job, different from the others. Due to these differences in the ways of living and the use of natural resources, the likelihood of conflicts between the inhabitants of these areas has always been relatively high. In times of scarcity, it has increased. The degradation of the environment, however, had a significant impact on the lives of these groups (Assal 2006: 101-105).

5. Extinct or threatened with extinction languages in Darfur

History of languages reflects history of people speaking the languages. With the specific source base for research on African history, on many occasions information about languages were used to provide information about Africa's past. One of the important features of the language situation in the continent is the big number of endangered languages. Also some languages and cultures in Darfur are threatened with extinction or have disappeared completely. Among them there are the languages of the Birgid, Berti and Mima tribes. The Birgid tribe are similar to the people of Central Africa regarding their physical composition and habits. Many historians believe that Birgid is of Nubian origin due to the great similarity between their dialect and that of the Nubian people. Thus, the origin of the people is considered to be from black Africans ('Abd al-Ḥalīm, n.d.). Many of the Birgid tribes immigrated to Darfur after the fall of the Christian Nubian kingdoms in the north, where many settled in the northeast of Nyala and are called Birgid Tarzan. There are many Birgid tribes in their current places, and they intermarried with Arab and non-Arab tribes ('Amr 2022).

Sudanese researcher Anwar Ibrāhīm (2022) believes that there is a similarity between many cultures of the peoples who live on the riverbeds, especially in the northern and eastern regions of the African continent. He considers these similarities to be a remnant of their origin linked to ancient historical roots. Migrations characterise history of all the peoples of the region, thus we find that some customs and traditions are very similar. According to the study, the most important life factors are linked with each other, and had it not been for the geographical factors and borders that separated these peoples, they would have been one people linked to one life element (Ibrāhīm 2022).

The language of the Birgid tribe is in similar situation as the rest of the other Nubian languages, such as the language of Al-Mahas, the Danaqla, the Midob, even though this language had played an important role in different spheres of life, e.g. trade. Today, probably only four people living in the Simsim area in Gedaref speak the language. As these people are old, the language is threatened with extinction as soon as they die. The explanation offered for such a situation is that the language of Birgid is effected by common intermarriage between them as Arabs and non-Arab peoples (‘Amr 2022).

Another group to serve as an example of such a process is known as the Alberti. They form a large tribe mostly of mixed origin. They live in the area that is located near Mount Medoub, east of Darfur. There are a number of subgroups within Alberti. It is believed they had migrated from their first home in the Tjabo hills region, an area located three days walk north of El Fasher city in the Darfur region. The migrations were most likely due to the pressure exerted by the Fur rulers. The Alberti language in Darfur is one of the languages of the Darfur region that has completely ceased to exist, as no one speaks this language nowadays (Faḍl 2021).

6. Classification of the population of Darfur using earning and livelihood

Ethnic diversity in Darfur, as well as in Sudan, is generally not clear and distinct. The inhabitants of Darfur can be divided – as mentioned earlier – into those who are believed to be the descendants of Arab origin and into local non-Arab groups. This line of division is also often a line of conflicts while there are also conflicts between different Arab groups. The conflict in Darfur is the result of a complex set of factors, including fights over natural resources, unequal distribution of economic and political power, and the absence of a strong equitable economy, militarization, and proliferation (Flint 2010).

Conflict between the Arab groups, or those that describe themselves as Arabs, is not new. For example, the Rizeigat and Maalia tribes fought among themselves in south-east Darfur in the 1960s over administrative rights. Rizeigat and Beni Halba also fought each other over both access to water and grazing land in Darfur’s southwestern belt in the 1970s (Ahmad & Manger 2006b). By the mid-1980s, the problem had entered into a deadly combination of economic factors between farmers, pastoralists, Arabs and non-Arabs. In addition, there were the factors of drought of 1984-1985 and the repercussions of the war in Chad and the supremacy of “Arabism” – a new political ideology proclaiming

the principle of the superiority of the “Arab race” proclaimed in Libya under Muammar Gaddafi – and its influence on the central government in Khartoum (Flint 2010).

The conflicts in Darfur are often portrayed in extremely simplistic way. As a rule, it is believed that African rebels took up arms and stood up for their rights against the government in Khartoum (el-Tigani 2005). The government’s response, in turn, was to arm the Arab militia, which led a bloody struggle comparable to the genocide committed against Africans in Darfur. Even if this picture reflects part of the truth, the explanation of the situation is much more complicated as presented in Gray & Kevane (2008) and Karamalla-Gaiballa (2017). However, there is no space in this article to discuss this subject at length. The means of earning and livelihood make one of the lines of conflicts.

The Fur people are the largest ethnic group of African descent in the Darfur region. Members of this people, as mentioned above, are the founders of the Sultanate of Fur and the historical rulers of this region. It consists of sedentary farmers engaged in farming using traditional digging methods. Other non-Arab ethnic groups in the region include the Meidob, Zaghawa, Masalit, Berti, Tama, Alemrarit and Tunjur. These non-Arab ethnic groups formed the Darfur Insurgent Front in the mid-1960s in the face of widespread practices of exclusion of indigenous ethnic groups from Darfur. The main objective of the Front was to protect the interests of the indigenous population of Darfur in the face of conflicts and political rivalries in which the central government in Khartoum interfered (‘Abd al-Karīm 2006: 166-167).

The Arab peoples in Darfur are mainly nomadic tribes, among them: Habbaniya, Beni Hussein, Ziyadiyah, Beni Halba, Jawama, Rizeigat, and Almhiria. Besides them, there are also Arab merchants, city dwellers, and government officials often called “Sons of Jallaba”, a term for the sons of merchants from the north of Sudan. In the mid-1980s, these social groups formed the so-called “Arab Alliance”. It aimed to obtain official support and financial assistance from the central government and Sudanese political parties for the Arabs in the Darfur region (‘Abd al-Karīm 2006: 166-167).

The inhabitants of North Darfur can also be divided according to other classifications. A classification by economic identity into four groups is popular: Baggara “Arab cattle herders”, Abbala “Arab camel herders”, Zarga, a local name meaning “black” non-Arab farmers, and urban, merchant and artisan population (O’Fahey 2009). Another division is based on the cultural dimension the Sudanese researcher Fu’ād Ibrāhīm adopted. It distinguishes groups based on their rela-

tionship with Arabness (i.e. according to ethnic criteria) and their relationship to Arab culture and language. So he proposes Arabs, mixed Arabs, non-Arabs who speak Arabic, and non-Arabs who do not speak the language. By “Arabs”, Ibrāhīm refers to Arabic-speaking Arab populations such as Rizeigat, Ziyadiyah, Beni Hussein, and Jawam’a shepherds, who, as descendants of intermarriage with the local population, have a darker skin colour than Sudanese Arabs (‘Abd al-Karīm 2006).

In contrast, non-Arabs who speak Arabic have given up their native language and adopted the Arabic language. Alberti and Tunjur fall into this category. The third category is mixed Arabs, which include those who used their native languages but also spoke Arabic dialects. The researcher included here the Fur, Zaghawa, Meidob, Albrgid, Mima, Tama, and Kenana tribes (Abdul-Jalil 2014).

In turn, another researcher, O’Fahey, adopted the division of Darfur’s population based on the claim that it is a genealogically and ethnically diverse area and that the classification and division into Arabs and non-Arabs are done randomly and makes the accepted classifications inconclusive. O’Fahey thus proposes a classification based on immigration and linguistic factors and ways of earning a living as basic elements of the population structure in Darfur. According to this hybrid trend, three groups can be distinguished based on family trees, activities, geographical location, and cultural elements (O’Fahey 2008).

According to such criteria, the first group can be defined as camel and cattle herders who consider themselves Arabs. This belief is expressed in the fact that they appear to be Arabs and have such a status. They also feel that they are Bedouins (nomads) and are known for their sense of superiority and violent tendencies. They consider farmer groups and other rural groups to have lower status (Sharkey 2008: 21-43). In their understanding, these groups are inferior, not only in the ethnic sense but also in their culture and way of living. They refer to them as “Altukul” which refers to the word meaning ‘kitchen’ because of their stable lifestyle. For them, the term *dār* (‘home’) is important as a reflection of the status of their ancestors, their identity that distinguishes them from other groups. To protect themselves from the intruders the *dār* have troops and military organizations led by warrior-leaders (de Waal 2005: 181-205).

The second group consists of seasonal and permanent farmers. They are permanent village residents, and the descendants of mainly non-Arab population, usually from the Fur tribe. In contrast to the pastoral ones presented earlier, this group is not paramilitary. They do it to protect their crops and farms. For the members of this group, Darfur is “home”, while all others are foreign to the region.

Farmers of Fur generally tend to be peaceful, though they occasionally clash with cattle and camel herders. Due to these conflicts, distrust and hostility towards each other grow between the two groups.

The third group, distinguished based on common regional, cultural and professional characteristics, consists of entrepreneurs, civil servants, landowners, and working city dwellers. Unlike the groups discussed above, which have limited political importance, this third group plays an important role in the political and economic life of the region.

7. Tribes of power in the sultanates in Darfur

7.1. Dajo

The beginnings of statehood in Darfur are associated with the Dajo people who settled in the south-eastern part of Jabal Marra. However, the history of Dajo has yet to be recorded and documented in an orderly and reliable manner. It exists only in the customs and memory of people who, knowing historical events, passed it on through stories (Sulaymān 2010: 207). The lack of written records is one of the main reasons why the history of the Dajo people is not well documented. Without written documents, historians have to rely on other sources such as oral traditions, customs, and memories passed down through generations (Sulaymān 2010: 208).

According to the oral tradition, the Dajos ruled Darfur from the 12nd to 13th century. During that period there were six rulers in this country. The first was Sultan Abdullah Dag, and the last was Sultan Omar Ibn Amen, known as “Ksavro” (Abū Māzin 2021). Some Dajo groups inhabited Kordofan (Nubian Mountains), Darfur, and Chad. Members of this tribe were known for their passion for music and fun. They are considered inventors of old Sudanese musical instruments. Some of these are still used in Sudan, such as the tom-tom “drumsticks” and the ebony whistle. They also have many folk and traditional games that distinguish them from other societies. They are fond of music and theatre, and are believed to have invented one of the most important music genres: *dajo* (O’Fahey 2008). Traditionally, Dajo are the cow herders (Abū Māzin 2021).

The Dajo people, along with each of the Birgid and Begu groups, formed the oldest Darfurian societies. They constitute a distinct group, located in the centre of the Darfur region, to the east and southeast of Jebel Marra and north of Diyar al-Baqqara (Abū Māzin 2021). According to the Sudanese versions collected from the oral heritage and studied by the Sudanese authors, the Dajo people

are considered one of the oldest peoples in Sudan and the western Nile Valley region. They regard their kingdom to be an extension of the Kingdom of Meroe, which was destroyed in 350 AD. They were forcing its kings to migrate towards the southwest of the Fazugli Valley, then the southwest of present-day Kordofan, and there they established their sultanate and took the Qadir region as their capital (Abbakir 2017).

From the foregoing it is clear that the history of the Dajo is very difficult to determine. It is most likely that at the beginning of the 12th century or shortly before, the Dajo people came to Darfur through the eastern gate. Despite the efforts of some researchers, their origin is still shrouded in mystery (Abū Māzin 2021).

Today, the number of the Dajo people amounts to around 4 million, of which 2.5 million live in the Republics of Sudan and South Sudan, and 1.5 million in the Republic of Chad. In Sudan they live in Darfur (Nyala, Zalingei, El Geneina, El Daein, and El Fasher) and Kordofan (Laqawa, El Muglad, Kadugli, Shatat, El Obeid Khortaqaq, Al Dibeker, Embrambita, and Abi Kershola), as well as in the states of Gezira, Sennar, Blue Nile, Gedaref and Port Sudan) (Abbakir 2017).

The Dajo language, according to Greenberg (1963), is classified among the eastern Sudanese languages in the Nilo-Saharan family of languages. It is believed that it is an ancient Sudanese language with different dialects. The number of Dajo speakers (which is different than the number of the ethnic Dajos) is estimated at 250,000 people, of whom there are approximately 50,000 in Darfur (Nyala, Kass, Zalingei and El Geneina) and about 80,000 in Kordofan, about 30,000 in other parts of Sudan, and about 90,000 people in the Republic of Chad (Ki-Zerbo 1995: 306).

Several sultans succeeded in their ruling, and they moved their capital from Qadir to several regions, including Shat ad-Dim, Dinga, and Taqat, during a period that extended for seven centuries until the reign of Sultan Ahmed ad-Daj who moved his capital to present-day Darfur, specifically at the top of Jebel Marra, in about the year 1100. Here they established the first sultanate in what is today known as Darfur. Several sultans succeeded, the last of which was Sultan Omar Ibn Amen, known as "Ksavro", who built several palaces for his sultanate in different locations (Nari, Kalkuteng, Kedner, and others) and at the top of Jebel Marra. His last palace was in the Kilwa mountain area east of Nyala, currently the capital of the South Darfur region. This era witnessed the end of the Dajo rule over the current Darfur in about the year 1480, to be followed after that by the Tunjur rulers. The Dajo dispersed in many regions, including Darsila and Mango in the Republic of Chad. However, the majority of them remained in Darfur

and Kordofan, preserving their system of government, traditions, and customs known to this day (Abbakir 2017).

7.2. Tunjur

The people who seized power in the Darfur region at the end of the 13th century were the Tunjur. They ruled until the first half of the 15th century. Some scholars include the Tunjurs among the Arab tribes of the Bani Hilal confederation, and consider them the first tribe to introduce the Arabic language in Darfur (Muḥammad & Murad 2017). There is also an opinion that they are part of the Fur tribe or belong to the Arabized Nubian peoples from the Nile Valley, some of whom migrated to Darfur.

The Sultanate of Tunjur was in North Darfur, while the rule of the Dajo people was concentrated in South Darfur. After the fall of the Dajo state, the Tunjur extended their influence in Darfur, and their capital became the city of Awri, on the mountain of the same name (Muḥammad & Murad 2017). The Tunjur were known for their trade, and their capital was one of the most dynamically developing cities. The governor of the city of Awri managed to establish economic relations with the Ottoman Turks ruling Egypt, and merchants from Cairo supplied him with weapons in exchange for gold (Ādam 2021).

The Tunjur were also known for their strong attachment to Islam on the one hand and their flexibility in exercising power and not resorting to cruelty in managing their state on the other. In the latter, they were the opposite of what Dajo did. They were also known for their unique architecture and road construction. There are still traces of a paved road at Awri. They are also considered the creators of the state of Wadai, existing west of Darfur and incorporated into French Chad (Idrīs 2015).

7.3. Fur

According to the tradition, the people of Fur were called by their Nubian cousins "Altora", meaning 'great' or 'gigantic'. The name comes from the fact that they are very tall and well-built. Altora constructed round houses under the name *turang tonga*, which means 'houses of giants'. They lived in the Jabal Marra Mountains and did not mix with other peoples, what, as they claimed, allowed them to keep their "pure" blood and physical characteristics. It is believed this was due to living in the mountains and some external isolation (Arkell 1951: 37-70). Later, many mixed marriages were concluded between them and the Tunjur, which led to the suggestion that they were descended from the same line of

Altora (Lampen 1950: 177-209). Sultan Suleiman Solong, also known as Solomon of Arabia, was the first sultan to establish the Muslim Sultanate of Darfur in 1445. He managed to take over 37 smaller kingdoms under his rule. According to the tradition collected from the oral heritage, he participated in 32 battles, and his kingdom consisted of Muslims and pagans alike (Arkeff 1951). He started building a solid power in Darfur, took down leaders at the local level and appointed new leaders from his lineages. Thus began the rule of the Keira clan⁵ in Darfur. The term "keira" means 'good grandchildren'. The Tunjur leaders remained disconsolate after losing control of the government in Darfur (Abū Zayd 2008).

Darfur's history is filled with wars against Wadai⁶ in the west and Funj⁷ in the east. Usually, when Wadai gained the upper hand, the rulers of Darfur turned their expansion east, competing for Kordofan with Funj. The capital of the state was permanently placed in El Fasher (Holt & Daly 2011: 35-40). The rulers of Darfur successfully exploited the migration of merchants and religious sheikhs from the Nile Valley for their purposes (Abusharaf 2010). The representatives of the Fur people ruled Darfur continuously for almost 430 years, from 1445 to 1875. Egypt did not conquer the state during the 1821 campaign and it maintained its independence until a renewed Egyptian attack in 1874 (Holt & Daly 2011: 35-40).

A decade later, in 1884, it was incorporated into the Mahdist state, in the creation of which the Darfurians participated quite actively. Incidentally, the period of Mahdist rule is the only period in Sudan's history when the Darfurians had a sense of equality in a common state. After its demise in 1899, they were incorporated into the resulting Anglo-Egyptian condominium. Until then, the country had maintained a certain degree of independence quite effectively (Holt & Daly 2011: 85-90).

⁵ The difference between tribe and clan is that a tribe is broader in scope than a clan, whereby a tribe consists of a group of clans that share a common lineage. Clan refers to the members of one family and their close relatives (al-Ḥalāyqa 2018).

⁶ Former African country, in the territory of present-day Chad, east of lake Chad. Founded in the 14th century by the Maba tribes, in the 17th century it was Islamized, often falling into dependence on the neighbouring strong states: Bornu and Darfur. At the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries it gained full independence, conquered part of Kanem, then Bagirmi; maintained lively trade contacts with Egypt (Akyeampong et al. 2014).

⁷ The Funj Sultanate was the most easterly of the chain of Muslim dynastic states which at one time stretched south of the Sahara through Bilād as-Sūdān. Founded early in the 16th century AD by a king traditionally called Amara Dunqas, it had its centre around the town of Sennar (Holt 1963).

It should be remembered that the Turkish-Egyptian and Anglo-Egyptian (1820-1885) rule over Darfur was indirect, and the dynasty starting from Suleiman Solong, also known as Keira dynasty, reigned there until 1917. The state of Darfur, called the Muslim Sultanate of Darfur (the inhabitants of Darfur were completely Islamized under the rule of the Keira sultans), was divided into four provinces. The Fur continued to rule Darfur for nearly 430 years to come without interruption, that is, from the year 1445 until the year 1875. The last of the Sultans, Ali Dinar, ruled from 1898 to 1916, after which Darfur was incorporated into the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (Holt & Daly 2011: 40-45) as a result of Ali Dinar attempts to become independent from the condominium. On 1st January 1917 it was annexed to Sudan and then the government in Darfur was federal (Arbāb 1998). During this period it was ruled by a sultan supported by twelve ministers. Their duties included, above all, activities related to the election of a new sultan after the death of their predecessor (Harir 1993). These works were done in consultation and cooperation with the Shura Advisory Board. It consisted of twelve members, including four governors. The Shura also had the power to support the Sultan in managing the country's affairs and to conduct preparations for the election of a new Sultan (Harir 1993). Darfur came under foreign rule until Sudan's independence in 1956 (Totten & Markusen 2010: 3-12). However, from the point of view of many Darfurians, this was not Darfur gaining independence but merely incorporating it into a foreign state (the Republic of Sudan) as a fifth region. Since then, we have seen the people of Darfur continue to strive for independence and the actions of the Sudanese government to prevent them from ever gaining greater autonomy (Flint & De Waal 2008: 17-30).

In addition to the above mentioned trade with Egypt, long-distance trade from Darfur was also developed in the east-west direction, on the so-called "Sudanese road" (*tāriq as-sūdān*) leading from Sawakin on the Red Sea through Darfur to the country of Hausa. Copper mined here was mainly traded and delivered to Kano and Bornu in exchange for Hausa textiles and kola nuts from the forest zone of West Africa (Tymowski 1996). It was also stimulated by the migrations of individual tribes and peoples (especially Fulbe-Mbororo, Hausa, Bornu, and Uadaju peoples) from west to east. This can be expressed by a large diaspora of descendants of these immigrants, known in Sudan under the general name Fellata, who, in the perception of Sudanese Arabs, are descendants of former pilgrims to Mecca who chose not to return to their countries of origin. The pilgrimages above, carried out on foot or in caravans on donkeys and camels, probably began in the first centuries of the presence of Islam in this region and lasted continuously at least until the 1960s when they were slowly replaced by

air transport. One of the economic mission stations on the African continent, in the upper Nile basin, was established there. It should be emphasized that entrepreneurs and researchers from different regions also came to Darfur (Fasi & Hrbek 1988).

8. Conclusion

This article attempts to present the historical and environmental factors that contributed to the ethnic (socio-ethnic structure of Darfur) and settlement (distribution of the population by income and livelihood in Darfur) processes relevant to contemporary Darfur. Both factors must be constantly considered because these processes can be explained only in this way. Life in Sudan, as in other parts of the African continent, is considered in the context of maintaining ecological and economic balance. Over the last four decades, this balance has been repeatedly disturbed, especially in northern Sudan's large arid and semi-arid areas.

Ethnic, religious, and cultural divisions are important to properly understand the motivations of people engaging in bloody conflicts. Prolonged conflicts create ever greater ethnic barriers and increase the likelihood of ethnic divisions becoming the main cause of conflict. Limited natural resources, real and imagined, have triggered most armed conflicts in Darfur. Over time, ideological and social arguments have been added to ethnic, cultural, and religious differences. All these reasons lead to the emergence of political conflicts, which transform into armed conflicts over time.

Side effects caused by ethnic differences together with cultural and spiritual development can conflict with the development and emergence of other hot-spots. The Darfur War began with a dispute between farmers and pastoralists over natural resources, pastures, and water sources. With time, the intensification of the conflict, and the growing sense of injustice due to the loss of life and property, the ethnic dimension emerged as this conflict's second most important flashpoint. Over time, due to the increasing losses, panic and drama of hostilities, the ethnic dimension came to the fore as the most important motive of the conflict. So the resource conflict turned into an identity conflict. Adapting to various ecological environments brings about differences in culture, material products, and aspects of social organization, such as language and social traditions, dressing and eating, which are key criteria for the emergence of racial discrimination. These differences become serious when there is a dispute over material resources. As a result, flashpoints appear on the border of areas with

different natural conditions and lead to conflicts between neighbouring groups. Rivals use their ethnicity as an argument in these disputes.

References

- Abbakir, 'A.M. 2017. "Ša'b ad-dāğū" [Dajo people]. *Dajo civilization*. Online: <https://dajo-civilization.files.wordpress.com/2017/08> [20.04.2023].
- 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, R.M. (n.d.). *Al-'urūba wa-l-islām fī dārfūr fī al-'uṣūr al-wuṣṭā* [Arabism and Islam in Darfur in the Middle Ages]. Place Unknown: House of Culture for Publication and Distribution.
- 'Abd al-Karīm, A. 2006. *At-tawzī' as-sukānī bi-dārfūr wa-s-sūdān* [Population distribution in Darfur and Sudan]. al-Ḥurṭūm: Publisher Unknown.
- Abdul-Jalil, M.A. 2014. *Retribalisation of the educated elite in Darfur and the phenomenon of tribal Shura Councils* (Sudan Working Paper 5). Bergen: University of Bergen, Chr. Michelsen Institute.
- Abū Māzin, 'I. 2021. *Ḥikāya "mamlaka ad-dāğū" fī iqīm dārfūr* [The story of the "Kingdom of Dajo" in the Darfur region]. Online: <https://rosaealoussef.com/808022> [20.04.2023].
- Abusharaf, R.M. 2010. "Debating Darfur in the World". *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 632. 67-85.
- Abū Zayd, A. 2008. *Ḥarb dārfūr: nahr ad-dām wa-nār al-qabā'il* [The Darfur War: The River of Blood and the Fire of the Tribes]. Darfur: Publisher Unknown.
- Ādam, N. 2021. "Mamlaka at-Tunğūr" [Kingdom of Tunjur]. *Sudan Journal*. Online: www.sudanjournal.com [20.04.2023].
- Aḥmad, A.G.M. & L.O. Manger. 2006a. *Dārfūr iqīm al-'iqāb: iškāliyā al-mawqī' wa-šīra huwiyyāt* [Darfur, the region of torment: The problem of location and the conflict of identities]. Holand: Rewaq Publications.
- Ahmad, A.G.M. & L.O. Manger. (eds.). 2006b. *Understanding the crisis in Darfur: Listening the Sudanese voices*. Bergen: BRIC.
- Akyeampong, E.K., R.H. Bates, N. Nunn & J.A. Robinson (eds.). 2014. *Africa's development in historical perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Āl Ḍahab, S. (2007). "Namāziğ li-t-t'āyuṣ al-qabalī fī dārfūr" [Models of tribal coexistence in Darfur]. *Sudanese Online*: https://sudaneseonline.com/ar/article_10028.shtml [18.06.2023].
- 'Aluw, Ḥ. 2007. "Dārfūr... ṣida' sūdānī, bayn-a ḥaṭṭ aṣ-ṣad' al-itnī wa-ḥaṭṭ aṣ-ṣad' al-ğyūstrāṭījī" [Darfur... a Sudanese headache between the ethnic fault line and the geostrategic fault line]. *Lebanese National Defence Journal* 60. Online: <https://www.lebarmy.gov.lb/ar/content/> [16.06.2023].

- ‘Amr. 2022. “Aṣl qabīla al-barqīd” [The origin of the Bargid tribe]. *Fekera*. Online: www.fekera.com/218366/ [18.06.2023].
- Arbāb, A.A.Q. 1998. *Tārīḥ dārfūr ‘ibr-a āl-‘uṣūr* [History of Darfur Through the Ages]. al-Qāhira: Bank al-ġarb al-islāmī.
- Arkell, A.J. 1951. “The history of Darfur 1200-1700 AD”. *Sudan Notes and Records* 32(1). 37-70.
- Assal, M. 2006. “Sudan: Identity and conflict over natural resources”. *Development* 49. 101-105.
- Ateem, S.M. & S. Eltigani. 2007. The root causes of conflicts in Sudan and the making of the Darfur tragedy. NEPAD and Regional Integration Division United Nations Economic Commission for Africa Conflict Prevention and Development Cooperation in Africa: A Policy Workshop. Sussex. 8-11.
- al-‘Awād, S.H. 2007. *Al-ḥarīṭa al-dīmuġrāfiyya li-iqlīm dārfūr* [Demographic map of Darfur region]. *The International Politics* 168. No page.
- Beaugregard, E.E. 1987. “Review of Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1898-1934, by M.W. Daly”. *African Studies Review* 30(2). 100-102.
- Birtū, Ḥ. 2009. “Al-ātār al-biyyi’iyya li-l-ḥurūb wa-n-nizā’āt” [Environmental effects of wars and conflicts]. *Afedmag.com*. Online: <http://www.afedmag.com/web/ala3dadAlSabbiaSections-details.aspx?id=512> [20.04.2023].
- Carbone, G. (2017). “Out of Africa. Why people migrate”. *Ledizioni*. Online: <https://doi.org/10.14672/67056699> [18.06.2023].
- Choucair, N. 1981. *Sudan history*. Beirut: Dar Al-Jail.
- Delmet, C. 1994. “Sur la route du pèlerinage: Les Peuls au Soudan”. *Cahiers d’études Africaines* 34(133-135). 473-481.
- Faḍl, A. 2021. „Luġāt as-sūdāniyyīn al-maḥalliyat qāwamat al-ḥiġrāt wa-l-ḥurūb wa-taḥṣā al-indīṭār” [The local languages of the Sudanese have resisted migrations and wars and fear extinction]. *Aljazeera*. Online: <https://www.aljazeera.net/culture/2021/2/24/> [16.06.2023].
- Fasi, M. (ed.). 1988. *General history of Africa*. III: *Africa from the seventh to the eleventh century*. Paris: UNESCO Heinemann.
- Fasi, M., & I. Hrbek. 1988. *General history of Africa*. UNESCO: Heinemann, University of California Press.
- Flint, J. 2010. *The other war: Inter-Arab conflict in Darfur*. Geneva: Small Arms Survey.
- Flint, J. & A. de Waal. 2008. *Darfur: A short history of a long war*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- Gray, L. & M. Kevane. 2008. “Darfur: Rainfall and conflict”. *SSRN Electronic Journal* 3. Online: <https://iopscience.iop.org/article/10.1088/1748-9326/3/3/034006/pdf> [15.06.2023].
- Greenberg, J.H. 1963. *The languages of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University.

- al-Ḥalāyqa, Ğ. 2018. "Mā āl-farq bayn-a āl-qabīla wa-l-'uṣayra?" [What is the difference between tribe and clan?]. Online: <https://mawdoo3.com/> [16.06.2023].
- Harir, S. 1993. *Racism in Islamic disguise: Retreating nationalism and upsurging ethnicity in Darfur. Indigenous peoples and the colonial state*. Center for Development Studies. Bergen: University of Bergen.
- Holt, P.M. 1963. "Funj origins: A critique and new evidence". *The Journal of African History* 4(1). 39-55.
- Holt, P.M. & M.W. Daly. 2011. *A history of the Sudan: From the coming of Islam to the present day*. New York: Routledge.
- Ibrāhīm, A. 2022. "Ifriqyā... šu'ūb wa-ṭaqāfāt mustašābiha" [Africa... Similar peoples and cultures]. *Al-'ain*. Online: <https://al-ain.com/article/africa-similar-peoples-cultures> [20.04.2023].
- Idrīs, M. E. A. R. 2015. "Ad-dāğū wa-t-tunğūr min ašu-š'ūb as-sūdāniya al-qadīma" [The Dajo and the Tunjur are among the ancient Sudanese peoples]. *ar-Rākūba*. Online: www.alrakoba.net [8.08.2023].
- Islamstory. 2007. "Qiṣṣā al-islām, tāriḥ dārfūr" [The story of Islam, Darfur history]. Online: <https://islamstory.com/ar/artical/25952/> [16.06.2023].
- Ismā'il, I.H. 2023. *Aṣ-š'u'ūb wa-l-qabā'il al-ifriqiyya ġanub aṣ-ṣahrā' al-qubrā* [African peoples and tribes south of the Sahara desert]. Dubai: Maraya.
- Karamalla-Gaiballa, N. 2017. *Sudan: Konflikt w Darfurze (2003-2011)* [Sudan: Conflict in Darfur]. Warszawa: WDR.
- Ki-Zerbo, J. (ed.). 1995. *General history of Africa. I: Methodology and African prehistory*. Berkeley: UNESCO Heinemann.
- Lampen, G.D. 1950. "History of Darfur". *Sudan Notes and Records* 31(2). 177-209.
- MacMichael, H.A. 1922. *A history of the Arabs in the Sudan: And some account of the people who preceded them and of the tribes inhabiting Dārfūr*. Cambridge: University Press.
- MacMichael, M.A. 1913. *Brands used by the chief camel-owning tribes of Kordofān (a supplement to The tribes of northern and central Kordofān)*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Martin, W.G. 2011. "The rise of African studies (USA) and the transnational study of Africa". *African Studies Review* 54(1). 59-83.
- Muḥammad, al-Šādiq 'Abd A. A., & Murad, Ḥ. 2017. *Tāriḥ at-tunğūr wa-tsīs as-saltāna al-islāmiyya fī dārfūr: dirāsāt tāriḥiyya wa-ṭayiqiyya* [The history of Tunjur and the establishment of the Islamic sultanate in Darfur: A historical and documentary study]. al-Qāhira: al-Ifriqiyya ad-Dawlīyya li-n-Nuṣir.
- Nketia, J.H.K. 1968. "The language problem and the African personality". *Présence Africaine* 67. 157-171.

- O'Fahey, R.S. 2009. "Ethnic identity in Darfur". *African Arguments*. Online: <https://africanarguments.org/2009/04/ethnic-identity-in-darfur/> [20.04.2023].
- O'Fahey, R.S. 2008. *The Darfur Sultanate: A history*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Paul, A. 2011. *A history of the Beja tribes of the Sudan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Prunier, G. 2005. "Douglas Johnson: The root cause of Sudan's civil wars". *Annales d'Éthiopie* 21(1). 197-198.
- Sangmpam, S.N. 2017. *Ethnicities and tribes in Sub-Saharan Africa: Opening old wounds*. Syracuse: Palgrave.
- Sharkey, H.J. 2008. "Arab identity and ideology in Sudan: The politics of language, ethnicity, and race". *African Affairs* 107(426).
- Sulaymān, M. 2010. *As-sūdān: Hurūb al-mawārid wa-l-huwiyya* [Sudan: The war of resources and identity]. al-Ḥurṭūm: Dār Azza.
- Takana, Y. 2016. *Darfur: Struggle of power and resources, 1650-2002: An institutional perspective*. Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute.
- el-Tigani, M. 2005. "Inside Darfur: Ethnic genocide by a governance crisis". *Sudan Tribune*. Online: <https://sudantribune.com/article7982/> [20.04.2023].
- Totten, S. & E. Markusen. 2010. *The Darfur genocide*. New York: Routledge.
- Tubiana J., V. Tanner & M.A. Abdul-Jalil. 2012. "Traditional authorities' peacemaking role in Darfur". *Peaceworks*. Online: <https://www.usip.org/publications/2012/11/traditional-authorities-peacemaking-role-darfur> [20.04.2023].
- Turnbly, J. (ed.). 2013. *Memory and history: Understanding memory as source and subject*. New York: Routledge.
- al-Tūnisī, M. bin 'U. 1965. *Tašhīd al-adhān bi-sīrat bilād al-'arab wa-s-sūdān* [Sharpening the mind of the biography of the Arab countries and Sudan]. Online: <https://www.libraryofarabicliterature.org/assets/Davies-In-Darfur-modified-1> [16.06.2023].
- Tymowski, M. (ed.). 1996. *Historia Afryki do początku XIX wieku [History of Africa until the beginning of 19th century]*. Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- Uld Šayḥ A.W. 2013. *Al-qabīlāt wa-d-dawlāt fī ifriqiya* [Tribe and state in Africa]. Bayrūt: Arab Scientific Publishers.
- Vail, J.R. 1972. "Jebel Marra, a dormant volcano in Darfur province, Western Sudan". *Bulletin Volcanologique* 36(1). 251-265.
- Vorbrich, R. 2012. *Plemienna i postplemienna Afryka: Koncepcje i postaci wspólnoty w dawnej i współczesnej Afryce [Tribal and post-tribal Africa: Conceptions and forms of community in old and contemporary Africa]*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM..
- Waal, A. de. 2005. "Who are the Darfurians? Arab and African identities, violence and external engagement". *African Affairs* 104(415). 181-205.

- Wiley, D. 2013. "Using 'tribe' and 'tribalism' to misunderstand African societies". Online: <https://www.africa.upenn.edu/K-12/Tribe-and-tribalism-Wiley2013.pdf> [20.04.2023].
- Young, H. 2006. *Livelihoods, migration and remittance flows in times of crisis and conflict: Case studies for Darfur, Sudan*. An HPG Background Paper. Online: <https://cdn.odi.org/media/documents/404.pdf>. [20.04.2023].
- Young, H. et al. 2009. *Livelihoods, power and choice: The vulnerability of the northern Rizaygat of Darfur, Sudan*. Feinstein International Center, Briefing Paper. Online: <https://fic.tufts.edu/assets/Livelihoods-Power-Choice-Brief-Paper-2009.pdf>. [15.06.2023].
- Ząbek, M. 1998. *Arabowie z Dar Hamid. Społeczność w sytuacji zagrożenia ekologicznego* [Arabs from Dar Hamid. A community in the situation of ecological endangerment]. Warszawa: Dialog.