

# ETHNORÊMA

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**Ethnorêma**, dal greco *ethnos* ‘popolo, etnia’ e *rhêma* ‘ciò che è detto, parola, espressione’, ma anche ‘cosa, oggetto, evento’. Nella linguistica pragmatica *rema* sta ad indicare la parte di una frase che aggiunge ulteriore informazione a quello che è stato già comunicato (il *tema*).

**Ethnorêma**, from the Greek words *ethnos* ‘people, ethnicity’ and *rhêma* ‘what is said, word, expression’, but also ‘thing, object, event’. In linguistics, *rheme* indicates the part of a sentence that adds further information about an entity or a situation that has already been mentioned (the *theme*).

**Ethnorêma** è la rivista dell’omonima associazione. L’associazione senza scopo di lucro Ethnorêma intende promuovere attività di studio e ricerca nel campo linguistico, letterario, etnografico, antropologico, storico e in tutti quei settori che hanno a che fare, in qualche modo, con le lingue e le culture del mondo.

**Ethnorêma** is the journal of the association of the same name. The Italian non-profit association Ethnorêma works to promote study and research activities in the fields of linguistics, literary enquiry, ethnography, anthropology, history and in all those sectors which have to do, in some way, with the languages and cultures of the world.

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# Phonologic variation in Palu'e, a language from Eastern Indonesia, and the devising of an orthographic system\*

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## ABSTRACT

This article presents a phonological description of the Palu'e language variants and reflects on the problems of representing the language in writing. Verifiable lexical and phonological data are made available and an orthography is introduced. Data and analysis is drawn from a comprehensive documentation, and specific recordings of three speakers/language variants reading the same wordlist, available in an online audio collection. The phonetically transcribed recording of one speaker is compared with the other two and the corpus-based phonological description, and provided in an annotated appendix. The annotated recordings support the estimate of >99% lexical congruence and mutual intelligibility between variants. From a multi-variant perspective several phonemes are in free variation with each other. /tʃ/ does not occur mid-word/second syllable in the interior variants that use the initial PMP \*c instead of the coastal /s/, but is in complementary distribution with mid-word /dʒ/. /s/ is neither in complementary distribution with /tʃ/ nor /dʒ/ in the coastal variants. Several Palu'e variants exhibit sufficient specific features to be referred to as dialects, including two of the recorded samples, whereas the speech patterns of the phonetically transcribed speaker make sense from the perspective of the surrounding variants.

Keywords: *Austronesian, Palu'e, Flores, phonology, orthography, language variation, language documentation*

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Subject, aims, methods

This article describes some features of the phonology of Palu'e (ISO 639-3 code ple, local name *sara Lu'a*), which is spoken by the Palu'e (*ata Lu'a*) on the island Palu'e (*Lu'a*) near the north coast of Flores in the eastern Indonesian province Nusa Tenggara Timur. Description and analysis is grounded in the author's comprehensive documentation of the Palu'e language and its oral traditions, including the transcription

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of over 300 recordings with speakers from all around the island.<sup>1</sup> The article presents a phonological description of the Palu'e language variants, a preliminary dialectological description, and reflects on the problems of representing the language in writing. The orthography devised as the solution is displayed in the example sentences and in the glosses of the appendix. Verifiable lexical and phonological data are made available for further research.

After an introduction, the paper presents in (1.2), a description of the language situation; then in (1.3) a summary of previous research to further display in (1.4) an account of the specific comparative data. For this purpose three speakers representing three language variants or 'dialects', were recorded reading aloud from a wordlist in order to provide examples of phonological variation, and to assess the observed high level of mutual intelligibility and lexical congruence. Section 2 is a broad description of Palu'e phonology (2.3-2.4), beginning with (2.1) the orthographic issues and a brief description of structure and typology (2.2). Section 3 is the summary with conclusions.

The wordlist (English, Indonesian, phonetic transcription of one speaker, Palu'e glosses) is provided as an annotated appendix with comments on sounds, lexemes, ambiguities, alternates, and differences of pronunciation.<sup>2</sup>

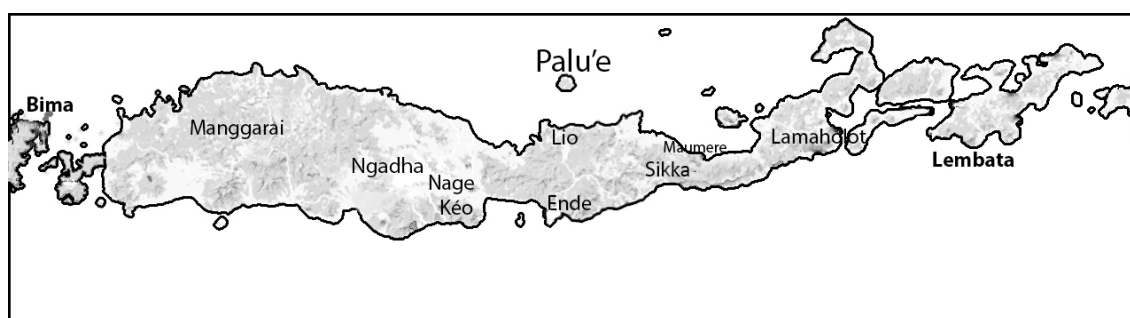


Figure 1. Map of Flores. The major Flores languages are indicated at their approximate positions.

## 1.2 Language situation

The island of Palu'e is a municipality under the Sikka regency (Maumere) in Flores, Eastern Indonesia (see map in Figure 1). Uwa is the island's largest settlement, hosting the municipality office, junior high schools, a harbour, and passenger boats. Less than 10 000 speakers reside on Palu'e, which only covers about 49 km<sup>2</sup>. Several thousands more live in migrant communities on Flores. It is difficult to make a proper census on the island because many Palu'e reside both along the Flores north coast and on Palu'e, and many migrate far away for work, often for several years.<sup>3</sup> There is a significant Palu'e settlement in Nangahure, east of Maumere (in the main island of Flores), founded

<sup>1</sup> See Himmelmann (2006) for a review and definition of endangered languages documentation. See item SD1-000 in Stefan Danerek Collection – Palu'e Audio, Kaipuleohone, the University of Hawai'i Digital Language Archive and Danerek (2017) for more detailed information about the project and the collection. Hereafter collection items will be referred to with item numbers only. Consult also the Palu'e-Indonesian dictionary (Danerek 2019), which was finalized during the editing of this article. The main fieldwork was followed up by shorter visits until 2019. In total, the author has spent a full year among Palu'e speakers.

<sup>2</sup> Next to transparency and to account for shortcomings, the intention is to transfer additional information about the language.

<sup>3</sup> An unpublished municipality document from Dec 2011 mentions 9939 inhabitants, before the volcanic eruptions 2012-2013 and the relocation of over a thousand people. Fernandez (1989:87) mentions 12 000 inhabitants.

after the volcanic eruptions on Palu'e in the mid 1980s. The population increased significantly with the influx of refugees after the 2012-2013 volcanic eruptions.

Palu'e is classified as Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Lembata (Simons and Fennig 2019). Fernandez (1988) argues for a Flores group of languages with a source in a proto-Flores language. In subsequent works (1989a and 1996), he divides the Flores group into East, Central and West Flores languages, and labels the Central group 'Ngadha-Lio-[Palu'e]', including Nage, Kéo and Ende. Manggarai and Lamaholot languages respectively, dominate the West and East Flores groups.<sup>4</sup>

The Central Flores linkage with Palu'e is described as a 'dialect chain' (Fox 1998: 3-5), which runs through the whole island of Flores. Like the other languages of the Central Flores group, Palu'e is an extremely isolating language of the SVO-type. The Central Flores languages are more related to the West Flores languages than the East Flores languages, which are less isolating and more grammatically complex. Blust (2013), like Fernandez (1996), lists Sikka (or 'Sika') in an East Flores subgroup with the Lamaholot languages, which are spoken also on Lembata and Solor islands. The language affinity of Palu'e can thus be described in the following order: Austronesian – Malayo-Polynesian – Central Malayo-Polynesian – (Central Eastern Malayo-Polynesian) – Bima-Lembata – Flores – Central Flores – Palu'e.<sup>5</sup>

No other ethno-linguistic groups reside on Palu'e Island other than the Palu'e, who are more defined by place and language than by ethnicity. There are many origin groups, or clans (*kunu*), on Palu'e. Those who claim first settler status traditionally take political and ceremonial leadership before groups which came later, in each of the fourteen tribal lands with borders, called *tana* on Palu'e, and hereafter referred to with the anthropological term '(traditional) domain'. Palu'e ceremonial customs and culture are stronger and more elaborated in the seven 'domains of buffalo blood' (*tana laja karapau*),<sup>6</sup> so defined by their largest sacrificial animal, the water buffalo. The other domains are often referred to as 'domains of pig blood' (*tana laja wawi*) according to the same principle.

The Palu'e language is not critically endangered, but certain language domains certainly are, notably, but not limited to, ritual-poetic use of language, *Pa'e* ('speaking in pairs').<sup>7</sup> Today all Palu'e are able to speak Indonesian, in the style common to eastern Indonesia and Flores in particular. The grandparent generation generally received four to six years of elementary school, but not everybody of this generation did attend school. People who are around 40 years of age today often received six years of schooling. Today it is common to finish at least junior high school, and to continue to senior high school, and even on to proceed to higher education. Palu'e is still used in everyday conversation on Palu'e, whereas in Nangahure, Indonesian is used more frequently than on Palu'e. The youngest, if born on Palu'e, still learn Palu'e before Indonesian, but not all Palu'e are fluent in their mother tongue. For comparison, the author is not perfectly fluent in Palu'e,

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<sup>4</sup> Blust (2013), like Fernandez (1996), lists Sikka in an East Flores subgroup with the Lamaholot languages.

<sup>5</sup> Donohue and Grimes (2008) present objections to the Central Eastern Malayo-Polynesian group proposed by Blust (1993).

<sup>6</sup> Vischer (2006:181) mentions 14 traditional domains. Three costal domains (see Palu'e map) are small, adjoined, and share a ceremony which is rarely carried out.

<sup>7</sup> See for instance Fox (2014) about semantic parallelism.

but comes across speakers who are less proficient, due to their habit of using Indonesian or mixing.<sup>8</sup>

Palu'e is endangered because of this process of language shift toward the national language, enhanced by frequent work migration to Malaysia where the Palu'e use Indonesian, influenced by the surrounding Malaysian Malay. In situations where non-speakers of Palu'e are present, or the more formal a situation, the more Indonesian is used. Language shift is more intense, but not limited to, in the coastal domains. The phenomenon is not limited to the youth only. The dominant factors of language shift are: 1) migration for work, primarily to Malaysia, or migration for higher education; 2) education and the influence of the national language; 3) relocation to Flores because of the recurring volcanic eruptions.

On the main island of Flores the Palu'e primarily use Indonesian in communication with other ethno-linguistic groups. In the case of migration to the island of Flores, Palu'e children often learn Lio with relative ease compared to Sikka (Mauwere). These are the two other, significantly larger Flores languages, with which the Palu'e are in frequent contact with over 100 000 and some 250 000 speakers respectively. Palu'e men have a tradition of doing seasonal work on Flores during the dry season, often in small groups. None of the Flores languages are causes of language shift, but the modern culture of Sikka (Mauwere) has a noticeable influence on the Palu'e.

All the different variants or dialects of Palu'e are mutually intelligible and largely coincide with the domains. The language documentation has only recorded few instances of words that are specific to one or more domains, yet often recognized by speakers from other domains. On the map below, the names of the domains are in bold letters and placed approximately at their respective main settlements. The others are names of settlements mentioned in the text, except from Woja, which is a semi-domain whose population are mostly descendants from Kéli. Both the Cawalo and Ko'a domains reach all the way from the north west coast to the south coast, but their populations, like the other, are concentrated in closely located settlements as indicated.

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<sup>8</sup> In the author's work with recordings it was unusual to receive narratives in 100% Palu'e even after the narrators had been instructed to use only Palu'e, and including of recordings done by local assistants.



Figure 2. Map of Palu'e.

The domains are since the late 1960s located among eight *desa* (administrative villages, local government). The administrative borders of a *desa* itself do not follow the borders of the domains therefore hereafter the terms ‘village’ or ‘hamlet’ refer to settlements). The domains form two main clusters of political alliance groups, which in the past meant commitment to support one another in ritual border warfare against enemy domains. The basic form of alliance is marriage and exchange of goods between houses of different origin groups, which used to be endogamous within the domain, or a closely allied domain. Today it is not unusual to marry outside of one’s domain, or even to take a spouse from Flores.

Since the 2000s cement roads between settlements have further contributed to integration. This external factor contributed to the weakening phonological differences among variants, but variation is still so significant that the origins of speakers are usually easily identified. Uwa, the commercial and administrative centre with workers and employees from outside, primarily from the regency capital Maumere, is more affected by language shift than other parts of the island. Uwa, centred on Maluriwu but lacking a clear territorial definition, is formed by a cluster of adjoining seaside settlements, *desa*, and coastal domains, which reach all the way from the coastal hamlets of Ndéo until Ngalu. These coastal settlements do not form separate variants as found in the island’s interior, instead their shared speech patterns are locally referred to as a ‘dialect’.<sup>9</sup>

### 1.3 Previous research

There are a few previously published descriptions and analyses of Palu'e. Inyo Fernandez (1989b) is a first sketch of Palu'e phonology, using lexical data from a 1,047 items ‘Holle wordlist’ to which ‘a number of lexical items were added’ during a fieldtrip

<sup>9</sup> Differences, if identifiable, between the coastal domains need to be examined specifically.

in July 1988 (Fernandez 1989b: 88).<sup>10</sup> The lexical data contains a few errors, likely because of the short fieldwork. Fernandez (1989b:88) mentions four ‘dialects’ (Nitung, Uwa, Ona, Cawalo).<sup>11</sup> He admits that the number and classification reflects ‘a common view’, also found in an unpublished survey by Widjatkika (1974) that he refers to. Fernandez acquired data from Nitung, Uwa, and (H)ona, but not Cawalo. The Hona variant is, as noted by Fernandez, very similar to Cawalo,<sup>12</sup> whose lands stretch all the way to Hona. Had Fernandez stayed longer and walked around the island talking to the inhabitants, he would have discovered more variants. He makes an important distinction between coastal and interior dialects.

In the following rest of the paper, the term ‘interior’ is used to mention speech variants located on the hills toward the mountain at altitudes of >100 m above sea level. Fernandez’ description of the Palu’e phonemes is similar to this description (2.3, 2.4), except that he includes /gh/ and /z/, which he admits are unusual, and the semivowel /w/. He uses [w] instead of /v/ in the orthography for the sample words, despite the fact that /v/ should be in the phonological chart instead of /w/.<sup>13</sup>

A previous wordlist of Palu’e by Mark Donohue, describing the ‘Nitung dialect’, is found in the Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database (ABVD. Greenhill et al 2008). Donohue also compiled data for a more extensive wordlist (2003), a tri-lingual dictionary with over 600 entries (including subentries), acquired from Nitung speakers.<sup>14</sup> Donohue (2005a) is a hypothesizing analysis of sound changes from Austronesian/Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) to the modern Palu’e, also based on data from Nitung speakers. Donohue (2005a) describes /ə/ as an epenthetic vowel that breaks up illegitimate consonant clusters, and Donohue (2005b) describes ‘the Palu’e passive’. Donohue (2009) is a short book chapter dealing with aspects of Palu’e phonology, relevant for this paper. It explores Palu’e nasality and breathiness, and the status of long vowels and diphthongs as mono- or disyllables.

Also to be mentioned among previous publications is a trilingual book for the learning of English, Indonesian and Palu’e, intended primarily for junior high school students, by Frans Sanda (2005), a Palu’e man and lecturer in Kupang. The phonology and orthography is based on the ‘Uwa dialect’. The choice of *gh* instead of *k*, *kh* to represent /k/ and near-sounding phones, such as *ghita* instead of the usual rendering *kita* for 1PL.IN ‘we’, and other letter combinations with h, and last but not least the description provided are proof that the data came from the Uwa variant. Being based on Uwa, it was criticized by this author’s Kéli friends.<sup>15</sup> Generally speaking, the inhabitants of each domain consider their ways of doing things, including speaking, to be the more correct, although differences are petty.

<sup>10</sup> All translations are by the author. Fernandez attributes the unpublished wordlist to Michael Vischer in the bibliography. Blust (1993: 243) also refers to an unpublished Palu’e wordlist with the same word count: ‘1,047 items, Lusia Wese (n.d.). Palue vocabulary. Lexical questionnaire collected by Margrethe Dirkzwager M. s., 20 pp.’ I have not been able to get a copy of this wordlist. It is not included in the bibliography for the mentioned reasons.

<sup>11</sup> The main village of the domain *Nitu léa* is named Nitung, a modern, Indonesian, rendering of Nitu.

<sup>12</sup> SD1-234–236 are recordings of a Hona speaker.

<sup>13</sup> [z] is heard primarily in the Cawalo dialect (see SD1-299). Fernandez’ conflation of /w/ with /v/ is likely influenced by his Flores background.

<sup>14</sup> The data was initially collected from about 30 families of Nitung speakers living in Batam, and then corrected against data acquired in Nitung, Palu’e on two separate trips (Mark Donohue, personal communication).

<sup>15</sup> It shows how favouring one dialect before others can make other speakers shun the orthography, although the individuals did not take the time to read the introduction about how the writing system was devised.

#### *1.4 Wordlist work process*

To compile the wordlist for this article the author began with the Swadesh wordlist (1952), compared it with wordlists of other Austronesian languages, including from ABVD, and replaced a number of items with more culturally relevant glosses, such as 'bow' and 'betel' (areca nut and piper betle). The wordlist was translated into Indonesian and a Palu'e orthography in 2015 after the author had acquired sufficient proficiency in the language. A similar orthography was already used in the very beginning of the documentation research, because a working orthography is immediately needed in any language documentation (see 2.1). The Indonesian was added so that the recorded speakers would not be dependent on the Palu'e glosses, and even correct them if they considered it necessary (see conclusions and comments to appendix). They read through the wordlist before beginning, and before recording they were instructed to read out the Palu'e glosses after a quick glimpse on the Indonesian to the left. This method was chosen to avoid direct translation, which could have resulted in hesitancy and pauses. It would also have resulted in too many lexical differences between the speakers, because of the synonyms, obstructing the aim of phonological comparison. Palu'e abounds with homonyms and like-sounding words, which are recognized in the context of a sentence, especially in writing. The Indonesian gloss exchanges the sentence context. The author has no reason to believe that the written Palu'e influenced their utterances. They, like others of their age group, are used to correctly identify Palu'e words in writing of persons speaking different Palu'e variants, including sentences written in the haphazard manner common in mobile text messages, which they will utter in their own way.<sup>16</sup>

In September 2015 the author left a printout of the wordlist with Miss Maria Meti, a 26 year-old resident of village Mata meré, Kéli, who was a language consultant at the time. Meti was learning how to record, and was tasked to record the wordlist after examining it thoroughly. The result is the recording SD1-300, of herself, done at home 9 October 2015. The other two speakers (items SD1-298 and SD1-299) were recorded during a subsequent fieldtrip on a visit to the Cawalo junior high school 28 May 2016. The intention was to record Miss Ofa Longge, an English teacher, about 25 years of age, resident of village Bako, Téo domain. There was time and space available for recording around midday, also of Mr. Nestor Langga, a teacher of sports, about 30 years of age and from the main Cawalo village. The speakers, who already knew the author, were first allowed to familiarize themselves with the wordlist.

The wordlist is quite long; each recording took over eight minutes, which is one reason why the words are spoken in isolation and not repeated. This has pros and cons. The speaker of SD1-299, for instance, used more intonation than the other two, more than would appear in everyday speech. The original materials consist of these three digital recordings, which together with the EAF-files, including metadata for resource recovery, constitute the archival form of the data. The phonetic transcriptions use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA 2015) and were made in ELAN, in which the EAF file is linked to the WAV file and the transcription is time-aligned to the recording. The files are archived and available online as items SD1-298–SD1-300 in the Stefan Danerek Collection - Palu'e Audio at Kaipuleohone, the University of Hawai'i Digital Language

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<sup>16</sup> In fact, Meti, who recorded herself, also made an additional recording of the wordlist where she imitated another dialect (unpublished).

Archive.<sup>17</sup> The [Palu'e] in the wordlist presentation form (appendix) is described from the recording of the Bako-Téo speaker (SD1-298). The other two recordings are partially transcribed and the words are numbered to facilitate comparison and reference.<sup>18</sup>

## 2. Palu'e Phonology

### 2.1 *Developing the orthography*

A language's natural variation and diversity, 'heteroglossia' in the terminology of Mikhail Bakhtin (1982: 263, 428), resists standardization. Compilers of dictionaries for endangered languages have often neglected the issue of variation within one language, and singling out any particular variant over the others is problematic (see Rice 2018). For example, speakers of variant A might refuse variant B as the model spoken form for the orthography. The author recognizes this problem for Palu'e, and it is a main reason behind the devising of an orthography that is not based on a singular variant. In writing, the Palu'e tend to follow the style of the Indonesian orthography, which they learn in school. The popular orthography found in SMS or chats on mobile phones, the main forum for writing, is naturally simplified. Educated Palu'e try in vain, without the necessary linguistic skills, to phonetically transcribe their language in with Latin letters (phonemic representation). The results given to the author in meetings or in long chats have been linguistically revealing and useful. The orthography has been developed in consultation with Palu'e assistants and friends, to whom linguistic explanations were given for the few modifications needed to devise a consistent orthography. The author has sought a balance between the advantages and disadvantages of the specialized and the popular options. Another compromise, relevant for a multi-variant orthography and in line with Frank Seifart's (2006:294-295) examples of 'multidialectal orthographies', is that the orthography represents the distinction (/tʃ/) that is not contrastive in the coastal variants, but does not represent distinctions that are contrastive in only one or a few variants.

The orthography was fine-tuned before work began with the phonetic transcriptions for this paper,<sup>19</sup> and it was acknowledged as consistent by a number of individuals consulted for language issues. Yet the author expects objections, which, for instance, can be replied at a future seminar on Palu'e or at the nearest university (Mauwere). It is beyond the scope of this paper to explain at length why a common orthography for Palu'e has not yet been decided on at the island/municipality level.<sup>20</sup>

One reason is that there is not yet a true need for it, another is that there are too many individual opinions, biased toward their respective domains. Perhaps the Palu'e-Indonesian dictionary (Danerek 2019), which comes with a language description and will be distributed among the Palu'e, will provide a basis for a future common orthography, decided on in deliberation with a range of stakeholders.

<sup>17</sup> See Bird and Simons (2003) and E-MELD (2006) for recommendations of best practice. See E-MELD for definitions of technical terms. About Kaipuleohone, which applies the OLAC metadata and repository standards, see Albarillo and Thieberger (2009).

<sup>18</sup> Comments are also found on the tier 'Notes' in the EAF-files. The files, particularly SD1-299 and SD1-300, and the comments, are to be updated.

<sup>19</sup> Earlier transcriptions in the audio collection made 2014-2015, if not updated, use a less consistent orthography, which neither depicts implosion adequately nor use é for /e/.

<sup>20</sup> Consult the previously mentioned works by the author for more information about these issues.

Actually a main problem is not the orthography per se, but which variant of a word it is applied on. Choices have to be made, which to an extent must be arbitrary because it is impossible to determine, for instance, the most widely distributed variant of each word or pronunciation variant. To circumvent this problem and orthographic/language variant authoritarianism, the author allows for variation primarily in, but not limited to, the level of example sentences, which has been appreciated in other contexts (see Keren 2019: 187). Entries are based on the interior variants because they are generally more resistant to language shift, and because several of the associated groups or domains probably have a longer history on the island.<sup>21</sup> The example sentences display the same words as either interior or coastal, or another feature of phonological variation.

The orthographic system can be applied on all dialects. For instance, the coastal dialects that lack the phoneme /tʃ/ in their phonemic systems (see 2.3-2.4) can opt to use [s], as they pronounce the phoneme /tʃ/ or use the common [c]. The distinction does not cause problems for memorizing and reading. Neither do other smaller distinctions cause problems. Differences with the Indonesian orthography are: 1. /v/ is represented with *w*, as in Palu'e popular writing; 2. The glottal stop is represented with apostrophe [ ' ]; 3. *é* represents /e/. The two latter signs became obsolete in Indonesian after the spelling reform of 1972 (*Pedoman umum*) for practical reasons.<sup>22</sup> The Indonesian orthography conflates /e/ and /ə/ in the grapheme *e*, which does not suite Palu'e well because it would conflate too many words. For example: 1. words with vocal sequences and words with the same vocals separated by glottal stop, such as *lai* 'praise' and *la'i* 'lick'; 2. minimal pairs with two e-phones, such as *kere* [kəre] 'cut' and *keré* [kəre:] 'stand (up)' (more in examples in 2.2 and 2.4).

The Palu'e are often aware of the need to mark glottal stops with an apostrophe, but they do not use accent to mark /e/, which is important for learners of the language, including those who experience language shift. In addition, the orthography marks the implosives /b/ and /d/ as *bh* and *dh*, features that are recognized by the Palu'e, but often ignored (see 2.3). The orthography is in any case not imposed by a government, which might be an advantage, allowing it to sink in and be tested over a few years. Specific issues in the development of the orthography follow in the phonological description.

## 2.2 Structure, Typology

Palu'e is an extremely isolating SVO-language. All native words end in open syllables. There are no consonant clusters other than the pre-nasalized consonants. The basic structure of words is CVCV, including initial breathy vowel/aspiration/onset to a VCV sequence. Other combinations are: V, CV, VV, CVV, CVCVCV, CVCVCVCV. The two latter are unusual, mostly mergers. The morphology is limited to the four genitive clitics *-ku*, *-mo*, *-ne*, *-te* that correspond to the 1SG/1PL.EX, 2SG/2PL, 3SG/3PL, 1PL.IN free pronouns. Nitung (including the adjoined domain Cu'a) is the only variant of Palu'e that exhibits the following traits (see Donohue 2005a: 435): The PMP clitics *\*-ku* and *\*-ta* are voiced as *-gu* and *-de*, and the third person genitive *-n* (PMP *\*-na*) is the only morpheme that ends in a consonant. Generally, however, *\*-ku* and *\*-ta* are unvoiced as *-ku* and *-te*, and the third person genitive is realized as the open syllable -

<sup>21</sup> Oral traditions, both myths and oral history, suggest so. It is also logical that later settlers settle near the coast than in the interior, unless they conquered the territories of previous settling groups.

<sup>22</sup> In Seifart's (2006) terminology the Indonesian orthography can be described as 'phonographic', and 'deep' after the reform from a more 'shallow' type.

*ne*. Palu'e genitive clitics (attached with '-e' in the examples) are often uttered together with the antecedent pronoun as in examples 1a and 1b.

- (1) a. *Ia ngara-ne Cawa (Ngara-ne Cawa).*  
           3S name-3SG.GEN Cawa (name-3SG.GEN Cawa)  
           'His name is Cawa.'
- b. *Kami poke-ku mara.*  
           1PL.EX throat-1PL.EX.GEN dry  
           'We are thirsty.'

Palu'e must often use two words to express a one-word gloss in English or Indonesian, as in 1b (noun + adjective = adjective). *Puna* 'do' is the main auxiliary verb (see wordlist item 193), which forms 'verbs' together with adjectives. Palu'e is rich with homophones. [nai] and [lai], for example, have several homophones: *nai* 1. 'long (time)' 2. 'breathing'; *lai* 1. 'fly' 2. 'lungs'.<sup>23</sup> Stress is not a prominent feature of Palu'e, but it can be contrastive, which it is not in Indonesian. The disyllabic structure tends to level out stress. When there is stress, it falls on the penultimate syllable, unless it contains a schwa /ə/, as in the following example: *nera* [nə'ra] 'think'; *néra* ['ne:ra] 'lontar leaf mug'. Stress is not marked in the wordlist for these reasons.<sup>24</sup>

### 2.3 Consonants and stops

The phonological chart (2.4 vocals) shows the orthographic representation between slashes where it differs from IPA.<sup>25</sup> Loan phonemes are in brackets.

#### Consonants

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops and Affricates	Unvoiced	p	t	tʃ /c/ k	ʔ /ʻ/
	Voiced	b	d	dʒ /j/ g	
	Prenasals	<sup>m</sup> b /mb/	<sup>n</sup> d /nd/	<sup>ŋ</sup> g /ngg/	

<sup>23</sup> The dictionary lists five entries for *lai* and four entries for *nai*.

<sup>24</sup> Stress is, apart from heard, to some extent also visible even in the ELAN media player. Click and pull the lower ruler downwards to extend the sound waves.

<sup>25</sup> All consonants and vowels are represented in the wordlist.

Nasals	m	n	ŋ /ng/
Implosives	ɓ /bh/	ɗ /dh/	
	Voiceless	s	h
Fricatives	v Voiced	(f) /w/	
Lateral		l	
Trill		r	

The sounds from /p/ to /b/ and from /t/ to /d/, passing the implosives /ɓ, ɗ/, are the most problematic, not least because the sounds are common. For practical reasons it seems easier to not mark the implosive and aspirated phonemes, *bh, ph, dh, th, kh*, and conflate them with non-implosive and non-aspirated into *b, p, d, t, k*. But differences are also phonemic. /b, d/ cannot always be exchanged with /p, t/ without changing the meaning of a word (separate phonemes). Neither can /ɓ, ɗ/ be exchanged with /b, d/, especially mid-word (as a rule the first letter of the second syllable) without sounding alien (allophones). /t/-sounds often sound like alveolar tap /ɾ/, and can be difficult to distinguish from /d/, with which it is in free variation, although each variant primarily uses either. The Kéli variant, where the author was based and therefore more influenced from, clearly favours /ɗ/ before /t/ mid-word, and so do the neighbouring domain Ndéo, all the way to the coast. Mid-word /t/ is most clearly pronounced to the east in the Edo domain. The word Edo itself is pronounced [həto] by its inhabitants. The personal name Pitu is [pidu] in Kéli and [pitu] in Edo.

In previous transcriptions, *ph, th*, signified the step on the scale from unvoiced to voiced stop before /ɓ, ɗ/. Educated Palu'e often write phonological transcriptions of the sound this way. Aspiration [p<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>] is often marked that way, and because it is not really the phenomenon depicted with *ph, th*, these were phased out in later transcriptions. Donohue (2005a:431) expressed the above-mentioned problem in his historical analysis of Nitung Palu'e from PMP: '[...] not all the reflexes of \*p are voiced; all intervocalic instances of \*p are reflected as ɓ, but the root-initial reflexes are a mix of p and ɓ. There are no medial ps in Palu'e.' Medial /p, p<sup>h</sup>/ is however common in the Ko'a and Cawalo variants, and root-initial reflexes can go further toward /b/ in other dialects.

For both mentioned and practical reasons are all additional *h*-s obsolete in the current orthography, including *kh* for /k<sup>h</sup>/, except for the marking of the implosives (*bh, dh*). Only *k, t, p* are used.

In the dictionary corpus, the bulk of entries for B, D begins with *bh*, *dh* because the great majority of /b, d/ sounds are imploded, especially mid-word. It begs the question if not /b, d/ are actually the standard phonemes, and /b, d/ only more unusual allophones of the first, perhaps even conditioned by the clearer stops in Indonesian?<sup>26</sup> Implosion is conditioned by the following vowel, and there is generally less implosion before first syllable /a/ than before /ə/. Native speakers often recognize unvoiced and imploded stops as exchangeable (free variation). Furthermore, in popular writing, Palu'e people often write *p* of words they utter with [b, ɓ], which conflates contrastive sounds as in the minimal pair [p<sup>h</sup>ata] *pata* 'float'; [bata] *bata* 'piece (of cloth)'.

/v/ is a Palu'e phoneme, seldom heard in Indonesian. The approximants /j, w/ appear only in diphthongs.<sup>27</sup> The faint sounds can be represented with /ɥ, ɨ/, or /u<sup>w</sup>, ɨ<sup>j</sup>/. [w] appears in fast speech when *-au* is realized as [aw], but /w/ is not a phoneme. The Palu'e therefore utter the /w/ in Indonesian words as [v]. The letter *v* is pronounced [f], like in Indonesian. *V* is only used for foreign words, like the name 'Vendelinus'.

In isolation or slow speech *-au* is better described as /au<sup>w</sup>/ or /au/. /au/ is, for the author, often first perceived when the recording is played at lower speed. All variations occur in the three recordings.<sup>28</sup>

/dʒ/ does not occur in initial position (more below), and /ʒ/ is not a phoneme. /z/ can, to the author's knowledge, only be described as a phoneme in the Cawalo dialect, where it replaces /dʒ/, as in the following pair of the same word: *kozo*, *kojo* [kozo, kodʒo] 'dig'.

/g/ is a phoneme and appears only mid-word. /g/ exists, but as a sound replacing /k/ in particular words of some variants.<sup>29</sup> Conversely, /g/ corresponds to [k<sup>h</sup>] in the Ko'a variant, which generally uses the unvoiced stops /p, t/ before the voiced and implosive /b, ɓ, d, d̥/. This contrasts with Nitung/Cu'a where the opposite phenomenon is dominant, for example: *lape* (Ko'a), *labhe* (Nitung/Cu'a) [lape, laɓe] 'layer'.

Initial /s/ is used instead of /tʃ/ in the coastal dialects, the Cawalo villages of the interior, and in Tomu and Téó, interior domains with villages at lower altitudes than the other domains of the interior. Ndéo borders to Tomu, Téó, Kéli (high interior) and Maluriwu (coastal), and also use /s/, but not as consistent as in Tomu and Téó. The Cawalo [savalo] are especially known to have difficulties with uttering /tʃ/, which is otherwise the rule at higher altitudes of the interior. There are words in the hillside /tʃ/ variants that must begin with /s/, but far more words begin with /tʃ/, whereas several coastal dialects and Cawalo do not use /tʃ/ at all. This means that the Palu'e variants of the interior have kept the PMP \*c, whereas the others exhibit the Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian \*s, which Blust (1993:246) describes as a merger of PMP \*c, \*s. /tʃ/ does not form any minimal pairs with /dʒ/. The Nitung/Cu'a variants sometimes use /dʒ/ instead of [tʃ], but /tʃ/ is more often retained. In the orthography *c* is chosen instead of *s* for words known to be normally uttered with /tʃ/ in the variants of the higher interior. Examples of the

<sup>26</sup> It must be asked for Rongga and other Flores languages too. Wayan Arka's Rongga-Indonesian dictionary (2012) contains over a hundred entries for B and D each, which are implosives (marked as *bh*, *dh* in the orthography). Only four native words begin with d, and 11 with b (*bui* 'jail' must be a loan from the Indonesian colloquial 'bui'), including homophones.

<sup>27</sup> The diphthongs can be broadly described, especially from fast speech, as monophthongs followed by an approximant, as Clynes (1997) argued about Proto-Austronesian. Cf. Donohue's (2009: 54-55) argumentation for disyllabic long vowels.

<sup>28</sup> [aw] appears in SD1-299, but not in SD1-298.

<sup>29</sup> See list item 201, [muŋu aɓi]. Note the implosive b. Cf. SD1-299-300.

just mentioned domain variants: *coka*, *soka* [tʃoka, soka] 'dance'; *kokoco*, *kokojo* [koko.tʃo, koko.dʒo] 'if'.<sup>30</sup> /c/ and /s/ can be said to be in free variation from a multi-dialectal perspective. We can utter either *coka* or *soka* and be understood anywhere.

Palu'e pre-nasalized consonants occur also in initial position, like in PMP, unlike the Indonesian pre-nasalized consonants, which occur only mid-word. Pre-nasalized consonants are rarely uttered as clusters as they are in Indonesian. Example: (Palu'e) *ku.mbu* 'round'; (Ind.) *lom.ba* 'compete'. /ŋ/ occurs primarily mid-word, but is applied before loanwords to make them indigenous. Example: *nggula* [ŋgula] 'sugar' (from the Malay/Indonesian 'gula').

Breathy vowels and word-initial /h/ can be described as being in free variation. The vast majority of words beginning with vocals can be uttered with initial /h/ in the variants of the higher interior. An exception is *é* /e:/ 'yes', which is never uttered [he:]. The phonological environment matters, /o, u/ attracts more /h/ than /a/ for instance, but no clear rules have been identified. There are also words that must use initial /h/ in every variant. In Ndéo village, just below the allied domain of Kéli, the initial /h/ is often difficult to hear. This must be the breathiness described by both Fernandez (1989b) and Donohue (2009). The higher the altitude of a settlement, the initial /h/ intensifies. The orthography uses initial h but not categorically, because then there would be very few entries beginning with vocals.

Glottal onset /ʔ/ is frequent, especially before initial /k, b/ and similar phones, and before initial vocals, often pronounced with a slight keeping of breath. Native speakers do not recognize any phoneme in the glottal onset, whether vowel- or consonant initial. There are no word-final glottal stops because Palu'e does not allow closed syllables, and there are no final /h/ for the same reason.

#### 2.4 Segmental e and vocal sequences

Phonological chart vocals (monophthongs)

	Front	Mid	Back
High, Close	i		u
Mid, Close	e	ə /e/	o
Low, Open		a	

[ɛ] rarely occurs. /ə/ and /e/, particularly /ə/, are by far the most common e-phones. /ə/ appears as a rule in penultimate position. The distinction with the close-mid-front vowel /e/, especially /e:/, is important. /ə/ cannot form a disyllable with another vocal. /e:/ is marked *é* in the orthography, but /e/ is only marked if there is a particular need to mark the contrast between /ə/ and /e/ in a word, as in rule-reversal. Word-final e is as a rule /e/ or /e:/, but /e/ occurs also in first syllable VCV, including with initial /h/. The

<sup>30</sup> *Kokoco* is actually two words: *koko co*, but can be pronounced as a two-morphemic word.

following example shows words with two e-phones in different distributions, the first two form a minimal pair: *hene* [həne] ‘six’; *héne* [he:ne] ‘place/condition’; *meré* [məre:] ‘night’.

Palu’e has the following vowel sequences, or diphthongs, that may be broadly transcribed with the approximants /j/ and /w/: /ai/ [aj], /ei/ [ej], /oi/ [oj], /au/ [aw], /ou/ [ow], /oe/ [oej], /ae/ [aej]. For a novice, disyllables such as /ae, oe/ can be difficult to distinguish from /ai, oi/ (see also wordlist items 63, 67, 116), and disyllables can be difficult to distinguish from the same syllables interrupted by glottal stop. All vowel sequences, particularly in slow speech, are realized as disyllables, as in the following examples of minimal pairs: *lai* [lai, laiʔ] ‘fly’. *lae* [lae, laeʔ] ‘down’; *Mboe* [mboe, mboeʔ] ‘personal name’. *Mboi* [mboi, mboiʔ] ‘personal name’. In addition to the above there are the following, apparent, disyllables /eu (e:u), ia, io, iu, ua, ui, uo/. In /ia, iu/ the faint sound /j/ of the approximant /j/ may appear after /i/. All are represented in the transcripts of the appendix, except /iu/ and the more unusual /uo/ (four dictionary entries). Examples: *hiu* [hiu] ‘shark’; *ngguo* [ŋguo].

Because of the mentioned phonological and orthographic reasons, the dictionary corpus, sampled in the examples and appendix, contains no entries beginning with the Latin letters f, g (phoneme), j (phoneme), q, v (phoneme), x, y, z, or glottal stop (phoneme).

### 3. Summary and conclusions

The Palu’e variants have a shared lexical inventory of over 99%, an estimate based on the documentation research and the compiling of the Palu’e-Indonesian dictionary. The recordings of the wordlist support this high estimate. The three speakers recognized all the items as correct except one or two. One was misspelled (scratch) but uttered correctly by two speakers due to the Indonesian gloss, another (green) has two glosses and the more correct one is uttered in SD1-300 and shown in brackets (*ta’a*). See the footnotes to the appendix about these issues.

The sound of Palu’e is never so varied that speakers of different variants have difficulties in understanding each other. Mutual intelligibility is ensured by frequent exposure to other variants on the small island. Contact between domains is more intense in modern times, and there is peace between the domains since at least three decades ago. Tribal domain identity is a source of difference and variation, but the phonological environment and sentence context also play roles in phonological variation. Variation, more than free variation of sounds, occurs also intra-speaker because there is no standardised version of the language and the just mentioned facts; whether consciously mimicking or not. The mountainous and difficult geography is one of the reasons there are surprisingly many variants for the island’s small size. Another reason is origins, although unclear, the Palu’e originate from several different groups and clans that arrived on the island in several migration waves hundreds of years ago. The related Ende and Lio languages exhibit much greater variation, manifesting itself also in the lexicon. It can be explained by the fact that they are spoken over much larger areas by over 100 000 speakers each, with communities separated from each other by the mountainous topography, and linked through the Central Flores ‘dialect chain’.

In Palu’e there are several phonemes in free variation with each other, particularly from a multi-variant perspective, because variants influence intra-speaker variation. The word-initial /tʃ/ of the interior variants is from this perspective in free variation with /s/

in the coastal variants and Cawalo. Variation is of course less free within a given dialect. Further, there are no mid-word /tʃ/ in Palu'e, instead there is the phonetically similar but distinct phoneme /dʒ/, which occurs only mid-word. These two phonemes are therefore in complementary distribution in the interior dialects on which the orthography at entry level is based.

The transcribed speaker (SD1-298) exhibits the following speech and dialect patterns: 1. She uses the pre-vowel initial /h/ with few exceptions; 2. She never uses /tʃ/ instead of /s/; 3. She utters the voiced stops /b, d/ without, or with insignificant, implosion, which is unusual and contrasts with the two other speakers; 4. She utters both the unvoiced stop /p/ and the voiced /b/. 5. /g/-phones, in free variation (within dialects) with the similar /k<sup>h</sup>/, appears thrice; 6. She utters the alveolar tap [ɾ] where the others utter [t, t<sup>h</sup>, d].

The speaker's pronunciations can be explained from the view of the neighbouring variants. She is a speaker of the village Bako of the Téó domain, which borders with Tomu to the east, Ndéo to the west, and Kéli to the north.

Téó, Tomu and Ndéo are interior variants at lower altitude than Kéli (high interior), all reach the sea and have settlements near the coast. Their populations are in more contact with the coastal communities than the Kéli. The main difference with the Kéli speaker is the consistent use of word-initial /s/ instead of /tʃ/, an absence which leads to an increase in homonyms.

The main characteristics of the Kéli and Cawalo variants are described in section 2.3. The recordings confirm: 1) The Kéli use of word-initial /tʃ/, and the Cawalo use of word-initial /s/ (both consistent); 2) The Cawalo speaker uses /z/ mid-word where the others use /dʒ/; 3) Both speakers use word-initial /h/, like the Bako-Téó speaker, which is typical of high altitude settlements; 4) The Cawalo speaker make frequent use of /p, p<sup>h</sup>/ where the Kéli speaker utters /b/; 5) In addition, the Cawalo speaker uttered [ʔ<sup>g</sup>] twice, similar to the Téó speaker [g], variations of /k, k<sup>h</sup>/, which are more common in the other variants of the interior.

The sounds /p, p<sup>h</sup>, b, t, t<sup>h</sup>, d, d/ are often difficult to determine because they are located on a scale from unvoiced to voiced, un-aspirated to aspirated, and from not imploded to imploded. None of them are the exclusive property of any variant, and form few patterns within variants. The uttering of mid-word /b/ and /t, d/, as opposed to /b, p/ and /d/, is the rule in most variants. The stops /b, d/ are exceptions to the rule of /b, d/, particularly mid-word. Voiced and unvoiced stops, primarily /p, b / and /t, d/ are in free variation from a multi-variant perspective, exchanges are not only understood but also uttered by individual speakers, although outside the rule of the speaker's variant. The sounds are contrastive, and in free variation between variants. Existing patterns are the Kéli preference for /d/ before /t/, Ko'a's preference for /p, p<sup>h</sup>/ before /b/ mid-word, which is, to a lesser extent, also evidenced in the recorded Bako (Téó) and Cawalo speakers. The Ko'a variant generally uses the unvoiced stops /p, t/ before the voiced and implosive /b, b̥, d, d̥/, in contrast to Nitung/Cu'a where the latter sounds are used. Deepening the orthography with the elimination of the implosives *bh, dh* looks practical, but because /b, d/ are more in variation with /p, t/ than /b, d/, it will cause much conflation. Conversely, eliminating *b, d* leads to conflating of contrastive sounds into /b, d/. Simplification can also be achieved by creating new graphemes for /b̥, d̥/ instead of *bh, dh*, for instance, borrowing the IPA symbols as they are.

The status of the phoneme /d/ particularly, but also /b/, needs attention, also in the related Flores languages. If *d* is almost always imploded, like in Rongga and Palu'e, then the status of /d/ as a phoneme is questionable, akin to an unusual phonetic realization of the phoneme /d/, in free variation.

The Bako-Téo speaker, however, makes a different impression, exhibiting less implosion than most Palu'e speakers. Apart from this, her speech is consistent with her neighbour in Bako, who was recorded in another context (SD1-021). Perhaps the implosions disappeared while pursuing higher education in another province?

More research is needed to determine the status of sounds within each variant. So far it seems that phonological environments do not impose exclusive limits to the mentioned variations. Word-initial /h/, for instance, is only more frequent before /o/ than /a/, which the author determined not only from observation but also from scanning transcripts of narratives. It is also more frequent inside a sentence. What is clear from this preliminary dialectal variation is that variants are important to consider also for small, relatively isolated, linguistic groups.

What is a language and what is not is determined primarily by politics, not linguistics, and it may be similar with 'dialects' or variants spoken in traditional domains with political-ceremonial leadership (Palu'e: *lakimosa*). Of the three variants examined particularly for this paper, the Cawalo and Kéli variants exhibit sufficient specific features to be referred to as dialects; particular forms of Palu'e, peculiar to the specific groups inhabiting the respective domains. The same can be said of Nitung, that can be included with Cu'a and perhaps also with Awa in a cluster. Hona, mentioned in Fernandez' preliminary phonology, is most probably a variant of Cawalo. Edo is also a dialect, perhaps also the neighbouring Woto. The other variants exhibit more shared characteristics, like Téó, Tomu and Ndéo, and might represent a cluster or even one dialect, like what is referred to as the 'Uwa dialect'.

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## SOMMARIO

In questo articolo viene presentata una descrizione fonologica di alcune varietà della lingua palu, prendendo anche in esame le problematiche della rappresentazione scritta di questa lingua. Vengono resi disponibili dati lessicali e fonologici verificabili, e proposta una ortografia. I dati e le analisi sono basati su una ampia documentazione, e sulle registrazioni di tre parlanti di altrettante varietà che leggono una stessa lista lessicale, allegate in file audio. La trascrizione fonetica di un parlante viene confrontata con le altre due, e con la descrizione fonologica basata sul corpus, ed è riportata in un'appendice annotata. Queste registrazioni annotate confermano la stima che vi sia una congruenza lessicale >99% e reciproca comprensibilità fra le tre varianti. In una prospettiva di multivarianza, vi sono diversi fonemi in variazione libera tra loro. Ad esempio, /tʃ/ non compare all'interno di parola o in seconda sillaba nelle varietà dell'interno che usano \*c del PMP invece della /s/ delle varietà della costa, ma è in distribuzione complementare con /dʒ/, mentre /s/ nelle varietà costiere non è in distribuzione complementare né con /tʃ/ né con /dʒ/. Diverse varietà di palu presentano un numero sufficiente di tratti specifici per essere considerate dialetti, comprese due di quelle degli esempi registrati, e le caratteristiche del parlato dell'informatore della trascrizione fonetica non sono in contrasto con il quadro che emerge delle varietà circostanti.

## Appendix: Annotated Palu'e Wordlist

Supplemental material for the article 'Phonological variation in Palu'e (eastern Indonesia) and the devising of a corpus orthography' by Stefan Danerek. The recordings with interlinear annotations (items) are archived online at Kaipuleohone, the digital language archive of the University of Hawai'i:

<https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/38830>. Refer to article.

The wordlist features the phonetic transcriptions of a speaker (Longge) from kampong Bako, Téó domain, Palu'e Island. Item SD1-298. Note that the Palu'e glosses do not mimic the phonetic transcripts of this particular speaker. They are written as the entries of the dictionary corpus following the orthography presented in the main paper.

English	Indonesian	[Palu'e]	Palu'e
<u>Personal pronouns</u>			
1. I	saya/aku	[aku]	aku
2. you (SG)	kamu/kau	[kau]	kau <sup>31</sup>
3. (s)he/it	dia/-nya	[hi'a]	ia <sup>32</sup>
4. we (EX)	kami	[kami]	kami
5. we (IN)	kita	[ʔg <sup>h</sup> ita]	kita <sup>33</sup>
6. you (PL)	kalian	[miu]	miu
7. they	mereka	[konəne]	konene
<u>Interrogatives</u>			
8. who	siapa	[hai <sup>i</sup> ]	ai
9. what	apa	[hap <sup>h</sup> a]	abha <sup>34</sup>
10. where	di mana	[səba]	seba <sup>35</sup>
11. when	kaplan	[vai <sup>i</sup> bira]	wai bira <sup>36</sup>
12. how	bagaimana	[here p <sup>h</sup> a]	ére pa <sup>37</sup>
13. why	mengapa	[buʔu ap <sup>h</sup> a]	bu'u abha
14. which	yang	[vo]	wo
<u>Adjectives</u>			
15. small	kecil	[loʔo]	lo'o
16. big	besar	[sa]	ca <sup>38</sup>

<sup>31</sup> [kau], because /u/ is clearly pronounced and there is no approximant.

<sup>32</sup> Note that she pronounces the word with [h] here, and without [h] in the introductory sentence at 00:10 min.

<sup>33</sup> Usually this word is less glottalized and nearer [k], as in SD1-299 and SD1-300.

<sup>34</sup> Note the difference with list item 1: the optional initial [h] before the otherwise initial [a].

<sup>35</sup> This word is always uttered with [s], also in the hillside [tʃ]-uttering dialects.

<sup>36</sup> *Wai* is used both to express past and future time, as in *wai cewi* 'yesterday', or *wai rua* 'day after tomorrow'. *Bira* is the equivalent of the Indonesian 'berapa' 'how much'.

<sup>37</sup> *Ére pa?* is enough to form the question: 'How is it?'

<sup>38</sup> Not contrastive with list item 18, although this utterance can be interpreted as [sa].

17. long	panjang	[lava]	lawa
18. wide	lebar	[sa]	ca
19. thick	tebal	[kaʔa]	kabha <sup>39</sup>
20. heavy	berat	[pəɖʒa]	peja
21. light	ringan	[le:a]	léa
22. small	kecil	[loʔo]	lo'o <sup>40</sup>
23. short	pendek	[boʔo]	bo'o
24. narrow	sempit	[məɖʒe:]	mejé
25. thin	tipis	[niʔi]	nibhi
26. sweet	manis	[mi:]	mi
27. salty	asin	[maiʔ]	mai
28. sour	asam	[milu]	milu
29. spicy	pedas	[kəla]	kela
30. same	sama	[hama]	ama
31. other	lain	[iva]	iwa
32. afraid	takut	[təŋa]	tenga
33. brave	berani	[sani]	cani
34. dead	mati	[maʔa]	mata
35. cold	dingin	[piŋi]	pingi
36. hot	panas	[ʔbəʔke]	bheke
37. ill	sakit	[p <sup>h</sup> uʔu]	putu
38. full	penuh	[bənu]	penu <sup>41</sup>
39. new	baru	[muri]	muri
40. old	tua	[duʔa]	du'a
41. old (things)	lama	[holo]	holo
42. good	baik	[ <sup>m</sup> bola]	mbola
43. bad	buruk	[ <sup>n</sup> doa]	ndoa
44. clean	bersih	[mila]	mila
45. dirty	kotor	[rak <sup>h</sup> i]	raki
46. straight	tegak	[ɖə <sup>n</sup> de]	dhende <sup>42</sup>
47. round	bulat	[ʔk <sup>h</sup> u <sup>m</sup> bu]	kumbu
48. twisted	bengkok	[ŋge:o:]	nggéó
49. sharp	tajam	[leʔə]	lé'e

<sup>39</sup> Not very imploded.

<sup>40</sup> This gloss appears twice. Both are kept because the numbering in the related files was already done before the late discovery, and I did not want to cut the recording. *Lo'o* can also be glossed as 'narrow', like a narrow (small) opening of something, which I think was the initial intention.

<sup>41</sup> More often uttered [p<sup>h</sup>ənu, bənu]. See SD1-299-300. It is probably not a Malay loanword. PMP is 'penuq'.

<sup>42</sup> The word *beté*, a synonym, actually has a wider usage.

50. dull	puntul	[dubu]	dubu <sup>43</sup>
51. slippery	licin	[sali]	sali <sup>44</sup>
52. wet	basah	[pa:]	pa
53. dry	kering	[mara]	mara
54. near	dekat	[təni]	teni
55. far	jauh	[te:u]	téu

### Colours

56. red	merah	[rəɖe]	rete <sup>45</sup>
57. yellow	kuning	[rerə]	rére
58. blue	biru	[kila]	kila
59. green	hijau	[kila]	kila (ta'a) <sup>46</sup>
60. brown	coklat	[me:ɖʒa]	méja
61. black	hitam	[miɖe]	mite
62. white	putih	[p <sup>h</sup> ura]	pura

### Human

63. woman	wanita	[haʈa vai <sup>j</sup> ]	ata wai
64. man	lelaki	[haʈa laki]	ata laki
65. human	manusia	[haʈa pi'i <sup>j</sup> ]	ata pi'i <sup>47</sup>
66. child	anak	[hana]	hana
67. wife	istri	[vai <sup>j</sup> ]	wai <sup>48</sup>
68. husband	suami	[laki]	laki
69. grandparent	kakek/nenek	[p <sup>h</sup> u:]	pu
70. ancestor	leluhur	[p <sup>h</sup> u mori]	pu mori <sup>49</sup>
71. mother	ibu	[hina]	hina
72. father	ayah	[hama]	hama
73. elder sibling	kakak	[ka'e]	ka'e <sup>50</sup>
74. younger sibling	adik	[hari]	ari

<sup>43</sup> The word was written *tubu* in the handout, like I had acquired it previously. Actually, none of the three speakers (SD1-298–SD1-300) clearly implode the /d/ in this word. Neither is the /b/ imploded, especially in this Téu speaker. *Dou* is an alternative gloss.

<sup>44</sup> Another example of an initial /s/-word that is never uttered with [tʃ] in the hillside dialects.

<sup>45</sup> Repeated after end of word list with list item 65.

<sup>46</sup> Meti correctly utters *ta'a* for the same list item in SD1-300 at 02:21 minutes. Previous informants had provided *kila* for both 'green' and 'blue', which seems to be a common phenomenon in the region. Nature is green, which is why *ta'a* 'unripe' is also a word for green, and the most appropriate.

<sup>47</sup> *Ata pi'i* is uttered at the end of the recording.

<sup>48</sup> This word is also a verb, similar to the Indonesian 'kawin' 'to marry, have intercourse'.

<sup>49</sup> *Mori*, binary pair with *pu*, means 'grandparents parents'.

<sup>50</sup> The words for siblings are not gendered in Palu'e and Indonesian.

## Nouns

75. animal	binatang	[kəna more]	kena <sup>51</sup> more
76. buffalo	kerbau	[karapau <sup>w</sup> ]	karapau
77. fish	ikan	[ika]	ika
78. bird	burung	[kolo]	kolo
79. dog	anjing	[sau <sup>w</sup> ]	sau
80. chicken	ayam	[manu]	manu
81. bee	lebah	[he:ro <sup>m</sup> bu]	ero mbu
82. louse	kutu	[ʔuɖu]	dhutu <sup>52</sup>
83. snake	ular	[hola]	hola
84. worm	cacing	[hule]	hule
85. tree	pohon	[kadʒu buʔu]	kaju bu'u
86. forest	hutan	[bune]	bune <sup>53</sup>
87. branch/twig	ranting	[riʔi]	ri'i
88. fruit	buah	[vua]	wua <sup>54</sup>
89. seed	biji	[vəɖʒa]	weja
90. leaf	daun	[vunu]	wunu
91. root	akar	[vaka]	waka
92. bark	kulit kayu	[ʔ <sup>ʔ</sup> kadʒu lokene]	kaju lokene <sup>55</sup>
93. flower	bunga	[soa]	coa
94. grass	rumput	[hobo]	hobo
95. skin	kulit	[loke]	loke <sup>56</sup>
96. feces	tahi	[daʔi]	tai <sup>57</sup>
97. meat	daging	[hi:]	hi
98. blood	darah	[ladʒa]	laja
99. egg	telur	[dəlo]	delo
100. bone	tulang	[ludʒi]	luji
101. fat	lemak	[na:]	na
102. tail	ekor	[hiʔo]	hio
103. feather	bulu	[vulu]	wulu
104. sun/day	mata hari/hari	[həra]	hera

<sup>51</sup> Cf. list item 199, where the schwa is shorter (epenthetic), and the stress stronger on the final syllable.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. SD1-299 [ʔk<sup>h</sup>utu], and SD1-300 [dudu], which primarily signifies 'body louse'. The word given by Longge and Langa is possibly a Malay loanword, which primarily signifies 'head louse'. Usages are not consequent.

<sup>53</sup> The speakers could also have chosen to utter either *huta*, possibly a Malay loan word, or *dhue* 'jungle' 'hutan belukar'. *Bu*, the ground form, is not used.

<sup>54</sup> *Wuane* is the generic form for any fruit of a certain species (x *wuane*). *Wua* is 'areca nut', which is chewed together with *mutu* 'piper beetle'. The combination ('sirih pinang' in Indonesian) is glossed as 'betel' in item 137.

<sup>55</sup> The initial [k] is almost not there. It is near [ʔ]. Cf. list items 85, 118, 147, and the other recordings.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. list item 92. The clitic *-ne* seems to pull the *e* in *loke* toward /ə/.

<sup>57</sup> This word is often mixed up with [daʔi] 'intestines': Meti in SD1-300 utters [taʔi], whereas [daʔi] is the more common pronunciation for 'intestines' in the Kéli dialect. [tai] is the chosen dictionary form, with the note that these words are not used consistently. I do not claim that the speakers are wrong.

105. moon	bulan	[vula]	wula
106. star	bintang	[ki: <sup>j</sup> a/tala]	kia/tala <sup>58</sup>
107. night	malam	[mər:ɛ]	meré
108. stone	batu	[vatu]	watu
109. soil/land	tanah	[dana]	dhana <sup>59</sup>
110. sand	pasir	[ <sup>ʔ</sup> g <sup>h</sup> əri]	keri <sup>60</sup>
111. sea	laut	[dai: <sup>j</sup> ]	dhai
112. lake	danau	[rano]	rano
113. river	sungai	[naŋa]	nanga
114. salt	garam	[bara laʔi]	bara la'i
115. dust	debu	[havu]	awu
116. water	air	[vae: <sup>j</sup> ]	wae
117. rain	hujan	[hura]	hura
118. cloud	awan	[k̥oro]	koro <sup>61</sup>
119. wind	angin	[haŋi]	angi
120. lightning	kilat	[ŋile]	ngile
121. sky	langit	[ <sup>ʔ</sup> k <sup>h</sup> əle]	kele
122. fog	kabut	[ <sup>ʔ</sup> k <sup>h</sup> əbe]	kebe
123. fire	api	[haβi]	abhi
124. smoke	asap	[nu:]	nu
125. ash	abu	[havu]	awu
126. road	jalan	[lala]	lala
127. hole	lubang	[li: <sup>j</sup> a]	lia
128. volcano	gunung api	[muɖu]	mutu
129. hill	bukit	[volo]	wolo
130. name	nama	[ŋara]	ngara
131. wing	sayap	[ləba]	lebha
132. left	kiri	[hiri]	hiri
133. right	kanan	[pana]	pana
134. banana	pisang	[muku]	muku
135. bow	busur	[vu:]	wu
136. arrow	panah	[huβe]	hube
137. betel	sirih pinang	[vua mut <sup>h</sup> u]	wua mutu <sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> The words were optional, but the speaker uttered both. In the dialects of the interior, *tala* refers only to the largest stars.

<sup>59</sup> Not really imploded, like list item 111. Longge is often nearer to [d]. The stress is on the first syllable, which in some dialects is realized with /t/.

<sup>60</sup> [<sup>ʔ</sup>g<sup>h</sup>] is more common in the coastal variants of Palu'e.

<sup>61</sup> Minimal /k/.

<sup>62</sup> Here referring to the fruits of the areca palm and the piper betle plant, which are chewed together.

138. tuber	ubi jalar	[uvi]	uwi <sup>63</sup>
139. rice	nasi	[lama]	lama
140. rope	tali	[dali]	dali
141. field	kebun	[huma]	huma <sup>64</sup>
142. canoe	sampan	[soʔe]	sobhe
143. knife	pisau	[ʔkəʔti]	keti <sup>65</sup>
144. pot	periuk	[ləge]	lege
145. rattan	rotan	[hua]	hua
146. oil	minyak	[ləŋi]	lengi
147. wood	kayu	[ʔkadʒu]	kaju <sup>66</sup>
148. north	lau	[lau <sup>w</sup> ]	lau <sup>67</sup>
149. south	selatan	[radʒa]	raja
150. east	timur	[le:]	lé
151. west	barat	[va]	wa

### Bodyparts

152. forehead	kening	[va]	wa <sup>68</sup>
153. hair	rambut	[lolo]	lolo
154. ear	telinga	[dilu:]	dhilu
155. eye	mata	[mata]	mata <sup>69</sup>
156. nose	hidung	[ŋiru]	ngiru
157. mouth	mulut	[vəva]	wewa
158. tongue	lidah	[ləma]	lema
159. tooth	gigi	[ŋiʔi]	ngi'i
160. foot	kaki	[vaʔi]	wa'i
161. leg	kaki	[vaʔi]	wa'i
162. knee	lutut	[dʌ:]	dhu
163. nail	kuku	[ʔk <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup> u]	kuku
164. hand	tangan	[lima]	lima
165. arm	lengan	[dʌʔʔa]	dhebha <sup>70</sup>
166. belly	perut	[kabu]	kabu

<sup>63</sup> Langga and Meti chose to utter *ndora*, a species of vine tuber, because of the Indonesian gloss 'ubi jalar' 'vine tuber'. 'Ubi' would have been a better Indonesian gloss because it is more generic, like the Palu'e *uwi*.

<sup>64</sup> Agricultural field, plantations, gardens.

<sup>65</sup> Alt. [ʔkʔti]. Cf. list item 200, also in SD1-299–300.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. list items 85, 92.

<sup>67</sup> In Palu'e, both location and direction are expressed with this and the following three words, and *reta* 'up' and *lae* 'down'.

<sup>68</sup> This word is perceived by the Palu'e as a homonym with the previous word, like the other instances of identical phonetic transcripts.

<sup>69</sup> The stop in 'eye' is nearer to [t] than in 'dead', which is nearer to alveolar tap [ɾ] or [d]. Cf. list item 191 and SD1-299–300.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. SD1-299.

167. guts	usus	[daʔi]	da'i <sup>71</sup>
168. neck	leher	[dɛŋu]	dhengu
169. back	punggung	[dɔlalo <sup>n</sup> da]	dhola londa <sup>72</sup>
170. shoulder	bahu	[badʒu]	baju
171. breast	susu dada	[dusu]	dusu <sup>73</sup>
172. heart-lungs	jantung-paru <sup>2</sup>	[bulai]	bu lai <sup>74</sup>
173. heart (mind)	hati	[haʔe]	ate
174. liver	hati	[haʔe]	ate

### Verbs

175. be	ada	[noʔo]	no'o
176. do	buat	[p <sup>h</sup> una]	puna
177. drink	minum	[ninu]	ninu
178. bite	gigit	[ŋaʔo]	nga'o
179. eat (tubers)	makan	[ka:]	ka <sup>75</sup>
180. spit	ludah	[ŋiru]	ngiru
181. vomit	muntah	[səɖo]	cedho <sup>76</sup>
182. see	lihat	[lie:]	lié
183. hear	dengar	[te:]	té
184. know	tahu	[suʔu]	cu'u
185. think	pikir	[nəra]	nera
186. blow	tiup	[p <sup>h</sup> u:]	pu
187. breathe	nafas	[nai <sup>j</sup> p <sup>h</sup> u:]	nai pu
188. laugh	tawa	[tava]	tawa
189. weep	menangis	[taŋi]	tangi
190. smell	cium	[ŋuru]	nguru
191. sleep	tidur	[tuba/tuba mata]	tuba/tuba mata <sup>77</sup>
192. live	hidup	[more]	more
193. kill	bunuh	[p <sup>h</sup> una mada]	puna mata <sup>78</sup>
194. shoot (arrow)	panah	[sube]	cube

<sup>71</sup> Little or no implosion. Implosion is insignificant in several list items, including the following. Also, this speaker does not utter 'feces' and 'intestines' differently, which the speaker of SD1-300 does.

<sup>72</sup> Note [dɔ'la lo<sup>n</sup>da] are two words. In separation, the words denote the upper back below the shoulders, and the middle back. The speaker of SD1-299 utters only *dhola*.

<sup>73</sup> The unvoiced *tusu* means 'milk' or 'breastfeed'. No free variation between the different stops.

<sup>74</sup> The two organs are conceived of as being joined. The two words are also separate nouns.

<sup>75</sup> *Ka* applies to rice, tubers, and most vegetables. The word *pesa* [pəsa] is used for moistly fruits like manggo, fish and meats.

<sup>76</sup> *Muta*, the Palu'e rendering of the Indonesian *muntah* is more common and more specific.

<sup>77</sup> *Tuba*, short for *tuba mata*, is an alternative.

<sup>78</sup> Note the different pronunciation with 191.

195. fight	berkelahi	[sədʒu rəbɛnɛ]	ceju rebene <sup>79</sup>
196. dance	menari	[soka]	coka
197. hunt	buru	[nusi]	nusi
198. hit	pukul	[balu:]	balu <sup>80</sup>
199. split	belah	[kəla]	kela
200. cut	potong	[ʔkəʈi]	keti <sup>81</sup>
201. cook	masak	[muɡu haβɪ]	mugu abhi <sup>82</sup>
202. scratch	garuk	[kadʒɛ]	kaje <sup>83</sup>
203. swim	renang	[naŋu]	nangu
204. walk	jalan	[pana]	pana
205. come	datang	[mai]	mai
206. lie	baring	[tuli]	tuli
207. sit	duduk	[noɖo]	noto
208. stand	berdiri	[kə:rɛ]	keré <sup>84</sup>
209. fall	jatuh	[molu]	molu <sup>85</sup>
210. fly	terbang	[laiʔ]	lai
211. give	beri	[βəli]	pele <sup>86</sup>
212. hold	pegang	[kəve]	kewe
213. rub	gosok	[pono]	pono
214. wash	cuci	[popo]	popo
215. pull	tarik	[(ə)rə <sup>n</sup> du]	rendu <sup>87</sup>
216. throw	lempar	[təʔβa]	tebha <sup>88</sup>
217. push	dorong	[t <sup>h</sup> u:]	tu
218. tie	ikat	[tike]	tike
219. talk	bicara	[nato]	nato
220. count	hitung	[ʔkira]	kira <sup>89</sup>
221. write	tulis	[tudʒi]	tuji
222. sing	nyanyi	[tio baʈa]	tio bata
223. float	apung	[paɖa]	pata

<sup>79</sup> *Ceju* 'pull'; *rebene* 'each other'. The schwa in [sədʒu] is approaching /e/. The Indonesian 'kelahi' is only a noun and must be affixed with *ber-* to become a verb. *Balu rebene* (lit. 'hit each other') is an alternative.

<sup>80</sup> Another word where the stop cannot be in free variation. The unvoiced *palu* always mean 'return' or 'again'.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. list item 143.

<sup>82</sup> Or [muɡu]? This word is often uttered with /ɡ/, if not /k<sup>h</sup>/. *Abhi* 'fire' implies that firewood is used for cooking.

<sup>83</sup> Wrongly written *keje* in the handout, but correctly understood and pronounced by both Meti (SD1-300) and Longge, due to the Indonesian gloss. A homonym of *keje* means 'to peel' (tubers) or 'suffer a tiny wound', clearly related to *kaje*.

<sup>84</sup> Usually uttered [kə:rɛ].

<sup>85</sup> About humans. Animals and things *hoga*.

<sup>86</sup> [p<sup>h</sup>əli] is the more common pronunciation.

<sup>87</sup> This word should be uttered [rəndu]. The letter /r/ in the Palu'e/Ind. alphabet is uttered [ər]. The word *ceju*, see list item 195, is used for heavier pulls.

<sup>88</sup> The stress is on the ultimate syllable, preceded by glottalization, as is the rule for [β] preceded by schwa.

<sup>89</sup> Homophone with *kira* 'read'.

224. play	main	[ <sup>n</sup> de:ro]	ndéro
225. swell	bengkak	[padʒa]	paja
226. burn	bakar	[səwi]	cewi <sup>90</sup>

### Cardinal numbers

227. one	satu	[sa]	sa
228. two	dua	[ <sup>h</sup> rua]	rua <sup>91</sup>
229. three	tiga	[dəlu]	dhelu
230. four	empat	[ba]	ba
231. five	lima	[lima]	lima
232. six	enam	[həne]	hene
233. seven	tujuh	[ɖɪtu]	bitu
234. eight	delapan	[valu]	walu
235. nine	sembilan	[hiva]	hiwa
236. ten	sepuluh	[ha pulu]	ha pulu

### Other

237. every	semua	[dəte diʔone]	dete tiʔone <sup>92</sup>
238. many	banyak	[rivu:]	riwu
239. much	banyak	[so:]	so
240. few/a little	sedikit	[a loʔo]	ha loʔo
241. and	dan	[noʔo]	noʔo
242. this	ini	[ənde]	endé <sup>93</sup>
243. that	itu	[vaʔa]	waʔa
244. here	sini	[haʔe]	aʔe
245. yes	ya	[e:]	é
246. no/not	tidak/bukan	[kaʔa]	kaʔa
247. correct	betul	[molo]	molo
248. above	atas	[re:ta]	réta
249. under	bawah	[laej]	lae

<sup>90</sup> Burn something that has been prepared for burning. There are several other words for ‘burn’. Meti in SD1-300 chose to utter *colo* (burning weeds for example) instead of *cewi*.

<sup>91</sup> Longge pre-aspirates on the initial /r/, perhaps because she is reading the words in isolation. No phonemic meaning is assigned because the sound is not part of the word.

<sup>92</sup> This conjunct word consisting of the classifier *dete* and *tiʔone* ‘all’ is often shortened and *tiʔone* can be pronounced with [t, d, d], as in SD1-299–300 and at the end of SD1-299: [dɛtiʔonɛ].

<sup>93</sup> The schwa is more often epenthetic in this word.

# Sufi practice in Khartoum and the role of the Shaykh.

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## ABSTRACT

Rosanders and Westerlund<sup>1</sup> refers to Sufism (*Tasawwuf*) as “African Islam”, contextualizing the large diffusion of Sufi practice all around sub-Saharan Africa and underlining an important point: despite referring to the same generic structure, different elements constitute the local nature of a Sufi community. Indeed, it’s possible to observe that Sufism has a strong presence in the African continent, from the examples of Sufi brotherhoods in Mali described by Amadou Hampatè Ba<sup>2</sup> to the description of Sufism in Somalia by Francesca Declich<sup>3</sup> among the others. Being flanked by the more orthodox pressures coming from the Arabic Peninsula and integrating its practice with social structures already present in the sub-saharan Africa, today’s Sufism in the african continent doesn’t have a monolithic nature.

Since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, continuous and slow penetrations of Arabic merchants into Alodia’s kingdoms led to the fall of the Christian reigns. Sufism especially, managed to gain almost the totality of the population, due to its permeable nature and the usage made by Muslim *Ulema* to better adapt Islam to local populations, still bonded to the traditional religious nature of the region. After the *Wahabi* doctrine penetration in the area and the recent political development of the country, it seems difficult to recognize the presence of a traditional or animist component in today’s *Sufi Islam*.

The purpose of this article is to define and transmit to the reader the aspects of today’s Islamic identity of the Sudanese population with a particular focus on Khartoum’s region, to analyse the role of the master of 9 different *Turuq* in an urban context and how this influences the daily life of the citizens of the area. The materials here presented have been collected for my master’s degree dissertation in Diplomacy and International Cooperation, by the title “Il Sufismo in Sudan. Religione, società, tradizioni e pratiche curative nello Stato di Khartoum.”<sup>4</sup> as a result of one month long field observation conducted from the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 2018 to the 31<sup>st</sup> of the same month. During this period, I was able to conduct a session of field research in Khartoum’s state and to engage with Sudanese local religious leaders, inhabitants of the area formally unbonded from the religious sphere and European and Sudanese NGO members, working in the health sector. The interviews collected will be cross-analysed during the course of the text to highlight any differences or points in common between the various interviewees. I have also decided to integrate the relation within religious area and medicine because of some reasons: due to a personal interest, having worked in a health facility aimed at delivering therapies to disabled people, having studied the bond within African traditional medicine and Islam during the course of my master’s degree and having noticed the discrepancy within the declarations of the various *Shaykh* and those of the local inhabitants not directly bounded to the sphere of influence of the *Turuq* regarding the relation with medicine and *Shaykh*.

Keywords: *Sufism, Tasawwuf, Shaykh, Khartoum, Sudan, Dhikr, traditional Medicine*

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<sup>1</sup> Westerlund D. e Rosander E. E., 1997 “*African Islam and Islam in Africa*”, London, Hurst & Company.

<sup>2</sup> See: Ba A. H., 2008, “*A spirit of tolerance. The inspiring life of Tierno Bokar*” USA, World Wisdom Books, and also Ba A. H., 1991, “*Amkoullel, l’enfant peul. Mémoires*” Paris, Actes Sud.

<sup>3</sup> Declich F., 2000, “Sufi experience in rural Somali. A focus on Women” in *Social Anthropology*, 8, 3, European Association of Social Anthropologists.

<sup>4</sup> discussed in December 2018 at the University of Trieste, Master’s Degree in Diplomacy and International Cooperation.

## 1. Methodology

The process of organization of the research started in Italy, during my last year of Master's degree, where I had the occasion to meet the Ambassador of Italy in Sudan Fabrizio Lobasso. Thanks to the help of his excellency, I obtained two contacts of local *Shaykhs* that gave me the possibility to visit 9 different *Turuq*<sup>5</sup>, to interview 8 different *Shaykhs* and 33 members of the various brotherhoods. During the second phase, I managed to interview 24 different subjects, for a total number of 65 persons interviewed.

The first one, *Shaykh* Seenan Alsamani Altayb, a representant of the *Samaniyya* Brotherhood. He accompanied me to visit the majority of *Turuq* of the *Samaniyya* according to his preference, introducing me to the *Turuq* he knew and he accepted, relying on his own network of acquaintances. This resulted also in the participation to many social occasions, like after prayers gathering in tents to consume tea, meals shared by the members of the *Turuqs* both during weekdays and, mainly, before and after Friday's celebrations.

The second one, *Shaykh* Eltayeb, a representant of *Qadiriyya*. He introduced me to only two *Turuq*, his own and the one his spiritual master, *Shaykh* Eltayib, based in the village of Umm Dabban. Thanks to him, I managed to also take part to events like the practice for the day of Eid al-Adha, the following celebrations and feast.

The documentation process was divided in two main phases: A first phase of qualitative research, where I engaged with local religious leaders of the *Turuq*, the *Shaykh*, in order to understand and map the single *Tariqa*, the doctrine, the practice and the objectives of the single group; a second phase of a quantitative nature conducted through group interviews. This practice was useful in order to understand the perception of the religious sphere of an individual not directly bonded to the area of influence of a *Tariqa* and to analyse the issues concerning healing practices, Jinn's presence, alternative figures to scientific medicine and the experiences of individuals with medical sciences. In this second phase, it was particularly useful for me to have availed myself of the help of facilitators who created a bridge between me and the interviewees, bypassing as much as possible the stigma and privacy of the individual in dealing with certain personal issues.

Also, while participating to religious moments like the practice of *Dhikr*, *Salat* and moments of socialization, participatory observation was also used to gather information, relying on the help of photos and video recording.

I decided to analyse the relation within religion and medicine as a case study in order to observe the thematic of health treatments from both the religious authorities and members of the society not directly related to the area of influence of the *Turuq*.

## 2. Description and practices of the *Turuq* in Khartoum's area

### 2.1. *Samaniyya*

Most of the subjects interviewed are part of the *Samaniyya* brotherhood. Founded by *Shaykh* Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Samman during XVIII° century, the *Samaniyya* is a branch of the bigger *Tariqa* of *Khalawatiyya*.

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<sup>5</sup> Pl. *Tariqa*, sin. Arabic name of a Sufi Brotherhood, particular element of Islamic mysticism.

The first contact with the *Samaniyya* Brotherhood was through *Shaykh* Seenan Alsamani Altayb (from now on, referred to as *Shaykh* Seenan). Our first meeting took place in Ozone bar, a restaurant in Khartoum 2, city centre of Khartoum. The interview was held in Sudanese Arabic, with the help of a native Sudanese Arabic speaker that translated in English.

The main concern of the *Shaykh* about Sufism in Sudan was about the relation between religion and politics: «Sufi identity is strong in Sudan. We are about to create the first party for Sufi, called *Al Gaiun* Democratic Party. Sufism is the true *Islam* created by our Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon himself)»<sup>6</sup>. Despite my willingness to focus the interview on the doctrinal aspect of local Sufism, the *Shaykh* comes back many times on the political area, even inviting me «to meet a “Somalian high politician”, member of the Ministry for Presidential Affairs»<sup>7</sup>. This politician, according to the declarations of the *Shaykh*, is a Sufi, moved temporarily in Sudan to help the birth and the formation of *al Gaiun* party.

After taking the conversation back to the main topic, the declaration of the *Shaykh* about the bond between Islam in Sudan and traditional, animistic religions is that «there are no religions in Sudan except the true *Islam* taught by our prophet Muhammad (pbuh) nor those pagans will contaminate the true *Islam*. There is only one village, far west on the mountains, *Jabal al Miba*, where they still worship the sun or other idols, but nothing more».

In the following days, I was able to meet *Shaykh* Seenan various times and he guided me to visit various *Turuq*. Our meetings would always begin with the same topic, with the *Shaykh* asking me «what do you think about Sudan and about its government?».

The next day, I was introduced by *Shaykh* Seenan to the *Shaykh* al-Bashir, part of the *Samaniyya* brotherhood. Our meeting took place inside the *Masjid*<sup>8</sup> of *Shaykh* al-Bashir, located in Bahri, Shambat area. The *Masjid* is surrounded by walls, inside it's possible to find the Mosque, the *Khalwa*, a hostel that is open for the *Murids* of the *Shaykh*, poor people or travellers. According to the declarations of one of the students of *Shaykh* Seenan<sup>9</sup> «In Sudan, if you are poor and you cannot afford a place where to stay, a *Shaykh* will offer you a place to stay, without asking you anything, regardless of your belief»<sup>10</sup>. This is possible thanks to the profits generated by the crops harvested by the students of the *Shaykh* or by members of the *Tariqa*. According to various declarations collected during my visit at the *Masjid*, this activity is conducted on a voluntary basis. Believers, members of the *Tariqa* or *Murids*, decide to donate their time or money to the *Shaykh*.

The meetings took place inside the *Khalwa* of *Shaykh* al-Bashir. During the two days, it was never possible to meet the *Shaykh* alone, we were always accompanied by *Shaykh* Seenan and his Murid, some members of the *Tariqa* and some Murids of *Shaykh* al

<sup>6</sup> Interview 1, *Shaykh* Seenan, 05/08/2018, Ozone bar, Khartoum 2, Khartoum.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 05/08/2018.

<sup>8</sup> Usually, the term *Masjid* identifies the place dedicated to the prayers for Muslims. In the area covered by my research, the term is used to identify the complex of structures that the members of a *Turuq* can use: a building dedicated to prayers, a *Khalwa*, bedrooms or a hostel, kitchens and common spaces dedicated to socialization or to study.

<sup>9</sup> Interview 3, *Murid* accompanying Seenan, 06/08/2018, Bahri, Shambat, *Masjid Shaykh* al-Bashir.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 06/08/2018.

Bashir. During the second meeting that took place the 10 of August, I had the opportunity to meet a “Doctor” of Quranic sciences at the University of Khartoum.

The interviews were conducted in Arabic with the translation in English by a native Arabic Sudanese speaker in the case of *Shaykh* al Bashir<sup>11</sup> and in English in the case of the Doctor<sup>12</sup>, with no help needed from a translator.

The first concept they shared with me was the bond with the terrain: while I was greeted as a guest, having the possibility to seat on a couch, everyone else was seated on the ground, making sure that both of the palms of the hands were constantly on the ground. «We have been generated from the ground by Allah and to it we will have to return one day. Seating on the ground is a way to stay bonded to our origins»<sup>13</sup>. This practice can be observed only in this very specific *Tariqa*. *It was common*

The leading role of the Doctor or the *Shaykh* al Bashir is undermined by the figure of *Shaykh* Seenan only when I asked them about traditional pre-Islamic elements still present in today’s *Sufism*. While staying quiet during all the interview, *Shaykh* Seenan impose his vision regarding the presence of any kind of contamination by traditional elements in today’s *Sufism* in Sudan. *Shaykh* Seenan purposely blocks *Shaykh* al Bashir from answering the topic of the discussion proposed to the latter, stating firmly: «The wise people can recognize the right practices from the impious, like black magic or primitive religions that existed before the arrival of true Islam. Who contaminates *Tasawwuff* with elements like pagan rituals or weird mores is just a *Kufi*»<sup>14</sup>. No one else in the room was willing to add something to the statement of *Shaykh* Seenan. Surely, is interesting to analyse this statement in the optic of the ideological clash that *Sufism* in Sudan is facing against *Wahabism*. In many interviews, a usual topic coming from the respondents was the relation within *Sufi* and *Wahabi*. While some of these respondents were open to speak about the contamination of pre-Islamic elements in today’s local *Sufism*<sup>15</sup> and recognize given presence in the practice, the position of *Shaykh* Seenan resembles the Islamist tendencies<sup>16</sup> that aim to purify local Islam and find the “right practices”, maintaining a rigid approach to the thematic.

It appears that an external member of the Brotherhood is capable to impose his presence into the thoughts of other subjects even if they are, theoretically, on the same level.

After, thanks to the contact shared with the interns of the Italian Embassy, I had the opportunity to reach an Arabic-speaking teacher at a private center in Khartoum, Amarat district on 08/08/2018, to interview her and also to collect photo and video documentations provided by her. I came into contact with this informant through the interns of the Italian Embassy who carried out an Arabic language course at the center where the teacher works. It is linked to the brotherhood founded by *Shaykh* al-Burée today led by his grandfather, *Shaykh* Afatih. During the course of the interview no particular signs emerge of limits imposed on the woman in the dialogue of the topic; on the contrary, the informant is particularly open in talking about religious practice, in

<sup>11</sup> Interview 2, *Shaykh* al-Bashir, 06/08/2018, Bahri, Shambat, *Masjid Shaykh* al-Bashir.

<sup>12</sup> Interview 5, Doctor of Quranic sciences, 10/08/2018, Bahri, Shambat, *Masjid Shaykh* al-Bashir.

<sup>13</sup> Interview 2, *Shaykh* al-Bashir, 06/08/2018, Bahri, Shambat, *Masjid Shaykh* al-Bashir.

<sup>14</sup> “Non-believer”, the term indicates everything that is external to the Qur’anic Reality, while also being commonly used in offensive terms to identify those who do not practice Islam.

<sup>15</sup> See declarations of *Shaykh* Eltayeb, paragraph 2.2.

<sup>16</sup> Westerlund D. e Rosander E. E., 1997 “*African Islam and Islam in Africa*”, London, Hurst & Company.

bringing examples, descriptions and showing me the multimedia elements that will be forwarded to me later.

The *Tariqa* is based in the town of Azzariba (translated, the name of the city means “the Zoo”) and is initially founded by *Shaykh* Afatih, although the point of reference for the members of the *Tariqa* is called by the title of Great *Shaykh* Abdul Rahim al Burée, great-grandfather of the Teacher and father of Afatih. I am told that the brotherhood was founded by a *Shaykh* named Muhammad, but that he never played an important role in religious life as much as the Great *Shaykh* al Burée. The latter is also a teacher of Afatih, who is charged to move to Azzariba to teach the Quran to locals still linked to traditional religions. Before the arrival of *Shaykh* Afatih. Indeed, the town composed of a society organized according to a social scheme of a pastoral nature has as its only point of reference the zoo from which it takes its name. To date, despite the *Shaykh* at the head of *Tariqa* is Afatih, the believers linked to it refer almost exclusively to the figure of the by now deceased *Shaykh* al Burée.

To understand the particularity of the *Tariqa* of *Shaykh* al Burée it is necessary to retrace the detailed description of the typical day within the *Masjid* made by the Teacher: «We wake up with the first prayer open to all Muslims. After the first morning prayer, we proceed to perform the *Awrads Tariqa* (also called *Azkar*), a prayer reserved exclusively for the members of the *Tariqa*. Only the members of the *Tariqa* are admitted after receiving *Shaykh*’s permission. The prayer structure changes from *Tariqa* to *Tariqa*, and it lasts about half an hour. If you take part in the *Awrads* without the *Shaykh*’s permission, you risk suffering the consequences in illness, physical or mental. What unites all the *Awrads* is the centrality of the message of love towards Allah and men in general. Sufis are allowed to take part in the *Awrads* of other brotherhoods, on condition that they practice their own and have the authorization of their *Shaykh*. You are free to pray also with other members of other *Turuqs*, *Shaykh* usually allows that, or forbids you to relate to others, even if it is not very frequent to have common praying sessions; over time, many people have confused love for Allah with praising the *Shaykh*. After the *Azkar*, it’s time to visit the tomb of the great *Shaykh*, because he is the intermediary in paradise with whom to dialogue and have the possibility of having personal requests and messages conveyed directly to Allah through the spirit of the *Shaykh* who lives in the Garden of *Ma’ wa’*<sup>17</sup>. Someone prays, others read poems written by them in homage to the deceased *Shaykh*, others still ask for help in order to solve their problems. Later, the *Murids* begin to study divided by groups. In addition to the study of the Quran, the traditional Arabic and the *Fiqh*<sup>18</sup> are also studied in this community. In the meantime, around 10 am, the *Murids* will rest after a few hours of study, have breakfast and wait for the second prayer of the day. The study resumes after the end of the second prayer until the third which marks the time to have lunch together. For this moment, like the others in which it is necessary to prepare large quantities of food, the *Shaykh* use the help of salaried workers who take care of the harvest or volunteers, usually women, who prepare meals, keep the place in order and take care of the *Masjid*. When lunch is over, everyone is free to return to their duties or their own private life, who can. Who is a guest of the *Shaykh* in the hostel, can stay with the teacher, work for him and help him. In fact, the *Masjid* hostel serves as a structure for the *murids* who, coming from far

<sup>17</sup> Paradise garden, home of Allah and the dead.

<sup>18</sup> Islamic law.

away, would not be able to attend their studies and to help the poor or needy. The *Shaykh* does not charge anyone for his hospitality»<sup>19</sup>.

From this description it is possible to notice the difference between the brotherhoods previously analysed and the one of *Shaykh* al Burée: first of all, the *Tariqa* presents an element of reference to the figure of a past *Shaykh*, idolized and elevated to Great *Shaykh*, still today at centre of the religious life of the *Tariqa* that revives its figure through the cult of his person through a daily visit to his tomb and the continuous reference to his figure as leader of the brotherhood. He is seen as a bridge of direct connection between mankind and God, a subject capable of facilitating his relationship with Allah. The elevation of the figure of al Burée to Great *Shaykh* does not limit the influence of his successors at the head of the brotherhood, who must be consulted in various aspects of daily life, helped in their daily practices by their disciples and guardians of some civil functions. For example, the teacher describes the procedure for joining a couple in marriage:

«First of all, it is necessary to consult the *Shaykh*; If you want to marry someone, if you already know who, if you want to know who would be better to marry, or if the marriage will go well, the master of the brotherhood will know how to clear up any doubt about it and bless the future couple. It is also possible to report to the *Shaykh* about choosing a spouse and simply asking him to bless the union. Once the union is approved by the *Shaykh*, he can give the couple different goods, such as bags with clothes, perfumes, animals or even contribute to the purchase and / or furnishing of the house, travel and so on. Such gifts should be spontaneously procured by the *Shaykh* for the couple; However, the master of the brotherhood usually receives gifts on other occasions, especially perfumes. If the gifts for the *Shaykh* accumulate in excess, he can redistribute them on special occasions, as in this case, giving a part to the newly married couple. The ceremony is very short; usually the father of the bride and groom go to the *Shaykh* to collect the certificate that seals the union. This procedure is a formality that does not require the presence of the bride. The spouse in the meantime will be dedicated to preparing for the actual celebrations. After having withdrawn the certificate in fact, we proceed to attend the *Aflah*, a musical moment in which the sound of drums accompanies an *Al Muddah*, a traditional Sufi singer, who sings the *Medih*<sup>20</sup>. Following is the indoor lunch and the final party»<sup>21</sup>.

Also in this case it is possible to notice how the figure of the *Shaykh* represents a pivotal point in the life not only of the strictly religious community, but of anyone who lives near to it. To ask for advice or blessings from the *Shaykh* as a connection with the authority of God, the elderly and the wise is a common element in holistic societies that have lived and still inhabit the territory of sub-Saharan Africa.

Comparing the two *Turuqs*, it is possible to observe how the differences between them are marked, in the doctrine and in the daily practice. The *Shaykh* plays a more relevant role here, present in many aspects of daily life not only of the members of the *Tariqa*, but also of those who live their secular life through the influences of the brotherhood.

<sup>19</sup> Interview 4, Arabic language Teacher, 08/08/2018, Amarat, Khartoum.

<sup>20</sup> Plur. Singular: *Matah*. Religious songs.

<sup>21</sup> Interview 4, Arabic language Teacher, 08/08/2018, Amarat, Khartoum.

The next *Tariqa* I visited on 08/10/2018 is the *Samaniyya*, founded by *Shaykh* Hamed al-Nil in the 19th century. D.C., which carries out its activities within the necropolis of Omdurman, now managed by its descendants. During my observation of Friday prayers, it was possible to observe a unique expression of faith compared to the *Turuqs* previously observed. In fact, the main activity of the mosque is the Friday *Dhikr* in a special space in the centre of the necropolis where the *Darvish* reunite are part of the brotherhood of *Shaykh* al Nil. They are divided into two main categories: the Murid youths under the guidance of the *Shaykh* al Nil and the elders, appointed by the *Shaykh* himself. The elderly are easily recognized by their clothing, characterized by bright colours unlike the traditional white *Jellabiyya*, such as red, green or yellow. In fact, the colours, the motif or the patches they wear sewn on the dress are decided by the *Shaykh*, to indicate “the seniority” within the Sufism of the single *Darvish*, based on his own behaviour and his own devotion. Many *Darvish* carry around the neck and waist large *Sibah* hand-carved by themselves, sometimes well over one. The *Sibah* worn by the *Darvish* indicate their devotion in practice, as if to flaunt it and demonstrate it through their clothing; in fact, the more *Sibah* he wears, the more time he devotes to prayer during the day. Besides being a cult object, the *Sibah* is a means of livelihood for *Darvish*, since those built by hand by them are sold by the *Murid* youths in small makeshift stalls at the entrance to the necropolis. In the course of a telephone interview with a member of the *Tariqa* in question on 09/06/2018 I <sup>22</sup>am told that «the green colour, the most widespread, represents the peace and calm of Sufism, red is the symbol of knowledge, yellow of devotion and the black of ecstasy. Other *Darvish* use leopard or *hadit* motifs printed on them as a sign of devotion. The patches instead recall the idea of poverty in which the first *Darvish* lived, going up to the figure of the Prophet Muhammad himself and of his wandering in poverty».

The reality of Omdurman’s *Darvish* is contained in a religious universe almost in itself from the rest of the *Turuq*; Asceticism is highlighted both from a spiritual and material point of view, with the practice of very dynamic *Dhikr* compared to those carried out by the other *Turuq* in the area, as characterized by episodes of visions and demonstrating one’s devotion through practice, one’s own body and one’s own clothes. Although with a certain regard for the subjectivity of the practice highlighted by the distinctive characters analysed above in the form of clothing, titles, colours or objects that somehow tend to emphasize a certain history linked to the individual person, the whole is not lacking in being subjected to control of the central authority of the *Shaykh*, who decides the titles to be assigned to each member of his own *Tariqa*, assigning them the colours to wear during the practice of *Dhikr* and during daily life, while requiring alms. These elements guarantee a strong respect of the *Darvish* within the local religious community, albeit in dissonance with the rest of the practices implemented by the other *Turuq*. This detachment is highlighted by the two *Turuq* I visited during the course of the same day, the *Samaniyya* of *Shaykh* Arwallah and the *Madiyya Drisia*<sup>23</sup>, which stand firmly against the “practical” asceticism proposed by the beggars of Omdurman and test themselves in a more sober way practice of remembering the name of Allah.

The role of the *Shaykh* does not fall exclusively in the doctrinal and religious field, but in some cases influences the daily life of every man linked to the *Tariqa*, whether it is at the top or at the base of it. The *Tariqa* run by *Shaykh* Mukarra, with the Masjid in the

<sup>22</sup> Telephone interview 1, member *Tariqa Shaykh* al Nil, 06/09/2018, Omdurman.

<sup>23</sup> See declarations paragraph 2.3.

district of al Remela founded by *Shaykh* Mukarra Muhammad Aton, father of the current *Shaykh* Mukarra, is part of this fird. The lineage of Mukarra's family is proudly traced back to the *Shaykh* al Mathaib, presented to me as «the first Sudanese *Shaykh*»<sup>24</sup>. The area where the *Masjid* is located is characterized by its proximity to the shores of the White Nile, which guarantees fertile ground for the populations that live on the banks, although causing disruption due to floods in the period between August and September. Adjacent to the *Masjid*, in addition to the school where the murids of *Shaykh* Mukarra study, there is a private high school run by *Shaykh*'s family. This school, divided into male and female sections, represents a pivotal point in the life of the *Tariqa*. In fact, this *Tariqa* is more involved on the social rather than on the religious field, conveying the efforts of the adepts on assistance to the local community, especially in case of economic necessity or in the organization of social events; the *Tariqa* also plays an important role in community health care, but this will be discussed later in a dedicated section. The interview with the *Shaykh* is conducted in Sudanese Arabic, with the sons of the *Shaykh* translating into English. During the course of the interview and the visit to *Masjid*, the *Shaykh* speaks with great pride of the work done by him and his children in helping the community that revolves around the *Masjid*, especially through sport: «Last year I was a national swimming champion and my sons play soccer in what you call the B series. For the children in our neighbourhood we had a soccer field built nearby, so we can get them involved in *Masjid*'s life. When we don't pray, we play sports, we play football and sometimes we organize tournaments against other *Masjids*, to get to know each other and have fun together»<sup>25</sup>.

While a Murid in the service of the *Shaykh* dressed in the uniform of the *Tariqa* composed by *Jellabiyya* and *Karraba*<sup>26</sup> brings tea and food for us, he continues the description of the activities carried out by the *Shaykh* and the brotherhood: «Many of our income we divert them to the *Masjid* to help people in what they need. If by chance a couple gets married, we try to give them a nice gift, we try to help them for the party or to have a home to live in. But all our income fails to fund everything»<sup>27</sup>, the biggest source of revenue for *Masjid* lies in the private school adjacent to the mosque which, net of professors' salaries, uses the fees to keep young students of the *Khalwa*, the Quranic school. Deepening the background of the students living within the walls of the *Masjid*, the poverty of many of them is emphasized «They are our students of the *Khalwa*, our murids. Now here are just a few of the many, those who are missing are home to their families for *Eid* holidays, those you see here cannot return to their families. None of them pay a fee, we offer everything, offer food, lodge and teach them. Almost all the children here are orphans, if they don't have another place to go we welcome them. It happens that a child born from an unofficial relationship is abandoned. We often find him still in swaddling clothes in front of the entrance to the *Masjid*. They pass by here at night and leave him there, because they know that we will take care of him»<sup>28</sup>. In that case, we cannot take care of him and entrust him to the government. As far as our

<sup>24</sup> Interview 8, *Shaykh* Mukarra, 22/08/2018, al Remela, Khartoum.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 22/08/2018.

<sup>26</sup> A leather belt used as a symbolic representation of the first *Shaykh*. According to the common local tradition, the first *Shaykhs*, in order to fight the hunger caused by their poor living conditions used to tie a belt around the stomach. The belt used by the *Murid* is composed by two bands of leather, one on the stomach and one crossing the chest, attached on the front right side of the belt, crossing the left shoulder and joined again on the right side.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 22/08/2018.

<sup>28</sup> During my observation, it was possible for me to come into contact exclusively with male children hosted at the Koranic school, observing the lack of facilities to accommodate girls.

students are concerned, if they are particularly worthy, after they finish studying the whole Quran we allow them to enter our school next door. That is our second school, there who wants to can enrol their children and, paying a fee, let them attend the courses and make them study. The fees that we collect from school enrolments go then to finance the expenses for the Quranic school»<sup>29</sup>.

The community perspective transmitted by this *Tariqa* transcends the boundaries of religious practice, resulting in the daily life of each member not only of the confraternity, but also of the surrounding area. As a manifestation of up to now verbally described lifestyle modesty, I am accompanied to the home of one of the *Shaykh*'s sons, in the housing block adjacent to the *Masjid*; the house consists of a single large room in which there are three beds, a kitchenette, a bathroom and two sofas in a space of about twenty square meters, soberly furnished. Taking advantage of the visit at the home of the *Shaykh*'s sons, I have the opportunity to notice a tent city of a dozen homes in precarious conditions; they are the inhabitants of the area bordering on the banks of the White Nile that, due to the floods due to seasonal rains, are forced to live temporarily inside the football field built by the *Shaykh*, inside precarious structures built with wood, plastic sheeting and animal skins. Behind them is the embankment that contains the river waters, forming an almost stagnant water inlet that is used by displaced people as a dump, as a water source for the few cattle in their possession, as a water source for them and as a latrine. Asking the eldest son of the *Shaykh* for clarification on those people, he replies: «See brother, these people live like this for two months a year, with their submerged lands and their houses completely unusable. They are here temporarily, close to the mosque. Normally they live beyond the embankment you see behind their tents, but the white Nile has overflowed with recent rains and has flooded their territories. Obviously, we offered them hospitality and all the help we can»<sup>30</sup>.

The community perspective expressed by the *Tariqa* of *Shaykh* Mukarra represents, among the various confraternities belonging to the *Samaniyya*, the one most closely related to the inhabitants of the surrounding area, transcending the religious formality characteristic of some *Turuq* and appropriating a humanitarian element deriving also and not only from the religious bond between *Shaykh* and inhabitants of the neighbourhood. In common with the other *Turuq* remains the figure of the *Shaykh* and his descendants, a reference point for anyone with a need; be it economic, spiritual or social.

The *Samaniyya* turned out to be, in light of my observations, the most widespread brotherhood in the Khartoumense territory, albeit creating a system of self-regulation and subjectivity of the practice and of objectives different from *Shaykh* to *Shaykh*, based on the area of settlement, the experience of the leader, to his goals and to the origin of his confreres.

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 22/08/2018.

<sup>30</sup> Interview 9, eldest son *Shaykh* Mukarra, 22/08/2018, al Remela, Khartoum.

## 2.2. Qadiriyya

Founded by the Hanbali preacher Abd al-Qadir ibn abi Salih<sup>31</sup>, the Qadiriyya order originated from Hijaz and Asia-minor and was introduced in the area of Funj by Taj ad-din al-Bahari al-Baghdadi<sup>32</sup>.

Inside the *Qadiriyya* reside two of the *Shaykhs* I interviewed, *Shaykh* Eltayeb with his *Masjid* in the area of North Khartoum, district of al-Jerif and of *Shaykh* Eltayib, with his *Masjid* in the town of Umm Dabban, just off the side south east of Khartoum. Between the two there is a close relationship, since the former refers to the latter as his personal *Shaykh*.

The first one I will introduce is *Shaykh* Eltayeb, met on various occasions<sup>33</sup>. He is a Sudanese citizen working often in the United States, the interviews will be conducted in English and he will also translate from Sudanese Arabic to English whenever he is with me. The particularity that distinguishes *Shaykh* Eltayeb as an exponent of *Qadiriyya* is the vision of Sufism which, in contrast to the *Turuq* of *Samaniyya*, reserves great importance to the study not only of the Islamic doctrine contained in the sacred books par excellence and in the *hadits*, but also in the study of philosophy in general, as: «Sufism has a unique particular, it allows you to know the world around you, to become a good Sufi you must study law, philosophy, you must be a philosopher yourself and base yourself on three cardinal principles of honesty, equality and, above all, generosity towards those in need. [...] The most important thing in Islam, more important than Islam itself, is respect for others and especially respect for religious freedoms. We are all children of God! To be a good Sufi, one must be open to culture, science, music, philosophy, etc. Speaking of science, what happens with the practice of *Dhikr* is exactly like when you play sports, you bring out your negative energies. This is why it is important to know as much as possible, because until you know life, love, community, then you have simply spent time in your body, you have not lived life itself! In fact, what happened with the Mahdi some time ago<sup>34</sup> was because he was incapable of knowing and understanding the Sufi philosophy»<sup>35</sup>. Our first encounter is all about the interpretative line that sees Sufism not only as a religion, but also as a lifestyle open to dialogue and to relations with the space inside and outside the *Ummah*. This is a point of contrast to what Karrar writes about *Qadiriyya*. As a general essential point for *Qadiriyya*, Karrar underlines the seclusion of the *Murid* from the world “as if it didn’t exist at all”<sup>36</sup>. For Karrar, the heart experience should be superior from the brain, due to the supposed superiority of the experiences lived through the first over the second. “In truth, hearts are calm at the memory of Allah (Qur 13-28)”. Giving a new perspective on the topic, *Shaykh* Eltayeb proposes a relation with what surrounds the *Murid* not only confined to the spiritual dimension of the heart, but omni comprehensive. Every kind of experience and openness to the surrounding world is welcomed in his vision of Sufi practice.

<sup>31</sup> Trimmingham, J. S., “The sufi Orders in Islam”, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1971.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Dayf Allah, “*Kitab al Tabaqat*”, 1753.

<sup>33</sup> The 15<sup>th</sup>, the 21<sup>st</sup> and the 24<sup>th</sup> of August 2018.

<sup>34</sup> Referring to the Mahadist War.

<sup>35</sup> Interview 10, *Shaykh* Eltayeb, 15/08/2018, Ozone Bar, Khartoum 2, Khartoum.

<sup>36</sup> Khadiga Karrar, T. 1975, *Aspects of Sufism in the Sudan*, Durham theses, Durham University.

A point of fundamental importance for Shaykh Eltayeb is also the relationship between Sufi and Wahabi, from which he firmly distances: «Let us not speak then about the negative influence that Wahhabism and the Saudis have had on Sudan. For example, in a biographical book written by Al Wahab's father and brother, they claim that Al Wahab was sick with autism, a bit like in the movie Rain man, did you see him not? this book was banned and requisitioned by the Saudis in order not to leak a defect of the founder of the movement. Wahabism was then exploited by the CIA and MI6 to counter the USSR in the Middle East. Now, considering the influence of Wahhabism, there is a risk that Sufism itself will result in a form of extremism, or that we risk following exclusively the whims of the Shaykh, since he is an authority among the community. What a good Shaykh should do, would be not to use the Tariqa for his own personal purposes, but to do good. The difference between us and the Wahhabis is that for us we must not try to convince people to follow Islam with violence, with fear as the Muslim Brotherhood, but you must first start to do good by yourself, to create a family that will go to fit into a respectable company. This is the pivotal point of the difference between Sufism and Wahhabism, if the Wahhabi organizational pyramid starts from the top (Al Wahab) and goes downwards, that Sufi starts from the bottom, from the whole society that creates its foundations and develops later upward. Now, bearing in mind what I just told you, I'll give you another example. One of the five pillars of Islam is *Hajj*, but if you go to do *Hajj* and your neighbour dies of hunger, then for Allah *Hajj* is not valid and he does not accept it. For *Wahabi* instead *Hajj* is an imposition, it must be done a priori. Everything that revolves around Sufism does not just create a religion, as Sufism is primarily a lifestyle, a philosophy, which says that, to fully know, you must know philosophy and be a philosopher yourself. In this perspective, I can say that Sudan is a Sufi country. [...] now I want to tell you another story told to me by a friend a few days ago: Some time ago here in Shambat there was a woman who sold wine to live and keep her children. Now you know that here you can't sell alcohol because of *Shariah*, but this woman went to ask for help from the *Shaykh* because the business wasn't going well. He listened to her story, took a sheet of paper, wrote words, folded the sheet over itself several times and said to the woman "take this home, don't read it, hide it in a place and forget about it". After doing this, woman's business returned to normal and indeed better than before. A decade later, the woman returned to the *Shaykh* saying that she could not sell wine again. The *Shaykh* then asked her to retrieve the sheet and bring it to him. After burning it, he told her, "Now that your children are grown and have become good men, you no longer need to sell wine to help them." But the important part of this story is that the Wahhabis had directly said "no" to her when she asked for their help. The meaning of this story is that Islamic laws are not meant to be followed to the letter, but they can and must be broken, if necessary, to pursue a higher good. Moreover, they were not created to oppress, but to help people and make the community live in harmony and health. In Sufism it is important to give, but above all to give food to the poor if it is possible. It is not to do charity, we do not like to use this word, because it would mean putting those who receive food in a lower position than those who give it. We must donate without asking anything in return, you must share what God has given you»<sup>37</sup>.

In this excerpt of our conversation on day 15/08/2018 all the basic elements of Sufism previously analysed emerge, albeit with a marked propensity towards the philosophical element: the *Karamas* narrated as examples to follow and stories to inspire the individual

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 15/08/2018.

practitioner, the *Shaykh* seen as a figure of experience capable of guiding you correctly on your journey towards the knowledge of God, the contaminations coming from other religions and cultures that are seen as a source of inspiration but, above all, the clash that is created between the currents emerges doctrinal linked to Wahhabi-style traditionalism<sup>38</sup> with the almost progressive nature of Sufism described to me by *Shaykh* Eltayeb who, through the statements he released, uses not only traditional means such as poetry, literature, subjective physical experience and *Karama*, but also new media like Youtube through the speeches of Hamza Yusuf<sup>39</sup>, through films, documentaries and modern sources of information.

Also through *Shaykh* Eltayeb I had the opportunity to attend the celebrations for the day of *Eid al-Adha* at his *Masjid* located in Khartoum North, district of al-Jerif. The festivities started on the morning of the tenth day of the month of *Dhu l Hijja*, starting with the first morning *salat*, which sees the faithful gathered at the mosque for common prayer. After the prayer, the *Murids* get a vacation period of about ten days in which they can return to their family. During the visit of the *Masjid* of *Shaykh* Eltayeb on the occasion of the day of *Eid* I was able to visit the places dedicated to prayer, hospitality and social space. *Shaykh* Eltayeb proudly describes me his *Masjid* and the structures connected to it: starting from the internal square in front of the mosque, it was built with the structure dedicated to prayer in a decentralized position, to allow the huge square in front of anyone to be exploited, especially from «the children of the neighborhood. When darkness falls, some don't have electricity at home, can't study or risk being in the middle of the street to play. Here they can take advantage of the light of the *Masjid* throughout the night. I thought of this space for the community; The mosque is not the center of the *Masjid*, the community is»<sup>40</sup>. The large square is not the only space made available to the neighbourhood, there is also a cistern that supplies water to *Shaykh* Eltayeb's private home and the houses that surround the *Masjid*, all for free, according to the *Shaykh*. Behind the mosque, separated by a wall, are the rooms dedicated to the *Murids*, a canopy with tables and chairs available to the murids and local homeless, in which to eat meals prepared from the kitchen connected to the shed called *Taquyya*, managed by the women in the community who voluntarily prepare meals. The care of the community is found in various aspects described by the *Shaykh*: First of all, at the beginning of the observation it was possible to observe men separated from women as usual, only that the latter come to find themselves in the shade through disposition of the *Shaykh*, while the men are in the square outside, under the sun; the preparation of meals takes place according to a very precise criterion, in which «the person who eats should be considered. If you are a homeless man who hasn't eaten in days, I can't give you food that is too liquid or too solid, you would feel sick. Then, when you're better, we can feed you all we can. You don't have to worry about how long you will stay with us, you can stay as long as you want and not pay a single pound, even if you are not a Muslim»<sup>41</sup>. The meal that is prepared inside the *Taquyya* is called *Asidah*, described as a tradition of *Qadiriyya* and designed specifically to be offered to local homeless people.

<sup>38</sup> This element has also emerged in the other *Turuq* I visited, but it has never been deepened or emphasized as much as with *Shaykh* Eltayeb, which identifies it as a key element of the identity of the *Tariqa* of the *Qadiriyya* led by *Shaykh* Eltayeb.

<sup>39</sup> American *Shaykh* and scholar, Hamza Yusuf is the co-founder of "Zaituna College", a Muslim university of liberal arts based in Berkeley, California.

<sup>40</sup> Interview 11, *Shaykh* Eltayeb, 21/08/2018, al-Jerif, Khartoum.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 21/08/2018.

Then moving to the area in front of the *Masjid* there is also a hostel that the *Shaykh* makes available to any traveller or homeless who needs it, for as long as it needs.

The organization of the *Masjid* of *Shaykh* Eltayeb resumes in a reduced way that of his reference *Shaykh*, *Shaykh* Eltayib, which is described below.

The *Masjid* is located in the town of Umm Dabban, located on the south-eastern edge of the State of Khartoum. It was founded in the late nineteenth century. A.D. from *Shaykh* Wad Badur, an *Ansar* loyal to the Mahdi, who according to *Shaykh* Eltayeb declares he decides to found Umm Dabban's *Masjid* in order to provide food, create breeding, educate the local people, recall another from outside to repopulate the area and provide water building an artificial lake still in use today. Today, although the structure continues to be identified as "the *Masjid* of *Shaykh* Wad Badur", the head is *Shaykh* Eltayib, a former retired jurist «at the top of the Sudanese judicial system»<sup>42</sup>.

During his retirement, he devoted himself to the care of *Masjid* and his role as *Shaykh*, albeit maintaining a link with his past profession. In fact, he was involved in «directing the defence of the Noura Hussein process directly. He was very fond of the case, she is sixteen, she is still a child! I am sorry to give this image of our country, that of child marriage is not an absolutely common practice. The *Shaykh* was absolutely sure of the sentence in favour of the girl, she was forced into that situation, even if now who knows what psychological trauma she may have suffered. Through the influence of *Shaykh* Eltayib we are trying to get her to get psychological support from the Government. With the arrival of Eid he then decided to give away about three hundred sheep to the poor of Umm Dabban who otherwise could not afford them»<sup>43</sup>.

Asking for explanations on the expenditure faced by the *Shaykh* for the management of the *Masjid* and to buy a similar amount of cattle<sup>44</sup>, *Shaykh* Eltayeb answers me that *Shaykh* Eltayib devolves his salary and his personal savings entirely to *Masjid*.

Once reached the locality of Umm Dabban, we enter the main road that marks the last kilometre towards the *Masjid*; this road is commonly called the "Road of Hope" «because the people who come here from different parts of Sudan to ask for help from the *Shaykh* go along this last stretch of road seeing the Minarets in the distance, feeling strong emotions, with hope in their bodies. I can't even imagine the intensity of the moment»<sup>45</sup>. The exterior of the *Masjid* is surrounded by the residences of the *Murids*, or rows of rooms of 50 mt<sup>2</sup> inside which live a dozen of *Murids* each. The side at the end of the road of hope that leads to the main entrance is reserved for men, while the diametrically opposite side is occupied by women; According to what emerged during an interview with a group of professors from the University of Khartoum met at the

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 21/08/2018.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, 21/08/2018.

<sup>44</sup> Monitoring sheep prices resold in the week before Eid, I was able to see a starting from 500 SDPs per head. This figure has progressively increased on a daily basis with the approaching feast of sacrifice, reaching almost 2000 SDP, making it prohibitively expensive to buy an animal from the population with a low monthly income. According to the data analysed by the U.S. Department of State, The minimum monthly salary for public sector workers is 425 SDP (\$ 53) and it is estimated that 46% of citizens lived below the poverty line of 12 SDPs (\$ 1.50) per day in 2017. Most public sector employees received salaries below the poverty line. BUREAU OF DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND LABOR, 2017 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices Report, April 20, 2018. <https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2017/af/277051.htm>

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 21/08/2018.

*Masjid* of *Shaykh* Eltayib<sup>46</sup>, about 2,000 students from the areas around Khartoum and beyond, with around five hundred of them from Darfur and three hundred coming from South Sudan, would stay inside the *Masjid*. *Shaykh* Eltayeb is keen to specify that these students «are welcomed by the *Shaykh* if they request it, but the *Shaykh* himself tries to have them entrusted to his guardianship especially if they are orphaned children or have been enrolled as child soldiers, thanks to his influence on the Government. He does not limit himself to welcoming only Muslims, but also Christians and has also bought them suitable books to study like everyone else»<sup>47</sup>.

Inside the circle formed by the *Murid*'s residences there is the Mosque, exactly at the entrance, connected to an internal area characterized by a large square with a small masonry canopy in the centre, a sand brazier that serves as a base to raise a bonfire from the ground and the *Shaykh*'s tombs. The square, separated into two areas by a masonry wall, welcomes the believers in two very specific moments of the practice: one part, free from any construction, serves for the practice of *Dhikr*, while the other serves for the moments of study. In fact the brazier, called "fire of the Quran", takes up the tradition of the first *Shaykhs* who exploited the bonfire to study the Quran in the evening, in the absence of lighting; today this tradition is maintained, symbolically lighting the bonfire every day during the evening study which is guaranteed by an electric lighting system. Between the mosque, the aforementioned square and the residences of the *Murids* there is the *Shaykh*'s *Khalwa*, soberly furnished with a bed and a bedside table, with a door that connects the room to a large living room where the members of the *Tariqa* are used to meet together to socialize.

The day inside the *Masjid* is spent between the study of the Quran and the preparation of meals; in the evening, between the fourth and fifth *Salat*, the Quran fire is lit to allow students to gather and report to the *Shaykh* what they have studied. In this task the *Shaykh* is helped by a team of group leaders called *Muggaddam*, who are given twenty *Murids* each. They pass among the students questioning them about the passage of the Quran studied during the day and deliver three dates as a reward if they have learned well what assigned to them, or a sheet of paper if they have studied badly. The students then quickly pass by the *Shaykh* to greet him and to receive his compliments or the indication to what to study for the next day. The fifth prayer of Friday, is spent around the fire to listen to the reading of Sufi poems.

Thus observing the doctrinal particularities proposed by the *Qadiriyya* it is possible to notice a link with many of the previously analysed brotherhoods, albeit with a propensity towards philosophical practice. In fact, it is possible to recognize in the practice observed by the two *Shaykhs* a consideration of the *Kamaras* more accentuated as an instrument of inspiration towards the right practice, as well as an opening to the relations with the community that resides in the vicinity of the *Masjid*. Other brotherhoods previously analysed showed this openness towards the community also understood as aid and sustenance, like the *Masjid* managed by *Shaykh* Mukarra; The *Qadiriyya* instead is not limited exclusively to the link with the material, intended as economic support, as donations especially of food, but tries to propose a link with the spirituality devoted to the knowledge of more sources, to the construction of a general culture that ranges from philosophy to filmography, internal and external to Islamic sciences. Wishing to cite a

<sup>46</sup> Interview 13, Group of professors from Khartoum's University, *Masjid Shaykh* Eltayib, Umm Dabban, 24/08/2018.

<sup>47</sup> Interview 10, *Shaykh* Eltayeb, 15/08/2018, Ozone Bar, Khartoum 2, Khartoum.

statement by *Shaykh* Eltayeb precisely on this subject, with reference to *Shaykh* Mukarra: «Yes, they are very good at what they do, to help the population, to do good, but they do not study, they are not philosophers, a requirement important for being a Sufi»<sup>48</sup>. This element of openness towards a universal knowledge can lead to developing good relationships with practitioners of other religions, even if it risks damaging relationships within the current itself, criticizing those who desist from practicing a doctrine similar to their own.

### 2.3. Madiyya Drisia

The *Tariqa* of the *Madiyya Drisia* represents a black swan in the panorama of the *Turuq* I observed, with only a representation on the Khartoumense territory. The main aspects that distinguish the *Madiyya Drisia* from the other *Turuqs* of the area are: **a)** their extremely organized management of the *Tariqa* **b)** the image of themselves that they want to transmit to the external observers **c)** the relations entertained at international level with more *Turuq* and religious bodies. The headquarters of the *Tariqa* takes place at the private residence of the *Shaykh*, Dr. Muhamad al Asshana, with the outer space dedicated to prayer and the interior reserved for the actual members of the *Tariqa* for all the activities parallel to the practice itself. A separation is first drawn between the *Murid* of the brotherhood, here called *Akhwan*, and the actual confreres. The former are in fact separated from the latter at all times, during study, prayer and even by traditional moments dedicated to socialization in the immediate post-prayer; while the confreres can access the internal rooms to sip tea and discuss among themselves, the *Akhwan* are made to wait outside, composted sitting and dressed all in the same way. In order to fully understand the figure of the *Tariqa*, I believe it is appropriate to transcribe in full the dialogue I carried on with the representatives of the confraternity, moving some extract of it in a later paragraph that speaks about *Dhikr*.

The first aspect that distinguishes *Tariqa* is that it has created a highly hierarchical organization, with the presence of various figures within it, in fact I conducted my interview with the secretary of the *Shaykh* at the head of the *Tariqa* and with the clerk at international relations. The two basically prevented me from having a direct dialogue with the *Shaykh*, thus acting as a filter between me and the *Tariqa*.

At the beginning, I ask to describe the *Tariqa*, the *Shaykh*, all that concerns the life that revolves around the brotherhood.

Secretary: «The *Shaykh* is Dr. Muhamad Al Asshana, our *Tariqa* is based on the idea of making a common group, of helping each other. We call our Murids “Akhwan”, which means Brother. When they ask to join our association no one is rejected, but not all of them are accepted. Many things must be considered, such as the relationship with other members, their seriousness, their faith, their job».

M: «Could you describe to me, during a typical week, the religious practice that are conducted?»

S: «I don't think it's interesting for you! There are many more interesting things to know about our association, why are you interested in this topic?»

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<sup>48</sup> Interview 12, *Shaykh* Eltayeb, 24/08/2018, *Masjid Shaykh* Eltayib, Umm Dabban.

I then explain the purpose of my research without going too much into detail, valuing the anthropological doctrinal aspect of the local community that I would like to analyse.

S: «Listen, it does not seem to me to be very useful for your research to know how we pray, maybe you could talk about how our association has excellent links and relations with religious communities around the world and Catholic communities in Europe, relations that we have with the other offices of our *Tariqa* in the world. You come from Italy, you are a Christian right? Here in my opinion this could already be a better topic for your research! After I will let you talk to that man who will be able to give you more information on this subject, he is our international relations officer» pointing me to another man in the room with whom I would have talked a little later.

S: «Can I ask you about Italy, what job do you do there?»

I: «I am a university student, I still do not have a fixed salary»

S: «Oh, and how did you cover the expenses to come up here? Who financed you?»

I: «No one, I did a part-time job while following lectures to pay for my expenses»

Noticing his distinctly different expression and his attempt to take the reins of the discussion, I decided to change the language used, asking the same questions in different terms;

I: «Your professional relationship manager has the duty to maintain relations with stakeholders or local actors, including the international perspective mentioned above?»

S: «Yes, he represents our association outside the walls of this house, with the *Imams*, with the other *Shaykhs*, with the foreign ambassadors. Formally and practically, he is our ambassador».

Among the details that particularly captured my attention, the most interesting one is the image that the association, as defined by the Secretary, wants to give of itself. Although maintaining a bond with the basis of the Sufi doctrine shared by the other *turuqs*, it actually seeks particular characteristics in its members, not allowing those who are unable to meet the established standards, including the profession they perform, to join the *Tariqa*. In fact, it seems that more than a brotherhood that aims to bring together a group of practitioners in function of a common faith under the guidance of a *Shaykh*, or a doctor in this specific case, it is like an organization that uses the previously described elements to create opportunities for meetings, contacts and useful information among the most selected members of the *Tariqa*. The professional element, which transcends the doctrinal aspect, seems to have set aside the religious nature itself, which sees a practice carried on in a sober way, compared to the others, analysed, as well as a preference of a secular title like that of Doctor Graduate instead of *Shaykh* in reference to the head of the *Tariqa*. Pointing the attention in particular on the profession performed by the individual candidate, or by the external elements that refer to it, affirm the associative dimension of the *Tariqa*, outlining it more as an elitist reality than an interpersonal network that exploits religious practice in order to create the glue needed to bring the group together.

Talking to the previously presented Ambassador of the *Tariqa* by the Secretary of the *Shaykh*, he is basically confirmed as I said before by the secretary, adding a declaration

of participation of the brotherhood abroad and with the highest authorities with which he comes into contact, understood as other Turuq or figures as Ambassadors and representatives of International Organizations. He especially emphasizes their ideological intolerance towards the Wahabites, firmly distancing them and focusing on their own *Tariqa* as open to religious dialogue and, above all, to the excellent social and professional relations they have with Europe. At the time of leaving the room where we held the interviews and in which the members of the association use to meet, I was placed at the end of the group that neatly placed at the exit, led by the doctor and *Shaykh* Seenan, anticipated by the photographer who place in front of the door to take the best shots.

### 3. Sufi spirituality and *Naafs*

“If my servants ask you about me; behold, I am near (Qur. 2: 182).

I am closer to him than his own vein in the neck (Qur. 50:15).

The signs are in the earth and in yourself for those who have true faith. Don’t you see them? (Qur. 51: 20-21). “

The term Sufism (Tasawwuf or Sufiyya as locally pronounced) probably derives from the *suf*, a rough woollen garment that sufi observants used to wear from the moment they begin their journey to divine knowledge. Sufism is identified as a mystical ascetic movement belonging to Sunni Islam, emerged on the scene of Islamic practice as a movement in its own already in the early period of the Abbasid era. What distinguishes the Sufi current from other more or less orthodox expressions of Islam is the search through the idea of paths, of the journey of God’s nature. This research is characterized by a strong subjective element. Fundamental is the divine uniqueness intended not as the presence of one God but as the presence of God in every single thing; Everything that exists, from men to animals, from heaven to plants, is nothing other than a reflection of the existence of God as well as of its uniqueness. All is Allah and Allah is in everything. This consideration of earthly space does not lack a certain pantheistic attribute, criticized since the dawn of the first Sufism to the present day.

Defining Sufism is not a simple thing; The Persian author Gialal al-Din Rumi (1207-1273) in his poem “*Masnawi*” exposes the parable of the elephant that the Hindus decide to take to a dark room to display it but, not being able to see it, they merely imagine its forms through their tactile experience: some touching it on the proboscis say that it resembles a water pipe, others touching a leg that looks like a pillar, some touching the ears give the animal the shape of a folding fan and others still resting their hands on the back give it the exact shape of a throne<sup>49</sup>. The parable carried out by the famous Sufi poet gives us a description of the reality of the Sufi world quite truthfully, specifying that tracing a single universal image shared by all practitioners is almost impossible. As for the Hindus with the elephant, the direct experience of the individual Sufi practitioner and his relationship with the world shapes his knowledge, making its objective nature secondary. Certainly, in the Hindu case, a lantern in the room would be a good way to ensure accurate observation and common perception of the animal. In Sufism we can compare the figure of the lantern to the “master”, to the guide, to the one who was able to observe directly the divine figure present inside and outside the world perceived by all and who is able to guide you towards it: the Shaykh.

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<sup>49</sup> G. D. Rumi, *Masnawi*, 1273.

Bearing in mind therefore the variability of the nature of Sufism, it is necessary to analyse the largely shared doctrinal components, in order to further relate them to the practice observed in the State of Khartoum; first of all the idea of the Path. The term *Tariqa* formally used to indicate the brotherhood to which the single *Shaikh* or *Murid* (the traveller, the pupil of the *Shaykh*) binds in order to reach the knowledge of Reality literally means “path”. Started by a saint who in almost all cases gives the name to the *Tariqa*, it is managed by the descendant of the founder who has the task of handing down his Baraka, or his blessing. This path of esoteric nature can and must be followed in order, through: a) the crossing of actively acquired stages of spiritual purity and b) of emotional states.

The first of them are seven stages of elevation towards the divine figure acquired with time and constancy in actions, called Stages of *Naafs*, and according to the model proposed by Nicholson<sup>50</sup> are:

1) **Repentance**, *Tawbat*. The most important of all, the sinner begins his journey here. Recognizing his sinful past, he decides to start a new life, converting himself to the path towards a better life and towards God. The moment of conversion usually coincides with an experience that cannot be described by the common everyday logic that resides in dreams, visions, hearings or miracles. Conversion, however, is not irreversible, indeed it is possible that a man decided to follow the path towards God once again falls into sin, having to make amends again with the infinite divine mercy. In itself repentance can not only derive from a single direct experience of man, but can also identify an act of grace coming directly from God for man, not therefore as the result of voluntary conversion. Here begins his journey, to be accomplished through the complete reliance on the figure of the *Shaykh*, of the master. 2) **Abstinence**, from sin. 3) **Renunciation** of the earthly world. 4) **Poverty**. 5) **Patience**. 6) **Trust in God**, or a state of complete abandonment to the divine will. 7) **Satisfaction** in knowing the perfect nature of God.

This path has to be facilitated through the guidance of a *Shaykh* (also called *Sheikh*, *Pir*, *Murshid*, Master, etc.) to whom the *Murid* decides to entrust his spiritual maturation. Like the lantern that makes us understand the nature of the elephant or the guide that leads the wayfarer to an unknown terrain, the *Shaykh* is the one who decides whether and possibly which path of divine knowledge the *Murid* can access, all based on his personal religious experience. Since the *Shaykh* has come to occupy the step of Satisfaction, the nature of his teachings, as well as his knowledge, is absolutely unquestionable: every word he speaks is law for his disciples.

Having observed the general spiritual doctrine of Sufism, the concept of *Naafs* is used here to underline doctrinal differences within the *Turuq* of the area of Khartoum.

As described by Karrar<sup>51</sup>, in the Sudanese *Samaniyya* the stages of *Naafs* are three, and are traversed by the *Murid* while performing *Dhikr*: 1) **al-Lawwamah**, the soul reproach the person for committing sins. 2) **al-Mulhamah**, the “inspired soul” guide the *Murid* to righteousness. 3) **al-Mutma’innah**, “The tranquil soul” has penetrated the veil and behaves in total righteousness, surrendering to Allah.

<sup>50</sup> Nicholson R. A., 2016, *Sufismo e Mistica Islamica*, Epub.

<sup>51</sup> Khadiga Karrar, T. 1975, *Aspects of Sufism in the Sudan*, Durham theses, Durham University.

First, we will compare two members of the same *Tariqa*: the Doctor and *Shaykh* al-Bashir of the *Samaniyya* of Bahri, Shambat. One of the main topics they discussed was the representation of the spiritual stages of *Naafs*<sup>52</sup>. It is important to note that the two interviews were conducted in the same place but in two different days, without the relative presence of both of the respondents in each other session<sup>53</sup>. Therefore, there was not the opportunity to create a direct confrontation within them regarding the topic.

According to the version proposed by the *Shaykh*, there are seven stages through which the soul of the believer can move, and they are: 1) ***Allammara***: Lowest stage possible. The behaviour of the person is wrong under any circumstance and is not able to behave in a good way, neither to recognize the evilness of his actions. This happens due to the influence of demons (id est *Jinn*) that controls the subject through mental and/or physical possession. 2) ***Allawama***: While perpetuating the same behaviour, the person is conscious of the actions he is committing. 3) ***Al Mullhima***: In this stage, the behaviour is inspired by the surrounding environment. The believer now starts to behave in a better way and to be inspired by *Karama*. Still, a balance within good and bad actions persist, creating an unstable level of spirituality. 4) ***Al Mutmaheinna***: “comfortable”, or the stage where most believers live. Still characterized by a certain part of bad actions committed, the general behaviour is oriented through good actions. 5) ***Al Ràdiyah***: “Satisfied”, the believer accepts everything that happens to him, without the passive nature of the previous stage. Due to his behaviour, the person living in this stage is rewarded with a sense of satisfaction. 6) ***Al Maediyah***: Similar to the previous stage, but characterized by a bigger sense of satisfaction. 7) ***Al Khàmila***: “Perfection”. Since the behaviour of the Believer is perfect, he feels a sensation similar to «seeing the world through Allah’s eyes»<sup>54</sup>.

These stages can be experienced by anyone, with the *Shaykh* being almost exclusively in the *al Khàmila* stage. During the interview with the Doctor<sup>55</sup>, however, the stages described before have been explained to me in a different way. The stages of *Naafs* are seven, and are: 1) ***Khabatha***: “Wicked”. The person living in this stage is suffering from a curse. *Shaytan* lives inside of him, making him live his own life and feeling his own feelings. 2) ***Allawama***: “Reproach”. Despite the continuous bad behaviour conducted by the person, the subject is conscious of his own actions and reproach himself as a consequence. 3) ***Al Mullhama***: “Inspired”. The believer now is inspired by the surrounding environment and he starts to behave in a better way. 4) ***Al Rhadia***: “Satisfied”. Thanks to the better behaviour perpetrated by the believer, he lives now in a stage of discreet satisfaction. 5) ***Al Mhardiyya***: “Satisfaction of Allah”. Allah is satisfied by the good behaviour of the believer. This is perceived by the believer himself. 6) ***Al Muthmainna***: “In peace and relaxed”. Thanks to the almost perfect actions perpetrated by the believer, he lives almost constantly in a stage of peace and tranquillity. 7) ***Al Khàmila***: “Perfection”. Stage of absolute perfection, unreachable by a human and reserved only to the Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>52</sup> Path of transition of actively acquired stages of spiritual purity. Formally recognized as seven different stages (R. A. Nicholson, *Sufismo e Mistica Islamica*, Epub, 2016) the path will lead to the direct Knowledge of Allah. It is supposed to be acquired through the mediation of an experienced *Shaykh*.

<sup>53</sup> Due mainly to logistic reasons of the respondents.

<sup>54</sup> Interview 2, *Shaykh* al-Bashir, 06/08/2018, Bahri, Shambat, *Masjid Shaykh* al-Bashir.

<sup>55</sup> Interview 5, Doctor of Quranic sciences, 10/08/2018, Bahri, Shambat, *Masjid Shaykh* al-Bashir.

The main difference between the two versions, proposed by two different members of the same *Tariqa* is the level up to which a Believer can push himself to the direct knowledge of Allah. While the stage of *al Khamila* is open for everyone who truly behave in a right way according to *Shaykh* al Bashir, the Doctor thinks that this stage can be reached only by a *Shaykh*. This distinction, that can look superficial, underlines the variegated nature of *Sufi* practice. Forward in this article I will describe other observations collected during visits to other brotherhoods of the region on the topic of doctrine.

Despite some differences regarding the structure of *Naafs*, both the *Shaykh* and the doctor agrees that a fundamental element to progress through the spiritual stages is the *Dhikr*<sup>56</sup>.

A contradiction to the structure of *Naafs* is brought also by the *Tariqa* of *Shaykh* al-Burée. 1) **Allammara**: “Order”, The behaviour of the believer is negative, because it is soul that orders the person to behave in this way. 2) **Allawamah**: “Reproach”, the believer recognize the wrong behaviour in a moment of lucidity and start to reproach himself. 3) **Al mutmainna**: “Relaxed”, a state of transition to positivity, in which one accepts passively everything that happens. Do not enjoy or suffer from anything. 4) **Anaarràdia**: “Accepted”, a stage marked by a great acceptance of the self. Comparable to *Al mutmainna*, but characterized by a slightly greater level of understanding and peace, with an active element that contributes to the acceptance of the self. I am told a story about it by the Teacher: «I know of a *Shaykh* who, while he was giving a lecture on patience and *Anaarràdia* to his *Murids*, was repeatedly stung by a scorpion in the leg. His pupils, having noticed the bleeding leg, warned the master, asking him why he did not suffer, or did nothing. His answer was that he did not perceive the physical suffering inflicted by the insect. Since he was giving a lecture on patience, he was actively giving an example to his students». In this case the *Shaykh* is in a stage of *Anaarràdia*. 5) **Anas al Marrdiyah**: A stage that guarantees a perception of Allah’s fierceness towards him, since the behaviour is that of a good Muslim. The bad actions on your part almost disappear, positive events start to happen more often and above all you can start helping other Muslims. 6) **Anas al Mulhima**: The behaviour is unexceptionable, there is the certainty of being loved by Allah and by people. However, speaking and bragging about one’s presence at this stage to someone would entail the risk of returning to the previous one.

The transition between the spiritual levels takes place progressively, passing from one stage to another exclusively thanks to daily actions and one’s own behaviour, not with the *Dhikr*.

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<sup>56</sup> The local practice of *Dhikr* will be due to his complete heterogenous nature in the local context.

#### 4. Dhikr

The term *Dhikr*, which has the meaning of “mention”, is present in the *Quran* as a necessity to remember God: “Oh you who believe, remember often the Name of Allah (Qur 33-41)” or “Remember therefore of Me and I will remember you, be grateful to Me and do not deny Me (Qur 2: 152) “and also” In truth, hearts are calm at the memory of Allah (Qur 13-28)”. Despite the fact that *Dhikr* is present in the whole Muslim world, *Sufis* attribute to its practice a fundamental importance, as a meditative tool aimed at favouring the abandonment of the self to facilitate the journey towards God, thanks to the total concentration of the soul on the single word aimed at remembering God. Not even being excluded from the variability that characterizes the *Sufi* identity, it changes from region to region, from one economic level to another, even between the various *Turuq*. The *Dhikr* can take various forms, it can be practiced in silence or it can be audible, recited in a low voice or with a strong and even sung voice, maintaining a certain corporeal immobility or being manifested through dance and episodes of self-flagellation, lived in solitude or in groups among the members of the same *Tariqa*. The practice of *Dhikr* is generally additional to the five daily prayers.

I have decided to analyse the *Dhikr* as a tool to compare the various *Turuq* reached by me, given the importance attributed to it and the variability it has in the local area. Observing the practice, it is important to note that there is not a fixed time for all the *Turuq* for the *Dhikr*, since every single *Tariqa* executes it depending on their schedule and doctrine.

According to Karrar, *Dhikr* is executed by the *Samaniyya* in general as an exercise of the single disciple and it “consists of five parts: 1) *al-Istighfar* (asking for forgiveness) 2) *as-Salat ‘ala ‘n-nabi* (calling down blessings upon the Prophet) 3) *Tahlil: La illa illa Allah* (there is no god but God) 4) *Ya Allah* (oh God) 5) *Ya Huwa* (oh He). Each of these parts divides into three sections, major, intermediate and minor according to the aspiration of the disciple. These three sections indicate the number of times he disciple might repeat the formulas of *Dhikr*”<sup>57</sup>.

Starting the analysis of the documentation with the *Tariqa* of *Shaykh* al-Bashir, the practice of *Dhikr* is executed to facilitate the positive transition from one stage of *Naafs* to the other.

According to the declarations of the Doctor of the *Tariqa* led by the *Shaykh* al Bashir:

«*Dhikr* is practiced by every Muslim in the world, but there is not an universal *Dhikr* for everyone. Also, you cannot be always sure that Allah will accept your *Dhikr* except for one, which is: “*Allahumma salli ala saydna Muhamed*” (oh Allah give your blessing and peace to Muhamed). *Dhikr* has to be executed every day before every prayer, but most importantly in the morning. The sunrise is the best moment to ask for Allah’s forgiveness and to have your prayers accepted by him. Usually, the *Dhikr* has to be executed alone, but also in group if someone agrees. To pray, you use the *Sibah*<sup>58</sup>, called also rosary by Christians; it works the same way, and it’s useful to count. Remember that you have to execute the *Dhikr* as fast as you can! The recitation begins with

<sup>57</sup> Khadiga Karrar, T. 1975, *Aspects of Sufism in the Sudan*, Durham theses, Durham University.

<sup>58</sup> Known also as *Tasbeeh*, *Misbaha* or many other names around the Islamic word, it is a chain of beads used to pray in the Muslim world. The number of beads can vary.

*Astaghfirullah* repeated one hundred times, then *Bismillahi al rahamni al Rahim* repeated one hundred times, after *Astaghfir Allah* (asking for forgiveness to Allah) repeated one hundred times, then *Allahumma salli ala saydna Muhamed* repeated one hundred times, after *la illaha illa Allah Muhamed rasoohillah* repeated one hundred times, after *Ya Allah* (oh Allah) repeated one hundred times and *Ya Huwa* (I mean He (Allah) who is calling me) repeated one hundred times. The *Dhikr* has to be closed with *Allahumma salli ala saydna Mohamed* repeated two times. If you recite it with the right cadence it will last almost three minutes»<sup>59</sup>. The *Sibah* used by the member of this *Tariqa* is handcrafted by the member of the brotherhood and contains one hundred beads.

It is possible to observe that there are some similarities in the content with proposed by Karrar but a fundamental difference with the execution of it. While the first one refers to it as a variable scheme that the *Murid* can execute freely upon his willingness, the Doctor's description stands within a fixed number of repetitions, unique for all the members of the *Tariqa*, affiliate or *Murids*, physically manifested in the number of beads that compose the *Sibah* used to count *Dhikr*.

Talking with a *Murid* of the *Tariqa* of *Shaykh* al Bashir, the image proposed of the brotherhood appear less formal<sup>60</sup> and the attention is more focused on the emotional aspect of the practice. The following interview is conducted completely in English. The *Murid* in question tells me to work independently during the day and to spend time at *Masjid* exclusively for the activities concerning the spiritual sphere. During the interview emerges the scheme of daily and weekly practice carried out by the *Tariqa*: every day the five Salat anticipated by the *Dhikr* as described by the Doctor are carried out, on Friday the sura 18 "Al Kahf" is read by the *Shaykh*. The practice of *Dhikr* is not intended here as a special occasion to be reserved for moments of high spirituality as during Friday, but as an integral part of daily practice, comparable to the daily recitation of the Christian rosary. The mystic element is more marked when the *Murid* describes the feelings he has during the practice: «It's not something I can explain, it's bigger than me! While you practice the *Dhikr* you can't feel your body, like if you were completely abandoned to Allah's will»<sup>61</sup>. The Doctor of Quranic sciences describes the feelings in a more sober way, stating that «during the practice of *Dhikr* you feel relaxed and in a status of peace»<sup>62</sup>.

The tendency to the mystical element, although present in all the interviewees of the *Tariqa* of *Shaykh* al-Bashir, seems to be more present in the *murids* than in the men of greater knowledge of the Quranic scriptures. The experience at the *Tariqa* of *Shaykh* al Bashir can be summarized as an observation of a *Tariqa* linked mainly to the common practice and to the study of the Quran while maintaining a certain sobriety in the practice.

This sobriety is not found in the Brotherhood *Shaykh* al Burée, that conduct a *Dhikr* intended not only as a religious moment but also as an occasion of socialization. In this case, he *Dhikr* takes the name of *Annouba* (Great Drum), the traditional Sudanese drums, as the recitation is accompanied by the sound of percussions and the singing of an al

<sup>59</sup> Interview 5, Doctor of Quranic sciences, 10/08/2018, Bahri, Shambat, *Masjid Shaykh* al-Bashir.

<sup>60</sup> Interview 6, *Murid Shaykh* al Bashir, 10/08/2018, Bahri, Shambat, *Masjid Shaykh* al Bashir.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 10/08/2018.

<sup>62</sup> Interview 5, Doctor of Quranic sciences, 10/08/2018, Bahri, Shambat, *Masjid Shaykh* al Bashir.

*Muddah*, a singer hired by the *Tariqa* on the occasion of *Dhikr* with the task of guiding the *Dhikr*, singing the praises to Allah, reciting excerpts from the *Sunna* and poems written by the *Shaykh* and *Sufi* poets. The moment of *Dhikr* is introduced to me as a spiritual moment, but also as an occasion of the highest social importance; in fact, according to the words of the Teacher, it is «a moment of celebration and fun for all of us»<sup>63</sup>. Carried out after the third prayer of the day, it lasts from two to three hours and is performed exclusively by men belonging to the confraternity as it is seen as an expression of masculinity and virility. In the square in front of the Mosque of *Azzariba* men strictly dressed in white *Jellabiyya* form a large perimeter along the entire inner wall, inside the *Shaykh* leads a group of people composed of two *Darvish* who flank him left and right dressed in a green *Jellabiyya* with red profiles, followed by *Muddah* and *Murids*. While they proceed slowly within the circle with an upright posture and open arms, the faithful who make up the circle follow the chant holding a slightly tilted forward position, hands apart and side by side, arms repeating a cyclic movement like a hit the torso at the level of the sternum alternated by rows of men holding hands. In the middle of the group, children who imitate the behaviour of adults walk freely. Women are allowed to recreate the *Dhikr* in a separate location from the male ones, although without receiving the religious benefits deriving from it. Being therefore seen as a religious occasion linked to the social and community sphere, the practice of *Dhikr* on this occasion seems to transcend the exclusive religiosity seen in the previous brotherhood of *Shaykh* al Bashir. All this does not exclude ties with mystical experiences; On the occasion of the *Annouba* it may happen that some practitioners may fall, faint, stagger or feel weak, all because «you are not yet strong enough to endure high levels of spirituality, as you find yourself in a still low *Naafs* stadium. If you are a normal person, you can stand all this»<sup>64</sup>.

Comparing it to the *Dhikr* put in place by the group of elderly *Darvish* of the *Tariqa* of *Shaykh* al-Nil in Omdurman, it's possible to observe some common elements of the prayer that follows a very precise scheme although chaotic at first glance. It starts at dawn time, between the *Salat al-Asr* and the *Salat al-Maghrib*. After the third prayer of the day and while waiting for the beginning of the *Dhikr*, the faithful go to the tombs of the *Shaykhs* to honour their remains, trying to recover some sand considered sacred from inside the sarcophagus closed in a cell of iron bars. The *Dhikr* is put into practice as a tool through which to enter a state of trance aimed at establishing a direct bond between God and man, «the feeling you feel is as if you are flying towards heaven»<sup>65</sup>. The *Dhikr* is initiated by the elders, who at the time of the arrival of the lineage of Hamed al Nil begin to make two turns within the circle that came to form. After two rounds, while the faithful around the circle move as usual, the *Darvish* separate and begin to practice their *Dhikr*. Some rotates, some jumps, some stays still and «absorbs the energy and peace that wafts in the air»<sup>66</sup> or who joins other *Darvish* to continue to turn inside the circle.

Coordination is maintained through the rhythm of drums played by some *Muddahs* accompanying the singing of an elderly *Darvish*; the circle of faithful is composed of young *Darvish* and faithful from various *Turuqs*. According to the statements of *Shaykh*

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 08/08/2018.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, 08/08/2018.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 06/09/2018.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, 06/09/2018.

Sinan, the faithful and *Darvish* present every Friday at the *Dhikr* at the necropolis of Omdurman come from various parts of the world, creating a unique event of its kind and unrelated to certain mechanics typical of other *Turuq* closed to relationships and practices with other Sufis. During the practice I observed, a lot happens even around the perimeter delimited by the faithful. During the acting, a faithful young man involved in the repetitive movement practically identical to the *Tariqa* of *Shaykh* al Burée previously analysed<sup>67</sup>, collapses to the ground, under the eyes of all. No one comes to the aid of the young, as it is believed that he is benefiting from a vision due to *Dhikr*.

At the same time, other *Darvish* pass among the crowd to ask for alms, while some others try their hand at very scenic practices and movements. In particular, two subjects caught my attention: the first is a *Darvish* dressed in a black *Jellabiyya*, who wanders around the necropolis with a large number of *Sibah* covering his head in full, preventing him from seeing what is found of forehead, proving to be in a very pronounced ascetic state, with the gaze lost in the void, the arms that move in coordination with the sound of the *Annouba* and the voice that repeats disconnected phrases from those recited by the singer who guides the *Dhikr* through the loudspeakers; the second strikes me for its clothing, unique among all the *Darvish* present, composed of a *Jellabiyya* of Leopard skin decorated with long thin strips of leather, shell necklaces, small bells and a leather bandolier wrapped around the right arm, the all completed with a wooden rifle painted in green and black.

After the participatory observation, me and *Shaykh* Seenan moved a few hundred meters away from the necropolis to visit the *Tariqa* of *Shaykh* Arwallah based in Bahri, district of Shambat, to observe the salat al Maghrib and the *Dhikr*. The *Tariqa* was founded by *Shaykh* Amadou al Taiba, father of the current *Shaykh* Arwallah. During my brief visit that coincide with the fifth prayer of Friday 08/10/2018, I am introduced to the *Tariqa* by the son of the current *Shaykh*, introduced to me by *Shaykh* Sinan once I reached the places where the *Tariqa* is used to meet.

The practice of *Dhikr* is performed in a decidedly sober manner compared to the previously analysed context. Not only are the names of God remembered, but space is given to stories of the *Shaykhs* at the head of the *Tariqa* and to poems written by the *Shaykh* himself. The element of continuity between this and the other *Turuq* is the presence of the *Muddah*, external singer to the *Tariqa*, who has the task of directing the *Dhikr* flanked by the *Shaykh* seated at his side inside a room used to house the members of the *Tariqa*. The peculiarity of the ceremony is to see its practitioners not sitting on the ground but on normal chairs, dedicated exclusively to listening to the recitation of the *Muddah* performing *Madih*, the set of stories, memories of Allah and recitations of poems written by the master of the brotherhood. All this is supported by the continuous work of a group of waiters dedicated to constantly supplying the faithful gathered in with water and coffee before stopping for the fifth and last prayer of the day. This *Tariqa* shows signs of formality not present in previous *Turuqs*, given the identical white *Jellabiyya* for all, with the exception of the *Muddah* dressed in informal clothes, and the

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<sup>67</sup> In the case of Omdurman's *Darvish*, observable practices vary due to the greater variety of believers. From the joined hands and palms facing the sternum that strike the chest to the rhythm of the *Muddah* drums to people who hold up sticks in their hands by waving them in the air, from those who jump on the spot raising their arms to the sky to those who like *Darvish* engage in a completely subjective practice.

sobriety of the religious experience entwined with a celebration also belonging to a certain social dimension, in which the figure of the *Shaykh* plays the role of pivot.

Moving on the practice of *Dhikr* observed in Umm Dabban at the *Masjid* of *Shaykh* Eltayib of the *Qadiriyya*, it's possible to observe some similarities with the previous *Turuq* observed. Between the third and fourth *Salat*, the *Dhikr* comes to life inside the square enclosed by the mosque and the tombs of the *Shaykhs*. As in other previously analysed examples, the ceremony involves the *Madeh* who have the task of accompanying the ceremony with the sound of the *Annouba*. A circle is drawn in the centre of the square, to mark the area in which the *Madeh* and the participants can take an active part in the prayer, being circumscribed by the faithful who gather on the external perimeter in observation. The internal group follows a counter-clockwise movement forming a line that runs along the radius with increasing speed in sync with the rhythm and volume dictated by the *Madeh*. The topics dealt with do not exclusively concern wanting to remember the name of Allah, but also include examples from the life of the Prophet, poems and stories with a religious background to use as inspiration. Also in this case, the *Dhikr* is performed exclusively by men as it represents an expression of virility, women merely observe from the opposite side of the mosque, a space reserved for male observers, in the vicinity of the *Shaykh* tombs in the company of children who are free to run throughout the yard and even take part in the *Dhikr* itself.

Compared to the Sufi experience in rural Somalia, women tend to be excluded by the practice of *Dhikr* in the area of Khartoum while they represent an important asset in religious Somali practice. For example, women part of the *Qadiriyya* hold a certain level of leadership in religious and social rituals as well, becoming a vehicle of transmission of religious practice from generation to generation or when they move to the husband's village after the marriage, in the case of Gosha women<sup>68</sup>.

The last *Tariqa* that I had the chance to observe during the practice of *Dhikr* was the *Madiyya Drisia*, led by *Shaykh* al-Asshana. It is important to underline the fact that I was only able to speak with the secretary of the *Shaykh* and, in the initial phase of the interview, he was sceptical on answering on my questions regarding religious practice, trying to evade them and speak about the international image of the *Tariqa*. What follows is the only concepts he was willing to share with me regarding the practice of *Dhikr*.

I: «Can the relationships with other associations also admit religious practice in common?»

S: «Of course»

Me: «In this perspective, how does the *Tariqa* behave? Do you adopt a common prayer routine?»

S: «You can pray together, but everyone with their own *Dhikr*»

I: «Can you give me an example of the practice of the *Dhikr*?»

Secretary: «For example, our *Dhikr* which is recited by all members of the association on Fridays even when we are together with other members of other *Turuq*, then Al

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<sup>68</sup> Declich F., 2000, "Sufi experience in rural Somali. A focus on Women" in *Social Anthropology*, 8, 3, European Association of Social Anthropologists.

Asshana<sup>69</sup> creates a personal *Dhikr* for each one of us, according to our needs and on what he says is better for us, to recite alone in the moments of the day indicated by him»

I: «Can you describe your common *Dhikr*?»

S: «We do it between the fourth and the fifth prayer, we read the sura Yasin four times, then we read four times the prayers dictated by Sayyed Ahmad ab Drisia, accompanied by a *Madeh*»<sup>70</sup>.

The soberly performance of the *Dhikr* holds true to the general image of the *Tariqa*, focused on the external image they propose to the community rather than the internal spiritual life of the brotherhood.

The widely shared practice of the use of drums during *Dhikr* practice in Khartoum's state doesn't hold true in other larger Sufi communities of east Africa, like the communities in the southern part of Juba river in Somalia do not integrate any kind of dance performance neither the use of tambourine during *Dhikr*<sup>71</sup>.

## 5. Miracles

Literally translated with "Generosity", *Karama* are events of supernatural kind apparently not understandable by mankind. Typical of Sufi doctrine, *Karama* are usually experienced by *Shaykhs*.

Despite the fact that early *Shaykhs* refused to associate themselves with *Karama*<sup>72</sup>, in the Kitab al-tabaqat it's unquestionable that is common thing for the *Shaykhs* to be considered capable of performing "miracles" as proof of their consequent unquestionable closeness to God<sup>73</sup>: from *Karama* which resume the heavenly journey faced by the prophet to *Karama* that make the *Shaykh* capable of dialoguing with animals and even being able to fly, without the important role they play as healers in case of mental illness. *Karama* therefore have a double purpose in the Sudanese Sufi culture: they are needed by the *Shaykh* to support his authority over the community and by the believers to support their faith<sup>74</sup>.

Among the proposed doctrine there is no lack of *Karama*, introduced to me by the *Shaykh* as «gifts granted by God to those who behave impeccably. The gift of miracles allows you to achieve anything only if you truly believe it»<sup>75</sup>. As mentioned by *Shaykh* al-Bashir, having the opportunity to witness or receive *Karama* is not granted to anyone, but these gifts can be obtained thanks to the good practices of faith and the goodness of one's actions.

Despite a strong feeling of openness shown towards what lies outside the *Ummah*, there are also typical features of the Sufi world such as *Karamas* and the intervention of the *Shaykhs*. According to *Shaykh* Eltayeb «the Sufi philosophy, despite the large numbers

<sup>69</sup> The *Shaykh* of the *Tariqa*.

<sup>70</sup> Interview 7, Secretary *Shaykh* al Asshana, 10/08/2018 *Tariqa* Madiyya Drisia, Khartoum.

<sup>71</sup> Declich F., 2000, "Sufi experience in rural Somali. A focus on Women" in *Social Anthropology*, 8, 3, European Association of Social Anthropologists.

<sup>72</sup> Trimmingham, J. S., 1971, "*The sufi Orders in Islam*" Oxford at the Clarendon Press.

<sup>73</sup> Ibn Dayf Allah, 1753, "*Kitab al Tabaqat*".

<sup>74</sup> M. Mahmoud, "*Sufism and Islamism in the Sudan*", in D. Westerlund e E. E. Rosander, "*African Islam and Islam in Africa*", Londra, Hurst & Company, 1997, 162-190.

<sup>75</sup> Interview 2, *Shaykh* al Bashir, 06/08/2018, Bahri, Shambat, *Masjid Shaykh* al Bashir.

gained in recent years, is not easy to understand and certainly you can never understand it with your own mind, because there are some great mysteries that can never be known»<sup>76</sup>. This declaration actually introduces the predominance of the leader of the confraternity, understood as a guide capable of leading you with conscience into the inexplicable mysteries. I am also introduced to recent *Karama* examples to support the thesis of the relationship between mysticism and Sufism expounded by the *Shaykh*, for example:

«All that is inexplicable, mysterious, is part of Sufism. I can tell you a story, that if you look at it from a rational perspective it won't convince you at all, but I can swear to you that it really happened. A dear friend of mine, the now defunct *Shaykh* Abdall Rahim Jaddall, one evening two years ago went to a town a couple of hours drive from Khartoum. He met a friend of him, a boy who lived there and asked for a favour, to bring a bag with about 20,000 SDPs to his brother in Khartoum on his return. The *Shaykh* Abdall Rahim Jaddall repeatedly refused to do this task, he did not want to take the responsibility of having to carry all that money for such a long journey, but in the end he gave up. Ten minutes after his departure, the boy who sent the money to his brother called the brother to warn him of the courier's arrival within a couple of hours, but he was greeted with the reply "*Shaykh* Abdall Rahim Jaddall has just arrived, he has already handed me the money". Incredulous, the first brother emphasized the impossibility of the thing but, at the insistence of the recipient brother, asked to be able to talk to the *Shaykh* on the phone. To his great surprise, *Shaykh* Jaddall replied that he said he did not know how he had managed to get to Khartoum so quickly, that he could not remember the trip, but that he had succeeded. Even today I can't explain myself this thing, but I can swear to you on what is dearest to me that really happened»<sup>77</sup>. Or again «do you know why sometimes you have the feeling of seeing things that you had already seen in the past? A *deja vu*. This happens because your soul occupies a space much greater than that occupied by the body, even if your body is its prison. It may happen that your soul, being able to temporarily get out of your body, can anticipate your material sensations by living them before you, remembering them and making them notice when you actually experience them»<sup>78</sup>.

## 6. Medicine

The information I am going to provide below comes from three groups of interviews within which 24 informants were heard in addition to the members directly connected to the Sufi brotherhoods. The twenty-four informants have a professional background that ranges from the university-level educational sector to trade, from the medical profession to unemployment, with the presence of university students as well. The choice to interview subjects external to the *Turuqs* was fundamental in order to obtain a perspective external to that conveyed by the masters of the brotherhoods.

The first group interview was held at the "University of Khartoum". On 28/08/2018, I am introduced to the group by the professor of Italian language who holds the chair of Italian Language and Culture, known through the Italian Embassy; the group is composed of 6 professors with an average age of 29 with a 53-year-old informant, two women and four men, coming from the departments of physics, engineering and

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, 15/08/2018.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, 15/08/2018.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, 15/08/2018.

languages; no particular taboos emerge from both women and men when talking about the topic.

The second group interview took place at the headquarters of “CIC-Comboni Italian College” on 29/08/2018, again introduced by the aforementioned Italian language professor who occupies the professorships of Italian for beginners and intermediate students. The group with which I relate was composed of 10 informants, students of level B2, the age ranges from 25 to 45 years. The professional background of the interviewees ranged from the medical sector to the university student, including several professors from the Comboni language center. Within the group there were 2 women and 8 men. In this case, the two women never spoke directly with me, nor did they used the Italian language, the language used for the group interview; The two women spoke very little, always addressing the men of the group and using Arabic as a language, without ever crossing my gaze directly and letting men play the role of mediators.

The third group of interviews held on 30/08/2018 was selected from the staff of volunteer physiotherapists who work at the “OVCI” headquarters – “Voluntary Organism for International Cooperation” in Omdurman which operates in the rehabilitation sector of patients suffering from disabilities in developmental age. The group is composed of a total of 8 female informants, all volunteer physiotherapists, of which 6 are Sudanese and 2 are Italian. The presence of Italian volunteers was fundamental for the conduct of interviews to facilitate dialogue between me and the local staff; Some of the therapists, in fact, despite being professionals in the field, never speak directly to me when they want to bring examples or tell their own testimony, but they often refer to Italian volunteers who then work to refer me to what has been said.

The *Shaykhs* play a fundamental role in organizing the daily life of a believer, constituting for this latter a point of reference not only moral but also economic. The economic power of some *Shaykhs* allows them to help the faithful who decide to turn to them in case of need. Healing practices are not exempt from this sphere of influence.

Henkesh<sup>79</sup> documented the *zar*<sup>80</sup> healing procedure in southern Egypt and central Sudan, giving us an insight on the figure of the *Shaykh* conducting healing sessions: depending on the necessities and the finances of the patience, the procedure can last from one day to be repeated annually up to one week, involving a certain quantity of animals to be sacrificed and professional musicians to hire. Also, contacting spirits and showing supernatural attributes is common for *Shaikh* that old long healing procedures. Particularly rooted in Sudan, Boddy tracks similarities within the practice of *zar-bori* in northern Sudan and *Bori* cult in Nigeria, while recognizing some similar practice to the *Qadiriyya*. These cults involve the presence of a *Jinn* that resides inside the sick person's body and that manifest certain kind of symptoms and causes sufferance to the hosting subject. Eventually, possession trance can occur with the progression and the strengthening of the relation within host and *zar*<sup>81</sup>.

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<sup>79</sup> Henkesh, Y., 2016, *Trance dancing with the Jinn: the ancient art of contacting spirits through ecstatic dance*, Llewellyn Publications.

<sup>80</sup> Moments of contact within the visible human world and the invisible spirit's world, where humans can enter in direct contact with *Jinn*, *Shaytan* or spirits in general that possess a human.

<sup>81</sup> Boddy J., 1989, *Wombs and alien spirits: women, men and the Zar cult in Northern Sudan*, USA, The University of Wisconsin Press.

Retracing the previous doctrinal analysis of the *Shaykhs* in the urban area of Khartoum, I will now describe the relationship they have with medicine and healing practices, as well as their relation with scientific medicine.

All the *Turuq* share common practices regarding the approach to care through the intercession of the religious leader. In the meantime, it is possible to ask the *Shaykh* to pray for oneself in order to cure an illness or for others. All the *Shaykhs* who have been interviewed do not require a form of payment for their services even though it is common to thank them by bringing gifts such as perfumes, food, animals or, in some cases, money; all based on the patient's possibilities. However, in all three group interviews with subjects unrelated to the confraternities, the certainty of *Shaykh's* payment emerges. In fact, above all, the third group of physiotherapists states that the *Shaykhs* are paid regularly for their practices and that they are themselves always in demand for payment.

Among the practices used by the *Shaykh* for the cure prevail those that see the Quran itself as a diagnostic and therapeutic tool for the identification of a disease or a cure, whether temporary or permanent.

Regarding the *Tariqa* of *Shaykh* al-Bashir of Shambat visited on 06/08/2018, the possibility of receiving treatment at the *Masjid* is introduced to me by the *Shaykh* himself. Such care respects a very precise scheme which is described below: a) the *Shaykh* requires the patient to first address the doctor and return to the *Shaykh* only in case of failure to heal. The time the patient has to wait before returning from the *Shaykh* varies according to the extent of the illness, from a minimum of three days to a few weeks. b) after the treatment proposed by the doctor does not seem to have an effect on the patient, the *Shaykh* begins his therapy, diagnosing the type of illness or disease that afflicts the patient and then deciding on the therapy.

For example, the recitation of the Quran is used by *Shaykh* al Bashir to diagnose the type of disease that afflicts the patient; The Quranic surah No. 2 *al Baqara* is read by the patient. If during the recitation the patient feels tired, fatigued, falls asleep or faints, it is confirmed that the patient is not in a perfect state of health. The *Shaykh*, after having diagnosed the type of problem that afflicts the patient, decides the therapeutic plan to use, for example:

- 1) If after reciting the surah *al Baqara* we have the confirmation of having received an evil eye from someone, then we must strive to recite the same surah daily for a prime number of days. However, the cure in question will take effect only if the patient shows that he firmly believes in the solution proposed by the *Shaykh*, placing all his faith in the work of the master. If there is even the slightest doubt on the part of the patient, the treatment may have no effect.
- 2) If you feel you are in a depressive state, sad or strangely exhausted, you must recite the surah n° 12 Yusuf.
- 3) In some cases of physical illness, the *Shaykh* can prescribe such a cure: the *Shaykh* writes certain verses of the Quran about medicine with an ink made of various herbs on a sheet of paper. This sheet is then dipped in a glass of water to make the words dissolve in the water. The patient must therefore drink everything. This method of care was taken as an example by all respondents, except for members of Madiyya Drisia.

It is possible to find the same healing practices even in areas distant from the *Masjid* of *Shaykh* al Bashir, such as at the *Masjid* of *Shaykh* al Burée of Azzariba<sup>82</sup>. Although the practices described to me by the informant I met on 08/08/2017 correspond largely to those observed at all the other *Masjids*, there are differences both in the management of care by the *Shaykh* and in the curative practice itself.

The *Shaykh*'s treatment always begins after the alleged failure of a doctor's prescribed therapy. The *Shaykh* determines the time in which the patient can access his care based on the extent of the illness, asking to wait a minimum of three days up to a few weeks. The failure of scientific medicine therefore entails the beginning of treatment at the leader of the religious brotherhood. This underlines how the disease is not always perceived as an effect of a biological cause that leads the patient to develop symptoms of an illness. The cause of the disease in some cases is attributed to a religious element, especially in cases of mental illness. In fact, mental illness is treated as a form of possession by *Shaytan*, which is therefore expelled from the body and spirit of the possessed through healing practices of a religious nature. The cures that have been described to me as the main ones used by the *Shaykh* are basically two:

- 1) **Al Baqarah**. Favourite method for the treatment of mental illness. Although it is called the second quranic surah, the practice differs considerably from that previously described by *Shaykh* al Bashir which consists in reciting the homonymous surah. On a square sheet of paper, the *Shaykh* writes a series of numbers in the upper right corner and words in the remaining space. The meaning, frequency, order and any other element determining the writing on the sheet depend exclusively on the type of illness and on the discretion of the teacher, unique in understanding its meaning. Once the writing is completed, the sheet must be folded back on itself and set on fire. The smoke is the cause of the discomfort that leaves the patient's body. The practice should be repeated twice a day, in the morning and in the evening, until the cure has taken place.
- 2) **Looh**. The name of the curative practice takes the name of the wooden tablet on which the murids are used to practice in the study and writing of the Quranic texts. The practice consists in writing extracts of the Quran on sheets of paper, which must then be immersed in water to dissolve the ink. The ink is made with the ashes of the wood used to cook a meal for the poor who received hospitality in the *Masjid*. The patient must therefore drink the water with the ink residues. The procedure is repeated twice a day, after the first and third prayer of the day for a number of days depending on the extent of the disease. Like previous practice, writing and Quranic verses are chosen at the discretion of the *Shaykh*.

If the cure chosen by the *Shaykh* does not have the expected effect on the person, it means that *Shaytan* got the better of the patient and his spiritual strength. As also supported by *Shaykh* al Bashir «care only works if one truly believes and only if one has complete trust in Allah»<sup>83</sup>. In case of success of the treatment proposed by the master of the confraternity, the healed thank the *Shaykh* offering gifts based on their possibilities, usually money, goods, animals, perfumes or clothes. According to the declarations of the informant<sup>84</sup>, the *Shaykh* never asks for compensation for treatment,

<sup>82</sup> Interview 4, Arabic language Teacher, 08/08/2018, Amarat, Khartoum.

<sup>83</sup> Interview 2, *Shaykh* al Bashir, 06/08/2018, Bahri, Shambat, *Masjid Shaykh* al Bashir.

<sup>84</sup> Interview 4, Arabic language Teacher, 08/08/2018, Amarat, Khartoum.

but always accepts it. According to the interviewees of the second group on 29/08/2018, all *Shaykhs* on time instead require a fee, refusing to perform therapies.

Mental patients also have limitations in access to religious life and the social sphere of the community. They are kept in special facilities, where women look after them; the family can also access these facilities. People with disabilities are not admitted to practice *Dhikr* because they could be dangerous for those who practice: as they are *Shaytan* carriers, they may not be able to cope with the high spiritual levels that are reached during *Dhikr* and trigger a demon refusal who owns them; this would result in violent actions against other participants<sup>85</sup>.

However, the practices used by the two Samaniyya brotherhoods of *Shaykh* al Bashir and the descendants of *Shaykh* al Burée are so widespread among practitioners in the Khartoum area, but not shared by all the *Shaykhs*. Two examples of this are *Shaykh* Mukarra of Samaniyya and *Shaykh* al Asshana of Madiyya Drisia.

Starting with the second, the transcript of the brief interview on the topic given to the Secretary of *Shaykh* Asshana describes the relationship between the *Tariqa* and medicine:

Me: «As for the social perspective of the Association, how does the *Shaykh* relate to the community that surrounds it? Can you help someone who turns to him in a difficult time?»

Secretary: «The *Shaykh* does not help anyone! It is God who helps people»

M: «I imagine this also applies to the relationship with medicine and disease, am I right?»

S: «Absolutely, we use the scientific method, Dr. al Asshana is a doctor and also a psychiatrist. Some believe in practices like drinking a glass of water with pieces of paper in it or going to a traditional doctor who does massages, but we don't. We turn to doctor al Asshana»<sup>86</sup>.

The brief description of the *Tariqa* of Madia Drisia provided by its spokesperson leaves no room for further doubts on the subject. Since the leader of the brotherhood has achieved academic qualifications in medicine and psychiatry, he directs the members of the brotherhood towards the use of scientific medicine. Recalling also that among the requisites necessary to become a member of *Tariqa* there is a stable working place, it is not surprising that for members of Madia Drisia medical care is more accessible than other *Turuq* members.

Similarly, the *Tariqa* of *Shaykh* Mukarra prefers the scientific method and sees the *Shaykh* as a reference point for the community that has difficulty accessing treatment or buying medicine.

Here are the statements of *Shaykh* Mukarra's son:

«Our *Masjid* is a reference point for the area. When my grandfather arrived here, he gave electricity, running water and even a small hospital to the people of the

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, 08/08/2018

<sup>86</sup> Interview 7, Secretary of *Shaykh* al Asshana, 10/08/2018 *Tariqa* Madiyya Drisia, Khartoum.

neighbourhood. Even the two pharmacies in the area are owned by us, we built them just to help the locals. For example, if a person needs medicine, we can supply it for free. We can help you! See, people often turn to us to solve the problems that afflict them. If you need drugs, money or have a problem with your neighbour, the *Shaykh* can help you, so people trust us so much. They come first to the *Shaykh* because he knows everyone and with his help can help solve the problem. Even with the spouses, the *Shaykh* often helps them economically by giving them presents or paying for the wedding party»

Me: «Medical help also applies to mental illnesses?»

«Yes, my brother, we also support people suffering from mental illnesses. They come to us, the *Shaykh* tries to help them, he prays for them and tries to solve the problem, then he sends them to the doctor when his help doesn't work»<sup>87</sup>.

The approach proposed by *Shaykh* Mukarra with regard to medicine does not depart from the organizational scheme of the other *Turuqs*. He in fact represents the point of contact between the inhabitants of the neighbourhood and access to medical care. The ownership of the only hospital and of the only local pharmacies in addition to the economic availability guarantee the *Shaykh* a prominent position within the company. What separates the *Tariqa* of *Shaykh* Mukarra from the other *Turuqs* is the bond that the leader of the brotherhood creates between scientific medicine and the people who turn to it in search of help. Apparently, traditional healing practices do not seem to be used.

Despite the discretion with which each individual *Shaykh* deals with the theme of the relationship with medicine, it is possible to observe a unique behaviour of the masters of the brotherhoods. The lack of medical personnel and adequate sector funding, social inequality and the poor state of the local economy are filled by the *Shaykh* who is placed at the top of the social organization as a holder of great economic and human power. To summarize the scheme observed at the various *Turuqs* previously analysed, it is possible to identify three common elements that the individual “patient” generally recognizes in approaching the treatments proposed by the *Shaykh*:

- a) The *Shaykh* is recognized as a subject of great influence, capable of providing solutions to both social and economic problems.
- b) Turning to the *Shaykh*, the “patient” obtains a solution. In the case of medicine, the proposed solutions are economic or practical. The first to afford otherwise economically prohibitive treatments, the second to exploit the knowledge of the *Shaykh* and cope with the disease by bypassing the health system directly.
- c) The solution proposed by the *Shaykh* ideologically guarantees a certainty both in terms of solving the problem and in terms of the individual's ability to access it.

The lack of economic availability of the individual patient, the lack of adequate and adequately spread medical facilities and the social pressure that in some cases concerns the person guarantee the identification of the *Shaykh* as a single point of reference within society. In addition to the above, the cause and nature of the “disease” must be considered. Being the cause of the disease, in some cases, identified in elements of a

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<sup>87</sup> Interview 9, Eldest son of *Shaykh* Mukarra, 22/08/2018, al Remela, Khartoum.

supernatural nature, it is therefore necessary to turn to those who have the capacity to deal with these elements<sup>88</sup>.

However, what has been described up to now contains only the perspective told by the official leaders of the Sufi *Turuqs*. The *Shaykhs* interviewed expressed a personal perspective in which traditional pre-Islamic elements or belonging to areas of Islamic theology are not considered<sup>89</sup>. The three group interviews with members unrelated to the confraternities brought out a reality different from that depicted by local religious leaders.

The first common element that emerged from the interviews is the presence of the spiritual entities called *Jinn*.

Their presence in the local culture emerges in all three group interviews, involving in their description all the subjects listened to. Summarizing what emerged from the interviews, the *Jinn* present in the urban area of Khartoum respond to this description:

They are invisible to the eye and share the earthly space with men. They live in communities, especially in isolated places or in urban areas long abandoned, where human presence is little or nothing. The *Jinn* communities are organized according to a family scheme, with parents and children, who build families and descendants. Children usually inherit the characteristics and powers of their parents. The *Jinn* space is forbidden to men, if it invades, parents will try to protect their children, attacking humans and, in most cases, taking control of the person. The possession by a *Jinn* can therefore be a consequence of a human error in invading an earthly space inhabited by supernatural entities. The latter, as a defence mechanism towards the other members of the community, “attack” the invader, taking possession of his spirit.

There are different types of *Jinn*, each with different characteristics and preferences. Below, a list with a series of examples that were brought by the first two groups encountered, on 28/08/2018 and on 29/08/2018.

- *Azar*: “Red Devil”; so called because the person who carries it inside loves and wears the colour red. When the wearer sees this colour, he begins to behave in an unusual way, becoming aggressive or failing to control his own inhibitory brakes, since he fosters the *Azar* in him.

- *Rashak*: “the lover”; *Jinn* who loves women, only comes into contact with them, never with men.

- *Oum Sibià*: “the mother of children”; *Jinn* who decides to get in touch exclusively with beautiful young girls, remaining in a quiescent state and then creating problems during pregnancy, malaise, problems with the unborn child or, in the worst cases, abortion.

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<sup>88</sup> For example, the description of the treatment of mental illnesses by the Shaykh proposed by the informant consulted on 08/08/2018. Shaytan takes possession of the body and spirit of the person, making it necessary for the Shaykh to intervene so that he can drive away the presence that creeps into the patient.

<sup>89</sup> For example, the statements of Shaykh Sinan on 08/05/2018 regarding the absence of traditional pre-Islamic elements, now confined to a single village or the statements of the same on 06/08/2018 which clearly reject cultural contaminations external to Islam.

- *Suc cu bus*: Jinn that takes on female appearance inside the thoughts of the exclusively male bearer, bringing them closer to their position and taking control of them.
- *Abu Lamba*: “Father of light”; Jinn who lives in the desert, during the night begins to emit a beautiful light of his own, forcing travellers or inhabitants of rural areas to follow him in the desert to make them lost.

The invasion of space dedicated to them or randomness is not the only way in which it is possible to get in touch with the Jinn; in fact, there is an earthly bond between men and the Jinn, which comes to life in the figure of the *Faqih*, men capable of dialoguing with the Jinn.

According to Islamic theology, a *Faqih* is a Muslim Sufi ascetic who made the decision to take a vow of poverty, giving up all personal relationships and property. A prevalent figure in the Middle East and South Asia, a *Faqih* must possess only the spiritual need of God. Unlike the *Darvish*, who are devoted to extreme poverty and the renunciation of material goods to achieve divine uniqueness, only the *Faqih* can boast the possession of supernatural and miraculous attributes.

Focusing on the figure of the *Faqih* in the area of sub-Saharan Africa, the contribution given by Bakheit M. Nur Mohammed describes the *Faqih* of the area of Jebel Marra, Darfur, as teachers who, being able to memorize the whole Quran, can help the students entrusted to their schools (*Soom*) in the study of religious writings. The *Faqih* described by Nur Mohammed also takes part in the local administrative life, being consulted in case of need for legal opinions on topics such as marriages, private relationships or division of inheritances. The *Faqih* therefore operates in a school that is part of a structure that also includes the presence of a mosque, accommodation for students, kitchens and living rooms for member’s meetings. This structure is self-sufficient thanks to the commitment of the inhabitants of the district who help the *Faqih* in managing the fields at the service of its *Soom* free of charge<sup>90</sup>.

The figure of the *Faqih* of Jebel Marra described by Nur Mohammed should be directly compared, in my opinion, to the *Shaykh* observed in the territory of Khartoum. The terminology used indicates two opposing figures in the lifestyle and in the relationship with religion, both part of the Sufi current. These figures, however, in the Sudanese local context take different names while covering virtually identical roles. In this regard, I quote an informant interviewed in the group interview of 29/08/2018: «The *Faqih* has many names, the common one for Sudan is “*Ràki*” which means “wise”. In the rest of Sudan it can be called in many different ways, here in the north it is also called *Shaykh*. Many prefer not to be called *Faqih*, they consider it an offensive term». The terminological overlap therefore seems to be used in a conscious manner, recognizing the same figure in the *Faqih*, in the *Shaykh* or in *Ràki*. This result may have been achieved after years of cultural stratification, of interaction between the local culture and the figures proposed by Islamic theology. Bearing in mind also the declarations of *Shaykh* Eltayeb regarding the adaptability of Sufism to obtain consents<sup>91</sup>, it should not surprise any overlapping of the offices of *Faqih* and *Shaykh* carried out by the same

<sup>90</sup> Mohammed, B. M. N., 2017, *The Religious Men in Jebel Marra: The Process of Learning and the Performance of Islamic Rituals and Practices*, LIT Verlag Münster.

<sup>91</sup> Interview 12, *Shaykh* Eltayeb, 24/08/2018, *Masjid Shaykh* Eltayib, Umm Dabban.

party in order to obtain consent, to self-legitimize his own figure or to be able to expand its influence by obtaining additional attributes; In this case, reference is made to the unique relationship he develops with the Jinns.

Thus continuing the profiling of the intermediary between men and Jinns, the first difference that emerges with the *Shaykh* is the possibility for both men and women to fill the role of *Faqih*. The profession, handed down from father to son, guarantees the division by sex of men and women. Once the profession has begun, the *Faqih* inserts the distinctive title in the name<sup>92</sup>.

In addition to being able to counter the *Jinn*, all the interviewees report examples of how the *Faqih* manage to convey these spirits to a specific person. One of the preferred methods for reaching the indicated person is to direct them through strictly personal objects such as clothes, to use hair strands to associate with the name of the victim or, in lack of this, the name of the victim's mother. Another method is to use coffee grounds. Particularly popular for Khartoum are the tea vendors, women who run small outdoor cafes in every corner of the street where it is possible to drink tea, coffee and socialize on the small stools around the furnace of the lady engaged in the preparation of drinks. According to the interviewees, this moment is the right moment in which to be the victim of a Jinn, as it would be conveyed by the *Faqih* through coffee grounds, exploiting them as a bridge. In fact, many of these "walking" cafes use a form of fragrant incense commonly known as *Bakhoor*; the usefulness of incense is to exploit its dense fragrant smoke to keep the Jinn away from their coffee grounds. In order for the *Faqih*'s work to be successful, he needs an element closely linked to the person to be able to cure (or curse), like a lock of hair, a suit already worn or, in case of lack of the latter, ask to know the name of the mother of the person and of the person himself. Success is practically guaranteed after at least two days of the *Faqih*'s work. Payment is not mandatory, but everyone "thanks" the *Faqih* through gifts such as objects, money or animals. All the interviewees state that this practice is also present for all the *Shaykhs*, who are thanked for their services through gifts, even by their own *murids* who are hosted for "free" in the *Masjid*; but that, in fact, would pay the hospitality of the *Shaykh* regularly. The statements of the *Shaykhs* released in the preceding paragraphs thus find a contrast in the perception of the local inhabitants of the state of Khartoum. In fact, while on several occasions those belonging to the *Turuq*'s sphere of direct influence declare that a) *Shaykh*'s help is guaranteed free of charge to anyone who needs it and b) those who receive help thank the *Shaykh* as he can and if he can; the statements made by the participants in the group interviews depict an opposite reality, in which the *Shaykh* is systematically demanding a payment in order to carry out its services.

Access to the cures offered by a *Faqih* depends on many factors, such as the economic availability, proximity to large urban centres, or the social pressure exerted on the individual. However, even in the urban area, it is possible to find examples of patients who prefer to turn to traditional curators rather than doctors. An informant belonging to the group consulted on 20/08/2018 decides to turn to a *Faqih* to treat a pain in the right knee joint, despite its origin from an urban area with different medical facilities available and with sufficient disposable income. He declares: «I had a strong pain in the right leg, at the height of the knee; so, I decided to go to the *Faqih* to be treated. I chose to address him before going to a doctor, because he still manages to cure you and it also costs less

<sup>92</sup> For example, presenting himself as Ahmad Eltayib Faqih.

than a doctor and all the medicines. So, he took an iron rod, heated it on the fire and placed the tip of it on my leg, exactly where I felt pain, to allow the evil that was afflicting me to get out of my body. The *Faqih* said the problem was caused by a Jinn, who had slipped into my knee and had to use hot iron to puncture my skin to get it out. After a couple of days of treatment the pain has passed. Payment is not compulsory after therapy, sometimes this *Faqih* does not even accept it, but I have decided to thank him anyway by giving him something. The most common things that can be used to repay are money, various objects that can be useful for him or animals».

Another interviewee present at the same session adds the following to the previous statement: «The *Faqih* today needs to do business; he lives with these services he offers, so he tries to build his prestige within the community and asks for payments for his services. The *Faqih* finds it very easy to work in areas where scientific medicine has not yet arrived, relying on the faith and culture of the inhabitants, proposing themselves as intermediaries between Allah and man».

However, the figure of the *Faqih* is not the only one to which it is possible to turn to “the alternative” to the doctor or to the *Shaykh*. The interviewees take as an example the *Basir*, a traditional and herbalist doctor who uses techniques and tools for body-manipulation, phytotherapy and medical knowledge prior to the arrival of scientific medicine. As for the *Faqih*, a *Basir* can be both a man and a woman, thus dividing patients by sex. There are three characteristic elements of the *Basir*: a) the explicit lack of connection with the Islamic religious sphere, b) belonging to a family of *Basir* and c) the professionalism of the figure.

Since the religious element is not directly involved, the *Basir* explicitly manifests itself to carry out this practice by profession, requesting timely payment for the therapies and forming its own descendants to take its place. According to the examples given by all three interview groups, the practice of the apprentice *Basir* starts from early adolescence, in which the young curator joins the parent to learn the techniques to be used; the apprentice, before practicing the profession, experiments the techniques on a small domestic animal, usually a chicken or a sheep. Through practice he learns to use the tools of the trade, including herbs, essential oils, sticks, glass cups, knives and hammers; among these, also red-hot iron rods are used, as proposed by the *Faqih*. This element suggests the syncretic nature of the practice which sees the use of the last mentioned instrument; the *Basir*, while remaining officially detached from the religious sphere, uses a practice identical to that proposed by the *Faqih*, for the passage of “good practices” or for simple stratification of the theories, handed down over the years that recognize the presence of the Jinn as the cause of the disease and which are therefore treated accordingly.

Of particular help was the contribution provided by the volunteers of OVCI, who thanks to their professional connection with the topic managed to describe their reality and the difficulties they face in opposing traditional medical practices. It was particularly interesting to be able to observe the relationship between those proposing the treatment of a disease through a method of scientific origin that tends to separate the subject from the social sphere and who, in contrast, attributes to a disease “value and social meaning,

with moral, cultural and religious appurtenances”<sup>93</sup>. In fact, the OVCI therapists confirm what was said by Zempleni, stressing that the cause of the development of a disability in childhood is due to mistakes made by parents, thus receiving God’s punishment through a “non-normal” child. Being the disability originated and imposed by a religious sphere it is perceived as difficult to cure, especially by men; the woman is seen as the only person responsible for the child’s condition, as it is her responsibility to give birth to a healthy child. According to the professional experience of the OVCI therapists, this dichotomy of the family scheme leads to having a father detached from the disability condition of the offspring, a woman morally marked as a risk taker and a third party, not considered in his humanity, represented by the child/daughter, who in all cases does not receive care of any kind, whether of traditional or scientific origin. The consequences of a disability do not remain confined within the parental couple but also influence the able-bodied offspring, especially the daughters born of the same mother who gave birth to a child not in perfect health; all the daughters will be identified as possible carriers of risk, thus risking that they will never be able to marry in marriage. From the statements gathered, there is a tendency not to treat the disability to avoid having to face the social dishonour that it entails. As in other cases in which the disability is treated with the constant presence of a stigma<sup>94</sup>, in the absence of access to any type of care the disabled persons are confined within the domestic walls, kept in an isolated room so as not to make them perceive the presence from the outside, linked to the furniture through the use of chains. Contact with the family is also very limited, if not absent. The moments of meeting with other family members can be reduced at the time of the delivery of the meals or on the occasion of a possible visit by a *Basir*, a *Faqih* or a *Shaykh* to administer a therapy.

The approach of families to the range of treatments proposed depends on various factors: the education of the family unit, their economic availability, the personal motivation to face a disability or the ability to bypass the ideological walls imposed by the social sphere, proving to discern the physical sphere from the religious/moral sphere. However, some families decide to cross the boundary outlined by stigma and traditional medicine to address the scientific method, in this case represented by OVCI. The following statement by an OVCI worker clarifies this last point: «Several families come to us for treatments but, sometimes, some parents come to us simply because they have already tried them all and do not know what to do anymore. In some cases we are then chosen because we do not charge anything, but we are almost never the first on the list to be contacted. Families always turn first to a *Basir* or a *Shaykh*».

With the consent provided by the OVCI staff I report here some testimonies of professional experiences they have faced, inherent to the relationship between traditional medicine and scientific medicine:

- «A patient from a village near here who suffered from a mental illness was first treated by the *Shaykh* who tried to cure him with prayer, after four years he turned to OVCI. Not seeing any improvement over the past few days, he abandoned OVCI and returned to follow the care of the *Shaykh*».

<sup>93</sup> A. Zempleni, *Anciens et nouveaux usages sociaux de la maladie en Afrique*, Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions, 1982.

<sup>94</sup> “Like a Death Sentence” Abuses against Persons with Mental Disabilities in Ghana, *Human Rights Watch*, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2012/10/02/death-sentence/abuses-against-persons-mental-disabilities-ghana> 02/10/2018.

- «A patient from Khartoum with facial paralysis, turns to us for help. According to the patient, the paralysis was due to a slap received from a Jinn. Previously, a treatment attempt was also made at a *Faqih*»
- «We have treated a quadriplegic patient, the parents also bring him to a neurologist for a certain period but, after a while, they leave the doctor to contact the *Faqih*. Currently we know that he is still being treated by the magician».
- «In many cases the parents take the children in care by us even if extremely wary of our work. Most of these after some time abandon OVCI to go to a *Basir*. They can hardly overcome the sphere of distrust towards us».
- «We are treating a child with a neuro- degenerative disease; before contacting us, the parents brought him to a *Basir*. The traditional doctor used the rod technique of red-hot iron, resting it on the back of the patient, from the bottom to the neck, to be repeated more sessions. Such treatment would serve to drive away “the bad” that causes the onset of symptoms».
- «During our professional journey we are come into contact with different practices commonly used by traditional healers: some see the use of vacuum cups on the skin, others use a series of superficial cuts close together or bloodletting to get the Jinn out of the different parts of the body, hammers and sticks for bodily manipulation».

The examples above reveal several key points of particular interest: the first is the perception of scientific medicine as an “alternative” cure. The social sphere and the cultural element seem to be fundamental in deciding the approach of a subject towards any curative practice more than the economic element. In fact, although the treatments offered by OVCI are free for the beneficiaries of the therapies, in most cases the starting point and / or return point of the healing process lies in traditional curators, bringing the dimension of care through the scientific method to cover an exclusively “passing” role. In addition to this, the time devoted to scientific care seems to be no more than a short period of time, lasting a few days, while the trust given to the exponents of local medicine is granted a period of time that reaches even a few years. It is possible to observe how often the pivot on which the therapy rotates is the parental couple, which finds it difficult to accept the disability and which in some cases rejects its existence to the detriment of the conditions of treatment of the disabled, forced to live in degrading situations that can cause a worsening of the person’s psychophysical conditions.

It would be interesting, for the purpose of this work, to be able to identify a dividing line between the *Shaykhs*, the *Faqihs* and the *Basir*, building the profile of the activities in the alternative medical/health field for each individual professional figure encountered in this phase of the analysis. However, this is not possible.

According to what emerged from the group interviews, the observations in the field and the testimonies of the various participants in the research path described up to now, it is not possible for me to exempt myself from outlining a reality in which a level of syncretism has now been reached between the practices of Islamic origin and autochthonous figures such as to make separation between them difficult. Elements of Islamic “Jinnology” are found within the doctrine of traditional doctors, while references to curative practices commonly spread since the pre-Islamic period can be found in the now “corrupt” figure of the *Faqih*. All the main actors try to fill the hole

left by the State Health System, trying to obtain exclusive competence on certain types of practices, now handed down by generations of healers (spiritual and not) that have merged over time, creating a unique model of healing practices.

### 6.1. Common elements

The newly profiled *Turuq* allow us to outline some common traits in the practice and organization of the Sufi brotherhoods operating in the state of Khartoum. First of all, the figure of the *Shaykh* stands out. The guide that leads the *Murid* through the spiritual path towards the knowledge of the divine nature represents in fact not only a reference for its followers but it also identifies itself as the centre of the life of the neighbourhood or of the settlement in which *Masjid* goes to place. The examples of what we have just said are certainly the *Masjid* of *Shaykh* Mukarra of al Remela and the *Masjid* of *Shaykh* Eltayib of Umm Dabban, who through the funds they collect help the individual families in their area to meet the needs that may be required deal with, whether it is buying food, working, accessing treatment and services that are prohibitive in the case of marked poverty or, in the case shared by *Shaykh* Eltayib, in taking care of minors born of an extramarital affair under their own protection or victims of poverty. However, the limits and the requirements outlined by them do not coincide, maintaining the first distances from abandoned minors and offering refuge only to those who are victims of poverty and a practicing Muslim; instead the latter issue statements in which they show an openness to all minors in conditions of necessity, regardless of the conditions of origin. It should be borne in mind, however, that the environment of the two *Masjid* is radically different, starting from the capacity to host the *Murids* inside them with about twenty students at the Al Remela centre and almost a hundred times at the Umm Dabban *Masjid*.

The *Shaykh* is therefore seen as a figure to be trusted, to whom reference should be made not only with regard to religion, going to constitute a figure that turns out to possess great social power. In fact, given its seniority and its uncontested knowledge it becomes the right person to turn to in order to obtain a solution, materially or spiritually. Even after the death of the *Shaykh*, his figure is kept alive with specific commemorations, with daily or weekly visits to his tomb and with the memory of his teachings and practice. It is not possible, therefore, to exclude the practice of the cult of elders by the Sufi people of Khartoum. Typical of the African continent, the figure of the elderly understood as a spiritual, social and juridical guide is respected in various ways and by all the *Turuq*. First of all, the figure of the *Shaykh* emerges, an elder of the confraternity and a scholar consulted in case of need, respected in his knowledge of the world and praised even after death, through the memory of the deeds and the requests of the faithful to be sent directly to Heaven. This aspect is also emphasized by one of the professors of the University of Khartoum with whom I had the opportunity to dialogue on 08/24/2018, which states that «the first *Shaykhs* who arrived here wisely used the traditions of the place to convey people to the practice [...] another element is the figure of the elderly and the story telling in the moments before and after prayer. Sufism has played an important role for the community, it has succeeded in educating the local people, it has civilized them! For example, I'll tell you the story of a city east of Khartoum, before the coming of Islam the city was called "city of tits" for the two mountains that overlooked it. It is not that they decided to call it like that for fun, they were simply uneducated people and that was what for them most resembled the two mountains. Now, thanks to the arrival of Sufism, the city has changed its name and has

been called simply “city of mountains”. Much better, isn’t it? In any case, what Islam has done has been educating the people, without forcing them to change but using elements typical of their culture to lead them to follow the path proposed by Sufism»<sup>95</sup>. The elder of the pre-Islamic communities becomes the *Shaykh* of the brotherhoods which still hold a form of authority over those areas where the government authority fails to be present.

Handing down the position of leader of the brotherhoods from father to son, a continuity is created within the *Tariqa* that leads to enhancing the family element, placing seniority among the merits necessary to fill the roles at the top of the *Turuq*. This figure exploits the element of the “story telling” in order to educate, set the example and correctly route the faithful by taking hold of elements typical of both the local culture and Sufi Islam itself. In itself, this element is not external to the nature of Islam (the *Hadiths* are an example), which together with the previously underlined experience and seniority matured by the *Shaykh* constitute an element of great importance within the practice. In fact, regarding the previous interviews, there are examples of *Kamara* recounted with great confidence by the leaders of the local brotherhoods; the main example is that of the interview held with *Shaykh* Eltayeb on 08/15/2018, having had the opportunity to listen to various examples of a mystic nature, apparently inexplicable, with the aim of obtaining a description of the practical nature and functioning of the Sufi doctrine. The use of life stories of the Prophet, the *Shaykh* or poems is also part of the practice of *Dhikr*, through the singing and accompaniment of *Madeh*, linking to the traditional nature of the teachings handed down orally, a typical element of the African continent. It was also possible to observe how on that occasion non-conventional examples emerged, traditionally external to the theological sphere in itself and attributable to a “mass” and international culture, namely cinema. The examples of films like “Rain man” or documentaries such as the “Wake up project - The divine Book”<sup>96</sup> show how the permeability shown on several occasions by Sufism does not fail to take inspiration from modern sources of information, exploiting in some cases even the social network as in the case of *Shaykh* Mukarra’s *Masjid*; the traditional form of education and entertainment of Sufi poetry is therefore flanked by modern cultural instruments.

Among the other elements that characterize the Sufi practice there are also the *Annouba*, the “great drums” that accompany the practice of *Dhikr* on most occasions. According to what was stated by the university professors with whom I was able to talk on 08/24/2018 at the Masjid of Umm Dabban, «The first *Shaykhs* who arrived here wisely used the traditions of the place to convey people to the practice. Among these practices we find the use of drums today, have you seen *Dhikr* a little while ago? Drums were widespread in this part of Africa among pre-Islamic tribes, as religious elements. Now they continue to be used as an integral part of the practice»<sup>97</sup>. Today, this traditional element constitutes a fundamental part of the practice, resisting the pressures of Sunni “traditionalism” and Wahabi currents, the latter being constantly brought into direct confrontation with Sufi institutions in the Khartoumense state. The exception confirms the previously emphasized permeable profile of Islamic asceticism practiced in the territory of the Sudanese capital. This doctrine is easily linked to pre-Islamic traditions

<sup>95</sup> Interview 13, Group of professors from Khartoum’s University, *Masjid Shaykh* Eltayib, Umm Dabban, 24/08/2018.

<sup>96</sup> Received digitally by Shaykh Sinan’s interpreter at the latter’s suggestion dated 08/08/2018.

<sup>97</sup> Interview 13, Group of professors from Khartoum’s University, *Masjid Shaykh* Eltayib, Umm Dabban, 24/08/2018.

in order to seek consensus within the population, proposing ideologically attractive elements in order to create a religious integration between the before and after.

However, this common trait characterized by trying to adapt to the local dimension expressed by the inhabitants of the area has led to the diversification of the *Turuq*, creating various types of them in order to seek greater consensus. The differences that exist today between them and that sometimes constitute fertile ground for mutual criticism and possible doctrinal conflicts, may not be the result of a randomness, but of a natural consequence of previously planned events. This concept is summarized by *Shaykh* Eltayeb below: «Basically, there are two types of *Turuq*, a *Tariqa* with a hierarchy, well organized, with a dress code for all members, with well-defined tasks and a less organized *Tariqa*, with a certain freedom to manage the confreres, clothing and roles. This difference is not accidental, but serves to involve as many people as possible. Some like order and discipline, others a little more freedom. In this way it is possible to potentially involve the majority of the faithful»<sup>98</sup>. These discrepancies, differences of thought, goals or interpretation lead to try to enhance the practice promoted by the *Turuq* of belonging by the individual practitioner, maintaining more or less peaceful relations with the neighbouring brotherhoods. For example, continuing the statement just quoted and resuming the interview on 08/15/2018 in which the *Shaykh* states that «some truly believe in Sufism as a lifestyle, others use Sufism for their own purposes and all this sad because you are acting selfish, do not help those around you but only yourself»<sup>99</sup>. On 24/08/2018 this concept is taken up by *Shaykh* Eltayeb, during a discussion on the other *Turuq* we visited: «Remember when I told you that some faithful tend to use Sufism? Here, I was referring to *Shaykh* Seenan. He uses Sufism to get to know as many people as possible, to build a social network; not to help but for his personal interest. Be careful with him, he collaborates with the Government and he is one who is paid to write reports on the people he knows. I mean, don't worry, if you go out with him and he's your friend, nothing happens to you»<sup>100</sup>. A few days after these statements I was contacted by *Shaykh* Seenan, who proceeded to cancel the commitments undertaken together because he became aware of contacts with other practitioners, outside his sphere of knowledge or with whom, perhaps, he does not have a good relationship, given the previous statements of *Shaykh* Eltayeb.

Another element common to all the *Turuq* and, more generally, to all the community of Khartoum's state, is the importance given to socialization. As far as the religious sphere is concerned, all the occasions that involve an interaction between the faithful take place in special spaces, that is the common rooms built inside the *Masjid*. These spaces are furnished with armchairs, sofas or chairs placed along the profile of the room and facing inwards, so as to give the possibility to those present to communicate easily, while shared meals are traditionally served accompanied by tea, coffee or infusion of karkadè. During my observation, it was possible to notice that in these spaces we only notice the presence of men, while women are busy preparing meals. During Friday prayers it is possible to watch these socializing moments in temporary tents erected along roadsides. Even private homes, especially those in the historic center of Omdurman, are not exempt from the enhancement of the social sphere: more than one family unit lives in a house built according to the traditional scheme, the spaces are divided among the common

<sup>98</sup> Interview 12, *Shaykh* Eltayeb, 24/08/2018, *Masjid Shaykh* Eltayib, Umm Dabban.

<sup>99</sup> Interview 12, *Shaykh* Eltayeb, 24/08/2018, *Masjid Shaykh* Eltayib, Umm Dabban.

<sup>100</sup> Interview 12, *Shaykh* Eltayeb, 24/08/2018, *Masjid Shaykh* Eltayib, Umm Dabban.

ones, dedicated to daily activities such as the dining room, the kitchen and the internal courtyard in which to pray and the private spaces, which are the responsibility of each single family. All activities related to daily spaces are carried out in common.

In daily life activities it is also possible to witness contradictory episodes with religious doctrine, commonly put into practice also by members of the brotherhoods and by the *Shaykhs* themselves. A clear example is the consumption of *Sharbot*, also known as *Araqi*, or a traditional distillate obtained from the fermentation of Dates, yeast and sugar<sup>101</sup>. Although the law provides for flogging for consumption, transport, possession, sale, purchase or distillation of alcohol<sup>102</sup>, the consumption of high-alcohol drinks is socially granted if linked to tradition. During the day of Eid for example, having spent it with *Shaykh* Eltayeb at his home, it was possible for me to take part in the celebrations and at the end of the traditional lunch based on sacrificed sheep, *Sharbot* was prepared by the *Shaykh's* wife, consumed in pinte and also accompanied by Marisa, a fermented millet-based alcoholic beverage. An interesting detail about it emerges during the post lunch time, while i talk with the *Shaykh* and his family, sitting in the living room; I am asked by the family of the *Shaykh* to describe Italy and the region where I attend university when, while describing the winery of "Collio", the brother-in-law of the *Shaykh* comments «must be a beautiful place, but if we should ever visit it, we could never drink alcohol, we are Muslims»; so the question naturally arises, «How come you drink *Sharbot* then? Isn't it considered an alcoholic drink?» receiving as an answer, always from the brother-in-law «The *Sharbot*? No, this is not alcohol, it is called date wine but it is simply date juice, with a little sugar» while sipping the *Sharbot* served to all the guests. The transgression of the rules in this case does not seem to be perceived as a real violation. The traditional element is therefore strong enough to override the *Sharia* and the dictates of Islamic culture, since the perception of the drink as a simple "date juice" in itself does not meet the limits imposed by the Quranic culture and law. Also, Al-Shibli refers to an episode where the prophet uses date wine to wash himself before the prayer calling it «good fruit mixed with pure water»<sup>103</sup>.

In the analysis elaborated so far, features commonly shared by all the local confraternities emerge, both regarding the doctrine and the putting into practice of the teachings and directives of the *Shaykh*. All the *Turuqs* try to detach themselves firmly from the practitioners of the Wahabi current, introducing the topic almost spontaneously within the interviews. The perception of the theme that emerges in this case is of a form of prejudice on the part of the representatives of the brotherhoods which, having to relate to a European and being such representatives aware of the media coverage that radical movements have achieved in recent years, tend to anticipate the thinking of the interlocutor. Therefore, it becomes fundamental for them to underline to an external observer the detachment they want to take from the Wahabi, both for the ideological differences that separate the Sufis from the followers of Al Wahhab, and for the image they want to give to the eyes of the foreign interlocutor.

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<sup>101</sup> The border line within a fizzy drink and a strong alcoholic drink is thin, and usually depends from how much time is dedicated to the drink to sit to ferment. Although, the public opinion is split between who refuse to considerate it as an alcoholic beverage in any case and who considers and accepts that it could contain a certain percentage of alcohol.

<sup>102</sup> C. Fluehr-Lobban, *Islamic Law and Society in the Sudan*, Routledge Library Edition- *Islam*, volume 13, Routledge, 2013, pg 281.

<sup>103</sup> Al-Shibli B. D., *Akam al-murjan fi ahkam al-jjan*, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiya.

## Conclusions

The elements collected during this period of observation are a tile in the mosaic that is the Sufi practice in the State of Khartoum. Despite continuing my research process for materials to add to the topic hereby presented, some conclusions can be drafted.

Sufism practiced within the state of Khartoum is deeply inserted into the local culture. Taking up the quote from *Shaykh* Eltayeb, he declares: «There are *Turuq* of two types, more or less organized [...] which thus manage to involve the greatest number of possible faithful»<sup>104</sup>. If one wanted to compare the local religious scene to a tree, the roots would certainly be represented by Sufi Islam, to then reach the trunk represented by the figure of the *Shaykh* from which the *Turuq*, the branches, appears each with its own dimension, with a own appearance and with features that make it unique from the others. The uniqueness allows to be able to find the faithful Sufi in every single member of society, who decides to turn to the *Tariqa* who best meets his requirements or his vision of the practice. Society is shaped by religious practice; it exploits the community aspect of the proposed doctrine to create social ties between Khartoum's citizens, and exploits the "universal" figure of the *Shaykh* to face the deficiencies of the political and administrative sphere to which the citizens must face, finding in the masters of the *Turuq* a guide not only religious, but competent in all aspects of daily life.

Even if connected by the same roots, the single *Shaykh* decide to keep the relations that they prefer with the rest of the community, using tools as doctrine, economic power, background of the affiliates, social connections and also the use of both traditional or scientific medicine techniques in order to legitimise more the figure of the single *Shaykh*. Khartoum's inhabitants have with medicine, understood more as a comparison with the spiritual forces that inhabit the region and not as a method of contrasting physical symptoms. Poverty, culture and religious doctrine constitute fertile ground for the authority of the *Shaykh*, the *Faqih* or *Basir*, three ideologically different figures who find themselves synchronously united in a single cultural paradigm, stratified by centuries of teachings, beliefs and practices that represent today the unique dimension of Khartoum's Sufism.

Analysing the doctrine, the main point that emerged from the interviews was the level of openness with what is external to the *Tariqa*: some of the *Shaykh* open the practice to the past and the present, recognizing the influences that the local form of Sufism faced during time and use new sources of information and communication to expand their doctrine, practicing the African Islam discussed at the beginning of the document; others, rely more on an imposition of a "right way" of practicing Sufism, inserting elements of a more orthodox Islam in the Sufi doctrine, limiting the ascetism episodes or completely denying part of them.

The two main *Shaykh* interviewed by me during this month are a clear example of this dichotomy, namely *Shaykh* Eltayeb of the *Qadiriyya* and *Shaykh* Seenan of the

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<sup>104</sup> Interview 12, *Shaykh* Eltayeb, 24/08/2018, *Masjid Shaykh* Eltayib, Umm Dabban.

*Samaniyya*. Episodes of doctrinal clashes emerged many times during the period of observation, both<sup>105</sup> direct and indirect<sup>106</sup>.

Another aspect that manages to both unify and split all of the *Turuq* is the practice of *Dhikr*. According to the interviews, the observations and the declarations of all the religious subject reached, despite all sharing the same final purpose, reaching a closer knowledge of Allah, the *Dhikr* practiced in all the *Turuq* had points of difference from the rest. From *Turuq* practicing a more contained form of prayer<sup>107</sup> to those manifesting various examples of kinetic trance, involving also elements like history and poems of the *Shaykh*.

The conclusion drafted by this period of observation is that, based on the elements collected, the common components of Sufi doctrine shared by all the *Turuq* are also inserted in a paradigm where a syncretism of features makes almost impossible to find a *Tariqa* equal to the other in the urban area of Khartoum.

### Interview list

Interview 1, *Shaykh* Seenan, 05/08/2018, Ozone bar, Khartoum 2, Khartoum.

Interview 2, *Shaykh* al Bashir, 06/08/2018, Bahri, Shambat, *Masjid Shaykh* al Bashir.

Interview 3, *Murid* accompanying Seenan, 06/08/2018, Bahri, Shambat, *Masjid Shaykh* al Bashir.

Interview 4, Arabic language Teacher, 08/08/2018, Amarat, Khartoum.

Interview 5, Doctor of Quranic sciences, 10/08/2018, Bahri, Shambat, *Masjid Shaykh* al Bashir.

Interview 6, *Murid Shaykh* al Bashir, 10/08/2018, Bahri, Shambat, *Masjid Shaykh* al Bashir.

Interview 7, Secretary of *Shaykh* al Asshana, 10/08/2018 *Tariqa* Madiyya Drisia, Khartoum.

Interview 8, *Shaykh* Mukarra, 22/08/2018, al Remela, Khartoum.

Interview 9, Eldest son of *Shaykh* Mukarra, 22/08/2018, al Remela, Khartoum.

Interview 10, *Shaykh* Eltayeb, 15/08/2018, Ozone Bar, Khartoum 2, Khartoum.

Interview 11, *Shaykh* Eltayeb, 21/08/2018, al-Jerif, Khartoum.

Interview 12, *Shaykh* Eltayeb, 24/08/2018, *Masjid Shaykh* Eltayib, Umm Dabban.

Interview 13, Group of professors from Khartoum's University, *Masjid Shaykh* Eltayib, Umm Dabban, 24/08/2018.

Telephone interview 1, member *Tariqa Shaykh* al Nil, 06/09/2018, Omdurman.

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<sup>105</sup> Interview 12, *Shaykh* Eltayeb, 24/08/2018, *Masjid Shaykh* Eltayib, Umm Dabban.

<sup>106</sup> Interview 1, *Shaykh* Seenan, 05/08/2018, Ozone bar, Khartoum 2, Khartoum.

<sup>107</sup> Interview 5, Doctor of Quranic sciences, 10/08/2018, Bahri, Shambat, *Masjid Shaykh* al Bashir.

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*1. Darvish in Omdurman's cemetery*



*2. Darvish coordinating the Dhikr, Omdurman*



*3. Darvish in Omdurman, note the Jellabyia patched with pieces of cloth*



4. Darvish with similarities to the Leopard Skin chief. To the right, the same Darvish is carrying his wooden rifle.



5. Darvish in Omdurman and circle of observers during the Dhikr



*6. Darvish in an ascetic state during the Dhikr, Omdurman*



*7. Believer passed out during the practice of Dhikr*



*8. Kitchen of the Masjid of Shaykh Eltayeb, with the woman that is preparing food for the community during the day of Eid*



9. Mosque of Shaykh Eltayeb, Khartoum



10. Mosque of Umm Dabban



11. Masjid of Shaykh Eltayeb as seen from the "Road of Hope", Umm Dabban



*12. The cellars where the Murids of the Shaykh Eltayib live, Umm Dabban*

*13. The cellars where the Murids of the Shaykh Eltayib live, Umm Dabban*





*14. Main square inside the Masjid, with the tomb of the previous Shaykh, Umm Dabban*

*15. Same square as in fig. 14.  
After the Dhikr, the fire of the Quran is lit and the Murids gathers to be evaluated by the Shaykh, Umm Dabban*





16. Observant waiting for the Dhikr to start, Umm Dabban



17. Muddah starting the Dhikr and observants in the external circle reciting, Umm Dabban.



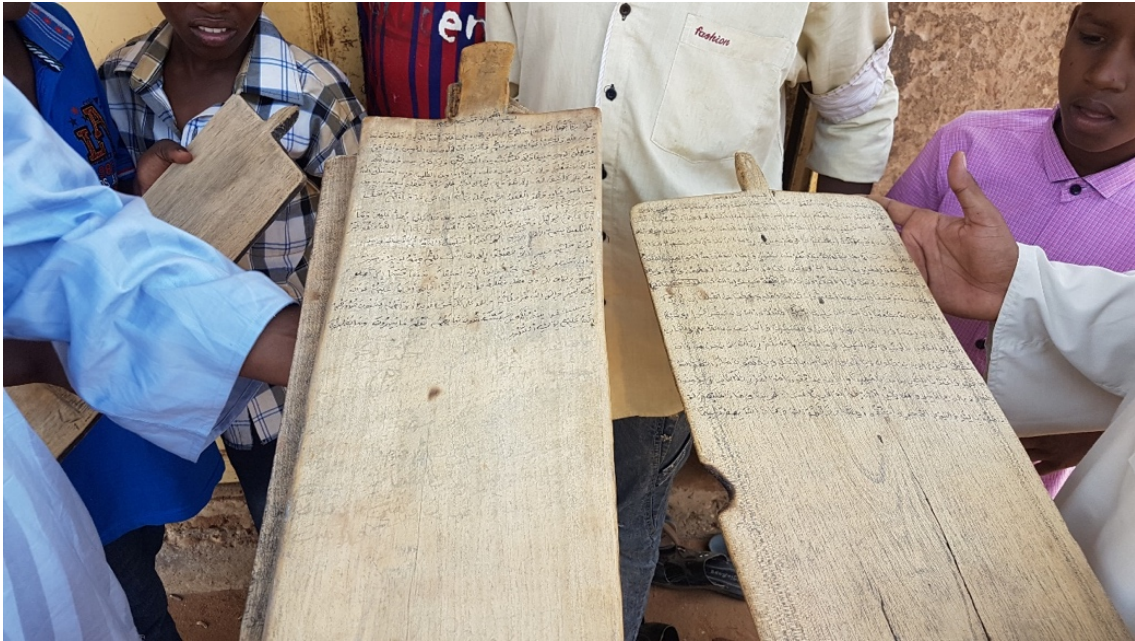
18. Dikhr at the final stages, with a mix of Muddah and observants circling together, Umm Dabban, Masjid of Shaykh Eltayib



*19. Dhikr performed at the Masjid of Shaykh Arwallah (third from the right) with the Muddah on his right, Khartoum*

*20. Descendant of Shaykh al Nil (dressed in green) in his cellar, with his wives and other women, Omdurman*





*21. Murids of Shaykh Mukarra showing the tablets (Looh) that are used during the studies, Al Remela, Khartoum.*



*22. Results of the treatments of a Basir on a child with a neurodegenerative illness, Omdurman*

## SOMMARIO

Rosanders e Westerlund<sup>108</sup> si riferiscono al sufismo (Tasawwuf) come “Islam africano”, contestualizzando la grande diffusione della pratica sufi nell'Africa sub-sahariana e sottolineando un punto importante: nonostante si riferiscano alla stessa struttura generica, elementi diversi costituiscono la natura locale di una Comunità sufi. In effetti, è possibile osservare che il sufismo ha una forte presenza nel continente africano, dagli esempi di fratellanze sufi in Mali descritte da Amadou Hampatè Ba<sup>109</sup> alla descrizione del sufismo in Somalia di Francesca Declich<sup>110</sup> tra gli altri. Affiancato dalle pressioni più ortodosse provenienti dalla penisola araba e dall'integrazione della sua pratica con le strutture sociali già presenti nell'Africa subsahariana, il sufismo di oggi nel continente africano non mostra affatto un'identità monolitica.

Dal XVI secolo, le continue e lente penetrazioni dei mercanti arabi nei regni di Alodia portarono alla caduta dei regni cristiani. Soprattutto il sufismo è riuscito a guadagnare quasi la totalità della popolazione, grazie alla sua natura permeabile e all'uso fatto dagli musulmani Ulema per adattare meglio l'Islam alle popolazioni locali, ancora legato alla tradizionale natura religiosa della regione. Dopo la penetrazione della dottrina wahabita nell'area e il recente sviluppo politico del paese, sembra difficile riconoscere la presenza di una componente tradizionale o animista nell'Islam sufi di oggi.

Lo scopo di questo articolo è quello di definire e trasmettere al lettore gli aspetti dell'odierna identità islamica della popolazione sudanese, con particolare attenzione alla regione di Khartoum, di analizzare il ruolo del maestro della confraternita in 9 diverse *Turuq* in un contesto urbano e come questo influenza la vita quotidiana dei cittadini della zona. I materiali qui presentati sono stati raccolti per la mia tesi di laurea magistrale in Diplomazia e cooperazione internazionale, con il titolo “Il Sufismo in Sudan. Religione, società, tradizioni e pratiche curative nello Stato di Khartoum”<sup>111</sup> a seguito di un'osservazione sul campo condotta dal 1° agosto 2018 al 31 dello stesso mese. Durante questo periodo, sono stato in grado di condurre una sessione di ricerca sul campo nello stato di Khartoum e di incontrare i leader religiosi locali sudanesi, gli abitanti dell'area formalmente non legati dalla sfera religiosa e i membri delle ONG europee e sudanesi, che lavorano nel settore sanitario. Le interviste raccolte verranno analizzate in maniera incrociata nel corso del teso per evidenziare le eventuali differenze o punti in comune tra i vari intervistati.

Ho anche deciso di integrare all'interno dell'articolo la relazione tra l'area religiosa e la medicina per alcuni motivi: a causa di un interesse personale, avendo lavorato in una struttura sanitaria volta a fornire terapie ai disabili, avendo studiato la relazione tra pratiche curative tradizionali africane e Islam durante il corso dei miei studi magistrali e avendo notato la discrepanza nelle dichiarazioni dei vari Shaykh e quelli degli abitanti locali non direttamente legati alla sfera di influenza delle *Turuq* riguardo al rapporto con la medicina e lo Shaykh.

<sup>108</sup> Westerlund D. e Rosander E. E., 1997 “*African Islam and Islam in Africa*”, London, Hurst & Company.

<sup>109</sup> Ba A. H., 2008, “*A spirit of tolerance. The inspiring life of Tierno Bokar*” USA, World Wisdom Books, e anche Ba A. H., 1991, “*Amkoullel, l'enfant peul. Mémoires*” Paris, Actes Sud.

<sup>110</sup> Declich F., 2000, “Sufi experience in rural Somali. A focus on Women” in *Social Anthropology*, 8, 3, European Association of Social Anthropologists.

<sup>111</sup> Discussa nel Dicembre 2018 presso l'Università degli Studi di Trieste, Laurea magistrale in Diplomazia e Cooperazione allo Sviluppo.



# **A Shift from Pastoralism to Sedentary Agriculture in *Apollo* and *Felket* Areas of Eritrea: Impacts on Livelihood and Ecology**

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## **ABSTRACT**

In Eritrea, the shift to sedentary livelihood by the nomadic population has increased dramatically over the last few decades as a result of economic, political, demographic, and environmental changes. A strategic shift to more diversified livelihoods in the form of farming, petty-trade, and wage labor has been intensified due to the declining pastoral economy. This study identified environmental constraints as the main “push” factors causing many people to abandon the traditional pastoral economy, while the provision of social amenities (education, health), and pure drinking water were the “pull” factors attracting people to villages and small towns (sedentary life). The main purpose of this research paper is to provide a fresh outlook at the human and ecological circumstances that trigger the transition from pastoralism to sedentarism in *Apollo* and *Felket* areas of Eritrea. Using data gathered mainly through household questionnaire survey and focus group discussion, the paper also aims to investigate whether the changes to sedentary agriculture has led to a successful local economy. Results from this empirical research revealed that the great majority of the settled communities in the study sites get fairly adequate social services and that almost all household heads have no plan on returning to the nomadic way of life. It is anticipated the output from this study will contribute to a better understanding of traditional and changing pastoral systems in Eritrea.

Keywords: *Eritrea, pastoralism, sedentarization*

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## **INTRODUCTION**

The literature on the traditional pastoral livelihood is rich enough to accommodate various models that explain the herders’ strategies in the face of unpredictable environment (Ellis 1993). These models are capable of providing a rational explanation to the internal dynamics of pastoralism with profound implications for development interventions. Two of the widely referenced models are the risk-averse model and high reliability theory. The risk-averse model views pastoralism as an adaptation to environmental stress caused by variability in rainfall. The herders try to avoid hazards (e.g. drought) through moving their livestock to locations of grass and water or minimize the magnitude of hazard by spreading the herd across a large geographical space. The herders therefore escape the worst effects of ecological degradation by searching for a better area. The assumption that pastoralism is a risk-averse adaptation to a highly variable environment was unchallenged for several decades (Galaty 1990). A new approach has been devised, however, as a result of the

disappointing performance of many development projects (Swallow 1989). The new model that explains the pastoralists' behavior is found in High Reliability Theory. In this model, unlike in the risk-averse approach, hazards cannot be avoided; instead they must be accepted and managed because what the risk-averse model treats as external to pastoralism the High Reliability Theory considers internal.

The change from pastoralism to sedentary lifestyle has led to opposing views on whether pastoralists should be sedentarized or not. Proponents of resettlement programmes argue that pastoralists should abandon nomadic way of life both in response to 'pushes' away from the pastoral economy and to 'pulls' of urban or agricultural life. For example, in a more arid and sparsely populated southern Ethiopia, many pastoral families have settled in response to drought and violence of cattle raiding (Ellis and Swift 1988). Similarly, Rendille pastoralists of Kenya shifted to sedentary life due to increased marketing benefits particularly to women selling agricultural products and easy access to social services including education to children (Salzman 1982; Smith 1992). In contrast, there are study findings that refer to the negative consequences of sedentarization some of which, point to the problems of impoverishment and destitution for pastoralists who settle (Hogg 1986; Little 1985). There are also reports on poor nutrition and higher rates of certain infectious diseases despite better access of settled population to formal education and health care (Fratkin et al 1999). Moreover, the study on the effect of settlement on children's nutrition and health revealed large differences in the growth pattern and morbidity of nomadic versus settlers' children. In particular, age-specific height and weight measurements for the pastoral community are significantly higher than same aged measurements of children from the settled villages. Furthermore, women and especially pregnant women showed higher levels of malnutrition in the settled communities.

In Eritrea, the shift to sedentary livelihood by the nomadic population has increased dramatically over the last few decades due to human and natural circumstances. Many formerly pastoral families have settled in or near towns and pursue alternate economic strategies, including crop cultivation, agro-pastoralism, and urban wage labor. Prolonged droughts, population growth, and expanding commercial agriculture have all restricted the ability of pastoralists to keep moving. In 2003, the Pastoral Environment Network in Horn of Africa (PENHA) conducted a baseline survey in Eritrea with the aim of identifying development opportunities for the pastoral communities. The study focussed on the provision of education and health services to the nomadic children. It also examined development intervention such as the supply of pure drinking water to the pastoral communities and how this had impacted livelihood patterns. In 2006, the Ministry of Agriculture (MoA), initiated a similar survey in the Western Lowlands of Eritrea with the aim of assessing the problem of ecological degradation resulting from pastoral sedentarization. The attempt was to examine how settled communities might have caused land degradation as a result of high population densities particularly at those sites where water points are located. The preliminary findings from these surveys clearly showed the importance of conducting extensive research on the key impacts of sedentary life on human welfare and the natural environment.

**Objectives of the study:** The main goal of this study is to investigate whether sedentary lifestyle has been effective as a strategic shift to a better and more diversified livelihood system. The study specifically addresses the following objectives:

First, it aims to examine, from the perspective of settled communities, the extent to which the provision of social amenities (education, health) and pure drinking water impacted livelihood systems.

Second, it aims to provide baseline information on selected parameters such as rainfed and irrigated farming, grazing land, livestock possession, income levels, female headed households, and changing ecology.

Third, it presents comparative perspectives whether or not agricultural economy gave settlers greater economic autonomy than their pastoral counterparts.

Fourth, it presents an addition to the scant picture of sedentary agro-pastoral communities available in Eritrea that can be used for academic institutions, government organizations and development partners.

Finally, the project forwards issues for recommendation if the present process of sedentarization could be taken as a model of improved livelihood for pastoralists in Eritrea.

**Methodology of the study:** The methodology used for this study included the following.

a) A structured household questionnaire that consisted both open-ended and close-ended questions was prepared and administered with a sample size of 120 households for both study sites. The survey covered major themes including: household demography, labor supply, dietary composition, farm resources, livestock marketing, and off-farm income.

b) Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Key Informant Discussions (KID) were conducted to extract data on resource mapping; problem identification and ranking; development intervention, the changing roles of women and community perception.

c) A series of discussions on specific topics including rain-fed and irrigated agriculture, livestock types and size, forage and water availability, human and livestock diseases, and policy issues were conducted with local officials, employees of the Ministry of Agriculture (MoA), and employees of the Ministry of Health (MoH).

d) Documentary evidences (secondary data) on specific topics such as rangeland resources and management techniques, herd dynamics, and community organization were obtained from the Ministry of Agriculture branch offices in *Afaebet* sub-zone and *Nakfa* sub-zone.

e) The preparation of the study report was dealt with the organization of field notes, database formation and interpretation of research results. Final copies of the research were disseminated through the study villages, academic institutions and through stakeholders and partners that were involved in the study.

**The Research Area:** *Apollo* and *Felket* are villages selected for the present study located in the northern part of Eritrea. The selection of these villages is based on the condition where the influence of sedentary life can be evidently observed on the livelihood patterns of the target groups. The study areas are historically inhabited by *Tigre* nomadic pastoralists who keep mixed herds of camels, cattle, goats and sheep. *Tigre* people are found scattered in various parts of Eritrea today featuring similar demographic and social networks. Farming is the mainstay of livelihood for the study communities, though livestock economy is still an important source of revenue for many households. The traditional mode of production is highly constrained by multiple factors most notably, by the erratic nature of rainfall and by the declining rangeland productivity. With the transition to sedentary lifestyle, the local residents have started diversifying their economic bases through practicing horticulture and small-scale businesses. Government support and remittance from relatives living abroad are additional sources of revenues for the households.

Geographically, the study sites are characterized by arid lowland and semi-desert agro-ecological zones (AEZs) possessing a uniform set of constraints and potentials for livestock and agricultural development. High temperatures and irregularity in rainfall characterize the climatic conditions of the study areas implying factors of unpredictability for plant growth. The areas have suffered from an intense degree of deforestation as they are scarcely vegetated with the exception of thick vegetation along the riverbanks. The study areas have topography ranging from flat to extremely steep terrain. The steeper slopes are devoid of soil or are covered by shallow and rocky soils, while the gentler slopes and flat areas have relatively deeper and fertile soil due to silt accumulation from the nearby hills. The presence of barren slopes, and exposed grass and tree roots indicate the prevalence of severe land degradation and hence the need for reclamation measures.

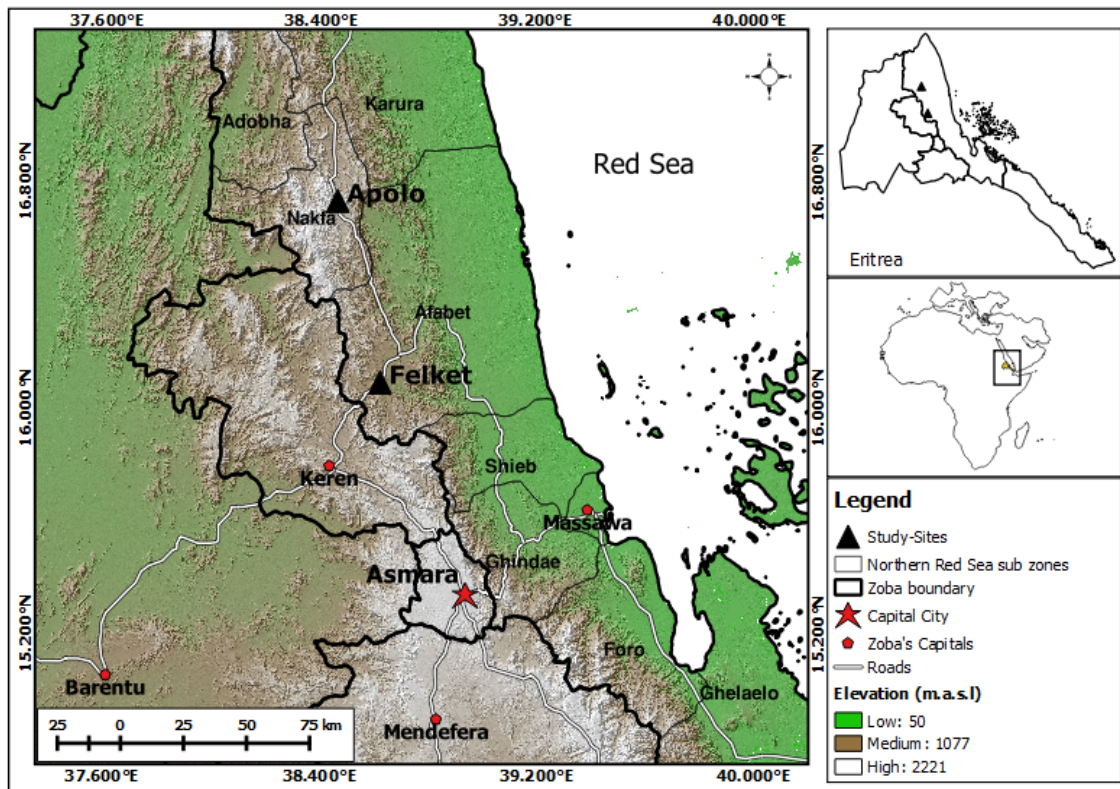


Figure 1. Location map of the study sites

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### DEMOGRAPHY AND HUMAN WELFARE

The result of the questionnaire surveys showed that the size for each household in the study villages varies between one member and 12 members. Fairly large proportions of the residents (60 percent) are below age 19. The sex ratio, which is the proportion of males to females, was calculated to be 114 percent and 93 percent for *Apollo* and *Felket*, respectively. The actual sex ratio for *Felket* could be greater than the calculated value as some of the young men were absent during the time of the fieldwork due to periodic migration to the mining places. The average dependency ratio for both study sites (i.e. the sum of the number of persons 0-14 years old plus number of persons 65 years and older divided by the number of persons who are 15-64 years old multiplied by 100) was calculated to be 109 percent.

Table 1A

Age and sex structure of the sampled population in *Apollo* study area

Age Group	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0 - 4	11	8.9	9	8.3	20	8.6
5 - 9	16	12.9	19	17.6	35	15.1
10 - 14	32	25.8	22	20.4	54	23.3
15 - 19	14	11.4	13	12.0	27	11.5
20 - 24	9	7.4	5	2.8	14	5.2
25 - 29	4	3.2	4	3.7	8	3.4
30 - 34	2	1.6	1	0.9	3	1.3
35 - 39	2	1.6	3	2.8	5	2.2
40 - 44	1	0.8	11	10.2	12	5.2
45 - 49	5	4.0	9	8.3	14	6.1
50 - 54	6	4.8	6	5.6	12	5.2
55 - 59	6	4.8	2	1.8	8	3.4
60 - 64	4	3.2	2	1.8	6	2.6
65 - 69	2	1.6	1	0.9	3	1.3
70 - 74	3	2.4	2	1.8	5	2.2
75 +	7	5.6	1	0.9	8	3.4
	<b>124</b>		<b>110</b>		<b>234</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Household questionnaire survey, 2019

**Table 1B**

**Age and sex structure of the sampled population in *Felket* study area**

Age Group	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0 - 4	18	11.7	20	13.0	38	12.6
5 - 9	15	9.8	32	20.9	47	15.7
10 - 14	25	18.9	26	17.1	51	17.0
15 - 19	33	22.8	15	9.8	48	16.0
20 - 24	10	6.5	5	3.3	15	5.0
25 - 29	5	3.3	4	2.6	9	3.0
30 - 34	1	0.6	4	2.6	5	1.6
35 - 39	0	0.0	7	4.6	7	2.3
40 - 44	2	1.3	15	9.8	17	5.6
45 - 49	2	1.3	7	4.6	10	3.0
50 - 54	6	4.0	6	3.9	12	4.0
55 - 59	7	4.6	4	2.6	11	3.6
60 - 64	5	3.3	7	4.6	12	4.0
65 - 69	9	5.9	1	0.6	10	3.4
70 - 74	7	4.7	0	0.0	7	2.3
75 +	2	1.3	0	0.0	2	0.7
	<b>147</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>301</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Household questionnaire survey, 2019

Table 1A and Table 1B show population distributions of the sampled households by age and sex. A large concentration of people in the study sites is found between the age groups 0-4 and 20-24, which account for 66 percent and 64 percent of the people in the *Apollo* and *Felket* sites, respectively. This indicates that the population in the study areas is basically young, which is also a typical demographic characteristic of populations in the developing countries. No remarkable differences in the proportions of males to females are noticed for both sites in these age-groups. On the other hand, the number of females in the age-groups 30-34 to 50-54 is greater than males in the same groups. In contrast, males out-number females for the age-groups 55-59 to 75+ in both sites. In the absence of documented evidence on migration, mortality, and other vital statistics, the research team found it difficult to adequately examine the disproportionate distributions of number of males and females in the above age groups. But two facts stand out clearly from the discussion with PRA participants. First, the community practice temporal migration that commonly involves young males who move periodically to the nearby mining sites. Second, the uneven distribution of population could be attributed to reason like errors in age reporting on the side of the respondents.

**Human Welfare:** The depletion of grazing resources i.e., scarcity of water and forage resources, had resulted in a considerable reduction of livestock size across the areas surveyed. This has negatively impacted livestock productivity and hence the welfare of the local people. Human factors, including the long war for independence (1961-1991) and the recent conflict with the neighboring Ethiopia had also negative consequences on the settled communities and their economies. In this section, human welfare is assessed in terms of housing types, eating habits and community health before and after the transition to sedentary life.

**Type of Housing:** Housing is a very important component of the cultural fabric of the residents in the study areas. The changes that can be seen in the traditional dwellings are part of the processes that the pastoralists have gone through the transition to a sedentary lifestyle. Three phases of dwellings were recognized in terms of structure and material content. The earliest phase, called *ablow*, is a typical house for the nomadic population. It is part of the temporary campsite and nothing permanent is built. This type of house is designed in a simple way where holes are dug with thin poles tied together to the ground and covered with branches and leaves that serve as shelter. Women usually play an active role in the construction of *ablow*. The second phase of housing structure is locally known as the *maaden*. It is rectangular in shape and is made up of acacia bark and cornstalk with poles erected at regular intervals to keep the structure upright. The local people regard this type of housing as a permanent residential building and as a result none of its parts is removed during migration, so that it can serve again when a household returns. The third phase in the morphology of settlement is called the *merebait*. This is a modern housing structure made of cement blocks, lumber, and corrugated sheet iron. This phase has emerged recently, initiated by a number of factors including increase in the household income and a gradual shift from nomadic pastoralism to market-oriented diversified economy. During the time of fieldwork, 75 percent of the residents in the study areas lived in modern housing structure.

**Type of Diet:** Eating habits for the sampled households were examined on the basis of the type and frequency of food consumed. Cereals, pulses, milk, meat and vegetables were the main dietary compositions that were investigated for the community under survey. In the past, the diet for the pastoral groups was significantly dominated by milk and meat. This is hardly surprising since pastoralists had been with their animals all the time, while sedentary communities often are separated from their herds. In times of drought, the overall food consumption pattern shifts from milk to cereals, although a few well- to-do households continue to consume milk and meat. Nevertheless, there had been no significant difference in terms of food intake between the rich and the poor during food crisis period due to the ‘moral economy’ of food sharing where rich households share milk and meat with poorer relatives. The transition to sedentary form of livelihood is characterized with a marked shift from milk and meat to cereals and pulses. During the time of the fieldwork, the majority of the household heads noted that they rarely consume milk and meat products, whereas animals are slaughtered for religious occasions and social obligations. A large proportion of the interviewed household heads (83 percent) reported that cereal grains and pulses are the main food items in their area. Vegetable consumption was least affected by the changes

from pastoralism to sedentary agriculture. In *Felket*, for example, the proportion of households who frequently consumed vegetables during pastoral and sedentary was 67 percent and 62 percent, respectively. The table below presents the number of the respondents who reported on the frequency of consuming specific types of food (frequently, sometimes, or never).

**Table 2A**

**Frequency of food consumption by number of households in *Apollo* Study Site (N = 60)**

Food Type	Pastoral			Sedentary		
	Frequently	Sometimes	Never	Frequently	Sometimes	Never
Cereals	53	7	0	60	0	0
Pulses	0	18	42	12	32	16
Milk	60	0	0	5	21	34
Meat	60	0	0	3	22	35
Vegetables	12	5	43	18	5	37

Source: Household questionnaire survey, 2019

**Table 2B**

**Frequency of food consumption by number of households in *Felket* Study Site (N = 60)**

Food Type	Pastoral			Sedentary		
	Frequently	Sometimes	Never	Frequently	Sometimes	Never
Cereals	58	2	0	60	0	0
Pulses	12	15	33	40	12	8
Milk	60	0	0	3	39	18
Meat	60	0	0	10	40	10
Vegetables	40	6	14	38	14	8

Source: Household questionnaire survey, 2019

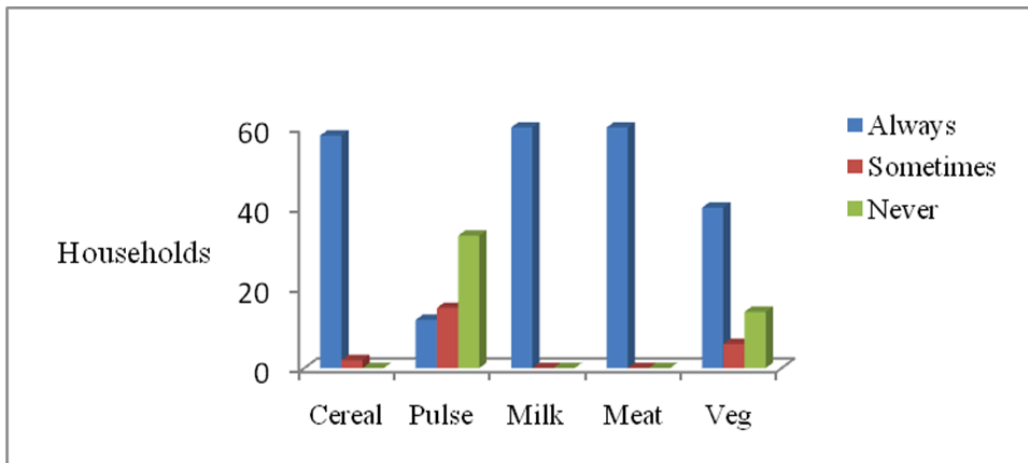


Figure 2A. Dietary variety of pastoral households in *Felket* study site

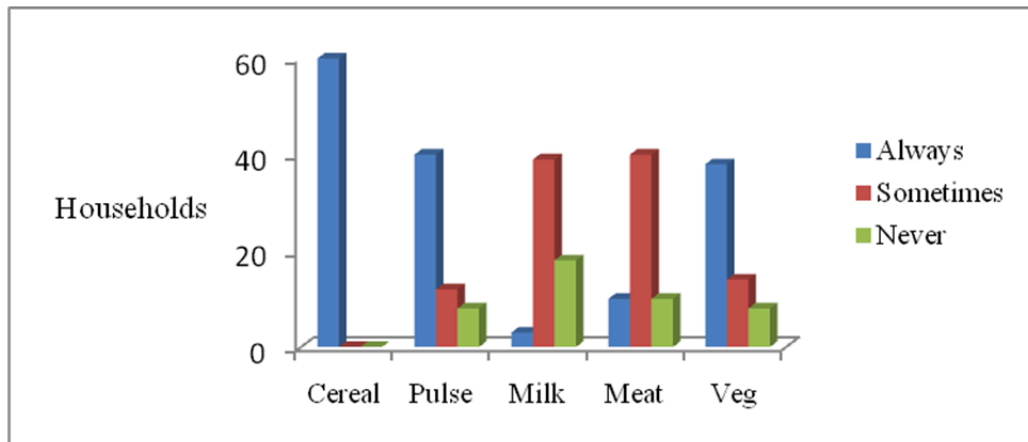


Figure 2B. Dietary variety of sedentary households in *Felket* study site

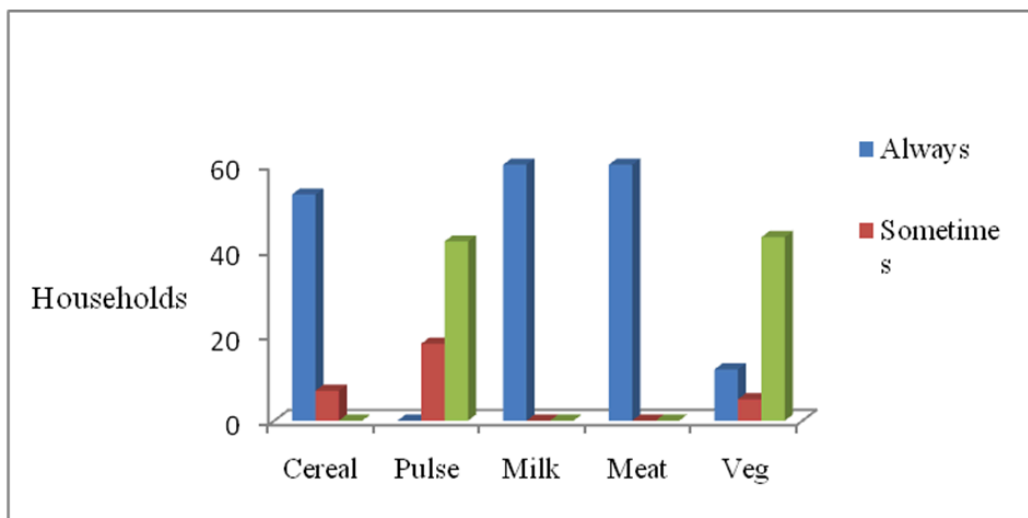


Figure 2C. Dietary variety of pastoral households in *Apollo* study site

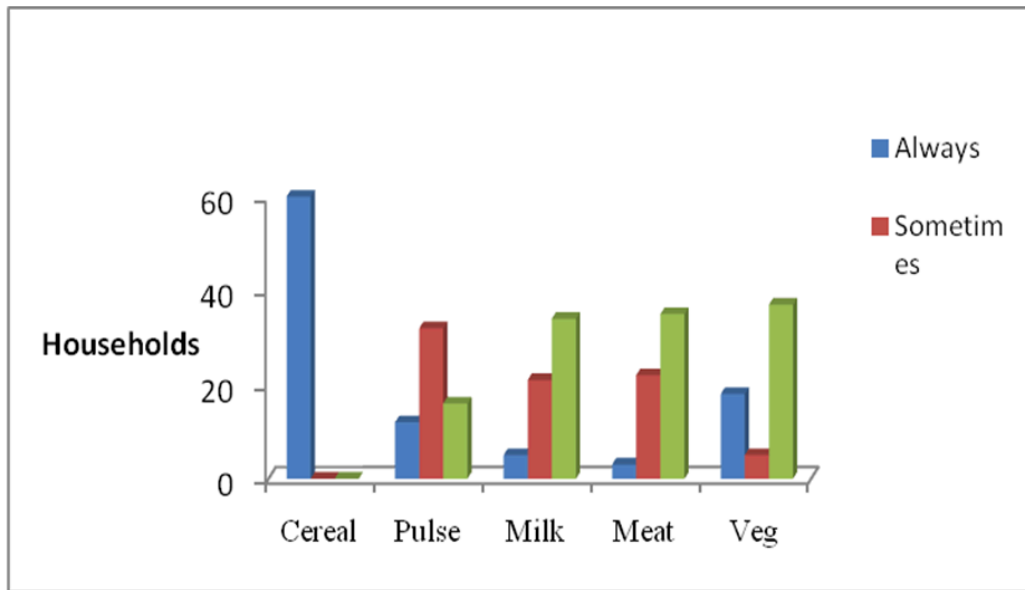


Figure 2D. Dietary variety of sedentary households in *Apollo* study site

**Community Health:** The most prevalent human diseases surveyed included pneumonia, tonsillitis, and urinary tract infection (UTI). Urinary tract infection was observed predominantly among the older age groups, while boils and tonsillitis affected mostly children aged five years and below. During the onset of rain, the most prevalent parasitic disease is malaria, which is an acute health problem for all age groups in the study areas. Malaria is intensified during wet season, while other incidences of diseases are most prevalent in times of extremely high temperatures. Maternal mortality and prevalence rate for sexually transmitted diseases (STD) were found to be minimal. During the time of the fieldwork, only one case of maternal death from anemia and severe bleeding was reported. Prevalence of stunting among children is also low, though no anthropometry measurements have been carried out. Several mothers reported that they have better access to outreach services to receive lessons related to food safety and hygiene through the community platforms.

Information from *Afaebet* hospital revealed that nomadic groups in the past had higher rates of tuberculosis, syphilis, and trachoma than settled agricultural populations. On the other hand, the latter group suffered higher rates of parasitic infections, malaria and anemia, particularly among those people living close to rivers. Infant and child mortality rates are lower for settled communities than for the pastoral population because of increased awareness and access to modern medical services. Key village informants reported that age-specific weight measurements for children of settled households were significantly higher than for the same aged children from the pastoral households. Children gain more weight today than in the past as a result of better hygiene and protection from infectious diseases. At present, preventative strategies, such as vaccination-immunization are most available to people living closer to health centers. Nevertheless, many households still practice ethno-therapeutic methods made of herbs and roots to treat various types of illnesses. Despite the

positive results achieved in the health sector, much remain to be done, to further improve the health status of the population.

## INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Local institutions play important roles by providing support to the residents in the study villages, though they operate under limited resources. The role of such institutions among the local communities can be seen in all spheres of life notably in marriage, resource sharing and conflict resolution. A Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) approach was used to identify their relative significance and the roles they play in various aspects of social life.

**Marriage:** Marriage has enormous cultural implication reflecting a significant process of socialization. It is an important variable affecting fertility behavior as the study groups do not use contraceptives. There are strong inclinations among both men and women for having as many children as possible, with no preference of one sex for another. A larger family is perceived as an indication of physical strength as well as social security during old age. Discussion with key informants revealed that during the nomadic way of life, marriage was highly endogamous where a man is married to a woman of his own social group. Travelling over long distance to conduct marriage ceremonies with members of different ethnic groups was perceived as difficult and unusual. With gradual transition to sedentary life, however, marriage outside ones' social group, i.e. exogamous, became more apparent. A dispute sometimes arises between a husband and his wife where both sides openly present their case in front of a traditional arbitration court involving elderly people and religious leaders. The decision from the traditional court is believed to be rational and fairly balanced and, as a result, both the husband and his wife are expected to accept the verdict. Under rare circumstance, arbitration takes place outside the village, which is usually discouraging particularly for women as the journey to another place entails costs in transportation and lodging. Discussion with community elders revealed that divorce occurs more frequently among settled communities than it did among the pastoral people. The two main causes of marriage breakdown were found to be household economic crisis and desertion, the latter more frequently on the husband's side. Rising incidences of divorce rate and the resulting number of female-headed households have some social and economic implications.

Deeply rooted patriarchal and religious restrictions in the study areas have made women to have a highly limited access to factors of production. They do not have, for example, control over animals, though they exercise some rights over goats and cattle allocated to them by their husbands or by their parents during marriage. In addition, they have almost no authority regarding the sale or slaughter of large stock animals, which are exclusively men's roles. As settled life became more important, women's roles changed significantly and their participation in the community affairs help them acquire better social position. This has a clear implication for local and national development. In the past, when labor shortages were virtually absent, women's duties were strictly limited to household tasks (e.g., child rearing, food processing, and water fetching), while men were engaged wholly in herding. Nowadays, women have started assuming a much broader social and economic responsibility within their community. The factors that led to improvement in the women's

status include the services made available to them (water supply and health care) and the financial aid they receive from the government.

The survey of the settled communities showed a marked gender differentiation in the primary responsibilities of decision-making. As part of the established tradition, the women do not own control over animals, but still they exercise rights over goats and cattle allocated to them by their husbands or by their parents during marriage. Women have a crucial role to play in the management of milk and meat from all animals. On the other hand, they have little or no authority regarding the sale or slaughter of large stock or grazing and mobility decisions, which are exclusively men's roles. They seem, of course, to participate in decisions concerning sales and slaughter of goats and sheep, which happen more frequently than for cattle and camels.

**Formal Organizations:** In the study areas, formal organizations are those institutions that provide services managed by respective government agencies, and supported by facilities and administrative network. Pastoralists who are in a transition to a settled life live close to one another usually having some interests in common. For example, they look for the provision of social services and also seek access to roads as well as a fair share in government development programs. Two of the formal organizations, school and health, are briefly discussed below.

A certain level of literacy seems to be required for a society to move away from subsistence economy. In view of this, the Government of the State of Eritrea is currently moving ahead with a program aimed at expanding school enrollment of children in the pastoral regions of the country. It has launched a program that enhanced expansion of education by setting up low-cost boarding schools. As a result, the number of primary schools has substantially increased since sedentarization. In the past, mobility, harsh climate, and remoteness from the main development centers had always stood as constraints to the provision of modern education to the nomadic population. Besides the ecological hindrances, parents were reluctant to educate their children beyond primary school because of the cultural conservatism of the nomads' way of life. In the past, rich herders gave no value to educating their children in school; instead they encouraged them to get engaged in animal herding. Children from poor families, on the other hand, attended school. An elderly from *Felket* had to say the following about those who went to school during his time.

*'Children from poor families, who attended school in the past, are now our leaders'.*

An attempt was made to provide education to the nomadic children through mobile schools, but this form of education could not be made easier as the pastoral populations were widely dispersed and most often followed unpredictable migration patterns. Moreover, the schools lacked the necessary infrastructure and educational facilities, and as a result, the number of dropout students was high. With the shift to sedentary life, a more systematic approach was devised to educate children through boarding schools. Such schools provided a better learning environment for many students. Parents have to pay nothing for their children's

education except a small fee for registration, sport and youth association. Females' school enrollment is encouraging, but most often they are restricted to grade eight due to the long distance they have to travel to secondary school. During the time of the fieldwork, 95 percent of the households in *Felket* study site send their children to schools.

Progress has been made over the last few years particularly in primary school student enrollment because gender inequalities in education became almost non-existent. A good example is *Felket* elementary school where females account for 41 percent of total student population during the 2018/19 academic year. Once students complete grade eight, they move to *Tsabra* secondary school in *Nakfa*. *Tsabra* secondary school is a government-run boarding school aimed at helping children from pastoral community complete secondary school and even pursue through higher education. In spite of the progress made in the education sector, the proportion of female enrolment progressively decreases as the level of education increases. Such trend in enrollment can be explained by culture-specific conditions such as parental decisions concerning female education. There is sufficient awareness among parents regarding the importance of acquiring a minimum level of education. They are increasingly showing interest in the literacy program and, as a result, a considerable number of the community members have attained basic skills in reading and writing. Such improvement is the result of effective development interventions, and expanding social services. Besides, mainstream media including radio and television play an important role in cultivating awareness among the local communities, hitherto unknown to the pastoralists.

Substantial improvement in the health services has been achieved over the last few years in both study sites due to increased number of health personnel, and improved services. Most of the health facilities are equipped with water supply systems and proper toilet facilities. In addition, medicines are kept fresh and safe with the use of solar refrigerators. A couple of rooms are also available that serve as store, administrative offices and waiting delivery. Overall, the health establishments are well maintained, though shortage in personnel remains a constraint in serving the health needs of over 95,000 people in the region.

**Table 3A**

**Human and Health Facilities in *Afaebet* sub zone during different periods of time**

Health Facility	Number		Health Personnel	Number	
	Pastoral	Sedentary		Pastoral	Sedentary
Hospital	0	1	Medical doctors	0	3
Health centers	0	1	Nurses	1	5
Health stations	0	2	Midwifery	1	6
Clinics	1	1	Lab technicians	2	8
Health posts	0	1	Health agents	4	41

Source: *Afaebet* sub zone health center, 2019

**Table 3B**

**Human and Health Facilities in *Nakfa* sub zone during different periods of time**

Health Facility	Number		Health Personnel	Number	
	Pastoral	Sedentary		Pastoral	Sedentary
Hospital	0	1	Medical doctors	0	3
Health centers	0	1	Nurses	0	5
Health stations	0	2	Midwifery	2	6
Clinics	0	1	Lab technicians	2	8
Health posts	1	1	Health agents	6	41

Source: *Nakfa* sub zone health center, 2019

## LIVESTOCK ECONOMY IN PERSPECTIVE

Livestock occupy a place of significant importance in the economic and social lives of sedentary communities in the study areas. They serve as a source of food in the form of meat and milk. They also acquire cultural significance as important indicators of a person's social status. Further, livestock play a crucial role in agriculture and as a means of transport for the households. Owning cattle has important wealth ramification as the more cattle a household owns a greater chance for it to own other animal types as well. A camel is a valuable asset as it carries family members, cereals, and bulky household materials. Small ruminants such as sheep and goats are highly regarded as potential sources of food and cash income because of their high reproductive rates. Donkeys, which are much cheaper than large stock animals, play crucial day-to-day roles in the livelihood of the settled communities by carrying water and straw.

The total herd size for the study sites was estimated on the basis of data from the household questionnaire survey. The mean livestock holding per household was converted into Tropical Livestock Units (TLU)<sup>1</sup> using Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)

<sup>1</sup> TLU = a standard zebu bovine of 250 kg live weight

conversion rates. In addition, a “progeny history” approach (Grandin 1983) was applied to reconstruct a livestock-wealth history, which allowed the researcher to compare wealth possession of the sampled households before and after the adoption of sedentary life. Based on the computed values of TLU per household, the livestock population during different periods (i.e. before and after sedentarization) in time is presented for each study site.

**Table 4**

**Livestock Possession of Sampled Households in TLU (Pastoral: Livestock at the time when households were pastoralists; Sedentary: Livestock after sedentarization)**

Animal Type	<i>Apollo</i>			<i>Felket</i>		
	Pastoral	Sedentary	% change	Pastoral	Sedentary	% change
Camel	132	22	83	210	29	82
Cattle	462	20	95	220	26	88
Sheep	85	4	95	38	5	97
Goat	260	15	94	165	32	92
Donkey	53	27	49	36	26	27
Total	992	88	91	669	118	82

Source: Household questionnaire survey, 2019

TLU conversion factors: Camel = 1.6; Cattle = 1.12; Goat = 0.07; Sheep = 0.0892; Donkey = 0.9

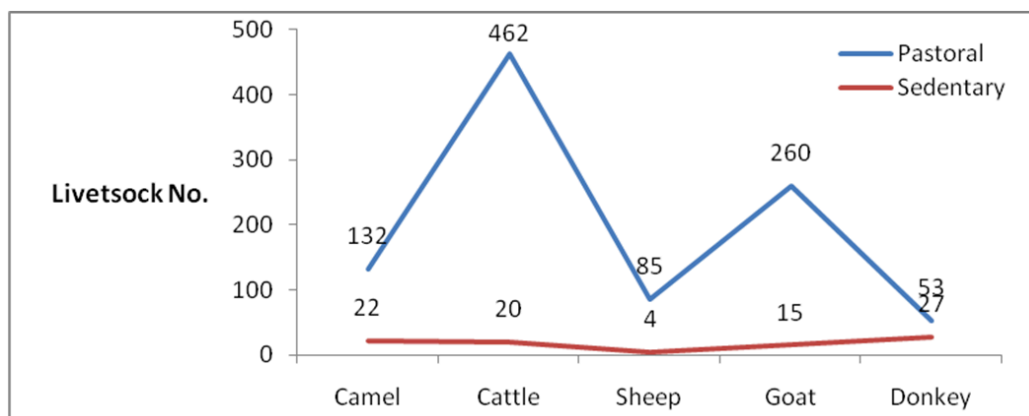


Figure 3A. A synoptic view of livestock possession for sampled households in *Apollo*

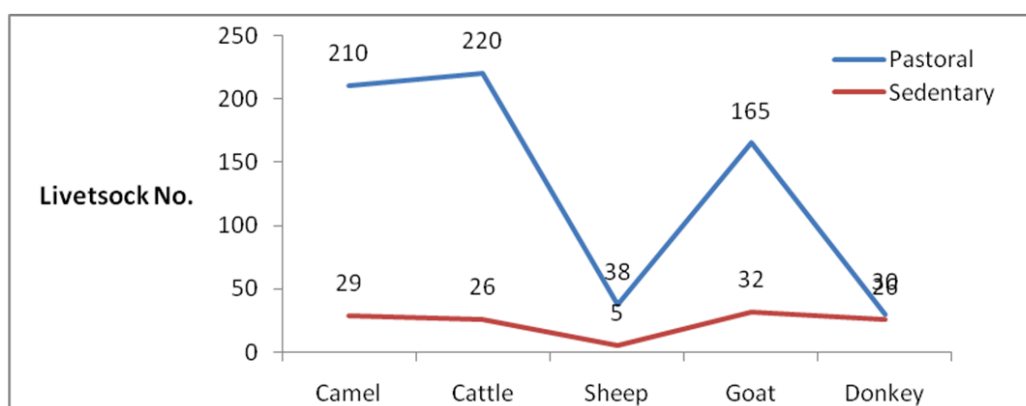


Figure 3B. A synoptic view of livestock possession for sampled households in *Felket*

**Herd Dynamics:** Herd dynamics is the result of a specific event in births, sales, purchases, slaughter, and mortality of livestock over time (ILRI 2000). The number of animals possessed by the sampled households during the different modes of production was recorded and analyzed to understand the changes in the livestock economy. The local people aim to own more cattle and camels than the other species since marketing of these animals can provide a large amount of cash in times of crisis. In addition, those owning cattle and camels tend to own the full range of livestock (including goats, sheep, and donkeys), in contrast to those possessing primarily small ruminants. The result of the household survey showed that the overall livestock possession has been reduced by 91 percent and 82 percent for *Apollo* and *Felket* study sites, respectively. This finding may have to be regarded with some reservation including data quality about the exact number of animals each household possesses, which is a touchy issue. Nevertheless, the result is a useful indicator of the changing livestock holdings of households before and after sedentarization.

A common irregularity in the study areas is that the livestock number grows in time of favorable water and pasture conditions, but during crises period, a sudden decline is observed through mortality and sales. After the crisis period is over, the size of livestock possessions for the households begins to increase, and the cycle repeats itself. This is referred to as the “boom and bust” cycles in animal production. All types of animals were vulnerable to the stressful conditions of drought and disease, but clear differences were observed between the various species with respect to survival and recovery after a disaster is over. Such differences reflect both the managing capability of the herders and the varying degree of resistance by animals. In general, small ruminants suffered higher mortality rates than cattle and camels, and within small stock, sheep experienced higher reduction rate. Camels are better adapted to changing environmental conditions than cattle and sheep. They reach the branches of acacia tree to eat leaves when vegetation becomes scarce, giving them an adaptive advantage over the other livestock. On the other hand; the strength of small ruminants lies in their ability to recover rapidly following a drought period. They can survive feeding over scrub vegetation around homesteads, whereas cattle and camels must be taken far away from the village. Based on data generated, a statistical assessment of the

herd diversification was carried out using the Simpson Index (SI)<sup>2</sup>. Indices of 0.27 and 0.26 were obtained for pastoral and sedentary communities, respectively. This suggests that, in either case, there exists no single species that tend to dominate the herd composition.

**Migratory routes:** An important aspect of the study is to closely see how the migratory routes of the local people changed with the transition to sedentary life. Result showed that the communities follow well defined routes to the grazing reserves and watering points, and movements are almost entirely carried on within the northern part of the country itself. Movement over large geographic area is rare because conditions in ecology, temperature and rainfall remain almost the same everywhere. Small ruminants are kept around the homestead for most part of the year using forage from the surrounding farmland, while large stock animals are tracked into distant places. Members of a household, who move along with their livestock, tend to stay in temporary settlements for few days and continue their journey until they reach the point of destination. Duration of the seasonal movement varies from one day to several months depending on the expected time and distance for the journey. The high movement seasons are between the months of April and October when there is very limited grass for grazing in the local areas. Movement is not usually easy as pastures are well protected under closures. In spite of the uneasiness, the local people manage to use range resources for their livestock and earn income from selling wood. Information on the exact number of the mobile communities disaggregated by age and gender is scant, but heads of households tend to move more frequently along with their livestock.

One of the consequences of the transition to the new lifestyle is the change in the length of time required to take animals to water sources. In the past, four hours, on the average, was required to take animals to the nearest source of water. During the author's fieldwork in 2019, this has lowered to 30 minutes i.e. an 85 percent reduction from what it had been. The reduction in time implies the availability of extra time for labor in agriculture. It also means allowing children to spend more time for learning. As already discussed, no serious disputes exist among the villagers with regard to the use of range resources and minor conflicts arising infrequently are tackled through the traditional power network.

**Rangeland Ecology:** A rangeland is a dominant form of land use system and an important source of income for the local people in the study areas. In the past, when human and livestock populations were dispersed over a large geographic space, the pressure on the grazing resources remained insignificant. But circumstances changed drastically with intense population pressure and expansion of settlements. In addition, the environment was adversely influenced by the natural processes of climate change. The transition to sedentarism asserts that water points, villages, and development interventions reduce mobility, while it enhances concentration of people and livestock over a small territory. Such an intense use of natural resources diminishes rangeland productivity and adversely affects feed quality. It is difficult to quantify the extent of range degradation in *Apollo* and

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<sup>2</sup> Simpson Index =  $[(\text{Cattle TLU}^2) + (\text{Goat/sheep TLU}^2) + (\text{Donkey TLU}^2)]/(\text{Total TLU})^2$

*Felket* areas; nevertheless an indication can be made about the proximate causes, which mainly consists of anthropogenic factors such as agricultural expansion, increased firewood consumption and heavy livestock grazing. A methodological approach called Mean Species Abundance (MSA) was used to describe the effect of overgrazing by comparing composition of plant species from the present grazing ground with those of the adjacent natural systems such as closures.

An attempt was made to determine the carrying capacity of the rangeland in the study areas expressed as a stocking rate in hectares per Tropical Livestock Unit (ha/TLU). Given the 6.25 kg/TLU/day feed requirement of livestock for sub-Saharan Africa (Janke 1982), two basic assumptions were considered. First, not all forage supply is used as feed for livestock because of the effects of three correction factors: grazing inefficiency, losses due to trampling, and residue left after the harvestable portion of forage. Second, annual rainfall is assumed to be a reasonable indicator and a critical factor of forage production. For ease of computation, the three correction factors in the first assumption were represented by a single multiplier using the 30 percent utilization rate of edible forage by Cossins and Upton (1987). Based on the above assumptions, the mean carrying capacity for the study areas were computed to be 5.57 ha/TLU. This finding goes in line with the work by De Leeuw and Tothill (1990) for rangelands with similar rainfall in the African Sahel. It is important to note that the concept of carrying capacity was originally developed for commercial ranches based on the management of single livestock type within an enclosed area. The above computation, thus, should be used with caution as it may not be strictly applied on the communal rangelands with diversified animal species like the present study areas.

## THE TRANSITION TO SEDENTARY FORM OF LIVELIHOOD

**The Farming Alternative:** Subsistence mixed-farming is a dominant system of production and way of life for 70 percent of the households in the study sites. It provides protection against food insecurity by meeting households' demand for food. Agriculture is mainly rain-fed, but spate irrigation is also used where rainfall from the highlands provides seasons of flood. The main crops cultivated are sorghum, maize, barley, wheat and millet. Crop output is low and highly susceptible to variations in rainfall. The farmers, therefore, grow crops mainly to meet their subsistence needs and, as a result, marketable produce is virtually absent. According to experts from *Afaebet* Ministry of Agriculture branch office, yield per hectare averages four quintals per hectare using the traditional methods, while it reaches 10 to 20 quintals per hectare with irrigation. Infertile soils and unpredictable rainfall patterns are the main causes for low productivity. Irrigated farming, though in a small scale, plays key role in ensuring food security to the expanding populations of the study region. It raises crop yield, while at the same time it allows for multiple cropping where only a single crop could be grown otherwise. An important aspect of production in the study areas is the interdependence that exists between crop production and livestock rearing. Farm animals feed on crop residue, while at the same time their wastes are ploughed back into the soil thus maintaining nutrient recycling and keeping the production system sustainable. The following section analyses the relative importance of land, labor and draught animals as household level drivers of agricultural output in *Apollo* and *Felket* villages.

*Farm Size:* In the past, land had been under exclusive control of a wealthy ethnic group called *Bete Asgede*. Farmers who do not possess farmland had to work on the fields controlled by these rich people where they were compensated with a certain amount of crop. The 1994 Land Proclamation of Eritrea, however, allowed land to be granted equally to any villager who is at least 18 years old. Female headed households are also entitled to farmland under such a village land tenure system. Under a traditional farming system, like in the present study area, crop production is highly influenced by the amount and quality of the arable land farmers have at their disposal. A large farm holding means a relative increase in the amount of production. In the past, there was plenty of cultivable land in the study areas mainly because of low population pressure on land resources. It was possible for farmers to abandon their fields after two or three seasons and move on to fresh fertile land. The old fields then have a chance to recover during a fallow period. But as population pressure grows, land became scarce and the land holding size for each household was reduced substantially. In addition, a large track of land has been converted into barren through land degradation, which further restricted the size of farm land to community members.

*Ownership of draught animal:* There are several advantages with the use of oxen and camels as draught animals. Oxen and camels are cost-effective means of power for small-scale farming like in the present study areas. They are affordable and environmentally friendly, and their manure is an effective way of supplying crops with essential nutrients and improving soil fertility. The households in the study villages heavily rely on oxen and camels for tilling their farmlands and for threshing crops. Possession of a pair of draught animals is, therefore, a very important determinant of household's income from agricultural activities. A household that does not possess an ox looks for a rental arrangement with someone who owns a pair of oxen, which are primarily based on the proportion of input made by the land owner and share cropper. Similarly, two households enter into a collaborative agreement where they bring their farm implements together; an arrangement locally known as *lifin*.

*Supply of Labor Force:* Household labor, which usually comprises the head of household, his wife, and children, forms the most important part of the labor force in the study area. Practically all the members of the community except aged and young children are active participants in production activities. The share of labor among members follows a well-established pattern. Men generally perform activities involving farming, herding of large stock animals, livestock marketing, and community decisions, while activities related to household economy such as fetching water, firewood collection, food preparation and processing, handicrafts, marketing, and child caring are performed by women. Nowadays, a shift of labor has resulted as women are taking a wider labor share in order to maintain food production. They are increasingly involved in animal herding, traditionally reserved for males. This is particularly the case for those households where male members of the family are away from the village for various reasons. These conditions have motivated women to assume a wider responsibility by playing roles in decision-making in the community affairs.

Under normal situations, family members do all the farm works themselves for the simple reason that farm holding is small and even if a household head wants to hire labor it is scarce and he may not afford the payment which is made in cash. To a lesser extent, hired labor is practiced, particularly for herding small stock animals. Most frequently, children are the ones hired to perform this activity, and they are paid in kind, based on the agreement reached beforehand. Across the areas surveyed, collective labor, which is a traditional sharing system, is sometimes used to supplement the household labor force. In collective labor, a group of persons, consisting of neighbors and close relatives, come together to assist a particular household. The main purpose of collective labor is to help alleviate the work burden of a person during the peak farm season and in house construction.

As reported by the village informants, subsistence agriculture in the area faces human and environmental constraints. Rainfall is the major limiting factor because of its erratic and unpredictable nature. In addition, the nutrients removed by the crops during harvesting are not returned to the soil as crop residue constitute important forage for the animals, while dung is most often used as a source of fuel. Some of the villagers were also commenting on the problems of erosion and land quality that caused low crop output. Moreover, lack of draught animals and shortage in household labor were mentioned as reasons for poor harvests. All these factors have markedly affected the production base of the area, with an overall decline in household consumption levels. Food bought with the money earned through selling livestock and through off-farm activities (wage labor and remittances) were used to make up for the food shortage. Moreover, most households reported that they received food supplies from the government in time of climatically stressful periods.

The residents in the study areas often reflect common social and economic characteristics. Nevertheless, there are important differences within them which tend to put a considerable impact on the pattern of their livelihoods. The main dimensions of these differences depend, to a large extent, on the number of livestock possessed and on the degree of off-farm activities. Farming is the basis of livelihood for the majority of the villagers, though the annual harvest is mainly intended for household consumption. People with land near irrigation channels enjoy greater access to water than others. But only a few villagers have access to irrigation, who were able to grow vegetables to sell in the nearby towns. In times of food crises, the poor survive by borrowing or asking for assistance from neighbors, relatives or friends. In addition, most men migrate in search of wage labor during the non-farming seasons. Further, several households, especially those of the elderly, depend heavily on children residing in the capital city or other towns in the country, or abroad, for financial support. The study showed that female-headed households are usually vulnerable as they are disadvantaged in terms of possession of assets (e.g. labor, capital). Their meager income, therefore, usually forces them to adopt coping mechanisms appropriate to their own economic and gender characteristics. As a result, they are mostly engaged in the production of poultry and small stock animals.

## CONCLUSION

In Eritrea, pastoralism is increasingly becoming difficult since recent times due, mainly, to deteriorating rangeland. The depletion of grazing resources (i.e., scarcity of water and forage resources) had negatively impacted livestock productivity and hence the welfare and livelihoods of the pastoralists. Prolonged droughts, population growth, and expanding commercial agriculture have also restricted pastoral mobility, while allowing agriculture to become a necessary subsistence strategy. Further, the Government of the State of Eritrea is pursuing a policy that favors settlement through the provision of social services and irrigation schemes. All these have led to changes in resource utilization and living conditions for the formerly pastoral communities. The researcher has put the following conclusive remarks as essential feedback for decision making processes on matters related to improved livelihoods in the study villages.

- a) The shift to sedentary lifestyle by the Eritrean nomadic populations has brought a gradual transformation from a complete dependence on the livestock economy to subsistence-based mixed farming. The traditional migratory pattern has also changed significantly as livestock for most part of the year are kept around the homestead using forage from the nearby farmland.
- b) Labor has been significantly restructured as the household members now spend less time going to areas of water and pasture, while the main work force of the family stayed at the village to do some other work. Such emerging trend toward short range herding system could have some negative effects particularly on the vegetation and soils around permanent wells and boreholes. According to local sources, the consequences of these effects have been felt through overgrazing and the gradual decline in herd productivity.
- c) The settled communities pursue strategies to mitigate the effects of environmental crisis using community strategies. In addition, the persistence of well-established territorial alliances between the various social groups of the country helps reduce conflicts over resource-uses. Unlike most other pastoral/sedentary groups in East Africa (e.g., *Turkana*, *Rendille*, *Masaai*, and *Borana*) and West Africa (e.g., *Fulani* and *Fulbe*), cattle raiding and ethnic strife are not common among herders in Eritrea.
- d) The great majority of the respondents in *Apollo* and *Felket* study sites mentioned fairly adequate social services including education, health, and water supply, which are seen as the main advantages of the new way of life. The result showed that 94 percent of all the sampled households mentioned services with pastoral sedentarization to be in general satisfactory. They also felt that they had better housing, and a more convenient daily life. Almost all household heads responded that they have no plan on returning to nomadic way of life.

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#### SOMMARIO

In Eritrea, il passaggio al sostentamento sedentario da parte della popolazione nomade è aumentato drammaticamente negli ultimi decenni a seguito di cambiamenti economici, politici, demografici e ambientali. Un passaggio strategico a mezzi di sussistenza più diversificati sotto forma di agricoltura, piccolo commercio e lavoro salariato è stato intensificato a causa del declino dell'economia pastorale. Questo studio ha identificato i vincoli ambientali come i principali fattori di "spinta" che portano molte persone ad abbandonare la tradizionale economia pastorale, mentre la fornitura di servizi sociali (istruzione, salute) e acqua potabile pura sono stati i fattori di "trazione" che attraggono le persone nei villaggi e nelle piccole città (vita sedentaria). Lo scopo principale di questo studio è fornire una nuova visione delle circostanze umane ed ecologiche che innescano la transizione dalla pastorizia al sedentarismo nelle aree di *Apollo* e *Felket* in Eritrea. Utilizzando i dati raccolti principalmente attraverso il questionario sulle famiglie e la discussione dei focus group, il documento mira anche a studiare se i cambiamenti nell'agricoltura sedentaria hanno portato a un'economia locale di successo. I risultati di questa ricerca empirica hanno rivelato che la grande maggioranza delle comunità stabilite nei siti di studio ottengono servizi sociali abbastanza adeguati e che quasi tutti i capifamiglia non hanno in programma di ritornare al modo di vivere nomade. Si prevede che l'output di questo studio contribuirà a una migliore comprensione dei sistemi pastorali tradizionali e in evoluzione in Eritrea.

# Going bananas in East Africa (literature and beyond)

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## ABSTRACT

During the last centuries, domestication and cultivation of several varieties of banana in East Africa have influenced economic strategies almost everywhere. Different innovations in subsistence strategies took place in different parts of Africa. My article aims to examine the dynamics of these process in East African countries, and in particular in Tanzania, where banana has become the first source of subsistence for many people. The focus is on three ethnic groups based in Tanzania, namely the Wachagga, Wahaya and Wanyakyusa. Among these groups bananas and plantains have assumed a symbolical function in many aspects of their economic, social and spiritual life.

Keywords: *Plantain, banana, banana eaters, East African Highland banana, mgomba, ndizi.*

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## 1. A brief note on origins and spread of bananas in East Africa

Banana is the common name for herbaceous plants of the genus *Musa* (Musaceae) and for the fruits they produce. Although bananas contribute greatly to the diet in large regions of Africa, they originated in Asia. No species of *Musa* is in fact native to the continent and only the genus *Ensete* is naturally present in Africa and Madagascar (De Langhe et al. 2009: 166; Hapsari 2017: 160; Perrier et al. 2019: 19; Neumann and Hildebrand 2009: 359). Originally, there were two wild species of banana plants, (Ngeze 1994: 1-2; Mbwana et al. 1998: 9; Neumann and Hildebrand 2009: 353; Perrier et al. 2019: 26), known as *Musa acuminata* and *Musa balbisiana*. *Musa acuminata* of the early period, originated in Malaysia, had three types of bananas. The first type had genome A that could reproduce with seeds and had small fruits inedible by human beings. The second type had genome AA that had seedless fruits, and the third type had genome AAA, and produced bigger fruits. The last two types had edible fruits, and were the first bananas to be planted by man. Fruits of *Musa balbisiana* (genome BB) were not edible (Ngeze 1994: 1; Mbwana et al. 1998: 9). With time, these two species hybridized to generate the cultivars available today. Bananas with the AA or AAA genomes are sweet and cultivated as dessert banana while hybrids with AAB (plantain) and ABB genomes are starchier and used as cooking bananas. Banana cultivation is core in Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, north-western Tanzania extending to the Indian Ocean coastline, in Kenya or Tanzania around the volcanoes such as Mount Kenya and Kilimanjaro. The crops also exist on the offshore islands such as Pemba and Zanzibar, where Baker and Simmons (1952, cited in Perrier et al. 2019: 21) identified two types of wild bananas, namely *Mjenga* (AA, Rossel 1998: 90) and *Paka* (AA, Rossel 1998: 223) whose seedy fruits named in Swahili *Mgomba*<sup>1</sup> *tumbili* (*Ensete ventricosum* (Welw.) Cheesman, Fabaceae) (Quattrocchi 2012: 1570; Neumann and Hildebrand 2009: 355) and *Mgombakofi* (*Typhonodorum lindleyanum* Schott, Aracaceae)

<sup>1</sup> The Swahili term *mgomba* refers to the banana plant (TUKI 2001: 200).

(Quattrocchi 2012: 3831). They were used as famine food in the past and are still eaten by children (Perrier et al. 2019: 21).<sup>2</sup>

As edible derivatives of wild species *Musa acuminata* (genome A), the AAA triploids of the *Mutika* subgroup called EAHB (East African Highlands Bananas) are very widely grown in East Africa, in particular in the Great Lake region, where they are the main crop in many areas, but it is rare in the highlands of the Kenya and Tanzania zone where AA diploid varieties are grown and are of considerable importance for some ethnic groups. De Langhe et al. (1995) suggest three waves of banana introduction in Africa: African plantains AAB in west and central rainforest regions, highland adapted AAA banana around the Great Lakes, and a diverse range of genomes around the south-east coastal regions. According to Van der Veen (2011) and Ngeze (1994), it seems that bananas spread from south-east Asia into Africa passing through the Indian Ocean, brought to the Eastern African coast by Arab travellers and traders (Chami 1994: 45). Another hypothesis is based on the Baganda myth of Kintu. In Uganda, Baganda people have a traditional belief that the first banana plant was introduced there by their tribal ancestor Kintu who is believed to have entered Uganda from the north, near Mount Elgon about the year 1000 A. D. with a banana plant. According to this belief, bananas were transported from India via Southern Arabia, and then into Africa through Southern Ethiopia to Northern Uganda (Ngeze 1994: 4). After bananas were introduced in East Africa, they spread into regions and districts of Tanzania.

Thanks to his field research carried out in many districts of Tanzania, Ngeze (1994: 101-108) has collected a number of vernacular Swahili names of bananas, and diversifies cooking bananas cultivars from beer making bananas cultivars.

Cooking bananas' vernacular names in Tanzanian districts are: *ndizi*<sup>3</sup> *ng'ombe*, *mwanambwe*, *ndizi mshale*, *ndizi mzuzu*, *kimalindi*, *mkojozi* or *ndizi mkojozi*, *ndizi Uganda*, *mkono wa tembo*, *mshale*, *kitarasa*, *kisukari*, *kisamungu*, *kiguruwe*, *kitaji/kijivujivu*, *kikahawia*, *mchokozi*, *makumbukwa* or *mjakazi*, *mjenga maua*, *mkonga wa tembo*, *bokoboko*, *kisukari*, *usiniguse*, *ndizi mwekundu*, *matako ya mjakazi*, *malaya*.

Making beer banana varieties are: *kisukari*, *kiguruwe*, *ndizi ng'ombe*, *kijivu*, *kibungara*, *ndizi kikojozi*, *mchokozi*, *kipakapaka*, *ndizi fupi nene*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> According to Heine and Legère (1995: 135), the Swahili term *mgomba* refers to *Musa* species and varieties including banana and plantains. In addition to the term *mjenga*, the scholars collected 17 *mgomba* specifics: *kichaazi*, *kidimbili*, *kiguruwe*, *kijakazi*, *kikonde*, *kipukusa*, *kisukari*, *koroboi*, *mlalemaua*, *mkono mmoja*, *mkono wa thambo*, *mtwike*, *Mzungu mwekundu*, *Mzungu mweupe*, *ndizi za mzungu*, *sunuha*, *tungu*. In 1937, Greenway (1937:31-32, cited in Heine and Legère 1995: 135) listed 13 names of varieties: *bungala*, *kichaazi*, *kiguruwe*, *kipukusa*, *kisukari*, *kisukari bungala*, *kizungu chekundu*, *makojozi*, *mboko*, *milali maua*, *mngazija*, *mjenga maua*, *mkono wa tembo*, and *mzuzu*. Philippson and Bauchet (1994-95: 107) claim that *mgomba* means 'banana tree', *mgomba -mwitu*, literally 'bush banana tree' refers to *Ensete*. They highlight that the word *mgomba* occurs under this or similar form in several languages of Central Tanzania, where bananas are not generally an important crop, like Gogo and Sukuma.

<sup>3</sup> The Swahili term *ndizi* refers to banana fruits (TUKI 2001:242).

<sup>4</sup> The examples of the names of the plants given above show that they are rarely formed by a monomial expression. Following the Swahili noun class system, monomial expression consists of a noun stem plus a noun class prefix, e. g. the generic term for banana plant *m - gomba* (cl. 3/4; *m-/mi-*). More frequently the primary lexeme is followed by a nominal adjective modifier (attributive expression), e.g. *ndizi mwekundu* ('red banana fruit'). Concerning folk taxonomy see: HEINE, Bernd, and Karsten LEGERE (1995) *Swahili Plants. An Ethnobotanical Survey*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe, chapter 2.

In Arusha district bananas originated in Bukoba, Uganda and Kilimanjaro where the type of banana known as *ndizi Uganda*<sup>5</sup> grows. The main banana type found in Bagamoyo district, on the coast is called *Malindi*, a variety of beer banana ('Malindi' AAA 'Giant Cavendish', Rossel 1998: 102). In Kigoma region, bananas types are called *Mzuzu* (French plantain, Rossel 1998: 131). Banana plants in Kibondo district originated in Burundi. In 1938 Mr Johnson, the then District Commissioner, ordered every peasant to plant 50 banana suckers. In Mbeya region, bananas are called *ndizi Uganda* or *ndizi Makwamele* in memory of Jonathan Makwamele, a teacher who introduced bananas in the district in the 1920s. In Ruvuma region – Mbinga district, it is believed that people who visited Mozambique and Malawi returned with banana suckers for planting in Mbinga. The type of banana called *Ndizi mwekundu* (Red banana fruit) or *Mzungu* (European) originated in Malawi. In Tanga region, it seems that the banana known as *Malindi*, originated in Kenya, and introduced by Arab slave traders. Another type of banana is called *Mngazija* and is of Arab origin (Ngeze 1994: 7.12).

## 2. Banana plants as means of social and economic challenges in East African Highlands

According to Karamura et al. (2012: 6), the East African Highland bananas (*Musa* AAA) locally known as the *Matooke* are largely found in subsistence systems/small holdings of the East African region, thriving on altitudes between 900-2,000 meters above sea level; hence they are now more often called the East African Highland bananas (EAHB). The crop occupies a large part of the East African Plateau which covers Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, North-Western Tanzania and Western Kenya, with temperature ranges of 10-30°C. Banana production is an important livelihood for farming households, as food and as a source of income. According to Rietveld and Farnworth (2018), among some East African Highland ethnic groups, men have the control on banana plantations. Women's options to choose banana as livelihood are limited and when they cultivate the crops independently, with almost no doubt they are women whose husbands have another job or widows who inherited the land planted with banana after the death of their husbands. In some regions land may be inherited by the children or other relatives of the late husband. Although it is rare for women to own banana plantations, they often work in the fields. The amount of the time they need to allocate to the banana crop is much dependent on the mode of production and the type of banana. Plantations with cooking-banana cultivars are usually more intensively managed than plantations with mostly beer-banana cultivars. In Uganda, the raw banana fruit is marketed or, in the case of beer-banana cultivars, it is processed into beer and gin. Although in household where an adult man is present, every income derived from the sales is controlled by men, however women have access to banana for home consumption requirements and for children's school fees. Because of the problems caused by several factors such as a poor marketing system, big decline in soil fertility and pest banana diseases (Ngeze 1994: 13-15, 90; Rietveld 2013: 191-194), in some highlands regions' districts, like Kayonza district in Rwanda, many women expressed a move away from banana in favor of maize while men still consider banana production an essential element of their livelihood. Nsabimana and Gaidashova (2012: 25) stress that in Rwanda, local cultivars are genetically diverse with all *Musa* group (AA, AB, AAA, AAB, and ABB)

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<sup>5</sup> As Mgenzi et al. (2012: 3) suggest, *Ndizi Uganda* (Banana fruit from Uganda) belongs to the Lujugira-Mutika subgroup. In Uganda they are called *ebitooke ebiganda*, meaning 'native to Uganda'.

although groups of AA, some AAA, AAB and ABB are considered to be of recent introduction in the country. The two scholars confirm that bananas are relatively expensive and dominate the peri-urban areas, while brewing bananas gain big rural and urban-market for banana beer. The use of banana in Rwanda is not limited to brewing and direct consumption. Numerous processed non-food items ranging from toys for children to decoration of houses are made from various parts of banana plants.

### 3. *Watetea ndizi mgomba si wao*<sup>6</sup>: Banana Eaters in Tanzania

In Tanzania, three ethnic groups are known as the banana-eaters: the Chagga in the northern part of the country, the Haya in the northwestern part, and the Nyakyusa in the southern part. Among these groups, only the Nyakyusa live on plantains (AAB); the other two groups intensively cultivate a number of other varieties of cooking bananas (AAA), known collectively as East African Highland bananas (Maruo, 2002). These three ethnic groups are closely linked to the environment in which they live.

#### 3.1 *The Chagga of Mount Kibo*

Kilimanjaro area is known as dense banana forests with a scattered upper tree layer, the so-called Chagga home gardens, or banana grove”, in Chagga language “mndà” (Hemp 2006a). According to Koponen (1988: 233), in order to manage their home gardens the Chagga constructed long canals through which water was made to flow from mountains streams to their places, and branches and sub-branches were dug to gardens and fields from each main furrow. According to Ntiro (1953)<sup>7</sup>, Wachagga or Chagga people settled in Kilimanjaro area in remote times, and precisely at the foot of Mount Kibo, one of the three volcanic cones of Kilimanjaro.

[...] Kibo ni mlima ulio mrefu kuliko milima mingine yote ya Afrika (...) Maana ya neno hili Kibo ni madoadoa (...) kwa umbali kama uonekanavyo na sababu ya mtelemko wa barafu juu ya jabali lake (...) Mlima wa Kibo una kilele kingine cha pili kiitwacho Mawenzi (...). Mlima wa Kibo uko kati ya Tanganyika na Kenya (...) Kwa kila Mchagga, Kibo ni kitu kilicho ndani yake kabisa. (...) Usemi mmoja wa Kichagga wasema ‘Nyumbani kwa mtu ndipo mahali pakubwa kuliko mahali pengine po pote, hata kama ni juu ya jiwe’ [...]” (Ntiro 1953: 1-3).

[...] Kibo is the highest mount in Africa (...) The name Kibo means ‘stained’ (...) for a flow of ice on the rock. (...) Mount Kibo has another mountain summit called Mawenzi (...). Mount Kibo lies between Tanganyika and Kenya (...) For each Chagga, Kibo has a deep and intimate meaning (...) A saying from Wachagga states ‘The house for a man is the largest place even if it is placed on a single stone’ [...]” (Ntiro 1953: 1-3)<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> This is a Swahili proverb meaning “They argue over the bananas fruit (*ndizi*) but the banana plant (*mgomba*) belongs to someone” (Khasandi –Telewa (2016: 149).

<sup>7</sup> On Chagga people there are many important studies such as: DUNDAS, Hon Charles (1924) *Kilimanjaro and Its people: A History of the Wachagga, Their Laws, Customs, and Legend, together with some account of the highest Mountain in Africa*. London: H. F.&G. Witherby; BENDER, Matthew V. (2013) “Being ‘Chagga’: Natural Resources, Political Activism, and Identity on Kilimanjaro”, *The Journal of African History* 54, 2: 199-220; MAANGA, Godson S. (2015) “Rewriting Chagga History: Focus on Ethno-Anthropological Distortion and Misconceptions”, *Global Journal of Human Social Sciences: History, Archaeology & Anthropology* 15, 2: 1-16, however I chose to quote some excerpts from Ntiro’s text because till 1950s, the former Tanganyika was a country with few historical records and *Desturi za Wachagga* (‘Customs and Traditions of the Chagga People’, 1953) by S. J. Ntiro was the first volume published in *Custom and Tradition in East Africa series*.

<sup>8</sup> English version mine.

Ntiro continues describing Wachagga as an interethnic tribe (Ntiro 1953: 5) and inform us about some of their main cultural aspects such as banana cultivation and related rituals:

[...] Katika nchi nzima ya Kilimanjaro ndizi ni chakula kikubwa kuliko vyakula vingine vyote. Tangu zamani za kale Wachagga walikuwa wakiishi juu ya ndizi (...). Tangu zamani za kale mtu aliyepata 'kihamba' alianza kupanda migomba mara moja. (...) Kulikuwako ndizi za namna nyingi (...) mzuzu zilipandwa kwa kuchoma tu, zingine zilikuwa mbivu na zingine zilipandwa kwa kupika pombe tu. (...) Pombe ya ndizi ilikuwa na manufaa mengi kwa watu kwa kuwa ilitumiwa kwa njia nyingi (...) Kama Mchagga akimwita rafiki yake nyumbani kwake bila shaka alimpa pombe. Mpaka leo hivi kama mtu akimtumia rafiki yake habari afike kwake yule rafiki yake atajua kama ni lazima anywe pombe. (...) Hakuna Mchagga aliyeoa bila kupika pombe nyingi. Pombe zilikuwa za lazima; bwana harusi alipika sufuria tano au sita lakini ile ya mwisho ilikuwa nyingi kuliko zote. Hii pombe ya mwisho bwana harusi alisaidiwa na ndugu zake pamoja na watu wa ukoo wake. Pombe hii waliitiwa watu wote wa ukoo wa yule mtoto wakike. Kama pombe ilikuwa nzuri watu wakanywa ya kutosha, walimbariki pale pale wakimwomba baraka ya Mungu ampe maisha marefu ya amani yeye na mkewe [...] (Ntiro 1953: 19-21).

[...] In the whole Kilimanjaro area, banana fruits are the better food. Since ancient time Wachagga have based their subsistence on bananas (...). Since ancient times, a man who had a 'kihamba' (homegarden) he immediately began to cultivate banana trees. (...) There were various types of bananas (...) *mzuzu* were grown for roasting, others to be eaten raw, and others for making *pombe*<sup>9</sup>. (...) Banana's *pombe* was useful in many events and people used it in many ways (...) If Mchagga invited a friend home to get some information, certainly he would offer him a *pombe* drink. Also today, if a man invites a friend home to get some information, his friend knows that he will be obliged to drink pombe. (...) There is no Mchagga who got married without first preparing a large quantity of pombe. Pombe was indispensable; groom prepared five or six pots, however the last contained more pombe than others. The groom was helped by his friend and relatives to finish the final pombe. This *pombe* made them belonging to the same family as the bride. If pombe was good, they drank enough, groom was blessed, and they prayed to God to give him and his wife a long and peaceful life [...] (Ntiro 1953: 19-21)<sup>10</sup>.

Nowadays, in their home gardens the Chagga use several vegetation layers. Under a tree layer, which provides shadow, fodder, medicines, firewood and formerly also construction wood, bananas are grown and under the bananas coffee trees. According to Hemp (2006 a; 2006 b), this farming system evolved over several centuries and did not change much over the last decades compared with the land uses in the lower zones. The agroforestry system of the Chagga home gardens is a unique feature of Kilimanjaro, stretching on the climatically most favourable zone of the southern and south-eastern slopes over an area of 1000 km<sup>2</sup> (Hemp 2006 a).

### 3.2 The Haya of Great Lakes region

The Haya are one of the main ethnic group in Tanzania. They settle in the Lake Victoria basin (Maruo 2002: 147; Ishengoma 2005: 141). They are known as banana growers in the country, and EAHB has been found in and around the Great Lakes region. Like the Chagga, also the Haya are characterized by intensive land use and management of

<sup>9</sup> The swahili term *pombe* refers to local brew, beer (TUKI 2001: 268).

<sup>10</sup> English version mine.

banana-based home garden. As Maruo (2002: 151) stresses that a typical Haya landscape is made of two components: *kibanja*, that is the banana-based home garden, and *lweya* or bush land. According to Kamanzi (2012), in the *kibanja* there are the home for living that is called *mushonge*, a name originating from Kihaya word “mushongole” meaning ‘somebody who is wealthy. The *Mushonge* is surrounded by a banana plantation. The home for the dead is called *kituulo*, the burial ground. The local varieties of banana are called *kitooke* (the cooking banana), *mbire* (brewing banana), *nkonjwa* (roasting banana). Cooking banana is the dominant component of *kibanja*. *Obukongo* are a kind of wild yam eaten only when there is a critical shortage of edible bananas. The Haya consider shameful for a respectable household to eat *obukongo* or *embiile/enkundi* which are inedible. According to Ishengoma (2005: 143), bananas play a very important social, economic and cultural role among the Haya: they are a staple food stuff and the ingredient for local beer also called by the generic name of *pombe*. According to Carlson (1990), the traditional fermented drink of the Haya is a banana-sorghum beverage (*amarwa*), produced with bananas of a particular type (*embiile/enkundi*) that differ the staple cooking banana (*ebitoke*). The Haya recognize four levels of physical effects caused by banana beer: the first level (*okwehoteleza*) is marked by the absence of altered perception; the second level (*okushemera*) refers to feeling happy as a result of being full with banana beer; the third level (*okushaawa amarwa*) means losing control of oneself; and the fourth level (*okutamiila*) refers to being quite drunk. As Baer et al. (2003: 130) claim, drinking properly in Haya culture means never going beyond the second of these levels. Traditionally, men are responsible for producing banana beer; women and children may assist in various phases of production. Women are not allowed to crush the bananas. Although banana beer is a secular refreshment, it has symbolic value since Haya men must be sexually abstinent while brewing the beer; banana beer is also a necessary component of all celebrations and life-cycle rituals, including negotiations between clans for marriages, and the offering for the ancestors (Carlson 1992: 298, 303-304).

Following the independence of the former Tanganyika (1961), and after in 1980s, the Haya began to experience a change of their economic system when the demand for cooking banana arose in urban dwellers. According to Maruo (2002: 160-161) most of the bananas have been carried to Mwanza, the second largest city of the country, and improvement of transportation have promoted the increase of such local trade from 1990s onwards. In addition to the trade of cooking banana to urban areas, also demand for brewing banana has increased, and it seems to be a new cash source for women who buy 20 or 30 bunches of those bananas from villagers, then brew and sell the *pombe* in the neighboring towns.

### 3.3 *The Nyakyusa*

The Nyakyusa are an ethnic group belonging to the Tanganyika Bantu, settled in Mbeya region. They live mainly by farming (Kurita 1993: 192-193). The basic unit of land holding is the *kaaaja* that can be considered a plantain-based home garden. When a *kaaaja* is transferred from a father to sons, the land is divided evenly among the sons. Land held by the village is under the control of cell groups called *nyumba kumi* (‘ten houses’ in Swahili), a cooperative unit that consists of about 30 households.

According to Maruo (2007: 24-25), this system was promoted in Tanzania after the independence of Tanganyika in 1961, under the villagization policy, and was introduced to Nyakyusa society together with a new administrative system to replace the conventional chieftainship system. Each sub-village (*kitongoji*, the smallest administrative unit in

Tanzania) constitutes several *nyumba kumi* groups. As plantain (vernacular name *ififu*) and bananas (vernacular name *ibifu*) are the dominant crops, Nyakyusa have developed specific agronomic skills such as removing excess leaves to refresh the garden as well as prevent pest attack; debudding all varieties after the emergence of the inflorescence; applying organic matter to the crop. Local plantain variety *mbundya* and the dessert banana *mwamnyila* have two colour forms in the stem or fruit. The general term for plantain in Nyakyusa is *itooki*. It is said that the banana variety *gulutu* has been introduced by a man from Zambia, and *halale* by European missionaries (Maruo 2007: 28-35).

Wilson (1954: 229) highlights that in Nyakyusa culture plantain (*itoki*) symbolizes male energy and sweet banana (*iselya*, *injali* or *indefu*) the female. According to Maruo (2007: 36), this representation of gender value is probably due to the paternalistic society of the Nyakyusa: every clan and almost every household has a sacred plantain plant or grove for ceremonies in which the clan head prays to the ancestors. The plant or grove is never cut down and its fruits are not eaten by women, since they believe the spirits of their ancestral fathers reside within. Among Nyakyusa people, rituals are frequent and elaborate. As Wilson (1954: 231-232) points up, plantains and bananas play a symbolic role in many of the rituals connected to death and life. Death is very fearful and the ritual of separation from the dead is directed toward cleansing the close relatives from the contamination of the death. If the deceased is a married man, his heir is formally recognized, being put into a hut with the widows, then a plantain flower, representing the corpse, is buried. After the rite of purification, the heir and widows feed on ground plantain pulp with pumpkin seeds. The floor of the deceased's hut is then covered with dry banana leaves on which the mourners sleep and sit. After a further purification rite, relatives of the deceased and neighbours go together to a stream to bathe, and throw away a stem of plantains, a symbol of the corpse, into the water. But first, the flowering head of banana is buried in the courtyard near the door of the mourning hut and the grave of the deceased. If he was not a married man, the ritual begins with this. The banana flower is identified with the corpse: it must face in the direction from which the ancestors came, as the corpse does. If the deceased is a male, the flowering head is from a plantain (*itoke*); if a female from a sweet banana (*iselya*, *injali* or *indefu*). Wilson claims (1954: 233) that the general form of the ritual is the same at death, at marriage, and at birth. When a girl is married, after she has gone to her husband, she returns with plantains mixed with the sex fluids to bury in her father's grove. The birth ritual is elaborated, and it is prolonged and complex in case of abnormal birth, that is twin birth (Keraro et al. 2013: 14) or breach delivery. Abnormal birth is felt to be dangerous as well as death, and a large circle of relatives is held to be in danger. Affines, and mother's relatives gather for the purification, and a mess of plantains is taken by the mother of twins to her father's grove (Wilson 1954: 234). Wilson (1957) suggests that the symbolism is interpreted in terms of the habit of growth. A trunk of plantain or sweet banana flowers and fruits only once, then dies and is pruned away, being replaced by a sucker from the sweet root, hence the association between the flower and the corpse.

As Maruo (2007: 36) highlights, such symbolization probably works as a social tool to protect plantain that plays a key role in consolidating the development of the Nyakyusa rural community.

#### 4. Conclusions

Banana is one of the most important and oldest food crops of humankind, and the plantain variety constitutes the main staple food for millions of people in tropical Africa. Evidence for the time of origin of cultivated plants are obtained from linguistics, oral traditions, accounts of ancient travellers and archaeology. By studying phytoliths, archeologists have partially solved the problem of dating the presence of certain varieties of banana in a given country. Despite the many studies and researches that have been published, there are still perplexities about the introduction and spread of the banana in East Africa. Most of the cultivars of edible bananas derive from hybridization. East Africa is one of main centres of *Musa* diversity as a result of a long history of cultivation in that region. There are about sixty cultivars of EAHB (genome AAA) unique to East Africa. What is certain is that banana cultivars have influenced economic, cultural and social aspects of many East African ethnic groups whose subsistence is banana-based. The banana fruit can be eaten raw or cooked, can be fermented for the production of local alcohol. Speaking of nature and relative symbols of the vegetable world with reference to bananas and plantains means giving relevance to a particular aspect of African culture and in particular of East African agrarian economy and mode of production. It is in this dynamic system of economics that rituals became important social institutions for creating and confirming social relationships.

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## SOMMARIO

Negli ultimi secoli, la coltivazione di molte varietà di banane in Africa orientale ha contribuito allo sviluppo di strategie economiche e di sussistenza quasi ovunque. Questo articolo ha come obiettivo esaminare le dinamiche che sono alla base dei processi economici e sociali in alcuni paesi dell'Africa orientale. Un'attenzione particolare è data a tre gruppi etnici stanziati in Tanzania: i Wachagga, i Wahaya e i Wanyakyusa. Rappresentando la principale fonte di sussistenza per queste popolazioni, le banane hanno assunto una funzione simbolica in molti aspetti della loro vita economica, sociale e spirituale.



MONDOFOTO

Colonizzazione francese, schiavismo e *Code noir* in Louisiana.  
Reportage fotografico dalla Duparc Plantation.

Foto e note di Maria Pennacchio – Ethnorêma

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Nel 1712 il re Luigi XIV concedette alla Compagnia della Louisiana, diretta da Antoine Crozat, il privilegio esclusivo di commerciare nel territorio e il permesso di introdurre schiavi africani in Louisiana. I francesi non erano attratti a stabilirsi nella colonia: soltanto pochi dei sessanta uomini arrivati ad inizio Settecento si costruirono una casa e dissodarono il terreno. I pochi coloni rimasti sposarono donne native. Nel 1712 la Louisiana contava soltanto ventisette famiglie residenti, più i militari e i funzionari civili. Crozat capì quasi subito che la Louisiana non sarebbe diventata una colonia remunerativa, così nel 1717 la restituì alla corona. Nel 1717 John Law con la sua Compagnia d'Occidente (o delle Indie) provò a rivitalizzare l'economia francese, all'epoca in crisi, e obbligò, con metodi discutibili, settemila francesi a trasferirsi in Louisiana: vagabondi, forzati, disertori, contrabbandieri, ... e circa duecento donne di *mauvaise vie*. Negli anni venti i suoi sforzi riuscirono a portare in Louisiana centoventi *filles de la Casette* ma anche trecento tra tedeschi, svedesi, baltici, italiani, spagnoli e svizzeri che si stabilirono nelle vicinanze di Nuova Orleans, attirati dalla propaganda che descriveva la Louisiana come il paese dell'abbondanza. Tra il 1718 e il 1735 vennero portati in Louisiana oltre cinquemila schiavi africani; la maggior parte di loro proveniva dal Senegal, dall'Angola e dal Golfo di Guinea. Nel frattempo la sua Compagnia fallì, cosicché la Louisiana passò nuovamente in mani regie nel 1731.

Nel 1766 arrivarono in Louisiana i primi contingenti di Acadiani, che formarono successivamente la società *Cajun*. Gli acadiani erano una popolazione francofona che si era installata, agli inizi del Seicento, nella regione dell'Acadia, Canada e che subirono la deportazione quando nel 1755 rifiutarono l'atto di fedeltà ai britannici subentrati in seguito alla guerra franco-indiana. I deportati furono tenuti in navi prigione per più settimane prima di essere trasferiti e per questo si parla di pulizia etnica visto che ne morirono a migliaia (si stima che da ventitremila si ridussero a diecimila).

Fino al 1763 ancora possedimento francese, la Louisiana nel 1766, all'arrivo degli acadiani, era già sotto il controllo spagnolo. La popolazione creola discende da coloro che abitavano in Louisiana durante il periodo coloniale francese e spagnolo. I creoli hanno in comune legami culturali come la lingua francese, il creolo della Louisiana e la pratica dominante del cattolicesimo. A tal riguardo già il cardinale Richelieu, consigliere di re Luigi XIII, volle fare della *Nouvelle France* una colonia importante come quelle inglesi e proibì ai non-cattolici di insediarsi. I protestanti dovevano rinunciare alla loro fede per stabilirsi nella Nuova Francia; molti di questi perciò sceglievano di immigrare nelle colonie inglesi come ad esempio gli Ugonotti. La Chiesa cattolica e i missionari, come i Gesuiti, si stabilirono quindi in modo esclusivo nel territorio.

Il 18 gennaio 1803 la Spagna restituisce la Louisiana alla Francia. Tuttavia Napoleone Bonaparte decise di venderla agli Stati Uniti il 20 aprile 1803 dietro un pagamento di 15 milioni di dollari. La sovranità americana entrò in vigore il 20 dicembre 1803.

Nel 1804 il francese Guillame Duparc veterano della Guerra d'Indipendenza Americana fa domanda al Presidente degli Stati Uniti Thomas Jefferson per un terreno. Il presidente si assicura la sua fedeltà agli Stati Uniti concedendogli un terreno sul fiume Mississippi a Vachery. Duparc non scacciò via i nativi. La tribù degli Acolapissa continuò a vivere infatti sulla parte posteriore della piantagione.

# CODE NOIR

## ROYAL EDICT ABOUT THE DISCIPLINE OF BLACK SLAVES IN LOUISIANA.

MARCH, 1724

**LOUIS**, by the grace of God, the King of France,  
judges that by His authority and justice, rules must be established to  
maintain the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church for whatever  
concerns the state and the discipline of slaves in her colonies.

### II

All slaves will be instructed in the Roman Catholic religion  
and be baptized.

### III

All religions other than the Roman Catholic are forbidden.  
Offenders will be punished as disobedient rebels.

### IV

No person shall own or manage slaves who is not a professed  
Roman Catholic, under pain of confiscation of his slaves  
and pain of arbitrary punishment.

### V

All persons, be they free or slave, must observe Sundays and Holy Days.  
It is forbidden to work on these days, for 24 hours,  
from midnight to midnight, or to work their slaves,  
on pain of fine and punishment for the masters  
and confiscation of their slaves.  
Slaves may be sent to market on these days.

### VI

Under pain of punishment, all white persons of either sex are forbidden  
to marry blacks or to have any sexual relations with them,  
be they slave or free blacks.  
The clergy is forbidden to marry them.

If children come from such any sexual union with a white person,  
the master must pay a heavy fine.

If someone in the master's family is the parent of such offspring,  
the master will forfeit the slave and her children  
and these will never be allowed to be freed.

If a free black man has children with a slave and he marries the mother  
in the Catholic Church, the woman and her children  
will be eligible to be freed at some future time.

## VII

The Roman Catholic rules for marriages apply  
to both free persons and to slaves.

The consent of the parents of slave children is not necessary;  
the consent of the master is always necessary.

## VIII

Clergy is forbidden to marry slaves without the consent of their masters.  
Masters are forbidden to force slaves to marry against their wishes.

## IX

The children of slaves will be slaves.

The children belong to their mother's master, not their father's.

## X

If a slave marries a free woman, her children are free.

If a slave marries a free man, her children are slaves.

## XI

Masters must bury baptized slaves in consecrated cemeteries;  
if not baptized, near where they died.

## XII

Slaves are forbidden to carry any offensive weapon or large stick.

## XIII

Slaves belonging to different masters are forbidden to gather,  
either day or night, under any pretext,  
especially on streets or in remote places,  
under pain of corporal punishment no less than the whip and branding.

XIV

Masters who allow such gatherings,  
will be sentenced to pay heavy fines for all damages such crowds create.

XV

Slaves may not bring to their house or to sell anything of the master's  
without a written (ticket) permission.

XVI

At every marketplace, two persons shall check the written tickets  
for all slaves selling any goods.

XVII

Any free person in Louisiana may seize all goods in the possession of  
slaves who carry no written ticket.

XVIII

The governing council of Louisiana shall establish  
the quality of the food and clothing  
which masters must furnish their slaves.

Masters are forbidden  
to give alcoholic beverages  
in place of such food and clothing.

XIX

Masters are forbidden to pay their slaves as a substitute  
for their food and clothing requirements.

XX

Slaves who are not fed, clothed or justly treated by their masters  
can report it to the Minister of Justice.

XXI

Slaves weakened by old age, disease or handicap  
shall be cared for by their masters.

If such slaves are not treated humanely,  
they shall be sent to the nearest hospital  
and their masters sentenced to pay the costs.

XXVII

A slave who strikes his master or any member of his family,  
resulting in a bruise or blood, shall be put to death.

XXVIII

Under pain of confiscation of their slaves or other penalties, masters are  
forbidden to engage in any form of torture of slaves, under any pretext,  
or to order others to do the same.

The most severe punishment that masters are allowed is  
to bind their slaves and beat them with rods or cords.

XXXIX

The Louisiana department of Justice shall take criminal action against  
masters or managers who have killed or mutilated slaves. If found guilty,  
they shall be dealt with according to the atrocity of their crime.

XL

Slaves shall be considered as the personal property of their masters.

XLIII

A slave husband, his wife and their children, up to the age of puberty,  
if they belong to the same master,  
shall not be seized or sold separately.

Any such sales or seizures are, hereby, null and void.

XLIV

Slave children, up to 14 years of age, and old slaves, 60 years and older,  
may not be seized for debts owed by their master,  
unless the unpaid debt was for their own purchase,  
or unless the entire lands and properties of the master are seized.

Il *Code Noir* adottato in Louisiana (chiamato dopo il 1803 anche *Black Code*) era la seconda versione promulgata da Luigi XV nel 1724 appositamente per la Louisiana ma si rifaceva alla prima versione elaborata dal ministro Jean-Baptiste Colbert e promulgata nel 1685 da Luigi XIV.

La seconda versione che come la prima non comprendeva alcuna disposizione di ordine linguistico ometteva gli articoli 5, 7, 8, 18 e 25 del *Code Noir* del 1685.

*[Article 5. Défendons à nos sujets de la religion protestante d'apporter aucun trouble ni empêchement à nos autres sujets, même à leurs esclaves, dans le libre exercice de la religion catholique, apostolique et romaine, à peine de punition exemplaire.*

*Article 7. Leur défendons pareillement de tenir le marché des nègres et de toute autre marchandise auxdits jours, sur pareille peine de confiscation des marchandises qui se trouveront alors au marché et d'amende arbitraire contre les marchands.*

*Article 8. Déclarons nos sujets qui ne sont pas de la religion catholique, apostolique et romaine incapables de contracter à l'avenir aucuns mariages valables, déclarons bâtards les enfants qui naîtront de telles conjonctions, que nous voulons être tenues et réputées, tenons et réputons pour vrais concubinages.*

*Article 18. Défendons aux esclaves de vendre des cannes de sucre pour quelque cause et occasion que ce soit, même avec la permission de leurs maîtres, à peine du fouet contre les esclaves, de 10 livres tournois contre le maître qui l'aura permis et de pareille amende contre l'acheteur.*

*Article 25. Seront tenus les maîtres de fournir à chaque esclave, par chacun an, deux habits de toile ou quatre aunes de toile, au gré des maîtres.]*

Il *Code Noir* del 1724 consisteva in 55 articoli riguardanti le disposizioni sulla vita degli schiavi neri nelle colonie francesi. Aveva anche come obiettivo l'espulsione degli ebrei contenuta nell'art. 1 che ordinava l'applicazione dell'editto del 1615 alla Louisiana secondo il quale tutti gli ebrei che vi avessero naturalizzato la loro religione dovevano essere espulsi nel periodo di tre mesi, sotto sanzione penale di confisca di sé e della proprietà. Nel *préambule* del *Code Noir* la nozione di «schiavo» appariva come un fatto e l'art. 44 parlava in modo esplicito di schiavi come *meubles*, ereditabili e divisibili tra i coeredi. Venivano proibiti i matrimoni tra schiavi senza il consenso del padrone e, dal 1724, tra bianchi e neri. La condizione di schiavo veniva ereditata dalla madre: ad esempio se una donna schiava concepiva da un uomo libero, il nascituro aveva la condizione di schiavo; nel caso opposto il bambino era libero. L'articolo 38 elencava i casi in cui poteva essere applicata la pena di morte. Le punizioni così come indicate dal Codice, potevano essere liberamente interpretate dal padrone. Il Codice incoraggiava il battesimo degli schiavi, richiedeva una certa educazione alla religione cattolica e una sepoltura cattolica.

Il *Code Noir* in vigore alla Duparc Plantation era costituito da 26 articoli e precisamente il 2, 3, 4, 5(6), 6(9), 7(10), 8(11), 9(12), 10(13), 11(14), 12(15), 13(16), 14(17), 15(19), 16(120), 17(21), 18(22 e 23), 19(24), 20(26), 21(27), 27(33), 28(42), 39(43), 40(44), 43(47), 44(48) [tra parentesi il numero corrispondente alla prima versione del *Code Noir* del 1685].

### Runaway Slaves.

Ranaway from the Duparc plantation on the 27th ult. and the 2d last, six *American* negroes, not speaking a word of French. The named **SAM** is of the age of about 22 years, of the height of 5 feet 6, in French measure, has a reddish complexion and stout make; the second named **PETER** of about the same age, of the height of 5 feet 2 in, of a dark complexion, and having some white spots on his lips, his legs some what crooked, very strong and robust; the third named **RESIDENCE** of the age of about 21 years, of the height of 5 feet 5 in, a dark complexion and slender body; the 4th named **THOMAS** is of the age of 27 years, of the height of 5 feet 7 in, stout built and very big, has a very dark complexion, a scar on one of his cheeks, and a very thick beard; the 5th named **JOSEPH** (or **JOE**) is of the age of 17 years, of the height of 5 feet 2 in, has a dark complexion, a face somewhat swelled, small and hollow eyes and slender body. The sixth named **PHILIP** is of the age 20 years, of the height of 5 feet 6 in, slender body and red skin. He is branded on the two cheeks V.D.P. (for the Widow Duparc PrudHomme), the latter slave was purchased from Mr. John Cox; the five others bought from Mr. Robert Thompson now in this city.



A reward of 200 dollars will be paid to whomever shall lodge the said slaves in any of the jails of this state, or bring them back to their master on the Duparc plantation, in the county of Acadia. Thirty dollars will be given for each of them in case they should not be stopped all together. All reasonable charges will besides be paid for by:

Louis Dre. Duparc

December 6, 1816

*Avviso di ricompensa per il ritrovamento di 6 schiavi fuggiaschi di 200\$ o 30\$ per ciascun fuggiasco (valore attuale di circa 4000 \$ e 600 \$ rispettivamente).*

REGISTRY OF SLAVES ON THE DUPARC PLANTATION MAY, 1808	
	VALUE IN US\$, 2003
JEAN-PIERRE, age: 25 years, A Creole mulatto from Louisiana. He works in the fields and is a highly skilled worker . . . . .	\$100,000
CABANNIERE, age 40 years, A black Creole from America. He works in the fields and is a good worker . . . . .	\$26,000
DOCTEUR, age 26 years, A slave coming from Canga, He works in the fields. . . . .	\$40,000
FONTIME, age 25 years, A black coming from Canga, He works in the fields and is a good worker . . . . .	\$40,000
LOUIS, age 20 years, A slave coming from Moco, He works in the fields and is a good worker . . . . .	\$45,000
SMATHE, age 20 years, A slave coming from Minan, She is a lunatic. . . . .	\$10,000
ADELAIDE, age 25 years, A black woman coming from Quesy, and her black daughter, LOUISE, age 9 months. She works in the fields. . . . .	\$40,000
PATIENCE, age 24 years, A black woman coming from Moco, and her son, TANTALE, age 18 months. She has no redeeming qualities at all. . . . .	\$35,000
ANGELIQUE, age 20 years, A black woman coming from Congo, She tries to run away and is a bad house maid. . . . .	\$26,000
MARIE, age 26 years, A young black Creole girl, and her two children, TUSSON, age 7 years, a mulatto, LIZA, age 5 years, a black child. She works as a house servant. . . . .	\$80,000
EUGENIE, age 26 years, A black woman coming from Congo. She can do a few house cleaning chores. . . . .	\$45,000
ROZE, age 13 years, She is a half-black & half-Indian Creole. . . . .	\$45,000
DARINCE, age 8 years, A young black orphan . . . . .	\$23,000

*Registro degli schiavi della Duparc Plantation nel 1808 e loro relativo valore comparato al valore del dollaro nel 2003*

Le strutture abitative della piantagione furono costruite da Duparc nel 1804-1805. Dietro la casa padronale si estendeva una lunga strada sterrata di circa 6 km fiancheggiata dalle *slave cabins* dove alloggiavano i lavoratori della piantagione di canna da zucchero. Fino alla guerra civile americana (1861-1865), il quartiere degli schiavi includeva un'infermeria, 69 *cabins*, delle cucine comuni e diversi pozzi d'acqua dislocati lungo la strada. Ogni *slave cabin* era predisposta per due famiglie con due ingressi separati e un doppio camino centrale in condivisione. Vicino alla baracca era presente un piccolo orto, un pollaio e/o una porcilaia.



Fino alla Guerra Civile, lavoravano nella piantagione 186 schiavi. Nella piantagione si coltivavano ed esportavano indaco, riso, noci-pecan e canna da zucchero. L'ultima discendente Duparc vendette la piantagione nel 1891.

L'esistenza del quartiere delle *slave cabins*, dove i lavoratori hanno continuato a vivere fino al 1977, ha contribuito a dare significato storico a tutta la Duparc Plantation. Il complesso rappresenta una documentazione storica e un retaggio culturale ed è stato inserito nel *National Register of Historic Places*.



































Nella storia della piantagione, si narra che il vicino di casa dei Duparc, studioso di folklore, Alc  e Fortier, abbia visitato la piantagione intorno al 1870 per ascoltare i *freedmen* e ne avrebbe raccolto le storie che questi raccontavano ai loro bambini in lingua creola: lingua francese ma con influenze di lingue africane. Le storie erano su *Compair lapin* e *Compair Bouki* con la lepre nel ruolo dell'imbrogliatore. Queste storie sono state pubblicate – 25 anni dopo – nel 1894 da Fortier: *Louisiana Folk Tales: In French Dialect and English Translation*.



Foto d'epoca conservate in una *Slave Cabin* della Duparc Plantation, Vacherie, Louisiana

## IN ALTRE LINGUE

### *The footprints of the Companions* A Somali short travelogue by Jama Musse Jama

With translation and comments by Giorgio Banti  
(formerly University of Naples “L’Orientale”)

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Jama Musse Jama is a Somali ethnomathematician who was born in Hargeysa, Somaliland. In 2016 he passed his final PhD viva in African Studies at the University of Naples “L’Orientale”, with a dissertation on Computational Linguistics for African Languages. He has authored and edited several books, both of his own fiction, and essays. He is also known for his research on traditional African games and their potential for use within formal education. A cultural activist, historical researcher and a preserver of Somali oral tales, cultural heritage and history, he has founded the Hargeysa Cultural Centre (*Xarunta Dhaqanka ee Hargeysa*), and the influential Hargeysa International Book Fair. In 2018, he was the host of the 13th International Congress of the Somali Studies International Association in Hargeysa, and is now the formal President of the Somali Studies International Association.

Somali is an East Cushitic language that belongs to the Afroasiatic phylum. It is spoken by more than 16.000.000 native speakers in former Somalia, Djibouti, eastern and southern Ethiopia, northeastern Kenya, and in a worldwide diaspora. It is called *af Soomaali*, i.e., ‘the language of the Somali’ by its speakers. In the past, it has been written both in Ajami (i.e., adapted Arabic), in indigenous and in Roman scripts. However, literate Somali mostly wrote in other languages, e.g., Arabic, English or Italian, while Somali remained a mostly unwritten language until 1972, when the national government of Somalia chose a Roman-based script without diacritics as its official orthography. Long vowels are represented by double letters, e.g., [a:] by *aa*, while *c*, *dh*, and *x* represent epiglottal or pharyngeal ‘*ayn*’ (i.e., [ʕ] ~ [ħ]), retroflex *ɖ* and pharyngeal *ħ*, respectively. Written Somali was immediately introduced in the public administration, armed forces, bank system and education all over Somalia, and after the fall of the Dergue also in the Somali federal state of Ethiopia. It is now a well-established written language, with newspapers, periodicals, novels, collections of poetry, essays, several monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, etc. There are regional and local varieties of Somali, but the present-day written language is mostly based upon Northern Somali. Yet there is a certain degree of variation in written Somali, to the extent that some authors<sup>1</sup> have described it as a “pluricentric language”; however, individual authors or groups of writers may follow their own linguistic and orthographic choices even within their regional variety.

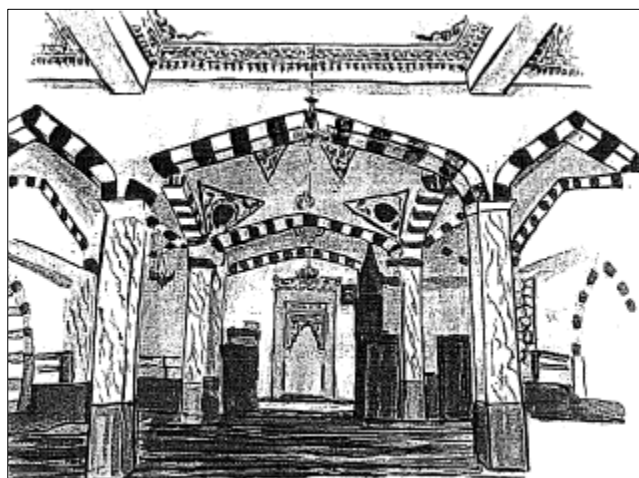
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<sup>1</sup> For instance, M. Nilsson, 2018, “Somali as a Pluricentric Language: corpus based evidence from schoolbooks”, in R. Muhr & B. Meisnitzer (eds.) *Pluricentric Languages and non-dominant Varieties worldwide: Nation, space and language*, Wien &c., Peter Lang Verlag.

“The footprints of the Companions” is a short travelogue that recently appeared on pp. 65-74 of a collection of short stories and travelogues by Jama Musse Jama.<sup>2</sup> It has been chosen for the section *In altre lingue* (i.e., ‘In other languages’) of this issue of *Ethnorêma* because three years ago a paper on this very shrine has been published on this journal,<sup>3</sup> with pictures and historical and bibliographical notes. The present writer thought it interesting for two contributions about an ancient historical Muslim shrine to appear on the same journal, one from the perspective of a Western non-Muslim, the other by a Somali intellectual who writes about his feelings and experiences in this holy place in Ethiopian Tigray.

The language Jama writes is northwestern Somali, as shown, e.g.,

- i.) by his using *-dh-* rather than *-r-* in *yeedhmadii* ‘the call’, *gaadhay* ‘I reached’, etc.;
- ii.) by clusters of negative particle and clitic subject pronouns like *aanad* ‘not’ + ‘you (SG)’, and *aanay* ‘not’ + ‘they’ rather than, respectively, *aadan* and *uusan* or *uunan*; and
- iii.) by always having *waxa* rather than *waxaa* in *waxa*-constructions like *Mekele waxa aan ka kiraystay tagsi i geeya Negaash* ‘in Mekelle, I rented a taxi for travelling to Negash’, where *waxa* makes it possible to place the focused heavy constituent *tagsi i geeya Negaash* ‘a taxi for travelling to Negash’ (lit. ‘a taxi that carries me to Negash’) after the verb *kiraystay* ‘I rented’.



The interior of the Negash Mosque (drawing by Najiib Xaashi Carab “Hanad Arts”)

As far as his orthography is concerned, there are occurrences of clitic subject pronouns spelt as separate words rather than coalescing with preceding *waxa*, e.g., *waxa aan ka kiraystay* ‘I rented in’, but also *boqorku wuxuu ku aasan yahay halkan* ‘the king is buried here’, with *wuxuu* ← *waxa uu*. And after *waa* and *ayaa* they are always coalesced, e.g., *waan la kulmay* ‘I met’, *ina Muuse ayaan ahay* ‘I am a son of Musse’. Separating clitic subject pronouns is a growing tendency in written Somali, advocated by Somali

<sup>2</sup> Jaamac Muuse Jaamac, 2019, *Balanbaalisayahay duul iyo sheekoyin kale*, Hargeysa, Ponte Invisibile (redsea-online), pp. 65-74.

<sup>3</sup> M. Vergari, 2016, “The shrine of Nağāšī Aşşām b. Abğar and the tombs of the companions of Muḥammad (Nägaš, Ethiopia)”, in *Ethnorêma* 12, 63-72.

grammarians such as Maxamed Xaaji Xuseen Raabbi.<sup>4</sup> In addition to this, after *ma* ‘not’, *ay* ‘they’ is spelt separately in *ma ay ahayn* ‘it was not’, and the enclitic conjunction *se* ‘but’, ‘however’ is generally separated from the preceding word here, as in *markii dambe se wuu ii wada sheegay runta* ‘however, he later told me the truth’, but never in the expressions *hase ahaatee* ‘however’ and *hase yeeshee* ‘however’. Instead, the enclitic conjunction *na* ‘and’ is never spelt as a separate word, e.g., *dhawr qof oo kalena waan la kulmay* ‘I also met several other people’.

In compounds, hyphens are avoided even in long and internally complex words like *xerudhaladka* ‘originated in a *xer*’ – i.e., in a community of religious people following a sheikh – and *waxisusheeggu*.

For the style, the author has chosen a plain language: most words are quite common ones, and some are even typically northwestern ones, like *judhadiiba* ‘immediately’; and he prefers the new word *goorsheegto* ‘watch’, ‘clock’ (lit. ‘timeteller’) to the more common Arabic loanword *saacad*. But he retains some features that characterize an elaborate and sophisticated literary Somali register, for instance alliteration. This is one of the typical features of Somali poetic diction, which also occurs in many proverbs, riddles and traditional curses, and even in blessings such as *Nabadgelyo iyo Naxariisi Korkiisa ha Ahaatee* ‘may (God’s) peace and mercy be upon him’, which always follows a mention of the Prophet Mohammed, as an adapted translation of the Arabic eulogy *ṣallâ Allahu ‘alayhi wa-sallam* ‘may God bless him and grant him salvation’. In addition to this formula, alliterated pairs in this short travelogue are *xumaantii Qurayshta Maka iyo xaqdarradii Carabta qaarkeed* ‘the fiendish Quraysh of Mecca and the evil-mindedness of some Arabs’, and *Geeska iyo Gudaha Afrika* ‘Horn of Africa and the interior of the continent’ (lit. ‘the Horn and the interior of Africa’), but their literary flavour is mostly lost in English translation.

Repetition and parallelism is another feature of Somali literary style, as in the two paragraphs after the mention of Abdurrahman Jabarti, that begin by *waxa ay iiga sheekeeyeen, oo i tuseen*, ‘they talked to me and showed me’. Actually, the parallelism is more complex in the Somali version, because these two coordinated clauses are followed by two phrases that both begin by *qoraallo* ‘writings’: *qoraallo farriin isweydaarsi ah* and *qoraallo laga sameeyey dooddii Jacfar binu Abii Daalib ...*. In the English translation I rendered this as ‘some letters’ and, respectively, ‘some writings about Jaafar bin Abu Talib’s speech’, that somehow lose part of the effect of the original text.

Finally, two instances of syntactic redundancy should be pointed out, both of types that are quite frequent in contemporary literary Somali prose. They occur in the same paragraph that begins with *dareenka hawada* ‘from the feeling of the air’:

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<sup>4</sup> For instance, Maxamed Xaaji Xuseen Raabi, 2009, “Hawlaha naxweed ee qurubweedheedyadu / weedhtoosiyayaasha (sentence particles): ayaa, baa, waa iyo weeye” and “Astaamaynta Afsoomaaliga (Somali punctuation)”, in Maxamed Xaaji Raabbi, *Qaan gaadh ee qaabku waa ... - Qoraallo ku saabsan Afsoomaliga*, Djibouti, Machadka Afafka ee Jabuuti - ILD, pp. 117-139, 141-156.

- a.) *marka laga reebo masajidka cusub ee uu Turkigu ka dhisay mooyiye* ‘but for the new mosque made by the Turks’, where both *marka laga reebo* and *mooyiye* perform exactly the same excluding function as English *but*. One of them would have been enough, yet *marka laga reebo*, lit. ‘if one excludes from it’, is more transparent than *mooyiye*, and probably more easily understood by young readers.
- b.) *In aan raadkii saxaabada, oo weli sii muuqda, aan aniguna ku dul tallaabsanayay* ‘as if I were stepping myself in the footprints of the Companions that were still visible’, with the clitic subject pronoun *aan* ‘I’ occurring twice, at the beginning of the long dependent sentence, and immediately after the parenthetical remark *oo weli sii muuqda* ‘that were still visible’. As stated above, also this kind of repetition is quite frequent in literary prose.

### **Raadkii Saxaabada**

*Neegush, Ethiopia, 5 Oktoober, 2018*

Ma ay ahayn gef xilliga ah. Waxay ahayd 4:30kii. “Kuwa Eebbe rumeeyayow, ooga salaadda, sidaasaa ka door roon e,” ayuu ku celiyey saddex jeer baaqa hortii. Yeedhmadii shalay ee salaadda arooryo, ee habdhaca luuqdeedu xerudhaladka ahayd, kolka aan saakana maqlay, waxa ay igu ridday jid cusub: in aan raaco raadkii saxaabada Nebi Maxamed, Nabadgelyo iyo Naxariisi Korkiisa ha Ahaatee.

Mekele waxa aan ka kiraystay tagasi i geeya Negaash. Saacad iyo rubuc ka dib, waxa aan soo gaadhay oogo aad mooddo in goorsheegtada lagu hakiyey Rajab, Sannadkii 5aad ee Hijriyada, kolkii 17 ka mid ah saxaabadii Nebi Maxamed (NNKHA), oo ka soo cararay xumaantii Qurayshta Maka iyo xaqdarradii Carabta qaarkeed, ay soo gaadheen buurahan qabow ee degganaanshaha nafsiga ahi hadheeyey. Kooxda hore waxay ahaayeen baa la yidhi 12 nin iyo 5 dumar ah oo ay ku jiraan Cismaan Ibnu Cafaan iyo Ruqiya Bintu Maxamed, Eebbe raalli ha ka noqdo labadaba e. Kooxda labaad oo 83 rag iyo 19 dumar ah ahayd, waxa hoggaaminayay Jacfar Abu Daalib, Eebbe raalli ha ka noqdee. Waxa soo diray Suubbanaha Maxamed (NNKHA), oo u sheegay in ay halkaa ku badbaadayaan, maganna u noqon doonaan boqor madow oo ka taliya dhulkaa nabadda ah.

Neegash, Negaash ama Nejaash, waa tuulo ku taal kililka Tigree, Itoobiya, waddada isku xidha Mekele-Adigrat, una jirta 6.5 km magaalada Wukro. Waxa la yidhaahdaa waa degaankii Islaamka ee ugu horreeyey Afrika. Magacu wuxuu ka yimi afka Tigreega waana boqor. Dadka ku nooli oo qiyaastii 10,000 ku dhow, in ka yar 700 ayaa muslim ah.

Ashama Ibn Ajbar (Boqorkii Neegash) wuxuu ahaa boqor Kiristaan “Orthodox” ah oo ka taliya boqortooyadii Aaksum, wuxuuna noolaa oo xukumaayay Aaksum 614-631 CD, oo ku beegan sannadihii 5-22 ee tirsiga Islaamka. Tuuladan aan caawa joogo meel u dhow oo qowga buurta ka soo hor jeedda ah, welina ka sii muuqdaan duugaalkii degganaanshuhu, ayuu fadhigiisu ahaan jirey. Waxa aad mooddaa sida loo nool yahay, in wax yari is beddeleen ilaa xilligaa. Boqorku wuxuu ku aasan yahay halkan, waxana uu ku geeriyooday Islaannimo kolkii dambe, ayay degaanku qabaan.

Saddex dhisme oo dhowaan Turkigu sameeyey oo si fil roon u dhisan, dhul nadiif ah oo biyo ka soo dhacayaan oo la isku daahiriyo, kuraasi dhadhaab ka samaysan oo loogu fadhiisto weysada, farshaxan joometeri isku dhafan ku salaysan, xayndaab qurxoon oo masaaqidka iyo xabaalaha kala oodaya, iyo goob shirarka lagu qaban karo oo qiyaastii 300 oo qof fadhiisan karaan, ayaa judhadiiba ku qaabilaya. Waxaad dareemaysaa ilbaxnimo, dadnimo iyo degganaasho, kolka Iimaan Aadan kaaga hor yimaaddo si kalsooni leh. “Haddii aad Islaam tahay u weeco xagga masaaqidka, haddii aad dalxiise kale tahayna dariiqa toos u qaad oo xayndaabka ka tallow,” ayay si kalsooni leh kuugu odhan doonaan marka aad is hor taagto. Hadday kuu gartaan soogaleetina, kolka ay yiqiinsadaan in aanad Af Tigree iyo Af Amxaari toona ku hadal, waxay kugu odhan, “Miyaad ku hadashaa Af Carabiga?” Kolka ay ku haybsadaan, waxay kuugu yeedhi qof afkaaga ku hadla: Soomaali, Amxaari, Canfari, Ingiriisi, Tigree iyo Carabi, intaba cid ku hadasha ayaa xerta ka mid ah.

Taariikhaha qoran ee Reer Galbeedka, kuwa buugaagta taariikhda Islaamka ku sheeggan, iyo kuwa afka ay iiga yidhaahdeen degaanku way is dhaafsan yihiin, kolkaa waxba ka odhan maayo jeeroon baadhitaan kale sameeyo, degaanku se waxay ay ii sheegeen in taariikhdii Islaamka ee dhabta uga dhacday halkan, ay dawladihii xoogga weynaa ee u kala dambeeyey Itoobiya dhalanrogeen. Waxa aan soo arkay dhawr qof oo dadnimadooda iyo iimaankooduba aad u sarreeyo. Walow hayntooda adduuno ay dayro u muuqatay, haddana iftiin badan baa ka muuqday lebbiskooda iyo wejiyadooda. Ma ogi in ay maalin kasta sidan quruxda badan u lebbisan yihiin, iyo in Jimcaha daraadeed ay salaadda ugu soo diyaargaroobeen. Midi waa Sheekh Aadan Maxamed Ibraahin, hayaha furaha iyo adeegaha Xarunta Negaash, ahna hagaha masaaqidka xilliyada la oogayo salaadda. Midina waa Cali Muuse Cali, gacanyare xerow ah oo Af Soomaaliga ku hadla. Dhawr qof oo kalena waan la kulmay.

Qudbadda salaadda Jimce ma aan fahmayn kolka laga reebo meelaha hadal-qaadka Suubbanaha Maxamed uu ku jiro oo sare loo qaadayay xuskiisa iyo Allebarigiisa, Nabadgelyo iyo Naxariisi Korkiisa ha Ahaatee. Kolkaa waan raacinayay xuska oo Af Carabi ah, inta kale se Af Tigree ayaa waxiisusheeggu ku baxayay. Salaadda ka dib ayuu Sheekh Aadan ii warramay, i soo mariyey dhismaha, i tusay xawaalka dhagaxaanta cusub lagu qurxiyey, hase yeeshee ay ku qoran yihiin inay ku aasan yihiin Boqorkii Negaash, oo sida dadka degaanku aaminsan yihiin, ku dhintay Islaannimo, iyo 15 ka mid ah asxaabadii ku geeriyootay intii aanay dib u noqon, oo laba iyo toban ka mid ahi isku meel kula aasan yihiin boqorka.

Waxa kale oo ku magaacaban dhagax-xawaallada midkood, Cabdiraxmaan Jabarti oo ay aad ugu ducaynaayeen, waayo isaga ayaa dhisay, ilaaliyey goobtan, markii dambena labadiisii wiil u kala diray Geeska iyo Gudaha Afrika, si ay dacwadda u fidiyaan, ayay igu yidhaahdeen.

Waxa ay iiga sheekeeyeen, oo i tuseen, qoraallo farriin isweydaarsi ah oo ah dhambaal uu Suubbaneheenna Maxamed u soo direy boqorka si uu uga mahadceliyo, iyo dhambaal jawaab ah oo boqor Negaash u celiyey Suubbanaha.

Waxa ay iiga sheekeeyeen oo i tuseen, qoraallo laga sameeyey dooddii Jacfar binu Abii Daalib ku badbaadiyey saxaabada markii nimanka awoodda badan ee Qurayshi ka soo daba dirtay si loo soo qabqabto asxaabta, oo uu hoggaaminayay aftahan Caamir binu Cabbas oo aan weli soo muslimin markaa, boqorkana hadiyadda qaaliga ah u keeneen, ay ku andacodeen in “kooxdani shufto soo goosatay yihiin oo qarandumis ah, diintaada Ciisena ku wacad furay.”

Waxa ay ii sheegeen sida uu Boqor Negaash u ahaa xaqsoore oo intii aanu go’aanka gaadhin hadalka uu u siiyey Jacfar, oo isaguna iskaga dhiciyey dood qiimo leh, una akhriyey qaybo ka mid ah suuradda Al Maryam ee Qawlka Eebbe. Kolkii Negaash dareemay runnimada doolda Jacfarna, jeclaystay in uu Jacfar bal u akhriyo qaybo kale oo hadalka Eebbe ee loo soo mariyey Maxamed (NNKHA) ah.

Waxa ay ii sheegeen in qaybo ka mid ah suuradda Al Cimraan kolkuu Jacfar u akhriyey Negaash, uu boqorku jidhidhicooday, kuna wacad galay in ay badbaado ku negaan doonaan ilaa inta ay iyagu iskood u noqonayaan, sidaana ku magan geliyey.

Dareenka hawada, dadka wejiyadooda, cimilada degganaanshuhu hadheeyey waxa aad is odhanaysaa kun iyo badhkaa sannadood ee ka soo wareegtay taariikhda, in ay goorsheegtadu taagnayd. Dhismayaasha, marka laga reebo masaajidka cusub ee uu Turkigu ka dhisay mooyiye, dhulka intiisa kale dhagaxa uu ku samaysan yahay waxa ku muuqda duugaal muddo dheer soo jirey. Waxaan dareemayay in aan raadkii saxaabada, oo weli sii muuqda, aan aniguna ku dul tallaabsanayay, kolkaan sheikh<sup>5</sup> Aadan la fadhiyey.

Cali Muuse wuxuu igu yidhi, “Waxa aan ahay Soomaali, oo ina Muuse ayaan ahay.” Anna waxaan ku idhi, “Aniguba ina Muuse ayaan ahay.” Markii dambe se wuu ii wada sheegay runta in uu isaga iyo waalidkiiba ku dhasheen Gondar dusheeda, oon asalkoodu ahayn Soomaali, hase yeeshee uu Jabuuti ku koray, afka ku bartay, aabbihiina ku dhintay halkaa, hase yeeshee hooyadii u diidday inuu magaalada sii joogo, Jabuuti iyo Addis toona, oo ay ku tidhi, “Joog masaajidka oo xerow ka noqo.”

Waxa aan go’aansaday in aan caawa u hoydo halkan, la cuno oonta yar ee ay isku fillaysiiyaan, kuna nool yihiin, tagsigiina waan fasaxay.

## Translation

### The footprints of the Companions

*Negash, Ethiopia, October 5th, 2018*

It was not the wrong time.<sup>6</sup> It was 4:30. “You who believe in God, perform your prayer, because this is your best choice”, was repeated three times before the muezzin’s summoning. When I heard also today yesterday’s call to the morning prayer, performed

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<sup>5</sup> Read *sheykh* or *sheekh*, probably misspelt or automatically corrected by the word processor software.

<sup>6</sup> It was the proper time for the morning prayer (*ṣalātu al-fağr*), one of the five daily prayers Islam prescribes.

in a local traditional way,<sup>7</sup> I was thrown onto a new path: I would follow the footprints of the Companions of the Prophet Mohammed, may Peace and Mercy be upon Him.

In Mekelle, I rented a taxi for travelling to Negash. After one hour and 15 minutes, I reached a mountainside place where one had the impression that time had stopped in the month of Rajab<sup>8</sup> of the 5th year after the Hijra, when 17 Companions of the Prophet Mohammed (may Peace and Mercy be upon Him), who had fled from the fiendish Quraysh of Mecca and the evil-mindedness of some Arabs, reached these cold mountains, whose peacefulness sheltered them. It is told that the first group were 12 men and 5 women, among whom there were Othman ibn Affan<sup>9</sup> and Muhammad's daughter Ruqayyah, may God be pleased with both of them. The second group, composed of 83 men and 19 women, was led by Jaafar ibn Abu Talib,<sup>10</sup> may God be pleased with him. They were sent by the Prophet Mohammed (may Peace and Mercy be upon Him), who told them that they would be safe there, and that they would find sanctuary by a black king who ruled that peaceful country.

Negash or Nejash is a village that lies in the Tigray regional state, Ethiopia, on the street that connects Mekelle and Adigrat, at 6.5 kms from the town of Wukro. It is reported to be the first settlement of Islam in Africa. Its name comes from the Tigrinya language, and it means 'king'. Of the people who live there, which are approximately 10,000, less than 700 are Muslims.

Ashama ibn Ajbar<sup>11</sup> (the king Negash) was a Christian Orthodox king, who ruled over the kingdom of Aksum, living there and reigning from 614 to 631 CE, which correspond to the years 5-22 of the Islamic calendar. His seat was in a place near to this village where I am now, in front of the mountain cliffs, where the remains of the dwellings are still visible. One has the impression that the way people live now changed very little from that time. The king is buried here, and people believe that he died after converting to Islam.

One notices at once three well-built structures, which were recently erected by the Turks, a clean and well-kept ground with water fountains, some stone benches where people can sit while cleansing themselves,<sup>12</sup> a decoration based upon connected geometrical patterns, a nice fencing wall that separates the mosque from the tombs, and a hall where meetings can be held, with more or less 300 seats. One has a feeling of good manners, empathy and poise, when the Imam Ahmed approaches you with confidence. "If you are a Muslim, turn towards the mosque; while if you are a different kind of tourist, follow the straight path, and enter the enclosure", you will be told, when you stand in

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<sup>7</sup> In recent years, especially in the major cities and towns of the Horn of Africa, the traditional styles of the muezzins' call to prayer (Ar. *'aḍān*) have been replaced by a new standard style coming from Saudi Arabia.

<sup>8</sup> The seventh month of the Islamic calendar. Since it is a lunar calendar, a few days shorter than the solar one, the beginning of Rajab changes every year.

<sup>9</sup> *ʿUtmān bin ʿAffān* (probably 574–656 CE), the Prophet's son-in-law, who later became the third caliph.

<sup>10</sup> Jaafar (*Ǧaʿfar ibn ʿAbī Ṭālib*, ca. 590–629 CE), a cousin of the Prophet and an early convert to Islam. One of the older brothers of Ali (*ʿAlī ibn ʿAbī Ṭālib*; 601–661 CE), he was later to become the fourth caliph (656–661 CE). Shia Muslims differ from Sunnis in regarding Ali as the rightful immediate successor to Muhammad as an Imam.

<sup>11</sup> In the Arabic sources *ʿAṣham(a) bin ʿAbḡar*, the Ethiopian *naǧāšī*. He is frequently identified with the king known as Armah from Ethiopian sources, the last coin-issuing king of Axum.

<sup>12</sup> That is, while performing the *wuḍūʾ*, the ritual ablution that has to be done in preparation for praying, or before handling and reading the Quran.

front of them. If they understand that you are a foreigner, when they see that you do not understand either Tigrinya or Amharic, they tell you, “Do you speak Arabic?” When they identify where you are from, they call a person who knows your language: Somali, Amharic, Afar, English, Tigrinya or Arabic. For any of them there is a person who speaks it in the place.

What Westerners wrote, what the works on the history of Islam tell, and what the local people narrated to me with their own words is much and diverse, and I won’t talk about it before doing some further research, but the people I met there told me that the true history of Islam that occurred in this place has been altered by the powerful governments that recently succeeded to each other in Ethiopia. I met several people whose humanity and religious feelings were profound. Even though they may have looked destitute to other people, there was much light that shined from their clothes and their faces. I don’t know whether they used to wear such beautiful clothes every day, or if they had prepared themselves for the Friday prayers. One of them was sheikh Adan Mohamed Ibrahim, who holds the key of the Negash sanctuary and is its caretaker, and who leads the mosque when believers are summoned to the prayer. Another one is Ali Musse Ali, the secretary of the community and a speaker of Somali. I also met several other people.

I did not understand the sermon of the Friday prayer, with the exception of the portions where the Prophet Mohamed was quoted (may Peace and Mercy be upon Him), where his memory and praise were glorified. I thus repeated what was said in Arabic, but could not understand the rest that was in Tigrinya. After the prayer sheikh Adan talked to me, showed me the different buildings, and the tombs that had been renovated with new stones. It was written on them that King Negash was buried there, whom the local people believe to have died after converting to Islam, and 15 Companions who died before they could go back, twelve of whom are buried together with the king under the same dome.

One of the tombstones also mentions Abdurrahman Jabarti,<sup>13</sup> whom they much revere, because it was he who built and guarded this place, and later sent his two sons to the Horn of Africa and the interior of the continent, in order to spread the call to Islam.

They talked to me and showed me some letters, one of them a message sent by the Prophet Mohammed to the king in order to thank him, the other the response sent by King Negash to the Prophet.

They talked to me and showed me some writings about Jaafar bin Abu Talib’s speech that saved the Companions, when the powerful men sent after them by the Quraysh in order to capture them, led by Amir bin Abbas,<sup>14</sup> who had not become a Moslem yet,

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<sup>13</sup> This is almost certainly the older ‘Abdu ar-Raḥmān al-Ġabartī, a Somali man of religion who also visited the communities of Ġabartī (i.e., the Moslems from the Horn of Africa) in Mecca and Medina, and later travelled to Egypt, where he established a well-known family of ulemas. One of his descendants was the homonymous historian and chronicler ‘Abdu ar-Raḥmān bin Ḥasan al-Ġabartī (1753-1825 CE).

<sup>14</sup> Here written as ‘*Amir binu ‘Abbās*. The most common tradition refers to him as ‘*Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ al-Sahmī* (living probably 573 – 664 CE). He later converted to Islam and led the Muslim conquest of Egypt, where he served as a governor in 640–646 CE and 658–664 CE.

brought precious gifts to the king and complained that “this group are dangerous bandits that threaten the nation, and have breached their oath with your Christian religion”.<sup>15</sup>

They told me that King Negash was a rightful judge, and that before reaching a decision he asked Jaafar to talk, and how he delivered a great speech, during which he recited to the king some parts of the sura of Mary<sup>16</sup> from God’s Voice.<sup>17</sup> When Negash heard the truthfulness of Jaafar’s words, he wanted him to recite for him also other parts of God’s speech that had been delivered to Mohammed (may Peace and Mercy be upon Him).

I was told that when Jaafar recited some verses from Imran’s sura<sup>18</sup> for Negash, he was taken by a strong emotion, and solemnly stated that they could remain in peace until they wished to go back by themselves, and thus saved them.

From the feeling of the air, the faces of the people, the quietness that sheltered them, one would say that the clock had not moved for the one thousand and a half years that had passed from that time. The buildings, but for the new mosque made by the Turks, the stones with which the other structures are made have an antique appearance that has been there for a long time. I felt as if I were stepping myself in the footprints of the Companions that were still visible, when I sat together with sheikh Adan.

Ali Muse told me, “I am Somali, and am a son of Musse”. And I replied, “Even I am a son of Musse”.<sup>19</sup> However, he later told me the truth: he and his father had been born in Gondar, and they were not of Somali descent. But he had grown up and learnt the language in Djibouti, where his father had died. His mother had forbidden him from remaining in a city, be it Djibouti or Addis, and had told him, “Stay in a mosque and become there a man of prayer”.

I decided to remain there that night and eat the little food they are content with, and sent away the taxi.

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<sup>15</sup> In order to strengthen their case against the fugitive Companions with the Christian king of Axum, the Quraysh delegation accuses them of being former Christians who converted to the new religion, i.e., Islam.

<sup>16</sup> The 19th sura (chapter) of the Quran, *sūratu Maryam*, where the stories of Zachariah and his son John, the precursor of Jesus, and of Mary and Jesus are told.

<sup>17</sup> That is, the Holy Quran.

<sup>18</sup> The 3rd sura of the Quran, *sūratu al-ʿImrān*, that talks about the human nature of Jesus, the oneness of God, man’s faith and temptations, and other issues.

<sup>19</sup> The names of the Moslems from the Horn of Africa are usually composed of two or three names: the individual person’s, his father’s, and his grandfather’s. The author is thus Jama, son of Musse, grandson of Jama, whereas this Ali is a son of a different Musse, who was himself the son of an Ali. The wordplay, and the feeling of being somehow close, comes from their both having been fathered by men who were called Musse.



## DOCUMENTI

### **Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development**

Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 25 September 2015

#### *The General Assembly*

*Adopts* the following outcome document of the United Nations summit for the adoption of the post-2015 development agenda:

### **Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development**

#### **PREAMBLE**

This Agenda is a plan of action for people, planet and prosperity. It also seeks to strengthen universal peace in larger freedom. We recognize that eradicating poverty in all its forms and dimensions, including extreme poverty, is the greatest global challenge and an indispensable requirement for sustainable development.

All countries and all stakeholders, acting in collaborative partnership, will implement this plan. We are resolved to free the human race from the tyranny of poverty and want and to heal and secure our planet. We are determined to take the bold and transformative steps which are urgently needed to shift the world on to a sustainable and resilient path. As we embark on this collective journey, we pledge that no one will be left behind.

The 17 Sustainable Development Goals and 169 targets which we are announcing today demonstrate the scale and ambition of this new universal Agenda. They seek to build on the Millennium Development Goals and complete what they did not achieve. They seek to realize the human rights of all and to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls. They are integrated and indivisible and balance the three dimensions of sustainable development: the economic, social and environmental.

The Goals and targets will stimulate action over the next 15 years in areas of critical importance for humanity and the planet.

#### ***People***

We are determined to end poverty and hunger, in all their forms and dimensions, and to ensure that all human beings can fulfil their potential in dignity and equality and in a healthy environment.

#### ***Planet***

We are determined to protect the planet from degradation, including through sustainable consumption and production, sustainably managing its natural resources and taking urgent action on climate change, so that it can support the needs of the present and future generations.

### ***Prosperity***

We are determined to ensure that all human beings can enjoy prosperous and fulfilling lives and that economic, social and technological progress occurs in harmony with nature.

### ***Peace***

We are determined to foster peaceful, just and inclusive societies which are free from fear and violence. There can be no sustainable development without peace and no peace without sustainable development.

### ***Partnership***

We are determined to mobilize the means required to implement this Agenda through a revitalized Global Partnership for Sustainable Development, based on a spirit of strengthened global solidarity, focused in particular on the needs of the poorest and most vulnerable and with the participation of all countries, all stakeholders and all people.

The interlinkages and integrated nature of the Sustainable Development Goals are of crucial importance in ensuring that the purpose of the new Agenda is realized. If we realize our ambitions across the full extent of the Agenda, the lives of all will be profoundly improved and our world will be transformed for the better.

## **DECLARATION**

### **Introduction**

1. We, the Heads of State and Government and High Representatives, meeting at United Nations Headquarters in New York from 25 to 27 September 2015 as the Organization celebrates its seventieth anniversary, have decided today on new global Sustainable Development Goals.

2. On behalf of the peoples we serve, we have adopted a historic decision on a comprehensive, far-reaching and people-centred set of universal and transformative Goals and targets. We commit ourselves to working tirelessly for the full implementation of this Agenda by 2030. We recognize that eradicating poverty in all its forms and dimensions, including extreme poverty, is the greatest global challenge and an indispensable requirement for sustainable development. We are committed to achieving sustainable development in its three dimensions – economic, social and environmental – in a balanced and integrated manner. We will also build upon the achievements of the Millennium Development Goals and seek to address their unfinished business.

3. We resolve, between now and 2030, to end poverty and hunger everywhere; to combat inequalities within and among countries; to build peaceful, just and inclusive societies; to protect human rights and promote gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls; and to ensure the lasting protection of the planet and its natural resources. We resolve also to create conditions for sustainable, inclusive and sustained economic growth, shared prosperity and decent work for all, taking into account different levels of national development and capacities.

4. As we embark on this great collective journey, we pledge that no one will be left behind. Recognizing that the dignity of the human person is fundamental, we

wish to see the Goals and targets met for all nations and peoples and for all segments of society. And we will endeavour to reach the furthest behind first.

5. This is an Agenda of unprecedented scope and significance. It is accepted by all countries and is applicable to all, taking into account different national realities, capacities and levels of development and respecting national policies and priorities. These are universal goals and targets which involve the entire world, developed and developing countries alike. They are integrated and indivisible and balance the three dimensions of sustainable development.

6. The Goals and targets are the result of over two years of intensive public consultation and engagement with civil society and other stakeholders around the world, which paid particular attention to the voices of the poorest and most vulnerable. This consultation included valuable work done by the Open Working Group of the General Assembly on Sustainable Development Goals and by the United Nations, whose Secretary-General provided a synthesis report in December 2014.

### **Our vision**

7. In these Goals and targets, we are setting out a supremely ambitious and transformational vision. We envisage a world free of poverty, hunger, disease and want, where all life can thrive. We envisage a world free of fear and violence. A world with universal literacy. A world with equitable and universal access to quality education at all levels, to health care and social protection, where physical, mental and social well-being are assured. A world where we reaffirm our commitments regarding the human right to safe drinking water and sanitation and where there is improved hygiene; and where food is sufficient, safe, affordable and nutritious. A world where human habitats are safe, resilient and sustainable and where there is universal access to affordable, reliable and sustainable energy.

8. We envisage a world of universal respect for human rights and human dignity, the rule of law, justice, equality and non-discrimination; of respect for race, ethnicity and cultural diversity; and of equal opportunity permitting the full realization of human potential and contributing to shared prosperity. A world which invests in its children and in which every child grows up free from violence and exploitation. A world in which every woman and girl enjoys full gender equality and all legal, social and economic barriers to their empowerment have been removed. A just, equitable, tolerant, open and socially inclusive world in which the needs of the most vulnerable are met.

9. We envisage a world in which every country enjoys sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth and decent work for all. A world in which consumption and production patterns and use of all natural resources – from air to land, from rivers, lakes and aquifers to oceans and seas – are sustainable. One in which democracy, good governance and the rule of law, as well as an enabling environment at the national and international levels, are essential for sustainable development, including sustained and inclusive economic growth, social development, environmental protection and the eradication of poverty and hunger. One in which development and the application of technology are climate-sensitive, respect biodiversity and are resilient. One in which humanity lives in harmony with nature and in which wildlife and other living species are protected.

## Our shared principles and commitments

10. The new Agenda is guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, including full respect for international law. It is grounded in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,<sup>1</sup> international human rights treaties, the Millennium Declaration<sup>2</sup> and the 2005 World Summit Outcome.<sup>3</sup> It is informed by other instruments such as the Declaration on the Right to Development.<sup>4</sup>

11. We reaffirm the outcomes of all major United Nations conferences and summits which have laid a solid foundation for sustainable development and have helped to shape the new Agenda. These include the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development,<sup>5</sup> the World Summit on Sustainable Development, the World Summit for Social Development, the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development,<sup>6</sup> the Beijing Platform for Action<sup>7</sup> and the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development. We also reaffirm the follow-up to these conferences, including the outcomes of the Fourth United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, the third International Conference on Small Island Developing States, the second United Nations Conference on Landlocked Developing Countries and the Third United Nations World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction.

12. We reaffirm all the principles of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, including, inter alia, the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, as set out in principle 7 thereof.

13. The challenges and commitments identified at these major conferences and summits are interrelated and call for integrated solutions. To address them effectively, a new approach is needed. Sustainable development recognizes that eradicating poverty in all its forms and dimensions, combating inequality within and among countries, preserving the planet, creating sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth and fostering social inclusion are linked to each other and are interdependent.

## Our world today

14. We are meeting at a time of immense challenges to sustainable development. Billions of our citizens continue to live in poverty and are denied a life of dignity. There are rising inequalities within and among countries. There are enormous disparities of opportunity, wealth and power. Gender inequality remains a key challenge. Unemployment, particularly youth unemployment, is a major concern. Global health threats, more frequent and intense natural disasters, spiralling conflict, violent extremism, terrorism and related humanitarian crises and forced displacement of people threaten to reverse much of the development progress made in recent decades. Natural resource depletion and adverse impacts of environmental

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<sup>1</sup> Resolution 217 A (III).

<sup>2</sup> Resolution 55/2.

<sup>3</sup> Resolution 60/1.

<sup>4</sup> Resolution 41/128, annex.

<sup>5</sup> *Report of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio de Janeiro, 3–14 June 1992*, vol. I, *Resolutions Adopted by the Conference* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.93.I.8 and corrigendum), resolution 1, annex I.

<sup>6</sup> *Report of the International Conference on Population and Development, Cairo, 5–13 September 1994* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.95.XIII.18), chap. I, resolution 1, annex.

<sup>7</sup> *Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 4–15 September 1995* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.96.IV.13), chap. I, resolution 1, annex II.

degradation, including desertification, drought, land degradation, freshwater scarcity and loss of biodiversity, add to and exacerbate the list of challenges which humanity faces. Climate change is one of the greatest challenges of our time and its adverse impacts undermine the ability of all countries to achieve sustainable development. Increases in global temperature, sea level rise, ocean acidification and other climate change impacts are seriously affecting coastal areas and low-lying coastal countries, including many least developed countries and small island developing States. The survival of many societies, and of the biological support systems of the planet, is at risk.

15. It is also, however, a time of immense opportunity. Significant progress has been made in meeting many development challenges. Within the past generation, hundreds of millions of people have emerged from extreme poverty. Access to education has greatly increased for both boys and girls. The spread of information and communications technology and global interconnectedness has great potential to accelerate human progress, to bridge the digital divide and to develop knowledge societies, as does scientific and technological innovation across areas as diverse as medicine and energy.

16. Almost 15 years ago, the Millennium Development Goals were agreed. These provided an important framework for development and significant progress has been made in a number of areas. But the progress has been uneven, particularly in Africa, least developed countries, landlocked developing countries and small island developing States, and some of the Millennium Development Goals remain off-track, in particular those related to maternal, newborn and child health and to reproductive health. We recommit ourselves to the full realization of all the Millennium Development Goals, including the off-track Millennium Development Goals, in particular by providing focused and scaled-up assistance to least developed countries and other countries in special situations, in line with relevant support programmes. The new Agenda builds on the Millennium Development Goals and seeks to complete what they did not achieve, particularly in reaching the most vulnerable.

17. In its scope, however, the framework we are announcing today goes far beyond the Millennium Development Goals. Alongside continuing development priorities such as poverty eradication, health, education and food security and nutrition, it sets out a wide range of economic, social and environmental objectives. It also promises more peaceful and inclusive societies. It also, crucially, defines means of implementation. Reflecting the integrated approach that we have decided on, there are deep interconnections and many cross-cutting elements across the new Goals and targets.

### **The new Agenda**

18. We are announcing today 17 Sustainable Development Goals with 169 associated targets which are integrated and indivisible. Never before have world leaders pledged common action and endeavour across such a broad and universal policy agenda. We are setting out together on the path towards sustainable development, devoting ourselves collectively to the pursuit of global development and of “win-win” cooperation which can bring huge gains to all countries and all parts of the world. We reaffirm that every State has, and shall freely exercise, full permanent sovereignty over all its wealth, natural resources and economic activity. We will implement the Agenda for the full benefit of all, for today’s generation and for future

generations. In doing so, we reaffirm our commitment to international law and emphasize that the Agenda is to be implemented in a manner that is consistent with the rights and obligations of States under international law.

19. We reaffirm the importance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as other international instruments relating to human rights and international law. We emphasize the responsibilities of all States, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, to respect, protect and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction of any kind as to race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, disability or other status.

20. Realizing gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls will make a crucial contribution to progress across all the Goals and targets. The achievement of full human potential and of sustainable development is not possible if one half of humanity continues to be denied its full human rights and opportunities. Women and girls must enjoy equal access to quality education, economic resources and political participation as well as equal opportunities with men and boys for employment, leadership and decision-making at all levels. We will work for a significant increase in investments to close the gender gap and strengthen support for institutions in relation to gender equality and the empowerment of women at the global, regional and national levels. All forms of discrimination and violence against women and girls will be eliminated, including through the engagement of men and boys. The systematic mainstreaming of a gender perspective in the implementation of the Agenda is crucial.

21. The new Goals and targets will come into effect on 1 January 2016 and will guide the decisions we take over the next 15 years. All of us will work to implement the Agenda within our own countries and at the regional and global levels, taking into account different national realities, capacities and levels of development and respecting national policies and priorities. We will respect national policy space for sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, in particular for developing States, while remaining consistent with relevant international rules and commitments. We acknowledge also the importance of the regional and subregional dimensions, regional economic integration and interconnectivity in sustainable development. Regional and subregional frameworks can facilitate the effective translation of sustainable development policies into concrete action at the national level.

22. Each country faces specific challenges in its pursuit of sustainable development. The most vulnerable countries and, in particular, African countries, least developed countries, landlocked developing countries and small island developing States, deserve special attention, as do countries in situations of conflict and post-conflict countries. There are also serious challenges within many middle-income countries.

23. People who are vulnerable must be empowered. Those whose needs are reflected in the Agenda include all children, youth, persons with disabilities (of whom more than 80 per cent live in poverty), people living with HIV/AIDS, older persons, indigenous peoples, refugees and internally displaced persons and migrants. We resolve to take further effective measures and actions, in conformity with international law, to remove obstacles and constraints, strengthen support and meet the special needs of people living in areas affected by complex humanitarian emergencies and in areas affected by terrorism.

24. We are committed to ending poverty in all its forms and dimensions, including by eradicating extreme poverty by 2030. All people must enjoy a basic standard of living, including through social protection systems. We are also determined to end hunger and to achieve food security as a matter of priority and to end all forms of malnutrition. In this regard, we reaffirm the important role and inclusive nature of the Committee on World Food Security and welcome the Rome Declaration on Nutrition and the Framework for Action.<sup>8</sup> We will devote resources to developing rural areas and sustainable agriculture and fisheries, supporting smallholder farmers, especially women farmers, herders and fishers in developing countries, particularly least developed countries.

25. We commit to providing inclusive and equitable quality education at all levels – early childhood, primary, secondary, tertiary, technical and vocational training. All people, irrespective of sex, age, race or ethnicity, and persons with disabilities, migrants, indigenous peoples, children and youth, especially those in vulnerable situations, should have access to life-long learning opportunities that help them to acquire the knowledge and skills needed to exploit opportunities and to participate fully in society. We will strive to provide children and youth with a nurturing environment for the full realization of their rights and capabilities, helping our countries to reap the demographic dividend, including through safe schools and cohesive communities and families.

26. To promote physical and mental health and well-being, and to extend life expectancy for all, we must achieve universal health coverage and access to quality health care. No one must be left behind. We commit to accelerating the progress made to date in reducing newborn, child and maternal mortality by ending all such preventable deaths before 2030. We are committed to ensuring universal access to sexual and reproductive health-care services, including for family planning, information and education. We will equally accelerate the pace of progress made in fighting malaria, HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, hepatitis, Ebola and other communicable diseases and epidemics, including by addressing growing anti-microbial resistance and the problem of unattended diseases affecting developing countries. We are committed to the prevention and treatment of non-communicable diseases, including behavioural, developmental and neurological disorders, which constitute a major challenge for sustainable development.

27. We will seek to build strong economic foundations for all our countries. Sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth is essential for prosperity. This will only be possible if wealth is shared and income inequality is addressed. We will work to build dynamic, sustainable, innovative and people-centred economies, promoting youth employment and women's economic empowerment, in particular, and decent work for all. We will eradicate forced labour and human trafficking and end child labour in all its forms. All countries stand to benefit from having a healthy and well-educated workforce with the knowledge and skills needed for productive and fulfilling work and full participation in society. We will strengthen the productive capacities of least developed countries in all sectors, including through structural transformation. We will adopt policies which increase productive capacities, productivity and productive employment; financial inclusion; sustainable agriculture, pastoralist and fisheries development; sustainable industrial development; universal

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<sup>8</sup> World Health Organization, document EB 136/8, annexes I and II.

access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy services; sustainable transport systems; and quality and resilient infrastructure.

28. We commit to making fundamental changes in the way that our societies produce and consume goods and services. Governments, international organizations, the business sector and other non-State actors and individuals must contribute to changing unsustainable consumption and production patterns, including through the mobilization, from all sources, of financial and technical assistance to strengthen developing countries' scientific, technological and innovative capacities to move towards more sustainable patterns of consumption and production. We encourage the implementation of the 10-Year Framework of Programmes on Sustainable Consumption and Production Patterns. All countries take action, with developed countries taking the lead, taking into account the development and capabilities of developing countries.

29. We recognize the positive contribution of migrants for inclusive growth and sustainable development. We also recognize that international migration is a multidimensional reality of major relevance for the development of countries of origin, transit and destination, which requires coherent and comprehensive responses. We will cooperate internationally to ensure safe, orderly and regular migration involving full respect for human rights and the humane treatment of migrants regardless of migration status, of refugees and of displaced persons. Such cooperation should also strengthen the resilience of communities hosting refugees, particularly in developing countries. We underline the right of migrants to return to their country of citizenship, and recall that States must ensure that their returning nationals are duly received.

30. States are strongly urged to refrain from promulgating and applying any unilateral economic, financial or trade measures not in accordance with international law and the Charter of the United Nations that impede the full achievement of economic and social development, particularly in developing countries.

31. We acknowledge that the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change<sup>9</sup> is the primary international, intergovernmental forum for negotiating the global response to climate change. We are determined to address decisively the threat posed by climate change and environmental degradation. The global nature of climate change calls for the widest possible international cooperation aimed at accelerating the reduction of global greenhouse gas emissions and addressing adaptation to the adverse impacts of climate change. We note with grave concern the significant gap between the aggregate effect of parties' mitigation pledges in terms of global annual emissions of greenhouse gases by 2020 and aggregate emission pathways consistent with having a likely chance of holding the increase in global average temperature below 2 degrees Celsius, or 1.5 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels.

32. Looking ahead to the twenty-first session of the Conference of the Parties in Paris, we underscore the commitment of all States to work for an ambitious and universal climate agreement. We reaffirm that the protocol, another legal instrument or agreed outcome with legal force under the Convention applicable to all parties shall address in a balanced manner, inter alia, mitigation, adaptation, finance,

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<sup>9</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 1771, No. 30822.

technology development and transfer and capacity-building; and transparency of action and support.

33. We recognize that social and economic development depends on the sustainable management of our planet's natural resources. We are therefore determined to conserve and sustainably use oceans and seas, freshwater resources, as well as forests, mountains and drylands and to protect biodiversity, ecosystems and wildlife. We are also determined to promote sustainable tourism, to tackle water scarcity and water pollution, to strengthen cooperation on desertification, dust storms, land degradation and drought and to promote resilience and disaster risk reduction. In this regard, we look forward to the thirteenth meeting of the Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity to be held in Mexico.

34. We recognize that sustainable urban development and management are crucial to the quality of life of our people. We will work with local authorities and communities to renew and plan our cities and human settlements so as to foster community cohesion and personal security and to stimulate innovation and employment. We will reduce the negative impacts of urban activities and of chemicals which are hazardous for human health and the environment, including through the environmentally sound management and safe use of chemicals, the reduction and recycling of waste and the more efficient use of water and energy. And we will work to minimize the impact of cities on the global climate system. We will also take account of population trends and projections in our national rural and urban development strategies and policies. We look forward to the upcoming United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development to be held in Quito.

35. Sustainable development cannot be realized without peace and security; and peace and security will be at risk without sustainable development. The new Agenda recognizes the need to build peaceful, just and inclusive societies that provide equal access to justice and that are based on respect for human rights (including the right to development), on effective rule of law and good governance at all levels and on transparent, effective and accountable institutions. Factors which give rise to violence, insecurity and injustice, such as inequality, corruption, poor governance and illicit financial and arms flows, are addressed in the Agenda. We must redouble our efforts to resolve or prevent conflict and to support post-conflict countries, including through ensuring that women have a role in peacebuilding and State-building. We call for further effective measures and actions to be taken, in conformity with international law, to remove the obstacles to the full realization of the right of self-determination of peoples living under colonial and foreign occupation, which continue to adversely affect their economic and social development as well as their environment.

36. We pledge to foster intercultural understanding, tolerance, mutual respect and an ethic of global citizenship and shared responsibility. We acknowledge the natural and cultural diversity of the world and recognize that all cultures and civilizations can contribute to, and are crucial enablers of, sustainable development.

37. Sport is also an important enabler of sustainable development. We recognize the growing contribution of sport to the realization of development and peace in its promotion of tolerance and respect and the contributions it makes to the empowerment of women and of young people, individuals and communities as well as to health, education and social inclusion objectives.

38. We reaffirm, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the need to respect the territorial integrity and political independence of States.

### **Means of implementation**

39. The scale and ambition of the new Agenda requires a revitalized Global Partnership to ensure its implementation. We fully commit to this. This Partnership will work in a spirit of global solidarity, in particular solidarity with the poorest and with people in vulnerable situations. It will facilitate an intensive global engagement in support of implementation of all the Goals and targets, bringing together Governments, the private sector, civil society, the United Nations system and other actors and mobilizing all available resources.

40. The means of implementation targets under Goal 17 and under each Sustainable Development Goal are key to realizing our Agenda and are of equal importance with the other Goals and targets. The Agenda, including the Sustainable Development Goals, can be met within the framework of a revitalized Global Partnership for Sustainable Development, supported by the concrete policies and actions as outlined in the outcome document of the third International Conference on Financing for Development, held in Addis Ababa from 13 to 16 July 2015. We welcome the endorsement by the General Assembly of the Addis Ababa Action Agenda,<sup>10</sup> which is an integral part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. We recognize that the full implementation of the Addis Ababa Action Agenda is critical for the realization of the Sustainable Development Goals and targets.

41. We recognize that each country has primary responsibility for its own economic and social development. The new Agenda deals with the means required for implementation of the Goals and targets. We recognize that these will include the mobilization of financial resources as well as capacity-building and the transfer of environmentally sound technologies to developing countries on favourable terms, including on concessional and preferential terms, as mutually agreed. Public finance, both domestic and international, will play a vital role in providing essential services and public goods and in catalysing other sources of finance. We acknowledge the role of the diverse private sector, ranging from micro-enterprises to cooperatives to multinationals, and that of civil society organizations and philanthropic organizations in the implementation of the new Agenda.

42. We support the implementation of relevant strategies and programmes of action, including the Istanbul Declaration and Programme of Action,<sup>11</sup> the SIDS Accelerated Modalities of Action (SAMOA) Pathway<sup>12</sup> and the Vienna Programme of Action for Landlocked Developing Countries for the Decade 2014–2024,<sup>13</sup> and reaffirm the importance of supporting the African Union's Agenda 2063 and the programme of the New Partnership for Africa's Development,<sup>14</sup> all of which are integral to the new Agenda. We recognize the major challenge to the achievement of durable peace and sustainable development in countries in conflict and post-conflict situations.

<sup>10</sup> The Addis Ababa Action Agenda of the Third International Conference on Financing for Development (Addis Ababa Action Agenda), adopted by the General Assembly on 27 July 2015 (resolution 69/313, annex).

<sup>11</sup> *Report of the Fourth United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Istanbul, Turkey, 9–13 May 2011 (A/CONF.219/7)*, chaps. I and II.

<sup>12</sup> Resolution 69/15, annex.

<sup>13</sup> Resolution 69/137, annex II.

<sup>14</sup> *A/57/304*, annex.

43. We emphasize that international public finance plays an important role in complementing the efforts of countries to mobilize public resources domestically, especially in the poorest and most vulnerable countries with limited domestic resources. An important use of international public finance, including official development assistance (ODA), is to catalyse additional resource mobilization from other sources, public and private. ODA providers reaffirm their respective commitments, including the commitment by many developed countries to achieve the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national income for official development assistance (ODA/GNI) to developing countries and 0.15 per cent to 0.2 per cent of ODA/GNI to least developed countries.

44. We acknowledge the importance for international financial institutions to support, in line with their mandates, the policy space of each country, in particular developing countries. We recommit to broadening and strengthening the voice and participation of developing countries – including African countries, least developed countries, landlocked developing countries, small island developing States and middle-income countries – in international economic decision-making, norm-setting and global economic governance.

45. We acknowledge also the essential role of national parliaments through their enactment of legislation and adoption of budgets and their role in ensuring accountability for the effective implementation of our commitments. Governments and public institutions will also work closely on implementation with regional and local authorities, subregional institutions, international institutions, academia, philanthropic organizations, volunteer groups and others.

46. We underline the important role and comparative advantage of an adequately resourced, relevant, coherent, efficient and effective United Nations system in supporting the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals and sustainable development. While stressing the importance of strengthened national ownership and leadership at the country level, we express our support for the ongoing dialogue in the Economic and Social Council on the longer-term positioning of the United Nations development system in the context of this Agenda.

### **Follow-up and review**

47. Our Governments have the primary responsibility for follow-up and review, at the national, regional and global levels, in relation to the progress made in implementing the Goals and targets over the coming 15 years. To support accountability to our citizens, we will provide for systematic follow-up and review at the various levels, as set out in this Agenda and the Addis Ababa Action Agenda. The high-level political forum under the auspices of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council will have the central role in overseeing follow-up and review at the global level.

48. Indicators are being developed to assist this work. Quality, accessible, timely and reliable disaggregated data will be needed to help with the measurement of progress and to ensure that no one is left behind. Such data is key to decision-making. Data and information from existing reporting mechanisms should be used where possible. We agree to intensify our efforts to strengthen statistical capacities in developing countries, particularly African countries, least developed countries, landlocked developing countries, small island developing States and middle-income

countries. We are committed to developing broader measures of progress to complement gross domestic product.

### **A call for action to change our world**

49. Seventy years ago, an earlier generation of world leaders came together to create the United Nations. From the ashes of war and division they fashioned this Organization and the values of peace, dialogue and international cooperation which underpin it. The supreme embodiment of those values is the Charter of the United Nations.

50. Today we are also taking a decision of great historic significance. We resolve to build a better future for all people, including the millions who have been denied the chance to lead decent, dignified and rewarding lives and to achieve their full human potential. We can be the first generation to succeed in ending poverty; just as we may be the last to have a chance of saving the planet. The world will be a better place in 2030 if we succeed in our objectives.

51. What we are announcing today – an Agenda for global action for the next 15 years – is a charter for people and planet in the twenty-first century. Children and young women and men are critical agents of change and will find in the new Goals a platform to channel their infinite capacities for activism into the creation of a better world.

52. “We the peoples” are the celebrated opening words of the Charter of the United Nations. It is “we the peoples” who are embarking today on the road to 2030. Our journey will involve Governments as well as parliaments, the United Nations system and other international institutions, local authorities, indigenous peoples, civil society, business and the private sector, the scientific and academic community – and all people. Millions have already engaged with, and will own, this Agenda. It is an Agenda of the people, by the people and for the people – and this, we believe, will ensure its success.

53. The future of humanity and of our planet lies in our hands. It lies also in the hands of today’s younger generation who will pass the torch to future generations. We have mapped the road to sustainable development; it will be for all of us to ensure that the journey is successful and its gains irreversible.

### **Sustainable Development Goals and targets**

54. Following an inclusive process of intergovernmental negotiations, and based on the proposal of the Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals,<sup>15</sup> which includes a chapeau contextualizing the latter, set out below are the Goals and targets which we have agreed.

55. The Sustainable Development Goals and targets are integrated and indivisible, global in nature and universally applicable, taking into account different national realities, capacities and levels of development and respecting national policies and priorities. Targets are defined as aspirational and global, with each Government setting its own national targets guided by the global level of ambition but taking into account national circumstances. Each Government will also decide how these aspirational and global targets should be incorporated into national planning processes, policies and strategies. It is important to recognize the link between

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<sup>15</sup> Contained in the report of the Open Working Group of the General Assembly on Sustainable Development Goals ([A/68/970](#) and Corr.1; see also [A/68/970/Add.1–3](#)).

sustainable development and other relevant ongoing processes in the economic, social and environmental fields.

56. In deciding upon these Goals and targets, we recognize that each country faces specific challenges to achieve sustainable development, and we underscore the special challenges facing the most vulnerable countries and, in particular, African countries, least developed countries, landlocked developing countries and small island developing States, as well as the specific challenges facing the middle-income countries. Countries in situations of conflict also need special attention.

57. We recognize that baseline data for several of the targets remains unavailable, and we call for increased support for strengthening data collection and capacity-building in Member States, to develop national and global baselines where they do not yet exist. We commit to addressing this gap in data collection so as to better inform the measurement of progress, in particular for those targets below which do not have clear numerical targets.

58. We encourage ongoing efforts by States in other forums to address key issues which pose potential challenges to the implementation of our Agenda, and we respect the independent mandates of those processes. We intend that the Agenda and its implementation would support, and be without prejudice to, those other processes and the decisions taken therein.

59. We recognize that there are different approaches, visions, models and tools available to each country, in accordance with its national circumstances and priorities, to achieve sustainable development; and we reaffirm that planet Earth and its ecosystems are our common home and that “Mother Earth” is a common expression in a number of countries and regions.

## **Sustainable Development Goals**

- Goal 1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere
- Goal 2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture
- Goal 3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages
- Goal 4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all
- Goal 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls
- Goal 6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all
- Goal 7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all
- Goal 8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all
- Goal 9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation
- Goal 10. Reduce inequality within and among countries
- Goal 11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable
- Goal 12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns
- Goal 13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts\*
- Goal 14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development
- Goal 15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss
- Goal 16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels
- Goal 17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development

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\* Acknowledging that the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change is the primary international, intergovernmental forum for negotiating the global response to climate change.

## **Goal 1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere**

1.1 By 2030, eradicate extreme poverty for all people everywhere, currently measured as people living on less than \$1.25 a day

1.2 By 2030, reduce at least by half the proportion of men, women and children of all ages living in poverty in all its dimensions according to national definitions

1.3 Implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable

1.4 By 2030, ensure that all men and women, in particular the poor and the vulnerable, have equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to basic services, ownership and control over land and other forms of property, inheritance, natural resources, appropriate new technology and financial services, including microfinance

1.5 By 2030, build the resilience of the poor and those in vulnerable situations and reduce their exposure and vulnerability to climate-related extreme events and other economic, social and environmental shocks and disasters

1.a Ensure significant mobilization of resources from a variety of sources, including through enhanced development cooperation, in order to provide adequate and predictable means for developing countries, in particular least developed countries, to implement programmes and policies to end poverty in all its dimensions

1.b Create sound policy frameworks at the national, regional and international levels, based on pro-poor and gender-sensitive development strategies, to support accelerated investment in poverty eradication actions

## **Goal 2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture**

2.1 By 2030, end hunger and ensure access by all people, in particular the poor and people in vulnerable situations, including infants, to safe, nutritious and sufficient food all year round

2.2 By 2030, end all forms of malnutrition, including achieving, by 2025, the internationally agreed targets on stunting and wasting in children under 5 years of age, and address the nutritional needs of adolescent girls, pregnant and lactating women and older persons

2.3 By 2030, double the agricultural productivity and incomes of small-scale food producers, in particular women, indigenous peoples, family farmers, pastoralists and fishers, including through secure and equal access to land, other productive resources and inputs, knowledge, financial services, markets and opportunities for value addition and non-farm employment

2.4 By 2030, ensure sustainable food production systems and implement resilient agricultural practices that increase productivity and production, that help maintain ecosystems, that strengthen capacity for adaptation to climate change, extreme weather, drought, flooding and other disasters and that progressively improve land and soil quality

2.5 By 2020, maintain the genetic diversity of seeds, cultivated plants and farmed and domesticated animals and their related wild species, including through

soundly managed and diversified seed and plant banks at the national, regional and international levels, and promote access to and fair and equitable sharing of benefits arising from the utilization of genetic resources and associated traditional knowledge, as internationally agreed

2.a Increase investment, including through enhanced international cooperation, in rural infrastructure, agricultural research and extension services, technology development and plant and livestock gene banks in order to enhance agricultural productive capacity in developing countries, in particular least developed countries

2.b Correct and prevent trade restrictions and distortions in world agricultural markets, including through the parallel elimination of all forms of agricultural export subsidies and all export measures with equivalent effect, in accordance with the mandate of the Doha Development Round

2.c Adopt measures to ensure the proper functioning of food commodity markets and their derivatives and facilitate timely access to market information, including on food reserves, in order to help limit extreme food price volatility

### **Goal 3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages**

3.1 By 2030, reduce the global maternal mortality ratio to less than 70 per 100,000 live births

3.2 By 2030, end preventable deaths of newborns and children under 5 years of age, with all countries aiming to reduce neonatal mortality to at least as low as 12 per 1,000 live births and under-5 mortality to at least as low as 25 per 1,000 live births

3.3 By 2030, end the epidemics of AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria and neglected tropical diseases and combat hepatitis, water-borne diseases and other communicable diseases

3.4 By 2030, reduce by one third premature mortality from non-communicable diseases through prevention and treatment and promote mental health and well-being

3.5 Strengthen the prevention and treatment of substance abuse, including narcotic drug abuse and harmful use of alcohol

3.6 By 2020, halve the number of global deaths and injuries from road traffic accidents

3.7 By 2030, ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health-care services, including for family planning, information and education, and the integration of reproductive health into national strategies and programmes

3.8 Achieve universal health coverage, including financial risk protection, access to quality essential health-care services and access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all

3.9 By 2030, substantially reduce the number of deaths and illnesses from hazardous chemicals and air, water and soil pollution and contamination

3.a Strengthen the implementation of the World Health Organization Framework Convention on Tobacco Control in all countries, as appropriate

3.b Support the research and development of vaccines and medicines for the communicable and non-communicable diseases that primarily affect developing countries, provide access to affordable essential medicines and vaccines, in accordance with the Doha Declaration on the TRIPS Agreement and Public Health, which affirms the right of developing countries to use to the full the provisions in the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights regarding flexibilities to protect public health, and, in particular, provide access to medicines for all

3.c Substantially increase health financing and the recruitment, development, training and retention of the health workforce in developing countries, especially in least developed countries and small island developing States

3.d Strengthen the capacity of all countries, in particular developing countries, for early warning, risk reduction and management of national and global health risks

#### **Goal 4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all**

4.1 By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes

4.2 By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and pre-primary education so that they are ready for primary education

4.3 By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university

4.4 By 2030, substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship

4.5 By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations

4.6 By 2030, ensure that all youth and a substantial proportion of adults, both men and women, achieve literacy and numeracy

4.7 By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development

4.a Build and upgrade education facilities that are child, disability and gender sensitive and provide safe, non-violent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all

4.b By 2020, substantially expand globally the number of scholarships available to developing countries, in particular least developed countries, small island developing States and African countries, for enrolment in higher education, including vocational training and information and communications technology, technical,

engineering and scientific programmes, in developed countries and other developing countries

4.c By 2030, substantially increase the supply of qualified teachers, including through international cooperation for teacher training in developing countries, especially least developed countries and small island developing States

## **Goal 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls**

5.1 End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere

5.2 Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation

5.3 Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation

5.4 Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate

5.5 Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life

5.6 Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights as agreed in accordance with the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences

5.a Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws

5.b Enhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology, to promote the empowerment of women

5.c Adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels

## **Goal 6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all**

6.1 By 2030, achieve universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water for all

6.2 By 2030, achieve access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene for all and end open defecation, paying special attention to the needs of women and girls and those in vulnerable situations

6.3 By 2030, improve water quality by reducing pollution, eliminating dumping and minimizing release of hazardous chemicals and materials, halving the proportion of untreated wastewater and substantially increasing recycling and safe reuse globally

6.4 By 2030, substantially increase water-use efficiency across all sectors and ensure sustainable withdrawals and supply of freshwater to address water scarcity and substantially reduce the number of people suffering from water scarcity

6.5 By 2030, implement integrated water resources management at all levels, including through transboundary cooperation as appropriate

6.6 By 2020, protect and restore water-related ecosystems, including mountains, forests, wetlands, rivers, aquifers and lakes

6.a By 2030, expand international cooperation and capacity-building support to developing countries in water- and sanitation-related activities and programmes, including water harvesting, desalination, water efficiency, wastewater treatment, recycling and reuse technologies

6.b Support and strengthen the participation of local communities in improving water and sanitation management

### **Goal 7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all**

7.1 By 2030, ensure universal access to affordable, reliable and modern energy services

7.2 By 2030, increase substantially the share of renewable energy in the global energy mix

7.3 By 2030, double the global rate of improvement in energy efficiency

7.a By 2030, enhance international cooperation to facilitate access to clean energy research and technology, including renewable energy, energy efficiency and advanced and cleaner fossil-fuel technology, and promote investment in energy infrastructure and clean energy technology

7.b By 2030, expand infrastructure and upgrade technology for supplying modern and sustainable energy services for all in developing countries, in particular least developed countries, small island developing States and landlocked developing countries, in accordance with their respective programmes of support

### **Goal 8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all**

8.1 Sustain per capita economic growth in accordance with national circumstances and, in particular, at least 7 per cent gross domestic product growth per annum in the least developed countries

8.2 Achieve higher levels of economic productivity through diversification, technological upgrading and innovation, including through a focus on high-value added and labour-intensive sectors

8.3 Promote development-oriented policies that support productive activities, decent job creation, entrepreneurship, creativity and innovation, and encourage the formalization and growth of micro-, small- and medium-sized enterprises, including through access to financial services

8.4 Improve progressively, through 2030, global resource efficiency in consumption and production and endeavour to decouple economic growth from environmental degradation, in accordance with the 10-Year Framework of Programmes on Sustainable Consumption and Production, with developed countries taking the lead

8.5 By 2030, achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including for young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value

8.6 By 2020, substantially reduce the proportion of youth not in employment, education or training

8.7 Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labour in all its forms

8.8 Protect labour rights and promote safe and secure working environments for all workers, including migrant workers, in particular women migrants, and those in precarious employment

8.9 By 2030, devise and implement policies to promote sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture and products

8.10 Strengthen the capacity of domestic financial institutions to encourage and expand access to banking, insurance and financial services for all

8.a Increase Aid for Trade support for developing countries, in particular least developed countries, including through the Enhanced Integrated Framework for Trade-related Technical Assistance to Least Developed Countries

8.b By 2020, develop and operationalize a global strategy for youth employment and implement the Global Jobs Pact of the International Labour Organization

## **Goal 9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation**

9.1 Develop quality, reliable, sustainable and resilient infrastructure, including regional and transborder infrastructure, to support economic development and human well-being, with a focus on affordable and equitable access for all

9.2 Promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and, by 2030, significantly raise industry's share of employment and gross domestic product, in line with national circumstances, and double its share in least developed countries

9.3 Increase the access of small-scale industrial and other enterprises, in particular in developing countries, to financial services, including affordable credit, and their integration into value chains and markets

9.4 By 2030, upgrade infrastructure and retrofit industries to make them sustainable, with increased resource-use efficiency and greater adoption of clean and environmentally sound technologies and industrial processes, with all countries taking action in accordance with their respective capabilities

9.5 Enhance scientific research, upgrade the technological capabilities of industrial sectors in all countries, in particular developing countries, including, by 2030, encouraging innovation and substantially increasing the number of research and development workers per 1 million people and public and private research and development spending

9.a Facilitate sustainable and resilient infrastructure development in developing countries through enhanced financial, technological and technical support

to African countries, least developed countries, landlocked developing countries and small island developing States

9.b Support domestic technology development, research and innovation in developing countries, including by ensuring a conducive policy environment for, inter alia, industrial diversification and value addition to commodities

9.c Significantly increase access to information and communications technology and strive to provide universal and affordable access to the Internet in least developed countries by 2020

## **Goal 10. Reduce inequality within and among countries**

10.1 By 2030, progressively achieve and sustain income growth of the bottom 40 per cent of the population at a rate higher than the national average

10.2 By 2030, empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status

10.3 Ensure equal opportunity and reduce inequalities of outcome, including by eliminating discriminatory laws, policies and practices and promoting appropriate legislation, policies and action in this regard

10.4 Adopt policies, especially fiscal, wage and social protection policies, and progressively achieve greater equality

10.5 Improve the regulation and monitoring of global financial markets and institutions and strengthen the implementation of such regulations

10.6 Ensure enhanced representation and voice for developing countries in decision-making in global international economic and financial institutions in order to deliver more effective, credible, accountable and legitimate institutions

10.7 Facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies

10.a Implement the principle of special and differential treatment for developing countries, in particular least developed countries, in accordance with World Trade Organization agreements

10.b Encourage official development assistance and financial flows, including foreign direct investment, to States where the need is greatest, in particular least developed countries, African countries, small island developing States and landlocked developing countries, in accordance with their national plans and programmes

10.c By 2030, reduce to less than 3 per cent the transaction costs of migrant remittances and eliminate remittance corridors with costs higher than 5 per cent

## **Goal 11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable**

11.1 By 2030, ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums

11.2 By 2030, provide access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems for all, improving road safety, notably by expanding public transport, with special attention to the needs of those in vulnerable situations, women, children, persons with disabilities and older persons

11.3 By 2030, enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries

11.4 Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage

11.5 By 2030, significantly reduce the number of deaths and the number of people affected and substantially decrease the direct economic losses relative to global gross domestic product caused by disasters, including water-related disasters, with a focus on protecting the poor and people in vulnerable situations

11.6 By 2030, reduce the adverse per capita environmental impact of cities, including by paying special attention to air quality and municipal and other waste management

11.7 By 2030, provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities

11.a Support positive economic, social and environmental links between urban, peri-urban and rural areas by strengthening national and regional development planning

11.b By 2020, substantially increase the number of cities and human settlements adopting and implementing integrated policies and plans towards inclusion, resource efficiency, mitigation and adaptation to climate change, resilience to disasters, and develop and implement, in line with the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030, holistic disaster risk management at all levels

11.c Support least developed countries, including through financial and technical assistance, in building sustainable and resilient buildings utilizing local materials

## **Goal 12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns**

12.1 Implement the 10-Year Framework of Programmes on Sustainable Consumption and Production Patterns, all countries taking action, with developed countries taking the lead, taking into account the development and capabilities of developing countries

12.2 By 2030, achieve the sustainable management and efficient use of natural resources

12.3 By 2030, halve per capita global food waste at the retail and consumer levels and reduce food losses along production and supply chains, including post-harvest losses

12.4 By 2020, achieve the environmentally sound management of chemicals and all wastes throughout their life cycle, in accordance with agreed international frameworks, and significantly reduce their release to air, water and soil in order to minimize their adverse impacts on human health and the environment

12.5 By 2030, substantially reduce waste generation through prevention, reduction, recycling and reuse

12.6 Encourage companies, especially large and transnational companies, to adopt sustainable practices and to integrate sustainability information into their reporting cycle

12.7 Promote public procurement practices that are sustainable, in accordance with national policies and priorities

12.8 By 2030, ensure that people everywhere have the relevant information and awareness for sustainable development and lifestyles in harmony with nature

12.a Support developing countries to strengthen their scientific and technological capacity to move towards more sustainable patterns of consumption and production

12.b Develop and implement tools to monitor sustainable development impacts for sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture and products

12.c Rationalize inefficient fossil-fuel subsidies that encourage wasteful consumption by removing market distortions, in accordance with national circumstances, including by restructuring taxation and phasing out those harmful subsidies, where they exist, to reflect their environmental impacts, taking fully into account the specific needs and conditions of developing countries and minimizing the possible adverse impacts on their development in a manner that protects the poor and the affected communities

### **Goal 13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts\***

13.1 Strengthen resilience and adaptive capacity to climate-related hazards and natural disasters in all countries

13.2 Integrate climate change measures into national policies, strategies and planning

13.3 Improve education, awareness-raising and human and institutional capacity on climate change mitigation, adaptation, impact reduction and early warning

13.a Implement the commitment undertaken by developed-country parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change to a goal of mobilizing jointly \$100 billion annually by 2020 from all sources to address the needs of developing countries in the context of meaningful mitigation actions and transparency on implementation and fully operationalize the Green Climate Fund through its capitalization as soon as possible

13.b Promote mechanisms for raising capacity for effective climate change-related planning and management in least developed countries and small island developing States, including focusing on women, youth and local and marginalized communities

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\* Acknowledging that the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change is the primary international, intergovernmental forum for negotiating the global response to climate change.

**Goal 14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development**

14.1 By 2025, prevent and significantly reduce marine pollution of all kinds, in particular from land-based activities, including marine debris and nutrient pollution

14.2 By 2020, sustainably manage and protect marine and coastal ecosystems to avoid significant adverse impacts, including by strengthening their resilience, and take action for their restoration in order to achieve healthy and productive oceans

14.3 Minimize and address the impacts of ocean acidification, including through enhanced scientific cooperation at all levels

14.4 By 2020, effectively regulate harvesting and end overfishing, illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing and destructive fishing practices and implement science-based management plans, in order to restore fish stocks in the shortest time feasible, at least to levels that can produce maximum sustainable yield as determined by their biological characteristics

14.5 By 2020, conserve at least 10 per cent of coastal and marine areas, consistent with national and international law and based on the best available scientific information

14.6 By 2020, prohibit certain forms of fisheries subsidies which contribute to overcapacity and overfishing, eliminate subsidies that contribute to illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing and refrain from introducing new such subsidies, recognizing that appropriate and effective special and differential treatment for developing and least developed countries should be an integral part of the World Trade Organization fisheries subsidies negotiation<sup>16</sup>

14.7 By 2030, increase the economic benefits to small island developing States and least developed countries from the sustainable use of marine resources, including through sustainable management of fisheries, aquaculture and tourism

14.a Increase scientific knowledge, develop research capacity and transfer marine technology, taking into account the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission Criteria and Guidelines on the Transfer of Marine Technology, in order to improve ocean health and to enhance the contribution of marine biodiversity to the development of developing countries, in particular small island developing States and least developed countries

14.b Provide access for small-scale artisanal fishers to marine resources and markets

14.c Enhance the conservation and sustainable use of oceans and their resources by implementing international law as reflected in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which provides the legal framework for the conservation and sustainable use of oceans and their resources, as recalled in paragraph 158 of “The future we want”

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<sup>16</sup> Taking into account ongoing World Trade Organization negotiations, the Doha Development Agenda and the Hong Kong ministerial mandate.

**Goal 15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss**

15.1 By 2020, ensure the conservation, restoration and sustainable use of terrestrial and inland freshwater ecosystems and their services, in particular forests, wetlands, mountains and drylands, in line with obligations under international agreements

15.2 By 2020, promote the implementation of sustainable management of all types of forests, halt deforestation, restore degraded forests and substantially increase afforestation and reforestation globally

15.3 By 2030, combat desertification, restore degraded land and soil, including land affected by desertification, drought and floods, and strive to achieve a land degradation-neutral world

15.4 By 2030, ensure the conservation of mountain ecosystems, including their biodiversity, in order to enhance their capacity to provide benefits that are essential for sustainable development

15.5 Take urgent and significant action to reduce the degradation of natural habitats, halt the loss of biodiversity and, by 2020, protect and prevent the extinction of threatened species

15.6 Promote fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising from the utilization of genetic resources and promote appropriate access to such resources, as internationally agreed

15.7 Take urgent action to end poaching and trafficking of protected species of flora and fauna and address both demand and supply of illegal wildlife products

15.8 By 2020, introduce measures to prevent the introduction and significantly reduce the impact of invasive alien species on land and water ecosystems and control or eradicate the priority species

15.9 By 2020, integrate ecosystem and biodiversity values into national and local planning, development processes, poverty reduction strategies and accounts

15.a Mobilize and significantly increase financial resources from all sources to conserve and sustainably use biodiversity and ecosystems

15.b Mobilize significant resources from all sources and at all levels to finance sustainable forest management and provide adequate incentives to developing countries to advance such management, including for conservation and reforestation

15.c Enhance global support for efforts to combat poaching and trafficking of protected species, including by increasing the capacity of local communities to pursue sustainable livelihood opportunities

**Goal 16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels**

16.1 Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere

16.2 End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children

16.3 Promote the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all

16.4 By 2030, significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen the recovery and return of stolen assets and combat all forms of organized crime

16.5 Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms

16.6 Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels

16.7 Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels

16.8 Broaden and strengthen the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance

16.9 By 2030, provide legal identity for all, including birth registration

16.10 Ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements

16.a Strengthen relevant national institutions, including through international cooperation, for building capacity at all levels, in particular in developing countries, to prevent violence and combat terrorism and crime

16.b Promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development

## **Goal 17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development**

### **Finance**

17.1 Strengthen domestic resource mobilization, including through international support to developing countries, to improve domestic capacity for tax and other revenue collection

17.2 Developed countries to implement fully their official development assistance commitments, including the commitment by many developed countries to achieve the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national income for official development assistance (ODA/GNI) to developing countries and 0.15 to 0.20 per cent of ODA/GNI to least developed countries; ODA providers are encouraged to consider setting a target to provide at least 0.20 per cent of ODA/GNI to least developed countries

17.3 Mobilize additional financial resources for developing countries from multiple sources

17.4 Assist developing countries in attaining long-term debt sustainability through coordinated policies aimed at fostering debt financing, debt relief and debt restructuring, as appropriate, and address the external debt of highly indebted poor countries to reduce debt distress

17.5 Adopt and implement investment promotion regimes for least developed countries

### **Technology**

17.6 Enhance North-South, South-South and triangular regional and international cooperation on and access to science, technology and innovation and enhance knowledge sharing on mutually agreed terms, including through improved coordination among existing mechanisms, in particular at the United Nations level, and through a global technology facilitation mechanism

17.7 Promote the development, transfer, dissemination and diffusion of environmentally sound technologies to developing countries on favourable terms, including on concessional and preferential terms, as mutually agreed

17.8 Fully operationalize the technology bank and science, technology and innovation capacity-building mechanism for least developed countries by 2017 and enhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology

### **Capacity-building**

17.9 Enhance international support for implementing effective and targeted capacity-building in developing countries to support national plans to implement all the Sustainable Development Goals, including through North-South, South-South and triangular cooperation

### **Trade**

17.10 Promote a universal, rules-based, open, non-discriminatory and equitable multilateral trading system under the World Trade Organization, including through the conclusion of negotiations under its Doha Development Agenda

17.11 Significantly increase the exports of developing countries, in particular with a view to doubling the least developed countries' share of global exports by 2020

17.12 Realize timely implementation of duty-free and quota-free market access on a lasting basis for all least developed countries, consistent with World Trade Organization decisions, including by ensuring that preferential rules of origin applicable to imports from least developed countries are transparent and simple, and contribute to facilitating market access

### **Systemic issues**

#### *Policy and institutional coherence*

17.13 Enhance global macroeconomic stability, including through policy coordination and policy coherence

17.14 Enhance policy coherence for sustainable development

17.15 Respect each country's policy space and leadership to establish and implement policies for poverty eradication and sustainable development

#### *Multi-stakeholder partnerships*

17.16 Enhance the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development, complemented by multi-stakeholder partnerships that mobilize and share knowledge, expertise, technology and financial resources, to support the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals in all countries, in particular developing countries

17.17 Encourage and promote effective public, public-private and civil society partnerships, building on the experience and resourcing strategies of partnerships

#### *Data, monitoring and accountability*

17.18 By 2020, enhance capacity-building support to developing countries, including for least developed countries and small island developing States, to increase significantly the availability of high-quality, timely and reliable data disaggregated by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability, geographic location and other characteristics relevant in national contexts

17.19 By 2030, build on existing initiatives to develop measurements of progress on sustainable development that complement gross domestic product, and support statistical capacity-building in developing countries

### **Means of implementation and the Global Partnership**

60. We reaffirm our strong commitment to the full implementation of this new Agenda. We recognize that we will not be able to achieve our ambitious Goals and targets without a revitalized and enhanced Global Partnership and comparably ambitious means of implementation. The revitalized Global Partnership will facilitate an intensive global engagement in support of implementation of all the Goals and targets, bringing together Governments, civil society, the private sector, the United Nations system and other actors and mobilizing all available resources.

61. The Agenda's Goals and targets deal with the means required to realize our collective ambitions. The means of implementation targets under each Sustainable Development Goal and Goal 17, which are referred to above, are key to realizing our Agenda and are of equal importance with the other Goals and targets. We shall accord them equal priority in our implementation efforts and in the global indicator framework for monitoring our progress.

62. This Agenda, including the Sustainable Development Goals, can be met within the framework of a revitalized Global Partnership for Sustainable Development, supported by the concrete policies and actions outlined in the Addis Ababa Action Agenda, which is an integral part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The Addis Ababa Action Agenda supports, complements and helps to contextualize the 2030 Agenda's means of implementation targets. It relates to domestic public resources, domestic and international private business and finance, international development cooperation, international trade as an engine for development, debt and debt sustainability, addressing systemic issues and science, technology, innovation and capacity-building, and data, monitoring and follow-up.

63. Cohesive nationally owned sustainable development strategies, supported by integrated national financing frameworks, will be at the heart of our efforts. We reiterate that each country has primary responsibility for its own economic and social development and that the role of national policies and development strategies cannot be overemphasized. We will respect each country's policy space and leadership to implement policies for poverty eradication and sustainable development, while remaining consistent with relevant international rules and commitments. At the same time, national development efforts need to be supported by an enabling international economic environment, including coherent and mutually supporting world trade, monetary and financial systems, and strengthened and enhanced global economic governance. Processes to develop and facilitate the availability of appropriate knowledge and technologies globally, as well as capacity-building, are also critical. We commit to pursuing policy coherence and an enabling environment for sustainable development at all levels and by all actors, and to reinvigorating the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development.

64. We support the implementation of relevant strategies and programmes of action, including the Istanbul Declaration and Programme of Action, the SIDS Accelerated Modalities of Action (SAMOA) Pathway and the Vienna Programme of Action for Landlocked Developing Countries for the Decade 2014–2024, and reaffirm

the importance of supporting the African Union's Agenda 2063 and the programme of the New Partnership for Africa's Development, all of which are integral to the new Agenda. We recognize the major challenge to the achievement of durable peace and sustainable development in countries in conflict and post-conflict situations.

65. We recognize that middle-income countries still face significant challenges to achieve sustainable development. In order to ensure that achievements made to date are sustained, efforts to address ongoing challenges should be strengthened through the exchange of experiences, improved coordination, and better and focused support of the United Nations development system, the international financial institutions, regional organizations and other stakeholders.

66. We underscore that, for all countries, public policies and the mobilization and effective use of domestic resources, underscored by the principle of national ownership, are central to our common pursuit of sustainable development, including achieving the Sustainable Development Goals. We recognize that domestic resources are first and foremost generated by economic growth, supported by an enabling environment at all levels.

67. Private business activity, investment and innovation are major drivers of productivity, inclusive economic growth and job creation. We acknowledge the diversity of the private sector, ranging from micro-enterprises to cooperatives to multinationals. We call upon all businesses to apply their creativity and innovation to solving sustainable development challenges. We will foster a dynamic and well-functioning business sector, while protecting labour rights and environmental and health standards in accordance with relevant international standards and agreements and other ongoing initiatives in this regard, such as the Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights<sup>17</sup> and the labour standards of the International Labour Organization, the Convention on the Rights of the Child<sup>18</sup> and key multilateral environmental agreements, for parties to those agreements.

68. International trade is an engine for inclusive economic growth and poverty reduction, and contributes to the promotion of sustainable development. We will continue to promote a universal, rules-based, open, transparent, predictable, inclusive, non-discriminatory and equitable multilateral trading system under the World Trade Organization, as well as meaningful trade liberalization. We call upon all members of the World Trade Organization to redouble their efforts to promptly conclude the negotiations on the Doha Development Agenda.<sup>19</sup> We attach great importance to providing trade-related capacity-building for developing countries, including African countries, least developed countries, landlocked developing countries, small island developing States and middle-income countries, including for the promotion of regional economic integration and interconnectivity.

69. We recognize the need to assist developing countries in attaining long-term debt sustainability through coordinated policies aimed at fostering debt financing, debt relief, debt restructuring and sound debt management, as appropriate. Many countries remain vulnerable to debt crises and some are in the midst of crises, including a number of least developed countries, small island developing States and some developed countries. We reiterate that debtors and creditors must work together to prevent and resolve unsustainable debt situations. Maintaining sustainable debt

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<sup>17</sup> [A/HRC/17/31](#), annex.

<sup>18</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 1577, No. 27531.

<sup>19</sup> [A/C.2/56/7](#), annex.

levels is the responsibility of the borrowing countries; however we acknowledge that lenders also have a responsibility to lend in a way that does not undermine a country's debt sustainability. We will support the maintenance of debt sustainability of those countries that have received debt relief and achieved sustainable debt levels.

70. We hereby launch a Technology Facilitation Mechanism which was established by the Addis Ababa Action Agenda in order to support the Sustainable Development Goals. The Technology Facilitation Mechanism will be based on a multi-stakeholder collaboration between Member States, civil society, the private sector, the scientific community, United Nations entities and other stakeholders and will be composed of a United Nations inter-agency task team on science, technology and innovation for the Sustainable Development Goals, a collaborative multi-stakeholder forum on science, technology and innovation for the Sustainable Development Goals and an online platform.

- The United Nations inter-agency task team on science, technology and innovation for the Sustainable Development Goals will promote coordination, coherence and cooperation within the United Nations system on science, technology and innovation-related matters, enhancing synergy and efficiency, in particular to enhance capacity-building initiatives. The task team will draw on existing resources and will work with 10 representatives from civil society, the private sector and the scientific community to prepare the meetings of the multi-stakeholder forum on science, technology and innovation for the Sustainable Development Goals, as well as in the development and operationalization of the online platform, including preparing proposals for the modalities for the forum and the online platform. The 10 representatives will be appointed by the Secretary-General, for periods of two years. The task team will be open to the participation of all United Nations agencies, funds and programmes and the functional commissions of the Economic and Social Council and it will initially be composed of the entities that currently integrate the informal working group on technology facilitation, namely, the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the Secretariat, the United Nations Environment Programme, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the International Telecommunication Union, the World Intellectual Property Organization and the World Bank.
- The online platform will be used to establish a comprehensive mapping of, and serve as a gateway for, information on existing science, technology and innovation initiatives, mechanisms and programmes, within and beyond the United Nations. The online platform will facilitate access to information, knowledge and experience, as well as best practices and lessons learned, on science, technology and innovation facilitation initiatives and policies. The online platform will also facilitate the dissemination of relevant open access scientific publications generated worldwide. The online platform will be developed on the basis of an independent technical assessment which will take into account best practices and lessons learned from other initiatives, within and beyond the United Nations, in order to ensure that it will complement, facilitate access to and provide adequate information on

existing science, technology and innovation platforms, avoiding duplications and enhancing synergies.

- The multi-stakeholder forum on science, technology and innovation for the Sustainable Development Goals will be convened once a year, for a period of two days, to discuss science, technology and innovation cooperation around thematic areas for the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals, congregating all relevant stakeholders to actively contribute in their area of expertise. The forum will provide a venue for facilitating interaction, matchmaking and the establishment of networks between relevant stakeholders and multi-stakeholder partnerships in order to identify and examine technology needs and gaps, including on scientific cooperation, innovation and capacity-building, and also in order to help to facilitate development, transfer and dissemination of relevant technologies for the Sustainable Development Goals. The meetings of the forum will be convened by the President of the Economic and Social Council before the meeting of the high-level political forum under the auspices of the Council or, alternatively, in conjunction with other forums or conferences, as appropriate, taking into account the theme to be considered and on the basis of a collaboration with the organizers of the other forums or conferences. The meetings of the forum will be co-chaired by two Member States and will result in a summary of discussions elaborated by the two co-Chairs, as an input to the meetings of the high-level political forum, in the context of the follow-up and review of the implementation of the post-2015 development agenda.
- The meetings of the high-level political forum will be informed by the summary of the multi-stakeholder forum. The themes for the subsequent multi-stakeholder forum on science, technology and innovation for the Sustainable Development Goals will be considered by the high-level political forum on sustainable development, taking into account expert inputs from the task team.

71. We reiterate that this Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals and targets, including the means of implementation, are universal, indivisible and interlinked.

### **Follow-up and review**

72. We commit to engaging in systematic follow-up and review of the implementation of this Agenda over the next 15 years. A robust, voluntary, effective, participatory, transparent and integrated follow-up and review framework will make a vital contribution to implementation and will help countries to maximize and track progress in implementing this Agenda in order to ensure that no one is left behind.

73. Operating at the national, regional and global levels, it will promote accountability to our citizens, support effective international cooperation in achieving this Agenda and foster exchanges of best practices and mutual learning. It will mobilize support to overcome shared challenges and identify new and emerging issues. As this is a universal Agenda, mutual trust and understanding among all nations will be important.

74. Follow-up and review processes at all levels will be guided by the following principles:

(a) They will be voluntary and country-led, will take into account different national realities, capacities and levels of development and will respect policy space and priorities. As national ownership is key to achieving sustainable development, the outcome from national-level processes will be the foundation for reviews at the regional and global levels, given that the global review will be primarily based on national official data sources.

(b) They will track progress in implementing the universal Goals and targets, including the means of implementation, in all countries in a manner which respects their universal, integrated and interrelated nature and the three dimensions of sustainable development.

(c) They will maintain a longer-term orientation, identify achievements, challenges, gaps and critical success factors and support countries in making informed policy choices. They will help to mobilize the necessary means of implementation and partnerships, support the identification of solutions and best practices and promote the coordination and effectiveness of the international development system.

(d) They will be open, inclusive, participatory and transparent for all people and will support reporting by all relevant stakeholders.

(e) They will be people-centred, gender-sensitive, respect human rights and have a particular focus on the poorest, most vulnerable and those furthest behind.

(f) They will build on existing platforms and processes, where these exist, avoid duplication and respond to national circumstances, capacities, needs and priorities. They will evolve over time, taking into account emerging issues and the development of new methodologies, and will minimize the reporting burden on national administrations.

(g) They will be rigorous and based on evidence, informed by country-led evaluations and data which is high-quality, accessible, timely, reliable and disaggregated by income, sex, age, race, ethnicity, migration status, disability and geographic location and other characteristics relevant in national contexts.

(h) They will require enhanced capacity-building support for developing countries, including the strengthening of national data systems and evaluation programmes, particularly in African countries, least developed countries, small island developing States, landlocked developing countries and middle-income countries.

(i) They will benefit from the active support of the United Nations system and other multilateral institutions.

75. The Goals and targets will be followed up and reviewed using a set of global indicators. These will be complemented by indicators at the regional and national levels which will be developed by Member States, in addition to the outcomes of work undertaken for the development of the baselines for those targets where national and global baseline data does not yet exist. The global indicator framework, to be developed by the Inter-Agency and Expert Group on Sustainable Development Goal Indicators, will be agreed by the Statistical Commission by March 2016 and adopted thereafter by the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly, in line with existing mandates. This framework will be simple yet robust, address all Sustainable Development Goals and targets, including for means of implementation, and preserve the political balance, integration and ambition contained therein.

76. We will support developing countries, particularly African countries, least developed countries, small island developing States and landlocked developing

countries, in strengthening the capacity of national statistical offices and data systems to ensure access to high-quality, timely, reliable and disaggregated data. We will promote transparent and accountable scaling-up of appropriate public-private cooperation to exploit the contribution to be made by a wide range of data, including earth observation and geospatial information, while ensuring national ownership in supporting and tracking progress.

77. We commit to fully engage in conducting regular and inclusive reviews of progress at the subnational, national, regional and global levels. We will draw as far as possible on the existing network of follow-up and review institutions and mechanisms. National reports will allow assessments of progress and identify challenges at the regional and global level. Along with regional dialogues and global reviews, they will inform recommendations for follow-up at various levels.

### **National level**

78. We encourage all Member States to develop as soon as practicable ambitious national responses to the overall implementation of this Agenda. These can support the transition to the Sustainable Development Goals and build on existing planning instruments, such as national development and sustainable development strategies, as appropriate.

79. We also encourage Member States to conduct regular and inclusive reviews of progress at the national and subnational levels which are country-led and country-driven. Such reviews should draw on contributions from indigenous peoples, civil society, the private sector and other stakeholders, in line with national circumstances, policies and priorities. National parliaments as well as other institutions can also support these processes.

### **Regional level**

80. Follow-up and review at the regional and subregional levels can, as appropriate, provide useful opportunities for peer learning, including through voluntary reviews, sharing of best practices and discussion on shared targets. We welcome in this respect the cooperation of regional and subregional commissions and organizations. Inclusive regional processes will draw on national-level reviews and contribute to follow-up and review at the global level, including at the high-level political forum on sustainable development.

81. Recognizing the importance of building on existing follow-up and review mechanisms at the regional level and allowing adequate policy space, we encourage all Member States to identify the most suitable regional forum in which to engage. United Nations regional commissions are encouraged to continue supporting Member States in this regard.

### **Global level**

82. The high-level political forum will have a central role in overseeing a network of follow-up and review processes at the global level, working coherently with the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and other relevant organs and forums, in accordance with existing mandates. It will facilitate sharing of experiences, including successes, challenges and lessons learned, and provide political leadership, guidance and recommendations for follow-up. It will promote system-wide coherence and coordination of sustainable development policies. It should ensure that the Agenda remains relevant and ambitious and should focus on the

assessment of progress, achievements and challenges faced by developed and developing countries as well as new and emerging issues. Effective linkages will be made with the follow-up and review arrangements of all relevant United Nations conferences and processes, including on least developed countries, small island developing States and landlocked developing countries.

83. Follow-up and review at the high-level political forum will be informed by an annual progress report on the Sustainable Development Goals to be prepared by the Secretary-General in cooperation with the United Nations system, based on the global indicator framework and data produced by national statistical systems and information collected at the regional level. The high-level political forum will also be informed by the *Global Sustainable Development Report*, which shall strengthen the science-policy interface and could provide a strong evidence-based instrument to support policymakers in promoting poverty eradication and sustainable development. We invite the President of the Economic and Social Council to conduct a process of consultations on the scope, methodology and frequency of the global report as well as its relation to the progress report, the outcome of which should be reflected in the ministerial declaration of the session of the high-level political forum in 2016.

84. The high-level political forum, under the auspices of the Economic and Social Council, shall carry out regular reviews, in line with General Assembly resolution 67/290 of 9 July 2013. Reviews will be voluntary, while encouraging reporting, and include developed and developing countries as well as relevant United Nations entities and other stakeholders, including civil society and the private sector. They shall be State-led, involving ministerial and other relevant high-level participants. They shall provide a platform for partnerships, including through the participation of major groups and other relevant stakeholders.

85. Thematic reviews of progress on the Sustainable Development Goals, including cross-cutting issues, will also take place at the high-level political forum. These will be supported by reviews by the functional commissions of the Economic and Social Council and other intergovernmental bodies and forums which should reflect the integrated nature of the Goals as well as the interlinkages between them. They will engage all relevant stakeholders and, where possible, feed into, and be aligned with, the cycle of the high-level political forum.

86. We welcome, as outlined in the Addis Ababa Action Agenda, the dedicated follow-up and review for the financing for development outcomes as well as all the means of implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals which is integrated with the follow-up and review framework of this Agenda. The intergovernmentally agreed conclusions and recommendations of the annual Economic and Social Council forum on financing for development will be fed into the overall follow-up and review of the implementation of this Agenda in the high-level political forum.

87. Meeting every four years under the auspices of the General Assembly, the high-level political forum will provide high-level political guidance on the Agenda and its implementation, identify progress and emerging challenges and mobilize further actions to accelerate implementation. The next high-level political forum under the auspices of the General Assembly will be held in 2019, with the cycle of meetings thus reset, in order to maximize coherence with the quadrennial comprehensive policy review process.

88. We also stress the importance of system-wide strategic planning, implementation and reporting in order to ensure coherent and integrated support to

the implementation of the new Agenda by the United Nations development system. The relevant governing bodies should take action to review such support to implementation and to report on progress and obstacles. We welcome the ongoing dialogue in the Economic and Social Council on the longer-term positioning of the United Nations development system and look forward to taking action on these issues, as appropriate.

89. The high-level political forum will support participation in follow-up and review processes by the major groups and other relevant stakeholders in line with resolution 67/290. We call upon those actors to report on their contribution to the implementation of the Agenda.

90. We request the Secretary-General, in consultation with Member States, to prepare a report, for consideration at the seventieth session of the General Assembly in preparation for the 2016 meeting of the high-level political forum, which outlines critical milestones towards coherent, efficient and inclusive follow-up and review at the global level. The report should include a proposal on the organizational arrangements for State-led reviews at the high-level political forum under the auspices of the Economic and Social Council, including recommendations on voluntary common reporting guidelines. It should clarify institutional responsibilities and provide guidance on annual themes, on a sequence of thematic reviews, and on options for periodic reviews for the high-level political forum.

91. We reaffirm our unwavering commitment to achieving this Agenda and utilizing it to the full to transform our world for the better by 2030.

*4th plenary meeting  
25 September 2015*

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**Instruments mentioned in the section entitled  
“Sustainable Development Goals and targets”**

World Health Organization Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 2302, No. 41032)

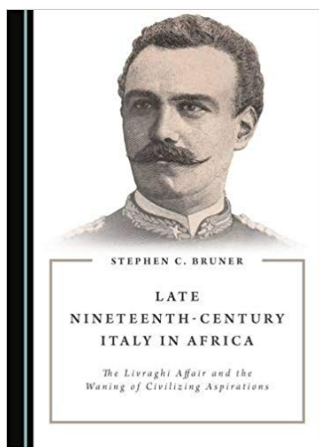
Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030 (resolution 69/283, annex II)

United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 1833, No. 31363)

“The future we want” (resolution 66/288, annex)



## RECENSIONI



S.C. BRUNER, *Late Nineteenth-Century Italy in Africa. The Livraghi Affair and the Waning of Civilizing Aspirations*, Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017, ISBN 978-1-4438-4376-8, pp. 187.

Angelo Del Boca lo ha definito “il più odioso scandalo della storia coloniale italiana dell’800”, e non a caso visto che lo “scandalo Livraghi” fu un vero e proprio terremoto mediatico che riportò l’Africa al centro dell’attenzione dell’opinione pubblica italiana. Il 4 marzo 1891, Napoleone Corazzini, corrispondente dall’Eritrea della *Tribuna* denunciò “varie uccisioni commesse di notte segretamente”<sup>1</sup>, e poi stragi, torture e furti in quello che passò alle cronache - e poi alla storia – come “lo scandalo Livraghi”, dal nome del tenente dei carabinieri che ne fu protagonista. Dario Livraghi, che dal 1889 al 1891 fu a capo della polizia “indigena”, con la complicità dell’avvocato Eteocle Cagnassi, responsabile dell’ufficio affari indigeni, aveva accusato di alto tradimento Hassan Mussa al-Akad, per via di presunti rapporti con *ras* Mangascià. Condannato a morte nel febbraio del 1890, il processo ad al-Akad apparve subito avere un impianto accusatorio estremamente fragile, tanto che il caso venne riaperto. Affidato a mani meno compiacenti, il nuovo processo ribaltò il verdetto e al-Akad e i suoi “complici” furono scarcerati. Nella nuova sentenza ad essere imputati furono i due accusatori di al-Akad: Cagnassi e Livraghi. Il primo scappò in Italia, mentre il secondo si dimise e una volta a Roma fu arrestato. Evaso, riparò in Svizzera da dove inviò al quotidiano *Il Secolo* un memoriale con “la sua verità”. Livraghi cercò di far ricadere la responsabilità degli eccidi sui suoi superiori, accusando il generale Antonio Baldissera di avere ordinato l’esecuzione di una cinquantina di eritrei e confermò come le vittime di quella campagna fossero state almeno ottocento, altri sostennero che le morti fossero state addirittura mille, da cui il neologismo “livragazioni”. Le indagini di Napoleone Corazzini avevano svelato una colonia piena di intrighi, efferatezze e delitti; architettata da Livraghi e Cagnassi a scopo di lucro, la vicenda aveva però finito per coinvolgere anche i vertici politico-militari, il biasimo ricadde dunque anche sui generali Antonio Baldissera e Baldassarre Orero e, indirettamente ma inevitabilmente, su Francesco Crispi, primo ministro e sostenitore di una vigorosa politica coloniale.

Alla fine, il Governo decise di inviare una commissione d’inchiesta in Eritrea. Quando la commissione rientrò, presentò un rapporto in cui si ridimensionava drasticamente l’accaduto e il numero delle vittime, tant’è che i principali imputati furono assolti con formula piena e la responsabilità attribuita al solo lijj Kassa e ai suoi uomini, mentre le vittime accertate passarono da ottocento a “otto o poco più”, tra l’altro da attribuirsi “all’indole selvaggia” dei soldati indigeni che eseguirono le esecuzioni come indicavano le conclusioni della Commissione d’inchiesta. Verdetto confermato anche dal Tribunale di Massawa che nel novembre del 1891 assolse Cagnassi e Livraghi.

<sup>1</sup> *Gazzetta del Regno d’Italia*, n. 286, 7 dic. 1891, p. 4729.

La popolarità del primo grande scandalo coloniale dell'Italia ha avuto una parabola molto particolare: caso famosissimo nei mesi in cui si consumò lo scandalo e poi velocemente dimenticato, tant'è che le classiche ricostruzioni di epoca coloniale (G. Mondaini, C. Ciasca e poi il Comitato per la Documentazione dell'Opera dell'Italia in Africa) ne parlano con riluttanza. Nel dopoguerra la vicenda è stata riproposta da Battaglia<sup>2</sup>, De Jaco<sup>3</sup> e Del Boca<sup>4</sup>, fino al più recente lavoro di Nicholas Lucchetti (2013)<sup>5</sup>. E' interessante notare come tutti gli autori citati si siano avvicinati allo "scandalo Livraghi" non con l'intento di offrire una ricostruzione alternativa, magari avvalendosi di nuovi documenti o testimonianze, ma di utilizzare lo scandalo come strumento privilegiato per indagare la società italiana. In questo modo i *cultural studies* hanno finito per essere l'alveo naturale degli studi dedicati allo "scandalo Livraghi" e anche il lavoro di S.C. Bruner si inserisce saldamente in questa tradizione. Per Bruner, infatti, quello che lui stesso definisce "un remoto fatto coloniale" (p. 17), offre un'opportunità unica per penetrare la società italiana in un'importante fase di transizione e in un momento cruciale per la formazione della sua identità nazionale. La fonte che l'autore ha privilegiato è la stampa periodica: Bruner ha preso in considerazione diciassette quotidiani e sette periodici, tra i più diffusi del periodo. Una scelta giustificata dal fatto che proprio in quegli anni la stampa aveva cominciato a giocare un ruolo fondamentale nell'orientamento dell'opinione pubblica (p. 37) e nuove testate, più dinamiche e indipendenti, avevano fatto la loro comparsa. Per comprendere la capacità della stampa di orientare l'opinione pubblica basti citare il fatto che nel giro di trent'anni il volume delle copie vendute raddoppiò, tanto che *Il Secolo* poteva sostenere di avere una tiratura prossima alle duecentomila copie, mentre il *Corriere della Sera* si "fermava" a cinquantamila. L'invio di corrispondenti divenne una pratica comune e vi furono momenti che, in Africa come altrove, la loro presenza fu massiccia. La scelta di utilizzare la stampa periodica come strumento d'indagine è quindi più che giustificata e quello di Bruner è sicuramente lo studio più accurato dell'impatto che lo scandalo ebbe sulla società italiana.

Lo "scandalo Livraghi" riaprì il dibattito sull'opportunità o meno dell'espansione coloniale. Per Bruner, negli anni precedenti il caso Livraghi si erano delineati tre orientamenti principali nei confronti dell'espansione coloniale: il primo comprendeva il cosiddetto partito anticoloniale, e premeva per un veloce ritiro dall'Africa (*Il Secolo*, *La Tribuna*, *Caffaro*); il secondo giustificava la presenza in Africa attraverso la retorica della civiltà, lasciando intendere che l'Italia doveva sforzarsi di portare in Africa il progresso, la civiltà e il rispetto della legge; il terzo raggruppamento riteneva che colonialismo e diritti costituzionali fossero incompatibili, ma non si spingeva ad invocare un ritiro dall'Africa, quello che veniva invece proposto era uno sfruttamento economico delle colonie.

La missione di civiltà, il dovere morale di redimere il continente dalle barbarie, rimase, secondo Bruner, una delle giustificazioni più ricorrenti fino allo scandalo Livraghi. Portare la civiltà, possibilmente senza il ricorso alla forza e rispettando i tempi degli africani in un percorso guidato di elevazione morale e culturale, costituiva la missione storica dell'Europa e dell'Italia in Africa. Per Bruner lo "scandalo

<sup>2</sup> R. Battaglia, *La prima guerra d'Africa*, Torino, Einaudi, 1958.

<sup>3</sup> A. De Jaco, *Di mal d'Africa si muore. Cronache inedite dell'Unità d'Italia*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1972.

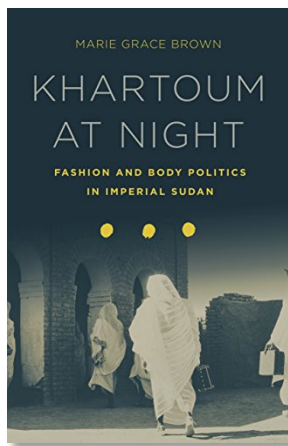
<sup>4</sup> A. Del Boca, *Dall'Unità alla marcia su Roma*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1976.

<sup>5</sup> N. Lucchetti, *Dallo "scandalo Livraghi" ai fratelli Derres. Saggi sul colonialismo italiano*, Tricase, Youcanprint Self-Publishing, 2013. Il volume non compare nella bibliografia di Bruner.

Livraghi” mise in crisi questa giustificazione morale dell’espansionismo italiano e rappresentò il momento in cui l’aspirazione a civilizzare l’Africa perse mordente sull’opinione pubblica italiana che cominciò a guardare con occhi diversi all’Africa. Il trauma prodotto dallo scandalo fece slittare larghe porzioni dell’opinione pubblica verso posizioni più ciniche e disilluse: il caso Livraghi sembrò provare che in Africa ogni progetto idealista avrebbe dovuto fare i conti con difficoltà e resistenze inaspettate, tanto che in molti cominciarono ad interrogarsi sull’effettiva volontà degli africani di “farsi civilizzare”. Se l’Africa rifiutava la mano tesa dell’Italia e tradiva la sua “generosa” solidarietà, allora l’applicazione della legge e dei diritti dell’Italia all’Africa finiva per perdere ogni senso. Nella ricostruzione della stampa, lo “scandalo Livraghi” aveva mostrato quanto insidiosi potessero rivelarsi gli africani da redimere e la loro propensione al tradimento. Il lavoro di Bruner è una vera e propria analisi dell’ascesa e declino del concetto di “missione civilizzatrice” nel colonialismo italiano, con al centro lo “scandalo Livraghi”, assurto a momento di svolta e crisi di questo concetto. Il nuovo corso venne personificato dalla figura e azione del generale Antonio Baldissera che sostenne che quando le condizioni lo imponevano la legge poteva e doveva essere accantonata, vista la diversità del contesto africano da quello italiano. In maniera lenta e comunque inesorabile, la “missione di civiltà” perse il suo *appeal* a vantaggio di un approccio più muscolare. La precisa ricostruzione di Bruner è basata su uno spoglio attento della stampa periodica italiana e su uno schema interpretativo molto chiaro basato sulla centralità della teoria della missione civilizzatrice nel colonialismo italiano, almeno fino allo “scandalo Livraghi”. Rimane da vedere, e Bruner non è poi che risulti particolarmente convincente su questo punto, quanto la missione civilizzatrice avesse quella centralità che l’autore gli attribuisce. Non sono pochi, infatti, gli elementi che suggeriscono una valutazione più cauta.

Il richiamo alla missione civilizzatrice è sempre stato parte del bagaglio retorico utilizzato dall’espansionismo coloniale: non vi è potenza che non vi abbia fatto ricorso. Nel dibattito che si produsse in Italia, invece, le motivazioni etiche furono tutto sommato marginali anche se indubbiamente ricorrenti. Un paese povero, con grandi problemi interni come l’Italia aveva altre priorità e non poteva credere di persuadere un’opinione pubblica riluttante appellandosi esclusivamente a valori ideali. Le giustificazioni per un’espansione politicamente ricca di insidie e complicazioni e finanziariamente molto costosa, non potevano essere invocate davanti all’opinione pubblica con dei vaghi riferimenti alla missione civilizzatrice. Simili argomentazioni erano destinate ad essere facilmente smontate da chi invece ricordava che lo sviluppo interno del paese era più importante di ogni espansione coloniale. Insomma, bastava ricordare che l’Italia l’Africa ce l’aveva in casa per ridimensionare l’impatto di chi invocava la missione civilizzatrice. Per riuscire a conquistare i consensi dell’opinione pubblica, le giustificazioni dovevano essere molto più pragmatiche: nuovi sbocchi per il commercio e l’emigrazione e poi la ricerca del prestigio internazionale, che era poi quello che africanisti convinti come Sidney Sonnino sostenevano quando tracciavano un nesso inscindibile fra Africa e questione delle migrazioni. Se l’idea liberale di una graduale civilizzazione degli africani fu sempre presente, il suo ruolo fu il più delle volte accessorio, spesso a complemento di un discorso più ampio e concreto legato agli urgenti bisogni dell’Italia liberale. S.C. Bruner ci ha comunque donato un’invidiabile ricostruzione dell’intenso dibattito pubblico che lo scandalo Livraghi suscitò in Italia.

Massimo Zaccaria (Università di Pavia)



M.G. BROWN, *Khartoum at Night. Fashion and Body Politics in Imperial Sudan*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2017, ISBN 978-1-5036-0264-9, pp. 222.

Questo bel volume di Marie Grace Brown, professoressa di storia all'Università del Kansas, si confronta con un problema complesso e affascinante, un classico della storiografia contemporanea: come raccontare la storia di chi non ha avuto il privilegio di lasciare tracce, di chi non ha avuto voce. Si tratta di un tema che ha marcato in modo particolare la ricerca sui gruppi subalterni e sulle donne, e quando gli studi di genere si sono confrontati con l'Africa, il silenzio delle donne, la loro apparente marginalità, hanno spinto molti a ritenere impossibile scrivere una loro storia in Africa. L'unica alternativa percorribile è stata quella di affrontare vite di donne atipiche o "eccezionali" e, per questo motivo, catturate dalla documentazione scritta. Il pregio del volume di Marie Grace Brown consiste nel proporre uno strumento metodologico capace di rompere questo silenzio, offrendo poi una brillante dimostrazione dell'utilizzo concreto della sua proposta. Per l'autrice il corpo e l'abbigliamento sono dei veri e propri testi storici, perché è attraverso i vestiti, le mode e il movimento che le donne hanno espresso - ed esprimono - il loro rapporto con la società. Il lavoro è quindi una storia di corpi in movimento e di come questi si rapportino alla storia e ai luoghi.

Il terreno scelto dalla Brown per testare la sua proposta metodologica è il Sudan, in modo particolare la sua capitale Khartoum, mentre dal punto di vista sociale l'attenzione va principalmente alle donne della classe media. Il capo di vestiario scelto è invece il *tobe*, una pezza rettangolare di tessuto che viene indossato sopra i vestiti e che negli anni si è trasformata nella quintessenza dell'abbigliamento femminile sudanese. Se forma e funzione del *tobe* sono rimasti sostanzialmente immutati, nel tempo a cambiare sono stati colori, trame e nomi. Giocando su questa dinamicità, l'autrice svela come le donne sudanesi abbiano trasferito nel *tobe* le loro emozioni e speranze, a partire dai nomi dei modelli che, oltre ad essere utilizzati come titolazione dei capitoli, vengono indagati nelle loro relazioni con l'attualità dei giorni in cui furono di moda.

La Brown si concentra in modo particolare sul settore educativo come spazio privilegiato dello sforzo governativo per creare una classe di sudanesi in possesso di una formazione moderna. Le novità introdotte durante il condominio anglo-egiziano aprirono infatti nuove possibilità all'elemento femminile, oggetto di particolari attenzioni da parte delle autorità. Se i primi esempi di percorsi educativi specifici per le donne risalgono agli inizi del XX secolo, fu negli anni '20-'30 che questi tentativi assunsero una maggiore incisività. Le sorelle Mabel e Gertrude Wolff, ad esempio, giunsero agli inizi degli anni '20 per avviare una scuola di formazione ostetrica (Midwifery Training School). La loro vicenda permette all'autrice di introdurre il percorso professionale di Sitt Batul Muhammad Isa, una delle prime sudanesi ad uscire dalla scuola delle sorelle Wolff e che nel lavoro di levatrice trovò un proprio percorso di indipendenza personale ed economica.

Nel 1938, quando erano ancora solo 3400 le ragazze nelle scuole governative, l'arrivo di Ina Besley come soprintendente all'educazione femminile inaugurò una nuova

stagione. Come nel caso delle sorelle Wolff, anche Ina Besley credeva fermamente nel legame tra progresso, pulizia e abbigliamento. La lotta contro la circoncisione femminile divenne uno degli ambiti dove il confronto fra la “la modernizzazione” alla britannica e la società sudanese entrarono in maggiore contrasto. Le autorità lanciarono una vera e propria crociata civile, destinata però a dare risultati al di sotto delle aspettative. Furono soprattutto le donne a resistere queste pressioni, rifiutando di accettare l’idea che questa pratica rappresentasse una forma di primitivismo (pp. 104-105) e rivendicando il diritto di gestire il proprio corpo. Ma se la battaglia contro la circoncisione fu sostanzialmente persa, le donne negli anni ‘30 e ‘40 ebbero la possibilità di affermare sempre più la loro presenza nello spazio pubblico: scuole, parate, sport e una maggiore libertà di movimento fecero delle donne un elemento nuovo nelle città sudanesi. Nel 1945 la creazione della prima scuola secondaria femminile (la Omdurman Girls’ Secondary School) marcò un ulteriore passo nella direzione di una partecipazione più attiva delle donne nella società sudanese e una loro maggiore visibilità nello spazio pubblico. All’interno delle scuole si vennero a creare degli spazi liminali, che non erano del tutto pubblici e neppure privati, e che rappresentarono oasi di libertà per le studentesse (p. 107). Gli ultimi due capitoli coprono gli anni ‘50 e il cammino verso l’indipendenza del paese. Un periodo particolarmente intenso, che vide la comparsa delle prime organizzazioni femminili (League of Cultured Girls, 1947) e poi marcato dalla creazione della Sudanese Women’s League (SWU, 1952).

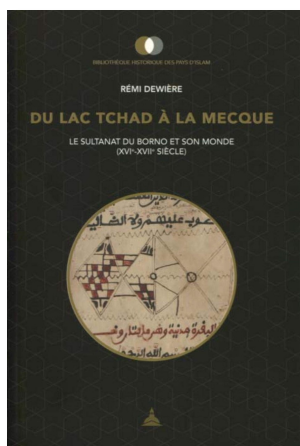
Malgrado l’originalità e l’eleganza – formale e intellettuale – del testo, due aspetti risultano non del tutto convincenti. Un po’ come in tutti gli studi innovativi, c’è anche in queste pagine la tendenza a non prestare eccessiva attenzione a quanto scritto in precedenza. Quello che per anni è stato il volume di riferimento per i *Gender Studies* sudanesi – Sondra Hale, *Gender Politics in Sudan. Islamism, Socialism, and the State*, Boulder, Westview Press, 1996 - compare fuggacemente in nota (p. 195, n. 13), ma non trova posto nella bibliografia finale. Anche la quasi totale omissione dei lavori di Lilian Margaret Passmore Sanderson appare sorprendente, visto l’impegno che questa ebbe sul fronte dell’educazione femminile in Sudan e della lotta alle mutilazioni genitali femminili. Lo stesso vale per i più recenti contributi di Iris Seri-Hersch sulla storia dell’educazione in Sudan. Se queste osservazioni possono sembrare leziose, il secondo aspetto è più di sostanza: M.G. Brown, infatti, sembra replicare un approccio molto comune fra gli studiosi del Sudan. Anche in questo lavoro, infatti, il condominio anglo-egiziano continua ad essere presentato come uno strumento amministrativo a completa trazione britannica, mentre la controparte egiziana non viene quasi mai presa seriamente in considerazione. Non c’è dubbio che la formula del condominio venne escogitata dai britannici per contenere le aspirazioni egiziane sul Sudan e, nella sua traduzione pratica, nel condominio fu sempre la componente britannica ad avere un peso maggiore. Ma Il Cairo, non foss’altro perché la Gran Bretagna continuava ad accollargli buona parte dei costi di gestione del paese, non si rassegnò mai a giocare un ruolo secondario e oppose una strenua resistenza ai tentativi britannici di marginalizzazione. Mentre il rapporto tra politiche britanniche e le reazioni delle donne sudanesi è reso con grande chiarezza, nel volume è quasi assente una riflessione su quali altri canali possano avere influenzato il dibattito sudanese sul ruolo della donna.

La questione femminile, però, negli ultimi anni del XIX secolo e poi per tutto il secolo successivo, fu uno dei temi più dibattuti all’interno del mondo arabo e, più in generale,

delle società islamiche. Dal Marocco all'Iraq, intellettuali, riformisti e conservatori si interrogarono tutti sugli spazi più opportuni per l'elemento femminile nelle società in transizione. E si trattò di un dibattito fortemente partecipato, come ci testimonia una letteratura particolarmente ricca e una pluralità di opinioni a tratti sorprendente. Il suggerimento di Haga Kashif Badri, attivista e insegnante sudanese, a sviluppare i legami fra la situazione sudanese e il resto del mondo arabo, è riportato dall'autrice (p. 124) ma non viene sviluppato compiutamente. Accomunati da una lunga storia di relazioni comuni e dall'uso della stessa lingua e religione, tra Egitto e Sudan i rapporti, anche se a tratti conflittuali, sono rimasti sempre intensi e negli stessi anni in cui le autorità britanniche cercarono di aprire nuovi spazi alle donne in Sudan, all'interno della società egiziana era da tempo in corso una riflessione sul nuovo ruolo della donna nella società. Nel paese, infatti, erano emerse figure come Huda Sha'rawi che, nel 1914, partecipò alla creazione della *Union of Educated Women* e poi, nel 1923, divenne il primo presidente della *Egyptian Feminist Union*. Non mancava neppure una stampa femminile molto ricca e quando nel 1919 scoppiò la rivoluzione, si registrò una partecipazione femminile significativa che non mancò di colpire più di un osservatore. In Sudan, almeno fino al 1924, la presenza egiziana era massiccia a tutti i livelli: nell'amministrazione coloniale, nell'insegnamento, nell'esercito e nelle attività commerciali. Vista la maggiore prossimità degli egiziani alla società sudanese, inevitabilmente si crearono degli spazi di contatto e scambi reciproci. Del resto, è la stessa autrice a ricordarci che già agli inizi del Novecento, specialmente nelle aree rurali, donne egiziane e siriane avevano avviato delle "needlework homes", che oltre a cucito e ricamo insegnavano cucina, arabo ed aritmetica (p. 38). Questo livello non è però indagato, lasciando al lettore l'impressione che forse questa si stia la vera occasione mancata dello studio della Brown.

Se gli studenti di triennale e magistrale potranno beneficiare al massimo del volume, perché questo lavoro è pensato prevalentemente per loro, gli studiosi del Sudan saranno sicuramente colpiti dall'eleganza stilistica e dall'originalità dell'impianto, pregi che forse faranno perdonare una visione del Sudan ancora troppo sbilanciata sulla componente britannica.

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DEWIÈRE, REMI, *Du Lac Tchad à la Mecque. Le Sultanat du Borno et son monde (XVI-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Éditions de la Sorbonne, Paris 2017, pp. 468, 7 annexes, 45 cartes, 13 figures, ISBN: 979-10-351-0037-7, ISSN: 2111-0573.

Questo ben documentato e rigoroso lavoro sulla storia moderna della regione del Borno si compone di quattro parti in cui si iscrivono 8 densi capitoli. Dopo un prelude sulla definizione conflittuale del grande spazio socio-politico ed economico del Sahara tra il XIV e il XV secolo, la prima parte, *Représentations de sultanat du Borno*, esamina dal punto di vista sociale, politico e anche retorico i testi manoscritti di Ahmad b. Furṭū, viaggiatore e sapiente, ‘ālim

che svolse un ruolo importante alla corte del Borno, nel periodo del suo apogeo, datato tra il 1585 e il 1710, al servizio di Idrīs b. ‘Alī (1564-1596). I due manoscritti vennero resi noti da Heinrich Barth a metà del XIX secolo, rivelando una produzione intellettuale interna alla regione. Si analizza così una vera e propria cronaca reale (1576 e 1578), nella quale si delinea l’integrazione de Borno nella ‘umma e si costruiscono rappresentazioni del Borno, e anche delle regioni di Kanem e Kano, che si formano man mano intorno alle relazioni che queste aree intessevano con la fitta trama di scambi economici politici religiosi che cresceva nel Sahara e che lo collegava con Tripoli, con Il Cairo e con l’est fino alla Mecca. Il XVI secolo dal punto di vista del Borno viene ad essere così meglio conosciuto, in una fase in cui le pratiche islamiche si modificano e si realizza uno sforzo decisivo di diffusione nelle aree rurali. Ne risultavano mappe “borno-centrate” con cui si poteva accedere alle conoscenze del mondo circostante, che diventava così classificabile e materialmente raggiungibile e attraversabile, e interpretare la propria posizione commerciale e politica non come marginale ma come co-essenziale. La seconda parte, *Le Sultanat du Borno et son milieu*, analizza la regione del Chad dal punto di vista ecologico con le sue vulnerabilità, ma anche con le opportunità di diventare luogo di incrocio di carovaniere, di relazioni, con una propria capacità di definire centri e periferie. I paragrafi sulla ecologia del bacino del lago hanno grande rilevanza in quanto consentono di comprendere su un ampio arco temporale la fragilità dell’ecosistema e la complessità antropica di una regione che rimane cruciale nella sua posizione cerniera con il nord delle regioni costiere del Mediterraneo del sud. In particolare nel capitolo 4 (*Climats et latitudes; Sahel et Sahara, vers un plus grand bassin du lac Tchad?*) i caratteri fisico-ambientali sono tenuti in conto, senza alcun determinismo geografico, considerando l’impatto sulla macro-area del bacino, ma anche delle zone montagnose meridionali, probabile fattore di limitazione dell’espansione del Borno nell’epoca del suo fulgore. Le discipline della climatologia, agronomia, geografia contemporanea che si sono esercitate per comprendere il funzionamento dinamico di questa macro-regione hanno potuto trarre utili indizi proprio dai testi di Aḥmad b. Furṭū. In questa parte è notevole la individuazione delle tratte laterali di commercio e di relazioni politiche e culturali che integravano le rotte principali, e la descrizione di interpreti mercantili di varia provenienza che ebbero un ruolo decisivo nell’infittire le maglie e rendere articolato resistente nel tempo il commercio transahariano.

La terza parte, *Du lac Tchad à la Mecque, mobilité et Haġġ au Sultanat du Borno*, rende conto, a partire dall’arrivo della dinastia sefuwa, nel suo processo di espansione, nel periodo tra il XIII e il XVI secolo, delle migrazioni, delle mobilità infra-regionali e su

scala più vasta, compresi i dislocamenti per schiavitù. Di particolare interesse sono sia le dinamiche delle transumanze pastorali di corto e lungo raggio e il loro controllo politico, sia la fenomenologia del grande pellegrinaggio verso la Mecca. Molto interessante è la descrizione dello Ḥaġġ dell'élite del Borno che si muoveva verso i centri del Mediterraneo, non solo per adempiere a un pilastro della religione ma anche per intessere e ribadire relazioni politiche e commerciali, attivando anche strategie per la difesa del potere nelle lunghe assenze. Altrettanto importante era il dislocamento plurisecolare, socialmente più popolare, almeno fino a che il potere Bornu non declina agli inizi del XVIII secolo, che spingeva individui lungo la direttrice orizzontale verso est, con movimenti che diventavano non rettilinei se seguivano le nicchie ecologiche come nel caso dei pastori. Di sicuro interesse diventa questa parte per storici e antropologi che lavorano sui bordi dell'altopiano eritreo-etiopico perché aiutano a definire la formazione stratificata, nel tempo e nella base sociale, dei cosiddetti Takrir, categoria etnica fuzzy alla cui composizione concorrevano anche individui provenienti dal Borno o che la regione attraversavano nei loro spostamenti. Infatti, i Takrir ebbero ruolo politico importante nel XVIII secolo a ridosso dell'acrocoro etiopico, e anche in seguito nella diffusione dell'Islam; nella componente sociale debole, come "permanent pilgrims", occuparono uno spazio economico importante e fornirono a lungo manodopera salariata flessibile per gli schemi cotonieri e agricoli coloniali e per le attività portuali sia del Condominium che dell'Eritrea coloniale.

La quarta parte, *La constitution du Borno comme puissance islamique*, affronta temi decisivi. Mette al centro la struttura del potere e il funzionamento del sultanato nell'alternanza tra esercizio della violenza e accordi di pace; descrive la produzione del sale, bene nevralgico per l'Africa subsahariana, apportando materiali localizzati al classico affresco storico del Lovejoy sul commercio del sale nell'ampia fascia sahariana. Si ricostruiscono gli itinerari con la loro pluralità di direzioni, gli interpreti mercantili, e le implicazioni politiche, e le carovaniere che attivavano lo scambio e la definizione e ridefinizione nel tempo delle frontiere. Con accuratezza si analizza il Borno come stato islamico e la sua posizione nel Dār al-Islām, la combinazione di guerra, trattati, razzie e ġihād e infine i discorsi di legittimazione di una dinastia sefuwa, l'iscrizione in una *nisba* di prestigio, la costruzione di charters genealogici che dovevano iscriverla nella legittimità califfale.

Si tratta in definitiva di un libro davvero ben costruito che conduce il lettore nella comprensione di un periodo storico complesso con una scrittura elegante spesso affascinante, resa possibile anche dalla dichiarata passione dell'autore per quella fase della storia subsahariana. Metodologicamente utilissimo per la sicurezza con cui si fanno parlare tra di loro i diversi tipi di fonti, e ci si misura con la letteratura critica finora esistente, è lettura formativa non solo per chi è interessato alla regione e al periodo, ma per tutti gli africanisti e appare fondamentale per la formazione dei giovani studiosi. Dinanzi ai fenomeni moderni di mobilità sia infra-africana sia verso il Mediterraneo, questo libro ci offre strumenti importanti per capire, sull'asse della lunga durata, la storia di una regione nevralgica come quella intorno al lago Chad, di cui oggi misuriamo tutta la vulnerabilità ecologica e socio-politica ma anche la sua importanza come cerniera tra Africa sub-sahariana e il Mediterraneo.

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