

## ГЕОКУЛЬТУРНЫЕ ПРОСТРАНСТВА И КОДЫ КУЛЬТУР АЗИИ И АФРИКИ

UDC 94

### West African Immigration to Sudan: Areas of Settlement, Interaction with Sudanese Tribes and Cultural Characteristics

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The paper addresses the actual topic of migrations that have been occurred for centuries on the African continent. The authors analyze the routes of West African pilgrims who made the hajj to Mecca, the reasons and areas of settlement of these groups in the territory of modern Sudan. It is described in detail about the ethnonyms which sudanic people use for “alien” population, paying special attention to the terms “takrur” and “fellata”. Despite the preservation of their native language, the settlers mastered the Arabic language and culture. West African migrants try to live in compact groups together with their compatriots in various areas of the Sudanese state. Their settlements are located in Jibal Nuba (Kordofan), in Darfur, on the banks of the Blue Nile and even in Eastern Sudan, not to mention the Sudanese capital and other major cities. A large group of Takrur has been living for several centuries on the border of Sudan and Ethiopia, in an area known in Arabic as Ras al-fil (Elephant’s Head). Attention is drawn to their quite peaceful interaction with local Arab tribes, such as, for example, the Dabaina. Natives of West Africa were early involved in the orbit of Sufi orders, as reported in Ibn Daifallah’s large-scale work “Kitab at-Tabaqat”. Some people from Takrur themselves were active propagandists of both official and Sufi Islam in Sudan. Religious and economic factors undoubtedly had a huge impact on the waves of migration to the area of modern Sudan. The authors refer to the works of Western, Russian, Sudanese and Nigerian researchers, the reports of early Arab geographers thereby summarizing the phenomena, information about the regions, resettlement, and people from the observations in Sudan.

*Keywords:* fellata, takrur, Sudan, migration, West African pilgrims, Islam.

## Introduction

According to Arab sources, contacts between the regions of West Africa and the peoples inhabiting the territories of modern Eastern Sudan<sup>1</sup> originated a long time ago.

The issue of mutual influence between West and North-East Africa has come to the attention of many foreign researchers. Of the Western authors, the most famous one may well be J. S. Trimingham. He wrote a number of comprehensive studies, the most relevant to this topic being “A History of Islam in West Africa” [1]. Among the Sudanese researchers who wrote about cultural and linguistic ties between the two parts of Africa — Western and North-Eastern Africa, al-Amin Abu Manga is worth mentioning. Although this renowned scholar lives in the Republic of Sudan, he is a native of West Africa.

An original approach to assessing the links between West and Northeast Africa is demonstrated by the African researcher Cheikh Anta Diop. In his debatable works, he made an attempt to prove the idea of genetic links between West Africans from Senegal and the Nuer tribe, most of whom currently live in the Republic of South Sudan [2, p. 117]. His approach to studying the connections between the regions of the African continent can be described as Afrocentric. Another author, Martin Bernal, shares similar views [3, p. 24].

The ceramics found during archaeological excavations in Khartoum allowed the English researcher Anthony John Arkell to draw parallels with other African centers of civilization and make a compelling case for connections between the peoples of the Nile Valley and the inhabitants living along the banks of the tributaries of the Niger River [4, p. 46]. Other material evidence that proves economic and cultural interaction between Sudan and Egypt — the countries of the Nile Valley and West African regions in ancient times — are still waiting in the wings. Presumably, the exchange of raw materials for handicraft products and technologies, such as metal smelting, existed for many centuries, covering a period of several epochs, including the Late Dynastic Period in Egypt, antiquity and Christianity [5, p. 316].

When it comes to the role and place of Soviet and Russian scholars who studied the interaction of the peoples of Western and Northeast Africa, it should be noted that a monumental work was published in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> — early 21<sup>st</sup> century as part of the “Monuments of the Writing of the East” series. The work combines an extensive array of Arabic sources on the history and ethnography of sub-Saharan Africa [6]. The four volumes include the works of Arab medieval authors — Ibn as-Sa’i al-Baghdadi, Zakariya al-Qazwini, Yusuf al-Misri, ad-Dimashki, Ibn Battuta, etc. The texts are given in Russian and in Arabic, which gives specialists an opportunity to compare the translation with the source text. The publication was prepared by V. V. Matveev, an arabist, L. E. Kubbel, an arabist and africanist, M. A. Tolmacheva, an africanist, and N. A. Dobronravin, an africanist. One of the authors of this paper, I. V. Gerasimov, also contributed to this work. The texts of the translations contain information about the migrations of various peoples on the African continent and their interaction with each other.

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<sup>1</sup> In this paper, we are referring to the Republic of Sudan, since this geographical concept may have a broad meaning and include other areas, e.g. part of Eritrea.

## Various designations of the “alien” population of Sudan

After the spread of Islam, Sudan saw a massive movement of African pilgrims who were going to Hajj through its territories. They sought to reach the coast of the Red Sea, where they embarked for the shores of Arabia. The pilgrims' final destination was Mecca. Some of those who had made the Hajj returned to Sudan on their way back. Many of them did not have means of subsistence and could not pay their share to the caravaners travelling to the west; therefore, they remained on the fertile lands that abounded with good opportunities for obtaining food. They stayed there and created communities. Such compact settlements emerged in several districts of Sudan, let alone separate quarters in the cities on the banks of the Nile. This applies to Jibal Nuba, Darfur, the Gallabat area on the border with Ethiopia, and the area adjacent to Damazin.

For a long time, the Sudanese used the term “takrur” to refer to the “newcomers” from the West. However, both the Sudanese and the inhabitants of Arabia used the word to refer to almost all Africans who arrived in the Arabian Peninsula through Sudan. The Hausa-speaking Sudanese who lived in previous centuries and now live in the eastern regions of Sudan (Kassala, Port Sudan) call themselves and the arriving pilgrims “taakarir”, which is a local word derived from “takrur”. “Takrur” seems to be a very ancient word, which is well-known even in the areas located far away from the African continent. It can be found in the geographical and historical writings of medieval Muslim authors, in particular in the works of Abd ar-Rashid al-Bakuvi, who originates from the territory of modern Azerbaijan [7, pp. 14, 16]. It should be mentioned that that the ethnonym “takrur” (pl. takarir) was used, as the major modern Sudanese language specialist al-Amin Abu Manga correctly noted, to denote, first and foremost, pilgrims and “people of faith” going to the East to worship the sacred Kaaba. However, in a generalized form, it was “awarded” to other categories of West Africans.

What is the origin of this term, which was by no means the only one that denoted immigrants from the Western part of Africa?

The Sudanese scholar Muhammad al-Mustafa Abu-l-Qasim puts forward his version of the origin of this word, which is in line with the views of other authors, in particular, J. S. Trimingham, and is based on the reports of early Arab geographers [1, p. 37]. In his opinion, the word “takrur” originally meant the name of the city, which was the major capital city of the Islamic state, which appeared around the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium AD [8, p. 37]. It is possible that the name of the capital city was transferred to the whole country. The first ruler of the state of Takrur was Uar Jabi b. Rabis [9, p. 22]. The 11<sup>th</sup> century saw the emergence of the Kingdom of Male (Mali). Since that time, the word “takrur” began to denote all Muslims who came from Central and Western Sudan to the east — to the banks of the Nile and the Red Sea coast [8, p. 37]. A similar idea can be found in the works of the Russian africanist D. A. Olderogge. In his work on the history and culture of Western Sudan, published in 1960, he wrote the following: “As it is known, in the Sudanese chronicles, the word ‘tekrur’ denotes all the countries of the West, up to the present-day Nigeria, and Sudan refers to the Hausa countries” [10, p. 59]. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this ethnonym was often used to denote people from Bornu and Borku — states located on the territory of modern Chad and Nigeria. Over time, the word “takrur” denoting local people, mainly of Muslim faith, almost went out of use in West Africa itself. The famous traveller in Arabia and Nubia who visited Sudan in the second decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, J. L. Burck-

hardt, believed that the natives of West Africa themselves did not know this word at all and came across it only in Darfur, where they were called by this word [11, p. 406].

If we look into the issue of the linguistic and ethnic identity of Africans designated by this word at present, we can conclude that they may speak three languages — Fula, Hausa and Kanuri. In this regard, al-Amin Abu Manga made an important remark that many Fulbe of Nigeria speak two languages — their native Fula and, say, Hausa or their native language and Kanuri. That said, Hausa is considered the most common language and is spoken by many peoples, being a means of interethnic communication. The number of people who speak two languages, one of which is native — Hausa, and the other is either Fula or Kanuri, was insignificant.

However, many people who ended up in Sudan were originally bilingual<sup>2</sup>. If we develop the idea that there is a connection between the language and the ethnonym, which denotes people from West Africa in Sudan, it should be borne in mind that the territories inhabited by Kanuri-speaking people adopted Islam quite early. Mukhtar Umar Bunza, a researcher from Dan Fodio University (Nigeria), in his article on the history of diplomatic relations between Sokoto and Borno, states that 1096 was the year when Islam was adopted by the ruler of Kanem-Borno<sup>3</sup> [12, p. 215]. The state of Kanem-Borno was established in the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries and it has preserved its cultural heritage to this day. The inhabitants of the region, who consider themselves descendants of the Kanem-Borno natives, identify themselves as bearers of the traditions of the past that were inherited from previous generations. Therefore, they believe that they are cut above the representatives of other categories of people from West Africa living in Sudan. They prefer to describe themselves as descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Borno. The ethnonym “takruri” is also acceptable in their regard and does not cause rejection.

Having considered earlier designations of West Africans, let us move on to discuss the issue of another ethnonym — “fellata”. By and large, in Sudan and, most of all, among the inhabitants of the Nile Valley, all immigrants from West Africa are called “fellata”. The use of this word reflects the opposition of the Sudanese themselves to “newcomers” from other parts of West Africa. For the Sudanese, this ethnonym denotes all people who speak Hausa or any other West African language, but do not speak Arabic. Researchers of migrations from West Africa to Sudan, in particular the French anthropologist C. Delmet, pay attention to the fact that the ethnonym “fellata” can be used to denote even the representatives of tribes historically living in the territory of Sudan, but it is little known to the inhabitants of the Nile Valley and the Eastern part of Sudan [13, p. 473]. This applies to such tribes of Darfur as Masalit, Dajo and Tama. Nigerian Fulbe, who settled down in Sudan and received education, prefer to call themselves by the ethnonym “Fulani”, thereby avoiding a possible negative attitude and slight irony on the part of the “indigenous” inhabitants of Sudan.

The authors of this paper managed to find the word “fellata” in the Kanuri dialect dictionary, which translates as the Fulbe people. There is no word “fellata” in the Hausa dictionaries. It is fair to assume that it came to Sudan together with native speakers of the Kanuri language.

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<sup>2</sup> The Kanuri settle in the northeast of Nigeria, the southeast of Niger and partly in the Republic of Chad, mainly along the shores of the lake with the same name.

<sup>3</sup> Initially, the state was called Kanem. From the 14<sup>th</sup> century it became known as Borno. The scholarly literature traditionally uses the double name Kanem-Borno, since the state tradition was never interrupted, and only the location of the ruler’s court changed.

The Sudanese Arabs may call people who differ from them in clothing, demeanor, and language by the word Nigerians. This reflects the idea about total emigration from this country and ignorance about the real situation concerning the migrants arriving in Sudan. Such use of the ethnonym “Nigerians” is by all means incorrect. Many Fulani arrived in Sudan and found a second homeland there. They were immigrants from Mali, Senegal, let alone Burkina Faso, Cameroon and Niger. Each of them knows the name their country of origin. Their attitude to the generalized name “Nigerians” is negative.

### **Historical background and causes of migration from West Africa**

Many researchers tend to consider the 18<sup>th</sup> century as the beginning of regular migrations to Sudan [9, p. 3]. Nevertheless, there is a reason to believe that migration began even earlier. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, there was an influx of Fulani migrants from the regions of Senegal and Gambia. Some of them settled in Sokoto, being the ancestors of the famous Muslim sheikh Usman Dan Fodio, others moved to Kano during the reign of Yakubu (1452–1463), and some of them migrated to Borno. A few decades later, this branch of settlers continued their journey to the east and ended up in the territory of modern Darfur. Appealing to modern data, we may indeed talk about the extensive representation of “tarkur” in Darfur itself and in the capital of the region, the city of Al-Fasher. The data provided by Jibril Abdallah Ali Abd al-Aziz indicate that in the first of the ten quarters that make up the city of Al-Fasher, Takrur are regarded as permanent residents and, apparently, perceived as an integral part of the ethnic composition [14, p. 65]. Other quarters are home to the Fellata, Borku, Zaghawa and other immigrants from the western regions of Africa. Darfur often served as a starting point for further Takrur migration across Sudan.

In particular, the Takrur who settled in Gallabat on the border with Ethiopia in the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries moved there from Darfur and Kordofan. In the local Sudanese Arabic language, the word “takrur” has many variants — kadakrur, taklur, takarin, takarina.

These border areas are inhabited by the Takrur who are displaced only from Darfur and Kordofan. The local colony of Takrur is also known as Kunjara [15, p. 47]. This is probably due to the fact that West Africans migrated there from the religious and educational center in Kunjara (located near Kobbe) in Darfur [11, p. 407].

The Gallabat district saw the appearance of the mashiyakh<sup>4</sup>, which received the Arabic name Ras al-Fil (Elephant’s head). It was dominated by representatives of the Dabaina tribe, who had Arab roots. Besides, several settlements of the Takrur were included in the mashiyakh. During the time of the Sultanate of Funj (1504), two centers of cross-border trade, Shelga and Site, appeared on the border with Ethiopia. Traders from the Sudanese side were settlers from Metemma (located near Shendi on the Nile), belonging to the Jaalite tribe. A little later, the Takrur turned up as well. They mastered pilgrimage routes leading to Eritrea and the Taka region (a vast area around modern Kassala), and some of them chose to stay in places where trade and pilgrimage routes passed. Life in Sudan in areas with sufficient water, fertile soils, and a good fodder base favorable for cattle breeding offered prospects of stability and prosperity. Local tribes did not show hostility towards devout co-religionists. Relations with the Dabaina were, in general, friendly, and local sheikhs could provide protection to the Takrur.

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<sup>4</sup> Administrative division.

To the northeast of Nyala in Darfur, the Takrur natives of West Africa founded their village, which received the Arabic name “Jadid Ras al-Fil”. The Sudanese historian Muhammad al-Mustafa Abu'l-Qasim sees here the presence of direct links with earlier settlements near Gallabat. Probably, stable relations between the Takrur of Gallabat and the Takrur of Darfur were maintained due to the constant caravans travelling in the southern, i. e. Ethiopian direction and the possibility to move relatively freely.

When it comes to the issue of the routes used by the Takrur to travel from the west to the Darfur region and further to the Red Sea, it should be noted that this is a topic of a separate study. However, reports of contemporary travellers, in particular those of J.L. Burkhardt's, reveal that the Takrur pilgrims gathered on arrival in Sudan mainly in Darfur [11, p. 406]. If we continue the topic of further migration, it should be mentioned that the most affluent of the Takrur travelled further to Egypt, which was a safer place to embark on a journey to the Red Sea. The others continued their way to the shrines through Sudan, and sometimes through Ethiopia. In the former case, the travellers arrived in Suakin, from where they reached Jeddah by sea; and in the latter case, they went further south and arrived in Masauua. As a rule, the paths along the “southern route” passed through Ras al-Fil [11, p. 408]. The trip of even the poor Takrur with caravans often went hand in hand with a small trade.

The “Tabakat” by Wad Daifallah mentions the people of Gallabat. It talks about Sheikh Hassan Wad Hassoun, who used slaves for his personal protection. After his death, they went to Ras al-Fil (i. e. Gallabat) together with their wives [16, p. 148]. This begs the question about the origin of these slaves, given that the place was mainly inhabited by people from West Africa at that time.

It can be assumed that these slaves were the Makada, who are also mentioned in the text of the biography of Sheikh Hassan Wad Hassuna. According to one version, they were the Takrur who inhabited this area. They lived there for several generations, but people regarded them as Ethiopians. The Sudanese science puts forward a version that the Makada are representatives of one of the Ethiopian ethnic groups who lived in Ethiopia as well as in Ras al-Fil. This point of view is doubtful, since it is known that it was the Galla (Oromo) who lived there, and there were no other Ethiopian nationalities there. Our version can be confirmed by the fact that a Russian traveller, E. P. Kovalevsky, who visited these regions, also mentioned the Makada, along with the Galla, who made up a significant part of the local population near the border with Ethiopia [17, p. 26]. Therefore, he identified them out as a separate ethnic group. Little did he think that they could be from West Africa. Still, he did not associate them with Ethiopians.

The Sudanese written monument “Tabakat” by Ibn Daifallah talks about the Takrur who were in Sudan, about the difficult relations with the local authorities of Funj and the involvement of immigrants from West Africa in Sufi orders.

As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, immigrants from countries west of Sudan converted to Islam earlier than the Sudanese. Hence, it is not surprising that they could act as teachers and Sufi mentors for the Sudanese. An example of this is can be found in the text of “Tabakat”. The biography of Sheikh Abd al-Latif b. al-Khatib b. Ammar reported the following: “Abd al-Latif ibn al-Khatib b. Ammar. He was born in Sennar and became a khatib instead of his father. It follows from the reports about him that he is Sheikh al-Islam, a fakih, a grammarian, a philologist, a lawyer, an orator, a logician, a reciter of the Koran in a chant, who reached the highest degrees of knowledge in the legal and theologi-



cal sciences in the Shafi'i school. He made a pilgrimage to the Kaaba because of the hardships that descended on him because of the authorities of the state. This misfortune made him become pious. He met with ulama from Maghreb, Hijaz, Greece and Takrur, and he studied all sciences. There was no such a branch of knowledge that he was not familiar with. They said he was a man of his time. There were scholars from the holy lands (Mecca and Medina — author's note) who wrote panegyrics in his honor" [16, p. 300]. In this text, the word Takrur is a toponym, which refers to a region in West Africa. It is highly probable that it was well-known to the Sudanese, and pious people and scientists from there were highly valued if the author put them on a par with the Maghreb, Hijaz.

Another fragment dedicated to the biography of the son of the famous Sufi Sheikh Ibrahim B. Abbudi al-Faradi named Muhammad al-Kaddal reports that the number of his disciples exceeded one thousand. At the same time, among them there were those who considered themselves the original inhabitants of the Sudanese lands, who can be considered Arabs, and immigrants from West Africa. This can be perceived as evidence of the mentor's high authority among his followers. The text of "Tabakat" in this regard stated the following: "He got the nickname 'al-Kaddal' because he is a man of the righteous. He said: 'I saw him walking proudly through the city... His mother is the daughter of al-Maslama walad Abu Unisa. He studied Khalil's 'Mukhtasar' and the work of 'ar-Risala' under the guidance of his father al-Faradi. The number of his disciples reached one thousand, and some said two thousand. It was reported that the Takarir and the original inhabitants of the country were at war with each other, and the Takarir demonstrated that their number was one thousand seven hundred..." [16, p. 81].

It is also known that people from the Takrur community, that is, West African Muslims, due to their high level of education in the field of Islamic sciences and pious behavior, could act as teachers for the Sudanese. This is illustrated in the biography of Khujli B. Abd ar-Rahman B. Ibrahim. The text said: "Sheikh Hujli was born on the island of Tuti. He began to read scriptures with Aisha, the daughter of the fakir Walad Kaddal. He studied dogmatic theology (ilm al-kalam) and Sufism with Fakir Arbab. He studied fiqh (Khalil) Sheikh az-Zayn walad Sugayirun. He is one of those who combined Sufism, Fiqh and Hajj to Mecca. He embarked upon the path of people from Sheikh Ahmad at-Tinbuktawi<sup>5</sup> al-fallati<sup>6</sup>..." [16, p. 191].

Elaborating on the topic of interaction between Sudanese sheikhs and people from West Africa, it is worth mentioning that it was not an isolated case, and there are a lot of examples confirming this. Here is the most illustrative example related to the activities of Sheikh al-Barnawi.

This righteous man and theologian was perhaps the most prominent representative of West African Sufism, who found his followers in the Jibal Nuba area in Kordofan. He himself belonged to the Qadiriya brotherhood. Sheikh al-Barnawi came from an aristocratic family belonging to the Yemeni Hamir tribe from Bornu (modern Nigeria). Sheikh al-Barnawi performed the Hajj, advancing with his followers to Muslim shrines through Sudan. In Mecca, he had an opportunity to meet with Abd al-Baki al-Mukafi, who was then the mentor of the Sudanese branch of Qadiriyya. It was this man who convinced Sheikh al-Barnawi to go to Jibal Nuba, which he eventually did. There he extensively

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<sup>5</sup> Nisba dates back to Timbuktu, a city in Western Sudan (modern territory of Mali).

<sup>6</sup> Fallata, fulani, fulbe, and pastoral peoples provide the basis for this nisba.

preached, and many local residents embraced his ideas. This is not such a distant historical period, if we take into account that al-Barnawi died in 1967 [18, p. 67].

Coupled with the migration and settling of immigrants from West Africa in Sudan, there was also a counter wave of migration, if much smaller in volume. It is believed that the founder of the Vadaï state in Chad, Sultan Abd al-Karim B. Jamia, was a descendant of a Sudanese native from the city of Shendi on the Nile [2, p. 123]. In his paper, Mahdi Sati Salih, with reference to oral traditions from certain areas of Niger, reports that the Nubians and Yoruba have common roots. According to these oral traditions, people who once belonged to one ethnic group came from Asia and ended up in the Dongola region. Some people stayed there, while others continued their journey to the west, to the shores of the Niger. What confirms the fact that these two peoples once belonged to one ethnic group is that, according to the author of the paper, they have similar customs, including the making of special incisions (shulukh) in the skin of the face. However, there is no credible and reliable data proving the migration of a large group of people from the areas in question to West Africa. In any case, this merits a separate study.

## Conclusion

In concluding, it should be noted that the ties between the regions of Western Sudan and the Nile Valley have been developing for centuries. Late Middle Ages and Modern Times witnessed migration of representatives of various nationalities to Sudan, where they established compact settlements. Despite the preservation of their native language, the settlers mastered the Arabic language and adjusted to the local culture. An area on the border of Sudan and Ethiopia may be regarded a special place, where immigrants from West Africa, Sudanese Arabs and Ethiopian-Galla established their settlements. For centuries, they have interacted with each other, exerting mutual influence. What is true is that the connecting element, was the Arab-Muslim culture.

Along with the migration of Western Sudanese towards Sudan, there was also a migration of the Sudanese in the western direction. Its scale was considerably more modest, and its effect began was not felt until the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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### **Западноафриканская иммиграция в Судан: районы расселения, взаимодействие с суданскими племенами, культурные особенности**

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В статье затрагивается актуальная тема миграций, которые происходили на африканском континенте на протяжении нескольких столетий. Авторы анализируют маршруты передвижений западноафриканских паломников, совершавших хадж в Мекку, районы расселения этих групп на территории современного Судана, а также причины,

побудившие выходцев из Западной Африки обосноваться в данных областях. Подробно рассказывается об этнонимах, которыми суданцы обозначают «пришлого» население, уделяя особое внимание терминам «такрур» и «феллата». Несмотря на сохранение родного языка, переселенцы освоили арабский язык и культуру. Западноафриканские переселенцы стараются жить компактными группами вместе со своими соотечественниками в различных районах суданского государства. Их поселения расположены в Джибал Нуба (Кордофан), в Дарфуре, на берегах Голубого Нила и даже на востоке Судана, не говоря уже о суданской столице и других крупных городах. Многочисленная группа такрур уже несколько столетий проживает на границе Судана и Эфиопии, в районе, известном по-арабски как Рас ал-фил (Голова слона). Обращает на себя внимание их вполне мирное взаимодействие с местными арабскими племенами, такими как, например, дабаина. Выходцы из Западной Африки были рано вовлечены в орбиту суфийских орденов, о чем сообщается в масштабном труде Ибн Дайфаллаха «Китаб ат-Табакат». Некоторые выходцы из такрур сами явились активными пропагандистами как официального, так и суфийского ислама в Судане. Религиозные и экономические факторы, несомненно, оказали огромное влияние на волны миграции в Восточный Судан. Авторы обращаются к работам отечественных, западных, суданских и нигерийских исследователей, используют сообщения арабских географов, тем самым обобщая имеющиеся сведения об истории и районах расселения выходцев из Западной Африки в Судане.

*Ключевые слова:* феллата, такрур, Судан, миграция, этнические группы, западноафриканские паломники.

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