

Translated Studies Series(6)

# A History of **Al-Nour Bey Mohammed Anqara**

(An Autobiography)

1924



Edited by

**Hatim Al-Siddiq Mohammed Ahmed  
Gasm El-Seed Hamza Ahmed**

Translated by

**Ahmed Qumma Sidiek Mohammed**

Second Edition 2025 AD

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الإيداع القانوني

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جميع حقوق الطبع محفوظة للناشر والمؤلف

لا يسمح بإعادة إصدار هذا الكتاب أو أي جزء منه أو تخزينه كنسخة إلكترونية أو نقله  
بأي شكل من الأشكال دون إذن خطي مسبق من المؤلف والناشر

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

قال تعالى:

﴿ اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيُّومُ لَا تَأْخُذُهُ سِنَّةٌ وَلَا نَوْمٌ ﴾

(سورة البقرة: الآية 255)

## **Dedication**

*We dedicate this book to those who seek the truth  
and wish to revisit the history of Sudan..*

*The Authors*

## **Acknowledgments**

*First, we thank Allah, the Lord of the worlds, who guided us to complete this work and trace the important historical information and events it contains, resulting in this form before you.*

*We extend our sincere gratitude and deep appreciation to all who lent us a helping hand and contributed to the completion of this work: all those colleagues at the National Archives in Khartoum. Special thanks go to Professor Ahmed Ibrahim Abu Shouk, Professor of Modern History at Qatar University; Dr. Awad Ahmed Hussein Shaba at the Research and Studies Centre for Red Sea Basin Countries; Mahjoub Al-Zain at Al-Fasher University; Dr. Salwa Othman Ahmed, Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Nilein University; and Professor Thwaiba Abdul Qadir Ali Ahmed from the Arabic Language Department at Al-Zaeim Al-Azhari University for their invaluable and helpful comments that contributed to the publication of this book in its current form.*

***Author***

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# Introduction

I have been honoured by researchers Professor Hatim Al-Siddiq Mohammed Ahmad and Dr. Qism Al-Sayyid Hamza Ahmad to review the manuscript of Nour Bey Mohammed Anqara. The researchers attributed the manuscript to its author by verifying the title and the author's name. The art of editing is one of the most challenging fields, requiring significant effort, extensive knowledge, and deep culture, as well as a thorough evaluation of the manuscript to present the edited text exactly as it was written by its author. This has been achieved in this valuable research work. Perhaps this difficulty is what has deterred researchers from this field, as the challenges lie in the conditions of editing and the essential qualities that an editor must possess to engage in such an area.

One of the most challenging types of editing is the editing of a unique manuscript and a rare copy. This is considered the original and the primary version. This single manuscript is a rare copy which is making this work unique and unprecedented. The researchers noted that information about the character of Nour Bey Anqara is limited in the manuscript. Perhaps what the researchers have done is more comprehensive, based on the sources and references they have consulted, which complement the final study of the manuscript. Describing the manuscript provides the reader with a complete idea of the manuscript under study, which is important for researchers who wish to enter the field of text editing. Additionally, the language used in the manuscript clarifies the writing style and methodology of that time, facilitating the reader's understanding of the meanings of the terms as presented in the text.

The researchers also noted that there are few authors of autobiographies and personal memoirs, and that Nour Anqara preceded figures like Zubair Pasha and Babikr Bedri. This may be attributed to the lack of

focus on documentation, as Sudanese people relied on trustworthy witnesses regarding their lives in public matters rather than on writing and documentation. It is possible that Nour Anqara was ahead of his time in recording his activities and work during three regimes: the Turkish rule, the Mahdist, and the condominium periods.

The researchers highlighted the values present in the text, particularly the informational value regarding the amount of information that requires further study. They made considerable efforts in documenting sources and references that complement the study. The historical value was evident in the recording of wartime events, which the researchers presented clearly. Additionally, there is the archaeological value represented by the manuscript itself, a written artifact in the author's own handwriting due to the kind of ink and script it contains. The cultural value of the manuscript also emerged, as it is considered part of Sudan's scientific and cultural heritage. From these values, the importance of the manuscript and the significance of studying and publishing it for readers and those interested in research in the fields of history and diverse heritage become apparent.

The researchers exerted considerable effort in evaluating the text, making modifications and corrections to present it as originally written by its author. This process involved editing the text, with notes provided in the footnotes, which the researchers preferred to place at the bottom of the pages. It is worth mentioning that the introduction they provided allows the reader to become familiar with the edited text.

Researchers in the field of editing in Sudan are few, and we recognize the pioneers in this area who worked at the National Archives, including Professor Mohamed Ibrahim Abu Salim, Dr. Fatima Al-Qasim Shaddad, and Professor Awatif Omar. Others who have contributed to this field include Mr. Qursi Mohamed Hassan, Dr. Salah Omar Al-

Sadiq, and Dr. Mohamed Barakat. Among the historian editors, we find the distinguished Professor Yusuf Fadl Hassan, Professor Aoun Al-Sharif Qasim, and Professor Ibrahim Al-Qurashi. In addition to these notable figures, the researchers Professor Hatim Al-Siddiq and Dr. Qism Al-Sayed Hamza have made a significant contribution by editing the history of Nour Bey Anqara, which is worthy of attention and important for anyone researching the history of Sudan. They deserve thanks and praise for this diligent scientific work.

**Dr. Ikhlas Makawi Mohamed Ali**

National Archives, Khartoum  
Centre for Research and Studies  
on Red Sea Basin Countries – Sudan

# Forward

The process of editing and presenting manuscripts and explaining their vocabulary is one of the most challenging and complex scientific tasks throughout various historical periods. This book in your hands, as esteemed reader, discusses the life and career of Al-Nour Bey Mohammed Anqara—both as an introduction and explanation—through his manuscript written in 1924 in Omdurman, which is housed in the National Archives in Khartoum. This work aims to introduce the character of the man through his manuscript, in which he endeavoured to narrate numerous events and roles he played during different historical periods in the history of Sudan and its people.

The importance of this manuscript lies in the fact that it is one of the few manuscripts, in my estimation, written by a seasoned individual who lived a life filled with many challenges, hardships, and diligent work to uphold the authority under which he served, while achieving his personal glory in an era that recognized personal achievements and immortalized their bearers. For all these reasons, we hope that this book finds acceptance among specialists, researchers, and those interested in the history of Sudan in general, and particularly in the Turkish, Mahdist, and condominium rule. We also hope it serves as a genuine academic contribution to the Sudanese and Arab libraries in the field of autobiographies.

# Introduction

Writing autobiographies and personal memoirs is a hallmark of civilized nations that believe in the importance of documentation and recording, as well as their role in defining the movements of individuals, societies, and institutions in their development and in the historical study of any period. In Sudan, we lack such historical work of documenting and recording the symbols, personalities, and landmarks that have contributed to the making of the history of this vast country.

Those who trace the documentation of the lives of prominent figures and active individuals in various aspects of Sudanese life will find a noticeable weakness in this area, despite the availability of documentation tools in different fields. It remains the case that the Sudanese character has been known for its oral traditions and a tendency towards storytelling rather than documentation. The personality we aim to document here is that of Al-Nour Bey Anqara through his manuscript written in 1924.

Al-Nour Anqara is commendably recognized as one of the three Sudanese figures of the 19th century who wrote their autobiographies. The first is Zubair Pasha Rahma, who dictated his autobiography to the British journalist Flora Shaw, with some parts included in Naoum Shuqair's work titled "Geography and History of Sudan." The second is Sheikh Babiker Badri, who detailed his life story, published for the first time in 1958 in three volumes. Lastly, Al-Nour Anqara wrote these fragments of his life, which contain valuable and useful information.

We find that this manuscript, despite its importance, contains very little information about Al-Nour Anqara. It includes only a few details about the tasks and events in which he was a central figure or had a significant influence during the Turkish, Mahdist, and condominium rule periods.

Therefore, it is necessary to conduct a study that complements the manuscript and contributes to the understanding of the character of Al-Nour Bey Anqara, who played a notable role in political presence and institutional work throughout his life.

The manuscript of Al-Nour Bey Mohammed Anqara details specific and general events in which he participated. These details help to illuminate his character, showing him at times as obedient and diligently working in service of the Turkish administration in Sudan. At other times, he pledged allegiance to Imam al-Mahdi and served under his command and that of Khalifa Abdullah thereafter. He also participated in significant events of the Mahdist period, such as his battles in the Nuba Mountains, the liberation of Khartoum, and the conflicts in the Galabat region, followed by his appointment as the governor of Al-Qadarif by Khalifa Abdullah.

After recognizing the signs of the collapse of the Mahdist state, he sought to overthrow it. This was prompted by a letter from Lord Kitchener requesting him to join the Anglo-Egyptian invasion forces and abandon the Mahdist cause. He complied and even pursued the forces of Prince Ahmed Fadl—once a friend, now an enemy—until the outskirts of Karkoj. Once the Anglo-Egyptian forces took control of all Sudanese territories, Al-Nour Anqara became one of the subjects of the new regime.

Through the information found in the manuscript, along with other documents, sources, and references from the period of the Mahdist revolution in Sudan, we observe Al-Nour Anqara's shifting loyalties based on his self-interest and personal judgments. At times, he appears in the camp of the Turkish-Egyptian administration, which exerted control over Sudan from 1821 to 1823, defending them and their cities, such as Bara in Kordofan. At other times, he defended the Mahdist cause, at-

tacking its opponents in the Nuba Mountains, Khartoum, Galabat, and Al-Qadarif. Additionally, he later aligned himself with the Anglo-Egyptian rule from the early days of the invasion, showing loyalty and obedience even at the age of ninety.

## **Manuscript Description:**

The manuscript detailing the life of Al-Nour Bey Mohammed Anqara, written by him in January 1924, consisted of eight pages, including the cover page, and was of large size. The pages were numbered sequentially and individually. The author used a traditional reed pen and ink, the tools commonly employed at that time. Those familiar with the documents and correspondence from the Mahdist period would find that they were written using the same tools.

Despite being composed in 1924, the manuscript retained the characteristics and style of writing from the Mahdist era. The title was presented clearly and prominently on the first page, which is separate from the other pages: “The History of Al-Nour Bey Mohammed Anqara, Written by Him, January 1924.” This page did not carry a number.

On the second page, numbered (1), it began with “In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful,” followed by the manuscript’s title, now phrased as “The History of Al-Nour Bey Mohammed Anqara.” This page is numbered 1/84/1384 and is preserved in the National Archives in Khartoum as part of the Mahdist documents. Historical events in the manuscript were numbered in the margins, reaching up to approximately twenty-two.

The first page introduces Al-Nour Anqara, detailing his self-identification, residence, and lineage. The manuscript is organized into sections and points, encompassing more than twenty-two entries, each referencing a specific event or a group of events.

One notable observation is that the name “Anqara” on the cover page was written with a dotted “ta” at the end, while on the internal first page, it appears without dots.

The third page of the manuscript discussed the confrontation between Al-Nour Anqara and Zubair Pasha Rahma against the Fur forces led by Sultan Ibrahim. It concluded with the meeting between Al-Nour Anqara and Suleiman, son of Zubair Pasha, with Gordon in Al-Fasher

### **Language of the Manuscript:**

The manuscript was written in Sudanese colloquial Arabic. The handwriting was legible, but the author neglected punctuation marks, the dotted “taa,” and incorrectly spelled some words and names. For example, “على” should be “علي»» and “يوحنا ملك الحبشة»» should be “يوحنا ملك الحبشة” and “السواربخ” should be “الصواربخ.”

Additionally, the manuscript contains a lot of elision where some prepositions blended with certain words and demonstrative pronouns, as seen in phrases like “عليذلك” instead of “على ذلك»» also “هياجادة السير” for “وهي جادة السير” and “فيحقي” instead of “في حقي.”

**The manuscript included some Turkish, Egyptian, and Italian vocabulary such as:**

- Pasha
- Bey
- Ord
- Hakimdar
- Jebkhana
- Kabaniya

- Bairaq
- Rasaas
- Wabur
- Telegraph
- Mudiriyya
- Mudir
- Nuqta
- Istihkam
- Madafi
- Sawaariikh
- Sharbat.

### **Scientific Value of the Manuscript:**

The significance of the manuscript was in its documentation of the life of a Sudanese figure who lived and worked during three distinct historical periods in Sudan: the Turkish era, the Mahdist period, and the condominium rule. This autobiographical account was written by Al-Nour Anqara himself, chronicling a journey that spanned over ninety years, during which he was actively present and played a significant role at many events.

The manuscript revealed that Al-Nour Anqara condensed many historical events and was unable to elaborate in detail, which could have allowed researchers and those interested in his personal history and the history of Turkish, Mahdist, and condominium rule in Sudan to uncover hidden aspects of his character. It could be argued that his reluctance to thoroughly document his autobiography and professional journey

stemmed from reaching the age of ninety, which, according to the researchers, was an advanced age that might have hindered the ability to recount all the details, incidents, and experiences he encountered. Additionally, the poor economic conditions he faced in his later years contributed to his reluctance to share many important historical facts and details that he actively participated in and experienced personally.

The manuscript “The Life of Nour Anqara” shaded some light on his professional journey and opened the door for researchers to study this character in detail and with deep analysis. This figure was significantly present in Sudanese political events, having witnessed some of the most fertile historical periods in Sudan in terms of events and the nature of the formation of the modern Sudanese state.

Nour Anqara tracked his professional life quickly from his joining the Turkish government service until he wrote his autobiography in 1924 in the city of Omdurman

As mentioned earlier, Nour Anqara succeeded to a large extent in highlighting many aspects of his personality, but he neglected significant parts that were not mentioned in this manuscript. These aspects have been referenced in Mahdist documents and in various historical and documentary sources that chronicle those historical periods in Sudan. With God’s permission and guidance, we will seek to trace some of the events and situations that were overlooked in the manuscript and were mentioned in several Sudanese and foreign sources and references.

In conclusion, we ask God to grant us success in tracing the journey of one of the important Sudanese leaders in modern history. The significance of this figure stemmed from the importance of his historical roles, his experience of significant events, and his participation in shaping them. Our aim is to inform the people of Sudan and those interested in historical figures about the hidden aspects of Sudanese icons who contributed to the making of modern Sudanese history.

## **Manuscript Version and Presentation Method:**

We relied on a copy of the only existing manuscript that we found at the Central Documents House in Khartoum. Due to its importance, we aimed to present it by providing a historical background on the character of Nour Anqara, along with explanations of some terms and phrases found in the text of the manuscript.

The manuscript was divided into three sections, each covering a specific historical period:

1. Nour Anqara in the Turkish Period
2. Nour Anqara in the Mahdist Period
3. Nour Anqara in the condominium Rule (Anglo-Egyptian)

**Section One**

**Nour Anqara  
in the Turkish Period**

## Section One

# The History of Al-Nour Bey Mohammed Anqara

I am Al-Nour Bey Mohammed Anqara,(1) residing in Omdurman, first quarter.(2) I am originally Bedairi Dahmashi.(3) I am approximately ninety years old.(4) This is a clarification for anyone (5) who wishes to know about the comfort and hardship(6), glory and humiliation, generosity and kindness I experienced during the previous Turkish period,(7) (8) during the Mahdist period,(9) and in the presence of the current forces in Sudan,(10) along with my friendships with them.

I will recount the battles I faced with firearms (11) and arrows (12), as well as the positions I held during the time of Gordon Pasha,(14) regarding my friendship with him, and the honor and dignity I gained during the presence of the military force led by Kitchener Pasha (15) in the Sudanese regions, as follows (16):

My first service 17() was in the battalion of King Mahmud, (18) the king of the Shaigiya,(19) and I was about fifteen years old at that time. (20) Our leader Ismail (21) requested the battalion of King Mahmud (22) because it was the greatest battalion, consisting of four hundred men, all cavalry.

I went to Egypt with the battalion, which was known as the Ordiya, (23) and we lived in Egypt for about two years. (24) After that, Musa Pasha (25) was appointed as the Governor of Sudan, and our battalion was designated to fight against the sons of the King Nimir, (27) who had burned the son of our (28)leader Ismail Pasha(29) in the Shendi area. (30) They left their homeland and settled in a village called Al-Habash near a place known as Mali Qaba.(31)

We were exhausted to the utmost and did not manage to capture a single one of them. (32) We headed to Khartoum with Musa Pasha and all the troops. Upon our arrival in Khartoum, Musa Pasha was accompanied by his soldiers and our battalion among them. I was with Musa Pasha in 1862.

2. After my journey with the Abyssinians,(33) I had twenty of my brothers with me who had been with us in the region. They appointed me as their leader, and together we headed toward Kabkabiya.(34) I agreed to this, (35)and we went to Amouri,(36) then settled in Kabkabiya. As their leader,(37) I was provided with the necessary weapons and supplies, and we set out to the river to travel by boat. We left Khartoum heading for Kabkabiya through a large group of boats. I was about twenty-one years old at the time. Upon reaching Kabkabiya, we began to fight against the slaves, acquiring elephant tusks, cattle, and other valuables. I sustained many injuries from arrows, as the slaves used them as weapons. We gathered with Zubeir Pasha in Kabkabiya,(38) and under my command were about two thousand men, all armed with guns. Zubeir had around three thousand men, all also armed. In total, there were five thousand of us,(41) all skilled in combat, (42) equipped with enough supplies, and knowledgeable in shooting.(43)

We were at our cabin when a man named Al-Bilali (44) arrived by the cabin. He delivered a letter informing us that he was appointed by the government, (45) accompanied by Takrine soldiers of his own kind,(46) to take over the soldiers, weapons, and the armory from us. He told us that the government had assigned him to collect these from all the cabins along the coast. Since we did not know him and had no news from the government, we could not hand over our rights to someone we didn't know. We realized that we had to either comply or prepare for war against him. We defended our rights and honor, especially since we had many families with us. When he saw that we were ready for war, he

organized his soldiers. When we saw this, we prepared to fight him. We clashed, and victory was ours; we killed him and his men and seized all their weapons.

After the killing of the Bilali, we rose from our camp with great strength, heading towards Shaka.(47) Al-Zubair Pasha was the leader, and I was the commander of the war and armies. We were met on the road by a massive army, including the Rezaikat (48)and Habaniya (4) tribes, along with many other well-known tribes, all of whom were residents of Shaka and its surroundings. They fought us fiercely for about fifteen days, both day and night, in the heat(50). Due to our constant supplication to God, He granted us victory over them, scattering their ranks and breaking their unity. Everything we took from them and from the Bilali was stored in the warehouses of Shaka.

After we took control of Shaka and its surroundings, we informed (51) the government about the killing of the Bilali and our takeover of Shaka and its areas.(52) We requested that they send us soldiers(53) from their side to secure Shaka, as we are its men and residents, (54) and all our families are living under its protection.(55) The soldiers are now on their way to Shaka.

Before the soldiers sent by the government arrived in Shaka, Sultan Ibrahim of Darfur(56) received news that Al-Zubair and Nour Mohammed Anqara had come to Shaka, taken control of it, and killed its men. They then informed the government about their takeover of Shaka and requested that soldiers be sent to them. The government sent them soldiers, who were on their way to Shaka. When Sultan Ibrahim learned of this, he immediately appointed one of his senior ministers (57)and dispatched a massive army of about three hundred thousand men,(58) with a hundred thousand of them all mounted on horses, most of whom were wearing chainmail (59) and carrying Indian

swords.(60) The Sultan instructed the minister to reach Shaka before the soldiers arrived, and upon your arrival, kill Al-Zubair and Nour, and send us their heads.(61)

Before the soldiers arrived in Shaka, before the government soldiers reached us, the minister came to us,(62) and we fought fiercely until we saw death with our own eyes.(63) Victory came to us from God; we triumphed over them, killing the minister and his men, both from the beginning and the end. We took all their possessions and captured many horses, livestock, and a lot of goods, which we stored in the warehouses.”

After the minister and the sent armies were killed, and after the Sultan received news of them,(64) the government soldiers arrived, and we handed over Shaka and everything in the warehouses to them. We, along with Al-Zubair, went to the Sultan in Darah.(65) We took some of the government soldiers and left some behind in Shaka. Upon reaching his house, we established a stronghold, (66) and we were prepared for battle as soon as Sultan Ibrahim himself arrived with an army as numerous as sand and stones.(67)

Sultan Ibrahim set up his camp near us, (68) attacking us while we fought back with cannons and bullets (69) for about seven days, both day and night. When the siege became tight, I personally took the well-known soldiers and launched an attack on the Sultan’s palace.(70) I killed some of his men who were inside.(72) The Sultan himself fled towards a place called Manawashi.(73) Al-Zubair and I followed him, fearing that armies would gather around him. We reached Manawashi and found him there. A battle ensued between us and him. We killed him and his men in a brutal manner. Immediately, we headed towards Al-Fasher with our famous forces.(74) Upon reaching Al-Fasher, (75) no one confronted us. We took con-

trol of the Sultan's warehouses filled (76) with money, goods, and valuable items, (77) in addition to livestock, horses, camels, and cattle, among other things.

After we entered Al-Fasher, we immediately sent a message to Ismail Pasha Ayyub,(77) the Governor of Sudan, informing him that Sultan Ibrahim had fled from us and headed towards a place called Manawashi. We found him there, killed him and his troops, and took control of Al-Fasher. He had been in Al-Obeid waiting for news of our arrival. We handed over all the warehouses filled with goods to him, as he was in Al-Fasher, along with Al-Zubair. We took possession of all his warehouses filled with gold, jewels, and silver. He came to us as soon as possible because he had been in Al-Obeid waiting for updates on our arrival.(79)

After Al-Zubair went to Egypt and Ismail Pasha remained in Al-Fasher, Suleiman and I headed back to our region, (80) each of us going to our respective points. (81) Suleiman Al-Zubair lagged behind me towards Shaka,(82) while I proceeded to the Copper Pit,(83) as it was under my command from Gordon Pasha. I instructed Suleiman Al-Zubair to inform Hassan Pasha Al-Jawasir,(84) the Director General of Darfur, that the Fur people had generally risen up against the government.(85) I received orders to head to his Directorate and take over from Saleh Bey Hijazi.(86) I immediately set off towards his Directorate and met Suleiman Al-Zubair at Shaka, as his route passed through there, since he was also heading to the Directorate based on Gordon Pasha's orders.

We arrived at his house and stayed near a place (87) called Burno, (88) about an hour's distance from his house.(89) The next day, Gordon Pasha arrived at the Directorate. I fired the cannons in his honor. His arrival was at 11 AM. When we received news of his arrival, we headed to the Directorate with very few soldiers. Around 3 PM, we stood at the

Directorate's door waiting for him. He sent us a message via Basati, (90) informing us that the Pasha sends his greetings and instructs you to return to our locations, and that he will come to greet you tomorrow at 6 AM.

We arrived at 6 AM as promised, along with Suleiman, who intended to capture or kill his father's adversary. I received this news and warned them that if any one of you reaches Gordon Pasha before he arrives, I will shoot him. When Gordon Pasha arrived, he greeted us, and we honored him with the necessary formalities. He immediately went to Suleiman Al-Zubair's tent. He sat on his bed for about three minutes and was served beverages and coffee. He inquired about the tent of Noor Anqara. I took him directly and led him to my tent. He sat on the bed, and I served him the beverages and coffee, of which I had a little. When he saw me drink, he became very pleased and happy. He then stood up and ordered us to come to him at the Directorate tomorrow morning at 7 AM.

We went to the Directorate at 7 AM as he ordered us.(96) We found him prepared with two matters: one for me and the other for Suleiman Al-Zubair.(97) It informed him that as long as you ordered Hassan Pasha Al-Jawasir, (98) it was necessary to assist him,(99) and that some of us should be governors.(100) I was appointed as the director of Kijma (101) and the Copper Pit under the orders of Ibrahim Bey Fawzi.(102) Suleiman left his home and headed to Shaka. As for me, I received another order not to proceed to Kijma and the Copper Pit, as I was appointed the director of Kabkabiyah (103) and Kokol, (104) with a monthly salary of 60 pounds. I went to my new Directorate. Upon arriving in Kabkabiyah, I found the Fur people were surrounding the Directorate, and the soldiers were armed and suffering greatly from hunger and other issues. I dealt a decisive blow to the Fur, scattering them and expelling them from the boundaries of my Directorate.”

After that, I received confirmed news that Suleiman left Shaka and headed to his father's barn at Bahar Algazal.(105) Jaks (106) encountered and killed him, following (107) the orders of Gordon Pasha (108) as a punishment for him and for anyone who disobeys government orders.

I received a telegram from Gordon Pasha asking to meet with him at the station in Foj.(109) I set out with the officers and others, eager to go to Foj. We arrived at the station as quickly as possible. I met the station manager, who informed Gordon Pasha of my arrival. I introduced myself as Nour Bey Anqara. The station manager honored me greatly because he had news about my request to Gordon Pasha. The station manager, met me, and asked about the situation in my directorate. (110) I informed him about what happened with them and what I did in response. He thanked me for my efforts and obedience to the orders. In the end, he let me know that Gordon wanted to meet me in Khartoum. (111) I told him I was ready and at his command. He ordered me to leave immediately. I set off towards Khartoum. Before I left, I received a telegram from him informing me that he had issued an order for the Obied Directorate to disburse five months' salary for me and the officers with me. We received the five months' salary and headed to Khartoum. Upon arriving at the *Al-Tir'a Al-Khadra*, (112) I disembarked from the train and proceeded to Khartoum.

I met General Gordon Pasha, and he asked me for general news about Darfur. In the end, he appointed me as the Director-General of West Darfur, (113) and no one had authority over me except the Governor-General.(114) My monthly salary was seventy-five pounds. He helped me greatly during my stay in Khartoum. After that, he ordered me to head immediately to Tehami Bey (115) in the region of Sayyah (116) because the Fur had surrounded him. I departed from Khartoum

immediately by steamboat to the *Al-Tir'a Al-Khadra* where my camels were located.(117) I found them and those with them in a very good condition. I mounted the camels and made haste toward Sayyah. I found that Haroun (118) had besieged Tehami and cut off his retreat.(119) I attacked him at 4 a.m., killed him in the worst way,(120) and scattered his forces. The Fur fled,(121) each of them returning to his own (122) land, and many of them were killed.

We sent Haroun's head to El Fasher, opened the road, and spread security throughout the region. Tehami Bey and his group headed to El Fasher, and I proceeded to West Darfur, (123) the location of the western provinces. I remained in West Darfur, maintaining control over my districts, preventing any transgressions. The Fur people each stayed in their own homeland, and I remained in the Kabkabiya area, the center of West Darfur, overseeing my districts, reopening the roads, and revitalizing the markets.

When Abdel Qader Pasha Helmi (124) arrived in Sudan, he requested that I meet him in Khartoum, in accordance with orders. I left West Darfur and appointed someone to act on my behalf to protect the stations. I had enough men with me, riding on camels, traveling with determination. We reached El-Obeid (125) and found it under siege.(126) Most of the tribes and their Arab factions had joined the Mahdi, (127) and the road was cut off. I was appointed as the *Qumandan* (128) of the troops stationed at the Bara center.(129) I stayed in Bara, (130) and the road between me and El-Obeid was cut off.

One day, at around 9 a.m., we heard gunfire. I took a military force and went out to investigate. I found a (sagh) lieutenant (131) with him about a hundred soldiers,(132) surrounded (133) by *Al-Arban* (Arab tribesmen).(134) I attacked them and scattered their forces. I took the lieutenant and the soldiers back with us to the center. We brought them

water, (135) and they drank and rested, (136) as they were suffering from extreme thirst. We asked the lieutenant his name and the reason (137) for his presence until he fell into the hands of the tribesmen.

He told me that he had arrived as part of a (*Jarda*) campaign(138) with Ali Bey Lotfi, known as Abu Kokka.(139) They encountered the Arab tribes, and all the soldiers along with Ali Bey Lotfi—the commander—were attacked. My group and I fled the massacre(140) and wandered aimlessly,(141) not knowing where to go, while the Arab tribes were surrounding and besieging our comrades who remained at the outpost. (142) The Arabs had surrounded us (143) with large and powerful forces,(144) and the siege of El-Obeid grew so severe (145) that people began eating the meat of dogs and donkeys.(146) All of us—residents and notables of El-Obeid(147) - saw no salvation except surrender. (148) They asked the Mahdi for amnesty(149) before handing over El-Obeid, and immediately, the Mahdi himself entered the province and sat on its administrative chair.

And Bait Alamana (house of teseautry) (150) began collecting money, gold, silver, jewels, and goods (151) - of which (152) only God (153) knows the quantity.

Section Two

**Al-Nour Anqara during  
the Mahdist period**

## Section Two

### Al-Nour Anqara during the Mahdist period

After the capture of El-Obeid and all the many belongings it contained, a letter of amnesty (154) was sent to me(155) through our secured person.(156) After we received the amnesty and the letter was read aloud to the officers (157) who (158) were with us at the outpost,(159) we all set out along with the messengers (160) who had come (161)to us from the Mahdi.(163) I met him, and he personally granted me amnesty,(164) hand in hand, and he also granted amnesty to the group that came with me.

After receiving amnesty, I was appointed as an emir and given the Banner of Amnesty. (165) A directive was issued to all the Ansar and anyone wishing to join Al-Nour Anqara to enter under my banner. I soon had a force of around five thousand men.(166) I was ordered to (168) move with Hamdan Abu Anja in pursuit of Surur, (169) who had killed Sharif Mahmoud and the Ansar in El-Obeid,(170) and who had entered the Nuba Mountains in Tegali (171) with his fighters.(172) We pursued Surur, (173) and whenever we approached, he would retreat into the mountains. After much effort, we finally confronted him, killed everyone with him, and took his head.

We sent Surur's head to Khalifa Abdullah.(174) The Khalifa summoned (175) me and appointed me (176) to serve with Zaki Tummal (177) in the Gallabat region. (178)(179)

After we arrived in Gallabat, King Yohannes, (180) the King of Abyssinia, came against us with a large army-numerous as the sand and pebb-

bles.(181) They launched a full attack and broke into the fortifications. (182) We fought them and held our ground in battle. Eventually, we drove them out of the fortifications, but they had taken many of the Ansar women.(183)

The king pitched his royal tent directly facing us, nearby, and the Abyssinians began firing at us with guns and cannons. We responded with gunfire, cannons, and rockets(184) until God's victory descended upon us. Their king was struck by two bullets—one in his right arm and the other in his side—and he fell dead on his bed.(185) When the Abyssinian commanders saw that their king had died and passed into the afterlife, they placed him in a coffin, carried him on a mule, and departed during the night, taking with them the captured women, heading back to their land. When news of their retreat reached us, we immediately set out in determined pursuit.

We caught up with them around 6 in the morning and struck them with a fierce attack. They fled,(189) leaving behind their king and the captives.(190)We took the head of their king, his jewel-encrusted crown, his royal tent, all his belongings, (191) and many of his possessions. (192) We captured many Abyssinians—young females and young boys (193)-as well as many cattle and horses, and brought them back to our base at Gallabat. Upon our arrival at Gallabat, we sent the king's head,(194) his crown, (195) his tent, and many of his valuable possessions to Khalifa Abdullah. (196) After the arrival of the spoils and the king's head in Omdurman, the Abyssinian women and young eunuchs (197) were sold in Gallabat for four to five riyals each.

Al-Zaki Tamal was dismissed,(198) and Ahmed Fadil was appointed (199) in his place as the administrator of Al-Qalabat and its surrounding areas. He sent me a letter with Ahmed Fadil informing me that God, the Prophet, and the Mahdi had chosen me and appointed me as the admin-

istrator of Al-Qadarif and its surroundings.(201) He also informed me that (the Kufar) the infidels (202) would be coming through the routes of Kassala (203) and gave me ordered to kill them the worst way of killing. I took it from him and granted them security,(204) prevented transgressions, and developed the markets for them.(205)

Section Three

**Al-Noor Anqara during  
the Anglo-Egyptian rule**

## Section Three

### Al-Noor Anqara

### during the Anglo-Egyptian rule

After my arrival in Al-Qadarif, I began monitoring the soldiers stationed on the Kassala road.(206) One day, a man came to us specifically, for a fee of one hundred pounds, (207) and informed us (208) that the military force had arrived in Berber.(209) He said they attacked (211) Mahmoud (212) and killed his group, and they captured him as a prisoner. Afterwards, they were moving toward Omdurman(213) to fight Khaliifa Abdullah. He said that Sultan Pasha gave them a great certificate (214) of commendation in my name, (215) stating that I were with them and were the governor of Western Darfur.(216) He said have had great affection from the government and its officials (217). He said he was proud (218) of the testimony he gave on your behalf.(219) Then he told me that a military force was currently stationed on the Kassala road, (220) heading in our direction under the leadership of Pasha Barsoum. (222) When he arrived, you would be safe because of the trust and recommendation from his side.

When Kitchener's letter arrived to us,(223) I remained awaiting the arrival of this force.(224) Four days later, the force arrived in Al-Qadarif. At our first encounter, I raised the banner of amnesty to them, and they raised theirs to us as well. I met with Barsoum, greeted him personally, and introduced me to all the English and Egyptian officers.(225) I then handed over ((226) all the firearms in our possession (227) to Barsoum Pasha, and from that point on, we became united as one.

When Ahmad Fadil, the administrator of Gallabat, heard that the "infidels" had arrived in Al-Qadarif, he immediately set out in haste, intend-

ing to reach us quickly so we could stand together.(228) He did not believe that I would surrender to the infidels. He actually met them and attacked them with weapons. The military force struck him hard until he fled, looting (229) people's property along the way.(230) When Barsoum Pasha was informed of this, he appointed me to pursue him with a military force.(231) I caught up with him on the road and struck him; he fled again, and I chased him until I forced him down to the Karkoj station, where I attacked him again. He fled once more and disappeared into the wilderness, (233) eventually joining up with his relative Khalifa Abdullah. I returned with the soldiers to Barsoum Pasha and informed him that Ahmad Fadil had gone to join Khalifa Abdullah.(234) Barsoum thanked me and praised my dedication, and all the officers with me also thanked me for my firmness.

After Ahmad Fadil left Al-Qadarif and its surrounding (235) areas all the way to the Nile River,(236) we spread security throughout all regions and revived the markets.(237)

Barsoum Pasha gave me my due—recognition,(238) a certificate, friendship, and trust. Kitchener was informed that Al-Nour Bey wished to meet him, and he had no objection. Barsoum informed me of this. As for my family being in Omdurman, I wished to go down there, so I prepared the camels.

After the camels were ready, I and some of the families departed, leaving the rest in Al-Qadarif. Upon arriving in Omdurman,(239) I met with Kitchener Pasha, (240) Wingate Pasha, and Slatin Pasha.(241) They showered me with many acts of generosity (241)—money, food supplies—and I was received by them with great favor.(242) Out of their affection for me, (243) I hoped they would grant me a half-ration (or allowance), but instead, they gave me a very small portion (244) -barely worth mentioning-which was only five pounds, despite the large size of my

family, (246) which numbers ninety-five people, including my children and orphaned grandchildren.(247) I submitted numerous petitions to the government and made many requests,(248) expressing my desire for an increase in my allowance due to the size of my family,(249) but nothing came of it. Until now, my salary remains five pounds.(250)

In my former condition,(251) I lived in honor and prosperity. (252) (253) Now, I do not possess (254) a single dirham or dinar.(255) I have been bedridden for a long time (256)-nearly eight years.(257) I am unable to stand or sit.\*358) When we were in the Bahr al-Ghazal region,(259) if someone we knew visited us, we would give them generous gifts from the slaves (260) of the zaribas.(261) We would give up to fifty (262) or twenty slaves, and provisions sufficient to sustain them until they reached their destination.(263) We also used to give two hundred riyals,(264) or one hundred and five, depending. Likewise, during the(265) Mahdi's time (266), we gave six hundred, or even hundreds of riyals.(267) That was our way. But in the present time, we have fallen into hardship, and we now rely solely on God's will.(268) Everything is from God.(269)

On this date,(279) I have written down what has happened to me—from honor to humiliation—and the positions I held, whether during the former Turkish era or during the Mahdist period.(271) As for the generosity we showed, it cannot be measured. To the best of our ability, we became the main support point. Whether it was five heads of slaves,(272) or five cattle, or ten, or in silver coins—ten riyals, five riyals—this was abundant and beyond counting. God knows best. This is all I have to say. May you remain well.(272)

**January 1924**

The humble servant,

Al-Nour Bey Mohammed Anqara

[Seal]

## Conclusion

Through this manuscript, it becomes clear to the reader that Al-Nour Bey Mohammed Anqara worked with great diligence and effort from a young age—beginning at the age of fifteen—when he joined the military ranks with the Shayqiya forces that were sent to Egypt. This was the most accessible path at the time for earning a livelihood. He advanced through the military ranks and later joined the service of Zubair Pasha Rahma in Bahr al-Ghazal. Here, we see that Al-Nour Anqara aspired to achieve personal glory similar to that of Zubair Pasha Rahma, who succeeded in making a name for himself in Bahr al-Ghazal and Darfur despite many challenges.

Likewise, Al-Nour Anqara also succeeded—though to a lesser extent than Zubair Pasha—in becoming one of the prominent figures during the Turco-Egyptian period, playing a significant role in administering various regions in Darfur and Kordofan. During the Mahdist period, the Mahdi himself celebrated Al-Nour Anqara’s allegiance to the movement, with gunfire being fired in jubilation. Recognizing his leadership and military skills, the Mahdi entrusted him with commanding several forces under the Mahdist banner.

After the death of Imam Al-Mahdi in 1885 and the rise of Khalifa Abdullah, Al-Nour Anqara continued to serve in various posts, the last of which was in Al-Qadarif, where he eventually surrendered to the invading army—a decision he made based on personal judgment. However, this surrender might be viewed as a misstep, as he could have chosen to fight to the last soldier—either achieving victory, martyrdom, or being captured.

Nonetheless, Al-Nour Anqara deserves praise for documenting his autobiography in writing during a time when such recording was rare,

especially among figures of the Mahdist period. This work opens the door to further studies on the men of the Mahdist state, its supporters, and the roles they played-through the lens of original Mahdist documents, sources, and references.

## Notes

***It is worth noting that some note numbers are dismissed as they are related directly to language issues. They do not refer to any historical fact in this document.***

(1) Richard Hell defined Nour Anqara as being of Dongolawi origin, who joined the Egyptian or Turkish army as a soldier. He worked with Musa Pasha Hamdi in 1862 and left military service to join the service of Zubair Pasha Rahma in Bahr al-Ghazal. Zubair Pasha recognized his military qualifications and made him his chief of staff in the mobile campaign to open Darfur in 1874. After Zubair travelled to Egypt, Nour Anqara switched to the service of his son Suleiman and later left him to join the government with 2,000 fighters, which pleased Gordon and earned him the title of Bey, appointing him as the director of (Lado) in 1877. In 1878, he was transferred as director of (Kabakabia) in West Darfur. In 1880, he managed to defeat and kill Sultan Harun. In 1882, he was the commander of government forces in the garrison of Bara, which was besieged by the Ansar. In January 1883, the garrison surrendered, and he pledged allegiance to the Mahdi, who appointed him as an emir, playing an important role in the lives of the Mahdi and Khalifa Abdullah afterward. See Richard Hell, ***Dictionary of Sudanese Icons from Ancient Times to 1948***, 2nd ed., Sudan Currency Printing Press, 2016, p. 407.

(2) Omdurman was divided into quarters as administrative divisions, and Nour Anqara lived in the first quarter of the city.

(3) The Bedairia tribe is one of the Sudanese tribes residing in northern Sudan and parts of the Kordofan region, playing a significant role in Kordofan's history during the Turkish and Mahdist rule. See Youssef Mikhaeil, ***Source*** p. 16.

(7) Referring to the period before Turkish rule in Sudan and Nour Anqara's commercial role in southern Sudan.

(8) Referring to the Turkish rule in Sudan, which lasted from 1821 to 1881.

(9) Referring to the Mahdist Revolution and state, which extended from 1881 to 1898.

(10) Referring to the Anglo-Egyptian rule of Sudan from 1898 to 1956.

(11) Referring to the large number of fights he participated with, using various types of weapons.

(12) "Nashab" refers to the arrows used in wars and hunting.

(13) *Gordon Pasha*: Charles George Gordon was born on January 28, 1833, near London to a Scottish family known for military and adventure. His mother was very religious and taught him Christian traditions. Gordon was the youngest of eleven siblings and was most attached to his sister Augusta, who was twelve years older. He graduated as a military engineer; volunteered in the Crimean War (1854-1856), participated in the Chinese War (1860), and became known as "Gordon of Khartoum" for his role in quelling the Chinese rebellion (1863-1864). In early 1874, he agreed to work in Sudan, specifically in the Equatorial region, following Samuel Baker, at the behest of Nubar Pasha. His actions and relationships were often questioned, and he had clear ties to Christian missionary societies, working to expand British influence in Sudan. See Babiker Fadl al-Mawla Hussein Ahmed, **Sudan during the Reign of Khedive Tawfiq**, PhD thesis in modern history (unpublished), University of Omdurman Islamic University, 2000, p. 26.

(14) *Lord Kitchener*: Kitchener is considered one of the greatest British officers, associated with the campaign to invade Sudan and elimi-

nate the Mahdist state. He joined the Egyptian army in 1882, served as governor-general of the Red Sea from 1886 to 1888, as commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army from 1888 to 1892, then as Sirdar of the Egyptian army from 1892 to 1899, and became governor-general of Sudan in 1899. He succeeded in occupying Sudan and establishing British influence there in 1898. See Gabriel Wirbiq, **Sudan during the Reign of Wingate, The Anglo-Egyptian Administration in Sudan (1899-1916)**, 3rd ed. (translated by Mohamed Al-Khidr Mohamed Salem), Kadogli Publications, 2015, p. 27.

(15) Referring to various regions of Sudan.

(16) The first tasks he undertook.

(17) An “Ordi” is a detachment of the army consisting of between one hundred and one hundred fifty fighters. See Youssef Mikhaeil, **Memoirs of Youssef Mikhaeil: The Turkish, Mahdist, and Dual Rule in Sudan**, edited by Ahmed Ibrahim Abushok, 3rd ed., Abdel Karim Mirghani Center, Omdurman 2016, p. 31.

(18) “Mahamud” does not appear in the original text.

(19) The Shaigiya tribe is one of the most important tribes in northern Sudan, linked to Sudan’s history from the 15th century to the 19th century. Members of the Shaigiya tribe are characterized by courage, horsemanship, and strength. When the forces of Mohammed Ali Pasha, led by his son Ismail, entered, the Shaigiya were able to resist, but the superiority of firearms ultimately led to their defeat at the Battle of Kouti in November 1820. The Shaigiya trace their lineage back to their ancestor Shayq ibn Hamidan ibn Subh, and they are closely related to the Jawamia and the Jallabi tribes, all belonging to the Jaali group. See Abdel Majid Abdeen, **The Shaigiya and the History of Dongola District from the 14th to the 19th Century** (translation), p. 9. The

*Shaigiya entered the service of the Turkish government, and Mohammed Ali appointed their leader, King Shawish, as an officer over his soldiers. Sheikh Aboud Sheikh al-Swarab was appointed over his men. The Shaigiya joined military service under the banner of the Bashibuzuk (irregular troops). Members of the Shaigiya played a prominent role in maintaining security, and Mohammed Ali relied on them, assigning them tasks such as capturing Hassan Wad Rajab. The government tasked King Shawish with this, and he succeeded with the help of his horsemen. The Shaigiya adapted to the new situation, gaining the trust of Mohammed Ali and the Sudanese rulers, and many of them diligently joined the military. The tasks assigned to the Shaigiya by the Turkish government were divided between security and regular duties. The government did not pay the Shaigiya salaries for these duties but instead provided them with agricultural land, where individuals would supply enough for themselves and their families. Additionally, the government supplied them with weapons. As a result of the significant services the Shaigiya provided to the Turkish government, Khurshid Pasha granted them all the lands between Khartoum and Shendi, which were under the control of the Abdalab and other tribes that participated in the uprising against the government following the killing of Ismail Pasha. Khurshid aimed for the Shaigiya to cultivate these lands without paying taxes and provided them with fodder for their horses. Mohammed Ali Pasha further enriched them by allowing them to cultivate indigo, aiming to instill a love for military service in them. See Hatim Al-Siddiq Mohammed Ahmed, **The Army in the Mahdist Period**, 3rd ed., Aritheria Publishing and Distribution, Khartoum 2023, p. 15.*

*(21) Khedive Ismail: He was the son of Ismail Pasha and the grandson of Mohammed Ali Pasha, born on December 13, 1830, in Cairo. He ruled Sudan and Egypt from 1863 to 1879, expanding Sudan during his reign until he was deposed, succeeded by his son Mohammed Tawfiq. Khedive Ismail died in exile and was buried in Egypt.*

(22) *King Mahmud: He was Mahmud, the son of King Shawish, the ruler of the Shaigiya.*

(23) *The “Ordiya” refers to one of the neighborhoods in Alexandria, where there were forces guarding imports.*

(24) *Referring to around two years.*

(25) *Musa Pasha Hamdi: He ruled Sudan from May 7, 1862, to June 18, 1865, distinguished by good administration and justice, and he suppressed revolts that broke out during his reign. His forces in Khartoum reached thirty thousand fighters. He died in Khartoum and was buried there.*

(27) *Al-Mak Nimer: He is Nimer Mohammed Nimer (approximately 1785-1846), the last ruler of Shendi from the Jaali tribe. He spent part of his youth among the Batahin tribe. When he returned to Shendi, he was appointed as the ruler of his people, the Jaali, around 1802. When Ismail Pasha’s forces arrived in Shendi on their way to Sennar, the capital of the Funj Sultanate, in 1821, Al-Mak Nimer surrendered reluctantly. He then burned Ismail Pasha and some of his troops in Shendi in 1822 upon their return to Egypt. After this incident, he moved towards the Batana area, where Mohammed Bey Khosrow, the Difterdar, attacked the Jaali areas in Shendi. He was then pursued in the Nasoub area near Abu Daliq in the Batana plain, and Al-Mak Nimer’s forces were defeated. Al-Mak Nimer and his troops then settled in an area called Al-Sufi. He was excluded from the amnesty declared by Khurshid Pasha in 1829. Al-Mak Nimer then moved to the Maqba area near the River of Peace and, along with his troops, attacked both the Abyssinians and the Turks, cutting the trade route between Qandar and Sennar. After the Turks took control of the Galabat area in 1832, the scope of Al-Mak Nimer’s raids diminished. In 1832, Al-Mak Nimer’s followers attempted to attack Sennar with a group of Abyssinians, but they did not succeed. In 1840, he made a secret visit to Sennar in search of family*

treasures. By 1844, he had become old and blind, and his son Imara continued the resistance against the Turks. Finally, Ismail Pasha granted amnesty to the remaining surrendering Nimerab and they returned to Shendi around 1865. See Richard Hell, previous reference, p. 405.

(28) Referring to Mohammed Ali Pasha.

(29) Ismail Pasha was Ismail bin Mohammed Ali Pasha, the third son of Mohammed Ali and the leader of the campaign to invade Sudan in 1820. He was burned to death by Al-Mak Nimer, the leader of the Jaali, in 1822.

(30) The city of Shendi: Located north of Khartoum, Shendi is one of the most important commercial cities during the Funj era. The city was a hub for all trade routes along the Nile, serving as the starting point for routes leading to the Far East, as well as trade caravans heading to Kordofan, Darfur, Wadi, and Timbuktu in northern Mali. It was also a route for caravans to Egypt via Berber. Pilgrims came from Central and Western Africa to Shendi to reach the Hijaz. Trade caravans from Darfur, Kordofan, Suakin, and the interior cities of Sennar would arrive there. Burckhardt mentioned that Shendi was considered the first commercial city in Africa south of Egypt and east of Darfur, strongly connected to Berber through trade. Its caravans were known for traveling towards Cairo, and the goods displayed in its market were among the finest and cheapest compared to those in the Sennar market. The city's name is also historically associated with the burning of Ismail bin Mohammed Ali Pasha, the commander of the campaign against Sennar, who was burned by Al-Mak Nimer in the city. See Hatim Al-Siddiq Mohammed Ahmad, "The Atrocities of the Difterdar in Sudan (1824-1881)," Dar Eritrea for Publishing and Distribution, 2023, pp. 52-53.

(31) *An area now within Ethiopian borders.*

(32) *Referring to their exhaustion in capturing them.*

(36) *Ali Abu Amouri Bey: From the people of Nagaa Hamadi in Upper Egypt, he was one of the first to establish trade in Ghandakour and the Fartit areas in South Sudan. He formed a group of companies with other traders that owned many cattle herds in the Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile regions. He was described as hunchbacked and short in stature. See Izz al-Din Ismail, "Al-Zubair Pasha and His Role in Sudan during the Era of Egyptian Rule," General Book Organization, 1998, p. 19.*

(37) *"Kabania" is an Italian word meaning "company" (compagnia).*

(38) *Al-Zubair Pasha Rahma was born in the village of Wawasi, north of Khartoum Bahri, on July 8, 1831. He studied at the Khartoum School and mastered horse riding and equestrian skills. He married his cousin's daughter in 1854. By 1856, Al-Zubair Pasha moved towards South Sudan to join his cousin Mohammed Abd al-Qadir, who was part of trader Ali Abu Amouri's group. He also joined Abu Amouri's service and gained significant status in South Sudan, surpassing all traders at that time. See Izz al-Din Ismail, previous reference, pp. 12-15.*

(40) *Al-Baznqar refers to the forces that Al-Zubair Pasha established in Bahr el Ghazal. He succeeded in training and arming them with firearms to protect his trade, which extended from Bahr el Ghazal into and out of Sudan. These forces later became known as the "Jihad Forces." Al-Zubair Pasha's forces included prominent leaders who later emerged in the battles of the Mahdist revolution, such as Hamdan Abu Anja, Al-Zaki Tamal, and Rabih Fadl Allah, who became famous in the Bahr el Ghazal and Wadi regions.*

(41) *Referring to marksmanship and precision shooting.*

(42) *Referring to the leaders.*

(44) *Al-Bilali Bey*: He is Mohammed al-Haj Al-Bilali, said to be from the Barno tribe. He was appointed as the manager of Bahr el Ghazal in 1869 due to his determination, bravery, and strong personality. He confronted Al-Zubair Pasha in Bahr el Ghazal, and Al-Zubair managed to kill him.

(45) Referring to a party.

(46) *Al-Takaranin* refers to the Takari tribe. There is a disagreement over the meaning of the term, which is used generally in the Middle East to refer to migrants from West Africa who come via the pilgrimage route. See Mohammed Said al-Qudal, "The Mahdist State and Abyssinia: A Study in the Domestic and Foreign Policies of the Mahdist State, 1881-1898," *Dar al-Jil*, Beirut, 1992, pp. 12-13.

(47) *Shaka*: An area located east of Darfur, near the city of Al-Daein.

(48) Referring to the Rizeigat tribe, one of the largest tribes in the Darfur region in terms of wealth and influence. They reside in the southeastern part of Darfur between the Hamar, the Habaniya, and the Dinka to the south. They are known for their warrior spirit and abundance of horses, practicing both pastoralism and agriculture. During the dry season, they move to the Bahr al-Arab area. The Rizeigat are among the most connected tribes to the Dinka. They are divided into three sections: the Mahariya, the Hamad, and the Nawiba. See Mohammed Awad Mohammed, "Northern Sudan: Its People and Tribes," Committee for Authorship and Publishing, Cairo, 2nd ed., 1956, p. 238.

\*The Hamar people reside in the southwestern part of Kordofan and are connected to the Dinka and Maseriya tribes who live to the northeast of their areas. They are engaged in pastoralism and move north in the summer, while in winter they head south. See Mohammed Awad Mohammed, previous reference, p. 23.

(49) *Al-Habaniya: One of the pastoral tribes in the southern Darfur region, specifically in Al-Kalkah, which is named for its abundant grazing land.*

(56) *Sultan Ibrahim is Sultan Ibrahim Qarz, son of Sultan Mohammed al-Hussein bin Mohammed al-Fadl bin Abd al-Rahman al-Rashid. He ruled from 1873 to 1874 and entered into a conflict with Al-Zubair Pasha Rahma, being killed in the Battle of Manawashi in 1874.*

(57) *Referring to his ministers.*

(58) *It was estimated that the number of troops was three thousand.*

(59) *Referring to the armor that surrounds the body.*

(60) *Indian swords refer to the swords brought from India, made of steel and distinguished by unique engravings.*

(62) *Referring to the force sent by Sultan Ibrahim, led by Ahmad Nimer in August 1874.*

(65) *Dara: This refers to the current city of Nyala, located between East and South Darfur, and it is an important historical area.*

(66) *They worked to fortify the city in anticipation of any attack on it.*

(67) *This statement indicates the large numbers of the Fur forces.*

(73) *Manawashi: Located in South Darfur on the road linking Nyala and Al-Fasher, it was the site of a famous battle between Al-Zubair Pasha and Sultan Ibrahim Qarz of the Fur, ending in the latter's defeat on October 25, 1874.*

(74) *Referring to those trained in war and combat.*

(75) *Al-Fasher: The capital of the Darfur Directorate, established by Sultan Abd al-Rahman al-Rashid as the capital of his kingdom and the*

*seat of the Fur Sultanate during his reign. The Darfur Sultanate remained under the leadership of the descendants of Sultan Abd al-Rahman al-Rashid until it fell in 1874 to Al-Zubair Pasha, thus becoming part of the Turkish-Egyptian possessions in Sudan. See Yusuf Michael, previous reference, p. 11.*

*(78) Ismail Ayoub was appointed as the Governor of Sudan in place of Jaafar Pasha Mazar in 1873 and was removed from his position in 1877. He was noted for his good administration and during his tenure, Darfur was annexed by Al-Zubair Pasha Rahma. He encouraged cotton cultivation in Sudan, established many military outposts from Khartoum to Darfur and Wadi, as well as in Berber and Suakin. He also created numerous postal offices in Sudan and worked to divide Sudan into directorates, with each directorate having a director responsible for it and independent from Khartoum. See Abdullah Hussein, "Sudan from Ancient History to the Egyptian Mission," Hindawi Foundation, Cairo, 2012.*

*(79) Referring to Al-Zubair Pasha's journey to Egypt.*

*(80) Suleiman bin Al-Zubair Pasha: He succeeded his father in Bahr el Ghazal after his father's trip to Egypt. In 1875, he began managing his father's commercial affairs in South Darfur and Bahr el Ghazal because his father had business interests in many areas, due to the suspension of the slave trade.*

*(81) Referring to our area, Bahr el Ghazal.*

*(82) Shaka: It was one of the important centers in Darfur. During Gordon Pasha's second visit to Darfur, he passed through it in April 1879 and ordered the expulsion of the traders who had gathered there because they supported Suleiman bin Al-Zubair Pasha with weapons and money. See Musa Al-Mubarak Al-Hasan, "The Political History of*

*Darfur (1882-1898),” Authorship and Publishing Department, University of Khartoum, (n.d.), p. 38.*

*(83) The Copper Pit (Kafi Kangi) is located in South Darfur and is a mineral-rich area considered the link between South Darfur and Bahr el Ghazal.*

*(84) Hasan Pasha Hilmi: He is Hasan Pasha Hilmi Al-Jawaser. He came to Sudan on a military mission during the rebellion of the Jihad forces in the city of Kassala in 1865. He was then appointed as the director of military works in the Taka Directorate. Before the occupation of Darfur in 1874, he was appointed as the director of the Kordofan Directorate and was later transferred to work in Darfur. See Yusuf Michael, previous reference, p. 10. Under his leadership, Darfur was divided into four directorates: Al-Fasher, Dara, Kulkul, and Umm Shenge. See Musa Al-Mubarak Al-Hasan, previous reference, p. 34. After the outbreak of the Mahdist revolution, he was transferred to Khartoum, where he was appointed a member of the Governorate Council established by Governor Abd al-Qadir Pasha Hilmi to contain the Mahdist revolution and restore security and stability in the country. See Yusuf Michael, previous reference, p. 10.*

*(86) Saleh Bey Hijazi, from the Burno tribe, joined the Turkish army in Sudan in 1853. He participated with the Sudanese forces in the Mexico War in 1862, was awarded several medals, promoted to the rank of qa-immaqam, and was appointed as the director of Dara, remaining the ruler of Darfur until his death in 1869.*

*(88) Al-Burno: An area in Darfur during the Turkish-Egyptian era; we have not identified its exact location or what it is called currently.*

*(89) This was Gordon Pasha’s first visit to the Dara Directorate. See Musa Al-Mubarak Al-Hasan, previous reference, p. 37.*

(90) “Basati” refers to Basati Al-Mahasi, who served as a clerk in Khartoum during the Turkish-Egyptian rule. He was among the forces of Hicks who attacked the Mahdi in Kordofan and was killed in the Battle of Sheikan in 1883.

(91) It is clear from Al-Noor Anqara’s statements that Suleiman bin Al-Zubair intended to kill or capture Gordon, as a result of what happened to his father and his detention in Cairo. However, Al-Noor Anqara’s stance prevented this plan from succeeding. See Musa Al-Mubarak Al-Hasan, previous reference, p. 37.

(93) A type of drink served on occasions.

(95) It is believed that Gordon Pasha was very afraid of being poisoned by Suleiman bin Al-Zubair Pasha or one of his followers.

(96) This refers to the buildings of the Directorate in Dara.

(97) During Gordon Pasha’s first visit to the Dara Directorate, he appointed Suleiman bin Al-Zubair as the director of Bahr al-Ghazal, where he moved to confront Idris Abtar al-Danqulawi, who was born in 1810 in Hafir Mashu in northern Sudan. Idris was the deputy of Al-Zubair in Bahr al-Ghazal and had knowledge of boats and navigation. When Al-Zubair Pasha moved towards Darfur, he appointed Idris as his deputy in Bahr al-Ghazal. When Idris learned of this, he moved from Bahr al-Ghazal to Khartoum and sought to win over Gordon Pasha, informing him that Suleiman bin Al-Zubair would not submit to the authority of the government and was ready to take control of Bahr al-Ghazal. Consequently, Gordon decided to dismiss Suleiman bin Al-Zubair and appoint Idris Abtar instead, equipping him with weapons and troops to move towards Bahr al-Ghazal. There, Idris Abtar’s forces were defeated by Suleiman and his troops, which instilled fear in Gordon Pasha. As a result, he sought to eliminate Suleiman bin Al-Zubair Pasha. See Musa

*Al-Mubarak Al-Hassan, previous reference, pp. 36-37.*

*(101) Kijma: An area in southern Darfur.*

*(102) Ibrahim Fawzi: An Egyptian military leader who supported the Urabi Revolt in Egypt. He was appointed director of Bahr al-Ghazal and the Equator in 1877. After the failure of the Urabi Revolt, he returned to Egypt and was stripped of his titles. He joined Gordon Pasha in Khartoum and took command of the city's garrison. He achieved several victories against the Ansar forces during their siege of Khartoum by Imam Al-Mahdi and his supporters. He was captured by Mahdist forces after the liberation of Khartoum on January 26, 1885, and remained in captivity until his release after the fall of Omdurman in 1898 by Lord Kitchener. He authored a documentary book about Sudan titled *Sudan in the Hands of Gordon Kitchener*. See Richard Hill, p. 172; Al-Bashir Ahmed Mohiuddin, *Dictionary of Sudanese Figures, 1820-1956 (Egyptian Khedive, Mahdist, and Dual Rule)*, Casablanca, 2020, p. 40.*

*(103) Kabkabiya: Located in northern Darfur, it is a historical area and a crossroads for trade routes.*

*(104) Kulkul: Refers to the area known as Kulkul.*

*(105) The sailors were the Danagla traders and others who engaged in trade in Bahr al-Ghazal and the Upper Nile, most of whom belonged to the Danagla tribe.*

*(106) Jex: Refers to Ramulo Jussi Pasha, the Italian who served as secretary at the British consulate in Bucharest and worked as a translator with the British army during the Crimean War (1854-1855). He was appointed by Gordon Pasha as the director of Bahr al-Ghazal and was promoted to Pasha due to his efforts and service to the government. He was dismissed from his position in Bahr al-Ghazal by the governor*

*Mohammed Raouf in 1880, returned to Cairo, and died in Suez in 1881. See Al-Bashir Mohi al-Din, previous reference, pp. 211-212. He fought against Suleiman bin Al-Zubair and engaged in several battles until Suleiman surrendered to him after negotiations between the two sides. However, the Italian Jussi betrayed Suleiman and shot him on July 14, 1879. See also Musa Al-Mubarak Al-Hassan, previous reference, p. 38. (108) Refers to what Gordon ordered.*

*(109) Fawja: An area located in the northwestern part of Al-Nuhud. (111) Khartoum: The capital of Sudan, established during the Turkish-Egyptian era. It is characterized by its geographical location. The city developed and flourished, becoming a hub for foreigners and traders from Egypt, Suakin, and elsewhere. After the Mahdist Revolution, the city was destroyed, and Omdurman became the new capital of the Mahdist state. Khartoum regained its historical and civilizational significance after the Anglo-Egyptian invasion of Sudan and became the capital of the Sudanese state.*

*(112) Al-Tir'a Al-Khadra: An area near the city of Al-Duwiem on the White Nile, south of Khartoum.*

*(115) Al-Tahami Bey: Worked as a clerk in the Turkish government. (117) Refers to Al-Tir'a Al-Khadra.*

*(118) Harun: Harun bin Sif al-Din became the leader of the Fur in 1877, establishing his base in Nurina in Jebel Marra. He managed to besiege Al-Fasher, but Gordon Pasha succeeded in lifting the siege on the city. After that, Harun engaged in battles against government forces led by Hasan Pasha Halmi, who was defeated by Harun's forces, leading to his dismissal by Gordon Pasha. He was replaced by Rahmat Qumu, a notable from the Fur, but this measure did not quell the Fur Revolution. The Italian Masadli was appointed as the general director of Darfur and attempted to suppress Harun's revolution with the help of another Italian*

named (Amiliani). After the defeat of Suleiman bin Al-Zubair, government forces succeeded in quelling Harun's revolution in Darfur. See Musa Al-Mubarak Al-Hassan, previous reference, pp. 37-38.

(148) *The surrender of Al-Obeid: After considering the siege of Al-Obeid for its liberation, Al-Mahdi sent his followers living around Khartoum to harass the central government, which was led by Abd al-Qadir Pasha, so that he could not provide assistance to Kordofan. Al-Mahdi's strategy was clearly successful, as Abd al-Qadir Pasha became preoccupied with the uprising in areas near Khartoum. Al-Mahdi moved towards Al-Obeid, and due to the strong fortifications, he intensified the siege of the city to bring it down from within through hunger, fear, and disease. As hunger ravaged the bodies of the besieged, some residents chose to surrender, and Al-Mahdi sought to acquire the city with minimal losses. The death rate among the population rose due to the spread of anemia and dysentery, with daily fatalities in the city ranging from 10 to 20 people. As the siege tightened, residents began to sneak out of the city to join Al-Mahdi's camp, with Ibrahim Wad Adlan being one of the most notable to escape. The residents' submission was close, but surrender did not occur. Al-Mahdi then resolved to attack the city and ordered the flags to be brought. He also commanded that his brother Mohammed Abdullah's flag enter from the south, followed by the other flags. After the Friday dawn prayer, the forces moved towards the city. The Ansar forces attacked the city, but the defending forces managed to repel the overwhelming assault, in which between 12,000 and 20,000 Ansar fighters were killed. After this failed attack or defeat, Al-Mahdi retreated with his forces to (Kaba). Some of Al-Mahdi's followers suggested moving towards Darfur, with Khalifa Abdullah supporting this opinion. However, there was a conflicting opinion to advance towards the city again, proposed by Elias Pasha Am Birir. After consulting with his companions and traders, Al-Mahdi decided to at-*

tack the city once more. When he reached it for the second time, he laid a tight siege around it after ordering weapons to be brought from Qadir, and the siege continued until the beginning of 1301 AH / 1883 AD. After the failure of the first attack on Al-Obeid, Al-Mahdi issued strict instructions not to attack any city at the start of the siege, but rather to wait until famine and disease weakened the residents of the besieged cities, after which the attack would take place. In 1883, Al-Mahdi introduced a new strategy to match the use of firearms and formed a military council that remained in constant session. After bringing in firearms, the superiority of Al-Mahdi's forces became evident, especially after forming the Sudanese Jihad Brigade under the command of Hamdan Abu Anja. This force contributed to liberating the city after several of its members were added to the flag forces. In 1301 AH / 1883 AD, the city surrendered, and Al-Mahdi entered it as a conqueror. Al-Mahdi's military tactics changed from battle to battle, as seen in the differing tactics used in Aba compared to those against Rashid and Al-Shallali. Al-Mahdi often initiated attacks, which led to many gains he desperately needed. The use of firearms contributed to the liberation of Al-Obeid and other besieged cities in Kordofan. The use of firearms was accompanied by the establishment of the Jihad Brigade, which became the striking force in Al-Mahdi's army.

(150) *Al-Amana*: Refers to the treasurers appointed by Al-Mahdi.

(155) **Siege and Surrender of the City of Bara**: On January 6, 1883, the city was besieged by the forces of the Ansar. The forces inside the city consisted of 340 government troops under the command of Surur Effendi and Al-Nour Anqara, while the Ansar forces were led by Al-Mana Ismail and Prince Rahma Wad Monofli. Al-Mahdi directed his commanders besieging the city to attack and uproot the government forces. The Ansar intensified the siege on Bara, and as a result, Al-Nour Anqara emerged and ambushed Al-Mana Ismail's forces, killing several An-

sar and seizing some of their spoils before returning to the city. After Al-Mahdi brought firearms from Qadir to assist in the liberation of Al-Obeid, he sent some to the besieging forces in Bara to aid in the city's liberation. Al-Mahdi's interest in the city was evident, as shown by his directives to Al-Mana Ismail and Prince Rahma Wad Monofli to storm and open the city. Additionally, sending firearms to Al-Mana Ismail confirmed that Al-Mahdi aimed to control the city as quickly as possible. It can be said that Al-Mahdi wanted to liberate the city close to Al-Obeid to instill fear in the hearts of Al-Obeid's residents, which would significantly aid in its control. After the military support Al-Mahdi sent to Al-Mana Ismail, the siege on the city was intensified. A council of officers and leaders besieged inside the city convened and agreed to surrender on the condition that it not be to Al-Mana Ismail, fearing he would mistreat them, and they wrote to Al-Mahdi about this matter. Al-Mahdi sent Prince Abdul Rahman Al-Najumi with a large force, and the city was taken on 25 Safar 1300 AH / January 6, 1883 AD. Al-Najumi brought all the residents to the city of Al-Jindhara, where Al-Mahdi met them and fired 21 cannons in celebration of the decisive victory. Al-Nour Anqara advanced, gathered the officers, and pledged allegiance to Al-Mahdi. The surrender of Bara had a positive impact on Al-Mahdi as he considered it compensation for the losses his forces incurred in the failed Friday attack on Al-Obeid. See Hatem Al-Siddiq Mohammed Ahmed, *The Army in the Mahdist State, Dar Eritrea for Publishing and Distribution, Khartoum 2023*, pp. 41-42.

(160) Refers to the treasurers, the group sent by Imam Al-Mahdi to take over the city of Bara from Al-Nour Anqara.

(167) With him were Al-Zaki Tamal and Abdullah Wad Ibrahim.

**(168) Hamdan Abu Anja**, from the Mandala tribe, lived in the Taaisha region. He served in the army of Zubair Pasha and his son Suleiman, but he did not surrender with Suleiman's army, nor did he flee with Rabah Fadlallah. He remained in Dar Al-Taaisha until he was captured by Mohamed Khalid Zaqaal, the district administrator, who released him. When the Mahdi appeared, he went to him, pledged allegiance, and joined the forces of the banner of Khalifa Abdullah. He demonstrated high military capability, so the Mahdi appointed him commander of the Jihadiyya forces. After Khalifa Abdullah came to power, he sent Hamdan to the Nuba Mountains, then to eastern Sudan where he fought the Ethiopians and achieved several victories. He died in Al-Qallabat. See: Richard Hill, previously cited reference, p. 47.

**(169) Sarour:** Some sources mention that his name was Al-Jak. He served during the Turco-Egyptian rule and joined the Mahdist Jihadiyya forces. He rebelled against the Mahdiyya because his troops were not paid their salaries. He declared disobedience to the government and managed to kill Mahmoud Abdel Qader, the Mahdi's governor of Al-Obeid. The forces of Abu Girja and Abu Anja managed to suppress the Jihadiyya rebellion in the Nuba Mountains and killed its leader.

**(170) Sharif Mahmoud:** Refers to Emir Mahmoud Abdel Qader, cousin of the Mahdi and his governor in Kordofan. After the Mahdi's death, Khalifa Abdullah suspected his loyalty to the Mahdist state, so he summoned him to Omdurman to renew his allegiance and appointed Othman Adam (Jano) in his place. During his stay in Omdurman, the Jihadiyya in Al-Obeid mutinied and fled to the Nuba Mountains. Mahmoud Abdel Qader returned to suppress them, entered into losing battles, and was eventually killed near Jabal Al-Dair on December 20, 1885 / 1302 AH. See: Yusuf Mikhael, previously cited source, p. 174.

*(171) Mount Takali is located in the Nuba Mountains region, which is known for its many mountains. It is said to include ninety-nine mountains.*

*(172) The Jihadiyya Forces: Known as Al-Banadiqa (gunmen), they were the main firepower of the Mahdist army. These forces originated during the Turco-Egyptian rule and were responsible for tax collection and maintaining security. After the liberation of Al-Obeid, Imam Mahdi reformed these forces and entrusted their leadership to Emir Hamdan Abu Anja. During the Mahdist state (1885–1898), the Jihadiyya were divided into banners, each comprising 100 men led by an emir. Each banner was subdivided into vanguards led by Muqaddams (captains). They were primarily armed with Remington rifles. Some members of the Taaisha tribe were added as trainers for religious guidance and military discipline. After the death of Emir Hamdan Abu Anja in Al-Qallabat, Khalifa Abdullah appointed Abdel Mawla Saboun, Hamdan's brother, as the head of the Jihadiyya forces. These forces were one of the reasons for the collapse of the Mahdist state in its final days due to their abuses against civilians and the seizure of their rights. Some Jihadiyya groups later joined the invading army led by Lord Kitchener.*

*(174) Sarour was the leader of the rebellion against the Khalifa in the Nuba Mountains.*

*(176) Al-Nour Anqara did not go to eastern Sudan directly with Al-Zaki Tamal, but rather as part of Hamdan Abu Anja's army to confront the threat of the Abyssinians.*

*See: Naoum Shuqair, History of Sudan, edited and introduced by Mohammed Ibrahim Abu Salim, Dar Al-Jeel, Beirut, (n.d.), p. 932*

(177) **Al-Zaki Tamal**: He descends from the **Mandala** tribe, the same tribe as **Emir Hamdan Abu Anja**. He was born in **Rahaid Al-Bardi** and raised in the **household of Khalifa Abdullah**. He excelled in **elephant hunting** and later joined the forces of **Suleiman bin Zubair Pasha**. Afterwards, both **Al-Zaki** and **Hamdan Abu Anja** left Suleiman and joined **Rabah Fadlallah**. After the appearance of the **Mahdi**, **Al-Zaki** and **Hamdan** moved to join **Emir Yaqub** near **Kadyr**, with the aim of pledging allegiance to the **Mahdi**. They succeeded in pledging allegiance in **Kadyr**. **Al-Zaki** later became part of **Hamdan Abu Anja**'s forces after he was appointed head of the **Jihadiyya forces** by the **Mahdi**.

When **Al-Zaki** joined **Abu Anja**'s forces in **Gallabat**, and after the latter's death, **Al-Zaki** became commander of the army. He was popular among his troops in **Gallabat** and managed to **kill King Yohannes of Ethiopia** in the famous **Battle of Gallabat** in **1889**. After this victory, **Khalifa Abdullah** sent him to eliminate the **Shilluk**, and later entrusted him with executing the **Ashraf (nobles)** who had rebelled. Despite all his achievements and loyalty to the **Khalifa**, **Al-Zaki Tamal** was **executed in 1893**. **Emir Yaqub** reportedly said that a day would come when he would need **Al-Zaki** but would not find him—and this came true at the **Battle of Karari (Omdurman)**.

See: **Vivian Amina Yagi**, *Men Around the Mahdi*, (n.d.), (n.p.), pp. 82–85.

(178) After the death of **Hamdan Abu Anja**, **Ahmad Wad Ali** was appointed governor of **Gallabat**. A dispute arose among the leaders over this appointment, and the situation nearly escalated into armed conflict. As a result, **Emir Ahmad Ali** was removed, and **Al-Zaki Tamal** was appointed governor of **Gallabat**. **Al-Nour Anqara** wrote a letter to **Khalifa Abdullah** requesting the presence of **Emir Yaqub** to resolve the dispute.

Ref: Mahdiyya Archives 1/29/5/10, from Al-Nour Anqara to Khalifa Abdullah, 8 Jumada al-Thani 1306 AH.

(179) **Gallabat**: A border town with Abyssinia (Ethiopia), known for its commercial and strategic importance. It was the site of a famous battle between Mahdist forces and the Abyssinians, known as the **Battle of Gallabat** in 1889, in which the Mahdist forces emerged victorious.

(180) “**Zawhna**” refers to **King Yohannes**, the King of Abyssinia (Ethiopia).

(181) After arriving with **Hamdan Abu Anja**, no war broke out with **King Yohannes** at first. Instead, the fighting was with **Ras Adal** on **January 18, 1888**, more than a year before the battle against Yohannes. In the first quarter of 1888, he was appointed **governor of the Sarf Saeed region** near **Al-Qadarif** by Hamdan Abu Anja, with the task of disciplining the people of that area and purifying them according to “the rights of God.”

See: **Mohammed Saeed Al-Qaddal**, *The Mahdiyya and Abyssinia: A Study in the Internal and External Politics of the Mahdist State (1881–1898)*, Dar Al-Jeel, Beirut, 1st edition, 1992, p. 161.

(194) The **Ansar** managed in the **Battle of Gallabat** to behead **King Yohannes** and send his head to **Khalifa Abdullah** in **Omdurman**.

(195) Refers to those whose value was appraised.

(196) Refers to those who were emasculated (castrated or lost their manhood).

(197) **Khalifa Abdullah** is **Abdullah ibn Al-Sayyid Mohammed Torshin**, born in **Tordat** in southern **Darfur**. He joined **Imam Mahdi** at **Tayba Al-Halawin** in the **Gezira** region and became one of the Mahdi's close companions. The Mahdi gave him the **Blue Banner**, under which the

people of western Sudan were to rally. He participated in all of the Mahdist battles. After the **liberation of Khartoum** and the **death of the Mahdi**, Abdullah became the **Khalifa** (successor) and leader of the state. He faced numerous internal and external challenges, including wars and political conflicts. He directly confronted the **Anglo-Egyptian invading army** and was defeated at the **Battle of Karari (Omdurman)** in 1898. **He was martyred in the Battle of Umm Dibaikrat on the White Nile, south of Kosti, in 1899.**

**(198)** After the death of **Al-Zaki Tamal**, **Khalifa Abdullah** appointed his cousin **Ahmad Ali** as emir over **Al-Qadarif**, not **Ahmad Fadil**. **Ahmad Ali** wanted to build a military reputation similar to that of **Al-Zaki Tamal**, so he requested permission from the **Khalifa** to launch an invasion toward **Kassala**. The **Khalifa** agreed and gave him clear instructions, but **Ahmad Ali** disobeyed them and was defeated. According to **Al-Nour Anqara**, this failure was due to the influence of **Khatir Hamidan**, who led **Ahmad Ali** astray. **Al-Nour Anqara** participated in the **Battle of Agordat**, where he was injured.

See: **Mohammed Saeed Al-Qaddal**, *The Mahdiyya and Abyssinia*, previously cited, p. 161.

**(199)** **Emir Ahmad Fadil** was from the **Jabarat Al-Taaisha** tribe and was related to the **Khalifa**. He served loyally and contributed to suppressing the **Ashraf rebellion**. After **Ahmad Wad Ali** died in the **Battle of Agordat**, **Ahmad Fadil** became governor of **Al-Qadarif**. The five years he spent there marked the **decline and eventual fall of the Mahdist state**. When **Kitchener's forces** approached **Omdurman**, the **Khalifa** requested reinforcements from **Al-Qadarif** and **Gallabat** to defend the city. **Ahmad Fadil** raised an army and marched toward **Omdurman**, but he arrived too late and returned to **Al-Qadarif**. Seeing the danger of **Ahmad Fadil's retreat**, **Kitchener ordered Colonel Parsons**, the British

commander in **Kassala**, to move toward **Al-Qadarif**. He also sent **Hunter** to the **Blue Nile** to track **Ahmad Fadil's** movements. On **September 22, 1898**, **Parsons** occupied **Al-Qadarif**. On **September 28**, **Ahmad Fadil** attacked the city but was forced to retreat. He later left the area and rejoined the **Khalifa**, eventually **dying a martyr in the Battle of Umm Dibaikrat on November 24, 1899**.

(200) After his appointment, **Ahmad Fadil** withdrew **Ahmad Wad Ali's** defeated army from **Kassala** following the **Battle of Agordat** and appointed **Al-Nour Anqara** as commander of one of its divisions.

(201) **Al-Nour Anqara** was later appointed **governor of Al-Qadarif**. **Khalifa Abdullah** was deeply concerned about the growing **rivalries and disputes** among **Mahdist** commanders and emirates, especially those stationed outside **Omdurman** in the provinces. As a result, the **Khalifa** often used **internal surveillance**, requesting certain emirs to write **secret reports** on their peers. He asked **Al-Zaki Tamal** to submit a confidential report on several commanders, including **Al-Nour Anqara, Mohammed Farah, Omar Elias, Babiker Al-Haj, and Abdul Rahim Abu Daqal**. The report indicated that **Al-Nour Anqara** had abandoned disputes over provincial authority in **Al-Qadarif** and was cooperating militarily with **Al-Zaki Tamal**. Meanwhile, **Babiker Al-Haj** and **Mohammed Farah** had become obedient to **Al-Nour Anqara**.

Source: Mahdiyya Archives, Khartoum, 1/4/2, from **Al-Zaki Tamal** to **Khalifa Abdullah**, 11 Jumada al-Thani 1307 AH (January 1890), p. 363.

(202) **Kafra**: Refers to the **Anglo-Egyptian invading forces**.

(203) **Kassala**: A historic city located in eastern Sudan, its foundation and development are associated with **Turco-Egyptian rule** in Sudan. It was one of the key centers during the **Mahdist** period and had strong connections to the **Khatmiyya Sufi order**.

(205) *The purpose of this measure was to **establish security and assert the authority of the Mahdist state** in those regions.*

(210) **Berber:** *Berber is considered one of the major commercial cities in Sudan. Its **geographic location** played a key role in earning it this commercial significance. Trade caravans used to arrive there from **Suakin, Egypt, Darfur, and Sennar**. Through trade activity, the movement of caravans, imports, and exports, Berber became famous, and its trade convoys would head toward Suakin loaded with all kinds of goods.*

*The commercial status of Berber **declined** after the rise of the **Shaigiya sheikhdom** and its entry into a direct conflict with the **Abdallab**, which caused significant disruption to trade activity in the city. Despite this, Berber maintained widespread fame due to its role in commerce, **surpassing even major Sudanese cities** such as **Al-Fashir, Sennar, and others** in importance.*

*Traveler **Burckhardt** noted that Berber was inhabited by the **Mirfabe** tribe, **Ababda**, some **Bishariyin**, and the **Danagla**. The **Mirfabe** claimed descent from the **Arabian Peninsula**, while **Burckhardt** believed they were from eastern Sudan. They had a **king titled “Al-Mak.”***

*After the **Funj** took control of the area, leadership in Berber passed to the **Timsah family**, and it was the **King of Sennar** who appointed the **Mak** from this ruling family. The **King of Sennar** would also send a delegation every four or five years to Berber to collect **tributes** in the form of gold, horses, and mounts for the king in Sennar.*

*The **kings of Berber** would impose taxes on outsiders and enforce them strictly in order to cover the tribute owed to the King of Sennar. Some taxes were also levied on tribe members, though the **powerful and wealthy** were often exempted. Additionally, some **ambitious claimants to the throne** from the ruling family would impose tolls on caravans*

passing through Berber in order to present the proceeds to the Kings of Sennar, aiming to gain favor and eventually become king of Berber.

(211) Refers to the **defeat of Mahmoud Wad Ahmad in the Battle of Nakheila**, which occurred on **Friday, April 4, 1898**.

(212) **Prince Mahmoud Wad Ahmad**: One of the **commanders of the Mahdist state**, born in **Al-Kalka, Darfur**, in **1865**. He was a **cousin of Khalifa Abdullah**, and was appointed **Emir of Darfur**. After the invasion of Sudan by forces led by **Lord Kitchener**, Khalifa Abdullah tasked him with confronting these forces in **northern Sudan**.

He clashed with the **Ja'aliyyin tribe** in **Al-Metamma** in 1897, due to their refusal to comply with the Khalifa's orders to evacuate the area. He faced the invading forces at the **Battle of Nakheila (Atbara)**, where he was **defeated and captured**. He died in **Rasheed Prison in Egypt in 1906**.

See: **Al-Bashir Ahmed Mohiuddin**, previously cited, pp. 557–558.

(214) Refers to “**in your right**” (i.e., your entitlement). It is believed that **Al-Nour Anqara** received a letter from **Slatin Pasha**, urging him to **defect from Ahmed Fadil's forces**, with a veiled **threat** that a military force was advancing from **Kassala** toward **Al-Qadarif**.

221) **Barsoum**: Refers to **Parsons Pasha**, a British officer with the rank of **Captain**, assigned to **attack Al-Qadarif**, which was handed over to the invading forces on **September 22, 1898**, by the **13th Sudanese Battalion**. He succeeded in occupying **Al-Qadarif** after **Ahmed Fadil** had left the town. Parsons was then ordered to advance toward the **Blue Nile** to tighten the noose on Ahmed Fadil and his forces, prompting Fadil to **retreat westward** across the Blue Nile to join **Khalifa Abdullah** in **Kordofan**. Parsons advanced with his forces as far as **Al-Roseires** to eliminate any resistance there.

See: **Bashir Mohiuddin**, previously cited, pp. 154–156.

(222) *This phrase is not present in the original text.*

(223) *Refers to **Lord Kitchener**.*

(224) *There are **clear discrepancies** in **Al-Nour Anqara's** account of the events surrounding the surrender of **Al-Qadarif**. He did not mention that **Khalifa Abdullah** had summoned **Ahmed Fadil** and appointed him commander of the **Al-Qadarif** garrison alongside **Saadallah Ezzeldin Al-Taa'ishi**. He also did not refer to **Ahmed Fadil's** return to **Al-Qadarif** after the defeat of **Khalifa Abdullah** in the **Battle of Karari** in **1898**. On another note, and before **Ahmed Fadil's** return, **Kitchener** learned that **Ahmed Fadil** posed a **potential threat**, so he ordered **Colonel Parsons**, the British commander in **Kassala**, to move toward **Al-Qadarif**. In compliance with **Kitchener's** orders, **Parsons** proceeded to **Al-Qadarif** and occupied it on **September 22, 1898**, after the **Al-Qadarif** garrison, led by **Al-Nour Anqara**, surrendered to **Parsons**.*

*Parsons held a **letter of safe conduct** for **Al-Nour Anqara** from the **British military intelligence**, which he presented when **Al-Nour** came out to surrender. Seeing the letter, **Al-Nour Anqara** was granted **amnesty** and **Parsons** entered **Al-Qadarif**.*

See: **Naoum Shuqair**, *Tarikh al-Sudan (History of Sudan)*, previously cited, p. 495.

(210) **Berber**: *Berber is considered one of the major commercial cities in Sudan. Its **geographic location** played a key role in earning it this commercial significance. Trade caravans used to arrive there from **Suakin**, **Egypt**, **Darfur**, and **Sennar**. Through trade activity, the movement of caravans, imports, and exports, **Berber** became famous, and its trade convoys would head toward **Suakin** loaded with all kinds of goods.*

*The commercial status of Berber declined after the rise of the **Shaigiya sheikhdom** and its entry into a direct conflict with the **Abdallab**, which caused significant disruption to trade activity in the city. Despite this, Berber maintained widespread fame due to its role in commerce, surpassing even major Sudanese cities such as **Al-Fashir**, **Sennar**, and others in importance.*

*The traveler **Burckhardt** noted that Berber was inhabited by the **Mirfabe** tribe, **Ababda**, some **Bishariyin**, and the **Danagla**. The **Mirfabe** claimed descent from the **Arabian Peninsula**, while **Burckhardt** believed they were from eastern Sudan. They had a king titled “**Al-Mak**.”*

*After the **Funj** took control of the area, leadership in Berber passed to the **Timsah family**, and it was the **King of Sennar** who appointed the **Mak** from this ruling family. The **King of Sennar** would also send a delegation every four or five years to Berber to collect tributes in the form of gold, horses, and mounts for the king in Sennar.*

*The **kings of Berber** would impose taxes on outsiders and enforce them strictly in order to cover the tribute owed to the King of Sennar. Some taxes were also levied on tribe members, though the **powerful and wealthy** were often exempted. Additionally, some **ambitious claimants to the throne** from the ruling family would impose tolls on caravans passing through Berber in order to present the proceeds to the Kings of Sennar, aiming to gain favor and eventually become king of Berber.*

*(211) Refers to the **defeat of Mahmoud Wad Ahmad** in the **Battle of Nakheila**, which occurred on **Friday, April 4, 1898**.*

*(212) **Prince Mahmoud Wad Ahmad**: One of the **commanders of the Mahdist state**, born in **Al-Kalka, Darfur**, in **1865**. He was a **cousin of Khalifa Abdullah**, and was appointed **Emir of Darfur**. After the invasion of Sudan by forces led by **Lord Kitchener**, **Khalifa Abdullah** tasked him with confronting these forces in **northern Sudan**.*

He clashed with the **Ja'aliyyin** tribe in **Al-Metamma** in 1897, due to their refusal to comply with the Khalifa's orders to evacuate the area. He faced the invading forces at the **Battle of Nakheila (Atbara)**, where he was **defeated and captured**. He died in **Rasheed Prison in Egypt in 1906**.

See: **Al-Bashir Ahmed Mohiuddin**, previously cited, pp. 557–558.

(214) Refers to “**in your right**” (i.e., your entitlement). It is believed that **Al-Nour Anqara** received a letter from **Slatin Pasha**, urging him to **defect** from **Ahmed Fadil's** forces, with a veiled **threat** that a military force was advancing from **Kassala** toward **Al-Qadarif**.

(239) **Omdurman**: The city of Omdurman was the **capital of the Mahdist State**, located on the **western bank of the Nile and the White Nile**. It was established by **Imam al-Mahdi** after the liberation of Khartoum on **January 26, 1885**, and remained the capital until the **fall of the Mahdist State in 1898**. After that, the **Anglo-Egyptian forces** temporarily made it their capital, before **rebuilding Khartoum** to become the **new capital** of the Anglo-Egyptian administration in Sudan.

(240) **Wingate**: Refers to **General Sir Francis Reginald Wingate** (1861–1953). He joined the **Egyptian army in 1883**, and served as **assistant officer** under **Sir Evelyn Wood**, the first **Sirdar of Arabi's army**. He also served as **military secretary** to **Sir Francis Grenfell** (1886–1887), and later became **assistant to the Commander-in-Chief in the Intelligence Department**. In 1889, Wingate was appointed **Director of Military Intelligence**, a position he held until he became **Governor-General of Sudan in December 1899**, serving until 1916.

See: **Gabriel Warburg**, *Sudan Under Wingate: The Anglo-Egyptian Administration (1899–1916)*, 3rd ed., translated by **Mohammed Al-Khidr Mohammed Salim Tarbal**, 2015, p. 27.

*(241) Slatin Pasha: Refers to Baron Sir Rudolf Carl von Slatin Pasha. He was born in 1857 and died in 1946. An Austrian officer of Jewish origin, he first visited Sudan between 1874–1876 as vice-consul for Germany's S.F. Rosse in Khartoum. He traveled to Kordofan and returned to Austria in 1879, later serving in the Austrian army during the Bosnia War in 1878. He returned to Sudan to work with Gordon Pasha as a financial inspector in Khartoum, and in 1879, he was appointed governor of Dara province in South Darfur, replacing S.R. Rigole.*

*In 1883, he became Governor of Darfur and was promoted to the rank of Bey. While in Dara, he assisted the Italian Gessi in defeating Suleiman bin Zubeir Pasha and also participated in the defeat of Sultan Mohammed Harun in Darfur. During the Mahdist uprising, he fought against the Mahdists in several battles but was captured in Dara in 1884 and remained a prisoner until he escaped in 1895. He then joined the Anglo-Egyptian army, became Deputy Director of the Intelligence Department, and was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1898.*

*Slatin was appointed Inspector-General of Sudan (1900–1914) and in 1906, became a Baron of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1907, he was promoted to the rank of General in the Egyptian Army. When World War I broke out, he resigned from his Sudanese post and became head of the Prisoner of War Division of the Austrian Red Cross, and was part of Austria's delegation to the 1919 Peace Conference. He visited Sudan again in 1926. His famous book "Fire and Sword in the Sudan", recounting his experiences and escape in 1895, has been translated into several languages.*

*See: Al-Bashir Ahmed Mohyuddin, previously cited, p. 212.*

*(245) Implies it was a partial pension and that the amount paid by the government monthly was insufficient for him and his family, which had reached ninety-five members by 1924.*

(247) Indicates that he **submitted a request to the government** explaining the **hardship he faced due to the low salary**.

(248) Refers to the **many times** he wrote to the government requesting an **increase in his monthly pension**.

(256) Refers to the fact that he had **grown old and was no longer able to move easily**.

(258) In 1924, when **al-Nur ‘Anqara** wrote his autobiography, he was **suffering from rheumatism**.

(261) The **zarayib** (enclosures or depots), built from **local materials and timber** in Bahr al-Ghazal and southern Sudan during the **Turkish-Egyptian rule**, were used to **store crops and goods** collected by traders in the region.

(266) Mohammed Ahmad al-Mahdi: Mohammed Ahmad, later known as al-Mahdi, was born on **Labab Island** near **Dongola** in northern Sudan. His family migrated toward the **Kerreri** area north of Omdurman, and later settled in **al-Jazira Aba** on the **White Nile**. He studied in various **Qur’anic schools (khalwas)** in Kerreri, Khartoum, Kateranj in the Mahas region, Berber, Umm Marhi, and Taybah al-Ḥalāwīn. From al-Jazira Aba, which he made a center for his followers and students, Mohammed Ahmad traveled across Sudan—from Dongola in the north to Sennar in the south, and from the Blue Nile to Kordofan in the west. His travels convinced him of the **people’s resentment** toward **Turco-Egyptian rule** and their **desire for liberation**.

Returning to al-Jazira Aba, he then traveled to al-Ḥalāwīn in central Sudan, where he met **Abdullah ibn Mohammed**—later known as **Khalifa Abdullah al-Ta’ayshi**. They returned together to al-Jazira Aba. At Abdullah’s suggestion, al-Mahdi headed west to assess the region’s readiness for revolution. They passed through **Dar al-Jum‘a**, where Abdullah’s

brothers lived, gained their allegiance, and proceeded to **al-Ubayyid**, where he secretly approached the town's key leaders and elders with his call.

From there, they went to the **Taqali Mountains** and presented the invitation to **Mak Adam Umm Dubalo**, then returned to al-Jazira Aba. This journey confirmed to al-Mahdi that **Jebel Qadeer** in the Taqali region was the ideal site for **Hijra (migration)** when the time came. Al-Mahdi and Khalifa Abdullah's movement to Kordofan was clearly **strategic**, not merely spiritual. It was driven by a revolutionary outlook, aimed at:

- Gaining local support from tribal leaders.
- Exploiting **Kordofan's geography** to make government response harder, especially during the rainy season.
- Capitalizing on the area's inaccessibility due to poor transportation. Al-Mahdi achieved major victories, including in **Qadeer** and **al-Ubayyid**, before finally **liberating Khartoum** on **26 January 1885**, killing **Gordon Pasha**, the then-Governor-General of Sudan. See: **Hatim al-Siddiq Mohammed Ahmad, The Army in the Mahdist State, previously cited, p. 20.**

(269) Al-Nur 'Anqara stated that during the **Mahdist era in Bahr al-Ghazal**, he was **generous** and gave to everyone **without delay**, but he now suffers from **extreme poverty**, unable even to afford proper clothing. He has **pleaded with the government** to increase his pension to support **his large extended family**.

(272 - Main Commentary)

From this manuscript, we observe that **Al-Nur Bey 'Anqara** addressed aspects of his life and personal experience during the **Turkiyah (Ottoman-Egyptian rule)**, the **Mahdist era**, and the **Anglo-Egyptian Condo-**

*minium.* It is noticeable that he focused on what he considered major events while omitting many others. We can attribute this to several reasons, among them likely being his **advanced age, deteriorating financial situation, and declining health.** The life and experience of a man like Al-Nur Bey 'Anqara—who was an active participant in numerous pivotal events and present at key historical moments—**deserve to be recorded in books and volumes.** His legacy is one that warrants **deep study, scholarly investigation, and archival research,** as it sheds essential light on the **social, political, and military dynamics** during the three major periods of Sudanese history: **the Turkiyah, the Mahdist State, and the Anglo-Egyptian rule.**

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*The process of editing and presenting manuscripts and explaining their vocabulary is one of the most challenging and complex scientific tasks throughout various historical periods. This book in your hands, as esteemed reader, discusses the life and career of Al-Nour Bey Mohammed Anqara-both as an introduction and explanation-through his manuscript written in 1924 in Omdurman, which is housed in the National Archives in Khartoum. This work aims to introduce the character of the man through his manuscript, in which he endeavoured to narrate numerous events and roles he played during different historical periods in the history of Sudan and its people.*

*The importance of this manuscript lies in the fact that it is one of the few manuscripts, in my estimation, written by a seasoned individual who lived a life filled with many challenges, hardships, and diligent work to uphold the authority under which he served, while achieving his personal glory in an era that recognized personal achievements and immortalized their bearers. For all these reasons, we hope that this book finds acceptance among specialists, researchers, and those interested in the history of Sudan in general, and particularly in the Turkish, Mahdist, and condominium rule. We also hope it serves as a genuine academic contribution to the Sudanese and Arab libraries in the field of autobiographies.*



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