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**SOME ASPECTS OF THE ARAB SLAVE  
TRADE FROM THE SUDAN  
7th — 19th CENTURY \***

by

YUSUF FADL HASAN

Slavery was practised in Arabia as in the rest of the ancient world well before the advent of Islam early in the seventh century A.D. The existence of foreign slaves, mostly dark-skinned (and a few white people), is echoed in ancient Arabic poetry and pre-Islamic traditions. Immediately before the coming of Islam, Western Arabia in general and Mecca in particular had witnessed the presence of large numbers of African slaves, mostly *Ahbash* or Abyssinians.<sup>1</sup> The term *Habash* or *Ahbash* has a wider connotation and under it are lumped most of the dark - skinned people of the western coast of the Red Sea. This was probably due to the fact that the Arabs' knowledge of Africa was then restricted to Abyssinia and its neighbouring regions.<sup>2</sup>

Yet the Arabs were neither the first to introduce slavery and the slave trade among (black) Africans, nor were they the first to enslave them. Slavery or a form of "serfdom" and the selling of slaves was a fairly common phenomenon in many parts of the African continent. Furthermore, both the Pharaohs and the Romans were already involved in procuring black African slaves. Indeed, the presence of African slaves engraved on Egyptian monuments bears witness to the antiquity of slavery.

Indeed, however, the slave trade that trickled through the Sahara into North Africa, down the Nile into Egypt and across the Red Sea into Arabia was inconsiderable if compared with the vast trade that flowed through the same routes and developed with the establishment of the Islamic Empire.

In the wake of the Arab wave of Islamic conquests, the Arab world was flooded with large numbers of captives of different ethnic groups including Syrians, Copts, Persians, Nubians, Berbers, Indians, Greeks, and Turks. The captives of both sexes were employed initially as servants in ordinary households and in palaces. The influx of these slaves coupled with the development of life among the Arabs and the extension of urban communities contributed to widening the traditional scope for employment of slaves and introducing new occupations. However, the number of captives of war as a major

source for slaves was no longer adequate to meet the new demand for two reasons; first, their numbers were much reduced by manumission, second, the wave of Arab conquests, which had been the main source of captives, had spent itself by the beginning of the eighth century. Consequently slaves were increasingly being acquired through commercial as opposed to military methods. Large caravans were briskly conveying thousands of slaves annually, mainly from Africa and Central Asia and Christian Europe to a lesser extent, into the slave markets of the Empire. In these markets slave were brought for many purposes which are admirably described in Ibn Butlan's manual on the types and qualities of each category.<sup>3</sup> Two types of slaves were in great demand. The first were of Turkish origin and were used primarily as soldiers, and known as *mamluks* (i.e. owned); the second were the *Sudan* or the blacks who were primarily used as servants, soldiers and labourers.

It is towards the second type of slaves, the *Sudan*, particularly those obtained from the *eastern Bilad al-Sudan*, and those engaged in this traffic, that I will direct my remarks.

In his essay *Fakhr al-Sudan ala al-Bidan* (the Boast of the Blacks against the Whites), al-Jahiz (d. 869) used the word *Sudan* in a restricted and a general sense : the former referred to a distinct group by that name whose exact location or qualities were not mentioned. It is indeed too early to speak of an ethnic group bearing that name in the tenth century A.D. ; it is probably used only well after the sixteenth century when it became applicable largely to the inhabitants of Western Africa. The latter meaning includes all the dark-skinned people, e.g. the Zanj, the Abhash or Abyssinians, the Nuba, (Nubians), the Zaghawa, the Indians, South-East Asians, Chinese, Copts, and Berbers.<sup>4</sup>

Although the general and restricted term *Sudan* was current for a long time, the majority of the early Arabic writers and geographers used this term almost exclusively to denote the black or dark-skinned people of Africa and at times included the natives of India. As a geographical term *Bilad al-Sudan*, or "the land of the Blacks", signifies all sub-Saharan Africa extending from the Red Sea (or perhaps from the western or south-western border of Nubia) to the Atlantic Ocean.

With the increase of the Arab and the Muslim writers' knowledge of the African interior through large movements of slaves, they began to differentiate between the major ethnic groups that the term *Sudan* incorporates. These included the Nubians, the Buja, the Zanj, and occasionally the Ethiopians, but not the inhabitants of North Africa.<sup>5</sup>

As alluded to above, the Abyssinians or "*Habash*" were the first to come into

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contact with the Muslim Arab. Indeed it was to Abyssinia that the first Muslim refugees fled, where they were well received and protected by its king. The term *Habash* embraces the Abyssinians and their southern neighbours on the Horn of Africa and some Beja on the Northern frontiers. (It was probably due to the proximity of their country to Abyssinia and their resemblance to the Abyssinians that some Arab writers considered them a "race of Abyssinians" and hence their country was called "Middle Abyssinia".<sup>6</sup> The Abyssinian slaves were highly valued as eunuchs and concubines.

The term Nuba, like the term *Sudan* has both a restricted and a general sense. The former refers to the people of Christian Nubia whose inhabitants fought the Arabs gallantly in the first half of the seventh century. The latter embraces the inhabitants of the Nilotic Sudan and all the black people who were procured from beyond Nubia and sold into slavery. These slaves were not actually Nubians, though commonly known by that name. Like the Abyssinians, the Nubians won themselves an excellent reputation in the Muslim world as faithful employees and useful servants. They were employed as servants, nurses, concubines, labourers and soldiers.

The Buja or Beja were the Cushitic-speaking nomads of the regions between the Nile and the Red Sea. They were very similar to the Abyssinians and it was probably for the same reason that they were valued as concubines. It was due to their predatory campaigns on Upper Egypt that the Arabs clashed with them in the eighth century. They also came in touch with them through the newly established Arab ports on the western coast of the Red Sea.

The Zanj were the Bantu-speaking peoples of East Africa, south of Abyssinia (from about 3°N to 5°S), though sometimes the same word is applied to the black Africans or negroes in general. Their habitat, "the land of Zanj", provided the Arab traders from about the middle of the eighth century with a continuous supply of slaves. Among the African slaves, they occupied the lowest positions and hence they were probably the least valued by the Arabs.

*The nature of the Arab Slave Trade*

Being the core of the newly established Islamic Empire, the Arabs held an important position both in trade and navigation. In sub-Saharan Africa the Arabs were essentially traders and not conquerors. The African slave trade, like trade in other African products, was generally in the hands of Arabs or men of mixed Arab and African parentage. The term "Arab" is used here in a very loose sense to denote Arabic-speaking individuals and groups of varied origins. Other slave traders, be they non-Arab Muslims or *dhimmis*, (that is Christians or Jews), and who were subjects of the Islamic state are also included in this definition. The

Arabs or Arabized slave traders like the *Jallaba* of the Nilotic Sudan or the Swahili of East Africa formed an eminent group in this traffic.<sup>7</sup>

Although the Arabs played a leading role in African trade, the information available to us is neither adequate nor always reliable enough to provide us with all the necessary answers concerning the Arab role in this traffic or the extent of their involvement. Such information was mostly derived from merchants, travellers or seafarers who penetrated into distant lands, and hence their narratives were marred by ambiguities and legends. Nonetheless the Arabs were probably the first outsiders to penetrate deep into the African habitat and to meet the great demand for slaves in the Islamic world. It was through their intervention that the slave trade received further stimulus and assumed great importance. When the Arab traders stepped on to the African scene, the long – distance trade routes were already established largely through African initiative. But in handling this traffic the Arabs hardly met with a concerted African opposition and it seems that local factors were generally congenial to Arab operations.

Having found slavery as a regular feature of the social order, Islam like Judaism and Christianity before it did not abolish slavery, but tried to mitigate its evils by advocating good treatment and encouraging manumission. The spirit of Islam towards traffic in human beings is echoed in a tradition ascribed to the Prophet Muhammad condemning such an activity: *Sharr al-nas man ba al-nas*; the wickedest of people are those who sell people. Indeed, Islam does not allow the enslavement of Muslims and it recognizes two categories: those born in slavery or prisoners of war - as a product of a war declared on the inhabitants of *Dar al-Harb* which lies outside *Dar al-Islam* or the land of Islam. The local sources of slavery were so negligible that it was only through the continued import of slaves largely by commercial means, from foreign territories, that this institution was sustained.<sup>8</sup>

#### *Modes and Sources of Acquiring Slaves*

The modes of acquiring slaves either through conquest, kidnapping or purchase and the role of Arab dealers in such operations varied from one region to another. However, it seems that, by and large, the Arab dealers did not themselves engage in hunting down slaves, but relied mostly on native suppliers or middlemen. Both Arab dealers and native suppliers made full use of older native customs that lent themselves to such activities. The following examples, drawn from different parts of the region over a wide period of time, are representative of different methods of procuring slaves.<sup>9</sup>

To begin with, the Arabs in their first encounter with the Nubians and North

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Africans imposed an annual tribute to be delivered to the Muslims. In Nubia, the annual tribute took the form of about four hundred slaves in exchange for food stuffs. The tribute, known as the *baqt* or pactum was a continuation of an old practice.<sup>10</sup> To fulfill this obligation the Nubians were in the habit of capturing slaves from their enemies who lived further to south or south west. It is also reported that the governor of Dahlak delivered one thousand slave girls consisting equally of Nubians and Abyssinians in 977 to the ruler of Yemen.<sup>11</sup>

As early as 747-8 Abu al-Bishr Severus, the Coptic writer, reports that Muslims were in the habit of kidnapping Nubians and selling them in the markets of Egypt.<sup>12</sup> Nasiri Khusraw, the Persian traveller, also mentions that Muslims and others stole children from the Beja country and sold them in Muslim towns.<sup>13</sup> Such action was perhaps committed under the pretext of war into enemy territory.

Armed raids, though directed largely against pagans, did not spare the Muslim communities on the frontiers of *Dar al-Islam*. In 1391 Abu Amr Uthman b. Idris, the king of Bornu, complained to the Mamluk Sultan in Egypt that certain Arab tribes who lived in the vicinity of his kingdom raided his subjects, killing some and taking others, Muslims and non-Muslims, into captivity. The captives were sold to slave traders from Egypt, Syria and other places. Whether the actual sale took place in Bornu itself or outside it is not clear from the text.<sup>14</sup>

Yet despite these Arab activities more slaves found their way to the Arab dealers due to many local factors. The customs of enslavement alluded to above were current among the *Sudan*, who “among themselves” according to a Persian source, “are people who steal each others’ children and sell them to the merchants when the latter arrive”<sup>15</sup>

The king of Alwa had the right to enslave his people<sup>16</sup>, while the Takuna who lived in that kingdom were in the habit of enslaving one another.<sup>17</sup> The Abyssinians were also in the habit of stealing one another’s children and selling them to merchants when food was scarce.<sup>18</sup>

However, probably the most important source of slaves was that which resulted from internal strife between African tribes and their chiefs who fought one another and exchanged their captives for items of trade brought by Arab merchants.

Al-Yaqubi, the Arab geographer of the ninth century, says that the Zawila (of central *Bilad al-Sudan*) kidnapped black slaves from the tribes of Mira, Zaghawa, Maruwa and others who lived nearby. He adds that he heard that black kings sold other blacks without justification and without the provocation of war.<sup>19</sup> A possible example of this is the king of Bornu who used to exchange

foreign goods for slaves whom he captured on his annual expeditions.<sup>20</sup>

Whatever the form in which slaves were procured by the Arab merchants, local factors played a significant role in facilitating the availability of this commodity. Indeed, by and large, the Arab merchants (except later in the nineteenth century) did not involve themselves in the primary acquisition of slaves but were content to obtain them through peaceful means in return for the foreign commodities that they peddled. To supply the chief markets of black slaves in Egypt and Arabia, Arab traders operated along ancient caravan routes that linked tropical Africa with North Africa, the Red Sea coast and the East African ports of the Indian Ocean. The Egyptian markets were fed by three major caravan routes fanning out of Dar Fur, Sinnar and Fezzan and drawing from a wider hinterland. The first two routes were economically more important than the Fezzan route. A branch of the Sinnar route took an easterly direction, and supplied Arabia with some of its requirements, via the ports of Badi , Aydhab, Suakin and Dahlak or Musawwa . From Abyssinia and East Africa stretched a series of trade routes extending deep into the interior.

Arab commercial activities were not restricted to the slave trade, which was very profitable, but included other items. Besides slaves, Arab traders exported other traditional African products like ivory, cattle, camels, rare skins, gold, ostrich feathers, ebony, civet and a variety of other regional products. (At times slaves and ivory constituted the two major export items, particularly in the nineteenth century. Indeed in certain areas, like East Africa, the Upper Nile and Bahr al -Gnazal, trade in slaves was inseparable from that of ivory).<sup>21</sup> To finance these commercial operations and to meet local demand they imported horses, salt, cloth, copper, metal weapons, beads, mirrors, trinkets and other manufactured goods. At earlier periods imported goods were largely used in bartering for African products rather than being traded for money.

Owing to the vast influx of different types of slaves to the slave markets and subsequently their infiltration into Islamic society, slave dealers gained much experience that enabled them to set the qualities and the deficiencies of the various ethnic groups. Subsequently, it was possible to decide the jobs that were considered best for each category. Factors like place of origin, age, sex, physical appearance, ability and earlier training were all taken into consideration. (For a detailed account for the qualities and function of different slaves, black and whites, readers are referred to Ibn Butlan's treatise on slaves).<sup>22</sup>

Of the generality of slaves handled in the markets, the whites were less in number than the blacks and in time their numbers became very few. Furthermore, the whites were sparingly used in rough employment and were



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generally used in the army, and in higher domestic and administrative positions. Consequently, the white slaves were worth more than the black slaves.

Black slaves were imported largely to fill domestic occupations such as servants, nurses, concubines, eunuchs and business assistants. They were also used as labourers, sailors and soldiers. The house-hold category seemed to constitute, with the exception of black troops at times, the majority of the black slaves; and since no special requirements were needed to qualify for domestic work they were drawn from a wider range of black Africans. However, attractive slave girls were used as concubines.

Those (girls) who showed some keenness for intellectual pursuits or talent for artistic attainments were selected by slave dealers for literary education or musical training. Such slave girls, who were highly prized, were to adorn princely households and entertain their rich owners. Many of the male slaves were employed in positions of trust as business assistants or as agents conducting mercantile activities on behalf of their rich masters. Such roles are amply reflected in Arabic sources and corroborated by the Jewish Geniza.<sup>23</sup>

Other male slaves served as cultivators on their masters' farms, as urban craftsmen, or as workers in building construction. Those who were eunuchs (*tawash*) or castrated slaves (*khisyān*) were highly prized domestic slaves. They were custodians of the womenfolk or *Harim* in the palaces of the Caliphs and other princes: in institution largely modelled on Byzantine practice. Though their basic occupation was guarding the *harim*, some eunuchs were entrusted with senior political posts. Such a trust was probably due to their own personal merits as well as to a lack of a temptation to establish a rival dynasty. The best example is that of Abu -lMisk Kafur, the Nubian or Abyssinian eunuch, who distinguished himself as a trustworthy and competent administrator in the Ikhshidid dynasty for nineteen years, ending in 946.<sup>24</sup> Other eunuchs, known as the *aghawat*, worked as servitors and door keepers at the Holy Mosques in Mecca and Medina. The operation of castration was conducted mostly by Christian priests, and was carried out largely outside the boundaries of *Dar al-Islam* as it is condemned by Islamic Law.<sup>25</sup>

Though the majority of slaves were engaged in household or quasi-domestic employment, there is evidence that some were used in productive activities; the Zanj were employed in large numbers in the ninth century<sup>26</sup> in reclaiming the soil and extracting salt in the lower Euphrates; others were occupied in mining gold and emeralds from the land of the mines in the Eastern Desert of the Sudan, east of the Nile. Also, as a result of Arab penetration into East Africa in the nineteenth century, the Zanzibar clove plantations were manned by slaves,<sup>27</sup> a development similar to the exploitation of slaves in the cotton plantations of the



New World. There is evidence that slaves were used extensively within the Eastern Sudan along the Nile valley. Many Dar Fur documents refer to estates, *Hakura*, with their slaves.<sup>28</sup>

The use of black slaves as soldiers was not an innovation of the Islamic states, but was started in the form of the *Ahbash* of Mecca just before the rise of Islam. Although the early Abbasid Caliphs enrolled some black slaves in their armies, the major expansion came when Caliphs, distrustful of their own subjects, decided to rely on foreign elements who had no attachment except to their masters. Military slaves were initially personal bodyguards, largely from Turkish recruits, and then expanded to include Nubian and other blacks to cover a wider range of military activities. It was for this military function that the Muslim rulers, especially those of Egypt and North Africa, being far from the distant sources of expensive Turkish and other white slaves, tapped the inexhaustible traditional source of black Africans. Black slaves constituted the backbone of the army of the Tulunid (868-905) and Ikhshidid (935-969) principalities of Egypt. The ruler of the first emirate, Ahmad b. Tulun, had 24,000 Turkish slaves and 40,000 Sudanese. The Ikhshids, who had the resourceful eunuch, Kafur, as one of their top officials, swelled the ranks of their army with black troops.<sup>29</sup>

Demand for black slaves continued to flourish during the Fatimid rule (969-1171) where they formed a very large section of the Fatimid army, which came to have a vested interest in the existence of the state itself. At the same time black eunuchs wielded great authority in matters of state.<sup>30</sup> With the coming of the Ayyubids to power (1171-1254) and the disbandment of black troops, a policy that was also adopted by the Mamluks (1254-1517), the white slaves regained their former influential positions in the Egyptian army. Indeed, it was only towards the end of the fifteenth century that black slaves were used in the inferior units that used firearms.<sup>31</sup>

However, demand for black soldiers continued to prosper in other quarters, particularly in the Islamized and Arabized Funj (1504-1821) and the Fur sultanates (1660-1874), where they constituted the core of the armies. In the nineteenth century Egyptian recruitment of black slaves was initiated by the viceroy Muhamad Ali Pasha (1805-1849) who aimed at creating a modern efficient army to enable him to consolidate his position at home and abroad. Following in the steps of his predecessors in establishing slave armies, he advanced up the Nile in a formal conquest and procured thousands of slaves through purchase and annual expeditions, from Sinnar, Kordufan, and further south. Although he abandoned his original plan of a black slave army, the blacks continued to constitute a sizeable section of the Egyptian army throughout the nineteenth century, some of them participating in a French military expedition against Mexico in 1863.

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*Arab Slave Trade with Nubia and the Eastern Sudan*

The movement of slaves down the Nile into Egypt was an ancient phenomenon that was continued by the Arabs when they concluded the Baqt treaty in 651-21.<sup>32</sup> Through the delivery of about 400 Nubian slaves annually the Arab world became well acquainted with the Nubians and began to favour them as household employees. Such an attitude is reflected in two traditions attributed to the Prophet Muhammad: "Your best captives are the Nubians", and "He who has no friend should take a friend from the Nubians". However it was their fighting qualities as excellent bowmen that won admiration, and recommended them for selection as slave troops.

With the increase in demand for slaves, Arab traders penetrated deep into the Christian kingdom of Nubia and Alawa to acquire slaves. However, in view of the special position of Nubia in Muslim international law, the task of obtaining slaves from that country was not an easy one. Muslim lawyers seem to have regarded stealing or capturing Nubians by Muslims as unlawful. Yet as an expediency Muslims were allowed to buy those enslaved by their own kings or kidnapped by one group from another.

The arid, inhospitable nature of the Nubian terrain and its sparse population could not have sufficed to supply the large numbers of Nubian slaves that were needed by the Muslim world. Indeed the Nubians delivered the *Baqt* from those captured from the territories of their southern neighbours. Bearing in mind that the terms *Nuba* and *Sudan* were synonymously<sup>33</sup> applied to both the Nubians and other blacks from *Bilad al Sudan* only, a limited number of slaves were probably imported from Nubia itself. The bulk of these blacks were procured from regions further south which we have equated above with sub-Saharan Africa, lying to the south-west of Nubia.<sup>34</sup>

Although Arabic sources are silent about the exact areas from which slaves were obtained one may still glean a few hints. Describing the black slaves sold in the Islamic world in the tenth century A.D. , the Arab geographer al-Istakhri (d.951-2) states that they were not Nubians, Beja, Abyssinians nor Zanj, but were a darker people who came from beyond *Bilad al-Nuba* and who lived in the wide stretch of land that extended to the great ocean.<sup>35</sup> Nasri Khusru too said that the large numbers of black slaves which he saw in Fatimid Egypt were procured from a region south of Nubia.<sup>36</sup> The beginning of the region seems to correspond roughly with Kordofan, Dar Fur and Bahr al-Ghazal which constituted the fringes (or entrance) of the hinterland for obtaining black slaves. It was, to begin with, from Nubia that the first slaves were obtained and with the increase in demand traders pushed slowly in a southerly and westerly direction until they reached the Bornu-Wadai and other adjacent lands in the Central *Bilad al-Sudan*.

These regions remained a major source of black slaves throughout medieval times and well towards the end of the nineteenth century. It was from this region that the bulk of the slave traffic passed northwards, through Nubia and through what came to be known as the *Dar al-Arba'in* or the Forty Days Road into Egyptian markets, and eastward across the Red Sea ports into Arabian slave markets. Taking the few examples mentioned in mediaeval Arabic sources as a guide one can safely say that the numbers of the *Sudan* slaves imported into the Islamic World were very large. Besides the numerous slaves that were employed as domestic servants there were about 40,000 black soldiers in the Tulunid army; no less than 50,000 black soldiers fought against Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi in support of the Fatimid state.<sup>37</sup>

The selling prices of slaves, on which we have very little information, may not indicate the real value, because quoted prices were normally exceptional, and because of a lack of any comparative study with prices of other types of merchandise.<sup>38</sup> Yet it may help to quote a few examples. The average price for a slave in the middle of the eighth century A.D. was 200 Dirham.<sup>39</sup> A century later after his extensive campaigns in Nubia, the captives of al-'Umari were sold at very cheap prices in Aswan. Although the author does not give any figures, he stated that in the wake of these campaigns, a fighter could pay for a hair-cut with a slave.<sup>40</sup> The famous Nubian eunuch, Kafur, was purchased for eighteen Dinars in 924, which was considered very little by contemporary standards. Indeed the price of a 'good' negro from East Africa in Uman was between twenty and thirty Dinars.<sup>41</sup> The same price was paid for an average black slave in the Byzantine Empire. However when al-Shib Ibn Abbad, the Abbasid Vizier, paid four hundred Dinars for a Nubian slave, what was considered excessive.<sup>42</sup> According to Jewish sources a girl engaged in domestic service in Egypt was sold for fifteen Dinars in 1084, and another was purchased for twenty Dinars in 1108. A third Nubian woman, together with her little daughter, fetched twenty-eight Dinars at al-Fustat in 1094.<sup>43</sup>

A third Nubian woman, together with her little daughter, fetched twenty-eight Dinars at al-Fustat in 1094.<sup>43</sup>

Existing information about the general organization of the slave trade in mediaeval times is seriously deficient. However, the picture becomes clearer after European travellers began to traverse more frequently the Funj kingdom in the Eastern Sudan in the eighteenth century.<sup>44</sup> Yet it seems that despite the apparent decline in the demand for black slaves after the Ayyubid dynasty, the flow of slaves for domestic purposes from Sinnar, Kurdofan and Dar Fur to Egypt and the Red Sea ports was as great as before. The rise of Islamic states in Sinnar and Dar Fur gave the region a measure of unity and stability that facilitated commercial transactions and seems also to have contributed towards the

emergence of a group of native traders called the *Jallaba*. The Nilotic *Jallaba* were by the seventeenth century in full control of the Sinnar and Dar Fur trade and they acted as exporters of slaves to Egyptian markets and to the Hadariba in Sawakin.

The term *Jallaba*, a collective Arabic term for petty traders, signifies an occupation rather than an ethnic group. It has been associated in Egyptian usage, probably since Mamluk times, with slave traders. The earliest description of these *Jallaba* occurs in *Seyahetnamesi* of the famous Turkish traveller Evlia Celebi. He portrayed them as dark-skinned people of the districts of Ibrim, Aswan and the Oases.<sup>45</sup> It is significant that caravan routes cut across these districts, and the first two lay on the southern Egyptian border. The same dark-skinned elements seem to have continued to dominate the Cairo guild of slave traders as late as 1890. Those *Jallaba* were by origin Egyptians from Upper Egypt and the Buhayra province, Maghrabis<sup>46</sup> and some were Sudanese domiciled in Cairo. However, the Danaqla, the Mahas (Nubian) and Sinnaris (or Ja'aliyyin) "seem first to have opened the direct communication between Egypt and Dar Fur".<sup>47</sup> The preponderance of the Danaqla and other Arabized Nubians, particularly the Ja'aliyyin in most of the commercial towns of the Eastern Sudan was noticed by most European travellers.<sup>48</sup>

The ascendancy of the Nilotic Sudanese *Jallaba* and particularly that of the Danaqla is probably a consequence of the local position that Dunqula occupied on the trade routes that crossed the Bayuda desert from Sinnar, Shendi and Kordofan to Egypt. As middlemen in the trade between Sinnar and Egypt the Danaqla and the Ja'aliyyin of Shendi acquired commercial experience and accumulated enough capital to venture into new lands. Indeed the disruption of trade caused by the rise of the Shayqiyya (and of nomadic Arabs) in the eighteenth century forced the Danaqla to migrate to Kordufan and Dar Fur.<sup>49</sup> This migration apparently led to the development of a brisk trade between Dar Fur and Egypt via the Forty Days Road. By the nineteenth century Nilotic Sudanese *Jallaba* pushed into southern Kordufan and Dar Fur and later penetrated into Bahr al-Ghazal and the White Nile. From Sinnar, the capital of the Funj Kingdom, a regular trade caravan proceeded twice a year to the north through Qarri, the capital of the Abdallab chiefs, either directly across the Bayuda Desert or from another point down the Nile, (usually Shendi) to Dunqula, Salima and Asyut in Upper Egypt. But owing to the chaotic state of affairs alluded to earlier, which prevailed from about 1770, traders abandoned this standard route. It then ran from Sinnar via Shendi to Berber across the Nubian Desert, under the protection of the 'Ababda Arabs, to Ibrim, Daraw and Isna in Upper Egypt. An easterly branch of the Sinnar route went either directly from Sinnar or through Shendi, to Qoz Rajab on the river Atbara and Kasala to

Sawakin. Describing Sinnar in about 1702, Father Krump writes, "in all Africa, as far as the Moorish lands are concerned, Sinnar is close to being the greatest trading city. Caravans are continually arriving from Nubia, from across the Red Sea from India, Ethiopia, Dar Fur, Brnu, from Cairo, Duncula, Frezzan and other Kingdoms... Furthermore, every day at the public market... slave-men and women of every age are sold like cattle".<sup>50</sup>

These slaves were chiefly either Nuba or Abyssinians. The first category were acquired primarily by raiding the pagan tribes of the Nuba Mountains in Kordofan and from other tribes on the Abyssinian border. Some of these slaves were also obtained from the servile Nuba settled in the neighbourhood of Sinnar. The second category, Abyssinian slaves, were chiefly Galla and Amhara. Females were either captured from the border region or were sold by the Abyssinian merchants called *Jabarta*. The *Jabarta*, who were Muslims, were also in the habit of buying black slaves from Sinnar and selling them together with Abyssinian slaves at Masawwa' and Jedda.<sup>51</sup> Black slaves from the Nuba mountains were probably more numerous than the Abyssinians.<sup>52</sup>

Although we have no detailed information about the manner by which native slaves were acquired, it seems that the Funj Kings, unlike the Fur sultans, were not particularly involved in acquiring them nor did they participate in the conduct of trade. Hence the riverain *Jallaba* had a free hand in commercial transactions except for the competition of the *Hadriba* (the Arabized Beja of Sawakin) and the *Jabarta* to a lesser extent.

The commercial ascendancy of Sinnar, though assured by its commanding a wider hinterland, was drastically affected by the Funj - Fur rivalry over Kordofan and by the Shilluk raids, which rendered the Sinnar-al-Obeid-Kobbie caravan route unsafe. Thus that trade took on a northerly direction into Shendi. In 1773 Bruce found Shendi a large commercial centre.<sup>53</sup> But by the beginning of the nineteenth century it had attained such great commercial importance that Burckhardt described it as having succeeded Sinnar as the grand rendezvous of the Nubian caravans, and the most important market for "Ethiopian" commerce, which consisted chiefly of slaves and camels collected from Dar Fur and Abyssinia.<sup>54</sup> At the time of Burckhardt's visit to Shendi, it was inhabited by the Ja'aliyyin, "who appear to be a nation of traders from Duncula, Sinnar, Kordofan, Dar Fur, Sawakin, Egypt, and Arabia (esp. Yanbu) regions with which it had direct commercial contacts". Burckhardt noticed that the furthest limit of this trade in the west appears to have been Dar Salay, or perhaps Bagirmi, "From the occurrence of all these traders" Burckhardt writes, "Shendi

has become the first commercial town in the black countries for the Egyptian and Arabian slave trade".<sup>55</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising that he devotes more than twenty pages of his journal to describing the nature of the trade.

Besides the Nuba of Sinnar and Abyssinia, most of the slaves offered for sale at Shendi came from the pagan regions in the vicinity of Dar Fur, Bornu and Dar Silla particularly from among the Fertit, the Banda, the Fatigo and the Bagja. The distances involved suggest that slaves changed masters several times before they reached their final destination. A thousand slaves were carried off by the merchants of Sawakin, fifteen hundred were sent off to Egypt and the remainder were absorbed locally.<sup>56</sup> It should be noted, however, that two French sources estimated the number of slaves imported by the Sinnar caravan to Cairo towards the end of the eighteenth century at 300-400 and 150 respectively.<sup>57</sup>

Slaves destined for Arabia were bought at Shendi, Sinnar or El-Obeid chiefly by the Hadriba, the richest and the most numerous of the Arab (or Arabized) traders, in exchange for Indian goods. From Sawakin, the most important slave trading centre after Cairo and Masawaa', they were shipped to the Hijaz and Yemen.<sup>58</sup>

However, by the end of the eighteenth century the commercial prominence of Shendi as an axis of the north-south and east-west trade route was eclipsed by the Fur caravans that carried trade to Egypt through *Dar al-Arba'in*.<sup>59</sup> The earliest mention of this road dates back to 1689. It was also described in some detail by Browne, who had access to a register of slave caravans that had arrived in Cairo since 1150/1735.<sup>60</sup> *Darb al-Arba'in*, the artery of the Fur to Egypt started at first from Ure which disappeared in the seventeenth century; Kobbie superseded it after about 1750 and hence it became the chief commercial centre. The other main trade centre for trade was Kabkabiyya. From Kobbie the road proceeded to Suwayri, the last border point. Then it ran across the desert via Salima Oasis, the meeting point with the Sinnar-Shendi route, and finally through the Kharija Oases to Asyut. It was a relatively safe route. In these commercial centres, merchants (*Jallaba*) from the riverain Sudan for example the Ja'aliyin and the Danagla, had intermarried with the local population.<sup>61</sup> Trade caravans were chiefly financed and organized by these traders. Yet the ultimate control of the long distance trade, its organization and safety seem to have rested with the Sultan, without whose permission no caravan could leave Kobbie. The caravan was normally led by the Sultan himself.<sup>62</sup> Indeed the Sultan, as the chief merchant in his country, despatched with every caravan his own merchandise and employed his own slaves or representatives to trade on his own account in Egypt and other neighbouring countries. At times he despatched his own caravan



to Cairo.<sup>63</sup> The reason for state intervention was probably the need of the Dar Fur sultans for slaves for their own use. It seems that a large number of the slaves obtained either through tributes paid to the sultan or in raids authorized by him, were kept for the Sultan's use. The rest were sold for trade. In Dar Fur (as well as in Wadai), slaves were largely procured from pagan areas to the south which extended approximately between Bahr al-Ghazal in the east and Adawawa in the west. Browne stated that they were obtained from Dar Kulla (Goula), Dar Runga, and Gnem-Gnum, the latter perhaps referring to the Kreish or the northern Azandi. According to al-Tunisi, these slaves were imported from Dar Gonla, Dar Ronton, Bynga Chala, Bendeh, and Farah.<sup>64</sup> Burckhardt stated, as mentioned above, that they were imported from among the Fertit, Banda, and the unidentified Fatigo and Baaga.<sup>65</sup> This last name might have referred to the Baygo, who originally lived on the Bahr al-Ghazal and who supplied a maiden as a tribute to the Fur sultan. However, on the accession of Sultan Muhammad al-F adl (1802-1839), whose mother was a Baygo, the whole tribe was declared free.<sup>66</sup>

Indeed it was customary in Dar Fur and Wadai to pay tribute in the form of slaves acquired in raids or trade in the above-mentioned regions. However, unlike the sultan of Wadai who had some officials assigned to raiding special regions for the benefit of the sultan, the Fur sultan hardly carried out any raids. He normally resorted to issuing a permit, called *selate'a* (*salatiya*)<sup>67</sup> that is "an armed expedition for the purpose of acquiring slaves" from the south or south-west. Such a permit was granted to an individual who could raise the necessary capital to defray the cost of such an undertaking. On completing the expedition, the organizer would pay the sultan one-fifth of the proceeds in kind.<sup>68</sup>

Before his departure to the assigned area for raids, the organizer would have to recruit men and secure the necessary capital for provisions. Furthermore, because many slaves were actually purchased in the southern region, he would have to furnish himself with the trade commodities required for barter such as cloth, salt, copper armbands and beads. It was the *Jallaba* group which normally advanced the required credit. To secure the maximum profit, some *Jallaba* would accompany the expedition, where they would gain more slaves for their capital than if they opted to remain behind. The size of the expedition depended largely on the credit that the leaders of the *salatiya* could raise from their financier. Some leaders secured capital for obtaining about five hundred slaves. It was also reported that about sixty *Salatias* were conducted each year.<sup>69</sup> As soon as the *salatiya* reached the assigned area, a *Zariba*, a fenced enclosure, was constructed in which to keep the captured or purchased slaves.<sup>70</sup> This method of procuring slaves was established by the beginning of the nineteenth century, and in certain areas, five decades later, semi-permanent commercial settlements, called *daym*, (singular) were developed over the region, as far as the White Nile.



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The Baqqara Arabs of Southern Dar Fur and the Fulani immigrants used to undertake raids for slaves.<sup>71</sup> They sold them to merchants or gave them as tribute to the sultan. At the same time, other *Jallaba*, with as little capital as a donkey-load of goods, went to the south to trade among the pagan tribes. Others representing the richer *Jallaba* of Fur and Kordofan followed suit. By the middle of the nineteenth century they settled near the *zaribas* and *dayms*, acting as middlemen between the *Jallaba* of the north and the sources of slaves in the south.<sup>72</sup> The Fertit who were visited by these *jallaba*, according to Burckhardt, were in the habit of selling their children to procure *dhurra* (sorghum) and *dukhun* (bulrush millet).<sup>73</sup>

While obtaining most of their requirements from the leaders of the *salatayas*, the *Jallaba* also purchased slaves from local merchants. In Dar Gola, for example, where a crime was punishable by enslaving the children (or younger relations) of the wrongdoer, a slave was bought by the Dar Fur merchants for a few pounds of salt.<sup>74</sup>

The number of slaves that was collected in Dar Fur whether by raid or trade is difficult to determine. However, the number of those exported to Egypt might give an idea of the magnitude of the numbers involved in such traffic. Browne estimated that a caravan that carried one thousand slaves was considered large. Yet his own caravan that took him to Egypt in 1796, had five thousand slaves.<sup>75</sup> According to a French writer who accompanied Napoleon Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, the annual import of slaves was 3,000. A second French scholar, Girard, basing his estimates on the year 1799, stated that 5,000-6,000 were imported every year from Dar Fur. Yet Lapanous, a third French scholar, who based his estimations on the year 1800, in which the son of the Fur sultan led a caravan to Egypt, put it as high as 12,000 slaves.<sup>76</sup>

Whatever value we might attach to their estimates, they clearly indicated a rise in demand for black slaves in Egypt. Since 1796, the rulers of Egypt had requested the Fur sultan four times to send them more slaves. The Mamluks sent a representative in 1796, and Napoleon despatched two letters in 1798 and in 1800 asking for four thousand slaves.<sup>77</sup> And in 1918 Muhammad Ali Pasha sent a trade mission to Dar Fur and Waday for the same purpose. The rise in demand was not caused by the domestic needs of Egypt and other countries for black slaves, but was probably due to the revival of the long-forgotten practice of recruiting black slaves as soldiers. Muhammad Ali's desire to acquire black slaves from Dar Fur foreshadowed his conquest of the Sudan in 1821 to achieve his objective of recruiting black soldiers.

It was the *Jallaba* group that played a key role in this long distance trade; they acted as middlemen between the sources of slaves and foreign markets. Their

ascendency, however, was by no means solely dependent on slaves but rested on a variety of other commodities. (Furthermore, their trade activities were not restricted to Dar Fur or the *Darb al-Arba'in* but extended to a number of commercial centres in Waday, particularly Nirmo). Except for a brief interruption between 1810 and 1817, the *Jallaba* continued to operate through the *Darb al-Arba'in* to meet the rising demand in Egypt. However, by the 1830s the trade that proceeded through that route began to dwindle for two reasons. Firstly, the route was infested with robbers between Kordofan and Dar Fur. Secondly, a new class of dealers appeared who, operating south of Dar Fur, transported their slaves largely across Kordofan into al-Obayid with the deterioration in relations between the Turco-Egyptian Administration and the Fur Sultanate. This deterioration of political relations led to the conquest of Dar Fur in 1874, and with the increasing international demand for the abolition of slave-trade, the fate of the *Darb al-Arba'in* was doomed.

The Turco-Egyptian conquest of 1821 initiated a new phase in the history of the slave trade in the Sudan. To begin with the Egyptian Government had a vested interest in acquiring black slaves to maintain a regular supply for its army. Indeed, prior to the conquest, in the year 1235 A. H. /1819-20 A.D., Muhammed Ali Pasha declared a state monopoly of all Sudanese imports including slaves, ivory, gum, and took control of *Wakkalat al-Jallaba*, the slave trade guild that handled the sale of slaves in Cairo.<sup>78</sup>

No sooner had the conquest been accomplished than the Government undertook sporadic raids to gather slaves, particularly in the Funj Region and the Nuba Mountains. Such raids became periodic and more organized between 1824 and 1832. In 1826 the first party was sent against the Shilluk on the White Nile. In the following year a similar raid was sent against the Dinka from whom five hundred people were captured.<sup>79</sup> In a third campaign in an undeveloped area about five thousand captives were taken; half of these were retained by the government and the rest were given to the soldiers, probably in lieu of salaries. They, in turn, sold them to the Danaqla traders, who at times bought slaves from independent pagan chiefs.<sup>80</sup> The tremendous gain that the Turco-Egyptian officials, serving in the Sudan, made from such campaigns widened the scope of interested parties in slavery. Besides the government, the Turco-Egyptian employees and the *Jallaba* had yet another competitor, the European merchants. As early as 1838, a Frenchman was reported shipping boatloads of slaves down the Nile into Egypt.<sup>81</sup> The *Jallaba* were possibly squeezed out of business partly because of the state monopoly on Sudanese exports that was extended into the Sudan in 1824, and which was lifted in 1848. They also suffered from the competition of the European traders who were allowed to trade in the Sudan.

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The European traders, though welcoming the abolition of the monopoly, resented their exclusion from the lucrative ivory trade. Ivory was chiefly collected by government expeditions while opening a trade route up the White Nile. By 1851 European traders were given permission to send private expeditions up the White Nile to collect ivory, and by 1859 no less than 80 boats left Khartoum for that purpose.<sup>82</sup>

The European traders, who were chiefly interested in ivory, did not engage themselves in the slave trade at first. Their first field of activity was in Bari country. But owing to a number of factors that are beyond the scope of this paper, the situation soon deteriorated into open hostility. Hence, instead of the desired mutual commercial co-operation, Europeans resorted to raiding the "hostile tribes" to secure ivory.

In these raids European traders procured two other commodities: slaves and cattle. Both of these items proved most useful, and essential to the process of acquiring ivory. To fortify themselves against their enemies, the European traders constructed *zaribas* which were used as garrison posts and commercial centres. They also recruited large numbers of armed retainers from the Arabized northern Sudanese to help in launching attacks. Hence, the slaves were sold to meet the running cost of these *zaribas*: particularly wages of the retainers, porters, servants and other domestic requirements. Cattle were used for bartering for ivory from the Dinka and the Nuer. Indeed, with the growing scarcity of ivory in the accessible regions of Bahr al Jabal and the high rates of interest charged by the creditors in Khartoum, ivory traders could hardly have made ends meet from ivory alone. Henceforth the slave trade became an inseparable part of the ivory trade. The *zariba*-owners began to trade in slaves. Some were sold locally while others were shipped down the river to Khartoum.<sup>83</sup> However, by 1863, the pioneering European traders had withdrawn from the White Nile as their place was taken up by an increasing number of Arabs from the North. Their withdrawal also led to the emergence of merchant princes, in areas outside government control, on the White Nile. In pursuit of ivory, they resorted to slave-trading to recoup their losses. The most successful among them was Muhammad Ahmad al-Aqqad, the Egyptian trader<sup>84</sup>

At about the same time, the region of Bahr al-Gazal had witnessed a similar development in the ivory-slave trade, albeit with one major difference. No European traders were involved and the trade was mostly controlled by Arabs from Egypt, Syria and the Sudan. Contacts between the north-western part of this region, Kordofan and Dar Fur were ancient. Reference has already been made to the Fur and Baqqara Arabs' raids among the Fertit and in Bahr al-Jabal, and also to the trading activities of the *Jallaba*. These itinerant traders exchanged

their small capital of cotton cloth, beads and copper for ivory and slaves. Their success depended largely on the good will of local chiefs to whom they paid tolls.<sup>85</sup> They had indirect land routes to Kobbie and al-Obayid. This traditional pattern of trade, where the slave trade was the dominant factor, was altered with the opening of the river route to Khartoum in about 1850.

With the discovery of the new route, Egyptian, Syrian and later Sudanese merchants rushed for ivory. Like their counterparts in Bahr al-Jabal, they constructed *zaribas* and employed armed retainers from the north. They operated among the docile tribes living between the Dinka and the Azande territories. However, when local stocks of ivory were exhausted they penetrated, with the help of their armed retainers or slave troops, farther afield, across the Nile-Congo watershed and finally into the Congo itself. The whole region became dotted with commercial fenced settlements. Some of the more powerful merchants who possessed large and well organized trading facilities owned numerous *zaribas*. In the wake of their raids against local tribes to secure ivory, merchants plundered cattle and slaves, as was the case in the White Nile. Here too, the slave-trade became an integral part of the ivory trade.

These merchant princes included Egyptian Copts, like Abdal-Msih Ghattas, Egyptian Muslims like Ali Abu Amuri and Qindawi Bey; the Moroccan Muhammad al-Bilali and the Tunisian Kucuk 'Ali. From the Sudan the most important was al - Zubayr Rahma al-Mansur, a Ja'ali Arab who from Daym al-Zubayr controlled a vast enterprise in western Bahr al-Ghazal.

The ordinary *Jallaba* who once constituted the spearhead of Arab commercial activities in the region found protection and tremendous opportunities for trade around the *zaribas*. Although some of them continued to peddle with insignificant capital, others became agents of the wealthy merchants of Dar Fur and Kordufan. By the late 1860s the association of these *Jallaba* with the *zariba's* owners led to an extensive slave-trade which was used to supply the slave - markets of Kordufan and Dar Fur and ultimately those of Egypt and Arabia. Indeed, the number of slaves who proceeded north from Bahr al-Ghazal were greater than these sent by river from the White Nile<sup>86</sup>

The increasing commercial exploitation of the southern Sudan, which brought in its wake a brisker slave trade, also combined with mounting efforts to curb that evil. Although the Turco-Egyptian rulers of the Sudan had for some time been trying to ban the slave trade, their efforts were unsuccessful. The conclusion of the Anglo-Egyptian slave trade convention in August 1877 provided an effective framework for terminating slave-trade in the Sudan by 1889. Though the slave - trade continued to exist, the sealing off of all the roads that carried slaves outside the Sudan helped in eliminating this evil.

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Slavery and the slave-trade were finally eradicated by the Condominium Government at the beginning of this century, thus bringing to a close a long chapter of suffering in history of the peoples of Eastern *Bilad al-Sudan*.

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- \* This article is a revised version of a paper read at the Middle Eastern Studies Programme, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1974.
1. For further discussion of slavery in pre-Islamic Arabia see R. Brunschvig, "Abd", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, I, pp. 24-26.
  2. Awn al-Sharif Qasim, "Al-Sudan fi hayat al-Arab", *Majalat al-Dirasat al-Sudaniyya*, I, i, 1968, pp. 76-78.
  3. Ibn Butlan, al-Mukhtar b. al-Hasan, *Risala fi sharyy al-rafiq wa taqlib al-abid*, (Cairo, 1954), 371-380.
  4. Al-Jahiz, *Fakhr al-Sudan 'ala al-Bidan, Rasail al-Jahiz* (Cairo, 1903) pp. 64, 77, 79. The curious inclusion of the Chinese among the Sudan reflects the imperfect knowledge that was current at the time. It is perhaps like the modern European concept of coloured people.
  5. Yusuf Fadl Hasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan* (Edinburgh, 1967); B. Lewis, *Race and Colour In Islam*, (London, 1971), p. 30; sometimes, too, the Fazazina of Fezzan are added to this list.
  6. Al-Hamadani, Muhammad b. Ahmad, *Sifat Jazirat al Arab* (London, 1884), pp. 1, 41.
  7. R. Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, *Encyclopedia of Islam* I, p. 32; other groups include the Hadarib of Sawakin and Jabarta of Abyssinia.
  8. R. Brunschvig, *op. cit. Ency. of Islam*, I, 30.
  9. Yusuf Fadl Hasan, *op. cit* pp. 46-47.
  10. *Ibid*, pp. 22, 46.
  11. Umara al-Yamani, *Tarikh al-Yaman* (Cairo, 1957), p. 40.
  12. Severus or Abu Mishar Sawirus b. al Muqaffa, *Tarikh hatariqat al Kanisa al-Misriyya* (Cairo, 1961), I pt. ii, p. 158.
  13. Nasiri Khusraw, *Safar Nama* (Cairo, 1945), p. 73; a similar activity was reported in East Africa. According to al-Idrisi (1110-1165) the Arab geographer, Arab traders lured children of the Zanj with dates until they captured them and transported them into their own countries. Egyptian merchants were reported to steal children of the "Sudan" and sell them in Egypt. (*Opus Geographicum*, Rome, 1970, I, pp. 60-61).
  14. Al-Qalqashandi, Ahmad b. Abdallah, *Subh al-A'sha fi Sin at al-insha*, (Cairo, 1913-19), VIII, pp. 116-118.
  15. *Hudud al 'Alam*. In an attempt to ward off such indiscriminate attacks and to guard against kidnapping of Muslim children in the newly Islamized eastern Sudan, the Arabized population adopted certain facial marks as a means of differentiating themselves from others and possibly to protect them from slavery; See Yusuf Fadl Hasan, *Al-Shulukh* (Khartoum, 1976).
  16. Al-Maqrizi, Ahmad b. Ali, *Al-Mawa'iz wa'L-i tibar bidhikr al Khitat wa'l-athar* (Cairo, 1922-4), III, p. 254.
  17. Yagut, b. Abdalla al-Hamawi, *Kitab mu jam al-Buldan*, (Leipzig 1866-70), I v. p. 820.

## SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

18. al-Idrisi, Muhammad B. Abd al-Aziz, *Sifat al-maghrib wa-ard al-Sudan wa Misr wa al-Andalus*, (Leiden, 1964), 26.
19. Al-Ya qubi, Ahmad b. Wadih, *Kitab al-Buldan* (Leiden, 1892), VII, p. 345.
20. Leo Africanus, Al-Hasan B. Muhammad al-Wazan, *The History and Description of Africa (Wasf Afriqiya'* Arabic edition, Al-Riyad, 1399 A.H.) p. 454. Professor R. Pankhurst informed me that the Abyssinian clergy were also accused by some of enslaving children and selling them to purveyors of slaves.
21. See pp. 101-2 below
22. Ibn Butlan, al-Mukhtar b. al-Hasan, *Risala fi sharyy al-raqiq wa taqlib al-abid*, (Cairo, 1954).
23. Goitein, S.D., *A Mediterranean Society*, (University of California, Los Angeles), I, pp. 132-34.
24. Yusuf Fadl Hasan, *op. cit.* p. 47.
25. See, Burckhardt, J.L., *Travels in Nubia*, (London, 1819), pp. 294--6.
26. Al-Yaqubi, *op. cit.* p. 344.
27. In the same century some slaves were employed as crews on Arab dhows in Lake Tanganyika and near Suez.
28. R.S. O'Fahey, "Slavery and the Slave Trade in Dar Fur", *Journal of African History*, xlv, I (1973) pp. 29-43.
29. Yusuf Fadl Hasan, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
30. Yusuf Fadl Hasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.
31. B. Lewis. *op. cit.* p. 75; Aylon, D., *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom*, (London, 1956), p. 66.
32. For a detailed study on the Baqt Treaty see Yusuf Fadl Hassan, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-28; Professor J.M. Plumley has dug up some 250 Arabic documents from Qasr Ibrim dating 7th-9th centuries. They include many references to slaves. One document refers to the Baqt treaty see, J.M. Plumley, "An Eight Century Arabic Letter to the King of Nubia", *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Volume 61, 1975, pp. 241-245.
33. Yusuf Fadl Hasan, *op. cit.* pp. 20-26, 42-46.
34. See, Burckhardt, J.L., *Travels in Nubia*, (London, 1819), pp. 294-6.
35. Al-Istakhri, Ibrahim b. Muhammad, *Kitab Masalik al-Mamalik*, Leiden, 1870), pp. 41-42.
36. Nasri Khusru, *op. cit.* p. 46.
37. Yusuf Fadl Hasan, *op. cit.*, 44, 47, 48.
38. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 'Abd', I, 32.
39. Mez, A. *Die Renaissance des Islam*, Arabic edition, Abu Rayda, M.A. *Asr al-Nahda fi al - Islam*, (Cairo, 1957), p. 279.
40. Al-Maqrizi, Ahmad b. Ali, *Al Mugaffa*, quoted in Mustafa M. Musad, *al-Maktaba al Sudaniyya* (Cairo, 1972), p.357.

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41. Abu'l-Faraj al-Asfahani, *Kitab al-Aghani*, (Cairo, 1927), III, 55.
42. Ibn Al-Wardi, Siraj al-Din B. Hafs, *Kitab Kharidal Al-Aua ib*, quoted in Mustafa Muhammad Musad, *Al-Maktaba al-Sudaniyya*, (Cairo, 1972) p. 373.
43. Goitein, *op. cit.* p. 137, see also fn. 64 p. 434.
44. There is some information on the Funj-Sawakin slave trade, in Turkish sources; see, Gengis Orhonlu, *Hasas Eyaleti*, (Istanbul 1974).
45. Evlia Celebi, *Seyahetnamesi, Misir, Habesh*, 1672-1680, X, (Istanbul, 1938), p. 382.
46. Gabriel Beer, "Slavery in Nineteenth Century Egypt", *Journal of African History*, VIII (1967) p. 427.
47. W.G. Bröwne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria* (London, 1806), pp. 271-273.
48. For example, Browne, *op. cit.*; p. 272, G. Nachtigal, *Sahara and Sudan*, IV, p. 456; J.L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, (London, 1819), p. 298.
49. J. Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, (Dublin, 1791), V. pp. 244, 269, 271, 281, 283, 299, 300, Browne, *op. cit.*, pp. 272, 278,.
50. Krump, Theodore, *Hoher und Fruchtbare Palm-Baum des Heiligen Evangelij* (Augsburg, 1710), relevant portions translated by J. Spaulding, *The Sudanese Travels of Theodore Krump 1700-1702*, Hambata Publications, (New York, 1979), p.39
51. Burckhard, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-311.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 310.
53. Yusuf Fadl Hassan, *Muqaddima fi ta'rikh al-Mamalik al-Islamiyya fi al-Sudan al-Sharqi*, (Beirut, 1973)
54. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 310.
55. Burckhardt, *Journal of the Proceedings of Mr. Burckhardt in Egypt and Nubia*, (VIII, 1820), p. 41.
56. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 322, 324.
57. Bear, *op. cit.*, *Journal of African History*, VIII, 426.
58. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, 320, 321, 349.
59. D'Anania, G.L., *L'Universale, Fabrica del Mondo, overo cosmografia*, (Venice, 1582), another is D'Albano, G, *Historia della missione Francescana in Alto-Egitto-Funji Etiopia, 168-1710*, ed. Father G. Giamberardini, (Cairo, 1961), pp. 47-48.
60. Browne: *op. cit.*, p. 346.
61. P.M. Holt, *A modern History of the Sudan* (London, 1967), p. 30.
62. Dr. R.S. O'Fahey informed me that by about 1850 there were twenty-thirty merchants who were called *Khabirs*, and who had their own *zaribas* or enclosures at Kobbie.
63. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 346.
64. al-Tunisi, Mohamed Ibn Omer, *Voyage on Ouaday* (Paris, 1851), p. 483.



65. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 322.
66. H.A. Macmichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, London, 1912), 1/279.
67. A *salatiya* is broad-bladed spear used by the Baggara.
68. Browne, *Op. cit.*, pp. 242-243. This raid is also known as *ghazwa*.
69. El Tunisi, *Voyage an Ouaday*, p.p. 468-9 481-3.
70. The *Salatiya /Ghazwa* pattern of raiding later developed into the *Bahara. Zariba* pattern.
71. Both the Rezayqat and the Habbaniyya Baqqara kept slaves known as the Bandala or Mandala see G.K.C. Hebbert, "The Bandala of Bahr al-Ghazal", *Sudan Notes and Records*, VIII (1925) pp. 187-94; see also Nachtigal, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
72. Al-Tunisi *Voyage au Waday*, pp. 472-473.
73. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 290.
74. Browne, *op. cit.*, pp. 354, 355.
75. *Ibid.*, pp. 282, 298, 342.
76. See Bear. *op. cit.*, *Journal of African History*, VIII 3, p. 426.
77. Herold, C. *Bonaparte in Egypt*, (London, 1963), p. 212.
78. Bear. *op. cit.*, *Journal of African History*, VIII, 3, p. 429.
79. R. Hill. *Egypt in the Sudan*, (London. 1959), pp. 62-64.
80. R. Grey. *A History of the Southern Sudan, 1838-1889*, (London. 1961), p. 5.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
82. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.
83. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-52;
84. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-53; G.N. Sanderson. *England, Europe and the Upper Nile* (Edinburgh. 1965), p. 6-7.
85. One of the most important local chiefs who dealt in the slave trade was the Azandi chief Mopoi. "Mopoi established a trading monopoly through out his extensive domains... He continued to receive fire arms ammunition and trade goods in return for thousands upon thousands of slaves which he obtained either from the "slave tribes" that he had subjected or by raids he organized against surrounding nation" see Grey. *op. cit.*, p. 68.
86. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-69.