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THE TRADE BETWEEN EGYPT AND BILAD AS-SUDAN,
1700 - 1820

by

Terence Mele
Ph.D., Boston University
1975

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
1975
Header's Approval Sheet

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A great number of people helped me in the preparation of this dissertation, but I cannot name more than I am grateful. Thanks must first of all be given to the Deputy Minister in charge of the Nāṣirīs Maqāṣṣids of Cairo for granting me permission to work in the archives of the Old religious courts, and to the head of that archives (Dastarghīns), Mr. Muḥammad Šāhīn ad-Dūnī. Special thanks are reserved for Mr. Ṣafuṣ ad-Dīn Rāshīd, an assistant in the archive, whose extensive knowledge of Old Arābic script, legal phrasing, architectural terms, place-names and former street names of "Grand Cairo" made him an invaluable source in himself. At the Ministry of Awār (Kasīf), I am indebted to Dr. 'Ala' ad-Dīn Ṣa'idī, Minister of Awār, who allowed me to work in its Dastarghīns. I am also grateful to Mr. Fātūm Ṣa'di, an assistant in the ministry's architectural department, for sharing his knowledge of material ṭarqīq, and to Mr. Ḫālid al-Muṣṭafī, of the Photographic Division.

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BOSTON UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

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THE TRADE BETWEEN EGYPT AND BILD AS-SUDAN,
1700 - 1920
(Order No. )

Terence Watz, Ph. D.
Boston University Graduate School, 1975
Major Professor: Louis Breiner, Professor of History

ABSTRACT

"The Trade between Egypt and BILD AS-SUDAN, 1700-1920"

The contacts between Egypt and BILD AS-SUDAN, the land of the blacks, are ancient but not very well known. This dissertation examines an aspect of these contacts by studying the trade between the two African regions during the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century. The period was selected because it was a time of interesting developments in the trade between the two areas and because it could be richly documented from Egyptian and European archives.

The major source of information has been the records of the religious court of Cairo (muhfas al-
Izzayn) which were found to contain an enormous amount of data concerning the merchant community of Cairo and its dealings with visiting merchants from the interior of Africa (Jalalsa). The information recovered has been supplemented by interviews with descendants of prominent nineteenth century merchants conducted in Cairo and elsewhere. Other
research was carried out in the Sudan, Great Britain and France.

The dissertation begins by examining the trade routes leading from Egypt into Black Africa, three of which were being used in the eighteenth century. The most important of them was the famous Gurn-al-Obeid, which led from the middle Egyptian Nile Valley to the powerful kingdom of Dar Fur which in the course of the eighteenth century reached its apogee. Specific attention has been paid to this route and its travellers since Dar Fur became Egypt's greatest source of African goods at this time.

The quantity, quantities and value of those goods have been examined largely on the basis of statistics compiled by the French during their occupation of Egypt, 1798-1801. Slaves were undoubtedly the most important "commodity" brought from Africa, particularly from Dar Fur, but "legitimate" goods — especially ivory, ostrich feathers, and gum — were equally important in that they provided the essential means by which European and Asian goods, so highly desired in parts of the Sudan, could be obtained. Significantly, the exchange of African goods for European, Asian and Egyptian products was made on terms unfavourable to African traders.

The merchants involved in selling African goods in Cairo are found to have been overwhelmingly Egyptian in origin. The dissertation examines their background, ranks, status, and
material wealth, contrasting them with other merchant groups in Cairo during this century. Their trading procedures are also discussed in detail.

The shakhis' local organization was typical of the time. It took the form of a guild organized under the usual officers with the usual rights, privileges and responsibilities of mercantile guilds. From the basis of guild documents, registered in the local courts throughout the century and translated in an appendix, the guild's prime responsibilities and functions are studied. Of these, its financial obligation to the local authorities was of utmost importance, and it is suggested the guild's legal existence stemmed directly from being given this function by the government. The guild and its shakhis had numerous other duties, often carried out within the realm of commerce, but their involvement with visiting African merchants endowed the shakhis with quasi-diplomatic standing.

The shakhis of the guild were the leading local personalities in Egypt's African trade. Court records have provided enough information to sketch short biographies of four of them. These give glimpses of the concerns, material wealth, responsibilities, and social milieu of merchants in eighteenth century Cairo.

The trade in slaves is also studied, attention being given to types of slaves preferred, methods of selling, slave
"defects" (which might be the basis for annulling slave sales), prices and other market practices. Five court disputes, brought by slave purchasers against individual sellers, are translated and appended to this section. Such court documents yield extraordinarily interesting local insights into the trade in slaves.

With the advent of Muhammad Tālī's regime in the early nineteenth century, the trade was radically transformed. Guild responsibilities were generally undermined, and merchants who used to deal in a wide variety of goods were obliged to trade in a narrowed range of items, primarily in slaves. These developments occurred during the period between 1825 and ca. 1845, and though they contributed to the decline of the guild as an effective mercantile organization, they did not disrupt the flow of goods from the interior. By mid-century, this trade was dominated by European and independent Egyptian entrepreneurs.
The forces of geography clearly made Egypt to be part of the African mainland. Nevertheless, her relationship with the African states north or her southern neighbors have always been obscure. In a sense this reflects the peculiar constitution of her various civilizations, viewed always as extending to the north and east, and though her influence has wide reach of internal communication ultimate in the depths of Africa. The remoteness of the Nile, surrounding as it does, have been seen as cutting off natural paths into the interior and, being half surrounded by desert, relationship has usually been broken off Egypt from the rest of the continent. As a matter of fact, natural impediments were always evident, and the country has always enjoyed extensive contacts with other African. It is the historians of Egypt, past and present, who have never been able to surmount that and consequently, these central links have remained obscure.

This dissertation seeks to examine one aspect of Egypt's contact with Africa, the long-distance trade. The religious and cultural heritage might also have been studied but since the settlement was largely restricted to Egypt and because archival material could not be treated in terms of trade and institutions, an economic emphasis was inevitable. Moreover, since in
Climate leads the relationship between trade and culture relatively closely, as one might expect from the association of the two concepts.

The chronological period adopted in this study, 1700-1920, was selected for several reasons. It was a period in which contacts between Egypt and Europe were of particular interest, representing, perhaps, the end of a "classical" era in the trade between the two areas. It was a time when special institutions evolved in Egypt to deal with new circumstances in the trade. It also a period when can be fairly documented by Egyptian and European sources. The year 1700 carried no particular significance in the African trade of Egypt, but the year 1820 provides a logical stopping point since it marks the year of the Egyptian (or Tunisian) conquest of the kingdom of Sudan and the beginning of a whole new set of circumstances affecting the organization of trade.

Caravans from black Africa largely passed through Upper Egypt during this period, a little-known section of the country, and the trade in African goods was practiced by a group of merchants of the same status, comparatively, of no particular standing in wealth. These two factors may help to explain why the trade and its practitioners are all but ignored in Egyptian histories. The commerce almost in vain in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century history of Muslims for a reference to the caravans of Africa or to the small group of merchants in the country.
The emphasis in their goods—this trade illustrates some—continued in the 18th and 19th, at a time when the "human trade" flourished as never before in the history of Egypt, is almost an allusion. In fact, recent studies by G. Fair and A. Raymond, a great deal more is now known about the working and daily life of various classes of Egyptian society, in cities and villages, townscapes and landscapes, rich and poor. But even their scholarly exploration reveals when discussing any aspect of the trans-Saharan trans-Saharan trade and the organisation of African trade in Egypt. "Perhaps the least known aspect of the slave trade is its local organisation in Egypt."

Gathering material on the African trade of Egypt was, therefore, a challenge, and setting on the supervision of Professor Raymond, who had worked in the archives of the religious courts in Cairo (and was very kindly indicated no references in these he had used in his section on the trade), I began advising in the archives of the local police in 1971. It is presently loca-

1 "Slavery and the Abolition" in his "History of the
2 Local Police, Punic As Potentiates in Cairo and
led in the library of the property registration office in
Cairo [ナガサキ州ナガサキ市] and contains a vast collection
of legal texts dating back to 1577, which are bound in
hundreds of volumes [単位] and written in a variety of
languages from Africa to Europe. These records supplied the names, outlined the
activities, and rectified the literary and wealth of nearly
courts trading into Africa and in African coins. Each
year of commerce transported, and the majority were of Egyptian
origin. Altogether the archive contains 15 regular court records,
incorporating the deeds of a separate court located in Cairo
and its environs, but the records of some courts proved more
useful than others [see table]. The entire archive has been such
a rich source of material for this study, but it was found leisure-
tul to work in other national documentation centers, including
the Ministry of Justice (Cairo), the Public Record Office (London),
the British Library, the Archives Nationales (Paris), the
Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (Paris), and
the State National Archives (Khartoum).

In addition to archival work in Egypt, a number of oral
interviews were conducted. This work was carried out in Cairo,
Alexandria, and in the village of Pompi during 1970 to
1973. The informants were usually descendants of merchants who
had played important roles in the African trade in the nineteenth
century, but since their recollections rarely extended beyond
three generations and were dependent interpretations in the
The documents recorded in the register are copies of originals which were given previously to the person registering the act. The archive is well-known to those in the repository of (copies of) legal deeds and property titles, but numerous other types of deeds were also kept there in order to keep a record of an economic nature. They include inventories, partnerships, sales and delivery of goods, receipts of goods or cash and powers of attorney. Other documents preserving the details of court disputes often involving the sale of goods, provide fascinating information.

Inventories relating to most of the period covered in this study are found in only two of the court registers (Mamluk, Sultan and Mamluk, Ilhan al-Marjlija). (In the nineteenth century they were filed in a single series of registers, called al-Marjlija.) These two courts appear to have operated on a city-wide basis, while most of the others operated according to districts. An exception was the (Mamluk) al-Marjlija whose exact location in Ottoman days is now unknown, which also operated on a city-wide basis. It was presided over by the chief judge of Kairo, the sipahi, and was perhaps
collaborative efforts. This series, amounting to 1280 volumes in all, includes some of the more interesting documents surveyed. Other documents were lost or survived the long-departed Q'adar dynasty. For instance, suffered a fire in the eleventh century and not all the research were recovered.

References to Byzantine documents have been facsimilated in this dissertation according to court order, page number, text number this date. Abbreviations for court copies used are:

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A list of registers surveyed is found in the bibliography.

On the archives of the Mamluks, see Daniel C. C. MacGirk, "The Organization of the Mamluk Archives" in History in the Middle East, 2 (1973), 375-77. For a comprehensive and indepth study, see...
IV. TRADING, CREDIT AND PROFIT

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CHAPTER 1

Imports and Exports

The various countries of Africa contribute as less than the rest of the world in enriching the trade of Egypt. Hardly a year passes that there fails to come caravans from Tunis, Algiers, Tripoli, but even from the remotest province of this part of the earth, with the result there is a constant

loading of goods which arrive there from all the universe.1

Contacts between Egypt and the states of the African interior, commercial as well as cultural, expanded, normalized and contracted in accordance with the expansion, stability, or decline of political regimes in both sides of the routes connecting the two regions. Egypt, representing in general a stabler society, possessed a stabler economy linked to the international trade network. Its markets readily absorbed goods brought from black Africa while at the same time provided African merchants with the local, European and Indian goods they desired. Moreover, the country lay across an extended but ancient route from the continent to the east, on the caravan route from the heart of north-central Africa to Mecca. The desire on the part of Africans to perform the hajj, whether for spiritual, political or economic reasons, enhanced the position of Egypt and helped to stabilize her links with the interior.

Cairo, the capital city, was the center of Egypt’s international and domestic trade and the country’s chief market. Its

population in 1798 stood at 260,000, perhaps a tenth of the country's total population. Its elegant and richly endowed mosques, luxurious private residences, well-stocked markets, numerous khans (usually called wādiq, sing. wādiq, in Egyptian Arabic), its multi-national population and several religious communities surprised and impressed many visitors: they constituted in fact the basic ingredients of the eighteenth century romance of "Grand Cairo." But it was the markets of the city which most often drew admiration from foreign visitors.

Vitaliano Donati, who arrived in early 1760, pronounced the city to be "a center of commerce which has no equal in all the world . . ." 1

Pius V, who came more than a decade later, was also struck by its commercial vitality, all the more remarkable in his view since he

1 E. Dandolo, "Descrizione e figure de la ville et de la città delle su Cairo," Raccolta de' lavori, 1st ser., vol. 42 (Paris, 1857), 141, hereafter cited as "Ville su Cairo.'”

2 [Cairo], the metropolis of Africa, the scene of amusing events in history, and of some surprising incidents in Arabian fable [does not fill] to impress the spectator with curiosity and admiration." G. O. Browne, Travels in Africa, 1st ser., part 4 (London, 1792), 95.

Paolo Giovelli, "Il viaggio in Oriente di Vitaliano Donati (1759-1760)," Giornale, XII (1884-5), 399; see also R. Mora, de Montesquieu, Voyage dans la France et la Turquie, 3 vols., (Paris, year VII), III, 135-41.
considers the local government tyrannical. The strength of her commerce, Sayce believed, was due to the city’s unique internal role as the country’s political and religious center and to her fortunate world geographical location, astride so many international highways.  

Her markets served as the exchange place for goods from the Red Sea and India, from Syria, Asia Minor and other parts of the Etruscan Empire, from Europe, North Africa, and parts of northeastern and central Africa. But of all her international trade routes, perhaps Rome was more unfamiliar—and mysterious—to foreigners in Egypt than those that led into the heart of the continent.

In the eighteenth century, products of Africa reached the lower Nile valley by way of three major caravan routes. One of them entered Egypt at her upper or southern region which is known as hajrib ("the uplands"). It is a part of the country that had long maintained a separate identity from the rest of Egypt, cultivating its own traditions, heroes and accent; thanks to her extended position in the continent, Upper Egyptians developed close contacts with peoples in the interior, some of them voyaging across the vast desert expanses to kingdoms that remained little more than myths to their contemporaries.  


2. A more literary term for upper Egypt was al-ma‘aṣir al-ṣamā‘īl, both terms were used to refer to the part of Upper Egypt to the south. In several eighteenth-century Cairene documents, even the edges of Dar Rih and Ghizna were considered part of al-ma‘aṣir al-ṣamā‘īl.
northern Egyptian conscript rats. A third route entered Egypt at its western frontier, passing through the independent oasis of Siwa. ¹

Unlike Upper Egyptians, Siwan rarely ventured out of their oasis—stronghold, and consequently they played almost no role in the caravan trade of this route.

Each of the highways into Africa had its special features and particular history.

1. Routes and Trade Centers in Upper Egypt

Caravans from those regions of the Sudan nearest Egypt were categorized by local inhabitants as "western" and "eastern", depending on whether the caravan originated in the kingdom of Dar Fur (lying to the south-west of Egypt) or in the territory of the Funj emirs, or the Sudan kingdom (lying roughly to the south-east).² At the end of the eighteenth century, the "western" caravans from Dar Fur were by far the more important.

The Dar Fur caravans followed the famous dakh al-phurqin, the forty-days road, which left the kingdom at Kordofan, the commercial capital, and travelled northward across the desert to Darfur oasis, within the

¹Siwa remained independent until 1820.
²John Lewis Burckhardt, Travels in the Desert of the Soudan (London, 1822), 217. The classification is quite old and is employed by Franciscan missionaries in descriptions of their late seventeenth century journeys; see, e.g., E. K. Christiansen and E. K. Christiansen, ed., Explorations in Sudan and Chad, vol. 1: The Western Sudan, ed. E. K. Christiansen (Cairo, 1931), 24.
terry controlled by Egypt. From there the route turned east, passing over a rugged desert plateau which separates the fertile valley from the oasis, and descended into the valley near the village of Shallal, about equidistant between Beiruni and Abydos, important cities in Upper Egypt. A fast courier, unencumbered with baggage, could cover the 1,217 miles in 12 days, but a caravan of several hundred camels made the distance in 45 while a heavily laden caravanserai burdened with several tons of ivory and a thousand slaves could take up to 90 days. Caravans made stops at several days each at various small oases and springs along the way, one of the more important being Bi'r al-Makka (also known as Bi'r an-Nafūṣ). The place of origin is undoubtedly ancient.

The place of origin is undoubtedly ancient, and although it was recorded in the eighteenth century for the first time by caravans.

7. P. S. Hirsh, "Les relations commerciales de l'Egypte avec l'Inde sous l'Indienne, l'Inde et le commerce de l'Egypte," Quarterly of the American School of Oriental Research, II (April, 1931), 111. (Note: The text may be a citation error or a typographical error."

8. Charles Cony, "Notes sur le Deser de l'Egypte," BULLETIN DU SERVICE, VIII (1914), 67. The textual writing seems to be in the 19th century.

9. From the northward, sites were made at Bi'r al-Makka, Lajjat, Shallal, el-Bibb, and Shallal (or Shalal), the southern outpost of Wadi oasis.

which travelled along it, the route had probably been frequented at even earlier periods by groups of bedouin from the cane of the Nile Valley and the northern reaches of the area that became known as Dar Fur and Kordofan in order to gather mastic deposited at 31'r San'ajrin, a well situated closer to Dar Fur than to Egypt. Resumus from Egypt were identified by Dusay as "Jujuttba," a designation of small tribes which became closely associated with the Dar Fur trade as it developed; behaving in accordance with a pattern found along most caravan routes, they established an economy based on 11, Caravans transmitting through their territory paid protection money and inhabitants of the tribe's settlements in the valley were drawn into the trans-Saharan trade as travelling merchants. They continued to collect mastic at 31'r San'ajrin until quite recently. Of the major tribal groups on the perimeter of the Dar Fur state, the Jujuttba were

---

1. Dusay, "Notes," 20-21: Identified as Turbita: jujuttba, jujutma, and jujutti tribes. They took horses to the well to exchange for textiles brought by Dar Fur nomads.

2. Dusay, 194.

3. The below the remarks on al-Zaytun and Dar Fur with.

4. Sudan National Archives, Intelligence Reports, Folder 2191/13, reports dated 12 March, 10 March, and 22 June 1929. They describe the visit to 31'r San'ajrin of the Maktuba, Jujuttba, and Jujutma tribes from the valley.
particularly important as their territory extended across the route traversed by the *dār al-awqāf*. Like the *māqālīs*, they too collected taxes at *Bī‘ al-‘a‘zīyah* and occasionally brought it to markets in Upper Egypt, selling as well small numbers of camels and slaves.¹

The *bedu* were, at home in desert realms, were natural associates of the sieve trade in this part of the continent. Their participation in it may date in some cases to the time of their original settlement in Egyptian deserts and to the development of long-distance routes through their territory. In addition to the *māqālīs* and *zālūn*, mentioned in travellers' accounts, eighteenth century texts from the Cairo courts preserve the names of other tribal groups which participated in the trade of the sieve accordingly. Most often mentioned are the *hawāer*, a tribal confederation that dominated the politics of Upper Egypt during this period (see below), the *Fārānī*, who resided in *Dakhla*, and the *bultūn*, found stretched across the Nile south of the town of *Dinaj*.² This latter group should actually be alien to the trade of *Sāmān*, but its surplus was often sent to Egypt by way of the Dakhla citadel rather than along other sieve routes. In general terms the *bedu*...

¹ Hill, "Mansur," 35. The *zālūn* were subdued by Fārānī sultans in the eighteenth century.

² See the authorities cited in *Baghdad, 659/1260*. On Fārānī-related tribes in sixteenth-century *Egypt*, *Qurūt al-Mashrū‘, 10*. The Dakhla citadel, *in loc.*Partly in *Bultūn, 1369*; *Baghdad, 29*.
caraans were small and compact, offering a contrast to the great non-Arab Sudan caraans which were usually composed of poly-ethnic collections of merchants and travellers.

Though the cara-al-atla in is unclear, its emergence in the eighteenth century as the key route of Egypt's African trade probably dates not much earlier than the beginning of the century. Certainly it was travelled before this date: an early reference to Egyptian trade with the region of the Fur is found in Ananias’ account, published in 1713, mentioning the fact that Egyptian merchants were exchanging arms for gold with the king of Dri. This is supported by documents from the Cairo courts, dated 1562/3, describing details of partnerships set up between local merchants and travelling merchants (maliks) to exchange goods bi-har wa-ql in al-Farina. In distant Sudan [in the land of the] Fadira. This tribe is believed to have been settled in

1. Mark Lewis, “L'intérieur de l'Afrique Occidentale d'après Clavellin (                                                 )” Bull. Acad. Suisse 13 (1973): 151-57. The capital of the Ghana dynasty of northern Senegal is located in the area of present-day Senegal. The city of “Ganah” was the capital of the Ghana Empire, which flourished between the 9th and 13th centuries.

2. “Habibs” 20: 460, 14, XV (10 Pahal al-Qahla 973); another partnership Antecedent Notice is found in 20: 572, 14, 17 (10 Jumada al-Dhu al-Mawwal 977/26 October 1569).
northern Darfur and Kordofan at the time. Moreover, Boone
expressed the opinion that the region known as bar ecdefin was "the
place where caravans arrive, when they reach the first inhabitable
part of Darfur, but that country seems its eastern extremity; for I
never heard it applied to Kordofan or Senaar. . . ."

Thus, the route was known and travelled, but its great
development in modern times was almost certainly related to the con-
solidation and expansion of the Kehri sultanate by Darfur whose kings
were anxious to import Egyptian, European and Indian goods. The
expansion of this dynasty is traditionally associated with the reign
of Sulaiman Selimcheengine (ca. 1650-1690), but it was probably
during the long years of conflict with the neighboring state of Musul, 1700-
1750, that the greatest development in the Kordofan took place. It
will be suggested later in this study that the strength of the Darfur trade in
the early part of the eighteenth century brought about major changes in
the structure of the African trade in Cairo.

1 W. A. E. Michael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan,* 3 vol.,
(Cambridge, 1923). I, 296-301; O'Toole, "The Growth and Development
of the Kehri Sultanate of Darfur," Ph.D. thesis, University of London,
1971, 62.

2 Boone, xxv.

3 O'Toole, "Growth and Development," 29-104; and the "Slavery

The "eastern" caravan was also called the "Sinnār" caravan, but actually it was a series of caravans that originated in different market centers in the area normally under the control of the Fatimid sultans of Sinnār. The fact that the name Sinnār was so well known in Cairo (and adopted by the French expedition) probably indicates the importance once attached to the Sinnār sultan's caravan.

When Kappler, the German missionary, left Upper Egypt in 1798 for Sinnār, he found the caravan was accompanied by a contingent of Fatimid cavalry, which may be taken as proof of the king's power and desire to trade with his northern neighbor. However, in the course of the eighteenth century, his authority was steadily undermined by the state's various tribal groupings, and by the time Schumacher reached the Sudan in 1814, the Sinnār caravan actually originated in Upper Egypt, not in Sinnār.

There were a variety of routes to follow from this area to Egypt. Due to a series of obstacles in the river, the Nile was not a conventional means of transportation; moreover, hostile people or unscrupulous government officials at strategic locations along the river could hold up passing cargoes (as was the case in Egypt itself). Consequently, caravanners preferred to follow more tried routes through the streets, both to the east and west of the river. Those leaving Dongola, for example...

1Theodore Kurek, Reise nach Erythraen, Teiled I and II (Leipzig, 1919), tr. by J. Spalato, 117.

2Furman, BIBL., 77a. "...it is joined on its return to Cairo by many camel trains, chiefly agents of the king..." (1844, 274-5).
northern Sudan, travelled to the west and joined the "Old Arabian" road near the oasis of Wadi. It was safer and faster, and even as early as 1701 this route was already more popular than the river road.  

Another route left the Nile at Berber, traversed the Sudan desert, and approached the confines of Egypt near Darâb, a small village in Upper Egypt, ten miles north of Aswan. The travelling time between these two points was 18 days, but if the party of origin (or destination) were Simâr, an important market half-way between Simâr and Berber, the trip could be extended from 40 to 50 days.  

Krupp, travelling from Darâb to Simâr by the Nile route took 30 days to accomplish the journey, being obliged to stop at length at various provincial markets and custom-houses.  

Caravans passing through the Sudan desert provided a livelihood to tribes inhabiting it, the most important being the Bilârîn and Wadâmâns. Both were paid protection fees, the lion's share apparently going to the Wâdamâns.  

2 An "Old Arabian" road was reported to have "made ten days less the route from Dongola to Cairo along the Nile, and twelve times less from Scut to Noura to the Desert." (Archives du Ministère, Paris, Cairo, § 314, Document no. 14, November 1701. Darâb was the terminus of caravans, outside Dongola. Krupp mentions its quickness in comparison to other routes, etc.).  

3 Bourguiba, ibid., 193. Chariotes, however, could cover the distance in eight days.  

4 Bourguiba's trip from Darâb to Simâr took 16 days; Bruce covered the distance in 40 days.  

5 Krupp, etc., 371, 375.  

either out of the route, in Berber and in Bahrā, escorted the caravans between these points not engaged in the trade on an individual basis.  

In addition, they used the Misīrīn formed small caravans to collect soma which grew wild in the Rub' al-Khali desert.  

Other caravans originating south of Upper Egypt included those formed by the Masākīn merchants, to which we have already referred, which were dispatched from Dongola to Cairo twice yearly.  

Another originated in (Egyptian) Nabi, at the point on the Nile known as Ḥudūl al-ʿAynah and Ṣulṭān al-ʿArūḍ. Its inhabitants were members of the Misīrī tribe, and they also formed caravans to transport goods from Berber to Cairo.  

Thus, the "eastern" or Sinār caravan had numerous components: it was also required to pass through more regulated districts than were Fārs caravans, in the Sudan as well as in Egypt; and both these aspects of the Sinār trade help to account for the increasing difficulties of this route during the eighteenth century. The loss of power at the center of the Sinār kingdom resulted in general anarchy in the  

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1. James Bruce, Travels to the Sources of the Nile, 7 vols. (Edinburgh, 1811), VI, 145.  
3. Borchardt et al., 59.  
northern half of the state and as a consequence illegal excise were levied by provincial authorities on transported goods, the Wahhah demanded exorbitant protection fees, and numerous attacks were carried out by bedouin tribes against passing caravans.\(^1\)

However, difficulties were not confined to Simār provinces. For most of the eighteenth century, Upper Egypt was dominated by the Hawwār tribal confederation, and under the leadership of Shalih Juwān Abū Qasif (ca. 1730-1769), his authority of the tribe was extended from just south of Abydīn into Juwān.\(^2\) Since caravans coming from Simār were obliged to pass through this part of the country (unless they took the desert route via the Jubb al-‘Arabī, \(^2\)) they were subjected to additional taxes. At the same time, Ottoman authorities in Cairo managed to maintain governors in Ismā′l, the major trade center in "upper" Upper Egypt and the location of the customs house through which Simār caravans passed, but far from respecting caravaneers for the difficulties they had undergone, reports reached Cairo in 1749 and

\(^1\) On the erosion of the Simār king's prerogatives, Jay Schuldine, "Kings of Sun and Shadow: The Mahābūl Provinces of the Northern Sudan," African Studies, 1996, 55-71; protection fees charged by the Mahābūl were twice as high as those charged by the Hijāriba al-jāfarīya (1730-1769), with Brown, 314.

again in 1785 that governors were forcing Sinner merchants "to pay the most they could." In 1789, a government force delivered a severe blow to Miao's power, but parts of Upper Egypt were not brought under central control until the reign of Muhammad VI in the early nineteenth century.

Nevertheless, problems encountered by Sinner caravans should not be exaggerated. The "dark valley" seems to have remained safe from attacks during most of the century, and by entering Egypt in the vicinity of Asyut, the route by-passed the more turbulent regions of "upper" Upper Egypt and the Sudan desert. It is clear by comparing Bruce's negative pronouncement on the Sudan desert route ("so infected with bandits that it can be traversed only by elective") with Sonnini's description, dated several years later, of negotiations to travel with a Sinner-bound caravan via the "dark valley" that when one route became too dangerous, trade easily shifted to another. Yet in terms of size of caravans and quantity of goods transported, the Sinner trade was much less important than the ðar fjûr trade at the end of the century.2

2Quoted in Raymond, Egypt, I, 165.
3Sonnini, III, 34-45.

Sinner caravans may have numbered from 500 to 1,000 caravans; ðar fjûr caravans from 2,000 to 10,000, but Sinner caravans may have come twice as often. Omer, 159, 469.
The economy of Upper Egypt was principally based on agricultural products—cereals, vegetables, and especially wheat—and secondarily on trade and industry. As with other parts of the country, the bulk of its produce and manufactures was shipped to Cairo, which also served as the major market of goods not produced locally. Upper Egypt also had its own outlets to Egypt's international trade, being linked to the Red Sea trade via a desert route to Suez and to the African trade via the "eastern" and "western" caravans. With regard to the African trade, individual towns in Upper Egypt prospered from it on the basis of the location of caravans, or of proximity to caravan routes and to settlements of bedouin associated with the trade, or to the was the social background of Upper Egypt. There was a tendency for routes to change, customhouses to be re-located, and the regional capital to be shifted from time to time, and consequently the association of certain towns with the trade altered periodically.

In the seventeenth century, various sources indicate that two towns were closely linked to the trade of Black Africa: Sidiâ, the regional capital, and Macalât, site of the chief customhouse. Both were situated near the terminus of the dark sultan’s in, and though its location at the beginning of the century cannot be stated, by the year’s caravans were halting and being formed at the village of El-Maâr. For a likely spelling of El-Maâr for "Athâr," the Sudan caravans, see also the report of the "Sudan to France" by a French officer in the years 1695, 1696, and 1701, published in the "French Journal," 1696, 93, and the "Registres" of the "Sudan," mentioned by Francois-Aubert-Paris.
In time its inhabitants came to play a dominant role in the organization of African trade in Cairo. At the end of the eighteenth century, it was described by a Frenchman as "the most populous village, the richest and most consequential of all the cities of Upper Egypt," but this is obvious exaggeration. Its wealth, however, unquestionably derived from caravan trade not only with the interior but also with the nearby cities, Doble and Garbi. Jizzi benefited from the African trade by being the residence of the governor of Upper Egypt. He was allowed to keep the customs levied on imported black slaves and as a result he became "the wealthiest of the provincial governors in Egypt." At the close of the seventeenth century, he was able to send rich gifts to the Ottoman governor in Cairo, including 40 black slaves, ten black camels from Kintiepo, 20 female slaves from Simar (Punj), 200 copies, and mask, turtle, crocodile heads and other goods imported from Africa. Prosperous

1. See Chapter III, 126; Chapter VI, 304-5, 316.


3. Shaw, Ottoman Egypt, 127 (n. 216).

merchants in Cairo who specialized in African imports owned or rented khans in the city or maintained residences there. However, the steady ascendancy of the mu‘ammara (who adopted Fustat as their “capital”) in the eighteenth century diminished the authority of the governors, and by the end of the century he was found to be dividing his time between Jirāt and Egypt, which remained beyond Mamluk control.

Mamluk’s association with the interior dates to at least the time of Leo Africanus who found its inhabitants “affluent because they trade with the land of the Blacks.” In the late seventeenth century, it was a rendezvous for people wishing to travel to the Sudan and the location of the customhouses through which caravan goods passed. The latter was an important factor for the city’s commerce because it was

2Broone, 126
4Pocet, A. Pouillart, 93
5Memlīk, §25; witnesses of the khans may be seen in the account of Frederick Lewis Hervey, Travels in Egypt and Nubia, 2 vols. (London, 1771). I, 64 and Girgenti, A. C., C. 1604, they were appointed and given a House of the khans to act as agents on the “Almohad of Mansfield: his duties were to oversee the caravans for customs: D’Allincourt, 47.
customary for caravan merchants to sell part of their goods in order to pay the duties levied. It may also have benefited by its proximity to the village of al-Tatlilins, headquarters of a branch of the
Maghrabi Arabs and slave-traders in the region. Soon, the merchants who
were the shams al-Tatlilins. Yet for reasons not absolutely clear
but possibly related to the transfer of the customs house to nearby
Aynat, the city's connections with the African trade faltered in the
eighteenth century, and many merchants transferred their operations
to Aynat.9

The geographical setting of Aynat (28k miles south of Cairo) was fortunate: it stood in the midst of a broad, heavily populated plain where farmers grew beans, grain, cotton and other crops, thus providing the city a large base in agricultural commodities, and it was also close to the opening in the western desert range through which caravans passed from the desert into the valley. In medieval days, its cloth and dying industries were famous, and pottery, noted

1Almond Lutfi al-Mukaddis, J. P. Jouann, Observations sur les
marches de la Chaine ouest, Description de l'Egypte, 1798-1800,
(Paris, 1809), 329, on distributing the service in this village; Ibn-Abbadi
Murad al-Zahlin, 111a-112b, 10 vols. (Cairo, 1905), 71, 240,
under 2-146, for a discussion of Tinilahim in the African trade, see
Chapter III, 126-129.


3Essen Vagners and Damon West, Vandalia, merchant class in
the early Islamic period, in Essays in Honor of E. E. Salibi, "Notes
In a late eighteenth century description of the city, the Christian community may have been manufactured for at least as long. The circumcised does not associate it with caravan trade, but by the end of the seventeenth century merchants and travellers bound for the Sudan took up residence there to conclude caravan arrangements. A bronze, passing through Aswan toward the end of the century, described it "by far the most considerable city in the higher Egypt." Its population at that time was perhaps 20,000 and included an energetic group of mercantile and a small, active Christian community.

Aswan lay about a mile inland on the western bank of the Nile, spread on top and around a small rise in the land which protected it from inundation during the annual flood. Its narrow and sometimes winding streets exhibited signs of the city's prosperity: graceful mosques with tall, thin minarets, fortress-like houses which served as residences and could serve as business quarters, and numerous caravanserais (plural: caravansarais), whose portals were often decorated with carved wood and darkened brick, typical of Islamic architecture. On the road leading out from the western side of the city is found a small mosque.

2. D'Albou, 14, 65, 89, 107, 109-10, 120, 123; KEMP, 179.

A photograph of one mosque is found in al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Hamid al-Hanafisyy, Maqamat al-Hanafisyy (Cairo, 1868), between 25' and 57' (and description, 32). The architecture of Aswan would further study.
(tomb-mogues) where travellers about to embark on difficult desert voyages may have paused to say a prayer or deposit an amulet. The road leads past the northern cemeteries and eventually joins the area where Sudan camelmen used to rest. Asyût became even more famous for its connection with the African trade in the nineteenth century, but its links were well forged in the eighteenth.²

South of Asyût, the most important town was Ismã. It functioned as the emporium for "upper" Egypt as a whole, the town's merchants trading with Asyût and Cairo to the north, Núbâra to the east, and Egyptian Nûbâ to the south. Ismã was the location of the customhouse for Sudanese merchants arriving via the Sudan desert, and after customs were paid, goods were loaded on boats and shipped to Cairo.³

2. The Western Route

Two caravan routes from the Sudan interior passed through Upper Egypt; the third, which may be called the "western" route originated at various points in western Sudan and converged in modern Libya, either at Murût, the chief town of Fozûa, or at Asyût, the capital.


³See Chapter III and Chapter VIII, harlin.

²Hervé, Guillaume Desire, "Le commerce de soudan avec le Maroc avant le syphilis," in Hervé, Guillaume Desire, "Le commerce de soudan avec le Maroc avant le syphilis," in La nature (20 Novembre 1896), 299-300.
several days south of Bengasi. Sometimes it merged with Tripolitanian caravans, coming from distant Morocco, at Avilla before proceeding eastward through silt basins to meet the Nile Valley in the vicinity of Cairo. This was the route travelled by the antiquities collector Al-`Ali al-Durayhi in medieval days. The distance between Ptolemais and Cairo could be covered in 50 days.

From the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, caravans from Tripoli, to use the word customarily employed by Arab geographers to denote the whole area of the eastern Sudan, came with considerable regularity to Egypt. Accounts may be found in all the works of Egyptian historians and biographers and in reports of European agents in Egypt who were intrigued by the amount of gold imported by them.


1 Agents for the Portuguese government reported from Cairo in 1515 that a caravan arrived from Tunis every six months bringing "a great quantity of gold." This report mentions a similar fact they received from information supplied to Athenaeus in India by two Indian merchants who had just come from Cairo. Vitruvius Magus-Godwin, L'Empire des Pharaons, (Paris, 1883), 192, cited Malikî, ed., "Al-Malikî," 136-139.

Individual pirates used gold to pay for their naval expenses.
On the basis of relatively scarce sources of a late period, it would appear that during the eighteenth century, the size and frequency of caravans from Tidjâr dilated so that by the end of the century they were composed of groups of 100 or so and came only every two or three years.1 The reasons may be related to numerous internal developments in the western Sudan at this time, to an increased economic impact of European trade along the coast, or to unstable political conditions of tribes controlling regions through which the caravans passed.2 What is interesting to note, however, is that commercial relations

1 Reports of the Cairo-Fascádi route: "Histoire des Observations que le Sieur Béhaud Lifkön, consul de France au voyage de Tripoli, a fait en voyageant le long de la côte de Bornéo et au golfe de la Ferne, en 1723 et 1726, et sur divers caravanas qu'il a vu au Soudan, qui signifient palas de nègres," in Henri Comte, Histoire diplomatique des Relations d'Occident et d'Orient, 2 parts, (Paris, 1840), 2, 277–83, 179–181. A Letter of Le vase, cited earlier, 2 August 1718, published by Marie-François, La Correspondance des Ambassades, 12 (1839), 145–147. Richard Francis, A Description of the Coast and Inner Interior Countries, 3 parts in 2 vols., (London, 1730–31), 1: 276, mentions the green caravans that arrived at Cairo and Lisbon who come from the town of Faschina: . . . what they bring is chiefly cash. This trade, however, suspiciously like Mallet, 1746, 1747, as in the returns of Paul Lango in the same work.

between Cairo and Fassān continued to be maintained throughout the
eighteenth century. Ḫubayyāni documents, moreover, show that lines of
communication went even further into the western Sudan, touching as
far west as Tālibwā. 2 A resurgence of trade along the western route
occurred in the nineteenth century, 3 but it evolved largely outside
the chronological scope of this dissertation.

During the seventeenth and eighteeth century, and possibly
earlier, the Cairo-Fassān route was almost certainly monopolized by
inhabitants of the oasis of Awājīl, whether they were in fact Awājīl,
the indigenous people of the oasis of Awājīl, or actually members of
the Ḥajār tribe who resided in the adjacent oasis of Jumā eight miles
to the southeast must remain a matter of conjecture since virtually all
eighteenth century sources refer to the Awājīl and almost all nineteenth
century documentation refers to the Ḥajār. 3 Two possible explanations
may be advanced to account for this distinction. One is that the name

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2 See below, Chapter III, 102-9.
3 See below, Chapter VIII.

3 Awājīl is the name uniformly applied in Ḫubayyānī records to
these mourners from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries; the
earliest western accounts (H. J. the reference to Ṣaḥārīr, footnote 1,
23 above) which speak knowledgeably of this route habitually single
out the Awājīl. Morenfar's account (below) in reference to the
"Awājīl" merchants (Proclamation, 11, 20) but might also stress the name
of the "酎rājār." people who "make their living in trade and pass their
lives in travelling between Cairo and Fassan," (Proclamation, 11, 6.)
"Anglia" was used by Arabic speakers and Europeans alike to denote a general geographical area without reference to specificosts; the other is that the replacement of one people for the other reflected a political change that occurred in the case, culminating in the independence of the Maléjars. Consequently they would have been known under their own name.

The Maléjar, Horneemann wrote, "generally keep three houses: one at Kardusi, near Cairo, one at mojha, and a third at Zulla, or sometimes at Mourouk. Kardusi is actually Xarboan, located approximately three miles north of the Pyramids on the edge of the valley. Its role as a depot for the caravan coming from the Western desert is very old, dating back to the sixteenth century at least, it is"

1Horneemann, above (Proceedings, II, 94), "Our entry into mojha (this area for the extent of Cairo, one of the three places heretofore in the individual of agents, the added and affected . . .) may be an expansion of this usage.

2An account of a "province" by the Maléjar against the authority of the traditional sheiks of Angilla was reported by J. H. Hamilton, News from North Africa. (London, 1557), 567.

3Proceedings, II, 95.

4An early reference to this role is noted in a deed drawn up in Cairo (xan. Ali 120, 25, 116; [12 August 973/11 October 1562]) by Qalili al-Maliki of a number of administratively, nominally, and politically the area of Xarboan, personal efforts and a count mentioning to 60 old men which he had contributed in the hija. One alsoNESImajn, 192, 22, 196-98: the names of newly added names accompanied the hija in 110x- 
10) and of al-Husayn (Hilli, 1956); both passed through Xarboan al-Maliki (Abdulaziz Hilli al-Adnani), the founder of the sect, stayed there on his return from the hija in 1556 (Stella Sablon, "Some Ideas," 1160, 97.)
continued to play this role throughout the nineteenth century and until modern times. The remembrance of Malber families once settled there is still retained, but since the independence of Libya from Italian rule and the ending of caravan traffic between that country and Egypt, they have all departed. The village's economy is an agricultural one now but before the extension of canals which made this feasible, it was based on servicing the caravan trade both in terms of tending canals and in producing cloth which had a steady market in Silves and other

Caravans from Tushka also resorted to the nearby village of \[\text{[Monogram]}\]. Tushka, 169; the gold kept in safe keeping by Tibetawi pilgrims referred to above (ft. 4, 22) was kept with the shahb of this village.

7Report by the French Consul, 2 March 1874, quoted in Georges Louis, Plutarque en Égypte et Nubie révisé, 3 parts, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1936-41), 1, Fasc. 8, 217; Song to Tushka, Cairo, 23 August 1798, (Public Record Office), Po 64/1312; Consul to Pellet, Alexandria, 17 May 1860, Po 141/138, (British National Archive, Kew); Cusan Agency, Itinerario de Jeezner, Sect. 1, Add. 49, Appendix 3 (February- March, 1559); A. Silva Brito, Parnaso e Jezirra (London, 1899), 156-7; R. Lasniet, Jeezner et Habe (Paris, 1911), 156.

8Personal observations, 1971-2; George Murray, Son of E. Jameson (London, 1872), 299, mentions Sahara Families still settled there in the 1920s.

9For instance, the Inventory of Hanb al-Ayyubi (Arab 61, 545, #23) (1025/1618) shows a debt due to the shahb of Tushka, a village near Khartoum, for the cost of fodder and bread. Malbers kept were doubtless contributed by other Ayyubis to the shahib of Tushka: \[\text{[Monogram]}\] the claims and obligations of \[\text{[Monogram]}\], Sultan of Khartoum,' listed in the Inventory of Malik Muhammad al-Ayyubi, Arabic 158, 3, 65 (1186/1772), where the nature of the claim is not given.
cases to the west and even in the Sudan. References to the village in Jahlait's history suggest that it was used as a render-oven by many tribes based in the western desert.

The customhouse through which these caravans (including the great Ka'bah pilgrimage caravan) passed was located at Burullus, a small town on the edge of the Nile Delta, but because goods brought by pilgrims (merchandise as well as personal effects) were exempt from import duties, the receipts of this customhouse were low. Indeed, by

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coming in from the desert at Kirda, caravans may have escaped provincial control altogether.

2. Caravans

"Nothing is so interesting as the study of these caravans," wrote Lapicque in an Introduction to his account on "Darfur" caravans, "... nothing is so admirable as the manner in which they travel, and the order that prevails amongst them." The organization of large caravans—numbering up to 5,000 travellers and up to 10,000 camels—was a formidable task requiring not only the selection of leaders, guides, and camelers, but also forethought, discipline and a commitment by all parties to act in the interests of the whole group.

Despite a long history of caravanning and a thorough acquaintance with the pre-requisites of this mode of transportation, European travellers who accompanied caravans from Egypt into the interior (Brown with the Fär caravan; Burchardt with the Simbal caravan) must have been astounded to learn that tensions between caravanners could threaten a safe trip, that the guides could lose their way, and that water supplies could run dangerously low.

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1Lapicque, "Darfur," IV, 38. An even greater fascination was expressed by George Herdman, the British vice-consul in Benguela, watching the arrival of a modern caravan: "It approached the town in three divisions, moving in perfect silence, at the rate of two miles an hour, and covered from front to rear some 4,000 yards of ground. As the divisions arrived in succession to the sound of their camelwhips, the camels were unhitched and signed, tents pitched, fires lighted, and preparations for cooking made, with an air of strictness and silence that would have done credit to regular troops." Herdman to Palmerston, Benguela, 23 May 1859, PC 102/63.

2Brown, 105-6; Burchardt, Sudan, 150-93.
There seem to have been two types of caravans: those formed for strictly commercial purposes and those formed to take royal gifts and Muslim pilgrims to the Hijaz. It is well known that the Hijaz neatly combined religious duty with commercial opportunity from its inception. Mosques during the height of the pilgrimage season took on the flavor of an international fair, and Egypt, lying across one great caravan route, also profited from the influx of pilgrims and merchants. Rulers of Egypt's African trading partners (Dir Fur and Wadai, but not Sima) adopted the custom of sponsoring jalil caravans and sending valuable gifts to the Hijaz. 1 and in these cases, caravans would depart from the interior in time to join the "official" Egyptian caravan which left Cairo for Mecca in late Dhu‘al Hijjah 2, the tenth month in the Muslim calendar. These caravans always brought quantities of goods which were exchanged in Cairo to pay for expenses required during the final leg of the journey. However, it is clear from travellers' accounts that the costs of caravans from both Dir Fur and Sima did not always hinge on


2 Jacques Jorio, Le Volcan et la caravane africaine des piligrimes de la Mecque, (Cairo: 1953), 76.
pilgrimage motivations, and that sultans dispatched many for mundane commercial reasons.¹

Caravan leaders were given the title ḥālī (plural, ḥālāt) literally, 'export.'² They were designated by sultans to direct particular caravans, and during the crossing they were considered by travellers to be the ultimate authority. The ḥālī was often a merchant of great substance and importance, and in Egypt acted as the sultan's personal envoy, carrying out commercial and political functions on his behalf.³ (In the fourteenth century, the diplomatic aspects to the role became even clearer.)⁴ He was given two great areas as

¹Brock, 226, 287. Direct pilgrim, of course, had more direct access to the Hijaz.

²'Ḥālī' is a title borne everywhere in the desert by the leaders of caravans; literally it means only 'trading export,' but in the ḥālī the title is given to every pilfering merchant who has once embellished the great caravan which now year travel . . . . the Ḥālī, by law . . ., such a leader is appointed fresh every time by the government, but the title is retained by such man as appointed.' Motal押, IV, 215. This description explains why three 'ḥālāts' are mentioned in disputes recorded in the Cairo court: E/ 205, 207, 235 (1197/1785); E/ 512, 575, 2056 (1195/1783).

³On the honors bestowed on the ḥālī: Brock, 216, 218, 225–36; in the sixteenth century, insigniety of the ḥālī role diminished the authority of small caravan leaders: Brock, VI, 442-3.

⁴Brock, 275; Charles Cup, Observations élegiques sur le détroit sur le Cénovan de 0. In: Comme d'Abbayres de Cunie,' Extraits des manuscrits barber des Pruss (Paris, 1903), (Paris, 1909). 20.
marks of his rank: they were bidden to assemble the caravan and to
announce the approach of the caravan. 1 The use of drugs bears a
curious resemblance to drummers, pipers and horn players that high-
ranking personages in Egypt and the Ottoman empire were privileged to
employ, 2 but they were also used in ceremonies in Darfur and other
parts of the Sudan and were signs of rank and dignity. 3

At the end of the eighteenth century, the arrival of the
great Darfur caravan (which Brown says was called "Sudan caravan") 4 was a magnificent occasion. Upon entering the
frontier of Egypt, it was greeted by a representative of the governor
of Upper Egypt, usually a subaltern carrying the title Ḥārīf, who was
entrusted with the responsibility of registering taxable goods imported
by the merchants. The encounter usually took place at Ḥārīf, the south-
ern outpost of Darfur, to the accompaniment of fireworks, and
before the Ḥārīf and his clerks could authenticate the merchandise,
the merchants and leading merchants of the caravan were given coffee and
each presented with a ḥāffiy, a long ceremonial gown which was worn over
the caftan. (This custom continued for many years and was enacted in

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1 Brown, 1856: 613; Gurney, "Madder," 96; Krupa, 200.
2 Gurney and Seow, 1, 11, 135; Shaw, "Camel Caravans," 50 (note 3).
3 Muhammad lawg al-ḥamī, Fana'a al-Durūb, tr. by D. E. A. W. H. M. B. (Paris, 1867), 169; Britisch army, FUTMA LI-HAMMAD, S. SABBAH AL-
AMIR WALI AL-MUDJAZA (London 1961), 127; Matsuda, 97, 98, 201, 204.
4 Brown, "A Governor's document dated 1793 when the term
Futun al-bātirīn al-ḥalabiyīn" in MA, 193, 199, between 92 and 95;[2]

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the mid-nineteenth century in Asyūt where merchants called up on the governor and were given eating and lodging. The bestowal of ceremonial gifts has a long tradition in the East, and its enactment along the Jamb al-Gawhār may be considered an indication of respect for the caravan and its leader.

Once the customs procedures were completed and the caravan had been initially provisioned, it was escorted by the 50–70 miles north to Ġurūf (city), the major population center of the oasis, and messengers were dispatched to Asyūt to announce its imminent arrival. Although the oasis was only five days' travelling time from the valley,

1Gardner, H.J., 620; Budge, 233; Cowy, "Notes," 135; In the mid-nineteenth century, the quality of the goods had so greatly deteriorated that merchants were counseled to try them on and toss them off as soon as they had left the governor's palace: Cowy, "Observations," 266-7.

2On the oasis in Ottoman Egypt, Budge, Pioenclad and Abd. Orf., 226-7.

3A description of similar ceremonies on the Syrian desert route for minor caravans has not been found; presumably those going to Egypt via the Dead Sea-Armenia were accorded the same respect that the caravans were.

4Merchants from Jedh may have taken their goods to the caravan at Asyūt: G. C. Armitage, Visit to the Great Oasis of the Egyptian Province, (London, 1837), 146.

Gardner, H.J., 620; Lepsius, "Surveys," IV, 261; Cowy, "Notes," 26. It was the responsibility of the governor of the oasis, who was informed by a female, Tafri, 8 Nov., 1830, P. D. 158/159. Only the chief (the famous "husband" [asūb])

5News of glad tidings:

caravans wasted there to regain strength after the long march. Inhabitants of the oasis and nearby Bactria oasis cultivated wheat, rice, beans, and dates and sold them profitably to the caravans; there was also an abundant supply of water. The economy of the oasis depended heavily on caravan trade, and when the Egyptian conquest of Bâr Farî in 1814 brought the Far caravans trade to a halt, they suffered a severe depression. After a period of recuperation, the caravans proceeded to the village of Bîr Kordâ' where it ended its journey. Part of the goods were immediately shifted to a caravanserai on the outskirts of Cairo, so that merchants could sell as much as was necessary to pay customs. Receipts had to be issued before merchants were permitted to travel northward. Once this was done, they could travel either by water, hiring boats at Al-Qanzî, the small port of Asyût (or at Isâhî, if they came via the Sudan desert), or by land, moving through the districts on the western edge of the valley and even overlooking at the latitude of Old Cairo, where all Sudan goods, whether brought by water or by land, were obliged to pass through additional customs. The land route, which is poorly documented, may have been used in order to avoid illegal tolls.


2. See, 100, 426-44; Houry, Oriental Points, 134-6; al-Qâlinî travels from Cairo to Bâr Farî by water, returning at Old Cairo: Ekeblâw, 43, 50; Addâlî, 41, 42.

3. A dispute from the Makârî, dated 1777, mentions a slave lost by the Egyptian Mâlik. "I had one slave travelling from the Sudan to Cairo ... In the area of Jamjâm," in 355, 109, 180 (Cairo 1777). In the
Collected at various poits along the Nile between Asyût and Old Cairo.²

The size of caravans (as measured in numbers of camels) varied greatly. In 1780, Gaimp travelled to Asyût with a caravan of 2,000 camels, and this was only part of the total caravan that had assembled outside Asyût; the ranks and leading merchants followed with another caravan some time later.³ At the end of the century, Girard believed the great caravan from the Furras was composed of 5,000 camels, but considering the number of slaves and raw materials accompanying it, there are grounds to suspect the number of camels was underestimated.⁴ Lapanouse claimed the Furras caravan could number 15,000 camels, and Girard reported a caravan arriving in Egypt in 1782 from the same Furras numbering 26,000 camels.⁵ Brown, however, indicates that a caravan of 2,000 camels was considered “large” by Furras standards.⁶ But in the nineteenth century, caravans of 5,000 to

²Collected at Asyût and Hannah elly: Girard, MCC, 694.
³Gaimp, 204, 209.
⁴See Chapter II, 39–40.
⁵Lapanouse, “Earliest,” IV, El Girard, MCC, 621, footnote.
⁶Brown, 269.
16,000 camels were reported to have arrived in Aqabat.\textsuperscript{2} In the end of the eighteenth century, similar caravans were much smaller, numbering between 500 and 700 camels.\textsuperscript{2}

"Great" caravans always travelled in at least two divisions so that water in springs and wells along the route was not exhausted before all members of the caravan had a chance to use it. But it was not uncommon to suffer great want during the journey, as was graphically told to Bawing by a slave who had crossed the "Sah el-arba'in": sometimes in the mid-1830's.\textsuperscript{3}

We had not food enough to eat, and sometimes we had no drink at all, and our thirst was terrible; when we stopped, almost dying for want of water, they killed a camel, and gave us blood to drink. But the camels themselves could not get on, and then they were killed, and we had their flesh for meat and their blood for water.

Slaves were not the only ones to suffer the terrors of these desert voyages, but they probably suffered more since, like camels, they were forced to walk. The desert had long been considered by peoples of the Middle East as the place of unspeakable deprivations and the haunt of treacherous spirits. Thus, when Naim al-Saidi set out from Cairo on the perilous trip to Madinah, he and his companions...\textsuperscript{4}


\textsuperscript{3} Sykes, "Bombay," IV, 96.

\textsuperscript{4} John Bowring, Report of Egypt and Canaan, Parliamentary Papers, XII (1840), 82.
passed to repeat the Impression of Noah as he set out in the Ark.\footnote{Al-Fasi: Darfur, 291, 292. In the verse is from the Qur'\textsuperscript{an}, Sura 21, 41 ("Nuh").}
CHAPTER II

The African Trade in the Eighteenth Century

I found myself in attendance when a man from Danetta gave the king a very handsome horse, a Turkish sword, a coat of mail, a blunderbuss, several pretty mirrors, strings of coral beads and ivory, the whole having a value in Oriso of fifty ducats. The king in return gave him five silver ducats, five copper coins, and five hundred ducats in the money of the country [i.e.] cowrie, nearly a hundred enormous elephant tusks.

Leo Africanus, describing his visit to the court of the king of Oriso, 1512-15.

The articles of trade in Egypt's commerce with black African kingdoms to the south underwent remarkably little alteration in the hundreds of years of its recorded history. The staples were from the interior, slaves, camels, ivory, feathers, gold, vegetable and mineral raw goods and a few exotic luxuries such as spices and birds; they were exchanged for textiles, metals, hardware, beads and semi-precious materials and arms. These ingredients of the trade are exemplified in Leo Africanus' wondrous tale from the court of the king of Oriso, and with the notable exception of gold they were the essential elements of the exchange up to the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The trade between the two areas was founded on an old mixture of primary and luxury items. African exports were perhaps more carefully balanced between livestock or raw materials that could be consumed in Egypt (cotton, vegetables, meat, tobacco, etc.) and slaves, some

1 Description de l'Afrique, 22, 483.

37
Ivory and ebony were imported into Egypt from abroad (e.g., ivory, feathers, tanning, and so on). Due to the stability of the Egyptian social structure, the market for luxuries proved to be the largest of all during the 18th century. Given the market for three most important "legitimate" goods (e.g., ivory, feathers) the multi-faceted nature of the products is important in understanding the flexibility that African monarchs possessed when faced with European political crises or with changes in demand. However, they were dependent upon a single crop or single export commodity, their stability would have been gravely undermined.

Egyptian exports to Africa were heavily on imports from Europe, Arabia and India, underlining the vital importance of the strategic geographical position. Much of these exports—kwilis, mats, huts, paper, silk—was not directly consumed in all by ordinary people of the interior. Where not turned into means of exchange, they were consumed by religious or landed, court or religious elites. They provided the means for sovereigns to maintain power and prestige and only in this sense were essential to the well-being of interior states. The exchange between sovereign power and demand for imported goods is found in repeated allusions to the role played by African kings in the foreign trade of their countries. The role of African rulers in describing is emphasized in Smith, "Kings of Sun and Shadow," 1974:61.
Impetus for the trade between Egypt and her black African neighbors. It explains why African products continued to be carried north to Egypt in spite of clearly unfavorable trade terms, arduous lines of communication, and occasional obstructionist attitudes on the part of Egyptian rulers.

1. The Goods Exchanged

Statistics of goods exchanged between the two areas during the eighteenth century are extremely scarce. Virtually the only account bearing statistical content is that by F. E. Girard, drawn up during the years of the French occupation of Egypt, 1798-1801.\(^1\) Egyptian customs records, other than those published by Girard at the end of his Mémoire, have not been utilized, and if those which have been published\(^2\) are at all representative their accuracy might indeed be questioned. (Reasons for their sub-evaluation will be noted below.) Customs house records from Upper Egypt where the heaviest duties were collected on caravan commerce would have been more interesting for this period. Its revenues, however, were pocketed by the governor as part of his salary\(^3\) and we have no record of duties paid there until the nineteenth century.

Girard’s description of the two caravans, one from Sāh Fūr, the other an amalgam of several caravans from Ṣirīnūr, presents numerous

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\(^2\)They are drawn from the records of customs houses at Old Cairo and Mīålq.

\(^3\)Shaw, Cattar, 135, 157; Shaw, Fin. and Adm., 216.
problems both in terms of the quantity of goods mentioned and the values attached to them. Since the number of slaves and camels brought by these caravans is the key factor in determining the total value of African exports, it is essential the size of these two commodities be established with some degree of accuracy. Given the great distance covered by the Dur Fur caravans, for instance, and hardships faced where waterless stretches extending over a week’s travelling time could be Girard’s estimation of the number of slaves brought (5,000 to 6,000) and the number of camels led (5,000) would appear questionable. One or the other of these two statistics must be adjusted in order to conform to some commonly accepted ratio between slaves and camels. Accordingly the number of camels accompanying the Dur Fur caravans has been raised from 5,000 to 9,000 and those with similar caravans from 3,000 to 1,076.1

1 Excluded from our calculations are Walpers’ notes on the Furs of trade, 60–1. The caravans he inspected was too infrequent to provide the basis for any conclusions about this branch of the trade with the interior. A more complete account of the articles of this trade is found in O. F. Leu, A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa... (London, 1851), 15-9.

2 According to his statistics, the legitimate goods exported by Dur Fur should have been carried by 3,923 camels whilst goods imported by Danes should have been carried by 3,778 camels: total, 7,701. However, 3,100 of these camels could have carried the 4,000 riders and 3,100 others for the 4,000 riders, and both caravans, as one could constantly supply ten filled watercases apiece. 4,000 watercases could not have been easily sufficient to provision alone to 4,000 slaves plus a a large number of mercantile and retainers (Girard mentions 600 to 400 accompanying the Dur Fur caravans alone). Lomé’s ‘Table Loin’ (1802) between El age & 63°, based on a small caravan bringing slaves and other goods from Dur Fur to Agolo, in 1803, records that the ratio between slaves and camels averaged 1 slave to 1.6 camels, not counting those camels carrying loads of goods. If this ratio is applied to Girard’s statistics, then the average number of slaves brought by the Dur Fur caravans (3,000) should...
There may also be found in Girard’s statistics certain obvious
gaps in purchases made by caravan merchants in Cairo. It will be
noticed, for instance, that no arms or military supplies are listed
among exports to Sinnur, and too few metals and hardware. It is highly
unlikely Sinnur merchants would have failed to make purchases of both.
For Darfur, the export of spices and opium seems similarly incomplete.
Nor is any mention made of the number of donkeys taken to the interior,
though they were priced, nor of the quantity of paper (الورق ḍanqūf) which was a heavy item of trade in both countries.1

have been accompanied by 5,640 camels; this number added to the number of
camels carrying legitimate goods amounts to 9,057 camels. The corre-
sponding figure for the Sinnur caravan would be 1,176 camels. These
totals cannot to almost twice the number indicated by Girard. They do
not include the number of camels used by merchants to carry their own
provisions.

The size of the Darfur caravan would have been considerable
large, but it compares favorably with the statistics of a large-size car-
avan mentioned by Delaporte, “Commerce”, 1-2, and with the information
given in Chapter I above.

1Brown, 357; Burckhardt, Table, 153.

2Brown, 303; Burckhardt, Table, 270. This was obviously an
oversight in Girard’s part because in his description of the trade
of Ispicas (2nd ed. XLI, 25-5), he mentions the re-export of paper to
the interior of Africa.
Finally, the evaluation of slaves and carobs—the price given for them in Egypt—is almost certainly out of line with the level of prices mentioned for other African imports. This has necessitated an upward revision of his statistics, as will be explained below. Despite these drawbacks, Girdwood's enumeration and evaluation of the trade provides a convenient model of Egyptian-black African exchanges and an adequate portrait of the trade as it was practiced at the end of the eighteenth century.

b. Imports from Ḥarf, Ḥur, and Ḥanāfī

The following goods in order of importance were brought from the interior:

Slaves. At the end of the century, Ḥarf was Egypt's largest supplier of slaves, the numbers sent being from fifteen to twenty times those sent from Sudan. Ḥarf's sources were drawn from areas to the south and south-west of her borders, generally called Ḥarf Gurbanīs or Ḥarf Parțis, and from territories bordering on her frontier with Wadai. The bulk were probably captured in government-sponsored raids; others were gained in war with Wadai which occasionally resulted in the enslavement of free-born Muslims. Slaves from

1 D. Fahey, "Slavery," 341; Girdwood, AOC, 421.
2 On 757, 390, 1208; see G. J. H. K. 1162 (1793); Sub 111 977, 395, 1466, 40 Muharram 1128 (1813); visits made in Cairo courts to establish freedom of persons from Wadai, born of Muslim parents.
The Far were considered less valuable in Cairo than slaves coming from Sudan, the reasons for this not being very clear. Slaves from Sudan were taken from lands south of her southern frontiers, an area traditionally called Far au-Djibout. She also exported to Egypt a few Ethiopian slaves, but larger numbers entered Egypt via the Red Sea. Three-quarters of the slaves brought to Egypt were female. Of the sales imported, a certain number were extracted in Upper Egypt at a village near Egypt. Many were then re-exported to Istanbul. Syria took a hundred or so black slaves but none was taken to Europe. Altogether this branch of the trade accounted for 13 per cent of the total value of African imports. A note on the number of slaves annually from Africa is found at the end of this chapter.

Canea. As a consequence of adjustments made in quantity and value, cane sugar ranked only to slaves in the role they played in African imports. This would seem a fair assessment as cane exports were prevalent in Africa, Chapter VII.

2. Girard, 182, 638 mentions 8 to 10 out of 150 annually exported.
4. 69-135.
5. For a general discussion of this industry, Otto Monardes, "The Upper Egyptian practice of the import of slaves in the XVIIth and XVIIIth century," Antiquitaten fur Deutschland, Band 24, Heft 1 (1969), 41-51.
<table>
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<th>Commodity</th>
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<th>Shilling</th>
<th>Total (rounded off)</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
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<td>Camels</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>20,000,000</td>
<td>25.6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>4,000</td>
<td>3,000,000</td>
<td>8,100,000</td>
<td>9.3</td>
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<td>4,000,000</td>
<td>5.5</td>
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<td>65,200</td>
<td>14,572,000</td>
<td>15,227,000</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Girard, A.D., 1793, with adjustments noted below.

Notes to Table 1:

1. The table lists the number of slaves per house unit given by Girard. Thus, slaves, gum, camels, etc. from Simiaw were higher than those from Lur Fyr.

2. The values attached to twelve slaves per house were considerable difficulties. The conclusion seems to meet from Girard's attempts to portray accurate levels of imports and exports exchanged between Lur Fyr and the interior. Since the French occupation and seriously dislocated this commerce (Fried, 240, noting that in three years only four medium-sized caravans had been to Egypt), Girard was unable to give an information about the trade as it was conducted in normal times. This
of the Sudan have long been the mainstay of the camel trade in Egypt.
Most were sold in Upper Egypt, but the great market for them was also in Cairo, located in the great square below the Citadel. Girard indicated that four-fifths of the camels attached to incoming caravans were sold off in Egypt since the goods purchased in Cairo required fewer camels and since they would not be needed to carry water for slaves. This suggests that over 8,000 camels from the Sudan were annually sold in Egypt. The trade constituted 25.6 per cent of the total value of African imports.

Camels were the most important of the "legitimate" goods imported from Africa. It was primarily re-exported to Europe. Since shipped considerably more camels to Egypt than the SDA.

quality of the Sehrate, the ratio of one part high-quality white feathers to four parts poor-quality black feathers has been adopted (Shehate, Ebola, 50-51, Macaulay, "Sudan", 3-4; George, "Ethopoietics", 1944, 1953). The price given for high-quality white (grade 2-4) is not given, consequently it is very likely the total feather evaluation in Table 1 is underestimated.

5. Articles of import mining from this list may have included cheap paper, hippopotamus teeth, and possibly a small amount of copper. See Brown, 367. Also leather goods such as straps, travelling bags and saddles.

Raymont, "Sudan", 36-4.


2In Table 1, the value of this trade is based on: exports from the U.S.: 7.2% camels; from Sudan: 896 (four-fifths of 9,007 and 1,776 respectively.)
Fur (an average of 1,500 kantars or 1,300) but the quality of our fur was esteemed twice as valuable as similar fur. This may be related to the fact that Kurduka, the great fur-producing region of this part of the continent, was then under the control of a Fur king. As a result, the quality of this fur was also a factor. Our fur was considered of higher value than that of similar fur because it was more beautiful. A furrier, a persian furrier, listed its value per kantar at 35 per cent less than that given for similar fur.

**Ivory**

Fur was also a valuable resource in the kingdom. As a result, the quantity shipped by this kingdom was also twice as great as similar fur. Trugott considered the quality of our fur to be better than that of similar fur. He listed it at 35 per cent less than that given for similar fur. This latter kingdom's supply was from Dula and Basra, who brought it through Babar al-Shamal and marketed it irregularly to merchants trading into similar and other commercial centers of the kingdom. The quality of ivory varied greatly, the highest price paid for large, heavy, white ("healthy") pieces. A good portion, however, consisted of scrap ("vermilions") for which the price was considerably lower. It seems probable that a system of

1From the mid-sixteenth century onward, the port of Basra had an established route to the Mediterranean. Ivory was often exported to Egypt via our ports. Nachmanis, IV, 201, 251, 256.


dissinuates was applied to those scapes in the eighteenth century as it
was in the nineteenth.\footnote{In London about this time, six sorts of ivory
were recognized and sold according to quality.} There was also a small
market for ivory in Cairo where ivory-carvers (\textit{makaseb}) numerous enough
to form a guild,\footnote{\textit{Oneida. A. W. B. Frank, The Art of the Carver in
Egypt. (London, 1930), 146-11.}} used it to fashion jewelry and objects and for decorative
purposes.\footnote{\textit{Raymond, Antiquity, II, 914-916.}} Most, however, was re-exported to London and France.

\textbf{Waterskins.} Made of cow, ox, sheep or camel hides, waterkins
were a profitable by-product of camel trade. Being essential equipment,
like goatskins, their importation was a necessity. In Cairo and provincial
cities there was a ready market for this commodity, as they were used by
water carriers, one of the largest urban working forces, to transport
water from the Nile to private residences.\footnote{\textit{On the excellence of Egyptian waterkins, Burnouf, \textit{Cah. de l'Inst. Egypt.}, 204. They were prized because the whole skin was used, thereby
minimizing waste.}} In addition, many private
individuals kept their own \textit{flysch} to store water in their homes. Waterkins from \textit{Ar Rih} were valued twice as high as \textit{ginner}-made skins, perhaps because her." 

\textsuperscript{1}Georges, "Commercial," 1-2. The discount amounted to one-
third the price given for healthy pieces.

\textsuperscript{2}\textit{Burnouf's Recherches sur l'Egypte}, (London, 1836), 1, 65.

\textsuperscript{3}Often mentioned in written texts, \textit{two-stone} is identified in Ashar 301, 297-5, (1153) by \textit{Ar Rih} or \textit{Raymond}.

\textsuperscript{4}\textit{Kummer, Eberhard. \textit{Die Kunst der Verzierer in
Feathers. It would appear from Glaire's statistics that the feather trade was at a low point at the end of the eighteenth century, the value of feathers brought by caravans only amounting to 2.7 per cent of total African imports. More than any other product of the trade it depended on the international market. Feathers were customarily classified into five qualities, the finest being large white feathers having a flexible body, the poorest being black. In between were three grades of lesser quality whites or grays. The best quality were valued at 1950 (g'gn) per unit (roughly one pound) while the black sold for only 180. Kordofan was the natural habitat of ostriches and consequently the Fur benefited once more from its control of the region. It exported three times as many feathers as Sima. In Cairo, feathers were bought up almost exclusively by Jews, who specialized in the trade, and were re-exported to England. The difference in the price given for feathers to African merchants and that paid for them by Europeans indicates that Jewish merchants earned profits as high as 366 per cent on the sale of white feathers. Black feathers, however, were sold at cost.

\(^{1}\)Valle, 390.

\(^{2}\)Glaire, 2nd ed., XVII, 351, 359. Whites were purchased by Venetian and Egyptian merchants for 1,000 (g'gn) per unit and sometimes for as high as 10,000.\)
Jatropha. The chief source of niter for Egypt was found at Wāli Mājūn, a short distance to the northwest of Cairo. As has already been stated, niter brought by caravans was collected at Dīr Mājūn, midway between Dīr Farr and Egypt. A great portion was probably sold in Adyōn but an examination of inventories of merchants in the trade shows that some part was also brought to Cairo for sale. Niter was used in making gunpowder, in medicines, cleaning, and as a meat preservative.

**Jatropha.** Named in Arabic nisārāh, (date of India) this fruit also grew on trees cultivated in northwest Dīr Farr and in ErbulFun. It was pounded into small cakes, making transportation simple, then dissolved in water to produce a refreshing drink. A part of the quantity brought to Cairo was re-exported to Venice, Trieste, and Lisbon. Dīr Farr was the sole supplier of nisārāh at the end of the eighteenth century.

**Nile.** This crop, too, was exclusively exported by Dīr Farr. The ripe of a lentil, it was pulverized and made into a cement used for eye ointments. Only a fractional amount of the total export was re-exported abroad. to Syria.

**Sandalwood.** Sandalwood was popularly used in the

1. Chapter 1, 78.

making of dagger handles and cups, it being commonly believed that the
horn possessed magical qualities which encouraged fearlessness and
warped off evil. A certain amount was collected from rhinoceroses
living along the Nile south of Simaor proper, but none of this seems to
have reached Cairo. Our fur supplied the Egyptian market with 2,000
pieces per year, according to Girard.

Gold. The amount of gold, long associated with the African
caravan trade, brought to Egypt at the end of the century was so
insignificant that Girard was unable to supply us with any precise informa-
tion about it. The traditional source in the eastern Sudan was located
in the border country between Simaor and Ethiopia, but most of that
which reached Simaor markets was probably taken off by merchants Port-
ing into Niles. Egypt’s major source continued to be the western
Sudan. Tamarit pilgrims arriving in Cairo with the Moroccan pilgrim-
caravan of 1799 brought 2,459 bushels of gold dust, or approximately

3Burckhardt, Jbiteh, 260.
4Gold, 279.
5The red mountains in southern Eritrea hold gold
deposits but their extraction was negligible. Burckhardt, On the
6Burckhardt, Jbiteh, 97.
1,856 pachas, worth 667,016 piastres. This sum is dramatically less than the 1,000 to 1,000 huntas of gold that reportedly came from Bilbao al-Valver at the end of the seventeenth century. Since this trade did not originate in either Sir Yor or Sineer it has not been included in Table 2.

Other. In addition to these major articles of trade, caravans brought a small amount of gold and white (R.3). Gold was collected by Sir Yor caravans en route to Egypt. Both caravans brought whips, though at the end of the eighteenth century Sir Yor sent larger numbers and received higher prices for them. Whips were employed in Cairo to punish offenders of the law.

To sum up the patterns of eighteenth-century African imports, slaves unquestionably ranked as the most important item. Their dominant position was due to the greater numbers being exported by Sir Yor, than

1. Emmanuel Lebard, "Mémoire sur les monnaies d'Egypte," Description de l'Egypte, 1st ser., 1st part, 2nd ed., XLI, 429-90. The gold was described in gold containing 15 carats each which were sold for 244 Spanish dollars in Cairo (12.160.18.1.3). Bernard mentioned (1849, 427) the mace were nearly always ornamented with a small ring of gold or rock decoration and were tubing or a fourfold-line design. The ornaments contained pictures of figures or tortoises.

2. (Mallet), "Mèle sur le gouvernement d'Egypte," (Arabic) Mémoire et Documents, Egypte, 1 (1827), 24, see also Raymond, Arabie, 1, 40.

For, then at the apogee of her power, nearly half her total exports to Egypt was invested in slaves. On the other hand, Strobeck's comparable figure is much lower, slaves accounting for only 11 per cent of her exports. Political events in the nineteenth century would alter these percentages considerably. At the same time it is worthwhile noticing the even stronger position of raw materials and livestock in the combined trade of both regions, representing almost 60 per cent of total exports. Cane, waterwines (and other leather goods), camphor, nutmeg and lith were always marketable in Egypt, and her strategic position on the Mediterranean and Red Sea offered outlets for goods only partially or not at all consumed domestically, such as ivory, palm and feathers. The access to European markets and the boom in these three European-dominated items enabled states of the interior to increase enormously the volume of these exports in the nineteenth century.

b. Exports to the Fur and Slave

Goods purchased by African merchants in Egypt can be listed under five general headings: textiles; metals and hardware; grains; medicinal herbs and spices; beads and semi-precious materials; and firearms and military supplies. As with her exports, Africa's imports

2 Henry, "Slavery," 37, links the well-being and efficiency of the Fur government to the internal use and export of slaves.

3 See also Spalding, "King of Sun and Shadow," 166.
remained surprisingly fixed over the centuries. By far the most important categories of goods purchased in terms of value were textiles and garments.

**Textiles.** Cotton, silk and linen goods were of prime importance; they seem to have complemented the cotton stuffs manufactured by local textile industries in interior kingdoms. The bulk of this trade was in textiles of Egyptian manufacture. These included the cottons and silks manufactured in Habbah, al-Qahhara, Cairo and other textile centers (called by their trade names, "al-kharj, al-qahhara, al-mallaha"). Linens manufactured in Aqur (al-qurra), usually dyed blue. Other cloths made in Upper Egypt, at Qahhara, were also exported to the south, but they are not included in Girard’s list. Textiles from Asia, including sateens and muslins from India (al-kharj, al-qahhara, al-mallaha), silks from Syria and Istanbul, women’s garments from Arabia (al-kharj, al-qahhara, al-mallaha) werenegligible.

1 Goods sent from Cairo with a travelling merchant in 1696: this traditional trade included 2 camel loads of copper wire and sateen, 2 camel loads each of heads and hams, and 2 camel loads of cloth (al-mallaha) having the term used "Tawil." Linn Rall 109, 140; #391, 150. Warsaw 1076.

2 Cotton cloth, al-mallaha, was manufactured in Siurn and exported a wide range: Habbah, al-qahhara, al-mallaha. Cotton was widely cultivated in Syria for textiles, 1771, but a textile industry based on it has not been described. Cotton was also grown in Egypt and although the quality of 1691 cloth was poor (al-qurra), 10, 209, 235. It circulated widely in Syria (Habbah, al-qahhara, al-mallaha).


4 Not mentioned by Girard but often included in inventories of merchants in the trade.
of this commerce, along with certain materials from Europe, woolens
(fabric into ready-made garments called шкатулка), velvet and high-quality
cotton. Certain of these textiles were evidently destined for use by
the royal family and elite classes. This probably included red
(scarlet) cotton, many brocaded clothes woven with gold and silver
threads, and possibly the linen stuffs manufactured in Atzik, which sold
in Elmas as "deer" prices. For the rest, the greater part of lower-
quality cotton was probably not turned into articles of clothing but
converted into strips and used as currency in small retail transactions.

Altogether textiles accounted for almost 50 per cent of total purchases
made by caravans in Cairo. This particular trade was so important that
guilds of cloth-dealers used to come on process to the Wadali att-al-Bullahi,
the central market for African goods in Cairo, to carry on business
with caravan merchants.

Metals and Hardware. Next to textiles, the purchase of tin
bars (кость), copper sheets and wire, and odd copper was the
most

1 Murakhamet, Tabah, 368.
2 ibid.
3 In the use of кожа, Murakhamet, loc. cit., Shepherd, 367.
4 "Kishkurn," 463, also cited in Murakhamet, pl. 57, ibid., 263, Tabah, 297.
5 Chapter VI, 291-7.

Was mentioned by Girard but frequently listed in inventories
of merchants in the trade; see Murakhamet, Tabah, 270.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goods</th>
<th>£20.00</th>
<th>Shilling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Textiles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goff ( silky and cotton)</td>
<td>1,125,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flax ( cotton)</td>
<td>3,637,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpaca ( linen)</td>
<td>748,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ameine&quot; ( cotton)</td>
<td>210,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allin ( silk and cotton)</td>
<td>67,900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslin ( cotton)</td>
<td>612,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shadie</td>
<td>390,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>945,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felt</td>
<td>27,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velvete</td>
<td>942,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woolens (for ready-made gowns)</td>
<td>3,700,000</td>
<td>520,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>10,666,500</td>
<td>1,061,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Metals and Implements</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tin</td>
<td>1,550,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead</td>
<td>945,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Copper</td>
<td>2,025,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potter's Lead</td>
<td>227,000</td>
<td>48,615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steel</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>files</td>
<td>90,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nails</td>
<td>67,900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirrors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>5,159,500</td>
<td>288,675</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### III. Scents, Musk, Ointment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fats and Oils</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epsom Salt</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>54,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jumbo Soap</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandalwood (2 rates)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(2 rates)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musk</td>
<td></td>
<td>(50 ratio)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td></td>
<td>900,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wormwood ($100)</td>
<td>360,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clove</td>
<td></td>
<td>250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>708,750</td>
<td>2,362,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### IV. Books and Sons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preserving Materials</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass beads</td>
<td>720,000</td>
<td>132,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amber</td>
<td>470,000</td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coral</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>2,350,000</td>
<td>132,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### V. Firearms and Military Supplies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Musket (handful)</td>
<td>16,500</td>
<td>3,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sword Blades</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunpowder</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coats of mail</td>
<td>750,000</td>
<td>155,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>821,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### VI. Dyes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>85,400</td>
<td>16,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>45,000</td>
<td>8,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>131,400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL** 19,765,600 | 3,722,375

**GRAND TOTAL**: 21,765,600

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*Source: Omer, 435, 635-9, with corrections. These and footnotes are found in Notes to Table 2 on the following page.*
the major concern of Damascus merchants. All these metals were imported to Egypt from Europe. Old copper, called scrap (سُكَرَّ), was recycled into ceramics and other objects in the interior; copper wire was used to decorate lamps. The imported tin for צְבָא (צְבָא) was probably used to

**Notes to Table 2**

In arriving at the total value of these various goods, the constant value of the goods, metal and צְבָא has been used (92, 120 and 114, respectively).

So alterations in the quantity or value of goods mentioned by Oliver has been made except in the case of "barter" goods (see footnote 1 below). In some cases, Oliver noted the increase or decrease in price of goods traded as a result of the French occupation. From this it may be gathered that his information drew from price levels that prevailed shortly before the occupation, ca. 1793.

For the gaps in his list, see p. 41 above. Comparisons of items mentioned here may be found in {Bernhardt, Table 4; 205-71; and Brown, 302-3.}

The "brass" cotton (grade name not specified) were priced by Oliver at 120 צְבָא (100 צְבָא) each. This would appear to be an error for 10 צְבָא, and the total value has been adjusted accordingly.

The price of sandalwood and balk per measure unit is not given, nor is our information complete enough to allow an approximate estimation.

On the evaluation of costs of mail, see below, p. 63, footnote 1.

The current price of sugar is taken from Raymond, Table 4.

1Bernhardt, Table 4; 205; the trade in imported copper was one of the most profitable in the Port: {Abu Ali, 1111; 111; 111.}
the bleus de toile, a notion of exchange. Rutger’s lead taken by
both caravans was presumably used in local pottery manufactories
though we are not well informed about them. The large quantity of
lead (500 kaster) mentioned by Girard among the exports to Sér Fil is
assumed; it may have been specially purchased in connection with the
foundry being set up by the zulian at the end of the eighteenth century
to manufacture cannon. Beyond these basic metal supplies, hardware
bought in Cairo included ramrods and rifle-locks (used in equipping
saddles), small hand mirrors, and thimbles, scissors, and needles (not
listed by Girard). This trade amounted to 73.2% per cent of total
caravan purchases. The great bulk of these goods went to Sér Fil, a
further indication of the industry and activity of that kingdom at the
end of the century.

Scents, medicinal barks and spices. Best known of the scents ex-
ported to the interior were spikenard (lampart) and musk (from the
berry of a European cherry tree). Both were in great demand as perfumes,
medicines and cosmetics. These two items were imported to Egypt from
Europe; other scents, such as sandalwood and musk, came from the east
via the Red Sea by milked. Soap, imported from Palestine and Syria

1Jal-Masal, Feilner, 315; Feilner 187.
l’Histoire des Civilisations, 19 (1908), 159-91; see also Auriol, VIII.
3Buresharrif, Bahia, 322; Buresharrif, 302-3.
(Egyptian-made soap was extremely crude), was another important item; it could be used to pay customs in the Sudan. Although S 다만 had access to eastern products (cloves, wormwood) via Damascus, more than two-thirds of the goods of this category purchased by caravans in Cairo was expected there. However, for his share, as was suggested earlier, is apparently incomplete. Altogether those goods account for 12.8 per cent of African exports.

**Beads and non-consumable materials.** The relatively low level of purchases—not more than 32 per cent of total value of goods sent to Africa in Girard's list—of glass beads, amber and coral may lead one to underestimate the value of these goods in the interior. Rich and poor women alike, al-Turi reported, used them as their chief article of personal adornment, but no expensive were some beads that even rich women could not afford to have more than four bead necklaces. Because of their great popularity and the ease with which they could be transported, the trade in beads was considered "one of the most profitable." There were beads of all sizes, shapes and colors, ranging carrying such fancy trade names as "Egyptian boy, sovereign's love, Little Pepper or Nose-blowing blood and others were given new words meaning nothing more than their color—red, green, yellow, blue or black.

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2Chapman, 229; Galal, 215.
3Berthier, 266, 270.
4On those and other beads, Chapter IV, 1/17-27.
The most common in Simași were cheap wooden beads, made in Upper Egypt. More expensive glass beads were imported from Palestine, but the best came from Venice or Bohemia. Venice exported hundreds of varieties, some (Portuguese) especially well-marked for the interior trade.

Yellow amber, sea and false coral and agate, imported by Egypt from Lower and Trieste, were even more valued in the interior. They served as a basis for elaborate inlays or as market tokens for transactions of importance. In Cairo, amber and coral sold at far higher prices than glass beads. All types of imported beads and semi-precious materials could be used as currency in Africa.

1 Burckhardt, Mabla, 269.

2 Ibid., c.f. These are probably the beads called H הרכב or מחרוב mentioned by Eumeus, 9.5-1.

3 Burckhardt, Mabla, 269; they were white beads (porcelain), primarily exported to Far Far.

4 Carlo Rosselli, the Venetian consul in Cairo, showed an American traveler one case of glass in 1908 containing 1,500 different beads in his stock: E. E. Newell, Travels in the Desert, II, 29.

5 Shirreff, I, 125 and footnote 1

6 Glass beads were 10-15 mabūba per kilogram; amber: 6-10 mabūba per kilogram; coral 15-20 mabūba per kilogram: Girard, Hist., 639.
and were, apparently, even adopted by local rulers as a measure in tax schedules.\footnote{1}

\textbf{Firearms and military supplies.} Armaments sent with the ēdīr lūṣūr for caravans included from 30 to 50 muskets\footnote{2} (probably outdated European models), 100 sword blades (to be mounted in the Sudan), and 50 kantars of gunpowder. Arm were not expensive; muskets sold in Cairo for 600 to 700 ēdīr lūṣūr and sword blades cost only 180 ēdīr lūṣūr each.\footnote{3} (In contrast, one nail of coral beads sold for about 2,100 ēdīr lūṣūr and one diamond may have cost as much as 2,700 ēdīr lūṣūr.) In addition to these weapons, 125 boats of sail, assembled in Egypt, were exported at the cost of 50 ēdīr lūṣūr (6,000 ēdīr lūṣūr) each.\footnote{4} All arm and military supplies mentioned by Girard were transported to ēdīr lūṣūr for which had to be provisioned by his forces in Kordofan and along the Nuba border. They amounted to 4.2 per cent of ēdīr lūṣūr's expenses in Cairo.

\textsuperscript{1}\textit{Abū al-Nasir Muhammad al-Dimashqi, ēdīr lūṣūr of Cūr. 3'hārīa al-Mutasimī, letter and al-maṣūlī, letter to the letters, and letter to the letters, University of Jordan, 1979/1, 101.}

\textsuperscript{2}\textit{Girard,} \textit{Diego, 635.}

\textsuperscript{3}This price would appear to be over-estimated. Costs of sail were but rarely stocked by armaments located at the Kordofan ēdīr lūṣūr and so there exists too little data concerning their price during this period. In 1751, however, one cost was valued at 100 ēdīr lūṣūr and was taking in consideration the rapid deterioration of the ēdīr lūṣūr. It seems unlikely that a cost in 1792 should have cost 6,000. Perhaps 650 (9 musbîh) was closer to the truth.
Beyond these major categories of goods, Girard's account shows that Dis for merchants imported a small quantity of sugar and coffee, the total value of which was less than one per cent of the goods taken from Egypt. This is in great contrast to her other trading partners, only a tiny fraction of Egypt's export trade with Africa consisted of agricultural produce, the majority of her economy. Other goods, not specifically enumerated by Girard, would have included paper (surw as mentioned in Bouhaara texts), spices, oil, wax, tobacco, and incense. 1

On the basis of Girard's list of goods exported to Dis for and Egypt, the following characteristics of the Egyptian trade of these countries can be suggested: (1) a heavy dependence on imported textiles to satisfy the tastes of the ruling classes and to complement the poor quality of goods manufactured by local textile industries; (2) a heavy dependence on imported metals despite the availability of mineral resources; 2 (3) a very minimal reliance on the import of arms, suggesting that the conduct of war in these countries remained highly...
traditional despite a long sequence with modern military equipment, and (b) a remarkably high investment in terms of goods expected to procure various luxury articles ranging from expensive clothes to beads, scarfs, andsoup. Where these goods were not used to express or enhance the status of elites who had access to trade, it would appear they were used as mediums of exchange. Thus, the Egyptian trade of these countries cannot be said to have served the basic needs of the common people.

2. Fixed Objectives in the Trade

The problems of travelling long distances by caravans are well known. In addition to the gross expenditure of time and the ever-present possibility of disaster, there was also the cost of hiring (if not buying) camels and equipment, the cost of renting business quarters at terminal stations or in market centers of the interior, of maintaining stock (which in the case of slaves could become an onerous expense), and the payment of numerous bribes for favors.

1W. J. the bousing of the Bokor, O'Farrell in his States and State Formation in the Eastern Sudan, Cambridge Press, 1973, Sudan Reports Unit (Cherbourg, 1910) 13, footnote 21, refers to the conclusion that guns played no part in state formation until the nineteenth century.

2Numerous reports of caravans losing their way have been published. See, for instance, Brown, 187; Bruce, 116; Burman, 185-2.

3Brown, 225.

4Kemp, 318, emphasized difficulties faced by poor Sinnoi common merchants who could not afford to provision their goods when Kordofan caravans were unexpectedly delayed.
and services rendered. These expenses must have varied tremendously as they depended on individual circumstances, and if there did exist some average amount of travelling expenses, our sources have not revealed it. On the other hand, there did exist certain fixed charges levied on caravan traffic, consisting of protection fees, customs duties, and regularly collected extra-legal taxes. An approximation of total charges indicates the minimal level of liability under which the trade between Egypt and the interior operated.

However, since there are lacking any reliable statistics on caravans which precisely fix the number of camels accompanying the merchants, the quantity of goods brought, and the number of traders involved, a hypothetical model must be used. For this purpose the example of the great caravan from Dār Ḥunayn of 1795-99 may be taken, and the statistics given in Table 1 will provide the basis of the model. As a matter of record, this caravan was plundered by French forces sometime after it arrived at Rābī' al-Awwād and there can be no way of knowing how much of the caravan was able to reassemble nor how much of the goods was lost. In drawing up the model, the number of camels making up the caravan has been adjusted in accordance with our

1In Mamluk partnership contracts as recorded in the Zulqarnānīn, these were called si-nilaw or šušun, and were considered legitimate deductions. See also Chapter IV, 131.

2Jenkovsky, II, 648-49. Some scholars were reported to have assessed from 15,000 to 20,000 livres (455,105 to 606,137 piasters), certainly an exaggeration.
earlier explanation 1 so that the key figures upon which the follow-
ing calculations are based are 5,500 slaves and 3,600 camels.

a. Fees to the bahtir. This fee, paid to
the sultan's chief emissary, amounted in fact to a For
state custom duty levied on exported goods. Brown
called it a dhurrur which replaced an official
examination of merchants' goods. 2 But as D'Ombrain
has pointed out, the fee was used to make purchases
for the sultan in Cufra. 3 It was based on a rate
of 23 higa per camel and 15 per slave and was paid
to the bahtir upon the caravan's arrival in Egypt. 4

Page 124, footnote 12.

2 'Travel, 298.

3 "Slavery," 37 footnote 43.

1Grais, LIC, 820. This fee was collected by the bahtir on
the basis of slaves and goods exported from the For, discounting
looses sustained during the journey to Egypt. From Lermus's statistics
of losses of slaves and camels suffered by the sultan for caravans of
1593 ("Camillo, 136-7-8"), these could be heavy: 17 percent
for slaves and 13.7 percent for camels. It is not known if similarly
high losses were commonly sustained, and it may be that this particu-
lar caravan met disaster on route to Egypt. Merchants who suffered
severest losses but the lowest ratio of slaves to ungulates (water-
carrying) camels.

2This figure may well have been lower if the caravan included
a large quantity of sheep, goats which probably would have been excepted
from state customs. Merchants accompanying the caravan with whom
Brown repotted in Egypt in 1756 reported 3,600 slaves and paid the
higa 1,200 slave (300,000 higa); the master of one is not indic-
tated. Brown, 229.
4. Protection fee. In order to pass peacefully along the jībah al-abshārīn, merchants paid protection money to the bedūnin Arabi inhabiting the desert. It amounted to 50 fīldās per camel.1

819,030

5. Kharījī's fee. Upon arrival at Yarza oasis, the caravans were greeted by a lieutenant of the governor, and he exacted a fee of 4 fīdās per slave.2

87,768

6. Customs at Asyqūt. Duty was assessed by the kharījī and his staff at Yarza but paid at Asyqūt. It amounted to 250 fīdās per camel and 449 per slave.3 An especial rate appears to have been used on camels carrying loads of ivory.

1Brown, 126.

2Seward, 126: In addition, he noted that the kharījī received a gift of two slaves and two camels from the jībah. These gifts would have raised the fee to over 300,000 fīdās. Brown (273) suggests a gift of a slave was expected from each of the jībah caravans respectively.

3Seward, 126.
gun and feathers as it was at Dürer on caravans com-
ing from Stein. 1

2. Customs at Old Cairo. 3 Duties at
the southern port of Cairo were levied according to
the following schedule: 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Gun</th>
<th>Feathers</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imported: 50 fiddas per hankar, 8 per load
Domestic: 10 per cent in kind
Exports: 90 fiddas per large bag

1. Lecompte, "Ennem," 129. He indicates that a customs duty of 660 fiddas was collected on loads of ivory, gun and other goods and 1,200 fiddas on loads of feathers. Estève, "Mémoire sur les finances de l'Egypte." Superintend. des Etapes, J. A. deslauriers, 8, 348 reports 3,00 fiddas on loads of gun, 1,200 on loads of feathers and 200 tons of rice applied at both Suez and Ismail. Lecompte's Table, however, shows that customs at Asyut, of which he was the director, treated loaded and unloaded caldrons alike, collecting 250 fiddas on both.

2. Customs paid by Browne's caravan (in 1796) amounted to 150 purses, 1,770,000 fiddas: Browne, 56.

3. It is assumed the caravan marched through the Libyan desert from Asyut to Cairo rather than taking the Nile passage, thus avoiding illegal customs collected at Sharkia and Dürer which would have cost the merchants another 210,000 fiddas (Girard, AFR, 67); see Chapter 2, 15 above.

4. Estève, 336. Other customs were collected on percaro; gold fiddas exempt.
The ratio of female slaves to male may have been as high as 4:11 or as low as 7:1 but 3:1 seems to have been average. To pay for Anyët customs, a certain amount of goods would have been paid off in Upper Egypt.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOTAL QUEEN and FEED</th>
<th>703,762</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6,979, 561</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Acquired at Cairo customs, merchants also faced market taxes due to the tax of the Ta’alâ’im, and fees to brokers when their services were employed. Of these charges that can be reasonably tabulated, we see that a caravan bearing 5,500 slaves and 9,067 camels was liable to customs and fees amounting to 6,979,561 piastres, or 9.9 per cent of the total value of goods it imported. Comparable figures for the Egyptian caravan were lower, about 5.5 per cent of import values.

1 Giraud, AEO, 632.


3 Delaporte, "Commerce," 5; this conforms with the incidence of slaves mentioned in Islamic texts.

4 Giraud, AEO, 632. For this model, it has been assumed that goods sold off included 200 slaves and as many as 600 camels; the number of slaves taxable in 3,550 would be reducing to 3,400.

5 Giraud, AEO, 634; if 400 merchants were with the caravan (as he mentions), this tax would have amounted to 3,400 piastres.
despite such higher protection fees and a higher customs rate.\(^1\) (The reason for this is that Sinaï exported far fewer slaves than Darfur and the heaviest levies were collected on imported slaves.) The sum of these taxes is not high, however, if compared to import duties collected on goods arriving from Europe or via the Red Sea.\(^2\)

It should be stressed that these calculations have been made on the assumption that fixed rates were customarily applied and customarily paid. The actual situation must have been a good deal more complex. Published records of the Old Cairo customs for the period 1790-2 show that instead of 17,700 slaves, only 3,700 passed through customs and that non-imports amounted not to 4,500 loads but only 1,397.\(^3\)

Arrivals of ivory, tobacco, silk, cottons and alums are correspondingly low. This may indicate that Girard's estimations of African imports have been greatly exaggerated and that the real level of imports was between one-sixth and one-seventh of that evaluated in Table 1. On the

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\(^1\)Protection fees to the Mahdis amounted to 250 piastres per slave, 100 per boat (Girard, 2éd., 677). Moreover, since the slaves usually came down from Upper Egypt via the Nile, it would have been obliged to pay tolls along the way. Total customs fees: 1,563,080

\(^2\)Coffee paid an 18 per cent import duty: Raymond, Antigone, 1, 141; imports from Europe paid duties ranging from 8 to 11 per cent depending on their value. M. de Champier, "Études sur les guerres des habitants coptes de l'Égypte," Description de l'Égypte, Annales historiques, 2nd ed., XVIII, part 1, 200.

\(^3\)Girard, 2nd ed., XVII, 390-1.
other hand, as Grand consistently explained in his introduction to these records, the low-level customs-house receipts more accurately reflected the multi-layered bureaucracy employed in inspecting imported cargoes, men for whom "it was not rare [to] receive some gift from merchants with whom they deal." Indeed we are informed from other sources that merchants coming from Africa willingly offered bribes to avoid customs at Cairo and were rewarded for doing so. In short, it may reasonably be assumed the offer of soumou played a major part in passing through customs.

Tariffs through customs in Cairo was minor compared to the burden of customs and excisions suffered in Upper Egypt. There, it seemed, governors and lieutenant-governors could not resist the opportunity to earn an unexpected "contribution" from a passing caravan.

Khalw, who was indignant about this practice, nevertheless commented that the excisions were never so excessive as to abolish the trade itself. It is not clear, however, if he was referring to the Ḥāṣāf's fees and Asyūṭ customs we have discussed above or to the whole set of illegal taxes taken in addition to those charges. Certainly the extra taxes levied on loads of gum, cumin and feathers exacted by the governor of Ḥāṣāf and paid by Simār merchants must have been considered illegal.

1Ibid., XVII, 277.
2David Rubenstein, the sixteenth century Jewish traveller, was exempt from paying customs in Cairo as goods he brought from Simār by giving the authorities a charge (see infra 11001): J. Billson, "David Rubenstein, an Early Visitor to Egypt," JESHO, I (1938), 65. Similar practices occurred at Duma: Avish, Fiv and Abu, Pp., 155.
3Khalw, 349.
In Cairo, but the authorities proved unable to stop the practice. The natural result was for merchants to hide the valuable goods they carried or slip them secretly past customhouses to other cities in the Nile valley. Given the size and wealth of the Dar Fur caravans and their quasi-official status, measures taken by merchants (including the habit) to avoid paying customs probably had little effect. As the highest customs rate was applied to slaves, and slaves being the most important item brought by this caravan, the tax payments must have been particularly galling. When the French occupied Egypt, the sultan of Dar Fur addressed a letter to the commander of French forces in Upper Egypt expressing his joy at the overthrow of the "Ghuzz" and hoped they would lower the customs rate to 260 frs. per slave and 120 per camel. Rates the sultan declared had applied in the past; furthermore, he hoped his own goods would be exempt from any customs whatever.

Neither wish was acceded to.

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1 See Chapter 1, 14-15.
3 His letter, dated 1020, is quoted in Aulard, "Histories," 220; see also Raymond, Artistas, 1, 14-15. The exception goes may have been based on the equilibrum between goods brought with a carunculum for Mecca for the HAJJ were exempt from customs.
3. Terms of Trade

Bearing in mind the lacunae in Girard's description and an inadequate knowledge of the true sums paid in taxes, fees and duties, the question of terms of trade between the two regions can be broached. At first glance, Egypt appears to have been the heavy deficitary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>Exports</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suez</td>
<td>70,439,952</td>
<td>19,791,650</td>
<td>50,648,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suezr</td>
<td>24,577,200</td>
<td>3,790,375</td>
<td>20,786,825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>85,017,152</td>
<td>23,581,025</td>
<td>61,436,127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Girard, etc., 631-9, with adjustments noted in Tables 1 and 2.

The imbalance evident in this table is striking: Egypt imported goods from the interior worth some $1 million (1924) more than the value of goods exported. The size of her deficit in terms of fractions (2.9%) is even higher than that of her huge deficit with States (approximately 21%) and contrasts with her generally balanced or favorable trade with Europe and countries of the eastern Mediterranean basin. In

...due to adjustments made in value of arrivals, imports, these figures are considerably different from those reached by Wright (February 1, 1930;); total imports: $4.4 million; exports: $1.4 million.
In his recent study of Egypt’s eighteenth century trade, Raymond has placed the interior commerce along with the Red Sea commerce under the same "strongly deficient" category.¹

In modern economies where bilateral agreements between states do not balance the inward and outward flow of goods, deficits are usually covered by the extension of credit or transfer of specie. In the case of eighteenth century Egypt, the transfer of specie was not uncommon. Much of her deficit with Jidda was covered by the dispatch of foreign coin (usually Spanish or Austrian dollars); similarly her favorable trade with Turkey was balanced by the receipt of a large quantity of coin.² To a certain extent, part of her trade with the interior involved the transfer of coin (Spanish dollars), though it seems its ultimate use was as feminine ornamentation rather than as currency. Girard stated the value of specie sent to the interior amounted to 15 per cent of the value of imports. For both years this may have run to about 11 million "fils," or 72,000 Spanish dollars (reales).³

For the remaining balance—amounting to 50 million "fils"—Girard explained in describing the trade with Säbür, "the various articles imported from Barbary to Egypt are exchanged there against

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¹Raymond, pp. 34ff.
²Girard, 1, 136-7; Chabrol, 2nd ed., XVII, part I, 207.
³Kirkouk, 62ff. His information only relates to the Säbür Fär trade, but it seems likely that trade followed a similar pattern.
other goods; of a value of 1,200 pieces of imported articles, 900 are used in this exchange; the remaining 300 pieces are exported in specie to be transformed into bracelets and other silver ornaments. In the light of this statement it is clear that Egypt's trade with the interior was not "strongly deficient", as Raymond suggests, but that African goods suffered poor terms of trade. The coefficients, including the sums sent out in specie, amount to 2.5:1 for Dür Für and 2.4:1 for Simlûn. There was good reason, it appears, for the sultan of Dür Für to be displeased with his country's terms of trade in Egypt.

A detailed report of the trade with Dür Für in 1852, when the categories of trade were very much the same as they had been in the eighteenth century, bears out this conclusion and indicates that poor trade terms were a chronic feature of the trade. The statistics, compiled by the French consul in Cairo in consultation with leading caravans merchants and principal merchants of Asyûn, produce coefficients of 1.69:1 for large caravans and 1.86:1 for small caravans.

1Asirat, ASC, 638.
2Reported by Browne, 276.
3As explained in the covering letter, Delaporte au Ministre, 1 August 1852, (AS), Correspondence, Le Caire, 29.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>Exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large caravans</td>
<td>9,310,500</td>
<td>5,530,684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small caravans</td>
<td>3,867,075</td>
<td>2,734,490</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Delaporte, "Commerce," 6, 11-12.

Given the available sources, a full accounting of expenses involved is not possible. Certainly the acquittal of fixed liabilities, of customs duties and accepted and illegal fees reduced the amount of goods which African merchants could sell in Cairo. The expense of maintaining business locations and of provisioning themselves and their unwieldy slaves for up to eight months must also have eaten into disposable resources. Neither of these, however, can be feebly rendered to explain the outstanding imbalance between imports and exports.

To some extent, the gap may be explained by the use of an archaic barter system which was adopted in the trade. The adoption of such devices as "lootings" and "ounces," as described by Palmyri in

1 Girard, 656, 614.
2 Karl Palmyri, Primities, Arts, and Modern Economics, ed. by George Salton, Garden City, N. Y., 1907, 344-37.
the western coast of Africa, seems not to have occurred in Egypt, at
least not in the regulation of slave selling. For one reason, the age
and extensiveness of commercial contacts between the two regions had by
the eighteenth century resulted in the limited circulation of foreign
coin in Sudan and at least a familiarity with coins in the Far. 2
Second, Egyptian texts demonstrate that merchants bearing African names
would not sell slaves in Cairo, receiving for them the current
prices. But others must have attempted to bate their goods for
cloth, muslins and beads and have been "cheated on prices, quality and
weights" 3 of goods purchased. In eighteenth-century Egypt this was in-
deed highly likely as the system of weights and measures was confusing
even to Egyptians. 4
Whether, Egyptian merchants or foreign merchants stationed in
Cairo evoked an accustomed unit in bazaar exchanges with African mer-
chants that ensured them of a built-in profit is not clear from the
sources. Jewish merchants dealing in feathers, as has been indicated,
were highly successful in capitalizing on their middleman position.

2 Chapman, 288. It was accepted only by merchants trading with
Egypt and the Mace.
3 Al-Macli, 307; 125: 2507, 297. This knowledge was
probably restricted to foreign merchants in Khayn, the commercial
capital.
4 Dryden, "Hence," 103. Referring to the trade in the mid-
eighteenth century.
5 Raymond, 1957, 576.
6 The basis of the "ounce" trade: Polanyi, 207-08.
This also involved certain expertise on their part in that they cleaned, dressed, and assorted feathers to render them salable to Europeans. Similarly, gun "when cleaned" was sold to Europeans at prices from 25 to 100 per cent above the price given to African merchants. Perhaps in their dealing in Cairo African merchants were too used to their own exchange rates to be at ease with Egyptian prices. Thus, they may have equated the price of an Egyptian donkey with one to three slaves, 12 to 25 pounds of salt with one slave, 3 or 30 cotton strips (†£300 £) with one slave. To be sure their confusion guaranteed a profitable role for Egyptian merchants. 5

By the mid-sixteenth century, African merchants had become more familiar with monetary values, and were more "perspicacious" in bargaining. Toward this end, the intense European competition for their goods contributed significantly. In 1651, Gani observed, merchants of Dar Fur began demanding cash for goods in lieu of other

3Diry, 2nd ed., XVIII, 284 and 293 with 350, 358.
4Brome, 257.
5Ibid., 368


The apocryphal story told by al-Qanārī about members of Minkū's entourage in fourteenth century Cairo is worth repeating: "I was told by a few of the Cairo merchants of the profits they were able to make. They told us that [the Tuaregs] would pay five dinars for a shabīr or a piece of cloth which only cost one dinar . . ." Quoted in al-Shaṭir, Pilgrimage Narrative, 15.
goods, and thus became better able to choose the goods they took back. The substitution of cash for the old system of barter agreements may account for the general improvement in Darfur's terms of trade as reported by Delaporte at this time.

**b. Africa and Egypt's Foreign Trade**

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, Egypt's foreign trade was dominated by her exchanges with other parts of the Ottoman Empire, with Jidda and with Europe. The trade with Jidda, founded on the importation of coffee, was of prime importance as it provided Egypt with the resources to pay for her imports from Syria, Anatolia, and European Turkey. Her own exports primarily consisted of agricultural produce and locally made textiles. Within this larger framework of commercial relations, Egypt's trade with black Africa played a very minor role.

The total picture may be seen in a table dated 1783 which was originally drawn up by J.-J. Trécourt and has recently been used by Raymond. To the figures given in this table, the total amount of African imports and exports has been added so that some idea of tho-

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1Sorry, "Notice," 104. As would be expected, this was reprinted by European merchants: Yo Buja, Filipazzi et Casaretto, Document 8, Supporting letter 9 (dated 26 January 1807).

2Raymond, *Artisans*, 1, 197-200, and especially 199-200.

3Jean-Baptiste Trécourt, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, ed. by Yuval Wiener (Cairo, 1903). "Tableau général du commerce et de la navigation de l'Égypte," between 24 1/2. It is unfortunate that Trécourt did not include any figures for the African trade in this table.

4Raymond, *Artisans*, 1, 193, table 5.
rule of this trade can be formed. Since Trécoeur's table dates from
1783 and statistics used here appear to date from 28: 1795, an obvious
discrepancy would result if the two sets of statistics were placed
together. In order to reduce the discrepancy, the total value of
Imports and exports from Africa (i.e. Déir Fur and Stonar) has been
reduced to accord with the depreciation suffered by the prices between
1783 and 1795. During this twelve year period, it fell by 40 per
cent.²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>Exports</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ottoman Empire (including Syria)</td>
<td>302,701,869</td>
<td>431,775,125</td>
<td>734,476,994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>302,701,869</td>
<td>391,250,000</td>
<td>793,951,869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>124,427,719</td>
<td>111,144,334</td>
<td>235,572,053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Africa</td>
<td>22,705,617</td>
<td>42,429,937</td>
<td>65,135,554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Déir Fur and Stonar</td>
<td>9,758,695</td>
<td>14,134,014</td>
<td>23,892,709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>865,420,990</td>
<td>788,564,473</td>
<td>1,653,985,463</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²Raynaud, Affaires, i, 45, Table 1, and 45.

For the deficiencies of the table see Raynaud's Notice,
Doc., 1, 308. The trade with North Africa in particular appears to
be underestimated.
Thus the trade of the interior (not including the trade of Fezzan) accounted for only 3.8 per cent of Egypt's total foreign trade.

Of Egypt's major trading areas, little or no African goods were re-exported to Jidda or the Hijaz. Both areas had long established commercial contacts with black Africa, Jidda by way of Zuwara and the markets of Somali as well as Musava and the products of Ethiopia, the Hijaz through routes across the Sahara to Janie and Timbuktu, Kano and Fasa. To the Ottoman Empire, we are poorly informed of African re-exports beyond the knowledge that a small quantity of djerba and a hundred slaves were sent to Syria. 2 Certainly it would have included slaves (especially camerals), 3 ivory and tamarind among "legitimate" goods. From this general region, Dar Fur and Somali merchants purchased textiles and some coffee, goods which amounted to 15 percent of their purchases in Egypt.

Egyptian-made goods accounted for 32 per cent of merchandise taken to Africa by camels. Egypt's strong export position was due to her textiles, cottons and linens, the bulk of which was taken to Dar Fur.

Yet of all these trading areas, the contact with Europe was of utmost importance. It was the source or most of the highly desirable


manufactured goods and raw products in demand in the interior, including textiles, scents and beads. Altogether these various articles accounted for 56.6 per cent of total goods purchased in Egypt. As an importer of African goods, Europe played an equally important role.

Lebanon had the biggest share, taking each year according to Girard 2,100 kantars of gum, 125 kantars of tamarind, 350 kantars of ivory and 25 kantars of feathers. Together, her imports and those of Venice, Trieste and Marsella, accounted for perhaps the whole of African gum and feather exports, 67 per cent of ivory exports, and 41 per cent of tamarinds.1 The dependence on European markets for the sale of these goods became clear during the French occupation when the war severely disrupted the flow of trade and the value of ivory in Cairo dropped from 8,400 £ sterling per kantar to 3,400 and gum dropped from 3,000 £ sterling per kantar to 1,500.2 This occurred in spite of a general scarcity of African goods and at a time when value for some goods absorbed by the domestic market rose markedly.3

2Lamennais, “Scenera,” 101, 102. Morocco sent (Ibla, 279) some years later when war in Europe continued to disrupt trade patterns: “The importation of ivory . . . from Surfur into Egypt is still of some importance, though ivory often falls entirely on the market at Cairo.”
3Tamarind rose from 1,500 £ sterling per kantar to 2,500 (Lamennais “Scenera,” 251; rhinozeros horn rose from 340 £ sterling per piece to 1,250; Girard, 850, 631. The price of all these domestically consumed goods, including slaves, was drastically affected by frequent inflation.
The pattern so noticeably characteristic of the trade in the
nineteenth century was already firmly established in the eighteenth.
Egypt's African trade was divided into two general sectors. One, consisting
of slaves, camels, rhino horn, ivory, and to some extent tawny and tawny, was
expressively or in some part, consumed domestically. The other, consisting of
ivory and feathers, was primarily shipped abroad. Prices given for
articles of the first sector were determined by Egyptian market condi-
tions; those of the second were tied closely to European demand. This
categorization of the African trade helps to explain the rationale
that Muhammad Ali applied toward the trade in the nineteenth century.
Intent upon getting hold of hard currency and increasing the market for
his newly established industries, he left the first of these sectors
relatively free but established monopolies over the articles of the
second. Thus in order to trade with Africa via Egypt, Europeans were
forced to deal directly with the Egyptian Ruler. At the same time,
European and Asian imports were cut back and African merchants were
obliged to purchase even larger quantities of textiles of Egyptian
manufacture. However, once the monopolies were dismantled, the African
trade once more shifted to a direct exchange between African goods and
European and Asian manufactures.  

1 A large variety of Egyptian-made textiles, including cotton
goods manufactured in cotton, flax, burlap, cotton, silk, wool, and silk, were in
use in the textile sector. (Ehrenreich, op. cit., p. 10). Writing
and speeches are listed in a survey of articles taken by the Far and
Near East Caravan, 33, 1890: Antonio Figoli, Davichi Gerucht en
Afrika, 2 vols., (Amsterdam, 1856-7), II, 1854, 1957, p. 3
Note on the Numbers of Slaves Imported Annually

There are no reliable statistics of the number of slaves imported annually by Egypt during the eighteenth century. Official figures appearing in Old Cairo customhouse registers for the three-year period 1750-52—which have been referred to above—show that only 3,750 slaves were officially taxed, representing an annual import of 1,250 slaves. It has been suggested the figures were under-represented, but even if they were not, they would not have included the slaves sold in Upper Egyptian markets before caravans reached Cairo.

In the absence of reliable official statistics, European accounts must be used. At the beginning of the century, Mallet estimated that the "Ethiopian" (Simār) caravans brought from 2,000 to 3,000 slaves; three-quarters of a century later, both the Simār and Siir caravans were thought to bring from 1,500 to 2,000 slaves per year to Cairo. However, in a report on the slave trade of Egypt, dated 1789, George Baldwin believed the figure to be 5,000. Brown, accompanying a caravan from Sir Fur in 1796, stated it brought 5,000 slaves.

time of Delaporte’s report (1862), European manufactures dominated.

1Page 70-1.
2De Mallet, 1917.
3Sandlin, 45, 35.
4George Baldwin, Memorial relating to the Trade in Slaves carried on in Egypt... published in Alexandria, 26 June 1789 (British Museum, 1824 no. 119). 1-2.
slaves to Egypt, although he was of the opinion that ordinary caravans brought 1,000 slaves. During the period of the French occupation, several estimates were made. In addition to Girard's figures (5,000 to 6,000 for the Fāṣir caravan, 150 for slave) which were used in the hypothetical model in this chapter, Lagrange claimed the Fāṣir caravan "occasionally" brought 12,000 slaves and "during peaceful times" the Sīnār caravan brought from 300 to 400. Dr. Frank, who came to Cairo in 1795, suggested smaller numbers, between 3,000 and 4,000 annually, and stated that in the year of his arrival only 1,000 slaves were sold at the Khān al-Jalīla. Thus, only the most general idea can be formed of the slaves brought by all caravans (indeed almost no estimates exist for the numbers imported from Fāṣir during this century). The annual average might have been close to 4,000 for Egypt as a whole.

Not only are these estimates in the nature of calculated guesses, but our information does not allow us to know precisely how often caravans came. It is assumed by most writers on the subject.

2Browne, 390, 249.
2Frank, 246.
4The numbers sold in Cairo may have ranged from 1,000 to 3,000 annually.

Browne, Ottoman Egypt, 20.

Browne, 247.
stretches from al-Qamālim street into the present-day boundaries of the great ʿāshā al-galil market.²

Opposite the "great" Wālīyat al-Jalāla or at least on the same street was another building called Wālīyat al-Jalāla al-ʿāshā, the "small" Wālīya. It may have earned this name as a consequence of accommodating the spill-over of merchants accompanying larger caravans to the city who could not find quarters at the "great" Wālīya. The real name of this structure is still uncertain.² Finally, there was another "small" Wālīyat al-Jalāla situated around the corner from these two structures on the ancient Bāb al-Fath street that cut through medieval Cairo. The immediate quarter was known in the eighteenth century as Bāb al-Jalāla and consequently the building is often referred to in Nihāyāt documents as the "small Wālīyat al-Jalāla at Bāb al-Jalāla." In fact this third building is the oldest of the three, being the modified descendant structure of ʿāshā Manīʿ, the celebrated slave market of medieval days and one of the largest.

¹That the "great" Wālīya extended into buildings of ʿāshā al-galil is indicated in Yalqūt Shāhristānī, Chapter V, 316-317 where he mentions a doorway of ʿāshā Bani Qašṣāf at Ṣalābīq leading out to the Wālīya al-Jalāla.

²Identified in Guild Document 4, Appendix, Chapter V as "opposite the "great" Wālīya". Other documents suggest it was actually the vicinity called ʿabidīn, Bani Qašṣāf or al-Qašṣāf. New Manūš, 19, (1943), 199 (122); Dugard, "Manūš and al-Jalāla," EGYPTIAN HISTORICAL PICTURES (in Arabic), Text (1905); 36; another alternative name seems to have been Wālīyat al-ʿāshā.
buildings in the city. All these structures are located in the heart of old Cairo, on the southern and western edge of Ḥammām al-Ghazzāli, richest and best known of the city's markets, and close to al-Ashar Mosque. The term "wāqīyat al-Jallānā" was occasionally used in a generic sense to denote all markets wherein African goods were sold and this usage will be adopted here. However, where it is necessary to distinguish between individual buildings, wāqīyat al-Jallānā will refer to the "great" wāqīyat in Ḥammām al-Ghazzāli; small wāqīyat al-Jallānā will refer to the other structure on the same street, and Ḥammām al-Ghazzāli will be used to refer to the third building.

French topographical maps of the city give the same "wāqīyat al-Jallānā" in several other structures on the city’s fringe. One was located in the quarter called al-Qusayyiz, just outside Ḥammām al- mqttā, the northern gate; a second was located at Ḥammām al-B בחוק, another gate on northern wall of the city. Raymond believes these two buildings served as halts for merchants coming from Africa on access roads to the city, but it remains unclear why merchants ordinarily travelling from the south were usually passing through Old Cairo where their custom was to enter would have approached the city from its northern side. Mention of these two wāqīyat does not turn up in Arabic texts and

1. Mābūrū, II, 109, 11 (102); II, 23, 24, (102).
3. Hernalis, I, 324.
their exact function cannot yet be ascertained. It is possible they functioned during the time of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, as seen in a note 2 and also of gold as seen in a note 3. In the 19th century, the guild of gold merchants in Mecca was called by the name of the guild in Cairo and was located in the city's center, near the Mecca market.
tahwas) which were used as residences or showrooms. These quarters were reached by a staircase leading from the street. Stables were attached to the mabâba on its western side but were removed in the eighteenth century when they were transformed into a bakery. In the middle of the courtyard was a well. The great doors to the building were guarded by doorkeepers (hawâshin) and were locked at night to safeguard the inhabitants from intruders and rioters. Next to the doorway were offices of the diwan where slave duties were paid and receipts made out. Thus the mabâba accommodated merchants, provided market and storage space, and housed offices for government agents.

1Chapter VI, 273-278.
2Often mentioned in purchase deeds registered at the Makâm; see also Frank, 260.


The mabâba at Jâblâla is still standing on charts al-Qandilî, though badly truncated and in very deteriorated condition. It is classified 30, 423 among the historical buildings of Cairo.

(See Index to Monuments in Egypt, Cairo, 1911.)
By the eighteenth century the Wakkal al-Fallaha on مُهراب الفقيه/Gamal al-Din had become distinguished from the مُهراب الفقيه by its different clientele. By not large, numerous of merchants from the interior found occupancy at the great وُسْط/ and adjacent buildings while mer-
chants from Upper Egypt, particularly from Asyut, who dealt in similar
goods took up quarters at مُهراب الفقيه for the duration of their stay in
Cairo. The favoritism shown to مُهراب الفقيه by the مُهراب الفقيه is repeatedly
borne out in مُهراب الفقيه texts and can probably best be explained by their
well-known cliques-networks, a tendency to prefer fellow مُهراب الفقيه above
all others in social and business relationships. This did not, however,
prevent some merchants whose headquarters were at the Wakkal al-Fallaha
from using alternative business locations in مُهراب الفقيه.

Restriction of major outlets for Egyptian goods to central
markets in Cairo obviously constituted and enhanced the collection of
taxes levied on these imports by the government. Stated verse of this
market: "[Sbake] can only be sold in Cairo in one deal," where a slave
duty was paid and ownership papers delivered. Payment of this tax was
the basis of the government's regulation of the market, as will be shown
below, and was the principal responsibility of the police operating in
the walka. Since slave sales were closely supervised by the Ottoman
in seventeenth-century Istanbul, and acquisition of the slave duty

1See, the biographies of مَالك الْفَسَطَارِي and حُسَيْن
الْيَزْرَعُي, Chapter VI.

2مَلِك البَيْن حُسَيْن, 326.

3Robert Moreau, "نَفَّضَ الْمَيْكَانِ" اسْتِفْنِى ابْحَرْفٍ, in Mekteb
dates at least to the late fifteenth century, before their conquest of Egypt. It is highly likely that the duty on slave slaves in Cairo dates to the early period of Ottoman government. At this time, however, there seem to have been several markets in the city where black slaves could be sold.

The principal one may have been the "ṣūr al-quṣūṣ al-ṣalābā (imported [slave] slave market) which had been newly erected by Sultan al-Ghurāf in place of an older market dating from medieval days." Buhrayn sees the location of this ṣūr the same as that of the Wāliyah al-Jallīnah, but was to find other ʿAbbasid texts not bear out this contention. First, the ṣūr itself seems to have been located on the eastern side of Ṣūr al-Jallīnah (rather than on the southern edge), close to the mosque of al-quṣūṣ, and second, the Wāliyah al-Jallīnah.


2↑ Buhrayn, Journal d'un voyage dans le Caire, II, 87.

3↑ Artaun, l, 337-41.

4↑ Its location there is indicated in Bahāʾī 86, 31, 146 (1013/1605); Bahāʾī 151, 159 (1016/1609); Bahāʾī 152, 172 (1018/1611); Bahāʾī 153, 176 (1020/1613); in a nineteenth-century property deed the location is clearly specified: as a property purchased by Hālāmah ibn Dalī, ʿalī as-Salāhī, ʿalī as-Salāhī, head of the Alfa mercantile, it is described as situated in Bahāʾī 189, 190, 198 (1485/1668).
structure itself dates no earlier than the end of the sixteenth century, some seventy-five years after al-Ḥakīm’s death. In addition, Ḫanṣān records show that another market was located in the Ḥājī quarter, some distance away from al-Qāsimī, which fell into disuse toward the end of the eighteenth century. The location of stocks of African goods—ivory, ebony, feathers, tamarind—in a variety of al-Qāsimī, al-Qāsimīya, and al-Qāsimīya, from the sixteenth century up to

1The only mention of the contents in the Ḫanṣān vault (afterward Ǧumār, Ministry of Works, Cairo, 12720/1297, Vol. II, No. 213, 1-16) is a short notice referring to the inclusion of the site under the control. An description of the building is given. Reminiscences there being undertaken at the site are mentioned in a court dispute dated 1603: Bob All 57, 67, #230 (99 26-27-3411 1000) and shortly thereafter the building, now a historical complex, was rented by the new administrators. An article discussing the problem will be forthcoming.

2Bob All 51, 70, 83-70 (163-1593); Bob All 65, 70, #192 (1614/1615); Ǧulm, 190, 200, 201, 202 and 190, 204, 212 (1613/1614); Ǧalāl al-Dīn Ǧahānšāh, Al-Qāsimī, al-Qāsimīya, and al-Qāsimīya, and their names of others have been changed and lost.

3Bob All 51, 70, 83-70 (163-1593); Bob All 65, 70, #192 (1614/1615); Ǧulm, 190, 200, 201, 202 and 190, 204, 212 (1613/1614); Ǧalāl al-Dīn Ǧahānšāh, Al-Qāsimī, al-Qāsimīya, and al-Qāsimīya, and their names of others have been changed and lost.
the first half of the eighteenth significantly differs from the situation toward the middle and end of that century when stores were almost entirely concentrated in the Wadiyat al-Jallūba complex.

It would appear, then, that the centralization of the market in the Wadiyat al-Jallūba only came to a end in the eighteenth century. Whether this naturally evolved, due to the enterprise of merchants attached to the wadis, or whether it was the consequence of government decree cannot be determined. Certainly the continuous extension and modification of the wadi al-basfah’s structure during the nine years, part of the century reflected a growing importance, the official decrees specifically designating it as the market for African goods, dating from 1730 onwards, mark the conclusion of the move. The wadi al-basfah remained the central black slave market until 1292 when under growing European pressure public slave sales there were prohibited. But 1292 onwards records show it was still being used as a location by merchants dealing in “African goods”. Today no trace of this commerce remains but shopkeepers established there retain a historic memory of the time when it had been the city’s great slave market.

1 Details are found in the biography of ḫālib ar-Raḥmān al-Banbihī, Chapter 6, p. 216.

2 Guild Documents 1 and 4, Appendix, Chapter V.

3 See, for instance, the inventory of three merchants attached to the wadi al-basfah; Terbist 56, 80-2 (1722/1032); Terbist 56, 42-5 (1725/1035); Tarbist 56, 61-2 (1729/1039).
In the African trade two merchant groups operated in close conjunction. One consisted of *Jallaha*, or exporting merchants, who resided outside Cairo, in most instances maintaining bases in trading centers of African kingdoms. The second was a group of merchants whose base was located in Cairo or by extension in Asyut and who permanently resided in Egypt. In this latter group is commonly identified in Egyptian texts as *Najjar fi-raṣūl*, merchants in slaves, or *Najjār al-ваṣāliḥāt*, merchants at the *Vaṣāliḥat al-Jallaha*. The failure of modern historians of Egypt, including Shaw, Breis, and Raymond, to distinguish between these two groups has resulted in a confused understanding of the trade with black Africa.

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1In the nineteenth century the term *Jallaha* (pl. *Jallahan*) was applied indiscriminately to merchants in slave trade. Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, II, 461, 'one who brings slaves from foreign countries, particularly African countries, for sale.' The root-verb *Jalla* also has a generalized meaning and was used to describe anyone bringing or driving goods from one country to another. Such goods could be grain, horses, cloths, sheep, goats, captives or slaves. In medieval texts, *Jallaha* was used to describe merchants in Mushtayiq (in the coastal cities in the latter Middle Ages, (Curtis, Mez, 1907), 226 another name, *Jalla*, (1907, 226 another name, *Jalla), (1907, 226 another name, *Jalla*). Early Egyptian documents distinguish importers of slaves from other importers by writing the phrase *Najjar fi-raṣūl*, but the practice petered out in the nineteenth century. The wider definition of *Jallaha*, suggested by Gury (Gurtie, 91), of merchants who transported goods between Asyut and the interior either on their own account or as that of an associate is the definition adopted in this thesis. As shall be made clear, slaves were not the only articles with which *Jallaha* dealt.
a. Antakya

Merchants transporting goods between Egypt and the interior come from varied backgrounds and enjoyed varied fortunes from their occupation. Transporting goods required little expertise beyond what experience could teach. What it did require was time, patience, knowledge of goods and markets and an adventurous spirit. In the beginning it also required an investment in capital, usually taken in the form of stock (for which goods at the end of the journey could be exchanged.) In the eighteenth century the Antakya profession was remarkably open, Antakya communities having a distinct international flavor, but the predominant strain was black African.

1. Background

Robinson sources give an indication of tribal groups and townsmen at either end and along caravan routes who filled Antakya ranks in the eighteenth century. "Indication" is the key word since not quite two-fifths of the 175 Antakya names found in various texts throughout the period actually carry a niche, reflecting either tribe, hometown or country. The use of niche (Sing. nicha) as a guide to place of origin is not entirely sound methodologically since families may have retained a place-name niche—such as al-Kasyf or Al-Żahr—long after the founding father had immigrated from Ayyūb or Syria. Being aware of this limitation, the evidence of niche may be considered valuable since it suggests (while not positively documenting) the immigration of different people along trade routes and within trade centers in the Sudan—incorporation that may be of some value to future historians of
trade routes in the Sudan. In some instances, it can be corroborated by travellers’ accounts.

The most frequently mentioned isma is al-Dungelūt (ten in number). This is not surprising since the presence of Dongolow for trade is well known. From the late seventeenth century they infiltrated in small groups to trading centers north and west of Dongola (al-Grīf).3

Dungelūt who appeared in eighteenth century Cairo came with both Simār and the Ḥūr caravans, some of them bearing the title al-maik. 2

Other Jallūtīs carried ṣināḥ indicating a possible origin in the Simār kingdom area of Hāfūr (al-Maqāṣir, seven) and towns of Qandub (al-
Jumālīn, five), Arūm (al-Grīf, one), Arūmūl (al-Arūmūlīn, two), Dāgha (al-Dāghaš, seven), 3 Qandub Island (al-Qandub, three), 3 and Simār city itself (al-Simārī, two). Among tribal ṣināḥ associated

2 Burckhardt, Rubin, 366; Ignatius Pickard, Travel in North-Africa, (London, 1854), 304; O’Cullogh, “Slavery” 30-41; by the late nineteenth century their position in the Ḥūr was well consolidated (Montargis, IV, 354), and established in Nildan (1860, XV, 350b).

3 A town named Dāgha located in “Dar Nūhā” is mentioned by Burckhardt (Rubin, 48), but it could refer to the town of Dāgha in Upper Egypt. See Mattia al-Dahabī, Al-Dahabī, 11:310b, location 27b., 4 parts (Cairo, 1-9452), 48, 4, 80.

4 See Ḫaṭana in the Sudan cited by Yusuf Faqī Hassan ed., Ḫaṭana al-Dahabī (leipzig), (Dahabī, 1971), 276, footnote 1.
with the similar trade goods found at al-Qārit (seven) and al-Qārit (two). Place-names in Dār Fūr, on the other hand, were virtually unknown in Cairo at this time, as the only specific town being mentioned in an oriental reference is Kāhābīya. Thus, names from Dār Fūr are simply described as al-Dār Fūr or al-Dīn al-Fūrī sūdan or even al-Dīn al-Fūrī, unless they carried a recognizable name such as al-Dūnailī.

**Note** by other scholars, arriving from both regions, suggests origins in other parts of the continent. These include al-Mālānī (seven, four of whom traded in al-Qārit, three in Dār Fūr), al-Dānūrī (seven, in both regions), and al-Barkūnī (two, one in each). Names with non-African names include one Turk (al-Baṣnī, from Rhodes), and one Syrian. Both were trading in Dār Fūr in the 1770's.

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1. Aitchison (1911, 121-4) traces numbers of this tribe (Jaudâr) settled in Bombay provinces. . . . . . to this day the more wealthy inhabitants of Bombay derive their origin from the tribe of Dūnaili. See also al-Suyūtī, 1792.

2. The Tuareg or Tawīra were to control the caravan route between the Red Sea and Nile (al-Maqrīzī, 63), but positions were settled in the Sudan as early as the thirteenth century: Hich al-Kalâsh 72.

3. In 1524, 1744, 1756 (6 Muharram, 1109/1701), referring to a business transaction with Dārī al-Fūrī of the people of Kāhābīya in the province (Dīn Dūnailī) of Dār Fūr.

Regarding Egyptian-born Ḥaṭṭāla, inventories registered in Cairene courts occasionally note the absence of a son or nephew in maḥāla al-fal [or "in distant Sudan" (līḥa al-fal niyyan)], or bi-ḥaṭṭal al-falna. Reference is found, for instance, to Ḥanūna, son of Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ṣāir al-Ḥāṭṭal (from the village near Arqāṭ), a broker at the market, who was "absent in distant Sudan" at the time of his father's death, and to Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ṣāir Jumā, son of ʿAbd al-Ṣāir Jumā, "merchant, who was mentioned as 'absent in Bani Āsim.'" 4 Other texts refer to Ḥaṭṭāla with three of al-Ṣāir (two), al-Ḥāṭṭal (two), al-Ṣāir (one), and al-Ḥāṭṭal (two). The latter three may have denoted membership in the Hawāra tribal confederation which dominated Upper Egypt during this century, but a section may have settled in the Sudan by this time. 2 Two of the Egyptian Ḥaṭṭāla were Copt. 3 For the location of these cities and towns, see the accompanying map.

The thrust of this evidence suggests that in the eighteenth century a majority of Ḥaṭṭāla were Sudan-born but that the community

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1. Kūshar 102, 295; #29 (for Ḥanūna al-Ṣāir al-ḍālim 1126/1712); Basil 271, 185-6 (for abū Ḥanīfah 271, 1173/1759).

2. Megiddo, l. 316: he called them the "Gaḥita Hawara". 2

3. For this evidence, see "Copta in Dar al-Fur and Hawara."

Included merchants of Egyptian, North African or other-african backgrounds. This information confirms Browne's report that the Jallaha in the For were from Dongola, Napan, Minnak and Kurdufan, from Egypt, Tuns and Tripoli. It supplements Krump's references to Armenian, Jewish, Portuguese, Coptic and Greek merchants who traded in Sudan, and contrasts with Didiya Suley's contention that Jallaha (Kallalblad) were "dark-skinned people from Awaar, Diris and the Oasis. No references were found in Nubian texts to Jallaha of Sudanese or Darfur background, a curious gap considering the role they were playing in the trade of Sudan in the early nineteenth century, nor to Hadramautic whom Burckhardt described as the wealthiest merchants in Khartoum during his visit there. The absence of Hadramautic in our sources is to be expected, however, since they traded out of Sawakin, not to the north. No doubt a great deal more information regarding the nationalities of Jallaha will be learned when the Nubian

1 Browne, 261-2.
3 Buxurhinitz, 3: Muhi, Daras, Kubat, (Istambul, 1939), 395.
4 Burckhardt, Soudia, 272. Frequently mentioned as Jallaha in nineteenth century Mekhala documents.
5 1944, 205.
Diverse origins were matched by diverse fortunes. Differences in rank and wealth seem to have depended on several factors, among them the position of the [name] within the social structures, the amount of capital or disposable wealth, and articles traded. By virtue of their status, the top position must have comprised the agents of sultans, royally appointed officials who were entrusted with purchasing goods on royal accounts in Egypt. For example, fortified with fees paid then by merchants accompanying the caravans they headed, had in theory large sums of money at their disposal in Egypt, perhaps as much as half a million [currency]. In addition to the money they earned from selling the sultan's goods, they were not only great merchants but personalities in their society, some being members of the royal family or having...

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1 The existence of such records is testified to in Askar 109, 18, 469 (1189/1277) and Askar 130, 450, 537 (1197/1275) which refers to a [name] or deeds sealed by the sultan of Bar Fur. In Askar 130, 501, 458 (1184/1272) there is a reference to a merchant's inventory being drawn up in [place], witnessed by members of the community there, sealed and sealed by the [name] of [place].

2 [Name] Muhamed, son of [name] el-Djeir, Dr. S. Abu has recently located some [name] documents in Bar Fur and is hopeful of finding more (personal communication.)
royal patronage.² Agents of the sultans of Simbir were interviewed by western travellers in Asyût in 1698 and again in 1775³ and in Cairo in 1708, but since Dür Fûr was the stronger state in the eighteenth century, its kings' agents were probably considered more highly. Unfortunately, inventories of Dür Fûr³ have not been located in National archives.

Below them in status were leading merchants of black African, Káhirí or Egyptian origin who traded on their own or with the backing of family or merchant partnerships. Through National sources we have more data on Egyptians and North Africans in the trade than on their Sudanese colleagues. One representative of this group was the al-Ghâﬁ al-Đarî family, probably from the village of Saqî in Upper Egypt, who were mentioned by Brown as being among the "principal merchants" of Sawânyd, the small settlement outside Kharga where leading foreign merchants of Dür Fûr resided.⁴ The head of this family, Mâli al-Ghâﬁ, lived there, but National records show he

²See also Chapter I, 30-1.
³Rondelet, 92-94; Smout, III, 85.
⁴Proceedings of the African Association, II, II; called "Procureur in Cairo to the King of Dami" by Colpurt.
⁵Brown, 237.
⁶His daughter, Fâţima, died in Dür Fûr: Ashur 190, 686, 509 (1287/1771).
periodically visited Egypt, registering various deeds in Cairo in 1749, 1773, 1775, and 1781. In two of these instances he was involved in settling estates of South African and Egyptians who had died in the Mahrūkū.

Another Egyptian who seems to have held a ranking position in the African trade of the country was Qaawm Qabūn al-Jiyārī, who carried the place-name Alisha of al-Aqūd ālī. The Jiyārī family had several representatives in Cairo during the eighteenth century, while others were property owners in Aqūdī. If al-Alisha is identified in one document with the distinguished title Ḥakim manṣūr Fakhr al-Dawlah al-Jiyārī al-Šaqūl (of the noted merchants of black imported slaves), a title not often bestowed in Mahrūkī documents, but he is usually given another title, al-Ṣaḥīb al-Balādīn. If he did not hold the official position of Ḥakim, adoption of the title at least indicates he had often travelled to the Sudan. His contacts there were probably extensive, because in a document dated 1743, he was used in Cairo on the

1Āšār 165, 571, 590 (1167/1754); Āśār 166, 735, 460 (1170/1757); Āśār 720, 342, 666 (1170/1757); Āśār 720, 377, 656 (1170/1757).
2A cousin, Muḥammad Aḥmad “Abu Nuṣrār,” merchant of Qaawm Māwilī, had Ṣuqahma al-Akṣamī in slaves; an early relation, Muḥammad “Abū Nuṣrār” witnessed an inventory in 1768.
3Muḥammad Aḥmad “Abu Nuṣrār”, Āśār 176, 394, 606 (1178/1765); Āšār 179, 250, 643 (1180/1766); Āšār 179, 406, 981 (1180/1766).
basis of being "agent for a man in the south (ba'la-ulujm al-ashqāq) called King Jamāl al-Dīn". He denied the charge and since the plaintiff lacked proof of agency, the case was thrown out, but it may be assumed that Ḫiyār was one of the leading Egyptian merchants trading in the Sudan carried out special charges for high-ranking dignitaries there.

The wealth of other Sudan-resident merchants of Egyptian or North African origin is indicated in estate inventories drawn up in Cairo and registered with the courts. One example is Ẓahir b. Ẓayd al-Maqrīzī who died in Ṭayyibat al-Dīn in 1219, leaving heirs "in the west." The estate, consisting of gold dust, slaves, personal effects and specific, and valued at 75,200 605 800 dinars, was brought to Cairo after his death by his legally appointed executor and fellow North African, Ẓahiri b. Ẓayd Aḥmad Uqaylī ibn Ḥalwān. Both are termed Ḫarrārīr in the inventory document. Another was Ẓahir al-Mahṣūlī, an Egyptian who left an estate worth 95,450 500 dinars. Though he is

[Note 2: 519, 175, 303 (i.e. 552-553 H.; 1162-1163 A.D. 752-753 H.). Perhaps "King Jumāl al-Dīn" can be identified with the nineteenth Pand caleum who ruled 1168-1169 752-753 H.; see S.b. 571, i.i. 493, 495-496, 505. 2] The plaintiff alleged he sold slaves (qal'abū wa-muṣābur) to Jamālīs for 40 "hamsa, . . . male and female." [Note 3: 520, 303, 348 (O malā' al-Makrī, 1123-1124 A.D.); 520, 304 (442 A.H.)].

[Note 4: 521, 2044 (34 Jamāl b. Ẓāhir al-Makrī, 1165-1167 H.). His client is al-Masāḥī].
called Muhammad b. 'Ali b. 'Amid, a merchant in black slaves, normally
indicated residency in Cairo, in fact most of his thirteen heirs were
"absent in Sīnā" and it seems likely Sīnā was his base of opera-
tions. He himself died in the Hijaz. A chief merchant is 'Abdallah
'Abd al-'Azmī whose family, except for a wife and three sons who
were brought to Egypt—permanently residing in Ṣir Fūr. Before he died,
'Abdallah had exchanged his African goods for coffee, European and Asiatic
textiles, the whole of which was valued at 215,997/126,100 piasters.1

These merchants led estates that would be considered
elsewhere by Egyptian standards and they probably represented the group
of well-to-do Jullām who rode with every caravan from the interior.
In parts of the Sudan, they may even have been thought wealthy.2 It
was possible to accumulate even larger fortunes as a result of trading
in the Sudan, but reference to only one truly large estate was found.
This was left by 'Abd al-Hamīd b. 'Abd al-Qayyīm who died in
Shnhāta in 1722-3. It may be significant that it belonged to a
member of the Cairo North African community, known for its prosperity

1 vulgar 179, 290, 373 (3 piastres) al-Ḥawwāl (1850/1766). Bayoud, 
('Arba'īna, vol. 64) misquotes his for a cloth merchant. However, portion
of being "wealth in al-Fūr" and of never does not end to the wealth
of the Jullām (i.e. 'Abdallāh al-Jullām) shows he was only temporarily
residing in Cairo.

2 Bayoud (1850), writing of Sīnā, mentions that the
wealth of "negro traders" suggests that there could be vessels between 302 and
600 piastres. 'Abdallāh al-Jullām's estate was 1479 1/2 piastres.
and the estate was calculated in gold mithqal. 

easy though dangerous to transport. The deed incorporating details of its settlement shows that after nine years of trading in Timbuktu where Muhammad was apparently exchanging salt for gold dust in the classical trade pattern of the city, he had amassed a fortune worth 12,745 mithqal. In terms of Egyptian currency, this may have amounted to 1,338,540 (constant) fidaa which would have ranked among the larger fortunes in Cairo. Deductions, however, involving beggars, transportation costs, debts, household expenses and fees paid to the Saffah reduced the estate to a mere modest 754,815 (constant) fidaa. It remained the largest estate left by any merchant, jallān or resident, in the African trade.

For other jallān, the few preserved inventories testify to

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1See below. The sigma indicates an origin at Siriyān, south of Tripoli (Libya), but his sons and brother were established in Cairo.


3The exact exchange rates in either current or constant fidaa for the mithqal in 1798 could not be established. However, rates that prevailed in 1695, 1693, 1719 and 1736 as indicated in other inventories show that the rate remained fairly constant, fluctuating between 98 and 116 fidaa per mithqal in constant terms. In this instance, it has been calculated as 105 (constant) fidaa. In 1739 the exchange rate seems to have been 108 fidaa per mithqal—see Samuel-Bernard, 477. The rate for refined gold seems to be higher.

fortunes far less grand, and in fact meager. Only three could be
found for the whole eighteenth century period. They include Qusayn
Ghanim al-Mahri from Zirba, who died in ed-Dur with an estate con-
sisting of slaves, ivory, and personal effects, amounting to 13,670/6
840/49. 1 Mird al-Fayd Mad al-Qasim al-Mird, leaving heirs in
Aswān and an estate of 7,863/31/447. 2 And Najit Mudallish, freed
slave (faraqa) of Ḥafṣa bint al-Jumîl, leaving heirs in ed-Dur and
an estate of 10,426/1,951. 3 The property of the last two was
composed entirely of slaves.

The sojourn of jiḥāda in Egypt depended on the amount of time
it took them to transact their business. Giraud noted this could be
prolonged as much as eight months. 4 Oney, writing a half century later,
mentioned a sojourn lasting as long as a year. 5 Lengthy stays also
allowed caravan travellers time to join the Egyptian pilgrimage caravans
to Mecca which left Cairo in several of each Muslim year and to return

1Lakkar 160, 293, 376 (20, Aswān 1164/1751).
2Ar stretch 81, 166, 399 (20, Aswān 1159/1746).
3Lakkar 269, 68, 104 (20, Aswān 1186/1772).
4AGC 514.
5“Notice,” 286.
with it the following Maqarras. To make life as pleasant as possible, many leading merchants, beginning with [name], brought wives with them. In such cases private residencies were rented to accommodate their families. This was also a practice followed by provincial merchants who went to Cairo on temporary business. Men without wives or female slaves were obliged to put up at [name], since single adult males without families were not tolerated in residential quarters. In Asyut, however, [name] were able to rent whole houses, while others no doubt sought out friends and acquaintances who could accommodate them.

[Name] from [location] usually left their offices in Asyut province, contracting with [name] to have them cared for and fattened while they traded in Cairo. [Name] merchants and [name] pilgrims following the

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1. See cit. He added that he "never saw a dhabar without his wife." [Name] (p. 100 above) brought his, but she remained in Asyut while he carried out business in Cairo.

2. [Name], 105, 106, 569 (Magh. Hugo 1185/1771).

3. Same, Manners, 32.

4. [Name], "Notice," 106; the word of [name] [M. H. 1962] mentions a property located in Asyut, "near the residence of [name] [name] [name] [name], and his partners." [Name] 361, 361, 214 (Qurtbi, Records 103/1967). There were also mosqas especially used by [name] in the city.

5. [Name], [M. H. 1962], 239. He mentions earlier (103) that there were no public mosqas in Faiyum, merchants were obliged to stay in private houses.

6. [Name], "Notice," 107.
western route made similar agreements with farmers in Qina province, near the entrance of Kharga or other "ports." Krupp speaks of Sinaī "millions of cash...five, ten or twenty main animals" but this would have required an investment probably beyond the means of most Sinaī. In general, their equipment and personal property rarely included more than one or two waterkins, leather straps, a few baskets or sacks, a knife, cooking utensils, and for washing, a cloak, a turban or turban, and a long shirt. According to Cuv., Dér Fur Sinaī were required to leave any arms they brought—spears, swords, clubs and leather shields—in a warehouse upon entering Egypt; they were returned to them upon quitting the city. This regulation may have been a consequence of the tense nineteenth century relations between Egypt and Dér Fur, and can be contrasted with Krupp's report, referred to earlier, that in the early eighteenth century caravans from Sinaī were accompanied by a unit of the Dervé cavalry.

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3 See Chapter 1, 96, footnote 3.
4 Kahn-Bohus, 220.
5 Sources: Askar 77, 477 (1204/1793); Askar 86, 126, 471 (1204/1793); Arab 86, 164, 496 (1202/1791). It removing the equipment before returning took with his Rakhna, 1295. well-worn Sinaī would have traveled more essentially, on camels, with as a and women.
6 Cuvy, "Notice," 33.
7 Kahn-Bohus, 178.
1. Summary

In summing up, it is evident that great differences in rank, wealth and style existed among ḫaliḥa, and that the epithet "petty itinerant traders" used by modern scholars to describe their eighteenth century counterparts would be most injudicious if applied to the eighteenth century community. It does not accommodate the important group of upper echelon merchants, some black African and royal agents, some Egyptian or non-black Africans, who in effect represented the essential elements of the trade.

The interests of both non-Egyptian ḫaliḥa and resident Egyptian merchants demanded a measure of cooperation for the proper functioning of commerce. Nowhere do sources indicate that cooperation ever existed on a state-level, that commercial agreements were ever drawn up between rulers of interior states and Egypt, but forms of cooperation on a lower level, between individual merchants and local authorities or between importing and resident merchants, did exist. The hospitality shown to Egyptian and North African ḫaliḥa by African sovereigns is an indication of these interests. At the Egyptian end,


2 Knupf, 281, describes how each merchant arriving in Sinder was taken into protection by a leading notable of the country; for Dir Ḩir, see Cuy, "Uuiye," 107-8.
the gift of ceremonial robes by lieutenants of the governor of Upper Egypt was a symbolic gesture, but in a more concrete form, the transfer of credit, granted by resident merchants to janissary, and the intervention by sheikhs of the Wahabi al-Jalluwa in disputes between local parties and representatives of African kings, are proofs of the cooperation that existed. In the sixteenth century evidence of cooperation is even clearer. There are references, for instance, to leading merchants of Aleppo acting as agents for markets of Ceylon, of letters and gifts being exchanged between them, and of extraordinary gestures of hospitality offered by merchants there to Frenchmen.  

3 Discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter XIV, 207-8 below.

The title taken by the zanada brothers: Fanis Sulaiman, Al-Gd Kamm Muhammad, Harun Muhammad (Cairo, 1877), 247, was reported in (C), Corr. Societé, Le Caire, 29, Delaporte au Ministre, 30 November 1865.

1 As I was informed by the great-grandson of Dabiri Shadi, in Alexandria, 15 August 1971. The letters are said to have been destroyed in the 1960's. Gifts received by them are mentioned in Delaporte's letter, referred to in footnote 2 above: they included rare birds and fishes; as only was about to embark for Ceylon, he was given costly gifts and money to present to the Sultan by the hand of the commercial firm of P. A. Alexandre and Pauli. Only, "Observations," 19.

In 1873, the French sailor, Jeanne M. L. de C. O. T. Remi, reported that all merchants of Aleppo had great confidence in French ships "with whom he had maintained commercial relations" after the Ottoman revolution in 1867 he retired to Aleppo and Major's son, he had not been re-established with the Ottoman government to get cooperation for his business. See L. Remi, "Ap. D. A. P.," (Paris, 1947), 299-306; a passage of 10, 30 per month was granted to him in 1871 (Islamic Archives of the Musée de l'Armée, Classe, tome 38, plaque 60, "Sahlan des Mamluks, gouvernment officieux - 1906").
Inevitably commercial cooperation took a social turn and resulted in
marriages between Egyptian girls and akhīma.1 In short, the tripartite
between and mutual dependence of akhīma and resident merchants was
characteristic of Egypt's African trade.

Resident Merchants

The core of merchants who specialized in African goods in Cairo
centered their business at the Washat al-Jallīnā in the eighteenth
century. What distinguishes them from akhīma is the localization of
of business activity in a particular market and over a long period of
time.

In fact these merchants drew upon the resources of two other
merchant communities: Asyūtīs with whom they were closely allied, and
North Africans who operated independently. Since personal and economic
ties between the core of resident merchants and Asyūtīs were so close,
they can be considered a single group in the discussion that follows.
North African merchants, however, must be considered apart as they were
largely affiliated with the North African community in Cairo. Moreover,
when they traded along different routes and operated out of different
Washat, they had few points of contact with trade or merchants at the
Washat al-Jallīnā. It is significant that no Washatī appears to have
purchased a jallūn or jallūnī in the washīs at any time in the eighteenth
century.

1Ouy, "Justice," 1971. He added it was not uncommon for the
Girl's parents to visit their daughter in Dur Far after her marriage.
Information about resident merchants is largely furnished by estate inventories (after sublese), drawn up shortly after death and registered in local courts. By listing names, titles, heirs and relations, they give information about merchant origins, status and family connections; by enumerating stock, equipment, household and personal effects, assets and liabilities, light is shed on business interests, life-styles and financial resources; by evaluating movable and immovable wealth, the total of which served as the basis for the legal division of inheritance, relative wealth within the community as a whole can be established.

There are, however, at least two obvious drawbacks to the use of inventories. While defining in an extraordinarily precise way the financial situation of individuals at the time of death, inventories do not always reflect the full scope of enterprises undertaken during a lifetime of activity. There would be, quite clearly, an enormous difference between an inventory of a merchant who had died suddenly in the prime of life and in the midst of business and that belonging to a merchant who had long passed his prime and had been living in a degree of retirement. In the former case the inventory would more accurately portray his business affairs, his stock would be larger, his credits and debts more closely allied to commercial interests. In the latter case, the merchant would more likely than not have made preparations for death, have begun to distribute his wealth and possessions, and he would have put into his stock of goods; consequently his inventory would contain little evidence of his activity in earlier years. This appears...
to have occurred in the case of one shi‘kh of the Maklāt al-Muṣfi‘a
whose inventory is remarkably extensive considering his long years of
trading and numerous enterprises. A second limitation stems from the
fact that merchants who had been born in the provinces and who had
maintained their homes often left Cairo toward the end of life to re-
tire to their hometowns. Their inventories, therefore, would not have
been registered in Cairo but in provincial courts whose records have
not been examined. This is a particular drawback in the present
study since the majority of merchants dealing in African goods were
non-Egyptian by origin. Some permanently settling in Cairo, but the
relative scarcity of pertinent inventories preserved in courts there
indicates that many, in fact, retired to the provinces.

In some cases, these limitations are overcome by evidence from
other legal documents, by property transactions, commercial agreements,
rental contracts, sales disputes and other lawsuits registered in the
courts over a long period. This evidence is important in assessing
the true role and position of some merchants, as will become clear be-
low.

In addition to the twenty-two merchants, brokers and traders
attached to the wa‘āsā, whose inventories have been preserved, there
were at least another forty individuals who played important roles in

1 Abū-‘Ulayn al-Nuṣayrī, see Chapter VI.
the trade but whose inventories are missing. Their names were recorded at least several times as witnesses to estate documents and in immemorial legal deeds registered by their colleagues. Some inventories, such as those belonging to Hajj Ali Lutfi and his son, Abdurrahman, to the nablus and the gild in the latter half of the century, are particularly unfortunate losses. Inventories of thirteen out of twenty-four members of the gild, listed in various guild documents appended to Chapter Five, are also missing. Inventories of members of important merchant families, such as the Shajarat, could not be located, nor could those of all the members of the ubiquitous Tahtilat family.

The data that is available, nevertheless, is quite sufficient to draw a model portrait of the community at the Aqilat al-Saifina. This can be done by establishing who the members were, what roles they played, what their origins were, what levels of wealth they attained, and how they related to social groups around them.  

1 Excluded from the study are merchants who dealt in white slaves, even though they occasionally sold blacks. They were largely Turkish in origin and maintained business contacts in Turkey. Also excluded are those merchants who dealt in mulatto slaves, whose origins were quite di. v., coming from Upper Egypt, Turkey, North Africa, Syria. In addition to those who were Cairenes. On the term "Turkish", see Chapter V, 17. This study does not examine the slave trade overall, but the whole of the trade with black Africa, of which slaves were but one item.
1. OCCUPATIONAL TITLES

Court scribes normally attached a jaḥān (plural, jāḥān) to the name of the deceased to denote his occupational role. For merchants at the vehicles, four jāḥān are found: ḫāṭir, ḫappâbûdû, ḫâyûh, and ḫâlim. Theoretically these titles should denote "merchant," "trader," "broker," and "importing merchant." Each should have had a special niche in merchant hierarchy, and have been distinguished from the rest in terms of status and professional activity. In practice, however, distinctions between owners of these titles were frequently blurred, and in some cases the jāḥān can be misleading. The blurring of professional lines and status does not at all stem strongly in Egypt where social mobility can be called a general societal characteristic, particularly among merchant classes, and where fortunes tended to dissipate as quickly as they were accumulated, but it does tend to negate modern theories about "pre-industrial society" and the rigid stratification of social groups and occupational roles.

In general, the term jāḥān was given to merchants of greater wealth than those called al-ṣutuṣḥALLuTA. In both cases they were involved in selling and buying. If the jāḥān given to merchants in inventories listed in Table 6 below are examined, it will be seen that

2Raymond, Artisans, II, 379-90.
2Raymond defines them as detilizers (retailers): Artisans, 7, 215, 233; II, 201, 212. Lopatka, based on his reading of medieval texts, calls them "the poorest of the small potters and wheelers." Middle Cities, 264.
ulujr were located in the top four brackets and that mutanabbihin are relegated to the fifth and lowest bracket. Yet while this suggests that the idea of mutanabbih was perhaps better defined in the popular (vertical) imagination, it says little about the title al-halir, which was used to accommodate merchants as rich as ḡalij Ḏuqad "al-qabīlān" (estate 593,665/441,115 [1090]) and as unprospering as ḡalij Muqam al-ḥārīr al-umūrī (estate: 37,048/29,499 [1090]). If indeed mutanabbih indicated lower status and less wealth, it is sometimes possible to trace the rising importance of individual merchants in wars texts described as mutanabbih in early documents and ṭālie in later ones. The very fact that some merchants could rise in status from mutanabbih to ṭālie and that in some cases the two groups were inter-related by marriage suggest that for merchants at the ṭālie at least, a noticeable difference in interests between them would be unwarranted.2 Raymond’s contention, based on his reading of ʿahadī, that

1For instance, Nasīr al-Dīn al-Maḥdid is described as mutanabbih in Dārūs, 157–8 (116/1772), Dārūs 361, 283–4 (1165/1752) and Dārūs 165, 254, 274 (1186/1773) but as ṭālie in Dārūs 227, 350 (1172/1758) and his inventory, Ashur 140, 330/750 (1180/1767); Muhaddīn Lutbī is described as mutanabbih in Dārūs 601, 292–4 (1150/1739) and Dārūs 274, 350–2 (1172/1758) but as ṭālie in a later document, Ashur 189, 259, 421 (1180/1766).

2ʿAbd Manṣūr al-Bina‘ī (4, 170), mutanabbih, was married to a niece of Ṣird al-ṭārik al-Tahkīkī, ṭālie.

3Burckhardt stated that mutanabbih was very commonly used than ṭālie: Arabic proverbs, 3rd ed., (London, 1924), 198.
mutanabbis constituted the ranks of Calvican guilds.\(^1\) May be accurate as a general statement but it is not borne out by the membership of the guild operating in Waṣṣat al-Jallān. Most of its members who witnessed the sijarah of a new shīkh in 1772 are called ḫalif in the guild document,\(^2\) and described as ṣālik in inventories. In short, although a difference in fortune levels can be established for ḫalif and mutanabbis at the waṣṣat, reflecting perhaps a classical differentiation,\(^3\) social ties, economic interests and discriminatory taxes did much to eliminate the real differences that might have existed.

The role of brokers/dālīṭ in is clearly different from merchants in that the broker’s function was the mediator between buyer and seller. Brokers did not possess rights of ownership to the merchandise they handled. Waṣṣat texts refer frequently to dālīṭ in waṣṣat, but as will be shown, the actual distinction between them and regular merchants attested to the waṣṣat was often non-existent since many individuals called dālīṭ in one context are termed ḫalif in another. Logically, a broker would not be in a position to accumulate the riches of a merchant, as his earnings would have accrued from simple

\(^1\)Artmann, II, 307.
\(^2\)Chapter 5, Appendix, Guild Document 1.
\(^3\)Lapidus, Islamic Cities, 265.
\(^4\)Chapter V, 256-7.
brokerage fees, yet it is curious to note that of the three individuals termed agregar in estate inventories, one possessed a fortune valued at 307,510/129,370 kpln, among the highest left by anyone attached to the yahyah, and the two others left fortunes evaluated at 41,311/29,298 kpln and 6,8,11/9,107 kpln. Thus each “broker” fell into a different fortune bracket. What the data indicates is that while certain individuals may have restricted their activities to brokerage, others were probably agregar who had purchased brokerage licenses, and consequently the economic pursuits of each were often bridged.

Several merchants are styled agar-elagar. This naturally raises the question of whether they were resident or travelling merchants. Not being in possession of family documents or other material to corroborate such evidence, the question cannot be entirely answered. The possibility that the agar derived from an early membership in the yahyah community should not be discounted. However, if it did, then it was retained long after an active transporting occupation had ended, since evidence from non-inventory texts demonstrates that the title-owners had property in Cairo, contrary to the usual yahyah pattern, or had engaged wares, appeared as witnesses, or bought and sold property in Cairo for periods as long as twenty years. This evidence suggests that the agar was used as an honorific rather than as a statement.

\footnote{\textit{Abkar} 125, 126-30 (115/1735); \textit{Bust} 371, 454-6 (1127/1715); \textit{Abkar} 125, 7th, 1(12)7 (1186/1772).}
of occupation, that the merchants who carried the title earned it by constant involvement in jallaba goods and with jallaba, rather than by active participation in the jallaba profession.\footnote{22}

Two merchants styled al-jallaba were named (4. 1703) and \( \text{ibn}\) (4. 1702), sons of Said al-Dattalid.\footnote{23} Both traded at the Waskalat al-jallaba. \( \text{ibn}\) appears early in Jackson texts as a witness to his brother’s inventory (dated 1703), and subsequently is found purchasing a \( \text{zabt} \) at the Waskalat in 1707, a \( \text{zabt} \) at Waskalat al-Sawia in 1710, a residence on Darb ibn al-Dawla in 1711, settling the estate of his brother’s wife in 1712, purchasing a property from his cousin in 1713,\footnote{24} and in other words registering a continuous series of deeds in Cairo which indicate a permanency in his residence there. Said’s wife owned

\footnote{22} Thus a passage from the "Adventures of Dow-Baker al-Katrabiyya, sarmed al-Dallaba" (in J. J. Harad, tr., Carter du Chretien, 3 vols., Paris, 1895), ii, 121, is instructive. After numerous visits to the place, he took up residence in Cairo. "Then, not only was I called Dallaba the (other travelling merchants), but I was also given the special and particular surname of al-Dallaba ..., [which], indeed, suited me all the more as I was occupying practically to myself, by my store-rooms of slaves, the whole of the east of the Dallaba."\footnote{23} Incorrectly transliterated "al-Tusulballad" by Raymond, Artisans, i, 161, note.

\footnote{24} Apart, 74, 179-9 (1151/1742); Sub Ali 121, 125, #16 (1152/1743); Sub Ali 192, 194, #69 (1152/1744); Sub Ali 121, 123, #68 (1152/1745); Apart 80, 801, #16 (1153/1746). Two of these documents are will deeds which indicate the date the properties had originally been purchased.
two small properties in the city, and as some of his heirs or relations are listed as being "abroad from Cairo and its environs," it seems very probable that he, like his brothers, was settled in Cairo. Regarding a third merchant called al-Jallūn, Bihar Aḥmad al-Ṭaʾīyar, a simi-
lar pattern of references to his presence in Cairo from 1743 to 1774, the year he died, can be established. Consequently these merchants should be considered among resident merchants in Cairo rather than jaḥīm. 

To conclude, occupational titles of merchants at the ḥaqala are not always accurate indicators of status, wealth or even profession. Data from non-inventory texts can sometimes correct inaccuracies committed by scribes or by colloquial usage while estate inventory totals suggest more realistic distinctions existing between merchants.

1Asha 86, 205, 3426 (1124/1712).

2Tested residence and sālāl in al-qāniqāṣiya in 1774 (Asha 86, 145, 8440, 16 971-1111 11051) listed as a member of the guild in 1772 (Guild Document 3, Chapter 3, appendix) witness to merchant transactions in 17th (Asha 165, 164, 12404, 6 Sūbird 1257) and witness to every inventory of merchants at the mamluk from 1669 to 1774 as well as to a donum auxiliary court deeds registered by these merchants during the same period.

3Thus of the merchants considered wilāya by Raymond (Arti-
sam, 3, 161, note), only one (1682 wilāya) would be no raised by us: his heirs are listed as "abroad in Jirī ṣ while the others had family and property in Cairo.
2. Origins

A decisive majority of merchants dealing in products from the interior came from Upper Egypt. Opportunity for finding a place in this trade must naturally have arisen, as it was argued in the first chapter, from the strategic location of entrepôts for caravan-bound caravans in that part of the country.

On the basis of archival evidence, of sixty-three merchants and brokers known to have worked at the Ḥalṣat al-Qalâba or to have traded in African merchandise for at least several years during the course of the eighteenth century, sixty percent appear to have been of Upper Egyptian origin. The breakdown is as follows: Asyûtī (17), al-
ṭawīlīya (7),1 howūd (5), al-
ṭawīlīya (3), Ḥamān (2), Sāmūlah (1), Māḥūsh (1), and Darūk (1).2 Four others are simply identified as al-
ṭawīlī or were of probable Upper Egyptian origin.

Members of the community who were not Egyptian include two brokers whose nāṣib suggest Turkish background (al-
ṭawīlīya), from Ḥurūfī; al-
ṣaqrī, from Ḥurūfī), one of probable Circassian origin, and one from

1Some ṭawīlīya had settled in Asyût, but they are usually referred to as "al-
ṭawīlīya al-
ṣaqrī.

2For the location of these villages and towns, see the accompanying map.

3Sayyid Sayyid al-
ṭawīlī whose father is identified in one document as "formerly a weaver (ṣāliḥī) in Ḥamān Quāhiratūn: 1154, 15, 17 (1148/1735)."
UPPER EGYPT

(showing route of Egyptian nurses in the African trade in the eighteenth century)

to Cairo

to Säf für
and Simur
Baghdad, and one of Greek nationality. Three others were freed slaves (hajma) of African origin (al-Jamāl or al-Andal), each of whom had been manumitted by masters of Upper Egyptian origin already in the time. Fourteen names carried no nisba whatsoever, but it is not unreasonable to assume that their origins followed the general pattern, the majority of them coming from Upper Egypt. One merchant is identified as a Copt but the religious affiliation of most was Muslim.

The Qa'iṣa preponderance can be understood not only through their natural contacts with African-originating caravans, by a long link with the importing notables, and a native still in commerce, but also by a tradition of close family and business ties amongst merchants of Upper Egyptian background. In this, they conformed to the well-

1 Bulbuli, Maḥṣūr al-Baḍdi. According to the settlement of his estate, his father and mother lived in Baghdad.

2 The notorious Bartholomew, or Purah ar-Ruma, mentioned by Habart as "the villain of the Greeks in Cairo," Journal d'Archéologie, by A. Carolin, 2 parts, (Paris, 1853), part 1, 28, identified as a successful Circassian in an All 300, 302, 604 (1170/1767).

3 Mālīk Qurṭūb Ṣāliḥ al-Qa'iṣa Ṣāliḥ, identified in SH 928, 403, 328 (1177/1764).

4 Some of the earliest fishing records, dating from the middle of the sixteenth century, preserve the name of the al-Qa'iṣa family, of Upper Egyptian origin, three generations of which were barīt.
known Middle Eastern potters, Egyptian merchants being unexceptional. Brothers, nephews, cousins or less close relations repeatedly joined forces with members of the family already established in the trade. Sons often followed fathers in the same line of commerce, either assisting them at their business headquarters or travelling abroad—in this case, to Upper Egypt or the Sudan—on their behalf. Where sons were not available or not productive to succeed the father, daughters were married to sons of business colleagues or to freed slaves.

Numerous examples among merchants at the Muḥāṣṣil al-Jalīla bear out these remarks. A notable one was the Tuṭṭīlīnī family, members of which had a place in the trade throughout most of the eighteenth century. Whether they were descended from Tuṭṭīlīnī mentioned as Ḥāji in early seventeenth century al-masāḥ texts cannot be verified, nor is it clear that the eighteenth century branch originated in the village of al-Tuṭṭīlīnī, as their name indicates, or in some larger Egyptian town. Some kept property in Asqūṭ, but none appears to have registered deeds for land in al-Tuṭṭīlīnī. The family claimed descent from the Prophet and were honored with the title al-ṣāliḥ al-Ṭalīf. A late eighteenth century member, Miḥāḍa Shūlān al-Muḥāṣṣil al-Jalīla, born in Asqūṭ, became muḥāṣṣil/had of the sharifian families and

1Raymond demonstrates that among wealthy merchants of Cairo family ties were less expiated: Antiquity, 26, 279-99.

2In 462, 198, #49 (1011/6066); 82 463, 36, #97 (1011/6071).

3Akbar 155, 159, #239 (1120/1774): 20 545, 202, #423 (1120/1774).
one of the top positions in the \textit{Nih\'ayt} establishment of the country.\textsuperscript{1}

An early member established at the \textit{Nih\'ayt} \textit{al-Mah\'am} was (al-Dawlat al-Kub\'ayr) \textit{"Abd al-Karim Ahmad al-Taitt\'ar\'a} (d. 1693). He owned a small stock of goods, consisting largely of a few bales of cotton (\textit{mas\'ila al-
\textit{si\'a\'a}}) and a quantity of sandals (\textit{m\'uk\'at}).\textsuperscript{2} Witnessing his inventory was a cousin, \textit{Ya\'qub Ahmad al-\textit{\textit{Khal\'ij}} al-
Taitt\'ar\'a}, who has already been referred to above. When \textit{Ya\'qub} died in 1703, his stock included a large quantity of ivory (28 kantars and 44 rats), ostrich feathers (100 rats), various other \textit{ka\'ab} goods—snows, beads, a coat of mail, spikes, and two slaves\textsuperscript{3}—with the result that he can be placed very much in the trade with Africa. He had already been joined by his brother, \textit{"Abd}, and a debt owed to a cousin \textit{\textit{\textit{Khal\'ij}} al-
\textit{\textit{Khal\'ij}}}, shows that the latter had already entered the business. Both \textit{Ya\'qub} and \textit{\textit{Khal\'ij}} lived long after \textit{Ya\'qub} died, \textit{Ya\'qub} until 1729\textsuperscript{4} and \textit{\textit{Khal\'ij}} until ca. 1762-3.\textsuperscript{5} \textit{\textit{\textit{Khal\'ij}}}'s daughter, \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{Khal\'ij}}}}, was married to \textit{\textit{\textit{Khal\'ij}}}'s son, \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{Khal\'ij}}}}.

\textsuperscript{1} On \textit{\textit{\textit{Khal\'ij}}} (the name by which he was known), see Afaf
\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{Khal\'ij}}} al-Baq\'\i, "The Role of the \textit{\textit{\textit{Khal\'ij}}} in Egypt during the early Sixteenth Century," in P. M. Hitti, ed., \textit{Political and Social History in Modern Egypt} (London, 1961), 204-30 283-93.

\textsuperscript{2} See \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{Khal\'ij}}} 86, 176, 261 (1104/1693).} Estate values: 6,595/5,707

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{Khal\'ij}}} 74, 187-8 (1114/1703).} Estate: 96,748/91,428 1814.

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{Khal\'ij}}} 261, 132-3 (1165/1753).} Estate: 170,200/193,700 1167.

\textsuperscript{5} Partial settlement of estate, \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{Khal\'ij}}} 279, 432 (date missing: 1176-7/1762-3).

\textsuperscript{6} \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{Khal\'ij}}} 136, 59, 61 (1145/1735).}
Waṣāl al-Ḡālib was known as an ivory merchant (mutawakkilī fīṣalātī) and slave merchant (ḥādir qarārīs). He was as a slave merchant, but neither had none who survived them. However, through their long years at the wahṣūr, stretching over fifty years or more, they attracted numerous relatives or fellow villagers (the relationships are not obvious) to the wahṣūr. They included Mūhammad al-Ṭāhir (“the white”) al-Jamīl (ca. 1715), Bāsin Mūhammad, Ṣafīr (ca. 1733), Mūhammad Muḥsin, slave merchant (ca. 1752), Muḥammad Muḥsin, slave merchant at Ḥūn Ṣaḥrah (ca. 1753-75), and two members of the wahṣūr’s guild, Sahlān Abū Ḥād and ʿAbdallāh al-Ṣaḥīḥ. All served the al-Tātari Ḥūsain. In addition, Ṣaḥīḥ Muḥammad al-Qadīr, mutawakkilī fīṣalātī, was a nephew-in-law of Waṣāl al-Ḡālib’s.1

The environment of certain families or village “Jantai” changed from time to time, usually in response to the consolidation (or eclipse) of a particular merchant within the framework of the community working at the wahṣūr. Often the dominant party revolved about the figure of the wahṣūr’s shālık, anxious to install members of his own family in the trade or colleagues who would act as allies. The Shālik appear to have decided on allies rather than relations; Sahlān Iμans, who followed them as shālık brought in relations and fellow villagers from Ḥūn ʿAllī. By the turn of the century

1See 152, 177, 439 (1155/1743). ESTATE: 3,516,000 ʿillāḥ
Taiti's success gave way to Madfīs and for the next half century the latter group dominated the organisation of African trade in Cairo. Some merchants did have sons to succeed them, if the Taiti brothers did not. Ḥāfīz Mīḥ al-Wallūn, broker at the yahṣīā, was the son of a broker and father of another. Muḥammad, son of Muḥammad al-Qarinānī, merchant in African goods in the 1690s, is mentioned in documents of a later date as among merchants at the Mahās al-Anīmā. Manṣūr Mūsā and his son, Mūsā, served jointly as members of the yahṣīā's guild. Biographies of members of the yahṣīā also illustrate the general pattern. The tendency toward family trade has been noticed among some yahṣīā communities as well. 5

2 88-527, 529, 520 (1162/1750); 88-103, 80, 107 (1160/1773).
3 He witnessed the inventory of Ṣanāʾ al-Taitī'
4 Guild Document 1 and 2, Appendix, Chapter V.
5 Chapter VI.

Burckhardt (Mehdi, 272) was told that Duḥān merchants claimed their great-great-grandfathers had traded in Cimcirin. In Ḥāfīz, several travellers have mentioned men being trained for long-distance trade. Huxen and Alay (1972, 76-7) recommend readers to consult Huang and Alay, The History of the Wandering Arab, 1st ed. (New York, 1967), 274.
Yet only in a very few instances, the ḫāriṣṣ in the sixteenth-seventeenth century and the ṭalāfṣ in the eighteenth, do merchant genealogies extend to even three generations. It is curious to note that in addition to the ṭulūḥīyī, ʿam and ṣam al-ʿaṣīrī, who had no direct heirs, and ḫalīf ṭuḥarrīr laṣīlī who had no surviving sons, five of the twenty-two merchants whose inventories have been preserved had no surviving off-spring and six had no sons. We have no way of judging whether this was typical of Cairo merchant communities as a whole, but it is small wonder, then, that families as units failed to survive in trade for long.\(^1\)

2. Wealth

Differences in wealth existed among the waḥhāb’s merchants by virtue of their social background, product specialization, occupational role, skill, or commercial associations. The result was a varied accumulation of fortunes which in itself could act as a social divider. One method of showing these real differences is to use the sum totals given in estate inventories. This has been done recently with great effect by Professor Raymond in order to indicate the wealth (and power) of certain merchant and artisan groups in eighteenth century Cairo. The statistics which follow are based on twenty-two inventories, registered in the courts between 1698 and 1806. According to附录 attached to the

\(^1\)Raymond also found few extended genealogies: ʻAlberti, 1,
291.
deceased they belonged to two *zājātīya* (who should be considered merchants), three *asāṣīya*, four *ṣattāzišūr*, twelve *tālītīya* and one *sa珊* of the *zulāga*, variously described as *tālītīya*, *ṣattāzišūr* and *asāṣīya*.

In order to contrast the data with that which Raymond has compiled, based on a much fuller study of merchant and artisan inventories, these have been computed in both current and constant *fīlds*. This is necessary not only because Raymond has tabulated his data in constant *fīlds* but also because (as Raymond explains) it more accurately aligns individual fortunes with the continuously falling value of the *fīld* between 1684 and 1798. 1 His table greatly simplifies the task. The estate of each merchant will be given in the following discussion in current *fīlds*, or the sum indicated in the text, followed by its real value in constant *fīlds*.

As Table 6 shows, the community can be divided into brackets. At the top, within the bracket of merchants owning fortunes over 200,000 (constant) *fīlds*, are found but two examples: *‘Alî b. Ahmad b. Ahmad al-Manṣūri*, known as *Kabīlīn*, 2 and *Ahmad b. ‘Ali b. Ahmad al-ʿAdī*, a member of the *al-Adī* and slave merchant. 3 In actuality, Kabīlīn’s estate was considerably larger than indicated here ($13,065/118,175 *fīlds*).

1 *Sermons*, I, 111.
3 *Tabār*, 168, 257, #112 (14 *ruh* al-ʿArabū 1412/1716).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Merchants</th>
<th>No. of Merchants Titles</th>
<th>Average Value of Estates, Current Figs</th>
<th>Average Value of Estates, Constant Figs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 200,000 and over 2</td>
<td>Tajjir</td>
<td>431,432</td>
<td>323,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 100,000-200,000 4</td>
<td>2 Tajjir 1 Balil 1 &quot;Sallab&quot;</td>
<td>208,438</td>
<td>139,168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 50,000-100,000 3</td>
<td>2 Tajjir 1 &quot;Sallab&quot;</td>
<td>112,684</td>
<td>75,139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 20,000-50,000 0</td>
<td>4 Tajjir 1 Saig 1 &quot;Sallab&quot; 1 Ballil 1 Unknown</td>
<td>50,160</td>
<td>31,090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 20,000 and over 5</td>
<td>4 Sallabul 1 Ballil</td>
<td>13,378</td>
<td>7,193</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Merchants</th>
<th>No. of Merchants Titles</th>
<th>Average Value of Estates, Current Figs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 200,000-</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 100,000-</td>
<td>Tajjir</td>
<td>225,857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 50,000-100,000 2</td>
<td>1 Sallab 1 &quot;Sallabul&quot;</td>
<td>61,312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 20,000-50,000</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 20,000 and under</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sallab</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: [Maghrib, Where the Japan appears to have been an honorary, it is enclosed in quotations marks.]
as he was owed debts (adimāt) amounting to almost 1,400,000 fils at the
time of his death. Whereas Khālima was not attached to the waqf of
al-Jallān, Abū Ḥaṣīm "Abū Thābit" was and yet the bulk of his estate (341,400/
206,000 fils) did not accrue from stocks of African goods, as was the
case with Khālima, but from his possession of akhṭār, a type of land
mortgages. Indeed if his name had not often appeared in non-inventory
documents it would be very difficult to guess his status on the basis of
his estate inventory. These two merchants are the only ones in the
trade whose fortunes would have earned them a place among the merchant
elite of Cairo, the bālīg dealing in coffee, spices and textiles. Just
below them in wealth are three other merchants and one broker,
posseesors of estates valued between 100,000 and 200,000 fils. Two of
these merchants had estates worth more than 200,000 current fils. The
sic merchants in brackets 1 and 2 may be considered the prosperous
"elite" in the trade. Together their estates average out to 282,769/
197,318 fils.

The middle ground was inhabited by merchants leaving estates
between 20,000 and 100,000 fils (brackets 3 and 4). It included
members of several merchant families whose business was centered at
the waqf of al-Jallān or its Murār. Among them, also, were the

1Baynuny considers 200,000 fils to have been the dividing line
between this elite and "other merchants." 2

2In addition to Qasim al-Mādhūbī, it included the sons of
Saʿīd ibn Fāṭima who were bālīg, brother, son and nephew were in the trade.

Their estates averaged 17,578/193 fils. 3

In order to compare bālīg estates with those belonging to
resident merchants, the figures mentioned in the bālīg section of
this chapter have been included in Table 6. They fell into brackets
3, 4, and 5 (the exceptional example of Muhammad al-Abdūlī being

1Dhāt 281, 395 (1116/1760).
2Dhāt 371, 361 (1173/1760).
3Dhāt 106, 475, 946 (1195/1784).
4Asār 139, 139-310 (1154/1747); Asār 136, 353, 556 (1150/
1750); Asār 136, 333, 475 (1150/1750); Asār 214, 94 (1200/1783);
Dhāt 36, 216, 390 (1203/1796).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Merchants</th>
<th>Average Size of Estate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1679-1700</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee and Cloth Merchants</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>299,344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Merchants</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>46,736 (67,059)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>48,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1698-1704</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Goods Merchants</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>77,044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776-1798</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee and Cloth Merchants</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>279,319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Merchants</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>20,934 (63,322)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>29,624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776-1799</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Goods Merchants</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>65,133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*In Table 30, Fahlbeck has calculated the average estate of "Other Merchants" for the period 1679-1700 at 67,059 £1720, and for the period 1776-1799 at 63,322 £1720, which is nearer our estimates. Elsewhere, on Table 32 (Antigua, I, 477) the estates of merchants with fortunes above 100,000 £1720 is averaged at 70,240 £1720 and those below (ordinary merchants) at 35,280 £1720. Discrepancies are obvious but not understandable.
excluded. Although one might guess the majority of jahiliya fortunes would have fallen into bracket 5, there are too few statistics available upon which to base any conclusions.

Regarding the community as a whole, the evidence of inventories presents some interesting contrasts to data compiled by Raymond. It is clear, for instance, that merchants dealing in African merchandise, with few exceptions, were far less wealthy than the general encompassage. Merchants in coffee, spices and textiles, who represented the great commercial interests of the country during this century. Raymond calculates that for the 1774-1798 period his estates averaged 379,319 (constant) filda, the only representatives in our group with comparable estates died prior to this period. On the other hand, where Raymond finds the average of "other merchants" to have been 35,308 filda, merchants in African goods who fall into an approximate time period (1774-1798) left estates averaging 54,739 filda, perhaps indicating that their business was conducted on a higher level than that of ordinary merchants in Cairo. (If the whole period is taken 1698-1756, estates for brackets 2 to 4 (leaving out the upper and lower extremes figure even higher, the average being 80,200 filda). If these averages are set against the average estate belonging to craftsmen, established by Raymond at 20,016 filda for the 1774-1798 period, it can be seen that merchants at the waqf of al-fal’aha were somewhat wealthier and more substantial than many other merchants and artisans communities in the city. The results may be seen in Table 7.

However, the real financial position of merchants at the
### TABLE 8
Legacies Left by Egyptians
in Accumulated Form
(In constant gold)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bracket</th>
<th>Titles</th>
<th>No. of Legacies</th>
<th>Average Size of Legacy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 200,000 and over</td>
<td>Tālīb</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>306,773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 100,000-200,000</td>
<td>Tālīb</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>105,419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 50,000-100,000</td>
<td>1 Tālīb, 2 &quot;Qāḥṣa&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>71,471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Dālāl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 20,000-50,000</td>
<td>2 Qāḥṣa, 1 Ummam</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27,702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 20,000 and under</td>
<td>4 Qāḥṣa, 3 Mūsābibiyyān</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6,798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 &quot;Qāḥṣa&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Dālāl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. In Debt</td>
<td>1 Balīy, 1 Dālīḥ, 1 Mūsābibiyyān</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>32,572</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average for Brackets 2 to 6: 39,301.
Average for Persons falling into 1771-1798 period: 10,798.

Source: [Nabulsi](#).
walking was considerably less secure and in some cases, drastically reduced. This is revealed in an examination of legacies as opposed to estates, or the sums portioned out to heirs following deduction for legal fees, contractual debts, and the (natural) payment of military levies (ṣaffa). The result is a general scaling down of merchant fortune and a doubling of the number of those in the lowest bracket (estates of 30,000 fīdūq and under). In addition, a whole new category must be created to account for those merchants (three in number) who died in debt. Figures thus obtained, which are embodied in Table 8, show that average estates belonging to merchants classified in Table 6 under brackets 2 to 4 dropped from 80,209 fīdūq to 50,323 fīdūq (for the whole period between 1089 and 1206). The average legacy of those merchants who died between 1778 and 1798 becomes 18,938 fīdūq instead of 33,755 fīdūq. This last figure includes the estates of two merchants who died with debts totalling 33,456 fīdūq. Reasons for the generalised impoverishment, particularly in the latter half of the eighteenth century, will become clearer in the following chapter.

4. Regional Patterns

Most merchants lived in, near or within about walking distance of the bawāsit al-dālāla or within that area of Cairo known as the Fatimid city. When they did not dwell in bawāsil/quarters in the wāliqā or adabīn private houses outside, they took quarters in upper-story residential quarters called ṣaffa (sing. ṣaff). Favorite residential districts were ṣaff al-jurrāsīn, on the same street as the
Wehdat al-Jalliba, and bālt al-Dlundūlīn, a short distance to the west of the barāqīn. Other merchants lived in private houses in ma Conditioning, great al-Dīdī (just beyond the mosque), and great al-Makhúṣ, near the southern wall of the old city.

Prosperous merchants (brackets 1 and 2) maintained private residences as a rule. Aqād Majlīs owned a house in Ṣaq al-Dīnāk, a small street leading off al-Dundūlīn. He seems to have used this residence as his business address since his inventory was drawn up there, rather than in a barāqīn, which was the usual case. Majlīs's real estate holdings were in Ṣaft al-Ghūrū, where his "great house" was located, and it would appear he resided periodically in Cairo though for long durations. Ṣaq al-Dīnāk, according to ʿAll Mahir, was a favorite residential quarter for well-to-do merchants. Nearby neighbors (but not contemporaries) would have included ʿAll al-Makhtūrī (bracket 2) whose house, later incorporated into a waqt, was found on ʿAorb Shāb al-Qaṣr (in ma Conditioning al-Dundūlīn), and tālib Ṣabīl al-Khulīsī al-Aqṣāfī (bracket 3) who lived on the same street. 5

1Aṣaʿir 109, 27, #19 (228/1765).
2Rītā, III, 150 (331); III, 31 (68).
3Baḥr 261, 137 (1166/1756); Aṣaʿir 105, 441, #66 (1205/1791).
Just up the street from the "waṭel" were the homes of Habis al-
'Uthmān (estate: 258,377/172,080 Dinars) and of his friend al-
Ghurīyānī opposite the al-Qaṣāwīya School. ("formerly the residence of Anūb Maṭṭārī al-
Qahārī") begins the description in his work Deeds and the home of
Jābir Abūnāṣ al-"Uthmānī" (estate: 68,377/37,900 Dinars) which he rented
in 949 al-Qaṣāwīya, opposite the al-Qaṣāwīya fountain. Close by was
the house of the historian, al-Jabārī, which was purchased from his
heirs in 1341 by members of the Aḥmad family, nineteenth century
merchants at the "waṭel." Thus, until the latter part of the nineteenth
century this street remained the residential and commercial center of
the "waṭel" trade.

Within walking distance were the homes of Muhammad al-Qanūnī
(estate: 198,105/114,292 Dinars) on māras al-Muḥādīlī, and the houses
of two Chains of the "waṭel," Mab al-Ghurūb al-Qanūnī, located on

1The name, see Muḥammad Mārisī, II, 265 (28); II, 85 (28).
3Ibid. 289, 478, 266 (195/1741). In the identification of
al-Qaṣāwīya with al-Qaṣāwīya. Mārisī, Mab al-Ghurūb al-
4The sale deed was published by Alī, "ḥabīb al-Jabārī,"
105-10.
5Alī, "Notes," 267; it was described as the "waṭel al-
Qanūnī" by Jean Bourguignon, Pèlerins de l'Égypte Arabe, (Paris, 1993), I,
12, to identify the location of the "waṭel" in 1892, shown on plate 70.
6Arab 72, 214, 281 (110/1090).
Kfar al-Sallâh al-Ukhrî in the Nîlî quarter, and Sultân Isma‘îl al-
Ghârî, who began to renovate a residence in Fârid al-Durîsh, near
Al-Dâhîr, in the early years of the nineteenth century. One mer-
chant, Abd al-Karîm al-Ghârî, "bought in slaves in Nîlî Fârid, and
maintained his house in Kfar Wâlidî, near Dâhîr al-Damashq. Some
merchants spent enormous sums to renovate their houses, some occasionally larger than the value of the estates, as
less prosperous traders, those in the lowest bracket, in-
habited quarters in galleries (fîlîn). These residential units were
customarily "let to families who cannot afford the rent of a whole
house. Each room comprises one or two sitting and sleeping rooms,
and generally a kitchen and latrine... They are never ready-
furnished." Among merchants at the Dîrîsh residing in them were
Abd al-All al-Nâşirî (estate: 18,392/11,265 fîlîn), in Kfar al-
Ghârî, possibly above the Dâhîr al-Ghârî, but certainly on jatt

1 On these residences, see Chapter VI.
3 For instance, Abd al-Qâdir ibn al-Mushtashîr spent 379,000 fîlîn on his residence, though his estate was valued at only 60,247/27,139
fîlîn.
5 Nigel, 36, 293, 476 (1163/1176).
In 1201/10/24, also on 1205/10/20 Al-Qurra'īin, one Mustain bin Marwan al-Mowān (estate: 9,635/2,090 700), in 1201/10/24 near the al-
Myasin mosque. An exception to the residential pattern was Ayyub "Abd al-
Ghāni (estate: 34,100/25,900 700) who despite his wealth lived in 1201/10/24 Al-Qurra'īin. Some 1205/10/24 possessed especially luxurious
apartments on two levels with ornate doorways and stairs, and it may be that his domicile was located in one of these.

The inventories of all other merchants give no indication of
residential quarters other than occupancy of a mawālī in the wāhla.
These were large enough to provide sleeping space and as such were
regularly used by 'Hāshim while staying in Cilicia. But it may have been
that merchants who stayed for longer periods of time in the city res-
ided at least part of the time with relatives or friends. An example
might have been Abu Zayd bin 'Umar (estate 6,828/4,122 700), breaker,
who occupied a mawālī at the Wāliyat al-Maṣlaḥa for at least thirteen
months but who also stored clothes in the home of Shāhīr Maqrizī
Muhammad al-Gusainī, former mawālī of the Bāhā'ī. 6

6Asakr 124, 86, (1202/1263). The origin of Shāhīr Maqrizī on
al-Gusainī in mentioned in al-Mawardi, ii, 342 (1287), ii, 96 (168).

1201/10/25 in 1205/10/20.

1201/10/25 in 1205/10/20.

1201/10/25 in 1205/10/20.

1201/10/25 in 1205/10/20.

1201/10/25 in 1205/10/20.

1201/10/25 in 1205/10/20.
5. Life Styles and Social Milieu

Merchants, even those with considerable stock and assets, rarely lived ostentatiously, either in public or private. Inventories list relatively few personal possessions, whether clothes or jewelry or household articles. However, there seems to have been some minimal standard of living accepted by all merchants regardless of financial resources. What is perhaps revealing to discover about life in eighteenth-century Cairo is that merchants with relatively small estates often possessed the most conspicuous wardrobe.

In this respect, the belongings of Ahmad Kabilin, wealthy merchant, may be compared with those of Ahmad al-Qasim, musahib, and Abu Sa'id Qasim, broker, both of whom left estates falling in the lowest bracket shown in Table 1. Kabilin's wardrobe consisted of three costumes, two jinn (jackets or vests) and two "used" cloaks (jihān), the total value of which did not amount to even one per cent of his estate. In comparison Ahmad al-Qasim's wardrobe was composed of two shawls, two jinn, and two long shirts (qartay), accounting altogether for ten per cent of his estate, while Abu Sa'id Qasim accumulated an elaborate wardrobe of four costumes, three shawls, two shirts, two jinn, a turban, a torban, and nine neccapkins (some of them lined), representing altogether thirty per cent of his estate.

Wardrobes belonging to Habib Ayoub and Ahmad Fu'ad al-Jabrina, both prosperous merchants in the wāglī, were on the other hand less modest as their estates were plentiful. On the average, certain wardrobes barely extended five per cent of their individual estates.

1. The modest level of consumption was, however, typical of merchant and artisan communities as a whole. The pattern underwent a drastic change in the nineteenth century when many more articles of apparel and household furnishings are commonly enumerated in estate inventories.

2. The trend is indicated in the estate of Sallām ibn Siddīk al-Maghrībi in which the inventory of merchants is the tree that have been examined for this period.
The social milieu in which merchants at the 
ra'is al-fattah was
close-knit and moderately prosperous. Some of the merchants left
fortunes anywhere approaching the size of estates left by great
families or nabiis. In one or two cases signs of upward mobility are
evident, the consequence of industry, judicious marriages, and good
fortune, but by and large the ra'is al-fattah's merchants married within their
own rank or own extended family. A few examples illustrate the pat-
tern: the daughter of Mahfuz al-Majf, shaikh of the ra'is al-fattah, was married
in Damascus to Muhammad al-Suli, merchant of Aleppo and Cairo; his son,
Muhammad, was married to the daughter of Yusuf Makki, Moulaya's associate
and Shaikh Muhammad's partner in several enterprises; Muhammad ibn
al-Wa'i, merchant at ûm al-Burus and Asyûr, was married to a daughter
of Salim ibn al-Juyûr, of the Asyûr-based merchant family in the Sudan
trade. The closeness of the ra'is al-fattah's community is also exemplified

1 The size of some of them, given by Bayoun (Arabic, II,
405), could reach enormous proportions, rising from four to twenty-
one million dirhams. The estate left by Salim ibn al-Suli, head of a
famous merchant family (d. 1273), was 8,494,466 dirhams.

2 A case of upward mobility can be made out for the Idris; see Chapter VI.

3 Bayoun 271, 381 (1373/1760).

4 Bayoun 302, 355 (1375/1761).
by marriage of Umayyad to the widow of a deceased colleague.²

None was related by marriage to families of the political and
religious establishments,³ or if such alliances were contracted the
position of the woman is not clear. The only possible exception may
be Zuhra' al-Maddah, freed slave of Maqar al-Jaff and merchant at the
Medina, who married the daughter of Usman ibn al-Ghafil al-Madhali,⁴
but his precise role in the religious establishment is not evident.

Merchants may not have been illiterate, but very few of them possessed
books, even copies of the Qur'an.⁵ None had any apparent religious
affiliation to a known sect. On the other hand, contact with
religious figures were often close, probably because a large number of
merchants, one in ten, belonged to the 'ashīḥ. They included all those
owning the jādid al-Dārāz aw as well as many ḥāfizīs and two merchants
from Banū Qainuq, a suburb of Ḥamīm. Membership in the ḥāfiz permitted

² On 520, 11/21, 12/29 (1187/1776), he married Zaynab ʿAbd, widow of Ṭūrum ʿAbd, son of ʿAbd al-Qadir al-Qurashi, the pasha of ʿAbd al-Qadir, governor of the Medina, was a merchant in the safer (Bukhari 301, 312, 1304/1987); or there was direct participation of the trade, exemplified by Muhannad ibn ʿAbd al-Qadir, son of ʿAbd al-Qadir, in Ṭūrum, who doubled as a slave merchant (Fayyāḍ, 3:176, 407-408).

³ Bukhari 173, 1304 (1050/1640).

⁴ Only members of the Banū Qainuq had "books" included in their estate; ʿAbd al-Qadir ibn Ṭūrum died during his minority. In addition to the sheaf of paper he exported to the interior.
then to be addressed as al-ṣafīfī, al-ṣafīfī which may have enhanced their position as reputable traders.

In the middle of latter part of the eighteenth century certain Ḥāflam figures established themselves as particularly useful to a number of merchants at the Ḥāflam al-ṣallībīn. Of such figures were Shahād Ṭāh al-ṣafīfī and Shahād Mārūn, sons of Sulaimān al-Tutānīfī al-Jawāfī, the first of whom was nicknamed "Ṭabāsī", the second, "Mārūn." They are found witnessing estate procedures of various merchants, all with Upper Egyptian background, or acting as agents (ṣuṣṭā) for absent or female heirs. A family or provincial bond explains their attractiveness to these matters, but by their presence they also earned fees paid by estate executors. In Mārūn's case, there were interesting economic ties as well. His cousin and son-in-law was Ḥusayn Muhammad "al-Jawāfī", a wealthy Arūf merchant whose business sphere extended to the trade with Black Africa.¹

¹Shahād Ṭāh al-ṣafīfī witnessed the inventory of Muhammad Ṭāh al-Jawāfī al-Makhtul (Shah 271, 489, 1173/1762); estate settlement of Ṭāh al-ṣafīfī al-Tutānīfī al-Jawāfī (Shah 274, 440, 1176/1769); the inventory of Yūnis al-ṣafīfī al-Jawāfī (Shah 179, 379, 1185/1772); and Mārūn Ḥusayn witnessed the inventory of Shahād Mārūn al-Ṭasīr (Shah 52, 655, 1185/1772).

²Shah 271, 489 (1173/1762), for Rūmān Mārūn, mother of Shahād Mārūn al-ṣafīfī.

³Shah 269, 144 (1171/1760). His fortune, valued at 2,409,099 fīqīn, included items from a partnership polynomial for lacquer and slaves with the brother of Mārūn's puʾa in Tripoli; he also owned "al-ṣafīfī buildings" (taṣḥīḥ al-ṣafīfī) in Tripoli, whose son, Mārūn Mārūn al-ṣafīfī, built.
Almost half the merchants whose inventories have been preserved left bequests, ranging from one to twenty-three per cent of the value of their estates. *Wā'adāt* were sometimes beneficiaries of these gifts. The pattern of bequests not only reveals something of the religious sentiments felt by some merchants but also gives an indication of the extent of certain merchant families. With respect to religious benefactions, specific bequests are occasionally noted, as in the estate of Wilāy Hākal, a *wā'adāt* of 1,330 *fīlāt* was earmarked for Shaikh Baī al-Muχābī, *Salih ibn al-Sabīn*, 480 *fīlāt* was set aside for Shaikh Ṣāqī al-Nawāz, and a Shaikh identified as *Jāmī al-ʿamāmī*. Other bequests were more general, such as to the *mandāmūn* (servants) of al-Ḥusayn mosque, or to the readers (*āqīfān*) at the mosques of al-Ḥusayn and Jāmī al-ʿAmī.1

Bequests to family members, to freed slaves and slave mothers were much more common. Within the immediate family, reference are found to bequests to mothers, sisters, and brothers, to cousins and children of brothers, sisters and cousins.2 Even ex-in-law may have been remembered: Wilāy Hākal left one of his larger bequests to his

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1 *Askar* 154, 330, 469 (1155/1745); other bequests to religious personalities are mentioned in *Askar* 125, 404, 469 (1155/1745); *Dakhīl* 71, 301-2 (1173/1760).

2 In addition to references in footnote 1, *Askar* 122, 123, 131 (1152/1739); *Askar* 132, 147, 410 (1155/1745); *Askar* 145, 475, 436 (1155/1745); *Askar* 204, 351-2 (1193/1779).
divorced wife's brother. Many others were granted to concubines (mutawwa'atīn) who had produced children by their masters.

As a consequence of their trade, merchants at the bundles had access to female slaves that was, perhaps, atypical of the Cairo merchant community as a whole, or of same segments of Egyptian society for that matter. In quite a few instances, merchants had offspring from slave women (five of twenty-two merchants whose inventories have been preserved), but in all but one case the children were recognized as legal heirs of the father. Usually slave women who had given birth to children were remarried with bequests, if not manumitted.

Not only was concubinacy a fairly frequent occurrence but so was polygyny, horizontal and lateral. Six of twenty-two merchants had two concurrent wives, the majority of them sharing quarters with their husbands in Cairo. An exception was 'Ali 'Abd Jamālī who maintained one wife in Asyūt and another in Cairo. Five others contracted second marriages, in most cases after the death of the first wife. As a result of various connections beveling genealogical trees could be evinced. An example was the family of Sālim Mūsā al-Fār al-Darmūshī (d. 1759) whose slavers included two wives, Manṣūra bint 'Abdāllāh al-Sayfīyya, an Egyptian slave who was freed upon Darmūshī's death and was the mother of a son, 'Abd al-Aswādī, and Sayfīyya bint Mūsā al-Lūlūlī, 2

2 Anwar 100, 598, #69 (31/4/1713).
mother of another son, Muhd al-‘Abd. In addition, there were five other children: Huda, Muhammad Salama and Muhd al-‘Ald, born from three black slaves, Ahmad al-‘Abd, born from Zaynab, another black slave, and Salama, born from Muhammad al-‘Abd, a freed slave of Muhammad al-‘Umar, who had divorced her. Each of these children was recognised as a legal heir and given his or her right share of the father’s legacy as guaranteed under Islamic law. Only the two legal wives received inheritances, but the two concubines were undoubtedly remembered in the bequest deed, unfortunately not specified, probably by Muhammad before his death. It amounted to 552 dirhams or 20.6 per cent of the value of his estate. Muhammad Abdu al-Rahman left behind an equally complex family, based on a single legal wife and liaisons with three different slave women.

For from there being any stigma attached to having children from black women, a large per cent of merchants at the port (six out of twenty-two) had African wives, four of whom lived on an only-wife basis. (Only one merchant, Muhd ur-Ra‘iwa al-‘Umar, married a freed white slave woman.) It has been said that black slave women could be purchased and married more cheaply than the expenses of contracting a marriage with a free Egyptian girl, but it is interesting to note that four of the six concubines who married black women

1 Daoust 272, 469-6 (1373/1379)
2 Daoust 302, 455 (1395/1381)
The Məfrūh community in Cairo was, as Raymond has pointed out, strongly communalised, active and prosperous. Due to the role of North African merchants in Egypt’s international trade, specifically in the lucrative trade with China, two members of the community became “magnifici”: head of the wealthy spice and coffee merchants of Cairo, in the course of the eighteenth century. Some left enormous fortunes, calculated in millions of rixda.

They were: al-Teṣfəlil (estate: 170,000/131,700 rixda), married to Faraj bint Muhammad al-Naṣir; Muhammad al-Səfəl (estate: 907,000/120,120 rixda) married to Siyāf bint Muhammad al-Səfəl (part of estate: 59,500/13,500 rixda); married to Siyāf bint Muhammad al-Səfəl; and Hādi al-Səfəl (estate: 1,133,700, 73 rixda) married to Ḥarun bint Muhammad al-Səfəl, and to Ḥarun bint Muhammad al-Səfəl. All but one of these women had formerly been slaves of their husbands.

For background: Faraj bint Muhammad al-Naṣir, married to Ḥarun bint Muhammad al-Dawla (father of ‘Abd al-Raqqān), married to the bint Muhammad al-Səfəl (among these women), in the nineteenth century marriages were even more common but in many cases, the black slaves were probably given as gifts by the rich and powerful as a gesture of thanks for services rendered or in recognition of status attained.

While it is not the purpose here to examine this community in any depth, their interesting connections with the African interior need to be indicated, especially since they have been neglected in studies made of this community. For is it necessary to describe the long-standing nature of North African interests in the Sudan which date back to the earliest centuries of Islamic contact. The material value of commercial ties with black Africa can be gathered from the estate accumulated by Muhammad al-Dārūḍī, mentioned earlier, who died in Tāhūta with a sizeable fortune in gold dust.

A glimpse at selected Ḥarīrī merchant inventories reveals the extent of these interests. There is, for instance, the rich estate left by Khān ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Dārūḍī “al-ʿArabī” who died in 1712. He was a merchant in Ṣūq al-Darb, one of the important cloth markets in the city, but among his large stock of textiles, spices, coffee and soap are listed sizeable quantities of tanbūrī, ivory, and ebony. Most interesting, more than half the value was invested in crates or half-loads (thulūt) of beads—translucent, black, white and red. The estate of Muhammad ʿAbd al-Qādir al-ṣawārī “al-qarāfī” (d. 1762), merchant in Ṣūq ʿArba (another well-known cloth market), shows a similar African-oriented stock. It includes quantities of gum, tin, iron, ebony, waterkins, among African imports, and sandalwood, spikenard, beads, rubbers, swords, and ḥijāl al-wāliyya bread-cloth among items exportable.

1Sawy 102, 516, #120 (1202-1702). He is identified as ʿAbd al-Qādir al-ṣawārī in Baydūm, ʿArbaʿa, 27, 409.
to the interior.\footnote{2} A special link between these merchants and the western trade route to the Sudan is seen in the inventory of another merchant in Ṣūq al-Dāmar, Mūḥammad al-Maḥṣūṣī al-ñanați (d. 1706). It notes the price of two black slave girls "who the sultan of Persia sent to the deceased as a gift" (huwa qabīl al-ṣabīyah), and that in return, Mūḥammad sent him a gift of ḥālīmān, ṣawwāfī and al-ṣawwāfī (various cottons and woolens).\footnote{3} (Does this gift indicate the merchant acted as the sultan's agent in Cairo?) The practice of sending merchants of North African origin to stock goods exportable to black Africa is also found in nineteenth century inventories.\footnote{4}

The tendency to combine stocks of African imports and exports with Red Sea and European goods, staples of the international trade, was characteristic of those ḥālīmān even more intimately involved in the trade with the western Sudan, the merchants of Jīlīla. Those traders, who operated out of locations in Wāḥalat al-ḥālīmān or Wāḥalat al-ṣawwāfī,\footnote{5} often owned mixed stocks of coffee, textiles, beads, gold

\footnote{2}Dabestani 270, k.t., 1116/1706.
\footnote{3}Dabestani 233, 181-3 (1190/1779).
\footnote{4}An inventory in the inventory of Mūḥammad al-
Mawārī al-Dāmarī (d. 1243) which includes a large quantity of copper valued at 18,678 piastres. Tuwārīsh 3, 358-60 (12 August 1900).
\footnote{5}On these wāḥalat, Raymond, Epilogue, II, 155, 217. They were both located in quarters favored by North Africans, near al-Qahīra.
dust, soap and slaves. Notations such as "hire of Malik [quarter] dispatched to Hajj," or "[amount of goods and cash] in the possession of the sheikh of Kairouan," testify to economic interests lying exclusively along the western route running from Kairouan to Azilal (and west).³

Early documents point to the existence of a small number of North African merchants either actively engaged in transporting goods between Cairo and Azilal or Fas or else stocking goods salable in the Sudan. Neither their business quarters nor the list of colleagues or individuals witnessing their inventories relate in any direct way to the Wālah al-Jallān and its circle of merchants. The only time the two communities mixed was to settle estate matters of North Africans who died in the Siwa or Sīdīr since their caravans normally took up residence at the Wālah.

Conclusion

The clan of merchants specializing in African goods in Cairo has been shown to have been largely Upper Egyptian in origin, bound together by occupational, residential and social ties, and sharing fairly similar fortunes although extremes existed at either end of the

³ Anvar 142, 257, 531 (1154/1256); Anvar 142, 538, 546 (1154/1256); Anvar 142, 4, 16 (1154/1752). Their colonized version 197, 140 (encampment) 197, 141; twice the note for merchants at the Walsīt al-Jallān.
scale. As a group these merchants were distinct from Jallgah who transported goods from the interior. Links forged between Cairo-based and Asyut-based merchants (and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them) provided a vital lever to the effectiveness of business enterprises by insuring Cairo merchants an immediate contact with incoming African caravans. Economically this connection may have assured them of a slightly higher standard of living than was enjoyed by many merchant and artisan groups in the capital, but it never guaranteed them the financial resources to compete in wealth and power with the country's political and merchant elites.

Were merchants in slaves (among other African merchandise) held in disrepute by their confrères? Ebliya Çelebi, the seventeenth century Turkish traveller, ranked the çanbek jallgah, the guild of Jallgah, among the "impious" guilds of Cairo. His point of reference was that its members lacked the religious traditions and repute that other guilds possessed. Çelebi's reference to a Jallgah guild will be argued against at a later point in this study; presumably he was referring to the group of importing merchants whose origins, as has been

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1. Ebliya Çelebi, Artuq, II, 503.) that the members of the guild of ç Alanıye/merchants of black slaves were custom . . . " and partially incorrect, he knew so have not soon there were two groups involved in this commerce.

2. Sogukçuluk, X, 352; the whole list of "impious" guilds in given in ibid, Jallgah Galben, 35-6.
seen, were largely Sudanese, and not to the group of resident Bugris.

But the inference of dispute has been discussed in recent
years by Ems, on the basis of his papers, and has been in-
correctly read into a passage from Burckhardt's "Travels in Turkey" which
seems to indicate the low estimation accorded to these merchants.

In general, the traffic in slaves, as it is often
called in Egypt, the trade in human flesh . . . is by no
means thought creditable.

Sudan, however, he continues the passage in this fashion:

The people of Darfur, however, find credit, and might easily
accumulate riches, if they were not so industriously vicious
and dissolute, robbing the best part of their profits in drunken
and debauchery. The money which they borrow in
Upper Egypt, and for which they generally pledge their
houses and landed property . . . .

It is clear that whatever he might have thought of Darfur personally
he was not discussing the creditability of merchants in the trade but
the difficulties encountered by Sudan merchants in obtaining credit
during the time he was traveling in the Sudan.

Another in fact slave merchants were thought "dishonest"
by the rest of Egyptian society cannot be accurately determined since
the whole question of trading in slaves is subjected to so many plat-
titudes and to such hypocrisy as it is in the West. What has
been shown here is that some merchants in the trade managed to accumu-
late modest fortunes and that as far as the data reveals the average

1 D. Ems, "Slavery and its Abolition," in Studies in the Social
History of Modern Turkey (Chicago, 1969), 274.

2 "Travels 272, Edmund Douin, Sketches in Upper Egypt, I.
(Cairo, 1887), 68. I translated this "Recherche sur les commerces
de commerce humanite, " An Arabic translation of the book
by F. B. B. A. E., AMICUS, (Cairo, n. d.), 286, makes a similar
statement.}
estate of others was slightly above that obtained by merchants special-
izing in many other trades. One may suspect that this or some other re-

pute accorded to anyone, whatever his trade, directly related to the size of his fortune. Moreover, while not being directly connected
with the wealthy and influential classes of Egyptian society, many
merchants at the wālīa carried the title of ḫāqīn which automatically
assured them a respectful social position. Finally, the few who pros-
pered from the trade exhibited a noticeable charitable sense by grant-
ing requests to local religious figures, to relations and consumption.

When we come to discuss the situation in Assyūs, where trade
with Africa formed a principal basis of the local economy the high
social status of merchants becomes apparent. Too little is known of the
social history of the city in the eighteenth century but evidence from
the nineteenth is very clear. Its two most important local
officials, the ḫāqīn who acted as a sort of mayor, and the director
who presided over the merchant community, came from families which were

*Lane, Egypt, 135.

But one of the ḫāqīns of Caire in the 1880s is known to have
owned a mosque, school or other religious institution as did many
"great merchants" of the city. Their financial resources would not
have permitted it. On the other hand, one merchant is known to
have freed seven of his slaves. *DN* 137, 136, *v*12 (1564/1565).
either trading with black Africa or else closely allied to families which were. The post of shaykh ul-Islam was held in the first half of the century by Mukhammad Pasha Ili al-Miṣri, a merchant of great power and associations, who enjoyed "great contacts with the Sudan" as a later biographer commented. When his son, who succeeded him to the position, vacated it, the post was given to Mukhammad Ili gafara another merchant whose fortune was built on the Sudan trade. Indeed

1 He is said to have built an astonishing number of mausoleums, shops, houses and other buildings in the city. "Qanat Falajallah, Matbuat Dumag, 1944, 1961. Some are mentioned by Rubar, III, 204; he did not register a wife.

References have been found to partnerships with Tunisian Muhammad al-Falaj (Şeker, 189, 204, 1275/1858); his daughters were married to Tunisians heirs, thereby becoming allied to the religious aristocracy of the city (Falajallah, loc. cit.).

2 Falajallah, loc. cit.; a grandson later went to live in the Sudan; personal interview with Dr. Nabil Yasser al-Mahbubi (1992), a descendant of Mukhammad.

3 Faraj Sabahana Park, 163-7; personal interview with Tunisian gafara, Cairo, 1972; Falajallah, 175-80; were also mentioned by W. Muhammad Yasser (Ministry of Works, Cairo, Gafara al-Miṣri 1911-1912, Add. 77), Kufra society, vol. 1, 134-44, 2003, and 1970/3, in and 26 February 1881 altogether 72 properties are listed.
Indeed many of the great landed class native to the city began their careers in this trade. This was true of both Muslims and Copts. Several of the richest Christian families of Asyût in the last century were associated with the Sudan trade, the oldest of them being the al-Jawhari and al-Souda families. Ultimately fortunes were transferred from trade into agricultural holdings, which produced far higher profits. But within the framework of Asyût’s social history, it is clear that trade with the interior brought initial elements of wealth and status which in the end produced numerous charitable works.

1 In the al-Jawhari: Founded by brothers, Mahdi and Siraj, the latter often mentioned in Iḫḫaṣ’s chronicle, personal interview with Dr. Asma al-Jawhari, Asyût, 1971; see also Faraj Salih, Fu‘ad, 1981, Band 3, other than texts mentioned above, Muḥammad, 185.

2 Asyût: Faraj Salih, Fu‘ad, 188; Naṣrī Fathāshah, 196; Samwil Manṣūr, al-Jawhari, (Cairo, 191); Sālim, (Cairo, 191-198); III, 77, Gabeli Shihāb, Muṣannaf, 4 vols., (Cairo, 191); II, 417, 418; Banī Ḥāshim Shihāb, 396; (Cairo, 191); 190, 228-30, (London: 191); 201-117, long term contract, 8 May 1950.

3 Of numerous examples: Muḥammad Faraj al-Bīlānī built the large, white mosque in Asyût and supervised the construction of the al-Jawhari mosque at the expense of Muḥammad Mūsā Bishān’s own bequest. He was re-married for the poor during his lifetime, for reasons unknown, during that month, for building a mosque in al-Bīlānī, for re-creating the house covering the tomb of his grandfather al-Ḥājib each year, and family prayers. The Bīlānī family supports the American Protestant Mission in Asyût; the Khayrīs gave money to rebuild the shrine of the martyr Abd al-Fattah in the city.
CHAPTER IV
Trading, Credit and Profit

"On the morning of the fourth day, I went to say good-bye to him, and he presented me with a large number of beads with the worn of black wax to embellish their toilette, among them a type called (black al-jabal), meaning in their language "mountain black," but I gave him other more expensive beads... (al-safi), a long white bead with dark stripes, known in Cairo by the name "al-safi," which is a bead of yellow amber... and again... and so presented me with seven turquoise beads made of fine quality, and large amounts of pepper, mace and sandalwood."  
"Ghaz al-Din al-Hallafi, on leaving al-Sayyid Ahmed al-Maidan in Dīr al-Hil, 1205 C.E.

Lending is ruinous (to lenders and borrowers)
Arabic proverb

Commercial establishments of merchants in the African trade involved minimal personal and market space. The basic orientation, as has already been indicated, was toward family enterprise. Even prosperous traders employed few people in their business other than family members, the only exceptions being slaves of the māla (or guild) who retained personal followers or factum (al-fātu, al-fatū). In most cases they were freed slaves they had trained as assistants. Although some merchants

1 Al-Maqrizi, Conquest, 41; al-Maktab, 68.
3 See chapter 11, 12-13, 38: for the other merchant, "al-
kept account books recording their transactions, loans, and debts. Some retained a personal nubia as did many wealthy merchants, while others did not. But even great commercial establishments of the city, such as that owned by the Farah family, found little use for large staffs. As a result, neither observed, leading merchants were required to save money about the country in pursuit of business. However, it is not at all clear that merchants in the African trade found it necessary to travel outside Cairo. Nineteenth century sources indicate that journeys to Upper Egypt were common, that upon the arrival of great caravans from the interior, merchants in Cairo regularly dispatched agents to Asyut to deal directly with newly arrived mamluks. Yet for the eighteenth century period, mamluk sources give little evidence that such a pattern of travel existed. The reason was the close inter-
relationship between merchants at the walīlat al-Jaflān and
Aṣyūṯ provided Cairo-based merchants with established operatives
(formally family members) in Aṣyūṯ. These relationships will be
examined more closely when partnership associations and other con-
tactual arrangements are discussed below. At the same time, the
need to travel to Upper Egypt to greet caravans was reduced by
the fact that throughout the period under consideration the ul-
timate destination of Africa-originating caravans remained the
chief market of Egypt, the capital city.

In Cairo, business was usually carried out in a single
bašt, or at most two store-rooms. Within store-rooms, equipment
was kept to a minimum. At most it may have included several
wooden chests, leather bags (in which merchandise were stored),
or barrels. Equipment listed in Ḥusayn b. Maṭṭalib’s store-rooms,
for instance, included a chest and a chair in his store-room at
the small walīlat al-Jaflān and a chest and a barrel at the
walīlat al-Jaflān. A few inventories mention a strong-box
(baghān) or cocket (sunnīt), used presumably to store valuables,
and a few of the prosperous merchants owned small scales (ṣaḥāl)
which may have been carried in the wide sleeves of their robes
“to weigh the sequins and other gold coins which they receive in
payment.”

1Ibn Ḥawqal, ed. 261, 197 (1165/1752)
2Thürmann, Arabic Proverbs, 145.
In short, the overhead of most merchants, whether in the form of salaries to employees or rents for market locations or in payment of store-room equipment, was kept remarkably small.

1. Stock

The study of inventories reveals three characteristics of commerce as practiced by merchants in the African trades: little tendency to specialize in specific commodities; a heavy investment in non-African goods, chiefly European and Asian products; and a tendency for a few leading merchants to garner a disproportionate share of commerce transcended at the whole. The prominent place of non-African goods is understandable in the context of the merchant's role as intermediaries in the export trade to black Africa. In a sense these merchants dealt as heavily in textiles, hardware, beads, incense, spices, and arms as in slaves, ivory, feathers, and grain. The professional rank of sāhib (seller) was a conventional title which emphasized the merchant's best-known merchandise but offers a poor definition of his commercial interests as a whole.

A few merchants appear to have specialized in particular goods. Ivory, for example, accounts for the greater part of (good al-Tarkhāni's) stock, and since his counts is occasionally referred to in Arabic texts as sāhib al-ghayad, it is possible that

1. Arab 71, 167-72 (1114/1773)
2. Ashur 110, 85 (1150/1737)
the family as a unit specialized in this item. The overwhelming portion of al-Qāhir al-Shārī’s estate was also invested in

textiles, indicating that the Taṭlibīs were not alone in their specialization. However, given the uncertainties of both caravan
traffic and European markets, specialization seems to have been
exceptional and that in general merchants tried to diversify their
stock in order to accommodate the vagaries of the market places.
Diversification characterized inventories of prosperous merchants
and it was probably the goal of less well-off traders, even if
the stock they owned was but a fraction of that belonging to the
former group.

Since inventories give detailed descriptions of goods
owned by merchants trading with Africa, stocks can be discussed
in some depth. They portray on a small scale the African caravan
trade as described by Girard. But more important they identify
commodities which were considered most valuable by Cairo mer-
chant in their dealings with Africa. For our purposes, the
inventories of merchants whose total estates fell into brackets 1-3
($50,000 constant 1639 and above)² will be used. Not only did they
have the largest stocks among merchants in the trade but their sum
total represents nearly four-fifths the value of stocks listed in
all inventories of merchants attached to the witch or otherwise
trading in African goods. Therefore, goods they stored can be
considered typical of the community as a whole.

¹Asher 201, 250-2 (1192/1779).
²Nine merchant estates fell into these brackets (Chapter III,
Table 6), but inventories of all of them were not included; accordingly
only seven inventories can be used in Table 4+i.
Table 9 displays the distribution of African staples. Percentages for each of 114 items — slaves, ivory, feathers, skin, ebony and tamarind — have been arrived at by calculating the total value of each item traded against the total of the whole. They show that in terms of value, ivory was the most important commodity handled by resident merchants while slaves ranked third, only slightly below tamarind. (On the other hand, just as many merchants handled slaves as ivory.) This is somewhat surprising considering the fact that slaves were the most important item brought by the combined Arab Furs-Skull caravans. It would seem that the majority of slaves were sold by solicitors to themselves or else retailed in Cairo by the larger group of lesser merchants at the stalls. The emphasis given to ivory, tamarind, ebony (and probably gum which does not show up in the seven inventories examined) by the smaller group of prosperous merchants would seem to be clearly related to their exchange value in terms of European goods, particularly beads, scents and herbs. They could, moreover, be easily stored at relatively small expense.

Negative evidence found in Table 9, based on the absence or paucity of certain goods, suggests that a portion of the African trade was rarely or not at all handled by the merchants at the stalls, or if it was, it passed quickly into the hands of other

\(^1\) Natural $\$\$\$, for instance, dealt in see (Salter 271, 354, \textit{PAMCHR} F)'s account now is listed in his inventory.
### TABLE 2

**Stocks of African Goods**  
(In current prices)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Pounds</th>
<th>Tans</th>
<th>Small</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Large</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Small</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>2,100</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>5,100</td>
<td>11,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>66,435</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>69,105</td>
<td>126,105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>25,590</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>47,307</td>
<td>55,307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28,000</td>
<td>94,925</td>
<td>13,100</td>
<td>3,107</td>
<td>176,582</td>
<td>218,582</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**

1. Waterkins
2. Leather goods
3. Leather goods, possibly of Anjä manufacture.
traders in the city. Feathers, for example, may have bypassed the 
markets in general and been sold directly to Jewish specialists. 
Similarly, gold dust may have been sold directly to moneychangers 
exterior to the markets. Since the price of gold was steady, there 
would have been little reason for African merchants or pilgrims to 
sell it to intermediaries. Cattle, next to slaves the most valu-
able commodity imported from the interior, were largely traded in 
Upper Egyptian markets.

Stocks of non-African goods, used by merchants as a 
means of exchange, are given in Table 10; they are arranged in 
accordance with categories of trade as discussed in Chapter II. 
There, it was established that for the trade as a whole, textiles 
accounted for 50 percent of goods purchased in Egypt; metals and 
hardware for 23%; scents, spices, and condiments for 13%; beads for 
10%, and arms for 4%. Corresponding percentages for arms and scents 
found in merchant inventories are about equal, but percentages for 
textiles, metals, and arms radically differ. Of the three, beads 
(including courtesies and some jewelry) undergo the greatest trans-
formation, accounting for 65 percent of the value of merchant stocks 
against 10 percent for the trade as a whole; textiles account 
for less, 31 percent, in merchant stocks against 50% for the trade 
as a whole, while metals and hardware were also smaller, repre-
senting 12 percent in place of 23 percent for the total trade.

1Graeme-Robertson, 427.

2Among items mentioned are Punicus, a glass candidate 
(Lane, Panopt, 37), and nitris, a sort of metal pin (M. Levy, Item 
It is possible to explain these differences by arguing that resident merchants tried to function as general merchants for jubba, but they could not compete with specialists elsewhere in the city for all items desired by them; consequently they concentrated their limited resources on a few articles. The Kaslikat al-Jubba complex was, after all, in the commercial heart of the city and in its immediate vicinity could be found the bulk of cloth retailers (in sura, sitt al-galil, and hamra), small-goods merchants (bika) who dealt in flax and other small hardware articles (in sitt al-zahid), spice merchants (largely situated on or just off the ancient qiblah). 1

For goods purchased from jubba, resident merchants undoubtedly preferred barrier arrangements since scarcity of cash was a chronic problem. 2 What their stocks reveal is their preference for beads and textiles in these exchanges. The ranking position of beads is due to the ease with which they could be stored (and transported), their relative cheapness, but most important, the constancy of demand some beads enjoyed in the interior. The small black bead speckled white or yellow, called al-zahara, has a remarkably long lifetime: an early reference to them is found in an inventory of a Cairo merchant dated 1191, and it remains a recognizable tradition in the Sudan today. 2

1Henderson, 4, 32-23 325-36, 312-3.
2Ibid., 4, 47.
3Arab 48, 179: 46/2 (Amerit 26-1-14, 1298 A.D.); by informant in the Sudan 60 (Henderson 11-14, 1259 A.D.); as some of these beads were actually manufactured in the Sudan for more than a hundred years.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Sembil</th>
<th>respondents</th>
<th>Sembil A</th>
<th>Misir A</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sembil</td>
<td>21,148</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9,700</td>
<td>27,900</td>
<td>59,248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tantalei</td>
<td>8,269</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8,550</td>
<td>1,280</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haddoba</td>
<td>3,790</td>
<td>10,307</td>
<td>20,800</td>
<td>93,800</td>
<td>12,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darroli</td>
<td>57,332</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halkil</td>
<td>31,850</td>
<td>50,663</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>121,897</td>
<td>4,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habash</td>
<td>2,890</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD Salama</td>
<td>85,750</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>123,110</td>
<td>61,000</td>
<td>41,185</td>
<td>245,987</td>
<td>17,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: W.Africa.

Notes:
1 Including metals and small goods, such as passour.
2 Including soap, ointments (balam oil).
3 Including cowries, shells, semi-precious materials (amber), and jewelry.
4 Including cast of nais.
In Kairi (near Jerusalem), it is found in the inventories of Yemeni al-Tauﬁq (1702). Haikal ibn Ali (1774), and is mentioned in the travel accounts of Brooke, al-Tawﬁq, and Burckhardt. 1 Beads whose eighteenth century trade-names were both al-tawuq, fahisah and peshwah can still be identified in present-day Sudan while others, such as the popular rafal bead (mentioned by al-Tawﬁq in the quotation used at the beginning of this chapter) now seem to be generally known under the trade-name of emar. 2 Though one traveller complained about the unavailability of beads he took into the interior, suggesting a rising and falling popularity for new beads, 3 it is nonetheless clear that demand for others remained steady over long periods of time which accounts for the willingness of merchants at the wadis to stock them.

Quarters (wadis), widely used in many parts of Africa as currency, were also stocked by merchants. They were imported from the Red Sea, either from India by way of the Khas, or from Red Sea ports whose inhabitants collected them from the nearby seashore. From travellers’ accounts, it would seem they were used in personal ornamentation and as amulets and charms more often than as currency. Neither Brooke, Girard, or Burckhardt list them among notable items exported to the interior.

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1 Roheni, 302; al-Tawﬁqi, Darfurian, 201; Roheni, 215; Burckhardt, Sudan, 401.
2 Ganni, 170; 250, #171 (1104/1790); al-Tawﬁqi, ibid. 214; Ganni, 335; Burckhardt, Sudan, 279 (transcribed from billon or copper) as present-day Egypt the bead is known as eumar.
3 Ganni, 159.
The bead stocks (including ostrich) of Gill Elson (d. 1774), who appears to have specialized in this article, were extraordinarily large. Valued at £11,907, they represented 47 percent of his total estate. Since they included beads whose trade-names often appear in eighteenth and nineteenth century travel accounts of central and northeastern Africa, it may be worthwhile to list them in full. The largest quantities were of the cheaper varieties:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Milam (Marbleine)</td>
<td>24,766</td>
<td>450 per 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pale Topi (Little Topi)</td>
<td>2,648</td>
<td>2 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Topi</td>
<td>1,599</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Topi</td>
<td>799</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Cont'd.)

In 1773, he sold a lot of 1,088 pairs of "beads, cowries, and copper's 80 28s. 11d. (10 flours 112)."

"Alpoun" beads are mentioned by Burchardt, "Travels, 269: they appear also in eighteenth century inventories and in the inventory of Shahabad 1834 lists, dated 1712.

Described as a small yellow and green breed personal communication of Prof. Delabr (also consulted Mr. Hannay.)

*"Topi*.

Identified in Chairman's flat and note.

Burchardt mentions seeing this bead on sale in Jiddah in 1774; "Travels, 269."
Abuad Kahlifa also had a large assortment of beads, accounting for 18 percent of his estate, mostly invested in a type of glass bead (**bulla bulla**) whose exact trade-name is indecipherable, but including quantities of coral, round green beads, was yellow amber (**nahruran ayyar**) which was popular in the Sudan.  

There are few detailed descriptions of stocks of goods purchased by individual jaffas during the eighteenth century.

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1. Probably made in Benin or Benin Empire, Nigeria, 264. Widely circulated in the black slave trade going to the eighteenth century. *Beauchamp IV.,* 143, 276, 279.

2. Approximately 5 English pounds. *Lane, ***Iberian, 57**.*


4. Also called transparent amber. *Barkal, 102.*

But one of two inventories which have been preserved in the *Makkan* shows the importance of beads for at least some visiting merchants. This estimation of goods and a few personal articles belonged to 'Umara b. al-Jallān of similar origin and must have been compiled just prior to the time he expected to leave as it contains virtually no African goods.  

100 strands (hālib) of blue Syrian beads  
500 strands of white beads, being a cordon (mashba)  
200 packages (nush), of the "blood-red" (nā'um al-ʿaṣrā') beads, being two cordon  
1 cordier of black glass (7) beads  
10 packages of blue glass beads (nā'um al-ʿaṣrā' in)  
1 necklace of tin beads or sabūr (qanūn al-ṭūl)  
10 Egyptians (ṣabīl) coffee cups  
6 boxes of chilli coffee cups, being 600 cups in all  
6 eunuch's quarters  
20 wood vessels (al-ṭalāra')  
1 small brass cistern  
1 pair of large mulūk (treasures)  
2 small trays  
2 large bracelets  
1 hollows

While 'Umara b. al-Jallān's inventory portrays a heavy emphasis on beads and small luxuries, that belonging to 'Umar b. al-Jallān underlines the importance of textiles, the second largest item stocked by merchants at the Makkan al-Jallān.  

The only beads in his store, which may have been incomplete at the time of his death, were small quantities of rubʿ and one other bead whose

1Invent 30a, 18b (11/6/1792).  
2On these beads, al-Qāsimi, Darbūs, 206; al-Qāsimi, 214; he describes them as dark red, cylindrical, imported from Europe.  
3Burckhardt mentions a bead called rubʿ al-ʿAṣrā' in Amara's  
4Makkan 179, 250, 252 (11/0/1792).
same furnish unclear, their value accounted to only 25 piastre out of the total stock valued at 1490 piastre. Textiles, on the other hand, accounted for 1475 piastre. They consisted principally of varieties of muslin (clean or netting), kharka (cotton) and oryzen (coarse). Altogether 522 yards had purchased some 42 pieces of cloth, most of them worth between 2 and 5 piastre each.

The odd trade names of many of the purchases suggest he had gone outside the confines of the khan el-khalili to buy his goods; since he was a prosperous merchant of Egyptian origin, he cannot have been disconnected by the bewildering array of market places in Cairo. Textiles normally stocked by merchants at the wharfs were of the ordinary but well-known varieties: tubes made locally or in the massa (sources in the Delta). Kharka (cotton), sailali, barfali, qadali (sources in the Delta), barali or muslin Persian cloth (kadi). Other types of cloth mentioned include asila, aiga and

1 a-d.-b. or a.-b.-t.-m. Montegnet also in the inventory of Yusuf al-Mahdali, Dubat 301, 203-4 (1165/1753).
4 "G. Dey, Inventaire d'objets de luxe des vizirats chez les Arabe, (Archaeological Expo.) Exposition d'archéologie, 1979. The use of higherials in the fur is mentioned by al-Mahdali, Darthing, 206, Darthing, 215. If these names come from Arabic and represent particular patterns -- for instance, "bokhara" or "migrant's sheep" -- or if they come from Turkish, European or Indian place-names.
while articles of clothing include šilāṭ, šīṭa, šīṭā, and jāwaš šīṭa (blouses). They represent a larger variety of textiles than indicated by Girard, but in general one may assume that fashion in clothing and materials was far more widespread than that for beads and that consequently merchants at the wāliṣ were far less keen to stock fashionable items than the more ordinary but proven varieties.

Metals most often stocked were tin bars (ṣawtāt), copper wire (ṣawtāt), copper sheets (ṣawtāt), or old copper pieces (ṣawtāt). Lead (ṣawtāt) and potter’s lead mentioned by Girard among exports to Africa are not found in merchant inventories nor are they listed in various travellers’ accounts among imports from Egypt. Their import toward the end of the century probably resulted, as has been suggested earlier, from the establishment of a country in Darfur. Metals and small quantities of razor, scales, and occasionally files, again demonstrates the conservative tone of goods ordinarily stocked by merchants and the desire to maintain only those items for which there was a popular demand. In a real sense, the šāfī of the Wāliṣ al-Jahāna fall into the category of ‘general merchants.’

The stores that have been described above belonged to the prosperous elite in the trade, those wise or so merchants out of twenty-two who dealt in most of the articles of trade.

1 On these materials, Depuy, Phalanges, 1: 52, 56, 251.
2 Deby, Phalanges, 52-66, 353-63, 371-5.
exchanging African staples for European, Asian and Egyptian manufactured products or raw materials. As for the rest of the community, stock of African goods show a tendency toward diversification, but stores of European and Asian products are sharply reduced or entirely eliminated. On the other hand, Egyptian goods, including agricultural products, are more often listed. The inventory of [name] shows a large number of liquids, leather goods and a few textiles. He also has a large number of leather goods and a few textiles, all of Egyptian make as well. In the remainder of the store, the most common goods are feathers, tamarind, rhinoceros horn, pepper, tar and leather goods (straps). But no merchandise imported from Europe or Asia. Merchants with estates falling in the lowest bracket (10,000 figs) almost invariably dealt in African goods: slaves (one or two at most), small quantities of legitimate goods, virtually no European or Asian goods, and perhaps small quantities of butter, oil, cane or other Egyptian agricultural products.

It would appear, therefore, that the real distinction between these merchants and their prosperous colleagues lay in the latter's ability to stock non-African merchandise.

1. Aker 196, 175, 166 (120/171); Aker 214, 24 (120/171).
2. Aker 150, 173 (115/171); Aker 160, 177, 179 (115/171).

3. Aker 160, 273, 277 (115/171). An exception was a large amount of Egyptian goods (at least 1000) whose tiny size indicated small quantities of African goods (canvas, feathers, 127, elephant). Egyptian goods (brass, copper, malachite) and African goods (cotton, furs, iron, tin, elephant, copper) found in the store. Aker 160, 127, 129 (115/171-172).
Debts and partnership contracts entailed in inventories of less-prosperous merchants are significantly greater, and this is a class as to how they were able to sustain their trade in the face of feeble financial resources. It is also significant that investment in slaves by this group is far higher than that of the prosperous merchants, in fact accounting for 80 percent of the total value of African goods listed in their inventories. This should be expected, however, since slaves were the most highly negotiable of goods brought from the interior in the short-run, and consequently merchants could invest in them without severely disturbing their meager resources. Once a slave had been contracted for sale, payment was usually delivered within three days.

Although merchants in African goods could only be considered moderately prosperous in comparison with other merchants in the city, their disposable wealth, as reflected in stocks, should not be underestimated. Nordholtz wrote, “The Egyptian trade is, in general, carried on with very small capitals” [395]. I do not believe there is a single merchant, the whole amount of whose stock exceeds fifteen hundred Spanish dollars.” He was, of course, describing the Egyptian-African trade as carried out by merchants of Cairo and possibly Isma‘il, during a time of particular difficulties in relations between Egypt and Spain. However, if the figures in Table 11 are studied, it is found that total stocks of Cairo merchants in the “Egyptian” trade which converted into ḫīlājīs (Spanish dollars) averaged 200 ḫīlājīs, considerably above

1See Chapter VII, 212-214.
2Nordholtz, 272
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>TOTAL STOCK</th>
<th>TOTAL IN MILES</th>
<th>AFRICAN</th>
<th>NON-AFRICAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sanaill</td>
<td>198,109</td>
<td>2,740.6</td>
<td>115,130</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadda</td>
<td>96,751</td>
<td>743.4</td>
<td>33,710</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kafrilah</td>
<td>120,265</td>
<td>4,530.1</td>
<td>129,367</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durnel</td>
<td>207,230</td>
<td>1,025.5</td>
<td>65,135</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haikal</td>
<td>238,377</td>
<td>2,170.0</td>
<td>30,024</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huulda</td>
<td>128,705</td>
<td>1,703.0</td>
<td>114,940</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alh. L.</td>
<td>316,505</td>
<td>871.8</td>
<td>33,027</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1,528,068</td>
<td>14,019.4</td>
<td>473,513</td>
<td>326,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVERAGE</td>
<td>2,002.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: **WADENNA.** The figures for stocks do not add up to the total value of estates since they do not include the value of personal effects and equipment, cash, and credit notes; nor has the value of Egyptian agricultural produce been included.
Bartholdt's estimation. Nor do the figures in Table II include the value of cash deposits, credit notes, and partnership shares which usually enhanced the financial position of the prosperous group.

"The common class of merchants," Bartholdt continued, "have from two to three hundred dollars." But in Caire, the "common class" of merchants at the Wāllet al-Jallāba, those whose estates fell into Bracket 4 (20,000–50,000 franks) possessed stocks averaging 40% higher, once again above Bartholdt's estimate. However, those five traders falling into Bracket 5 (20,000 franks and under) owned stocks averaging 83% higher, less than Bartholdt's figures, and a good indication these traders operated on the fringes of trading at the wālīa.

In summary, a review of merchant stocks discloses a number of interesting facts. First, though often described in legal texts as mihālīr ānjāf, merchants actually traded as much in beads, textiles and imported merchandise as they did in slaves.

Indeed, total value of non-African goods, given in Table II, is slightly more than African goods. Moreover, though slaves were the common item sold at the wālīa, total value of raw materials and other goods — ivory, feathers, sūr, gun — was higher. Therefore, in terms of type and value of goods traded by merchants in the African trade, it is misleading to call them "slave traders," since it connects a pre-occupation with a single commodity. A pre-occupation with the slave trade did develop, but only in the nineteenth century, as will be seen.
Credit

Arabic proved war against its dangers, yet credit was a common method among Islamic merchants. The Qur’an itself is lenient towards debtors though it requires that debts be written down and witnessed. Inventories picture a complex web of assets and liabilities, demonstrating that merchants habitually counted on these resources to operate in trade, borrowing and lending amongst each other to cover even small transactions. Prosperous merchants were in a better position to avoid debt, and often extended large sums in credit, but they also borrowed from family relations and business colleagues.

Credit is usually recorded in inventories as ta’mini or sajil, noting that mention the name of the debtor, the date the contract was made, the amount of debt and sometimes the object given on credit. Formal loans (stay al-maaq) are less often mentioned, though presumably a ta’mini was considered as legally binding on a and since both were witnessed. Credit was extended to relatives and resident merchants, was occasionally extended to merchants of artisans in related trades (such as iron-smelters), and covered all types of goods imported from or exported to the investor.

1. In addition to the proofs quoted at the beginning of this chapter, Mawdudi mentions authority: “What causes faith to become black,” and “Leaving sisters entirely,” IV, 160 and 127, 36. See also IV, 121, 39.

2. Cited, Proctor, 1971 Qur’an, June 11, 201; it was, however, not considered necessary to include customs for failure to pay for goods purchased, even at least half a dozen times, which is seen in this study when does such a mention.
Credit given by local merchants to travelling merchants was an established feature of long-distance trade. In Cairo it can be documented to at least the middle of the sixteenth century, and even back much further. Stories of credit being given to members of Mamluk’s entourage in the fourteenth century are well-known. In the sixteenth century, moreover, it was usual for resident merchants to form partnerships with ḥālikà, thereby providing the travelling partner with a stock of goods and the wherewithal to pay for expenses and transportation. Goods brought back to Cairo by ḥālikà were usually divided between the partners on a fifty-fifty basis. Judged by the comparative scarcity of references in Ḥamāda texts to partnerships in the eighteenth century, this formal type of credit extension seems to have dwindled except in cases where the relationship between travelling partner and investing partner was familial.

On the other hand, simple credit, locally attested and often written down, was frequently granted, even though the risks of non-recovery were apparently high. Communication between Egypt and Black Africa was characterized by danger and delay, but the risks involved in extending credit to merchants travelling along

1 Commercial investments made by members of the Ḥamāda family between 1515 and 1615 will be studied in a forthcoming article.
2 Fezzat, Les espagones d'Égypte Sous les Mamlouks, (Cairo, 1975), I, 342; Levtzion, I, 1.
caravan routes were readily assumed at least by some merchants in Cairo.

The inventory of one such merchant, Ayyub Baglība (d. 1216)¹, draws attention to the risks involved in "trusting," to use the term employed by English factors in the Levant to describe these operations.² But it also shows how extensive the practice of crediting was. Altogether 133 goods (μετοχή, sing. ομός) are enumerated in his inventory, totaling 568,929 (μετοχή) or almost twice the value of his estate. They were extended over a thirty-year period, from 568 to 758, nearly two years before his death. Individual notations of date provide sparse information, merely showing the name of the debtor, the amount of the debt, date, and how the debt was recorded.³ Occasionally more information is given, such as, "Debt from ʿUmar b. Abū Dabbūs, according to a μετοχή dated 17 annās al-ʿUra 1320 for camels and other goods, 5,997 μετοχή." or "Debt from ʿAbdu al-ʿAttār for jilāḳ goods according to the account book dated 25 Dh. 161, 547 μετοχή." But all μετοχή were incurred in connection with jilāḳ goods or extended to people travelling into Africa since notations are found to credit given to mirīs and leading Ayyub statesmen covering transactions for such goods as tobacco, wool, melon, and grain. But a closer examination of names, ḫāṣib, al-mūṣaṣ, and references to items credited reveals that at least half and probably more involved goods entrusted to jilāḳīs. Some are identified as al-jilāḳī or

1. Ayyub b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbdullāh al-ʿUmarī, 1216
3. The words μετοχή, μετοχή, or simply μετοχή/μετοχή

while others bear Indian origin such as al-‘Ustād-
qulî, al-Mūsulmânî, al-‘Irânî, al-Muhammadî, etc. Six
debtors carried the muqadda mawā‘ir at the head of
every contract. A term of 10 months was usually
required.

Of the various dates recorded, the longest was due from
Husayn Maimûr Kapûlî, presumably a relative. It amounted
to 75,609 fîldîs and was dated 1712. They appear to have been
assessed for some years since a deed registered in the court in 1699
records the receipt of 100,000 fîldîs for goods given by Ashur to
Husayn (Husayn, al-Muhammadî, 1). These are among the largest credit
notes registered by merchants in the African trade, but are smaller
in size than those occasionally signed by great Indian merchants.

The longest sum extorted by a mawâ‘ir was entrusted to al-Muhammad
Husayn al-Gârînî, for 52,849 fîldîs. The notation
bears the date 1226 H. The same year that numerous credits
were granted by Kapûlî to other merchants trading into Africa.

A great number are dated 1710, 1711, and 1712,
indicating that traffic with the interior during these years was

1’In 5/6, 7/7, 8/9 (7 mabîr al-Hâjî, 1129)

2Extended mawâ‘ir credit of 452,206 fîldîs extended to
Husayn al-Gârînî, 1162 H.

3For instance, 31,600 fîldîs was granted by ‘Abd al-Muhammad
son of ‘Amir, 1124 H, to Muhammad Maimûr al-Muhammadî, and 31,700 fîldîs to
Muhammad Muhammad al-Muhammadî in 1125 H. In the
same year, several other creditors were allowed various
credit terms. None of the creditors’ names appears here in the
literature.
remarkably constant. During 1771 alone, Khabirka extended credits amounting to 125,858 Egyptian pounds, in response to the arrival of an important caravan from Sudan. 1 He may have had every hope of recovering his loans in following years, but the fact that many outstanding notes were still unpaid at the city of his death five years later could be attributed to unstable conditions in Sudan 2 or to Egypt, where struggles between French factions continued unabated, 3 or could indicate that Sudan merchants did not always honor their debts. 4 Yet, it was apparently not unusual for Khabirka loans to remain unpaid for periods as long as twenty years, necessitating settlement long after the death of creditor or debtor and resulting in long-term loss on the part of creditors or part of their liquid assets. Since many merchants could not afford to suffer such losses, it is obvious that credit sources in Cairo must have been fairly limited.

1 It has been asserted that Sudan was the origin of these caravans on the basis of historical research, but it should also be pointed out that Khabirka himself said by this date began immigration from the lands of the Sudan to other parts of the Near East, a fact which could explain the early interest of the Khabirka family in the Sudan and the movement of the Khabirka family to the Sudan. The story of these migrations and their repercussions is not included in the present study, but it is well known that the Khabirka family had extensive connections in the Sudan and that many of its members eventually settled there. The story of these migrations and their repercussions is not included in the present study, but it is well known that the Khabirka family had extensive connections in the Sudan and that many of its members eventually settled there.

2 Khabirka's relations with the early 19th-century British government and his articles, "The Revolution au Soudan from the Narrows between Battle of El Tebe (1803)," Annals of the South African Historical Society, 18 (1902), 55-75.


There can be little doubt that credit facilitated trade with the Sudan, but in contrast to relatively numerous references in Mamluk documents to money written out in the name of *ṣam'īn* during the early part of the eighteenth century, few references are found for the remaining part of the century. Of those recorded, one, amounting to 231 *ḥūd* (19,425 *ṣippa*) was entrusted by Muhammad and al-Ghurabī, broker at the ṣam'īn, to his son, who had travelled "to distant Sudan" another, amounting to 134 1/3 *ḥūd* (17,400 *ṣippa*) has been credited by Muhammad and al-Ghurabī to Aliya b. Al Rashāid, "son of the people of Ḫiriments" for slaves. But what the general scarcity of credit in Cairo during this time meant for the African trade is not absolutely clear. Does it indicate an impoverishment or financial success? Or does it indicate that alternative financing was found in other places? Research in the Arabic *pro bono* archives could almost certainly provide more positive answers.

Other types of credit procedures, such as *ḥūd*, *ḥuṣnab*, or letter of credit, and *ḥuṣnab*, transfer of credit, which were established instruments of trade in medieval times are rarely mentioned in our sources. *Ṣippa* was not used at all, and none of the documents referring to *ṭāqīli* date from the nineteenth century.¹

¹Kantor, 485-6 (1173/1759); Kantor, 4655 (1195/1779) ⁰Munahan, 572 ²Kantor claims this was so in the early nineteenth century: Kantor, 572 ³The term was employed by the Zulība merchants, Kantor, Artanum, 1, 250-254. ⁴Further on *ṭāqīli*, Chapter VII, 340, and Chapter VII, Appendix II, Case 3.
b. Credit between merchants. Thus, while there may have been a drying up of Jallāla credit in Cairo, credit offered to resident merchants seems to have accelerated. Depending on whether credit had been given or received, these arrangements are listed in inventories as yunus (for amounts of cash or goods due) or dhurra (for amounts owed). Some merchants, such as Aqūliba or al-‘urūbī, possessed very few γιομοσ and virtually no dhurra, while for others, such as ‘Abd al-Hayyān al-Shamsī, owner of the ṭūmbl, and ‘Abd al-Qādir al-‘Aqīl, a ṣināgab, the opposite was true. Credit mentioned in inventories covered operations in and outside the Ḥālālat al-Jallāla, for purchases of cloth, rugs, sugar, tobacco, and other consumables, and for services rendered by tailors, spers, millers, and musicians.

2. Qīmā. Statistically, out of twenty-two inventories, fifteen (67 percent) contain references to goods delivered without payment of price; altogether credit notes account for 45 percent of the total value of these inventories, not including shares from partnerships which will be discussed later. However, since this figure excludes the extraordinarily high amount of credit offered by Aqūliba, it may not be representative; if the value of his credit extension is included, it is found that of fourteen merchants in the trade, credit notes accounted to 25 percent of estate values.

*Note to Egyptian merchants who in the majority of cases carry on leather-making* Only three small credits were given to military personalities.
Credit was extended in lieu of payment for slaves, ivory, and gold, and was given to outsiders as well as to family relations. Credit procedures involving the sale of slaves will be discussed in Chapter VII; they included time-limited down payments, and payment by installment. Credit for ivory, presumably for large quantities which could not be paid in lump sums, seems often to have been extended toward the end of the eighteenth century. Ahmad Ḥāfiz al-Ṭālib, for instance, accepted a note for 719 ḫalīla (63,000 ḫalīla) from Bājī Salāma, smith of the ivory-carvers guild (mālīk al-tālāwir), "balance due on price of ivory."\(^1\)

Bājī Salāma, another merchant at the Ṭālibat al-Jallāba, delivered a quantity of ivory to another ivory-carver, valued at 800 ḫalīla (72,000 ḫalīla) and agreed to be paid in "legal" installments (mālīk al-tālāwir al-faṣli) at the rate of one-half ḫalīla per day. It was not the only credit note he issued made out to ivory-carvers.\(^2\)

Operating on credit became so common that some merchants possessed almost no visible assets. An example was a merchant attached to ʿAbū Namūn in 1771; al-Dāwūdi al-Jawrī al-ʿAbbās al-Fālibi al-Sabū. Except for a few household articles and personal effects (amounting to 36 ḫalīla, 22 ʿatāli) and a small quan-
tily of stock (consisting of \(141_1/2\) \(\text{milk}\), turban cloth, and a
used bag, worth 37 \(\text{rups}\)), the remainder of his estate valued at
665 \(\text{rups}\), 43 \(\text{rups}\). (56,368 \(\text{rupiahs}\)) was otherwise divided
among credit notes, a loan of shares in a joint company.

One note was held in the name of Muhammad and Zabra, his
recently deceased partner, for the amount of 75 \(\text{rupiahs}\). It involved
the sale of two slave girls still unpaid for by his partner. Another,
owned by a 
\(\text{murtazwa}\), was written in the name of \(\text{Muhammad al-najjar}\),
member of the \(\text{al-najjar}\) blacksmith-trading family, amounting to 170 \(\text{rupiahs}\).
Additional notes involved amounts due for the delivery of grain,
his share of a quantity of wheat still in \(\text{al-najjar}\), and for loans \(\text{rupiahs}\) given to several \(\text{al-najjar}\) members. \(\text{al-najjar}\)'s largest asset, however, was his share of a joint partnership with \(\text{Muhammad}
\text{Zabra}, which amounted to 280 \(\text{rupiahs}\).

Yet not only was his estate tied up in credit notes, but
so was that of his wife, Zabehah, who died the same time he did
and whose inventory is attached to her husband's. She also held
various \(\text{murtazwa}\), one of them for 70 \(\text{rupiahs}\) from a partnership
contracted with an \(\text{al-najjar}\) relation in order to purchase stock
\(\text{rupiahs}\), another amounting to 170 \(\text{rupiahs}\) due from her brother-in-
law, and a third, amounting to 8 \(\text{rupiahs}\), due from the wife of one

\(\text{al-najjar}\).
of the husband's business associates. In other words, 74 percent of the couple's combined estate consisted of intangible assets.

In most cases, credit for goods purchased by or services rendered to merchants at the weekly market was higher than that given out. Statistically, 73 percent of their inventories list debts equal to 53 percent of the combined value of their estates. (Not included in this figure are debts involving the wife's final installment of bride price [al-miqur pesen] or amounts paid out in connection with death duties, naturalizations, or military levies.) By contrast, 35 percent for men and 23 percent for women, it is seen that merchants borrowed money or operated on credit more often than they lent cash or goods.

A third of the debts was due to family members, including female relations. The nature of some are left unspecified, but others involved credit for goods taken or unpaid sums relating to property transactions. Such debts reflect the quasi-corporate nature of the family, yet the largest debt left by any merchant, made out by Ayush ‘Abd al-Salam to his wife for 200 dinars (444/1249) (representing 46 percent of his entire estate), was

This state of affairs gives a partial explanation for their general impoverishment as depicted in Chapter III, Table 9.13.

'Abd al-Salam owed sums to his mother and cousin (Ishak b. Ali, 1114/170; Ali, ‘Abd al-Salam owed sums to his
father and son [Ishak, 296, 1120/1774].
well have served other purposes. Either it indicated she was independently wealthy and had contributed this amount to their marriage, or else it was one out to guarantee the wife a share of her husband's estate far above what she would ordinarily have received under Islamic law (one-eighth). Whatever the reason, it assured her of a comfortable status in widowhood, which was probably an important consideration for many merchants, and in this particular case all the more so since she and her husband had no children.

Other debts were contracted in connection with business operations. Examples might include 6,000 falsas owed by Muhammed al-Janallī to a seller of cotton material "for the price of 216 falsas"; or 2,600 falsas owed by Abū Zaid Qasim to "Abū Muḥammad, follower of Abu Murayḥa, an agnate of the Khayrābīya corp, for the price of a black slave girl named Mihyan, Simnawī by race, according to a tanārxīm dated 14th of Jumād al-Awwal 151/July 1407"; or 371 falsas owed by Muhammed ibn Isḥāq to "al-Din Abū Muḥammad, collector of the Ḥājīs", in Yemen.4 Others were contracted for services used in connection with trading, such as Muḥammad al-Janallī. For instance, owed 1,488 falsas "for hire of yoke of oxen" and Madīn al-Janallī owed an enormous sum of 829,479 falsas in connection with his rental contract for the dusty itself.5 Other

2. *Arab. 72, 114, 2127 (3/14/32); *Kitāb al-Maṣūl, 129, 6972 (1324/1711); *Arab. 72, 114, 2127 (3/14/32). *Kitāb al-Maṣūl was one of the great, cloth merchants of the city.
suits were due for the services of doorkeepers.

Unfortunately many debts are not specified other than by name of the creditor, thereby inhibiting any conclusion about sources of credit. One pattern of indebtedness that does emerge shows that merchants habitually delayed paying rent for storerooms or residences they occupied. For out of 22 inventories examined, 15 were due for rent or unpaid ground-rent (khayal al-sha'āb). Rents and ground-rents were usually small, but since proportion owned by merchants were often governed by waqt administration, it may have felt any urgency to pay administrators. However, advance payment was not unknown.

Very few debts are due to merchants with Christian or Jewish names. Those that are often refer to unpaid balances due on purchase of cloth or gold and silver jewelry. Christians and Jews specialized in both areas. One partnership has been found between a Muslim and Christian, but by any larger it would appear that merchants as the whole, overwhelmingly Muslim by faith, associated with their co-religionists.

European factors in Egypt often found the only way they could do business with local merchants was to extend credit, a

150 qirsh was due from Malik Habib for one month's rent of his residence for 300 qirsh a month for a storeroom
Agreed "Outlaw" al-Qadi'is-322, 103, 2032 rent for six months
300 qirsh, ground-rent for his residence, unpaid for four years.

2Aan al 112, 113, 114 (1169/70). It registered 9 years' residence on ground-rent of 300 qirsh for residence.

3Rayyis, Leb.na, 11, 455-74; 461-4; on Syrian Christians in cloth trade, 11, 455-74.

4In 1123, 1124, 1125 (11697171). Both were removed.
practice which earned them repeated reprimands from company headquarters but which were just as often ignored. Although merchants in the African trade, resident and itinerant, dealt heavily in European goods, it is surprising to find so few debts listed in their inventories in the name of European merchants. In fact, only one was found: a debt of 15,219 flours owed by Muhammad al-Janabi to "Haroun" (Ubayd) and "Harrou" (ibn the Anjari). Against this is a single reference to credit given by Ghazi al-Din Hani to a Frankish man amounting to 14,500 flours. Thus, there is no evidence from local sources that the African trade in the eighteenth century was indebted to European merchants or vice-versa.

1. Naqsha. Nine out of 22 inventories mention cash boards kept by merchants in their homes or storerooms. The size of these sums varied greatly, from 108,000 flours (20 percent of his estate) kept by Muhammad al-Durrah to 500 flours (seven-tenths of one percent of his estate) kept by Ahmad al-Janabi. Boarding was not restricted to the group of prosperous merchants; traders with estates of 25,000 flours or less sometimes kept sums of money.

2. Wood, 214; Raymond, [Alangi], 1, 279.
3. Arab 121, 119, № 133 (111/1668).
4. Arab 74, 117-118 (1116/1713). Neither of these notes is specified.
5. However, if we cede credence to private papers of Carlo Babetti, Jesuitic records once dealt extensively with al-Rubai (see Chapter VIII), could be taken, a great deal more about this relationship might be known.
ranging from 20 to 30 percent of their wealth. Nor did all prosperous merchants keep boards. Nebkal ibn Ṣallāh and Ṣabīn ibn Ṣa’dūt kept no cash on hand whatsoever. Ḥajjīka, the most substantial merchant in the tribe, maintained a full stock of goods and a cash board of 200,727 fīḍāt, representing 30 percent of his estate.

Since banks did not exist, the presence of these sums in private homes is not surprising. Any merchant would have needed ready cash for exigencies. Yet a pattern between hoarding as a practice and wealth cannot be established, nor is there an apparent link between availability of liquid capital and willingness to extend or accept credit. It would seem, rather, to be a matter of personal style, perhaps of an individualistic business ethic, not of some generally accepted concept of how to carry out trade.

c. Composition. The frequency with which credit was extended and received and the fairly numerous references to cash boards show the necessary steps merchants took to operate without the facilities offered by banks or other credit institutions. Scholars, of course, existed in Cairo at this time as they did in most periods of Islamic history, despite the ban on usury in the Qurʾān. The major banks (most of 2,000 fīḍāt) and a cash board of 2,500 fīḍāt.

Page 99, paragraph 1, line 5. 1-2, 501-3. 2. Reference to sums owed to a merchant (μεν οὐκ ἐνεπεργεῖ) was found in inventories surveyed.
but merchants at the wharf appear to have funded for themselves by arranging a multitude of credit agreements, large and small. These permitted them to extend operations beyond the limits of their meager resources, or to pay for pressing needs (provisions, materials, articles of trade) without having to resort to usurers. By entering into partnership agreements, individual merchants could also augment commercial profits.

3. Partnership and Profits. Partners, or partnership, could be established on a family basis, but more often it was formed between fellow merchants. Usually a company was composed of only two investors. The object of these agreements was in most cases a single transaction — the purchase of a single or group of slaves, a quantity of gun, nates, or rum. When formed by two merchants, profits were normally split evenly but varied according to the capital invested in each party. Inventories of about a third of the merchants (even out of 22) mention shares due from partnerships and non-inventory documents registered at the wharf divi¬

gue others. Only a few family partnerships were located in court documents, but those that were indicate they were of a more comprehensive, long-lasting type than ordinarily contracted. One
was formed by members of the Alī Jumā family from the village of
Dūnī Bahai, a suburb of Aqṣāf. Original investors in this company,
formed in 1760, were Mūḥammad Alī Jumā, his son ʿAlī, and a cousin,
ʿAbd al-Rasāl al-Ḵāra and Khāṭīr; each apparently contributed a third
of the company’s capital which amounted to 37,500 dinars (465 riāḍī) (see
Appendix A). The partnership lasted twenty years before it was dissolved,
the shares then being divided among the surviving partner and heirs
of Mūḥammad and ʿAlī. Although the object of the company is not
disclosed, its capital was undoubtedly used by family members who
traded into the interior. Another partnership of a different
character was formed by Naṣṣār Ṭūlū and his son, Ṭūlū, and his
heirs (see Chapter VI). In all, virtually the whole of their
joint enterprises and trading from 1760 to 1773, when Naṣṣār died.

The great majority of Ṭūlū, however, were contracted
to deal with single operations. Many examples may be used as
illustrations, but the business ventures of Shīrāz Mūḥammad al-
Naṣṣār, Naṣṣār Ṭūlū’s son-in-law, are particularly appropriate
since the greater portion of his estate was invested in various
partnerships; in fact, he seems rarely to have indulged in inde-
pendent operations. For his biggest venture, the purchase of
2500 ḫāṭī, in 1764, his partner was Ḥūṣayn b. ʿĀʾī, Mūḥammad’s share amounted to 250 ḫāṭī, 56 dinars. For the
purchase of 2500 ḫāṭī, in 1764, his partner was Ḥūṣayn b. ʿĀʾī, Mūḥammad’s share amounted to 250 ḫāṭī, 56 dinars. For the
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purchase of 2500 ḫāṭī, in 1764, his partner was Ḥūṣayn b. ʿĀʾī, Mūḥammad’s share amounted to 250 ḫāṭī, 56 dinars.
Muhammad's share being 90 dinars. With this sum 'Ali b. Zaid, Muhammad invested another 15 dinars, half the company's capital, to cover a transaction not described. Then, with Ayad b. 'Abd Allah al-Dawalib, Muhammad put up another 15 dinars, half the capital, to purchase a black slave girl. His only independent operation involved the purchase of four "heads" of black slaves, later sold to his nephew on partial credit. 1

Like any business venture, partnerships involved risks but their popularity is partly understood in terms of shared loss. Still, considering how financially weak most merchants were, even shared losses could be highly detrimental. This fact emerges from the settlement of a partnership between 'Ali b. Zaid and Abu Bakr al-As'um, which was briefly referred to above. 2 The company capital had been set at 597 dinars (50,795 fils), a large sum by the methods's standards, and was used to purchase seven "heads" of (female) slaves. If all the slaves had been valued on a par, they would have been worth 7,248 fils each, a high price for female slaves at this time but still less than some prices recorded in contemporary Egyptian documents. 3

1 Damit 274, 752 (1173/1760).

2 'Ali's inventory is found in Amkar 184, 404, 4959 (1083, 1170/1773), 'Abbas's in Damit 360, 325; (2 Halef al-Dawalib 1152/1741), the two died within days of each other.

3 During the period 1860-80, the highest price for female slaves was 9,950 livres, the lowest, 1,700; average was 5,475; see Chapter VII.
One of 'Uthmaan's sons died while waiting to be sold and for burial (qar'a) was paid for by 'Ali. Of his original contribution to the company of 290 riyals, 'Ali's share was sold after his death for 188 riyals; Mu'adh's original investment of 239 riyals was sold for 290 riyals. Thus the two partners lost 75 percent of their investment. Moreover, they were obliged to pay costs of food and drink (rak'ah) as well as省内 consumed by the slaves while in their possession. This amounted to 15 riyals and was split equally by the partners.

On this operation, Mu'adh lost 99 riyals and 'Ali lost 106 riyals. Calculated against the value of their estates, it meant a 20 percent diminution in Mu'adh's total wealth and 16 percent for 'Ali. These were severe losses. On the other hand, neither Mu'adh nor 'Ali could have refused the costs of the deal (597 riyals) by himself, and this is another factor explaining partnership motives.

Not all contracts involved large investments; indeed, the small value of some of these listed in inventories shows they covered even the most ordinary purchases. 'Ali Suby's estate (68,337 riyals) was about average for merchants at the time, entered into a large number of small partnerships, ranging from shares of 5 riyals in a partnership to purchase dry leather goods to a little under 7 riyals in a partnership formed to purchase a quantity of tar (qurt). Almost 20 percent of his estate accrued through shares, identically written in both inventories, and as to 507 riyals the company's capital was also in both times written as 507 riyals; the value of 12 riyals is not accounted for.

Mu'adh's total estate was 297 riyals; 'Ali's was 685; both must include personal effects not specifically written.
from similarly small investments. 3 Tiny investments amounting to as little as 110, 115, and 135 ٠٠٠٠٠٠ are recorded in other inventories, covering such operations as the purchase of hides or rope. 4

The smallness of these investments lends credence to Raymund's remarks about the scarcity of capital in general at this time, 5 but it also shows that partnership agreements were not restricted to the realm of international commerce as Raymund implies in his discussion of ajlap. 6

Though profit was forbidden by religious law, advantages of investing in the Sudan trade, where terms for Egyptian-made, European and Asian goods were profitable, had been long appreciated in Cairo. Even under the sparse capital conditions of eighteenth century Egypt, Mamluk documents record investments made by local merchants with African gold (١٠٠٠. 7 Unfortunately, few precise details of these agreements have survived. 8

One agreement, however, gives details of a partnership formed between جامع مذبحة جلال الدين, a stationer (الرسول). 9

in 1263 A.H. and Yaqub al-Jallab from 'Ali al-Saburri; the agreement is dated 9 Muharram 1148/2 June 1735. The capital of the company, furnished by Yalq Majali, was "transferred" to use the word often employed in such contracts, into goods and listed in a qayda kept by the investing partners. It reads like a catalogue of goods exported to Africa: "scent, books, a firearm, daggers, spikenard, copper rings, old copper pieces (farraka), soap, pepper, courses, copper wire, brass anciets (al-qadi), mahaleb, kohl, turban cloth, turbushes, white and green (ruq), red silk sashes, a camel, kilims, woolens, tin and other goods..."

On the 20th of June, almost a month after these goods had been delivered by investing partners to travelling partners, the qayda was notified at a nearby court. They were valued at 256 dinars (28,160 dirhams), and under the terms of the agreement, Yaqub was to send them to his son in Ziker. He was not awarded a specified percentage of profits his son would earn by exchanging them for goods in Empire -- which contrasts with sixteenth-century texts which always apportioned shares to each party -- but Yaqub was guaranteed traditional rights of legal possession of the company goods. This meant that he could treat the goods as if they were his own, enter into any arrangement with them that was considered legal, and deduct any legitimate expenses (al-yuhan al-tamini) incurred along the way from the original investment sum.¹ This agreement is termed an 'adi al-sirr, but it would seem

¹ 412/519, 126, 2846 (8 Qa'in: 2/1355/374).
If profits accrued from the venture, they are not indicated. Almost eight years after the company had been formed, two other sons of Yaqūb, their father and brother having died in the meantime, persuaded the sons of Ashūr, Durābūn and plusūn, sons of Ṣulaymān al-Durūnī, a tailor in that city, to take over the investment and they paid ʿAlla Ṭūḥa, the original investor, 256 dinārīn. But likely the Ashūr brothers had purchased an equivalent amount of Sudan goods from Yaqūb’s sons or in some other way become indebted to the Zazzīn-based jallānī which justified liquidating Yaqūb’s debt. The deed recording this act was witnessed by the shahās of the Waliṣz al-Jallānī and several jallānī, including al-Ḥārīr Ahmad ʿAll al-Dalālī.

Other companies involved majority partnerships, were closely resembling medieval European merchant investments. The investing partners in one preserved contract were four North African merchants of Cairo; the travelling partner was a fellow Nābūsī, ʿAbd all-Dīn al-Durūnī. All originally came from Jirba island, Tunisia, the capital amounted to 200 marābūn (22,000 figgs), of which individual shares ranged from 65 marābūn (i.e., a partner’s contribution) to 20 marābūn. The capital was “transferred” into goods.

part of which was taken, and was taken by Sa'id to Dar Fur. He died there sometime in 1797, and two years later his appointed administrator (ṣāliḥ), Moussa _NS, took control of the affairs of the company. Expenses incurred by the company, not otherwise described, such as were necessary to keep the company’s capital in the form of ships, were paid each year, and the company divided the profit equally among its partners. The profit was based on a 3% return on the capital, so that of the original 200,000, only 10,000 remained to be returned.

Some of the profits accrued to various partnerships. Details found in _NS documents are either deliberately incomplete, silent, or negative. However, as trade with the Sudan was often stressful, and the merchandise could be exchanged in the Sudan and the company’s capital increased, or that 150 percent of the original investment, or that 150 percent profit could be earned on the exchange of a well-assorted goods. Such high returns no doubt made the trade with Africa attractive to potential investors, but such returns were probably exaggerated.

_NS sources contain more references to profits earned from slave trading than from the exchange of other goods.

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1 Can they be identified with the “Samosa” mentioned in the nineteenth century? Retrél, IV, 189, note 1.
2 Anson 158, 271, 289 (166/276).
3 _NS, 267-68, 272. High profits from the sale of soap, blankets, and kolanu (gs) were mentioned a century later by Yunus Beni, A. J. Juricic, “Trade in the Sudan: Slaves and Trade in the Nineteenth Century.” _NS, 23 (1993), 171.

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but since prices for slaves varied tremendously in Cairo, slave transactions are poor indicators of profitability. One document, dated 1773, recorded the sale in Zir Furat of two black slave girls for 10 mahlas (1,200  fighs) each. If they had been sold in Cairo, they may have brought almost 50 mahlas (5,955  fighs), the prevailing price for black female slaves in the 1770’s, a 400 percent profit. In the same year goods, including camphor, incense, and a cup, amounting to 50 mahlas, were extracted to a bitar by the stipulation that they be used to purchase three jami’a (male slaves) but if they were sold in Cairo, they may have covered the investment and more. A final document from this period indicates that three slave girls purchased for 106 riyals (9,640  fighs) were sold for 155 riyals (17,550), the difference representing a profit of 60 percent. None of these transactions, however, refer to expenditures such as customs (5 mahlas per slave, collected in Upper Egypt and Cairo), cartage fees, brokerage fees, travelling expenses, or slave maintenance costs, all of which would have affected margins of profit. And in two cases there is no indication of particular attractions or defects of the slaves which would also have had considerable impact on prices they brought in Cairo. These were important considerations.

1 11A 590, 60, 607 (6  gil-al-ghasib 1160).
2 Average prices of slaves are given in Chapter VII.
3 11A 337A, 569, 569 (1160). If slaves were purchased for 30 mahlas each (5,955  fighs), they may have been sold for as little as 22 riyals (220  fighs) or as much as 50 riyals (5,500  fighs) the average for the 1770-1800 period was 27.75 riyals.
4 11A 158, 3, 6 (1160/1772).
In profit calculations, and it would seem that actual profits in the African trade were lower than Burchardi's estimates, probably in the 50 to 100 percent range.¹

What is certain is that merchants in African goods in Cairo did not earn fortunes from trade by itself and sought alternative sources of income to broaden or at least stabilize their means of financial support.

2. Investment in Real Estate and Other Sources of Income.

Houses, apartments, store-fronts, shops, mills and, occasionally, botanicals were purchased by merchants, though evidently these types of investment were limited by the prosperous elite.

Real estate prices were not high, except where great town houses or mansions were involved, but most merchants at the vends lacked the liquid cash necessary to take possession of property titles unless purchased for them by wealthy relations.

¹The question concerns profits in the long-distance trade; Burchardi (1908, 233) reported that profits earned by merchants in the Colom-Berber market were negligible.

In the long-distance trade, however, all figures in price of slaves purchased in Sér fur and sold in Asia in the nineteenth century may have brought profits from 50 to 150 percent. E. de Caumont and J. M. Bretonc, "Les échanges de l'Égypte, 1836-1900," 2 vol. (Paris, 1972), 270-71 illustrates the high percentage of 100 percent for slaves purchased in "Behâr" and sold in Cairo.

"Événements de l'Égypte," in Georges Gayon, ed., Histoire de l' affairs d' Égypte (Cairo, 1977). E. has a "naming of sale" on value of 13 percent for a male slave purchased in 1032-1033 for 4-4 Sesterces (1'arba' 8a, 21l. April, 14 March 1263), who may have brought 10 percent on the Cairo market (see Chapter VIII), a profit of 50 percent.

Obviously slave purchases at intermediate colonial stations (1907), Wadd Elā, "Kalah," were not expensive than those brought directly from the interior.
Beyond the minimal requirements of a residential establishment and a commercial location, which almost all Egyptians at the time obtained, investments were made in additional ḥasa’il or ḥudūd in ḥuda’il or ḥudūd’ shops on public thoroughfares which, if not occupied, were rented. Beyond these acquisitions, merchants showed a preference for courtyards (ṣuyut), mills (ṣinā‘a‘), or additional residences (ba‘awān). Not infrequently real estate units were purchased in half-portions — all property being divisible into twenty-four parts (ṣawā‘a‘) — and sometimes shares as small as one-sixth were bought or sold. Property could assume an inordinately large part of a merchant’s total wealth. In the case of ‘Abd al-Halīm al-‘Imāmī, shahhak of the guild, his title to two properties, a bakery and a store-room, were valued at 450 ṣinā‘a‘, 61 percent of his entire estate, and the relatively small number of properties owned by Ahmad ‘Abd al-‘Imām remained accounted for 70 percent of his estate. Merchants of Ḥafiz origin, whether based in Cairo or Asyut, tended to own properties in both cities. ‘Abd al-‘Imām and his brother, ‘Isā, both had ḥudūd in ḥudūd at ‘Inā‘ mar‘a, invested in ṣinā‘a‘ and ḥudūd in that area as well as in the Ḥusn al-Bal‘dah; in Asyut, they took possession of three houses, half-share of a mill, a ṣinā‘a (arsaka), and a stable

1185/1771, al-‘Imāmī, sliding half-portions to his brother and own (shop) and a whole ḥudūd, valued altogether at 2,042
suitable for three horses. Such holdings helped to pay for household expenses incurred while merchants resided in Cairo on business.

Since rents were generally low, it could be argued that income earned from store-mans, chamber-mans, and such prostitute was never sufficient to cover initial costs, certainly not in the short term. Still, the pattern of real estate speculation which is examined below in biographical sketches of ministers of the 'Umayyads was not peculiar to them. Well-to-do merchants such as 'Abd al-
Ghafir 'Abd al-Quddas (son of 'Abd al-Walid) and 'Abd al-Qadir, registered a series of property acquisitions or sales to the courts, having held them for periods ranging from two to ten years. Though it cannot be certain a profit was realized each

[Text goes on]

[Further text...]

[End of text]
time a piece of real estate was sold, it is nonetheless true that property contained the virtues of a bank deposit and an insurance policy. It did not necessarily offer a hedge against inflation, a recurrent plague, but it was an investment which could be passed on to heirs and was rare from military executions.

As far as our research has revealed, none of the merchants in the African trade owned truly lucrative commercial properties, such as warehouses and bath houses. As was often the case with great Jeddah merchants, aificant, and b) major. This may be taken as evidence of their moderate position in the commercial hierarchy of the city.

Investments in land were also made. One tenant was Sheikh Muhammad al-Jabal who rented three pieces of a farm (圪ga). The 50 feddans altogether, in the Upper Egyptian villages of Apel, Passur and Sharqah. After his death in 1760, the rental rights were sold for 13,687 riyals. Other land-owning families associated with the Indian trade included the Jiffa and the Nijjar; their small plots of six to eight feddans were located near villages within the immediate vicinity of Apel. What is perhaps important

Raymond,肆, 405, 429-9.


For 16, Fanne, 2:11; Sharqah is not identifiable, and various villages in Upper Egypt are called Passur; Rani, 1315. 2: 124, 4:17, 4:17, 4:17.

Tabl. 21, 25, 11 (1115) 317. 2


[6] Shal., 11, 40; 1, 407.
about this particular type of investment is that they drew land
coming was not strictly limited to the political, religious, or
merchant elite of the country in the period prior to the mid
nineteenth century.

Alqad "Ali Masa'd, on the other hand, did not
rent or buy land outright but by granting loans to hard-pressed
fellahin took possession of mortgages. He owned mortgages
(حاجة)\(^1\) to 37 feddans in the area of Al\'Uq al-Tall, a village
in Beni Suuf province, Upper Egypt.\(^2\) One plot, comprising 25
feddans, had been mortgaged to him in return for a loan of 435
مملة; other plots, ranging from 2½ to 7 feddans, had been mort-
gaged for loans of 17 to 41 مملة. In addition to these credit
notes (listed as حاجات), Alqad's inventory included quantities
of beans, lentils, and wheat and an عصير for grain (ماك). 
Altogether his agricultural assets amounted to 421 مملة,
a fourth of his entire estate.\(^3\)

Other incomes of fellahin at the عاجل derived from
the possession of tax farms (حاجة), brokerage licenses,
customehouse offices, and alternative revenue-producing positions
within the framework of urban commerce. They were sought by
shahibs of the عاجل and are discussed in their biographies in
a following chapter.

5. Conclusion. Profits earned from trading with Africa were
transformed by merchants into real estate investments and to a much
\(^1\) On مملة, Mevluv, 23, and "Glossary," 363.
\(^2\) Alqad, 112.\(^3\) Alqad, 124; ل. 3, 123.
\(^4\) Idem, 103, 127, 312 (ليغ ليغ).
less extent into land holdings. From the outset size of these
investments, one may conclude that the trade by itself did not
produce great benefits for its specialists in Cairo. Nevertheless,
it needs pointing out that of all the branches of Egypt’s foreign
commerce, the trade with Africa was perhaps the only one which
accommodated Egyptian-born merchants and availed them opportunities
for gain. Raymond has suggested (ingle misunderstanding the trade
with Africa) that in each of the international branches — with
Jidda and the east, with Europe, Turkey, or North Africa, the role
of Egyptians was minimized or eliminated, that the trade of these
regions was monopolized or else dominated by foreign communities,
by North Africans, Syrians, Turks, Europeans, or Palestinians.1
Foreign monopolization of international commerce, as further argued,
was strengthened by the fact that few Egyptians left their home.
Jane to live in Jidda, North Africa, Syria, Turkey or Europe.

In contrast to this situation, the identity of merchants
trading in African goods in Cairo has been shown to have been
overwhelmingly Egyptian by nationality, only a small role being
played by Tahirids. Moreover, though the Tahirids community itself
was strongly black African by background, Egyptians did travel to
the interior and took up temporary if not permanent residence there. The African trade in Cairo may not have produced great

1Ismail, J., p. 6-9.
petitory rewards, but this seems to have been the result of a number of over-riding factors, none of which have been indicated in this and earlier chapters. The difficulties of communicating with the interior, the irregularity of ocurance, the general scarcity of coprice, the necessarily drawn out return on credit notes or partnership agreements are among those factors already discussed. Other "depredants" related to the administration of trade in Cairo and the role played by military corps and local authorities which must now be examined.
CHAPTER VII

Administration of the African Trade

The plaintiff told him, "She is my slave girl." Later, the guild of slave mer-
chants (al-qayrawani) assembled and was asked to give its advice.

Wassia Bando vs. Idris Mohamed, from
the records of the Mamluk, 1290.

Internal and external developments in the course of the
eighteenth century affected the administration of the African trade
in Egypt and particularly in Cairo. As a result, the trade became
much more regulated in the capital city than it had been in the
past, and merchants who participated in it found their operations
more closely supervised. The most important change involved the
establishment of a guild to oversee and regulate the commerce in
slaves and other goods brought from the heart of the continent.

There had already existed in the capital a variety of
regulatory agencies, taxes and custom officials designed to control
this branch of commerce. Some dated back to the early years of
the Ottoman conquest and were patterned after models in Istanbul;
others were inaugurated during the eighteenth century. The esta-
ishment of a guild did not change the basic structure. On the
contrary, it was reinforced institutionally. This can be measured
by the fact that relationships between guild members themselves and

1I'lamut 23, 275, n6.74 (1256/1259).

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between guild masters and their clients were often confirmed by social and economic ties. The period in which these developments occurred was also a period in which the influence of African trade appeared to have changed — away from the lands of Raha (Sinār) and Taḥṣīl (Western Sudan) and toward the increasingly powerful state of Ṣūdān. In order to put these developments in a local perspective, it is first necessary to briefly establish the political and economic setting.

3. The Government of Ṣūdān

From the early days of Ottoman rule, general security and obedience to the laws of the empire were provided for and enforced by military corps (mārā). The pre-Ottoman system of government in Ṣūdān was based on the recruitment of slaves (qānulla, sing. qānulla), mostly from the region of the Khamis, but supplemented by imports from black Africa. This system was not suppressed as it might have been, but rather it was stripped of power. The tradition of drawing the ruling class from enslaved people, however, proved strongly entrenched in Egyptian society and in time the system persisted intact. The agents were Jāzzār "housers" whose masters purchased, trained, educated, and finally

EventuallyDoug Manly agreed: "Essary and Wazz (infantry); Mūllīḥīn (cavalry); Wazz (infantry); Kūrīr (infantry); Wazz (cavalry); Qura (infantry); "mārā" (military); Mūllīḥīn (military); "mārā" (military). The Ateshān regiments of those early days were to be known: Mūllīḥīn (military); Wazz (infantry); Jāzzār (infantry); Wazz (infantry); Mūllīḥīn (military); Wazz (infantry)."
freed slaves in exactly the way they had been raised themselves. Some slaves were retained for employment in the "house" itself, but others found employment in the various military corps. Inevitably, three potential sources of power came to exist: the Ottoman governor, the qasim and the private sultuk houses.

The power of the governor depended on the support he was given by his troops (and occasionally by troops sent from Istanbul) and on his ability to reward them for their services. This was primarily accomplished by farming out the collection of taxes levied on almost all types of economic activity, from simple farming to import duties and the distribution and production of specific commodities in urban centers. A tax farm (ittisâl or muğâl) was auctioned to the highest bidder who became a tax farmer (muğâl) responsible for delivering taxes to the central treasury. In return, he was allowed to keep a small percentage for himself. The system was designed to uphold Ottoman authority in Egypt, to cover the governor's various expenses, the annual state budget, and the cost of the yearly tribute to Istanbul.

However, in the course of the eighteenth century, several developments destabilized the government. The devaluation of Ottoman (and Egyptian) currency, which has been mentioned so often in this study, meant that the Egyptian tax structure could not provide salaries for the governor's troops and functionaries.

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1Shaw, Ottoman Egypt, 140-1.
commemorate with the inflated cost of living, and even though the Ottomans made repeated attempts to stabilize currency rates at certain levels, the monetary situation remained unacceptable. The results were disastrous: "illegal" taxes were implemented, graft became systematized, and troops frequently rioted in the streets of Cairo to demonstrate their displeasure. Yet even if the governor had been able to pay their troops on a regular basis, their allegiance to the government had become suspect because of two separate developments. The corps' military spirit was corroded as a result of the intermingling of soldiers with the civilian population (which had traditionally been forbidden), and second, the ranks of the pasha became filled by Mamluk recruits whose loyalties often remained with former masters. The weakness of the government played to the advantage of the Mamluk-based pasha, two of which, the Janissaries (Musta'jirzâ) and 'Ashab (Hâshâ), came to dominate local politics as in 1670.

The incessant struggles between these two corps and between them and the governor constitute the major theme of Egyptian politics from 1670 to 1720. In the end, the Janissary captains emerged victorious, although their dominance was short-lived. By the middle of the eighteenth century, their power was undermined by ambitious leaders of Mamluk houses -- who had for many years figured importantly in pasha disputes -- and from 1767, when 'Ali Bey al-Haçâr came to power, until the end of the century,
their designated spokesmen became the de facto rulers of Egypt. Such a synopsis of a tortuous political history greatly simplifies the course of events that took place and which has been well described elsewhere.

Browne has shown that the key to political control, whether exercised by the Ottomans, the sheikhs or the late eighteenth century bey, lay in their ability to take hold of the revenues produced by urban and rural tax farms. Thus the strength of the Mamelukes is measured by their control of the lucrative customhouse farms from 1610 onward and by their expropriation of many other tax farms in Cairo in subsequent years. The collapse of their fortunes in 1756 may be tied to their loss of these revenues to the Bey and his successors. The insertion of the sheikhs and bey into the economic fabric of the country affected the functioning of almost every branch of commerce, including the African trade.

The impact of political events on merchants trading at the Waqilat al-Jallān was reflected on two levels: the affiliation of some merchants with particular sheikhs and the payment of “death duties” and forced loans on an individual and collective


basis. The most serious injuries as regards the trade as a whole may have been inflicted not in Cairo, but in Upper Egypt where caravans were subjected to “illegal” and vexing taxes. But even Estève, who was sharply critical of the system, was forced to admit that taxes were never so burdensome as to dampen the spirit of commerce. 1

Egyptian membership. The emergence of the al-bakhsh as dominant force in the political and economic arenas was accompanied by the attachment of individual merchants to their ranks. The benefits membership brought are not altogether clear, but it would seem it shielded merchants from being forced to pay “protection” taxes (al-‘adda‘iyah), a recognized form of extortion for which the al-bakhsh had become notorious. Membership may also have given merchants the benefit of military jurisdiction (rather than civilian justice). 2 For merchants associated with the African trade (majjar, da‘alah, or jallah) the most popular al-bakhsh were the two most powerful, the Mustaphiqi and Jallali. 3

However, considering the eighteenth-century period as a whole, membership in al-bakhsh was relatively limited, perhaps because their power was eclipsed at mid-century, while most documents pertaining to the estates and affairs of Africa-trading merchants...

1Estève, 351; see Chapter I, 1.15.
2Estève and Bawer, I, 1, 255; Raymond, Antiquity, II, 704-7.
3Of 15 merchants in the trade, described in inventories as members of al-bakhsh between 1700 and 1745, 7 were Mustaphiqi, 5 were Jallali, and 3 were ‘adda‘iyya.
Date post-1750. 1 None of the shahifs of the guild operating in the Kadżat el-Qal'a, nor any of the guild's members, belonged to any of the Nine. 2 These merchants who did, appear on the basis of altda evidence and genealogy to have been Egyptians and some of Egyptians, not Turks or sons of Turkish soldiers. Therefore, Jabarti's claim that eighteenth century guilds in Cairo were mainly composed of soldiers and soldiers' sons 3 would seem not to apply to the guild of merchants trading with the interior.

Levies and Exactions. It was in connection with estate fees (or 'death duties') collected by the jizya and later by the two that merchants in Cairo were most personally affected. These duties fell into several categories: most were fees paid to officials of the hajj al-sulṭān central treasury and to the sultan's assistants for services rendered in settling individual estates (such as providing over consumption and clerical services and the paying of expenses and transportation costs or attendants to the place of consumption.) The other category constituted outright levies (called jizya upon inventories) collected by an officer or

1The inventory of the last merchant listed as a member of a corp is dated 1743.
2On the other hand, the membership of the guild of brokers dealing in qahtāl slaves included several junk clerks: see Guild Documents. Appendix.
3Jabarti, V. 37; Kerr, I., 88.
4This general term the mer al-sulṭān clerks' fees were called al-jizya. Examiners of paid transportation fees; paid jizya. The jizya (right of way) was applied in general for official fees.
several officers of one of the qa'as. The system was widespread and even the estates of visiting al-Juyum were subjected to this form of taxation. Revenues collected by the qa'as (and later by the bey) were incalculable and are considered by Raymond to have been "one of the most solid bases of their power at the end of the XVIth and beginning of the XVIIth century." 2

During the early part of the eighteenth century, death duties ranged from a minimum of 2 percent of a merchant's estate to as high as 30 percent. The qa'as and his various assistants usually collected 2 percent, according to documents used in this study, and this was average for the merchant/artisan community as a whole. During their period of power (1650-1750), qa'as levies varied with the standing of the merchant (whether he was a member of the corps or not) and probably with his wealth. The estate of Muhammad al-Jama'i (d. 1698), who was not a corps member, paid 3 percent to the qa'a at al-Mahgiyyin (the Janissary corps), 2 percent to al-Juyum (not specified) and another 3 percent as a gift to Amir Isa bin Durais of the 'Ibadah. The

1For instance, the estate of Isma'il ibn al-Samman was taxed 29 percent for qa'as al-Juyum; qa'as al-Mahgiyyin; qa'as al-Samman; qa'as al-Dibaj; qa'as al-Haqqani; qa'as al-Bahri; etc. (Iber, 166, 167, 176). 

2QA'AS, 33, 64.

Raymond, 34, 697.
estate of Ayyub Ka'bliha (d. 1716), the richest merchant in the trade, and a member of the Jibrin corps, paid 6.2 percent to his "vakat" while Amir al-arab sayf al-Din of the Mustafipi'n and administra-
tor of his estate, collected a fee of 12,570 fドラ on 2.7 percent
of Ka'bliha's total wealth. Ayyub al-Rumun (d. 1743), a member
and sheikh of the Mustafipi'n, was taxed 10 percent by his corps. Thus it would appear that the all-powerful Janissaries managed to
exact a score of merchant fortunes even when the merchant belonged
to a different "vakat".

During the second half of the century, when bayt were
jockeying for power, duties rose to greater heights. Even the
small estate left by Dagh al-Jallān, a merchant of the Kurk sot who
died in 1773, was taxed 10 percent for barq, tarq, and ṣafli to the
ketabā (lieutenant) of the Mustafipi'n. The heirs of Amir "al-
Jallān" (d. 1774), member of the Alawi's guild, were required
to pay 200 rihla (26.3 percent of his estate) to the following
mawla of Amir Ibrahim be- y al-Gharbān: Amir al-Jabbūk's
(d. 1778) heirs paid 500 rihla (35 percent of his estate) to
Muhāb, one of the dawarij ruling Egypt at the time; and
Muhāmmed ibn Jutak's heirs were obliged to pay 600 rihla
(50.3 percent) for barq, ṣafli, ʿawāṣ, and other fees associated with

1Arba' 97, 11, 483 (1125/1716); Asfar 95, 173, 454
(1155/1743); Asfar 15, 157, 46 (1166/1756). Proportional
duties are reported by Raymond, Antiquities, 11, 692-714.
settling his estate in 1201. These high levies are comparable to levies exacted from other merchant/artisan estates in the city. At the same time, it is curious to note that the estates of some prosperous merchants at the time, such as Hikil ‘Umar and Ahmad ‘Ali al-Qushayri, who both died during the desperate political times of the 1700s, escaped any special duties. Yet when they were applied, the impact on personal fortunes could be great. Some estates, such as those belonging to Ahmad al-Qushayri and Mohammed al-Din al-Safi, were reduced from healthy proportions (over 50,000 cisternates) to the range of the lowest bracket (20,000 to 50,000) and under, in Ahmad’s case or to a state of indebtedness in Muhammad’s case. (As a result, al-Din al-Safi’s sons were forced to liquidate their father’s real estate holdings in the city to cover his debts.)

In addition to estate levies which operated on a personal level, the military-political elites exacted large sums from merchants and artisans on the corporate level. These extortions, of which Egyptian chroniclers and European consuls alike complained, took the form of “annuities” or “loans” which the levy demanded.

1. Al-Biruni, 98, #14 (189/1773); Ahmad 12, 479, #86 (188/1772); Ahmad 20, 333 (192/1776); Bastaki 26, 555 (197/1776).

2. Raymond, Artizans, II, 777-8. He believes the irregularity of the size of the levies reflected a sort of personal protection fees rather than being based on a fixed rate.

3. As a consequence of the 1877 and 1878 tax levies, and outstanding debts of 1769 cisternates in addition, two slaves (two slaves, named ‘Abd al-Qadir and ‘Ali ibn ‘Abd al-Qadir) claimed they were owed 51 cisternates (two slaves, 51 cisternates); Bastaki 26, 554 and 555 (197/1776).
from urban guilds and European trading communities. They date from 1725, but were exacted on a more systematic basis by Ḥāthim b. 'All b. al-Khālid (1725-1727) and his successors. It is not known how often merchants at the Wāḥdat al-Jalāl were subjected to these extortions, but in late 1787, Janet mentions them among a long list of merchant and artisan groups forced to give a loan to Ǧumāl Ḥāthim b. 'All b. al-Khālid, the de facto ruler of Egypt (1787-1791). ¹

Considering, however, the frequency with which similar "loans" and "contributions" were exacted by him and by Ḥāthim b. al-Khālid (who returned to power, 1791-98), ² there can be little doubt that payment proved obligatory on numerous other occasions.

In short, for the group of merchants specializing in the African trade in Cairo, the extortions of the rulers and the payment of estate fees constitute a principal cause of their general impoverishment, particularly toward the end of the eighteenth century.

2. The Traditional Structure of Trade

Before discussing the guild and its responsibilities — which may be related to a further aspect of the interference of civilian authorities in trade with the interior — the existing structure of trade should be outlined. It is perhaps best to attempt this on the basis of the types of article transported.

¹Janet, Le Maroc, II, 323-35; Strobos, V, 675; see also Sharī,ṣ, lāṭān al-Hadd, I, 504-505. ²Raymond, Artisans, II, 5-6, 754-755; W. H.一小日, "The Structure of Egypt's Pre-Modern Economy", J. Econ. Hist. 17, 19-42.
a. Sale of Goods

There prevailed throughout the Ottoman empire a general
distinction between sales of all commodities made directly between
retailers and purchasers and sales effected through intermediaries.
The great majority of transactions were direct, involving the
sale of staple commodities such as foodstuffs, ordinary clothing
apparel, household articles, and small wares. Commodities of
value, including precious clothing and furs, but notably slaves,
horses and real estate, could be sold only through the intervention
of brokers (galası, sing. sell). In Istanbul, sellas
were licensed by the government and their activities were closely
supervised; they were prohibited from selling goods directly and
could be punished if they did so.¹ In Cairo, the situation may
have been more flexible, but while no evidence has been found to
indicate licensing, brokers were required to join a guild in
order to practice their profession, and the guild's master was
held responsible by the government for supervising their activi-
ties. Moreover, guilds of brokers in Egypt's main cities—Cairo
and Rosetta—were officially taxed and a proportion of the guild
tax, levied annually, was passed on to each master of the guild.²
In a sense, therefore, the tax represented a license fee. As in
Istanbul, brokers in Cairo were associated with specific markets,
the most lucrative and widely known of them being qan al-ğallān
and al-ghalīya (brokers' market).³

¹Metternich, 471-5
²Eltahir, 361, 364; Bayyuni, artasa, 17, 636.
³On the existence of this guild in the eighteenth-century, Bury, 35-36, 51-52; in the early nineteenth-century, Bury, 133, 154-157; artasa 1, 5-10; artasa 2, 15-21.
Until the eighteenth century, black slaves, as was mentioned in an earlier chapter, were sold at the market of imported slaves (جِامع الأخضر). Located within the complex of markets that comprised عين الجذور, at the caravans near the جامع النور mosque, at the مسجد الأنصار, and in other places in the city. Each of these markets had a group of brokers who specialized in effecting the sale of black slaves. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, they appear not to have constituted an autonomous guild, but in all probability were associated with the large central guild of brokers (مسمار المسمار) that operated principally in عين الجذور and سوق الأنصار since they must have been linked at some point to the ramifications of the guild system. However, an independent guild of brokers at the مسجد الأنصار gained official recognition ca. 1712.

It is possible to see the kind of association which had existed between slave brokers and the central guild by examining two contracts dated 1733 and 1775, made between the larger guild of brokers at عين الجذور and سوق الأنصار and an adjunct guild of brokers specializing in the sale of موروث slaves (ماوروث).

Numerous references to "brokers in slaves" (مسمار المسمار) and to " consisting of slaves at the markets of imported slaves" are found in Ottoman records prior to the eighteenth century: 19, 45, 47, 52, 55, 62, 65, 68, 71, 74, 77, 79 (in Arabic 1918), 80, 82, 95, 109 (in Arabic 1918), 110, 111, 116, etc. See also Chapter II, 55.

Direct evidence of this relationship has yet to be located in Egyptian sources.
al-dālīnī (نائب اصغر), the language of both contracts is almost identical. The smaller adjutant child carried out its mission in Ṣā al-ga'ilī, probably in the great Ṣā al-qanāḍ, and dealt in slaves who were either born in Egypt (kāfī), were not imported, or who had come onto the market when their former masters’ estates were liquidated. Ṣā al-qanāḍ had been for many years the location of estate auctions. The term capturing presents satisfactory definition, although contextual stipulations indicate the term was applied with reference to ‘estate’ slaves.

1Identified as the earliest location in TN 25, 4, 465 (22 May 1625/3 May 1626) in Tunis, CN 26, 26, 4225 (17 April 1626/9 April 1627).


The tenth occupation of the very same states a condition of being extracted (kāfūr) as well as imported, but the constant interplay in which documents written “before” and “recently” slaves moved, and the latter were documented as slaves to transfer them. Yet there did not exist in 15th century institutions such as slave-trading trees that were found in the United States, though it is possible that various slave-marriages or legal exploitation of female slaves by Egyptian slaveholders a sufficient number was required to acquire a.transparent. Some arrangements of slaves in monasteries in the 17th century were often carried out by adventurers, especially by slave traders who used and stipulated the great bulk of slaves (up to 60 percent, the number of captives), free slaves, and slave masters would have been small. There is also the possibility that many slaves who had received baptism in French Africa that they, too, could have been freed from conditions of their enslavement. The specific reference to the pillage’s contract to “purchase” captures from the early of slaves attached to estates (gālīnī) and equals, for example, whole populations, involving the typical treaty (qālīqāl) which normally covered viewed estate auctions. Indeed the term was applied to ‘estate’ slaves. It entered being used in the eighteenth century.
The contracts,\(^1\) being those two parties to the province of guild officers (muqaddim, imam, muhtasib) and a group of men belonging to the hadj, an agent of the Janiary corps responsible for patrolling streets and markets,\(^2\) in terms which reveal the degree of control exercised by the larger guild over its auxiliaries. They included the right to one-third of the earnings made in thalassic activities by masters of the smaller guild and the right to be consulted in the matter of membership.

(Another third of these earnings was to be given to the central treasury.) In return, the smaller guild, headed by its own chief-deputy (muhaddith), was given guarantees that these of the larger Qir'at al-Jallān would not engage unseaworthy or illegal measures. The terms of these contracts varise slightly differ from those accepted about the same time by the autonomous guild of brokers at the Makka al-Jallān, but in view of the similarity of profession, it is argued that prior to 1721 brokers dealing in black slaves were in all probability likewise subordinate to the central guild of brokers.\(^3\)

\(^{1}\)See 5/6, 117, 1233 (23) 1007 al-Jalîl 1144-22 October 1773 (Guzel Document 5, Appendix) in TIB, 25, 18-116a (24) 1155-24 October 1775.

\(^{2}\)In this role, Shav. Tipr, and Abu. General, 200, under the name mamalik (baktrush).

\(^{3}\)This not only accounts for the failure of early 'guild lists' to mention a 'guild of brokers' as appear in Egypt by 1670, but also for the absence of references to such a guild in Egyptian documents prior to 1711.
Brokers were hired either by buyers or sellers, that is, this was usually the seller, but it was also sometimes the other party to give him a “present.” In Istanbul, according to an ordinance of Mecret IV, dated 1035/1626, brokers were not allowed to take “more than 10 livers on merchandise worth 1000.”

A one percent commission was usually paid by European factors to their local agents in the eighteenth century and that rate appears also to have prevailed in Cairo markets.

1. Frank, 293; Lonne, 324.
2. Boring, 94.
Data from nineteenth century sources indicate that confiscations later decreased from two to five percent.6

Bosse noted that a tax was collected "on the sale of slaves."7 In actuality, this was not a sales tax per se, but a form of import duty derived from the traditional tithe levied by Muslim governments on captives of war. The government's traditional claim was to one-fifth of all captives, but under the Ottoman regime, the state was leased and converted into a custom tax. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was collected at customshouses,8 but at a later period collection of the tax was transferred to the slave market.9 In eighteenth century Cairo, the officer in charge of collecting this duty maintained an office (shwān) in the Suq al-Maṣlaha.10 Since the buyer paid the duty upon purchasing a slave,6 Bosse would have been easily confused as to its real name.

6Bosse, 390; Boshier, 503-513.
7Bosse, 390.
8Geliot, 362; Franks, 275.
9Franks, 275.
The formal name of the tax was  "penceh", a Turkish term, and the official responsible for collecting it was given the title "pencehi". In Mamluk texts, the title was Anglicized and Arabized to  "al-mulkh li-mulkh al-slaveh" or simply "al-jamat". The term "al-mulkh" indicates that he served as a tax farm employee, and indeed this was the case. The collection of the "penceh" on black slaves was the object of a tax farm ("mulkh") whose farmer ("jamat") paid an annual fee of 1,603 "figels" for the privilege of gathering the tax. This is a curiously small sum and must have been established during a time of poor relations with the interior. In Istanbul, the "penceh" amounted to one "penceh" (fixed at 136 "figels" in 1775 when the rate was introduced, subsequently appreciating to 146 "figels"), but later it was set at three percent of the value of the slave. In Cairo, at the end of the eighteenth century, it

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seems to have been fixed at one pana; (90 or 150 pana, depending on the exchange rate used.) The cost of the privilege, therefore, could have been met by the sale of 11 to 19 slaves. Since the Cairo market received from 1,000 to 3,000 slaves annually, it is easy to see how the tax farm furnished a comfortable if not luxurious income to the tax farmer.

In addition to collecting the slave duty, the scribe was required to write out a receipt for the sale, including therein the name and sex of the slave, the name of both seller and purchaser, the amount of the transaction, and the date. This receipt was retained by the purchaser as evidence of having paid the "slave duty" and had to be produced by him if he wished to sell the slave at a later date. It also had to be produced in court if the slave were freed. Thus, the receipt represented a title deed and was given the same legality as if it had been formally registered in the courts.

5 Pana, 425.

6 *Pana, 425.* Eutvva, 262. Pana's reference to receipts being written on Coptic scripts probably refers to the scribes' assistants. Mandanu texts consistently list people under Latin names.

7 *Amorim, 571.* James W. Redhouse, A Coptic Text and Parallel Lexicon (London, 1984), 416. In the manuscript on which the receipt was based simply as "s ] : arm cubitiarm cubiti", evidence in favor of the variation of the name or "cubiti" into the arm of the arm in the name of the man. 3 well, 40, (4), 293, 294; 22, 22.

8 In every case the receipt was assigned to the man as evidence that a slave sale had been legally completed on 28, 165, 324 (1857/1179).
Such clerical work as was required at the slave market was performed by a number of scribes (kuluwma, zayn, xiya). Early Mamluk records refer to one of these as ikilt al-sayyadat bi-a'man al-najis or the keeper of the day-book (so of the draft) at the market of imported (black) slaves. This may refer to the scribe attached to the penjatul or else to a scribe who made a rough record of transactions later registered at the courts. Early volumes of the Mamluk archive contain numerous purchase deeds involving slaves. They were usually drawn up according to a formula incorporating the information provided in the penjatul’s receipts, and it may be that the register had replaced the earlier system whereby slave sales were customarily registered at the courts. Later reference to such a scribe would identify him as ikilt fitr-rum al-najis, a steward of imported slaves, and elsewhere simply as “servant at the Watiyat al-‘alâ.” His office was an official post and appointment to it was confirmed by the agila el-egii, the chief judge of Egypt.

1Sub 311 41, 70, 875 (1152/1255); Sub 311 51, 79, 845 (1155/1258).

2Sub 311 277, 305, 375 (1256/1259 August 1753); Damascus, D, f. 213 (1265/1268 October 1755).

3Akkar 152, 175, 259 (21 May 1259/April 1753 January 1754); Ahdar 125, 256, 375 (12 May 1154/25 February 1753); Damascus, D, f. 275 (1265/1268 July 1755) Damascus, D, f. 275, p. 304 (12 April 1154/25 February 1753).
Another officer connected with the tax farm and stationed at the hamlet al-Jalaba was the kanīf (canon). He probably calculated the amount of tax due and turned over the proceeds collected to the moghrib. This office was filled by Muslims, not Jews or Christians.

Since the sale of black slaves was subject to an official tax, merchants and brokers dealing in slaves needed witnesses to substantiate the financial details of each transaction. The service was provided by legal witnesses (kanīf, sing. kafis) who protected merchant and broker interests though their appointments were continued by the chief judge. These officials were presumably known for their uprightness and good character, and until the mid-eighth century were often drawn from the religious establishment. Their services were remunerative, but the amount of the fee earned is not known.2

Another official at the slave market is identified in several Finanz texts as the kafrl. In the eighteenth century, the man who held this title was also known as a kafir, possibly indicating the two offices were closely linked. The kafrl was a deputy of the kafir and was expected to be a person of integrity.

1 Mentioned in guild accounts, also text 271, p. 303 (D Kafir el-Kabir i-1762 [Gentner 115]; Kafir el-Kabir 313, 264, 4718); cf. letter 159/61: June 1771.

2 References to kafir in the slave market include Yosuf b. Musa, Yosuf al-Tabarī (from all 26. 27. 28. 47. Kafir el-Kabir 1 [1/3]; Kafir al-Kabir 183, 490); and the al-Jalib al-labib family (26, 47. 28. 151. Kafir al-Kabir 183. 490). The kafrl office may have corresponded to the vizier al-kafir, who represented the interests of farmers in matters relating to the payment of taxes. See Huygin, 27, 30.
and incompatibility. He witnessed several cases concerning the internal affairs of the guilds of brokers at the Wādiq al-Jallān, but his chief function appears to have been to witness financial arrangements made at the market, either in connection with the tax farm or in connection with individual transactions between buyers and sellers. In the latter case, he could be called upon to render testimony if a dispute reached the court. The office was occupied in the mid-eleventh century by a member of the al-Khayrī family, founded by a leading religious personality and former Sājid al-Jallān. It constituted only one of several offices which the family controlled.

One last official at the slave market was the muṣarrīf al-jallān. His duties are not clear, but it is possible he vouched for visiting merchants from the interior during their stay at the wādiq and vouched for market officials the goods they brought that were subject to urban taxes. In this way, his duties may have been related to the old Cairo customhouse office (maṭbūṭa) called ʿārāf al-biḥtāb or ṣaḥāba al-ṣabāḥ which in the

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1 See, Surumī, II, 176; neither this nor the muṣarrīf office is described by Yaqūt.

2 A description of one of these offices is given in VII, 127, 128 (111, 38). They include periods (ṣahāba) entered from the vends of Sufi tribesmen al-Rawdah and Ṣawāmī; periods (ṣahāba) from family vows in Surumī (these kingdoms) and senior officers at the "spearhead" of each of the slave markets.

3 Identified in Paul Dunbabin I, Appendix.

The word, muṣarrīf means the commissioner or "vouching" in Paul Dunbabin, II, 223, and indicates duties of the muṣarrīf in connection to slave markets. 

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4 See Paul Dunbabin, II, 178, 179, 180, 181, and 182; Dunbabin, II, 189, and 190. (The following sections are abbreviated: II, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, and 196.)
latter half of the eighteenth century passed into the hands of
designs of the Vezîlîat al-Îlāhin.\footnote{\[\[\]}

These various operations and market officials provided
the basic structure under which the trade in slaves was carried
out. The extent to which the muhtasib, general market inspector,
entrusted upon their function is little known. In Istanbul,
this official was given specific instructions to supervise opera-
tions of the slave markets, making sure that brokers charged no
more than one percent commission, that they carried out their
services faithfully and honestly, and that buyers refrained
from disguising their merchandise or otherwise acting fraudu-
ently.\footnote{\[\[\]} It is evident from a number of disputes recorded in
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\textit{Mektabs} records that the practice of disguising the identity of
slaves was not unknown in Cairo,\footnote{\[\[\]} but the actual intervention by
the local muhtasib to prohibit this type of fraud or other devious
practices is not disclosed. Raymond has argued recently that
the concept of \textit{muhâsirat al-adilla} (surveillance of public morality) suffered
a general decline in Egypt during the last two centuries of Otto-
man rule and that the power of the muhtasib stemmed less from his
duties as guardian of public morality than from fear of his arm-

\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{[\[\]}} \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{[\[\]}} \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{[\[\]}}

\textsuperscript{2} Raymond, "Muhâsirat al-Adilla," Appendix A, Chapter
III, \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{[\[\]}} \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{[\[\]}} \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{[\[\]}}

\textsuperscript{3} \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{[\[\]}} \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{[\[\]}} \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{[\[\]}}\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{[\[\]}}

\textsuperscript{4} \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{[\[\]}} \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{[\[\]}} \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{[\[\]}}
among other goods brought from Africa, the sale of gold was also subject to government taxation. This was done by levying a protection tax (shut fi sir'in) on the owner of the "al-Sta" (Sta or Sti) tax farm, located at a "samhah al-jallalun" in Fezzan. According to Shaw, "al-Sta" was the "source of the finest gold which came to Egypt from the Maghreb, and Fezzan located in the south-central part of southern Libya." Although the original data disclosing details of this particular tax farm has not been traced, the geographical reference is almost certainly to Awila, the oasis in northeastern Libya through which caravans from al-Sta al-Allam passed. The gold, therefore, would have been mined in the western Sudan and would have been brought to Egypt by Sahrawi caravans or pilgrims. When the protection tax was inaugurated in 1700, the tax farmer owed the government an annual sum of 26,000 riyals. Further evidence that trade between Egypt and western African countries had not been interrupted. By 1728, however, the annual fee had been reduced to 1,623 riyals.6 Shaw also mentions the existence of a tax farm regulating customs collected the very imports (given in note 6) that had only been brought from the interior. Its farms paid 7

1Aristo, II, 592-593.
2F. L. and C. Pernin, 130, note (b). Our old Awila ever fall under Egyptian control, as in modern times today. See L. Charles Pernin, "Algerian and Maghreb," (Pernin-Pernin, 1907), 100-104.
3Raymond, Antiquity, II, 66.
the government £1,000 annually for the privilege.¹

The Nishan documents provide some specific information about either of these activities, so it remains speculative how merchants at the Nishan al-Jallān, whether corporately or individually, were obligated to them, if at all. It is known, however, that brokers specializing in the sale of gold operated in Cairo and appear to have been governed by a shahāda,² though a separate guild is not discussed by either Raymond or Ibn Yuhanna. Furthermore, documents indicate that the sale of ivory, feathers, and the required brokers' services and fees earned from such transactions could be purchased collectively. This privilege, Ṣalāt al-qalā' al-ṣūr wa'lam al-jallān wa'la al-maktaba, also came to be controlled by shahāda of the Nishan al-Jallān.³

3. The Guild

As a prelude to discussing the guild, its officers, functions, and regulations, certain definitions must be made. First of all, the distinction between merchant (ṣubūr) and visiting merchant (ṣalāt) needs to be restated in light of the ambiguous way the two terms have been used in foreign accounts.

¹ Shaw, Taw, and Ibn Yuhanna, 223. Possibly mentioned by Raymond, ALEXANDRIA, 41. ² Shaw, Taw, and Ibn Yuhanna, 208. ³ Shaw, Taw, and Ibn Yuhanna, 208. ⁴ Ibn Yuhanna, AFRICA, 110, 208, 211 (2:527). ⁵ Ibn Yuhanna, AFRICA, 110, 208. The privilege was owned by the Injīla (see Chapter 11, 239) and is not mentioned by Shaw or Raymond.
modern historical studies and even in the period records themselves.

Jallaba were travelling merchants, moving between market centers, without any fixed abode; they+} 12

rented or short-term bases at zealal in Cairo, or in provincial centers. Resident merchants, however, resided more or less permanently in the city, owning or rented houses and stores along long-term bases and maintaining other ties to the urban setting. In the light of what is known about the responsibilities invested in guilds, and especially in their charters, the question arises as to whether such itinerant groups of merchants could be organized along guild lines. It seems probable that no guild of jallaha existed for me., at least in formal terms, but that there was a guild of broker-merchants who dealt with jallaha during their visits to the city and who acted as their spokesmen.

Brokers, in theory, were prohibited from dealing directly in sales and purchases, and as long as slave trading was pursued in Egypt, this instruction seems to have been followed. However, the practical application of the trade was such that theoretical distinctions between merchants and jallaha on one hand and brokers on the other, or between those who could deal directly in the product and those who could not, were often narrowly irrelevant.

A review of the inventories of many slave brokers shows that like ordinary merchants, they maintained stores of staple articles used in Egypt's trans-Saharan trade. Furthermore, brokers officially listed in guild documents as belonging to the guild operating in the al-jaaliya are frequently identi-
find elsewhere — in acts of notarization, property titles and
estate inventories — as merchants in slaves. Thus it may be
argued on the basis of [source] documentation that brokerage and
trading were often, but by no means always, carried out by the
same group of persons, but that in order to collect the duty
imposed on slave sales the government maintained a clear legal
distinction between the two professions. This argument would
explain why court records often failed to distinguish a “guild
of brokers in imported slaves” from a “guild of merchants in
imported slaves” or a “guild of dealers,” except in contexts
where a distinction was required — such as in guild documents
which specifically deal with corporate responsibilities. In this
respect, it is significant that the list of guilds drawn up by
French authorities in 1828 as a basis for guild taxes should
identify the group as courtiers de négociant de ebriqueaux.2

On the other hand, the term fr-iatte de commerce /guild
of the importing merchants became increasingly popular toward
the end of the eighteenth century, perhaps because it was a
convenient way of identifying merchants, traders, and brokers

1For instance, the 4th Thomas de Bourg in Sources is identified
in Guild Document 1 (Appendix A) as “master of the guild of
brokers in imported slaves,” but in a property deed as “master of
the merchants at the slave market” (likely 1779, 12/29
Correspondence Appendix 1779/1780), and in his inventory as “former master of the guild of dealers” (Grant et
als [1838] 1839, 12/29 de Bourg 1812/13, June 25, 1812).

2Raymond, “Die Insta,” 157, No. 94.
operating in the Mamluk al-Jallūn. It is also true that al-Jallūn was under the authority of the guild of shahān slaves while they resided in the waqf. At any rate, when the urban tax farms were dismantled in the years following the French occupation and guild responsibilities were adjusted, it was no longer necessary to distinguish between the various terms with the result that the old designation "brokers in imported slaves" gave way almost entirely to "merchant in imported slaves" or to its Turkish equivalent, al-nafṣīt (fī-nafṣīt al-slāw). It was reciprocal of the current situation in Egypt at the time that the Ottoman authorities should address the head of the Mamluk al-Jallūn as Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-jallūn in 1011/12 and not by the old title, Ṣalāḥ al-dīn al-slāwī al-jallūn al-slāwī. 

Petrus Cano, who visited Egypt in the 1670s, is the source for the earliest reference to a guild of merchants dealing in black slaves. The "guild of al-Jallūn"...
(Jaṣṣāṣ yāṣīhūn), he wrote, was composed of 2,000 members from the Cush, Axum and Dārūm (the fortress town of Shembe); they sold slaves from the interior of the continent. The earliest reference in Jewish documents to a Qawīlāt al-jālibīn occurs 30 years later and is found in a deed dated 1115/1116, in which one of the witnesses is noted Qawīlāt al-jālibīn. A later document spells out this title even further: "mission of the guild of jālibīn located on the street of the noble Egyptian pilgrimage." Yet these references, interesting though they may be, are isolated and disconnected from all other information compiled on the activities of jālibīn. Particularly during the absence of any sequential series of references to such a guild in Jewish records during these years. Moreover, it is clear from an examination of Hayya Ṣeṭḥūn's list of guilds that in fact he was not always a reliable reporter of guilds that actually functioned in Cairo or even had corporate standing. It is nonetheless possible to see in these

1 *Hayyānīyīn*, 4, 392.
2 *Sanāʾ, 351, 967* (3 Judasa al-Hsro 1113).
3 Abuʾl-Nasr, 1115, 174, 6309 (99, 1212/13 September 1793). A reference to the street Qawīlāt al-jālibīn was not found in the Yūḥānūn, but it may have been due to its location along which the yūḥānūn (tasters) was exercised on its way between Cairo en route to Ṣuqta. The passport of identity was given līk al-Qawīlāt (see above).
4 Hayya Ṣeṭḥūn’s listing of a guild of carpenters (māṣir ṣāḥibūn) in Cairo is almost certainly incorrect. The operations were carried out in a small village of Marsa Ṣayyid by Sultan priests dānsa Ṣeṭḥūnīm. The Upper Egyptian province of the reign of Ṣeṭḥūn during the 11th and 12th centuries. *Hilāl al-ṣūrārā* (dān Ṣeṭḥūn), 1126, 3 (10. 11. 5489). Hayya Ṣeṭḥūn is not mentioned by the flexibility of Hayya Ṣeṭḥūn’s list of guilds. 11, 16.
various references the existence of an informal group of importing merchants, nominally under the direction of a sheikh, a group perhaps that banded together in an attempt to assist each other in a city which was largely foreign. In summary, the evidence at hand suggests they were not recognized by the government and consequently not endowed with corporate responsibilities.

Such responsibilities were assumed by the group of brokers (or merchant-brokers) at the Vaškūat al-Jallān and were first recorded at the waqf of a bequest contract dated 7 Rabī‘ al-Awwal 1144/9 September 1731. The court copy of the original document appears to have been lost, but its substance was partially restated on 10 Safar 1145/26 January 1733. In registering their incorporation, guild members were acting under a firman issued by the Ottoman governor, Mūsā ibn Qasim, and addressed to the shah of the guild, Umar ibn al-Balqini. This document and three others, drawn from the Ḥarīf archive, contain valuable and interesting information about the organization and administrative functions of this guild. As far as is known, they are the first of such guild documents to have

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Raymond believes that during the 11th of Saffar's visit, these mercantile fell under the administrative control of the sheikh, the chief of police. [Rivenc, II, 317.]

[Guild book, note 1, appendix, 261. Since official documents were required registered several years after the fact, the year 1730 would be considered the approximate date the guild was established.]
been studied. The description of the guild that follows is based almost entirely on one document, a translation of which is to be found in the appendix to this chapter.

The aim of the earliest contracts are fiscal and administrative. The document restates the fiscal obligation, inaugurated the previous lunar year, requiring the whole membership of the guild to be accountable for payment of the slave duty tax of the Ḥaḍarat al-Ǧallāh. It must be supposed that prior to this agreement, brokers were not personally responsible for seeing that the duty was paid. The transfer of the tax obligation from individuals to the group almost certainly represented the change in the tax of the guild in the eyes of the government. Since all slave sales had to be conducted through the agency of brokers, it was obvious that the "guild of brokers dealing in imported (black) slaves" (Ǧaṣṣajja al-Ǧalāla, Ḥaḍarat al-Ǧallāh) could be held responsible for the duty.

Guild documents define the trade in black slaves in geographical terms. At the time of the earliest existing deed (1733) it was to be conducted in two Ḥaḍarat in the city: Ḥaḍarat al-Ǧarājīm, an alternative name for the great Ḥaḍarat al-Ǧallāh of Ḥaḍarat al-Ǧarājīm, and Ḥaḍarat. (No mention is made of Ḥaḍarat in other parts of the city, or in Ḥaḍarat.)

Ṣarāḥ: properly "imported," but referring to black slaves brought by caravan from the interior of Africa.
Although these two market edifices were too small to accommodate all jukhar coming from the interior, later documents make it clear the shikh of the guild was considered the spokesman of all merchants dealing in African goods, wherever they might reside.

The hierarchy of the jukhar followed the usual pattern. At the top was the shikh; his immediate subordinate was the nisih. The relationship (makhluq) was a matter determined by the whole guild membership and filled by one of their number who obtained the master’s trust and approval. The use of such terms as nisih and nish in guild documents implies the selection was decided by a unanimous consensus of the membership rather than being determined by the civilian rulers. Whether in fact selection of the shikh was made first by the government and then approved by the guild membership or was determined by the leadership of the guild and approved by the government — a question which has been debated — is actually of little import in this particular case since the selected shikh consistently proved to be merchants or

1See Chapter III, 384.
3Guild Documents 2 and 3, 266, 270.
4Beer, Egyptian Cemeteries, 2 (7-8), Raymond, arttists, II, 335-337.
brokers with long careers in the trade had probably would have been elected unopposed by guild members if the choice were unquestioned.

See in the religious and divine sense, and his general competence. Another document emphasizes the need for piety, declaring that "he who fears God will be provided with a livelihood and sustenance which cannot be consumed." Such would seem to exaggerate the importance of religious qualifications in the choice of officials, perhaps because the documents had been registered in the religious courts or in one case had emanated from the office of the highest religious authority in the country. As a matter of fact, the common practice in Egypt was for the qadi to be

1 See Chapter VI.

2 See Document 1, 271. Certainly confirms information that the qadi's appointment had at least to be approved by the council, but the question of who nominated the qadi (the wali or the government) still remains unanswered. In the nineteenth century nominations usually came from the mullah (Mar. Document 1, 271).

3 See Document 5, 270.

4 See Document 4, 271.
laced from father to son, but this passage was only exceptionally followed by analogy of inheritance. The reason no doubt stemmed from the curious instability of the galle's children to produce sons.

The shail's responsibilities were manifold. His personal endorsement of the corporation's liability for payments of the slave ship meant that the government held him personally accountable. Within the guild, he was expected to supervise the conduct of business and to ensure that laws framed by the guild or those honored by long usage were followed by his colleagues. In cases of infringement, he was to see that offenders were punished or that they appeared in court. Actual punishments were not being recorded and indeed the scope of his juristic powers may have been quite limited. Complaints arising over disputed sales, whether brought by merchants, brokers or private individuals, were decided in the courts, though shail may have tried to intervene to reconcile disputing parties before matters went that far. Elsewhere, the shail was expected to act benignly towards his fellow guild members, to perform from influential new sources.

1More, Egyptian Cattle, 76
2Or were old enough to remove their fathers from the latter's death. Deficit mortality rates have been a major feature. Helba's rather low fertility rates of even only two survivors per man.
3In the nineteenth century, frequently observed. The corporations...do not necessarily in occupied territory exert any influence, but leave all matters of contract perfectly free.
Administrative law and free proclamation of new taxes. In return for his justice and favor, he was awarded a special portion of the total earnings of the guild, amounting to twice the ordinary share enjoyed by guild members, and was given a no tax, an emolument, by fellow guild members. Neither its value nor mode of payment (cash or kind) has been recorded. In addition, the government exempted him from any personal obligation to the tax farm. These financial advantages, coupled with the prestige of his office, made him the leading merchant in the state.

The government also held the sheikh responsible for the conduct of selling while they were staying at the khách al-Jallaha. In exercising this responsibility, he no doubt mixed business with duty. Girard's description of one such as facteur général des Crêtes is indicative of the business side to the relationship, one which involved him in extensive dealings with visiting merchants, buying from and selling to them numerous items of the interior trade. In the line of duty, he would have been required to see that sales transferred between khách and second parties

1 [Footnote 5: 230: In no case the emolument in public contracts. Another reference is found in public documents 5: 275.]
2 [Footnote 6: The execution of the tax on the contributions to the guild membership is found in public documents 1: 304, 696. Exemption from the tax farm was endorsed by the whole guild membership.]
3 [Footnote 7: Both the and Suyyana were unaware of the sheikh's financial obligations.]
The shaikh also had special responsibilities in managing the waqf itself. It may not be coincidental that the guild's first shaikh, Ali as-Sagheer al-Maamum, was also the tenant (qayta'a) of the waqf and rented it from the waqf al-Mawâlî on an annual basis. It is not known if this was typically required of the shaikh of merchant guilds operating in particular locations, nor if every shaikh of the waqf's guild was expected to rent its facilities. The likelihood is that it was a matter

Details are found in the biographies of the Lajjâs, Chapter VI, 297-30.

This was the custom in Cairo and Alexandria in the late nineteenth century (gathered from oral interviews).

All rental deeds pertaining to this waqf preserved in the Ministry of Waqf were destroyed by the Ministry of Waqf.

A nineteenth-century waqf rented large spaces near the Garnî mosque (Fâtwa II, 101), e.g., in 1877 (waqf al-Mawâlî, September 1877), undoubtedly at the request of the government, but no record exists of it having renewed the waqf al-Mawâlî.
of personal speculation. In principle, this should have been a profitable enterprise for the tenant. Vector were obliged to pay his market dues of one-half mithqal (60 rigas) for the use of the well. This would mean that 425 visitors would have had to use its facilities each year in order for the tenant to cover its annual rent of 25,500 rigas. There were, however, lean years in this trade and the tenant must have been hard pressed at times to make ends meet.

In renting the well, the tenant also rented the scales used in weighing raw materials and produce brought from the interior, such as tamarind and cacao. Fees earned on weighing, however, were probably turned over to others who had the right to collect weighers' fees in the general quarter of the well. The

Girard, Acc. 62.

"Annual use of the wells. (Ministry of Waqf.)"

"al-Malik al-Mutabaa," No. 10 (1936-1937) 126-127 February 1937. The rent fluctuated according to the market of goods available. The great U.N. caravan alone brought from 400 to 500" merchants (Girard, Acc. 555).

"Annual use of market contracts included...)...and"

"al-Malik al-Mutabaa," No. 10 (1936-1937) 126-127 February 1937. The market fluctuations were generally referred to the same duty collected by the islands (that paid by the tenant). The weighers' fees were probably not in practice either."

"Rights to weighers' fees (al-Malik al-Mutabaa) were given out (sold) to the government in order to keep people in the" market. In essential they were collected by the weighers (Eldem, II, 389-389 A.D., but this does not mean to have been so in M.W. (Rigas mentions them without distinguishing to whom the fees generally went: Acc. 12, 611, 64-7.)"
tenant was also liable for salaries of doormen (hâllendus), but was allowed to deduct the expense from the total amount due annually to the wālf 31-G and 1. Since the vâlula had its own water supply, the tenant did not have to attend to the regular hire of water-carriers to hand over sacks of water from the file, nor did he have to pay the salaries of sweepers and washers who kept the building clean. 2

To assist him in commercial matters, the wâlula relied on the advice of a council of elders (âl-bâtârîq) which was composed of merchants who had traded at the vâlula for many years and were cognizant of the laws and regulations affecting this branch of commerce. The selling of slaves, as will be shown later, was often a difficult business and subject to countless disputes.

A nineteenth century tawâriq document, which provides the quotation used at the beginning of this chapter, indicates that the guild as a whole was asked to give its opinion (hâllar di'M) regarding a particular dispute, and it could be argued that the unofficial, non-binding advisory role of the guild as a whole was its most enduring feature. Put as to elders' councils within the framework of the guild, these texts are not very informative. 3

1 Rental deeds, ms. 944 (1001), no. 50 (294). The salary earned is listed at 295 Gildas per year. Households also earned fees from lodgers, and according to Raymond (Arabia, 2:305) has a list of the fees charged by lodges was collected. He also lists some contracted paramedicts with al-Hussam and purchased rooms. Exant 271, 425 (112/172); on 221, 22. # 465 (112/174).

2 These were paid by merchants. Richard Burton, Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Makka and Meccca, 3rd ed. (London: J. Murray, 1886), 1:142.

3 On these councils, ibid and Power, T. 1, 284. Raymond, Arabi, 11, 274. The title hâllar di'M is occasionally simplifies guild documents (ibidem, 14, 109), and the designation may be a simple moniker.
In his business, the shāhīd was usually aided by one or more personal factors or followers (ṣāhid), in many cases his freed slave. They carried out specific assignments, such as acting as agents for alelīfs in court disputes, or paying out sums for services rendered in running the waqf. Often the stabling factors were accepted as members of the guild; lūs often, they were married into the shāhīd's family. In some instances, factors were paid a salary (ṣāhilī) but in general it may be assumed their rewards were earned indirectly by being commercially associated with the shāhīd. At the waqf, the shāhīd was assisted by the resident scribe who in addition to his regular work of recording slave sales there kept separate accounts of his expenses.

The shāhīd was seconded in the guild hierarchy by a deputy (ṣāhilī). Despite the importance attached to the office in many guilds, the position of the šāhilī al-dāūdī al-ṣāhilī al-dāūdī was frequently left un-filled. He may have been selected by the shāhīd as Beer asserts, but his nomination was com-

Chapter VI, 287-8, 291.

* Estate inventory of Abū 'Ubaydah al-'Alā'ī, Attab 265, p. 52 (25 October 1239/24 April 1824); al-Dawlawhi in his article on al-ṣāhilīs (1201-1217) lists 16,000 Dirhams. This is approximately 1 mālidān per month.

Thus the scribe at the šāhilī al-dāūdī al-ṣāhilī keeps an account of expenses incurred by the shāhīd and assigns the per diem to the waqf. 345 (12/12/1239/1240 of September 1741).

Egyptian Guilds, 54.
firmed by the guild member. ¹ The first name of this guild, Maṣūd Luqī, became the first shāhid's successor, but it would appear this was due more to his own special abilities than to an inherent law of succession. It was the only instance the name succeeded the shāhid upon the latter's retirement or death. Nor, apparently, was he allowed a special status from the guild for performing the tasks of the office.² Information about his activities from nineteenth-century Spanish documents suggests his role would be better described as the shāhid's personal assistant than as a guild officer who attended to matters of the guild as a whole.³ Indeed, one is led to conclude that the office was of little importance in the structure of the guild.

Guild documents were registered at the courts in the presence of nine to twelve members; in one document, it is declared that the eleven members present (excluding the shāhid) constituted the whole guild membership.⁴ (This is a far cry from

¹ Build Document 3, 260.

² As revealed by guild documents, e.g., (Spanish Guilds. 55.) believes the guild members received a salary for his services or gifts from the shāhid or from newly elected members of the guild.


⁴ Build Document 1, 202.
the 2,000 members) beyond the mutual responsibility adopted by all guild members toward the tax farm, the most outstanding feature of their corporate identity to emerge from guild documents is their agreement to share equally the income from brokerage commissions earned by all the members.\footnote{Guild Document 1, 263; Guild Document 2, 267.} Such an obligation essentially eliminated whatever scope of commercial competition individual brokers might have nurtured, but it cannot be assumed that all guild members were willing to remain simple brokers. Indeed, the stipulation may explain why so many brokers actively engaged in trade as merchants. Membership in the guild also accorded equal status and equal access to protection under customary procedures. Practice, however, produced gradations within the ranks so that a distinction existed between full brokers (guild, reall) and half-brokers (maif, halle) or agents. The legal responsibilities of both were apparently the same, but brokers having the status of maif, halle were permitted only half the earnings to which full brokers were entitled.\footnote{Guild Document 1, 267. In the use of reall to mean "agent," cf. Burst, Signifikant, 1, 215.}

The guild body determined the election and withdrawal of individual members either by approving nominations or resolutions passed by the wealth or in meetings at which a consensus prevailed. Those aspiring from the guild could no longer be protected by the guild nor continue to share its joint income nor...
of course, could they be held liable for the guild's tax obligations. With respect to membership, it appears that persons with familial or special economic and social ties (such as former servitude) to current members were given preference. A passage in one guild document clearly states that numbers would be drawn "from themselves, from their people and their followers" (مَنْ نُصْنِعُ نَفْسٌ ٌ يَنْصُرُهُ وَلَدَاءَهُ وَخَالِدٌ), and it is now generally conceded that the eighteenth and nineteenth century Egyptian guild was a closed-shop. On the other hand, mercantile guilds, such as that operating in the Waliyat al-Qāliba, may have been more open than craft guilds. Toward brokers who falsely claimed membership in the guild, the law was strict. If proven to have committed offenses punishable under prevailing law, they were not allowed to be judged by guild members and their status in accordance with custom, but were liable to punishment by civilian authorities. Thus, a separate guild law, distinct from civil law, was recognized, but in fact little is known of how these guild canons and procedure outside the framework of the Sālīḥa.

Characteristic features of guild life in Egypt included initiation rites and participation in religious festivals. Initiation rites of new members were often ceremonies in the

1Guly, Document 5, 273; presented in AI Tiba, 35, #56 (18 January 1871/14 October 1791).
2Imer, Egyptian Guilds, 57, 2.
3Guly, Document 1, 265.
life of a guild and marks a vital step in a young man's career. Rites accompanying the initiation of new members to orante guilds have never been described, and it is not surprising that details of such rites as performed by the Ḥāʾīfūṭ al-malāʾika have not been found. Nor did this guild or any group associated with the African trade participate in the wedding celebrations of the first Muslim 'Allī's son when the Cairo guilds did, as noted in any description of religious festivities.

b. Conclusion

It should be clear from the foregoing discussion that the guild's corporate duties were fulfilled in a relatively narrow sense. The Ḥāʾīfūṭ al-malāʾika was a local urban administrative and fiscal unit, nominally independent but in fact subordinate to the financial needs of the civilian authorities and to the overarching laws of society as expressed in the šarīʿa. Being concerned with the business of buying and selling and being themselves largely dependent on the city, guild members appear not to have been involved in the usual social and religious activities characteristic of other Cairo guilds.

1. Gibb and Bowen, I, 1, 487.

a. These activities, see Gibb and Bowen, I, 1, 263-264.

b. These activities, see Gibb and Bowen, II, 57-59.
as citizens and as merchants were governed by Islamic law and customary usage. In short, there seems to have been relatively little room in which the power of the shaihs and the independence of the guild could be exercised or vested.

The earliest guild document found in Nafhī records was registered in 1731. Given the tardiness with which the government recognized de facto situations, it is possible the guild was in existence a decade before that, but probably not earlier.†

Was there some special reason for the establishment of the guild at this particular time?

An investigation may be directed along two lines: the extension of shaihs (principally Janissary) authority in Egypt and the development of the trade route to Dār al-Fur. The Janissaries had begun to assume tax farms during the period 1671-2 when they took control of the lucrative customhouse farms of Mālik, Barietta, and Alexandria and the lesser farms of the Barullos customhouse, the sheep market, the tanary, and the sale of linen and copper in Old Cairo. In the course of the eighteenth century (up to 1761), they seized five of seven new mālikī farms created during that period, including the tax farm governing the sale of gold dust in Mālik (muntaz in Mālik), which was created in 1705-10, and a farm to collect a protection tax levied on the sale of montazal slaves in Dār al-Qālî, which was created in 1714-15.‡

† A nafhī document identified ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Farsī as shaihs in 1671 (see Chapter V, 228) but this need not indicate a formalized position.

‡Raymond, op. cit., II, 454-5, 657; Table 77, 623. Other already established taxa (1723) were licensed to act during their period of ascendency.
For Shaw, who have studied the Ottoman period financial records in Cairo, date the establishment of the هرما in ~السلاطين~ regulating the duty on black slaves, and while Elseve stated that the duty was established by Sultan Selim II in his famous مذكر (1524), this particular tax farm seems not to have existed prior to the eighteenth century. Therefore, it may be supposed it was
created, along with several other farms, during the period 1710-20.

Formal recognition of the tax, which came in the following century, may be associated with the inauguration of the tax farm.

That this farm also passed into the hands of the Janes-
series is attested by the fact that the government
promised to guarantee payment of the tax, sworn in 1731, was insti-
tuted by Asir Ayad, "former صاحب", or the mutafid,.

At the same time, the inauguration of this tax farm
occurred at a time of significant growth of trade with the مور.

From what is known of that kingdom's political history, this develop-
ment followed the expansionist rule of Sultan Sulaiman سلامة and
coincided with the period of early clashes, beginning in the
eleventh century, between his descendants and the sultans of
neighboring Mada'in. Here were a principal means of obtaining
slaves and the surplus not employed by the مور sultan was used in the
state's trade with Egypt. Moreover, it was in the early eighteenth
century that the مور rulers moved to penetrate the سلاطين country.

2Elseve, 302; however, no specific reference to the duty could be found in the French translation by J. Foleau, Papyri
bearing forms at Upsala, 2 vols. (Uppsala, 1951), Pt. II: 273. If it is true that regulating the collection of the duty existed in Cairo

3Document 1, 261.


Based on which the Janesaries controlled

5O'Banay, "Growth and Development," 175. Dar Zele was
conquered by Sultan Ayad Dam (1710-19 - 174-19).

The interesting record by Fawad (six) that among the
papers he left was a register of exceptions that had been to Cairo
from Dar Zele since 1725 A.D., may have some significance than would
appear justified at first glance.

6See Chapter V, 278-37.

7Fahmy, "Artsana., 17, 270.

8Ibid., II, 247, 606. The ownership of white slaves
was considered a traditional prerogative of the ruling class.
Lying between Dar Elg and the frontiers of Egypt, which P'Yeow has interpreted as an attempt to stabilize the country's trade with the Lower Nile Valley. The increasing number of references in Tabakas records to Egyptian and Ethiopian-based merchants and to Janissaries trading in the region from 1120/1717-8 onwards are indications that indeed the dagh al-lam'a was being travelled with greater frequency.

In Cairo, the impact of large caravan trading can be seen in the extensive renovations and enlargements undertaken at the Naqshat al-Sulh during the period 1726-59. And in 1726, five years after the earliest legal contract banning brokers of black slaves and the civil authorities, wealthy merchants were forbidden by a Janissary captain to purchase any slaves other than blacks. While such a directive may well be considered a slap against the increasingly presumptuous behavior of rich traders, as Raymond believes, is it not also obvious that it would have increased revenues produced by the mercies at the Naqshat al-Sulh which the Janissaries controlled?

1 P'Yeow, 'Growth and Development,' 113. Dar Elg was conquered by Sultan Ayub Durr (1716/16-1726/7).
2 The interesting remark by Baym (n56) that among the papers he lost was a Register of caravans that had come to Cairo from Dar Elg since 1120 A.D. may have some significance that would appear justified at first glance.
3 See Chapter VI, 278-9.
4 Raymond, Articllen, II, 705.
5 Trigg, II, 473, 506. The enslavement of white slaves was considered a traditional practice of the ruling class.
The evidence points to a conjunction of developments in the Egyptian political arena and in the African interior to explain the sudden appearance of repeated references in Turkish sources to a guild at the Qalâ'at al-Jabala in the early 1720's.
The following document was endorsed on request of a noble figure bearing seal of the Qasim, complete with a black seal from Our Lord the Grand Vizier and Chieftain Commissioner, the Disposer of Public Affairs, Our Lord Muhammad Hana, the present Guardian of Cairo, by his prosperity endure, and stemming from an official document submitted on behalf of the grandees and notables by the Honorable, the Honored Anto Ayman, former sadiq of the community's physogm in Egypt, rewarding brokers dealing in imported slaves who found to practice the brokerage of Jews at the one place, one of which is the al-Ma'ali al-kharatim, and the other, known as the masdar located on the hill of al-Zababa, in Cairo, the firm's being dated the beginning of the month of Muharram the Blessed, which is the present month this firm's is preserved as is the legal practice in the hands of the imam of al-Janat al-Majid, the Honorable, the Honored Ayman al-Asgar, master of the said guild of brokers dealing in imported slaves.

This document is the earliest document dealing with the guild of brokers, merchants who agreed to the al-Ma'ali al-kharatim and dealt in slaves and other goods from the province of Africa. It outlines the responsibilities of the guild, notes of which was the quarter of the guild's law, dl. The guild law stipulates on the sale of black slaves; it also outlines the structure of the guild and establishes the guild's special financial arrangements. Explanatory notes will be found at the end of each translation.
Testify on their behalves are the following: The Perfection of Nobles, Shaykh Aqra' Ibn Abi 'Abbaṣ; the Elder (al-Bahrāmī), Shaykh Ibn Abi Manṣūr; the Honored, Shaykh al-Hamīd; Shaykh Ibn al-Aqīl; Shaykh al-Hamīd, Aqra' Ibn Abī 'Abbaṣ; the Honored, al-Saffar; Muhammad Ibn al-Waṣlī, the Honored Sayyid Ibn Idrīs; and his son, the Honored Hāfiz Ibn Sayyid al-Saffar. May al-Waṣlī the Honored Sayyid be well. They constitute all the brokers dealing in imported slaves in the two aforementioned provinces. Let witnesses of this certificate inform us of the actions that have been taken, in accordance with legal procedures, to identify, list, and observe to be done in complete accordance and correctness, according to its good faith and in free will, without constraint having been placed on them, nor coercion accordingly, permission for certainty certifying that this matter was legally granted then. They testified that they have consented to the validity of their being mutually responsible for each other and for their observances, or each of the six well-known conditions of trade. They are mutually responsible for what is due from them in terms to the tax farm (mulkātā) as is customary every year due to their pursuit of brokerage activities in the selling of imported slaves for merchants and mānūṣīn in the two aforementioned provinces; their mutual responsibility was specified in a legal deed issued at this court and dated the seventh of Tamūr al-Dahab, 1144, the endorsement.

*Present* a legal agreement (lalaq) without any reservation on them as a group or individually in this matter, nor in any portion thereof nor any single part; nor has burden been assumed, nor the term/disputed or subjected to controversy or the like in any respect or in any way or in any of the legal conditions; the whole agreement being dependent upon the legal acknowledgment of the party from each of them, witnessed on this day.

*9 September 1731.*
Their sheikh, Ali, took a direction the aforementioned,
endowed this and committed it to him on behalf of himself and all
the merchants and [indicating] his endorsement and content being made
in legal fashion. For agreed that the gains of brokers mentioned
above procure its merit in the fear of God and His righteousness,
without causing harm or being harmed; [indicating] it changes or brokerage
and business with the merchants and sheikhs at the two aforementioned
wakfs. But in the case that any broker caused harm, [indicating]
in the course of such brokerage activities, responsibility for
it would be assumed by the said sheikh as this is in accordance
with past custom [indicating] regulations concerned by long usage
amongst them; that everything arising from the said brokerage
activities in the aforementioned wakfs will be distributed amongst
them on an equal basis [indicating] no one [indicating] will receive
more than another; that for the sheikh [indicating] is due two shares
in addition to the wakfs which is in for the sheikh himself [indicating]
[indicating] this ar-ragman, the aforementioned, is not responsible (for
the payment of any part of the due due to the tax farm [indicating]
is in accordance with the following common acceptance on this day.
[indicating] A common agreement legally accepted by the parties
concerned [indicating] the sheikh also agreed that any one who might appear
and be prove not to be one of the brokers mentioned above [indicating]
to have cheated any one in the selling of slaves [indicating] claims he
is a broker dealing in slaves will at that time have exceeded his
legal rights and will have no connection with the aforementioned
brokers and their sheikhs with respect to what he has taken and won
he has harmed; his rate will be determined by the prevailing
rulers which is in accordance with the common agreement made on
this day.
[The above agreement] was confirmed and authenticated
accordingly in the presence of witnesses [indicating] dated the tenth
of Safar, 1145.
Notes

1 *al-Jādi* "old bishop" in this meaning. See, *Al-Imrān*, 3, 175.


3 *ṣaḥīḥ*. Any document can be made an official document by placing an official stamp on it.

4 *al-,* "first or initial.

5 The word used here, *mālik*, has the meaning of "being prepared for" or "financed," usually indicating that the brokers required some skill to carry out their craft.

6 An alternative name for 'the great Khadijat al-Jalluq on *must al-jalluq* or *al-jalluq*).

7 *al-ṣūbūl al-dāir*: those conditions have not yet been identified in documents concerned the correct and legal basis of commercial transactions; the phrase is often used in commercial documents.

8 Colloquially, "favor." Its amount is not mentioned in any guild document; it was probably agreed upon by the masters of brokers acting at the bidding. See, *Egyptian Trade*, 79.
Justified in the presence of the Righteous Pillar, 
Shahin Zain al-Din al-Bajani, son of the Sayyid al-
Sayyid al-Bajani, al-Bajani at the time of his later years, his son, the Pillar of Wisdom, Shahin Zain al-Din Aga al-Din of the 
family of the aforementioned al-Bajani of the Bajani; the Perfection of the Descendants of the Prophet's Family, the Venetian Sayyid al-Bajani 
Abd Allah b. al-Bajani al-Bajani, raising the 
flag of the Banner of the Prophets and the Banner of the 
Pillar of Perfections, Shahin Zain al-Din al-Bajani, 
meritorious of the Bajani; and Shahin Zain al-Din Aga, son of the family of the fore-
mentioned al-Bajani al-Bajani. May their respect and endurance be Testified on his behalf, the Bajani, the Honored, 
the Elder, the Illustrious, al-Bajani. Known as 
al-Bajani, a former breaker dealing in imported slaves; the witnesses 
of whose testimony have, in accordance with legal procedures, 
been identified, listed and observed for by in complete soundness and health, as is specified under law; al-Bajani has testified that as of this date he no longer pursues the craft of brokerage in imported slaves with the merchants and Bajani of the two aforementioned Bajani designated for the sale of imported slaves, nor in any other location wherein imported slaves are sold, that he has no legal claim on their craft as of this date, and that he has left their craft out of the bounty of God in high and not 
under compulsion, but voluntarily and freely, the legal acknowledgment 
affirmed having been witnessed on this day.

*This document deals with severe matters with internal gold patterns. The recognition of an old gold marker and the decision of the new members; it also contains valuable details on the constitution of the guild, its offices and emblems of power; the Guild chairman listed here are about the same as mentioned in the first document; in both cases, the gold membership includes 10 names.*
This was endorsed and accepted free from any inaccuracy and that of the rest of the guild of brokers dealing in imported slaves whose names are mentioned below by the Prince of the Countenance of Generous Men, the Infirmit, the Ignored, the Example, the Respected [Al-Hujjat al-Naqd], shahab of the guild of brokers dealing in imported slaves in Cairo presently. For endorsement may [be recorded] in legal form, he confirmed that they have approved in the presence of brokers whose names are hereafter agreed.

[They have agreed] that [Al-Hujjat al-Naqd] be the shahab of the commissioned guild, and that the Ignored Naqib [Al-Hujjat], present deputy [of the guild], be the commissioned guild of brokers [Al-Hujjat al-Naqd].

The example, the Ignored Naqib [Al-Hujjat], the Ignored Naqib [Al-Hujjat], the commands of all this have been made and [these] have consented to the validity of what has been explained and specified above.

[They have agreed] that [Al-Hujjat al-Naqd]...
[May further agree] that both the honourable Muchus and the Honoured Sylla and the group of the forementioned equal whose benefit (shaq) from the brokerage has been transferred here on the basis of half each of the other, as received, that they have mutually agreed and approved that [Mayus, Muchus] and Sylla be made on this day, each of them, full brokers (guliz bin al-wazir), bound to the regulations of brokerage as they are, and subject to the same charges and other obligations that they are in accordance with their agreement to this on this date, as drawn up in legal mutual agreement and approval.

[May further agree] that the guild of brokers dealing in imported slaves whose names are listed above will as a group from the present date be mutually responsible and liable with respect to what was not done in the firm which was delivered before this date with special regard to the guilty and fault respect by the lawfully committed [transferred] subscribed by them earlier, the group of which was registered in a certificate (qasat al-halaq) in this court on the terms of 1240 AH. [May] ensure its terms they are legally responsible in...\(\text{---}\) in wealth, and the six and well-known conditions of trading in accordance with the authorization (al-wazaq) by all the brokers, the legal authorization and common acceptance [being made in the name of...\(\text{---}\)] this agreement, which of the forementioned dollars validated and adjudicated in the presence of witnesses on the first day of Tabarran, 1240 AH.

*Referring to Guild Decree 1.*
1. See above, 233.

2. The Targa was a regiment of archers attached in this case to the Eighteenth at the Citadels. They are the same as the Targale (see p. 227): his presence here may have been a formality as that the Targale were garrison patrols.

3. See above, 234.

4. He was identified in Guild Document 1 as "al-Jusaini".

5. He was usually described in other documents as "al-Qadari." It is a title which is one of the synonyms for the word naboos (freeze complexed) and tabali (literally, Ethiopian) who applied, and demonstrates it would be dangerous to describe an "Ethiopian" origin to every slave given the name al-Qadari.

6. On Misk al-Islami, see Chapter VII.

7. The phrase is: mufarrikil. See above, 253.

8. Several indecipherable words.
Having recorded what has been endorsed between the Prince of the Possessors of Perfection, the Dignity Considered, the Illustrative, the Noble, 'Allā' al-Malik, son of the Perfect Pillar, the Elder, the Honored 'Alīn b. Hādi al-Jabīl, session of the guild of merchants dealing in the sale of imported and estate (mortgaged) slaves in Cairo, son of the late 'Abd al-Jabīl and the following the Elder, the Honored 'Allā' b. 'Abd al-Jabīl the late 'Āli Allāh the Pride of Nobles, 'Abd al-Jabīl b. the late 'Āli Allāh the Elder, the Honored 'Abd al-Jabīl Najmī, known as al-Hasan; the Honored of Nobles, 'Abd al-Jabīl b. the late 'Āli Najmī, and the Elders of Nobles, 'Abd al-Jabīl b. Mustafā Allāh. Freed slave of the formentioned 'Alīn b. Hādi al-Jabīl; the Honored, 'Abd al-Jawād al-Ša'īrī and al-Munṣī b. the late al-Munṣī Allāh; the Honored Tahār b. 'Allā; and the Honored 'Abd al-Ša'īrī. Each of whom among the merchants as slaves and other goods at the great Malik al-Jabīlī on 'Abd al-Samī' al-Shārī; and between 'Abd al-Ša'īrī Allāh among the Prince of Nobles, 'Abd al-Jabīl b. the late 'Abd al-Jabīl Najmī, and the Honored, 'Abd al-Jawād al-Ša'īrī who are among the merchants as estate slaves in Cairo; and intercessions by the Honored Najmī b. the late 'Abd al-Jabīl Najmī al-Lihrī, and the Honored, 'Abd al-Jawād b. the late 'Abd al-Jawād al-Ša'īrī.

*The document is the only one which specifically deals with the election of the shaykh personallyath the guild were present, but they have been lost or altered in court records. Since the document covers this one purpose, it is no mention of the guild's financial obligations to the tax farmer.*
Being a true legal agreement made while the parties, being of perfect age and legal families, that the
Honored of Hadiya, [father] of the son of the Elder, the Honored Hadiya legate, mentioned above, will be their witness and mutually
agreed upon spoken in commercial matters and transactions of
selling imported and estate slaves and other goods whom concern
the affairs of the merchant-Judges (wālīy al-jāriya)² in Cairo;
that he will enforce among them the correct business procedures
and ancient regulations with regard to the circumstances of their
profession² as have become customary from earlier days, neither
implementing new administrative rules nor pronouncing unwarranted
taxes¹ in so far as they willingly submit themselves to what he
commands and what he forbids, following what he says and does;
they have given their consent to this matter so it conforms to
the exalted canon of Islam (al-Shari‘a) and decency² of
his attitude, uprightness and qualifications.³

In this he has replaced his father, the Pride of Hadiya,
[father] of the said guild.
He has stopped giving because of his great age and failing powers;
he has done this with the acknowledgment of the group mentioned
above, whose acknowledgment has been witnessed on this day: it
being a legal acknowledgement and legal consent, accepted in the
legal fashion (as will as being) a mutually accepted legal agreement
confirmed, adjudicated in the presence of witnesses on
the first day of Jumada al-Awla, 1186.

Notes
¹These men were auxiliary witnesses, not merchants at the wālīya.
²See above, 246-7.
³See above, 246-7.
The Seljuk Sultan has declared he has kept his power, consolidating and strengthening it after the honorable in Cairo, as shahin and spokesman for the guilds of merchants dealing in imported slaves, feathers, ivory, gum and other goods and in matters concerning merchants located at and frequenting the great plaza on Sanjak al-Jallala and the small plaza opposite it, and the plaza al-Jallala at the gates and elsewhere; acting in accordance with a notable firdaws issued to him by the Grand Vizier during the time he was in Cairo in 1216 (AH 604), complete with his seal and mark our Lord, the aforementioned Seljuk Sultan has ordered this in compliance with the firdaws and has not deviated from it in any way. And it is customary and an act already ordered upon his ancestors. In this writing, he acted with piety. For he who fears God will be provided with a livelihood and sustenance which cannot be contemplated. 

Title given to the exiled Shiek of Egypt.

*This deed recorded on Jallala in Cairo of the merchants at the bazaar al-Jallala. He had probably moved into this position during the period described herein; no explicit note was the Cilician felt it necessary to preface this in his office.*
In the presence of the Prue of Muslims, the Perfection of his Persons, al-Dhahabi al-Maqrizi, Doctor of the Jannambary corps, and the Prue of his Persons, the Honored Abu Muhammad Ahmad ibn 'Ali of the 'Asar corps, son of Yahya: they are the chaplains of the guild of brokers in the Aмир's market (al-Malik al-Asl), and al-Malik al-Jahili in Cairo at the present times and in the presence of ten deputies (khawâsîn) by the Honored, Abu 'Ali b. Ahmad, present chief deputy; Abû Jayy b. 'Ali, known as al-Amrânî, at Aṣ-Ṣafâ 'Ali b. 'Abd Allah; the Honored Abu 'Ali b. 'Abd Allah al-Malik, known as the Younger; the Honored, Zayd, follower of Aḥmad; Abû Jayy al-Sâlîr 'Uqayl b. 'Abd al-Wahhab; the Honored 'Abd Allah ibn Aḥmad ibn Qânim; the Honored al-Dinarî, son of 'Abd Allah; and the Honored, 'Abd al-Rahman al-Tâmirî, son of Qânim; and in the presence of ten deputies of the chaîn (khiyâr) at the two chambers of the Honored, Abu 'Ali b. 'Abd Allah al-Malik, known as the Younger; the Honored Abu 'Abd Allah; the Honored Abu 'Ali; the Honored, Muhammad, follower of Qânim Ebrâîm, at Qânim b. Ahmed; the Honored, Abu 'Ali al-Dinarî, the Honored, 'Abd al-Rahman Abu al-Faraj, and al-Sâlîr, at Aṣ-Ṣafâ 'Ali b. 'Abd Allah; may their respect long endure.

The aforementioned body of men has agreed with the guild of brokers dealing in estates ( màalthâl) slaves in the name ʿAbd Allah.
al-jālātī narrated, who was a close companion of the Prophet, may the peace of Allah be upon him, the perfection of his speech, mustaffā jālātī of the 'Abbasid caliph's deputy (ṣāhib al-iṣlah) at this time, the son of the late dāwūd al-jālātī Musa b. Muhammad b. 'Abdullāh, holder of office of the 'Abbasid caliph's deputy. Dāwūd b. Muhammad b. 'Abdullāh, al-‘Abbās al-Jālātī b. Musa b. Muhammad al-Jālātī, the late dāwūd of the 'Abbasid caliph's deputy, al-jālātī Musa b. Muhammad al-Jālātī may their respect long endure.

These men have agreed, while in complete and acknowledged possession of their legal faculties that the aforementioned guild of brokers dealing in estate slaves is mutually responsible and liable for each of its members... the legal guaranty (waṣla-nisf) having been accepted for whatever is earned by them in selling of estate slaves on behalf of their customers as has been the past custom. Similarly, thus all are held liable likewise to contribute from the by-products of slaves possessed by way of the liquidation of estates will give over to the central treasury (bārī‘ al-‘awlād) a third of the aforementioned by-products, a second third, and to the head of the brokers the third third. And if any of them that are not worth the above guild of brokers, the third third shall be divided among themselves, from their people or from their wealth (al-‘awlād) providing that these need be recognized by them and by the aforementioned guild, and provided that the guild shall be recognized by them and by the aforementioned guild, and that the two aforementioned guilds will get in cohesion with old traditions with laws derived from the past and will conform to modern administrative laws and innovating new takes not customarily one; furthermore...
the two forementioned chattels have taken and received in full the amount of the palmyra for the beginning and end of the fiscal
year, 1141, the customary sum of 500 ordinary mea (ppa flaan); taken and received in accordance with complete and perfect legal
regulation, in this court session, and in the presence of the
forementioned witnesses. There remains no balance due of the said
payment sum at the end of the year, nor any part of it.

They have agreed to this in its entirety, being a
mutual agreement, substantiated by legal testimony and dated the
twentieth of Rabi' al-Thani, 1141.

Notes

1. These duties would appear to have been objects of adjacent guilds
under the supervision of the large guild of brokers in the two
markets.

2. On the palmyra, see above, 227.

3. 'Ala'id wa yās sāl ānein; the meaning of this phrase is not clear.

4. In these registers were required to have curators (haraj),
commissioners (ikra'a) since they handled goods which did not belong to
them. Fasc 482 a, 4, 127, (11017/26-6-12).

5. Notes will appear to the 1141, 1141, 1141, 1141, 1141.

6. Haraj is translated as qib 'al-&nāwā. The nature of this usual
fee is unclear. "Palmyra" was an abbreviation of (4000) praiso
(Rodinson, 217) and thus, we have in Arabic "al-'Ibā"
Vocabulary, (11317, 716). The 'al-'Ibā' means "money given by
petition for the hire of young slaves interpreted in the modern
terms of the qaba' (Fauzi, 11, 111), but the term may have
been used in 1141 for fees paid by brokers to have their names
inscribed briefly on the qaba.'
It is no sin for you that ye seek the bounty of your Lord (by trading.)

Qur'an, Sura 3, 196
("The Cow")

Makana documents provide enough information, despite lacunae, to piece together short biographical sketches of some shaikhs of the al-fad al-envir, or more simply shaikhs of the Wahbi al-Jallaha, and his two grandsons, his immediate successors. Muṣṭafa Ṭiyyī and Ṭalḥ Muṣṭafa Ṭiyyī (who will be treated jointly) and Sulaymān Ismā'īl al-Ṭiyyī who died in 1850. Since these shaikhs became the chief officers of a guild and leading personalities of one of Cairo's great khans, their careers may not have been characteristic of the general Cairo merchant.

Their lives were taken up by numerous administrative duties and their official status tended to set them apart from their colleagues. Nevertheless, their personal histories, their particular activities, problems, relationships, and business ventures all shed light on the commercial world of eighteenth and nineteenth century Cairo, and give personalized meaning to its style and functioning.

Their biographies also reveal interesting inner aspects of the trade with Black Africa. The information derives almost entirely from the Makana archives in Cairo, although some material from the
archive of the Ministry of Information, Cairo, has also proved useful.

As far as is known, only one of those personalities has been men-
tioned in a source other than the documents, and that only in
passing reference.

1. Vide ar-Rajhan al-Manafīṣ, Majālī, 1713-1715

The father of this ar-Rajhan al-Manafīṣ, the first sheikh of
the guild as it was officially sanctioned, was named Abī al-
Harīm and carried the place-name of al-Manafīṣ. Whether in
fact he was born in Harim, a small village in Upper Egypt near
Fārūq,1 may never be known; in any case, the name was hardly
ever used by his son who adopted the nickname al-Manafīṣ.2

Almost nothing is known about the father beyond the fact that
from 1705 to 1710, and possibly as early as 1701, he and his son
were joint tenants of the waqf of al-Manafīṣ, leaving it from the
welal al-Manafīṣ for three-year periods. For the privileges accom-
panying the lease,3 they paid an annual rent during those years
of 19,775 patakas.4 With his father to instruct him, this ar-Rajhan

1 M. Bārî, Sûrat al-Mulk, 2, 297.
2 Of al-Manafīṣ. The meaning of this nickname is not
absolutely clear; a possible derivation is discussed in the text
below.

3 Of the content of the waqf of al-Manafīṣ, Ministry of
Information, Khaṣb al-Manafīṣ, 122, 99 and 106 (Egyptian
1182/11 May 1701 and 1225-26 May 1711/12 May 1712).

4 In addition to the total amount of the rent, the tenants were
obliged to pay fixed fines as well; these varied with the amount
of the rent and the number of the waqf’s properties. (In later docu-
mments, the number of these fines was reduced; see also the note
below.) The al-Manafīṣ constituted a kind of patronal tax paid
by persons who owned properties of the waqf, already rented by
them.

For the equivalent in Egyptian pounds, M. Bārî, “Economic,” 74.
was able to learn, at no special cost to himself, the multi-faceted business of managing a great al-andā in Cairo: it was to remain his life's major pursuit. Not all the al-andā's rental deeds have been preserved, so we cannot know how long his father and then continued to lease it on a joint basis. In 1719, the lease was made out in 'Abd ar-Rahman's name alone and from then onwards, he was on his own.

'Abd ar-Rahman must have been a full-grown man in 1704 since the earliest rental deed mentioning him does not qualify his physical status in any way (which was the normal case when referring to minors). The documents never mention birth dates, but if 'Abd ar-Rahman was a grown man in 1704, his birth date could well be placed some twenty years earlier, perhaps in 1684. His estate was settled in early 1718, corresponding to June, 1719, so it can be assumed he died in the first half of that Christian year. Therefore, his age at the time of death might well have been about 35. This was a great age for any person to attain, especially in a country chronically struck by plagues, but commonly accepted laws of mortality indicate that people who survived four decades of life in these times had a good chance to live to an old age.

2. The usual phrase for a male minor was al-'as or a youth. The term was also used in legal documents in the same manner in 17th-century Egypt. For more information, see <cite>7</cite>.
As tenant (ṣawālīq) of the khāṣṣāt al-Jallān, ʿAbd ar-Rahman assumed tremendous burdens. The basic responsibilities have already been described; 1 what needs to be said here is that they brought him into contact with a wide variety of officials, administrative and judicial as well, no doubt, on a number of military personnel. Experience would provide him with the necessary qualifications needed when he became master of the guild of brokers and merchants located at the waqfāt. To indicate his proprietorship, he was given several titles in court documents al-ṣawālīq 2 and al-Durrāt. 3 That these were still being used even after he had become master of the guild — presumably a higher status — indicates the prestige attached to tenancy.

Around 1718–20, ʿAbd ar-Rahman began to undertake the task of renovating and extending the existing structure of the waqfāt. This is seen by comparing its dependence as described in the 1718 rental contract with those mentioned in the contract dated 1721. 4 On the ground floor level, a large store-room had been transformed from pre-existing walls and chambers while on the second story, seventeen new chambers (ṣawālīq) had been added. On the basis of other documents, it would appear that the day-to-day costs of construction were borne by the tenant. When the

1 Chapter 4, 248–50.
work was completed, the administrator of the waqf al-šaraf was presented with a bill of costs and the tenant was re-informed by being granted some special dispensation, most probably a reduction in the estimate of annual rent due. However, since the new additions increased the total space available in the waqfs, thereby permitting larger numbers of laborers to use its facilities, that annual rent was accordingly raised.1

Further changes were subsequently made during the years when al-Baybars was tenant (and later cheikh of the guild.) By 1168/1755 another 10 chamber-rooms not described in earlier documents had become suitable. In that year, he and his brother, AH, leased the entire complex for the purpose of three full months (nine years) at an annual cost of 95,730 ʿaṭba.2 Some renovations at the waqfs were undertaken for AH's al-Baybars's personal benefit. In 1170/1759 he undertook the renovations on the just finished of which the waqfs's stables and a stone-room were turned into a bakery (harb). In doing so, he spent 56,185 ʿaṭba for cement (ṣanāḥ)—lime, gypsum and clay—for chimes and bricks, adobe, wood, tiles, plastered, mats, and other construction materials as well as for wages (ṣibāb) paid to masons, laborers, surveyors.

1The new additions added 0,320 ʿaṭba to the sum due in 1718.

2Special need—ʿaṭba li al-mustafa, 60; 95 (today AH's al-ṣayfa) 120 Turner 1762).
3ṣibāb ʿaṭba and ṣibāb ʿaṭba.
porter and hauler of dirt to the city's sounds. The work had
probably been completed two months earlier because at that time
he submitted a bill (مطلب) for the amount above to the admin-
istrator of the ġawr waqf. It was witnessed by the ġawr waqf
and scribe attached to the waqf, and by two of 'Abd ar-Rahman's
closest business associates (including the guild's deputy.) The
bakery was rented separately from the rest of the waqf and in
recompense for his services, 'Abd ar-Rahman was allowed to
rent it for only 15 מִלְּחָם for year. 1

All these renovations must have been made at great
expense to his time and energy, but 'Abd ar-Rahman had an obvious
preference for men work. Outside the waqf, he resided in his first
private residence, converting two dwellings into a single house2
and constructing a second residence (see below) from a major animal
enclosure. Thus there is a strong possibility that his nickname,
الحمدينِ (al-ḫadīnī) derived from the Arabic word for balancers
(خادن) and celebrated this particular passion of his.

As early as 1875, 'Abd ar-Rahman is identified in a
Mamluk document as خادم في الشام al-ḫadim bil-bilād. 3
but this position was probably acquired since the waqf was not
formally recognized until 1771. Considering his forty years as
tenant of the waqf, the choice must have been obvious. Even in

1 See AH 277. 163, #151 (5 Jumādā 1275/ 25 August 1756).
2 See AH 277. 168, #152 (5 Jumādā 1275/ 25 August 1756).
3 Pasha 235, 26 (Jumādā 1275/ 25 August 1755); three years later, another document identified him as خادم الر
حمدينِ (6 Jumādā 1275/ 25 August 1756)
his early years at the ḡarbā, he ministered to various needs of
the ḡarbā’s merchants, sometimes taking over debts held against
them by other local merchants and sometimes acting on behalf of
hence, merchants and scholars. His contact with al-Mtāfī brought
him in touch with personalities outside Cairo, and in his great
age, he is found witnessing the sale of a beduinya of land near
the village of al-Futūḥa which had been purchased by the ḡarbā’s
chief, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Other responsibilities he probably assumed are documented in the memoirs of the ḡarbā and are sketched in their biography.

When al-Mtāfī descended upon the ḡarbā once or twice
a year, ḡarbā’s merchants were not only responsible for seeing that
they found lodgings and places to display or store their goods,
but they also had to tend to specific needs. In cases where the
ḡarbā’s merchants failed to stock particular trade items, al-Mtāfī
probably shopped around by himself — going to booksellers and
stationers, to saddlers and fine cloth merchants, to jewelers
and other specialized craftsmen. However, since they purchased

1 For instance, he agreed to take over debts amounting
to 250 qirān and 24 ḡalid issued by two of the ḡarbā’s merchants
for a coffee merchant in ḡarbā’s ḡarbā; M. Umm. 6, p. 60 (Landau
1930/9 June 1720).

2 An administrating qalāʾ for various relatives of
Māḥmūd ḡarbā’s father, Māḥmūd b. Ḥādī, deceased, or purchased
several estates near the village of Ṣināʿa Khān, in ḡarbā’s possession;
M. Umm. 6, p. 69 (Burns 1950/31 August 1721); he acquired
more of the estate of Ṣināʿa Khān, a former merchant at the
ḡarbā’s qalala; M. Umm. 6, p. 65 (M. Umm. 6, 11 November 1721).

3 For 267, 75, p. 61 (M. Umm. 6, 11 January 1721); June 1721). This
ḡarbā, it is evident, had the same of ḡarbā’s merchants
in the trade,
great quantities of cotton and linen goods and liked to have them
tinted blue, the guild of bluets (ichte sppet au slw) and the guild of
merchants selling boughy-made cotton stuffs (ichte sppet au slw)
used to come to the qatla to
crondn business. In 1726, Ahmad ar-Rahman unilaterally levied a
tax on the two guilds amounting to four copper pieces (1stg) on each length (matt) of cloth sold, but the charges of these
guilds did not protest this for five years. Then they went to the
qatla and complained it was muban, an evasion not legally au-
thorized, and Ahmad ar-Rahman brought to court, agreed to cease
collecting it. At the same time, the guilds of bluets promised
him that if he were summoned to the qatla when it was done, he
would take responsibility for the actions of any of his guild
members who might be there doing business with them.1

Of his actual business as a broker or merchant dealing
in slaves, only a few details have survived. His reputation as
head of the guild must have been widely recognized. As the best
known personality at the qatla, private individuals and qatla

2

1In blue cloth, Dey, Mamluk, 1, 97; he believed
it was later. The date is noted in the 1925 French list Ray-
mond, “Die Zeiten,” 155, 34.

2In copper pieces embossed one copper: Dey, frak6
Hass., 1, 179, but in 1751, the rate was 25.10. Following, 1,
1755) however, the weight of drachma of cloth were purchased by
caravan merchants.

3In 516, 81, 152 (12 February 1171/ 17 July 1755).
sent or brought his slaves. However, unlike some of his successors, he was seldom involved in disputes over slave sales that the business side to this enterprise is almost unknown. A boat (qasr) is listed in the inventory made of his property at the time of death and it may indicate he was involved in importing goods from Upper Egypt, via the Nile. He had kept the boat to hire out to importers. However, no specific details of these activities are known. What is certain is that despite the prestige attached to his position and his status as leading merchant of the city, 'Abd ar-Rahman's financial obligations were enormous. This is evidenced in his estate inventory which shows that at the time of death, he owed 28,000 `fibda to the warf al-`ama'li. This may reflect several years' hiatus in the coming of revenues from the interior and a consequent loss of market fees paid to him by visiting merchants.

And ar-Rahman may have relinquished his position to Sha'ban, the guild in 1075/1664 the document recording this act, however, could not be located in the Mamluk archives. He would by then have been in his eighth decade, but he was still active and continued to attend to affairs at the warf. Possibly with

In one instance, the defendant in a dispute over the ownership of a slave declared the slave had been brought to Cairo which was falsified, governed (kif) or 'ordering circumstances, and sent to Hala' bi ar-Rahman al-Mamlakah in 1071.
more time on his hands, and prompt with an eye to alleviate his financial difficulties. He purchased a tax farm in the area of Kafir al-Shali, near in Kurnag District of province. Under the terms of a tax farm, he became responsible for collecting annual taxes due from the villagers and farmers, but he was sure of earning at least a 20 percent profit. No mention is made in 'Abd al-Rahman's inventory of him having been a tax farmer, as it would appear the position had been held for only a short while.

He performed the pilgrimage in the Islamic year of 1130 (July-August, 1718), but he was probably not a deeply religious man. No books are listed in his inventory, not even an incomplete copy of the Qur'an (写道 at hand), nor even a string of prayer beads. He left no bequests to religious figures, nor did his will include any stipulations earmarking special funds for particular mosques or charitable institutions.

For many years, the sheikh maintained a private residence in Satkha, a quarter of the city directly south and west of the Sharif mosque. Several of the wali's merchants had pre-

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1SAN 15, 669, 5/174 (7 Jamā'ī al-Dhīrār 1177/ 11 December 1763), unfortunately the reference could not be corroborated; the original English title should have been cited. For the location of the village, al-Dhīrār, see : 1, 3, 6.

2Ibid. Sharī'ī, 14.

3Before leaving on the pilgrimage, he made his will. See sale: SAN 155, 127, 5/20 Jamā'ī al-Dhīrār 21 June 1763).
and it is easy to imagine *Hab al-Mansuri* finding space in it for visiting notables, from the interior or merchants from Upper Egypt. In addition to the stories of room and store-room, it had a private water supply (fed by cisterns), a bath, a garden (where grapes were cultivated), and on the street outside, a fountain (with copper spigot) which could be used by passers-by. The items

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**Dar al-Mansuri.** The street is mentioned in passing by Habib al-Din al-Suyuti (ii. 270, 325; iii. 97, 98) and by Joseph ("Ville du Caire", 267, 281, 310); nearby were residences of various social personalities. *Hab al-Mansuri* was the owner. *Hab al-Mansuri* had merchants at the bazaar, second houses there.

2. It stood close to the mosque of "Ein Gire," which is mentioned by Habib, ii. 274 (111); iii. 96 (202).

3. It equaled the price of two mansions, and revealed the value of properties owned by great figures of the city. Bayzuni, **Aljami,** ii. 149.

4. *Hab al-Mansuri,* ii. 305 (as called). The exact includes details of the expenses as well as a description of the houses.

5. *Aljami,* ii. 305 (as called). This property had been purchased in 1279 and renovated by the al-Suyuti. An earlier residence of the same owner was later sold in 1272 for 288,000 dinars (27, 000 piasters) of 576. 181, 968 of Jusebi al-Suyuti, *Aljami,* ii. 305 (as called).
of the wāqf stipulated a monthly wage of 30 ḏīrāṣa for a doorkeeper, 40 ḏīrāṣa for a man to clean the fountain, and 10 ḏīrāṣa for a water-carrier to keep the fountain supplied. Obviously, the fountain was a source of great pride. Benefactors of the wāqf were /ājār/ ʿAḅūd aḥbāb al-ʿilmī’s children and their descendants until the line was extinguished, then his brother’s children in the same fashion, and finally the renoun of al-ʿilmī. The stipulations followed an ordinary family wāqf pattern.

The shāhīd limited his real estate holdings in the Wāḥīla al-ʿAlīhī to two store-rooms, one of which was called "the great store-room" in later days. It was often occupied by the shadīq of the Wāḥīla. Since the Wāḥīla al-ʿAlīhī, like almost all the great cemeteries in the city, was part of Ṭabāqat, its dependencies could not be owned outright but only rented. People could 'buy' rights to particular dependencies, such as store-rooms and chamber-rooms, and 'sell' them as they wished. The Ṣafw agency controlling the property collected an annual groundrent (hayyāq) which was usually small and whose amount was always stipulated in the 'purchase' deed. In this manner, Ṣafw controlled store-rooms in the Wāḥīla al-ʿAlīhī and as the

1 The shāhīd’s inventory states that his salary, in fact, was never paid.

2 It was sold as one of the cemeteries (after the shāhīd’s death) for 42 ḏīrāṣa 20 ḏīrāṣa, 20 ḏīrāṣa 2 (to man Ṣāmī al-ʿAlīhī 11th 3, August 12th), and subsequently ended into the possession of /ājār/ ʿAḅūd ʿAḅūd al-ʿilmī. This charity was at a later date.
nearby Waliyat al-Safafir, the "small" Waliyat al-Juljul. From time to time, he purchased other commercial locations, always in the vicinity of his central business quarters. Many of these properties were acquired during the years 1745-9, a possible indication that trade at the Waliyat was particularly prosperous during this period and that numerous cargoes had arrived from the interior.

The shafi'i's real family was small. He had a brother, Nabi, who seems to have been a substantial merchant since he was tenant of the Waliyat al-Makarim. He was a joint tenant, as he already had a pointed out, with his brother of the Waliyat al-Juljul. Nabi al-Kahraman was married twice. His first wife, whose antecedents are unidentifiable, had a daughter named Fadila; he married again in 1556/1731-32, taking as wife on this occasion a freed white slave woman. No children were born or survived of the second marriage, and none were produced by liaisons with any other woman, in the absence of cons. The shafi'i's...
purchased, trained and freed three light-colored slaves, one of whom had been jointly owned by his brother. Two of the slaves, Rimshul and Janda, were elected members of the guild. Rimshul was especially favored and was married to his former master's daughter. He handled various details of the shop's business and became a property owner in his own right.

At the time of his death, Rimshul had amassed, in his ninth decade, had relatively few personal possessions. His wardrobe, for instance, was almost wanting, consisting of two tunics, a red vest, a cloak and a pleated material, a tunic, and a gown. The greater part of his personal wealth derived from livestock (two bulls and a cow), a boat, and three black slaves (two slave girls and one male.) To the sum of these effects was added the value of his bakery and store-weekly at the Haush which made his total estate worth 13 T. 2/3 piasters (80,268 piasters). Against these assets, the re-Nabram held liabilities amounting to nearly three times the value of his personal wealth. The largest debt to the west al-Dawlat has already been mentioned; evidently, the slaves had been unable to pay the quarterly installments due on the re-nabram's rent. This should not suggest, however, that he had withdrawn

1 All are described as "al-Qaryat" or "al-andar."
2 Guild Document II, Appendix, Chapter V.
3 For instance, he mentioned the re-Nabram's debts as listed in the latter's estate inventory.
4 Purported time of writing is by Ben Abraham on 17 February 1269/13 January 1850
5 Estate inventory, Janet et al., p. 135, (in Magness 1971, 1 June 1971).
from active business. On the contrary, an indebtedness of 195
rupiah (13,300 rupiah) was due to two individuals for the price
of three slave girls. Evidence that he was dealing in slaves in
his last months, but neither this business nor whatever income
he earned from the tax farm in Oioa was sufficient to pay off the
individual's expenses. And Manapun's personal finances may never
be completely understood, but it cannot be far wrong to suspect
his penchant for renovating store-fronts and private residences
prove his financial un-dying.

Other claims against the shahab's estate were made in
the name of his wife. Included were the cost of personal jewelry
(a pair of gold bracelets and a string of gold prayer beads),
currency and a slave girl. She and the shahab's daughter
inherited the bakery and store fronts the shahab had held
on to in the Vu\[it al-Jall\[a and elsewhere. The division of
these properties — one-eighth to the wife and seven-eighths
to the daughter — was in accordance with Islamic law. Furthermore,
they retained the use of the shahab's fancy residence which
by being such part of their domain could not be alienated by
persons bearing predecesario's claim against his estate. In this
way, Manapun al-Jall\[a passed on to his family and de-
scendants a personal moment, although they were obliged to limit
the number of occupations to help pay for the debt incurred
while constructing it.

1The total amounted to 250 rupiah, including the last
installment of her betrothal.
2ON 77/2, 670, 2000 (1251/1142), 2000/2, August 1251/3.
The bakery fell into the hands of Sajidah Kamerin finally such time.
2. The origins, Mughārā and Mughafārā. (Revised ed. 1971-

The origins of Mughafarā Mubarī, who converted to
Islam as 'Abd al-Rahman al-Ghanī at Jālibīn and later at
Masqūl, were almost as long as that of his predecessor though his
ascendancy as head of the family was more obscure. His earliest ap-
appearance in Mughafarā documents may have been in 1711 when he was
described as 'a young man beginning to grow a beard.' His death
seems to have occurred between the months of Jamālūd and Jamālū
1886 (December 1772 and January 1773). Thus his active business
career spanned almost sixty years. These were innovative years
in the organization of African trade in Cairo, and Mughafarā's career
reflected its changes.

Few personal details are known about his life. Mughafarā's
father, Mughafarā al-Husayn, was a broker (ṣālihī)
in black slaves in the city and in 1708 purchased a slave-owning
shop for his son in Jālibīn. Whether Mughafarā had his son even
adopted a plantation (ṣālihī) indicating their origins, but sequential
evidence points to a family origin in Upper Egypt. Certainly
they maintained close personal and business ties with Upper Egypt's
traders throughout their lives.

Two key trends stand out in Mughafarā Mubarī's career.

[Text continues on following pages.]

Footnotes:
2. In 1711, 123, 1705 (8 April) al-Manṣūr 172/24 February 1771.
3. See note.
4. Women were traditionally favored by merchants from
Upper Egypt, and many stayed in particular areas. Mughafarā's
daughter was married to a well-known merchant of Jālibīn
but lived in the village of Jālibī, a short distance away. It is
possible that her husband's family may have continued to live in Cairo
with her father's family.
Like his father, he was employed as a professional slave broker. And later trained his own son, Hai, in the same business. Thus three generations of the same family followed each other into the brokerage craft. This was a familiar social pattern, but nowhere less unusual for conditions attached to the khalīfa. \(^1\) Secondly, the Iṣfīṣīs appear to have been a particularly close-knit family, each generation working in close association with the next. This is especially evident in Ḥujjāj’s relationship with Hai, since the two transformed their naturally close familial relationship into an equally close business association. The partnership they set up, which will be described below, was unique among merchants attached to the Ḥaklīyī al-lālinīn, though it was not unusual for some to work in association with their fathers. Because Ḥujjāj Iṣfīṣī’s biography cannot be separated from his son’s, except in point of time, their dual careers should be treated together.

Ḥujjāj Iṣfīṣī was in the brokerage business from a very early age, but neither he nor his father was included in the list of brokers witnessing the earliest preserved slave document (1773). However, in the second (1773), which dealt more entirely with internal slave matters, Ḥujjāj is continued as servo, the second-ranking slave officer. He held this position for about

\(^1\) Chapter III, 132-3, above.
twenty-five years, and although theاجن’s motion in this guild were not accursed or even much apparent, it is evident that he working in conjunction with other merchants at the visage, and in particular with three of them: Hanif ‘Uthayn, ‘Ali ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, and Ayub Handani ‘al-Qādir. 1 The four of them formed the core of the guild during the second half of the eighteenth century, and consequently when it came time for the old sheikh to step aside, it is not surprising that the eldest of the group should have been elected ‘Abd al-Jagham’s successor. In his profession as a broker, اجن's work required a reputation for honesty and trustworthiness since by handling slaves, brokers were in fact entrusted with goods whose value they had to guarantee. That اجن established such a reputation can be seen in the fact that جلیدa deposited goods with him for safe-keeping (تکنّ السحاب) while they travelled to distant places. 2 Brokerage commissions (one percent of sales) could not have provided the means for a prosperous living, and it was no doubt with this object in mind that اجن emphasised in

1 Their relationship is apparent from the number of times they testified on behalf of their master in a great variety of deeds registered at the courts.

2 Estate inventory of اجن al-Qādir (الاهل). Draft 260, p. 223 (in Jordan al-Manṣūr to 28 April 1754). He left quantities of coffee, water, dates, and a slave girl with اجن before leaving for the Hijaz (where he died.)
various commercial enterprises. He invested sums with his
chents to purchase grain, slaves, and other goods in Upper
egypt where prices were lower than in cairo, 1 and his sons
fer, purchased a share (50 percent) of a boat (kufur) berthed
in Old Cairo 2 which may have been used to ship goods between
cairo and Upper Egypt or else hired out for similar purposes.
In these endeavors, Nagif and Naif had the help of Nagif's
slave, Nagif, who was freed and who became, in the manner of
Abd ar-Rahman's freed slaves, an active member of the
guild. 3

It was in connection with their developing business
that Nagif and Naif (then about 26 years old) 2 registered
an amal al-hams (partnership contract) in early 1774. 11

1 the bills to his son-in-law, Ghazal
2 Nagif, 172 D 277, 272, 271 (15 March 1774/ 6
3 July 1774) and he formed a partnership with a Gafa from
Asyut: ET 519, 277, 555 (6 Agadah al-Adas 1146/ 26 June
1774).
4 Naif 59, 59, 946 (18 Shaban 1174/ 17 August 1774).
The price was 688, 821, the boat contained a before, six
care, and four sailing poles.
5 Nagif is mentioned in Qait Ben Benay 1, Ch. 3, Y 269. Nagif purchased a share from the rich and influential
for his son, 598, 599, 820 (51 days later 1174/ 26 September
1774) he was married to the daughter of el-Azhar, 254, 597, 821. 262 D 516, from a village in Upper Egypt (Amur 109,
335, 349 (15 July 1174/ 21 June 1774). He was coming
his residence on 20 February 1774 from el-Azhar.
6 Naif himself (1146/ 26 June 1774) and he has no more been about fifteen years old. On the meaning of 99 424, taqlamiah, 1, 360.
Tamhri 1760, each pledging their movable and immovable assets, including offices (مكتب) to the company. The contract established equal shares in all undertakings for each partner, the sole exception being Mgaṣfa’s later office as sheikh of the guild (which apparently was indivisible). It was witnessed by Abd ar-Rahman ar-Samad, still identified as Baj Shifat al-Jallānī, Malik Ummi, Abū Ḥassan al-Shabbah, and several other merchants from the Vaqfīs al-Jallānī. The test of the All-inclusive partnership contract reads:

[Mgaṣfa] benefit! agreed that all the land Shakh Mgaṣfa’s [self and his son, the aforementioned Hali, oahu], be it in their possession or in the possession of one of them, by way of personal slaves (لاجعة), immovable property, offices (مكتب), merchandise, cash, (bank) debts, movable slaves (أثناي), goods, gold and silver articles (نفيس), furnishings, copper, house- hold effects, movable articles (أثناي), and every- thing else having value, he considered their joint/ property in accordance with the partnership agreement between him and his son, the aforementioned Baj Hali, the portion allotted to Baj Mgaṣfa is one half of all that, and the portion allotted to the said Baj Hali, the remaining half; they also agree that any- thing which he or they bring to pass in the form of wealth, movable goods, possessions, all types of merchandise, debt, or anything else be divided be- tween them half and half; (الثمن) that the real estate referred to in the case of the aforementioned be divided equally between them as well as what each one/ earn from particular offices possession by either; furthermore, that there is nothing jointly or simply among which will not be divided half and half. Their benefit to this in the face of God (may He be glorified!) without whom none gains from them. Furthermore, the two partners will revere/ be considered a single name, so that what is safe with one is safe with the other.

558, 199, 8376 (20 Jumār 472/ 21 September 1760).
In the following two years (1764-5), Muhammad Ali got about solidifying his position in the African trade in Cairo. It may be wondered why he began at this particular time. Perhaps the reasons were related to his predecessor's withdrawal from active direction of the Wāliyat al-Afrīqiya, or perhaps his personal fortune took an upswing as a result of a heavier flow of goods from Black Africa. Whatever the causes spurring his activity, he and his son began to take over offices and employments (mawāleh) traditionally held by people outside the guild hierarchy or the circle of merchants associated with the African trade. They became kifān (witnesses) at the slave market, taking over posts which had been for many years in the family of Shāhān Ṣa'd al-Jumblāli. They were appointed assessors and enumerators of black slaves upon their arrival at the port of Old Cairo, thereby becoming attached to custom administration. At the Wāliyat al-Afrīqiya they purchased the right to collect revenue from the sale of ivory, gun, and feathers imported from Mīnjīn-ad-Dīn, as well as the right to collect earnings from four bridges.

1. While during this decade Manṣūr bases his count on the higher numbers of slave arrivals in Egyptian Antiquities, History, and Society, Vol. 1, pp. 17-20, cited in Gellner, 1, 1, 22.

2. The Montefiore correspondence, pp. 36, 45, 1771/4 (24 August 1771). Other slave sales continued to be held in various sectors of the al-Jumblāli family.

positions relating to the sale of slaves. These rights may have been carved out, or if not, the bazaars would have been obliged to pay salaries of factors to look after them. Regardless of the monetary reward earned, the investiture of these privileges in the Hashem family enhanced their status in the merchant community of the city. At the same time, by bestowing upon them a special family, the government was probably able to maintain a tighter control over profits arising out of trade with the interior.

Although 'Abd al-Rahman al-Hassan lived until 1769, his bazaar seems to have become Hijaz's richest al-balad sometime in 1761-2, and he retained the position for the next ten or eleven years. Even here he was not content to limit himself to a single market, but expanded his operations outward to the market in Mataba' slaves. That extra business this brought him or what additional rights this entailed is not known; perhaps he held membership in the own

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1. For 85, 57, 285 (8 Bshl el-Out 1252/1284/1301/1302).

2. They were actually in the possession of 'Abd al-Rahman's grandson at this date, but they were probably inherited from his father and grandfather.

3. An legal deed registering his election was not found. As early as 1715, he was mentioned as a salih. (1077/9, 412, 598. In Dhabil 1800, III), but in subsequent documents the title is missing. His name crops up regularly but still not continuously, from 1759/1760 onwards. This was the period, moreover, he came to collect tax.

4. As testified by the title used by him in Guild Document 3, appendix, Chapter 9, 699.
broke the guild on his son and two years later.  

At the Medast al-Jallān, the center of Nadjāf and ‘Ali’s operations, numerous decrees from the 1772–3 period reveal their responsibilities to visiting Jallān. As the trade route to Sāfīn became increasingly important to merchants in the trade, it was important upon the death of the Jallān, as the merchants’ spokesmen, to maintain good relations with rulers and traders of this country. An example of their good faith to the sultan of ‘Arūf may be seen in 1773 when ‘Ali ‘Adjī, who had only just succeeded to his father's position, intervened at court to settle a legal claim brought by the heirs of an Egyptian dept who died in Sāfīn. They claimed the deceased man’s property — slaves and other goods — had been seized by Sultan Muhammad Ẓāhir and the sultan’s agents in Cairo for reimbursement. Theoretically, at least, merchants of the sultan’s encampment in the city could be held legally accountable in such cases — provided, of course, that there was proof (hayān) the sultan had given his

1Dār 750, 733, 250, (18 Safa’r 1196/ 10 October 1775), however, tells us that a meeting of the guild guild of the guild of merchants in Saffān was held at the al-Jallān and Jīl al-Islām.

2Jāmil 139, 378, 341 (23 Safa’r 1171/ 10 July 1773). Table 2 also lists the sultan of Sāfīn’s the sams of Sāfīn 1171– 1200 (1773/133 – 1786/137) (personal communication from M. A. O’Yvah).
against poor is act in the particular matter. The dispute was decided by the judge, and some were to reconcile the heirs. The case was dropped. In another instance, a dispute arose between Jabal Mirzil and al-\textit{qirar} \textit{qirar} al-\textit{qirar}, whose fate was not indicated, and both the parties were half the debt owed by the \textit{qirar} to Jabal in an attempt to reconcile the disputants. This case did not end pleasantly, however, for the \textit{qirar} refused to pay anything at all and was consequently jailed. Jabal Mirzil was perhaps too powerful and too inessential at the time to be subjected to the recovery of only half his loss. Other examples of collection shown by shahids to visitors from the \textit{par} were explicit in their frequent occurrence during legal proceedings in Cairo or in their commission carriers to act on behalf of Paris in court. They also attended sessions during which the possi-
sessions of recently deceased heirs were inventoried and evaluated.

Hadjia retired from leadership of the guild in 1773 for reasons relating to his "great age and failing powers."2

Tall proceeded him, providing the only instance in the guild's documented history that the position passed from father to son, and he remained its head for at least eleven years.3 Documents pertaining to activities of the guild, merchants, and habits in the Tekyia archives are surprisingly scarce throughout most of the 1780's and 1950's. Inventories of both Hadjia and Tall Ishaq have been lost or mis-filed, and even their death dates cannot be absolutely certified. However under a deed, although some details of property once in their hands are describable in the will made by Tall Ishaq's daughter, Rima, many years later. Thus we are deprived of the rich, detailed information such documents usually reveal.

Nothing is known, however, of their family connections and complicated though they may be, they do suggest the

1. Letter 107, 22, no. 131 (22 June 1860); December 1773;
2. Letter 110, 11, no. 145 (9 Rabi' II 1187), July 1773.

The last entry pertains to Tall as slave. It states in

Dated 168, 13, no. 154 (22 June 1187); 24 January 1773.

4. By the way, see below. We were very recently offered (payment of $500) to purchase property described here that belongs to the deceased's widow and proceeds-received, all

related to undeveloped real estate. In 1772 an uncle of Tall's was the

residentialgallery (mawal) in 1175. An additional $500 was a 25% share-money in that gallery for which it was originally

owed to him in 1778. All info. 1931, 14 of January 11,

10 December 1771.)
Lutfi became closely allied with old and established merchant families in Asyut and Cairo. It would seem here to be a case of upward mobility. Moharram Lutfi, as was suggested in the beginning of this sketch, was of Upper Egyptian background.

His daughter, Sittata, was married to Shaba'in Muhammad al-Dinawi, merchant of Asyut and Cairo.1 His family was originally from Asyut, a suburb of Asyut, but had probably moved to the latter city sometime in the sixteenth century. Shaba'in had succeeded well enough in trade — in gun, natron, jaggery, and slaves2 — to have become a land renter.3 Later generations of the family, though indirectly not in direct descent from Shaba'in and Sittata, became kadiya (an office vaguely resembling squire) in Asyut in the eighteenth century and were inter-married with the merchant and landed nobility of the city.4

Sall Lutfi was married to Safiya, a daughter of Rashid Yahya, his father's associate at the sizzit. One daughter,

1 The bridewealth was 175 gil, as noted in the al-Dinawi's inventory, Book 271, 290 (17 Bulaq, 2773) 2 June 1794. This is higher than the bridewealth given for the al-Dinawi's wife and lower than that given for Safiya's father: see above, 291, note 9, and below, 292 note 8.


3 See Chapter V, 203.

4 bibliography on the al-Dinawi family is found in Sudan Figure (al-Dinawi, Shaba'in, 1794, 1794, 1794).
Anna was from this marriage are possibly a son, Ayman, who may have died early. Before her marriage to Malik, Fatima had been married to Yussin al-Mhajrīn, a sugar merchant, and from this had a son named Yaghmūs, called "al-Muhammadi" (who would have become Anna's half-brother). Yaghmūs al-Muhammadi later became a fortune in the sugar trade, exporting large quantities of sugar and other goods to the Hijāz. Much of this business was handled by Abū Bakr al-Yaghmūsī, the wealthiest merchant in Egypt at the turn of the sixteenth century. In addition to his rich establishment in Cairo and upon his death, 6,000 ḥādīs in gifts were distributed to the country's most popular shrine (and to student quarters at Aḥṣab mosque), to followers, free slaves, and a nūdūmida (slave wives). Anna did not inherit
property from Muhammad's estate, but she must have been a member of his household during his lifetime and have shared in his wealthy milieu. She was married to Muhammad's half-brother, a Turk from Istanbul and cousin of Unna Jaffar, one of the best known Abbasid in the city as it was then the white slave market. Amma had personal control of various officers left to her by her father and sister (see below) which necessitated her retaining a factor (ṣ̣ubhak), Salih Agha al-Kanî, to deal with her concerns. She made a will in 813, incorporating in it numerous properties in the city — stores, shops, a bakery, and a large private residence near the al-Qattâ‘i mosque which her grandfather, Mu'āsir, had renovated from several smaller structures. The will's stipulations show she was a religious person and give an idea of how the Islamic law was observed by ladies of prosperous merchant families. Five Qur’anic readers were paid a monthly wage of 25 falsi then to recite the Qur'an at her home (except for the female reader she was given 30 falsi). Each year she gave

1Identified as part of her will document.
3Identified in mül. 52, 82a (9 Bi‘r 11-1256/9 April 1838).
4This was the money remitted by "Abū Ismā‘īl al-
Mirmâ‘id. In 1152 it was converted into 1000 bijlis. This
currency was believed to represent it from the wind of Ihzâma Kəlîm under
now have perpetuated since 1152.
5Draft dated, 9 Bi‘r 11-1256, 82b (9 Bi‘r 11-1256/9
December 1838). The will and its disposition by bi‘r is depos-
ted in "Villa du Kaira," "Haji al-Mirzâ‘id," the holding of these
individuals unclear in details.
180 filds to have her own Qur'an (hamba) reserved (possibly indicating it was constantly used), and during the religious holidays marking the birth of al-Àqmar, the night of the prophet's miraculous ascension to heaven (Ma'âam al-bâna'at), and the nights preceding the great and small feasts (al-azkâ, al-âdd), she allocated 1,800 filds for Qur'anic reading and the distribution of food at her home, and for the recitation of al-Qur'an by hamba.  

In addition to Æsma, Wâli Ìflî had another daughter, Êsma, who was married to Êmer Ênî, a prominent merchant in Hurfa, one of the principal markets of Cairo. For many years her husband had control of some of the offices of his father-in-law, but after Êsma's death in 1873 they were turned over to her surviving sister, Æsma. Neither of the sisters had offspring, and upon Êsma's death, the ìflî family real estate, that portion of it preserved in Êsma's name, passed on to Êsma's relations through her half-brother, in the descendancy of Muğ'am al-Àshârî. Through the innumerable assets of Êflî and Wâli ìflî and through their family marriage alliances, the ìflî family rose from relative obscurity as simple slave workers to a secure position within the well-to-do merchant class of the country.

 יגוס בולסן knew the Imam al-Jazîra quite well before or sometime during the French occupation of Egypt (1798-1801) and died in this office in 1800. The twenty odd years he held the pasha were among the most turbulent in modern Egyptian history, submerging in its normal turmoil and early conquests. Yigos Boulus died the year Tangara fell began his invasion of the Sudan but may have lived long enough to witness the government's intervention to the management of the Viceroy al-Jazîra. He was, therefore, the last of the "traditional" sultans of the pasha. He is also the only sultan whose name is known outside Egyptian records.  

Boulus carries the place-name pasha of al-Jazîra which is taken by the inhabitants of Bani Bani, although the village is known in this study as the terminus of the caravan from the interior. Bani Bani was probably best known in Egypt at the hometown of numerous religious scholars' this being so, the pasha was probably highly prized by merchants at the pasha. Boulus arrived in the capital city sometime in the 1018/1019/1020s/ early 1790s where he encountered (or he had not previously known) various merchants and knew at the Viceroy al-Jazîra.

1 See Chapter VIII, 422 ff.
2 A tentative biography of Yigos Boulus was contained in my "Notes on the Organization of the Viceroy State in Cairo, 1800-1875" PECS.
from his home village. In 1774, he continued to maintain close ties with Mansur's family and acted as Mansur's wakil (representative) in the settlement of the estate of his son, Ibrahim al-Ayyub. By 1778, Abū 'Ubayd had prospered sufficiently from his trade in the akhlīs to purchase part of a store-room nearby. His own agent in this particular transaction was Ahmad al-Bīr, the son of another of Mansur's associates, and Abū 'Ubayd's future father-in-law.

It seems likely that his association with the old core of merchants at the akhlīs strengthened his position among the merchants and laid the groundwork for his becoming their spokesman. Coincidentally, al-Bīr's earliest commercial quarters had been previously owned by Abū 'Ubayd's future wife's brother.

The last decade of the eighteenth century witnessed great turmoil in Cairo, a product of the continuous struggles between Turkish and Qānūnīyya, rival Islamic leaders, which were finally ended with the invasion of a French army in 1798. The reaction in Cairo to the foreign troops was occasionally

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1 These topics have included foreign monopoly, brokerage, qanūnīyya control, and qanūnīyya control, merchants.
2 Akhbar 194, 315, 870 (16 January 1230/26 July 1774).
3 Source: MCT, folio 2 above.
4 Akhbar 252, 29, 37 (7 October 1230/25 October 1774).
violent and twice in the following three years serious uprisings had to be suppressed. Sometimes during this period Sulaiman was

in absentia. 1

It must have been a difficult time for him. In Cairo, a series of new taxes were imposed by the French, including an annual tax on al-Mamluk, which was based on the value of the

estates and the income derived from them. Considering the dimensions of the al-Mamluk, it was probably assessed at the highest rate (1/200) 2

Moreover, being the owner of a small amount of real estate himself, Sulaiman would have been obliged to pay property taxes which the French had established. 3 Other taxes were levied on persons depending on

1 The earliest reference to Sulaiman comes from his in this capacity in a deed dated 1852 when he was employed in settling the estate of暂缓的 al-Mamluk (page 33). French sources, however, indicate he was already in office by 1856.

2 (General Dune to General Buisson, 6 December 1850, quoted in Sollings, 277, footnote 1) as "al-Mamluk" led a living as slave of counter in the hands of the authorities in 1855 (Curtain, 1895, n. 3). Footnote 2

3 Shaw, 1855, p. 181-3.

4 By this date he had purchased three chamber-rooms in al-Mamluk, and additional houses in several quarters along the

Shaw and Washington. He also had part of a store-room at the al-Mamluk.

5 In the inventory of 1852, 13 al-Mamluk, a house in Montpelier Alnoin (East Noy, p. 71), bought earlier al-Mamluk 322-23 (October 1852), property to one of his wife having paid a 1500

and 40 dhs. (15 shillings) to the "French Revenue" (Curtain, 1895, n. 3). The inventory of 1854 gives an extensive view of the house as given in Shaw, 1855, p. 181.
purposely a craft or trade in the city. As the registration of
loans and partnerships, on all property transactions (including
movable and immovable items), and on rental contracts, all of
which must have affected operations at the Musulîm al-zālîṣīa.

The imposition of these taxes, particularly the property tax,
had led to the Cairo uprising of October, 1798, and they
remained an object of popular hatred. Apart from these dis-
concerting events, the richly burdened nation from Dār al-Dīr was
shamed by the French army as Sulîman's Donation, back "Hāl."

Trade relations between Egypt and Dār al-Dīr fell off for the
remaining period of French occupation, and Sulîman's business
must have been seriously reduced. In 1800 Gisard interviewed
him in connection with his study on the commerce of Egypt and
was provided with specific answers to questions about the work-
ings of caravans trade.

Upon departure of the French, Sulîman vie confirmed by
Ottoman authorities in his position as master of merchants
dealing in imported silks, feathers, ivory, gun and other
goods, and it was probably believed that business would
henceforth proceed as on normal basis. This hope proved

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1 The rates ranged from 2 to 5 per cent; 3.5 per cent
was levied on partnership contracts.
2 See Chapter II, 60.
4 Until January 4, Appendix, Chapter V, 271.
error took up the old power struggle. Even when Muhammad V.1 consolidated his authority in the years following 1210 and brought an end to political disputes which had produced chronic disturbances in Cairo, the new pharaoh's determination to make Egypt his power base brought the merchant community of the city under new fiscal and administrative regulations which threatened to disrupt its traditional conduct of business.  

During these years, Dalija seems to have done fairly well in business, judging from the list of personal belongings in his inventory, the title deed to his various properties, and his way of living. Whether this accumulation of these possessions represented a personal triumph over the unsettling political events or whether in fact the effect of Muhammad V.1's policies on the common people has been exaggerated cannot yet be assessed. In any event, the Dalija family was able to purchase several small buildings and two large rooms (mawaz) of adobe, plasterwork which he seems to have added onto a simple, grass-covered horn. 2 The new residence was erected

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1Particularly due preference to trade connexions (see Chapter III) receives relation to any political or fiscal matters inDamascus, Tripoli, Homs. Included probably, the slave market.

2Euphorion Si from 1210, Damascus, 129, in reference to the amount of the hire-price with privilege of the real estate given to employ any slave and is estimated in 1210 to 1,000 260 piastres. Dalijas with received an 845. It is known on the value of the land establishment in 1210 as 1,000 with in Dalija's inventory. The last should have been 260 (including 5,000) 1/3 of the total value of the hire-price (from 1210).

Aqira, Deyab, 18, 1819, p. 14: A. Husain, Homs, 1819, 20 June 1819. The property was purchased in 1210.30.
in a small back street known as ‘Abbas al-Madin, in the gen-
eral quarter called Ghaz al-Dawla and not far from the
Asfar mosque. The street was famous for the al-Aliaa, a
school built in the ninth century at the request of several
well-known scholars who were there and according to Shams
members of the Asfar family used to teach at the school from
time to time. Among al-Isan’s immediate neighbors were the
heads of the religious establishment of the city, and less
immediate neighbors included several colleagues of his from
the Wadi al-Jalil.3

The deed to these properties,4 registered after
his death, consists thirteen holdings altogether, most of them
located at the Khayat al-Jilal or on the al-Suffi
(formerly al-Qasr). In only one instance was an entire
property acquired (i.e., 150 dirhams), the rest was to three
chamber-menus in the Wadi al-Jalal. All other titles,

1 Ishbara, 11, 190–1 (1931), 92 (92).
2 See notes on p. 357.
3 Assar 372, p. 163 (17 Dec. 1610 AD year. 1581).
4 See notes on p. 357.
including his holdings at the Wāḥjat al-Malājīn, were to
portions of store-rooms, abraha-tents, shops and other
dwellings, the portions ranging from five to thirteen ʿāgin
(out of a possible 24 ʿāgin in each property.) These
included 16 ʿāgin of a store-room at the Wāḥjat al-Malājīn,
14 ʿāgin of a ʿārāba (an apartment over-looking a shop) in ʿāqīn
al-ʿĀlājīn, the alley leading off ʿāqīn al-ʿĀlājīn, 14
ʿāgin of two shops near the Ardār mosque; 16 ʿāgin of a
large store-room in ʿāqīn al-ʿĀlājīn and five ʿāgin of a
shop and store-room in the area then known as ʿāqīn al-ʿĀlājīn
on the same street near the Ardār mosque; in addition he owned
five ʿāgin of five store-rooms in the Wāḥjat al-ʿĀlājīn.1
Most of these properties belonged to already established
family or charitable waifs, and Sulīm paid small yearly ground-
rents to agencies controlling them for the privilege of occupying
the property.3

Earlier it has been shown that prosperous-minded at the
Wāḥjat regularly invested business profits in urban real estate.
The division of commercial properties into individual portions
as small as sixths and eighths was not new, but from the begin-
ning of the nineteenth century onwards, ʿāginīnīn (rent) seems
to have accelerated, quite possibly as a result of the continuing

1These ʿāginīnīn may not have been occupying by the
Sheikh himself, since none of his inventory includes rent due
on the store-room at the Wāḥjat al-ʿĀlājīn.

2He paid 30 ʿāginīn groundrent per year for three ʿāgin
in Wāḥjat al-ʿĀlājīn, 50 ʿāginīn respectively per year for
a store-room in ʿāqīn al-ʿĀlājīn, and his share for the house and
store-room in ʿāqīn al-ʿĀlājīn.
depreciation of local currency and a greater demand for urban property. Property ownership offered something of a hedge against the arbitrary nature of government and uncertain future. On the basis of his portfolio of properties, it would appear that the shaikh's real estate investments were not capital-gaining investments, though they may have realized some small monthly income. This becomes clear when details of some of his real estate operations are examined.

In 1770 Sulîm (and co-bearer) purchased a store-room at the Wohnung al-Tulun for 90 rupees (9,300 fîl). The year before the same store-room had been sold for 80 rupees and in 1769 for a little more than 35 rupees (3,300 fîl). Thus the value of the property had more than doubled within a relatively short period. Although specific knowledge of rents charged for specific store-rooms at the Wohnung is lacking (and it is not known if Sulîm ever leased the building he purchased in 1770), it is known the shaikh was paying 100 fîl per month to rent two other store-rooms in the Wohnung at the time he died, and that a rent of 50 fîl per month per store-room was about average for this period.1

1 See no. 303, Footnote 8 above, 527-30, 530, 538.
(8 November 1497/11 December 1777), Tabaqat 177, 121, 137 (Burkat Budda al-Mabkhara 1375/24 December 1775).

2 Found in his inventory, items 278, 294, 325 (1) and 307-312 (175/1 Octber 1823).

3 Raymond, Histoire, 4, 275, states 10,000 fîl per month average for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
But if he had owned the entire store-room (and not just a half, or smaller portion), and had managed to rent it continuously for twelve months a year, it would have earned as many as thirteen or fourteen years before the initial investment (8,000 figs) were repaid. Even then, a monthly stipend of 50 figs could hardly have meant much to a merchant of Suljön's standing and responsibilities.

Yet real estate did accrue in value, even small portions of property, and this was its virtue. In 1858 and 1864, some twenty years after his death, Suljön's widow sold a number of the shahkh's properties for 10,000 piastres (74,000 figs).¹

Suljön's inventory and waqf deed provide information about his life-style to a degree that is missing in the documents of other shahkh. From them emerges an idea of his material comforts, indulgences and even his personal appearance. He dressed, for instance, in accordance with his social role as shakh and man of property. His wardrobe included a large collection of cotton coats (shahk), which fell to the ankles and had long sleeves; over this, or in place of it, he wore one or several robes (kabash), possibly red, or olive, or multi-colored.²

¹See Ali Kâzım, 238, 239, 241, 245 (both dated 17 January 1864).
²The inventory included 4 ikam and 3 kimars in describing his wardrobe. Note that these are small jackets or cloaks. Unfortunately, 3-7. Long arrived in Kârp shortly after Suljön's death.
Underside his outer garments, he wore a safati, a strip of white material or of striped silk and cotton material (gībag) and girded his waist with a length of white muslin.² Into the sahī he may have tucked the dagger presented among his belongings. On his head, he placed a small silk cap (kandī) and then covered it with a red cloth cap (tirānī) around which he wrapped one of five khātāī chains, a possible sign of his prosperity.³ It formed the turban. He wore no personal jewelry, such as rings, but did smoke a pipe (qeṣaṣ), an expensive amulet with an amber noujoumī. Tobacco was a popular indulgence in the city, then as now.³ Sulaymūn owned a donkey and probably rode it from his home to the harūm each day.

His residence, which it describes in detail in the wool deed, was the storeroom and arranged about a central courtyard the design was typical of houses in its period. It was divided into men’s and women’s quarters. The entrance, where the muslin stayed, included a ground-floor lantern which was used to receive visitors; its floor was covered in stone and tiles, and the walls held recessed cabinets and shelves. Perhaps it was here that he played the small wooden drum listed in his inventory or had it played for him. On the second story was

²Underclothing consisted of loose drawers (każū), long white (qanāt), and gībār, fanamī part of underwear, altogether 25 in number. He also owned a tīmūr, a vest ornamented with gold rings and buttons hal-ṣeṣaīī, worn to have resembled the gībag, a vest worn under the sahī.
⁴Lane, Madooni, 75, 159-60.
found another reception room which probably served as the family room. It was connected to the women's quarters (salas). Also on the second story was the bath whose floor was decorated in colored marble and whose ceiling was perforated by small glass holes through which the sunlight could come. There were numerous small rooms, store-rooms, and closets in the house, as well as a mill and a kitchen. The Shahin's wife, Zainab, had five black slaves (three slave girls and two males) to help her run the house.

The furnishings were simple. They consisted of numerous cushion (19 in number), eight wooden stools (including one in the bath), three mattresses, and only one sitting chair. Throughout the house were scattered chests (seven), cabinets (four), and closets (three). Three lanterns were available for night-time use. Shahin had his own prayer rug, but the remaining rugs were old or in pieces and he seems not to have attached much importance to them. When he retired to bed at night, he wrapped himself in thick quilts in the winter or slept under a mosquito netting (mabkhad) in the summer.

In the kitchen and downstairs storage-rooms were found several household articles. Some of it is described in the Shahin's inventory as 'hardware,' but certain items were identifiable. Foremost was a large collection of copperware (215 pieces) and pottery (probably including water jars and

[To be continued...]

1. Shahin kept a cow and a camel.

2. Of whom we have shadowed.
bowls). Elsewhere were ten wooden boxes, ten copper cups
(7 gurj\'an) and the leather flasks used to hold water
(pannan\'ar). For preparing food, there were two mortars, two
sieves, six cutting instruments (7 gurj\'an) and a variety of
metal ware. A few ceramic pots were stored in one of the nine
baskets and thirty wooden boxes listed in the inventory; ob-
viously only the most portable of these remained to be
inventoried. They included two loads of unwrapt, twelve jars
of saffron, and quantities of coriander, onions, coffee, and a
piece of neem, prepared date wood in making sweets. The mat\'ah
owned two waterkins. In a separate room there was a small
quantity of firewood.1

The Juh\'a\'i\'a house furnishings were not elaborate,
but he probably spent little of his time there. Most of his
day would have been passed at the ham\'la of al-Jahl\'a. He and
his wife had no children of their own nor did he acknowledge
any by other women if he had fathered them. In addition to
his wife, the Jahl\'i\'a family were two second-cousins, sons of
his grandfather's cousin, one of whom, Ibrahim Ali ibn Jahl\'a,
was a merchant at the mat\'ah. The other was a small seller
(ghala\'i\') in Jahl\'a, who was deaf (ghala\'i\' in-qat\'i\'). However, through his
wife's and his own relations, Sal\'ih was connected by ties of
marriage and kinship to at least six merchants at the mat\'ah
during his lifetime, a circumstance which probably fortified

1 Juh\'a\'i\'a, a dry region, possessed 10,364 reeds. Sal\'ih owned 1,500 lamps in the mat\'ah and possessed 1,000 lamps.
his position there. Moreover, his inventory shows he allowed himself to become involved with his relations, providing further evidence to their relationships since no doubt his relations were willing to have this extra leverage to apply against him. A diagram of these relationships is found on page 317.

Suqarı's position as head of the Ḥakālat al-Jalālah benefited villagers from his hometown, Dami and, contributed in a decisive way to the widened role of Maḥānic in the African trade in Cairo. Increasing numbers of them appear in Ḥakālat documents during the early part of the nineteenth century, probably because relatives at the export could give them an automatic entrance into the trade. The shākha's strong commitment to his Ḥakālat relations is, in fact, documented in the will of his residence on Ḥakālat al-Jalālah. It stated that the property was to be eventually enjoyed by any of his or his wife's relations living in the city.

Suqarı freed one of his slaves, Ḥajāj, and died owing him 10,882 dinars. The debt suggests that Ḥajāj, like so many Ḥakālat slaves in Egypt, continued to serve in his former master's employment after emancipation. The shākha also employed the services of the personal servants, Ḥajāj and Ḥājj al-Jalālah.

[Later, he would work closely with the nun, hasūna, in various marriage alliances of Suqarı's family.]
NOTES (Where not otherwise indicated, data is taken from Kāfi Baytūn’s inventory)

2. Ṭūlī Sallāh; close friend of Ḫālit ibn Ṭūlī; dealt in slaves, watermelons, catrorn, etc., extensively and other items (Inventory: Astar 326, 479, 546a, 118b/1791).
3. Shaikh of the Wazīrat, ca. 1795–98; lent sums (30,000 figures) to Sultān who deceased him.
4. Ṭūlī Sallāh and currentee at the Wazīrat; had goods worth 30,000 figures.
5. Currentee at the Wazīrat at time of latter’s death.
6. Ṭūlī Sallāh at the Wazīrat; owned houses near Baytūn’s and was an associate of his; heirs owed 30,000 figures by Baytūn (Inventory: Astar 255, 277, 122a/1823).
7. Wazīrat at the Wazīrat owed 3,000 figures to Baytūn later he purchased houses near Sultān’s City residence (Wazīrat, 52a, 1823, Registered 328b/1822).
8. Both Ḫālit ibn Ṭūlī and Wazīrat at the Wazīrat (Baytūn’s Inventory: Tābiyat 24, 45-5, 1852/1856).
9. Ḫālit ibn Ṭūlī and Wazīrat at the Wazīrat was one-time partner of Ṭūlī ibn Ṭulī ibn Ṭūlī (Baytūn’s Inventory: Tābiyat 23, 167-9, 1823/1824).
and "Thanias." They lived in Sultân's house where they were given room and board but, apparently, no fixed salary. Sultân's debts, compiled after his death, were largely incurred in connection with personal effects and household articles, such as clothing, tobacco, sugar and candy, and imply the shahin and his factors as spendthrifts rather than as business associates.

Sultân's personal possessions, including five slaves, were evaluated at 347,813 fînâ', but various claims reduced the estate to 55,824 fînâ', a relatively small sum considering the meager value of the fînâ' in 1820. His wife, however, inherited a share of the shahin's portfolio of properties and was assured of a home, under the terms of her husband's will, for the rest of her life. She had no need, as Mîd-ar-Jâfâr al-Hasânî's widow had, to sell real estate assets in order to settle the shahin's estate. Sultân was given a customary funeral, costing 55,175 fînâ', which probably covered the expense of several traditional ceremonies — one called al-âmâr, performed the night after the burial at the instigation of the deceased at which time a group of mîrâjîs recited chapters from the Qur'an and praises of God, and another called al-ajâb, performed on the Friday after the burial. On each occasion wine and bread would have been distributed to the poor.

1Both are identified in Sultân's inventory, Anâr 29A, 327 (cf. Hâfiş, Al-Butâk, 183, nos. 65-79.)
2On these ceremonies, Lane, "Economy," (118).
Of all the goods brought from the interior to be sold in Cairo, slaves were at once the easiest and most difficult to dispose of in the market. The steady demand for slaves from those classes of Egyptian society that could afford them, the military elite, members of the religious establishment, moderately rich and wealthy merchants, and in the nineteenth century, the burgeoning bureaucracy, meant that a seller of slaves need not wait long before finding a client. At special periods, demand for slaves might have been particularly keen, such as during the 1750's when many mudhār houses began strengthening their private armies, but by and large it was the peculiar climate and health conditions and the political and cultural traditions of the country which assured a steadiness in the commerce of slaves. The unfortunate susceptibility of slaves to plagues, smallpox and other diseases in the country, the slave tradition of the ruling class, itself composed of former slaves, and the custom of marrying slaves who had served in families.

See Chapter 77, 295.

The sources cited are varied. Heavy reliance has been placed on a variety of documents from the Nafh al-manāhūt archives, from inventories and purchase deeds to individual court disputes. The latter documents (which dated) are particularly

1See Chapter 77, No. 56 for question 5 below.
for years produced a chronic need for slave replacements.

The difficulties in selling slaves stemmed from the many imponderables of the trade. These reflected in varying degrees the import duties levied on slaves, the peculiar tastes exhibited by buyers for particular types and conditions of slaves, the political and health conditions prevailing in the country, the specific social background and economic situation of buyer and seller, and the specific sale arrangements concluded between the two parties. Against all these considerations must be placed the erratic methods of supply from the interior, dependent as they were on the march of caravans which were themselves subject to all sorts of delays and non-economic considerations. No doubt an abundance of newly imported slaves was reflected in current prices at a particular market, but the role played by supply and demand factors in determining slave prices has probably been exaggerated. This chapter will attempt to deal with rules that were applied in this peculiar context and to identify where possible the imponderables that are affecting the trade in slaves.

The sources used are varied. Heavy reliance has been placed on a variety of documents from the Cunliffe archives, from inventories and purchase deeds to individual court disputes. The latter documents (flora civilis) are particularly

1Cunliffe, II, 155 and section 5 below.
valuable as they present the facts of transactions that actually took place and in some cases, actual words spoken by disputing parties. They give detailed information of sale agreements concluded between buyer and seller and often provide interesting peripheral information about the relationship between one of between buyer and his slave or seller and his former slave.

Many of these disputes date from the period 1825-1845 when it would appear the influx of black slaves became extraordinarily great, and although this period lies outside the chronology of this dissertation there is no reason to believe the procedures of slave trading had undergone any alteration from those followed in the eighteenth century, or for that matter since medieval times.

The indigenous material is supplemented, though not directly, by a small treatise written in the seventeenth or eighteenth century by Bahaeddin al-Saffah, titled Musa'id al-Saffah al-Manafi' al-Insaniyya fi Yaqin al-Faradah wa-Tabaqat al-Daula. The treatise, twelve printed pages in length, was written as a manual to aid prospective buyers and to broken up into seven small chapters and a conclusion. It bears a resemblance to earlier guides on the art of slave buying such as

The text was printed by Mr. W. S. Sartisfied and published in the series English Al-Arabiyya, vol. 1, p. 181 (London, 1961). The other and more complete edition is not that of the original manuscript, and it is not clear to what extent. It is possible that this work was first translated by the first editor, was consulted by Durand (see Durand, 1970).
as Ibn Majah's 'Usul fi-l-qawa'id wa 'usul al-ahad'1 or the section "On the Purchase of Slaves" in the well-known
Mirror for Princes. 2 The ideas presented in al-Jawhari’s work, therefore, were hardly new, but since they were reflected by
an Egyptian during a period roughly contemporary with Majah’s records, they may be considered pertinent.

There is also a large amount of material from European sources, written by travellers who almost never failed to visit
the Slave market in Cairo and to describe its condition. Their information is often distorted and must be used with caution.
A few managed to spend longer periods in the country, became attached to Egyptian families, and in some cases seem to have
correctly reflected Egyptian attitudes toward slave trading, its problems and peculiarities. Their information has been
used where it is corroborated by material from indigenous sources or where it realistically elaborates a point not evi-
dent in those sources. No attempt has been made in this chapter to deal with the condition of servitude in Egypt per se, although
it is certain that a description of the methods employed in slave trading and the problems it encountered reveals a great deal

1Discussed recently by Bernard Lewis in his Race and Color in Islam (New York, 1972). An earlier version bearing the
same title was published in Article Turn in Frontier (August, 1970) 16-26.
about the attitudes ordinarily Egyptians held towards slaves
and slavery.

1. Professional

Most black slaves sold in the Cairo markets were
treated as or (slave or slave girl) and in the case of
males, the term was used to distinguish them from white slaves
who were called amelia (maid, maids). When Egyptians commonly
refer to black slaves, an adjective of color is almost always
attached. In the nineteenth century, the varieties were invariably
black (amar, am, ama) or light-colored (abram, am, ama).

Merchants sometimes tended to specialize in one or the other
being known as "merchant in black slaves" or "merchant in light-
colored slaves." 2 (mar), a term usually applied to slaves from
Ethiopia, was and still is applied colloquially to persons with
dark complexion, so that (mar) did not always indicate the nature
of a slave. The color difference between mar and am was
probably insignificant, 3 but since Egyptian slaves

1 These distinctions are described in the article "Old,
2 (second edition), I, 2248. Slaves black were known as
(Tawer) negro slaves and were known. (mar) was additionally applied
to them, such as (mar), the (mar) to a sick (mar)
who had been treated by the Egyptian army.
3 (mar) was also in the (mar) sense or (mar) as well.
It might be said of an Egyptian who has spent too
much time in the sun and whose complexion had darkened.

4 Thus the same person might be called (mar) and (mar).
For an example, chapter 7, Appendix 62.
were generally considered more reputable than other slaves, slaves may have preferred being known as قالبٌ (arabic) to سالبٌ. Other colors, including red (أحمر), yellow (أصفر) and green (أخضر) were applied to slaves from Africa, but very rarely and in ways not absolutely clear.

Within this general color scheme a number of African nationalities were known. Considering, however, the enormous variety of nation and tribal groupings in black Africa, the relatively restricted use of national or tribal names listed in Nubian documents suggests either the Egyptians knew little or cared little about the nationalities of black slaves they purchased or that the nubian slaves from their birthplaces was too foreign to the Egyptian ear and consequently suppressed. Nonetheless, specific differences were sometimes noted as, for example, in an enumeration (مكتبة) provided by Qusa Pasha (the Ottoman governor, 1806-07) where his four Egyptian slaves are identified as al-Baha, al-Mahdi, al-Salar, and al-Asmar. Then a distinct province, area or tribal group in

...
that country. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries vast  
Ethiopian slaves were not known, but slaves, and occasionally  
this fact was noted in legal deeds registered in the courts.  

Most black slaves came from regions of Africa bordering on  
kingdoms that maintained direct commercial relations with  
Egypt. By the time they reached Cairo, their real nationality  
was lost (or suppressed) and they were usually given the na-  
tionality of the country from which they were exported. Fol-  
lowing the lines of commercial routes as set forth in the first  
chapter, blacks from the western route were generally called  
al-Faransi (though this may have been applied to people from  
the region of the Niger as well) and often specifically known as  
al-Faransi, indicating an "origin" in the kingdom of Numu.  

It was a popular name in Cairo. From the kingdom of the  
region of the Nubian, the land slaves known as al-Faransi.  

1 Durali, from Durali, near Lake Tana; Falaki, of the  
Falaky (one called black Jews).  

2 Fatjan al-Djedidja, from place of Fatjan, now  
mosque of Djedidja, provided it is identified in our dictionary as  
"of the Jeda people, in Almora," in Tartust 4, 119,  
(1922/19”). See also note 3.

3 Mentioned, for example, in al-Hariri, 11, 19; (12th/  
13th); Arab 20, 164, 115 (111;127); ibid. Ali 226, 37 (120;  
111); ibid. 246, 103, 110; (111;127) and ibid. 21, 85 (111;  
127); ibid. 215, 154, 194 and 197 (127;127). They are a  
reference to documents exist in nineteenth century sources.  

4 al-Ali 277, 11, 95 (111;127).
...and at-šāba. Another in fact these people were members of the Bade, Bātar or Sar Carbon when aggressively dominated the region of Dār al-Fur can be known. A slave trained the name of at-šāba freed by his master in Cairo in 1261/1650, long after the Jazīr were known to have been rulers of the area quite possibly he had belonged to Jazīr peasants which found refuge in the border area between Dār al-Fur and Wadai. 

Likewise it seems improbable that slaves known in Cairo by the name of at-šāba were actually members of the Jazīr nation whose kings were rulers of Dār al-Fur from the seventeenth century onward unless they happened to have been captured and enslaved by warring neighbors. Most slaves exported from Dār al-Fur originated in areas to the south of the Jazīr heartland, known generally as Dār Faran. 

From the area directly south of Egypt along the Sale originated slaves given names of at-šāba²⁶ (though again this...
demonstrated that *mishq* indicate general exposure areas rather than specific locations, *al-mubakkah* and *al-mamshak*.[2] In the early decades of Ottoman rule, many of these slaves were simply called *mamshak*.[3] An ancient name applied to slaves born in the region of present-day Sudan,[4] and as often did they come onto markets of Cairo that the inhabitants of *al-Damashq* was occasionally referred to as *nakilat al-mamshak* from regions west of the Red Sea. Sultanate at *Sudan* may have some slaves called *al-mamshak* in Cairo, although an understanding of this and other *mishq* remains

1 *Mub* 118, 166, 826 (1094/1685). It is described as "red from below" and may have come from the Beria who lived along the Nile Delta.
2 *Mub* 33, 461, 711 (1097/1686). *Sudan* 159, 157, 507 (1104/1693). *Mub* 212, 219, 909 (1109/1697), 714, 739 (1114/1699) passim (1104/1693), the earliest evidence of the *mishq* process.

uncertain. Indeed, it hardly needs pointing out that denota-
tion of black skin color did not always indicate origin in black
Africa. A single name, All-Then, was also employed in Cairo, but
it probably was applied differently to black people rather
than to a particular African place of origin, such as the eastern
coast.

Purchasers, writing from the vantage point of the slave
market in Jeddah, described traders as being attentive to the
origins of slaves since "long experience has proved to them
that there is little variety of earmarks amongst individuals
of the same nation. As far as can be judged, the discrimina-
ting taste exhibited there — where buyers selected the virtues
of Hausa and Beninids and were less happy with slaves from the
Parti — was not as widespread in Cairo. General preferences,
nevertheless, did exist (if imprecise accounts of these are accu-
rate) so that slaves from the Yoruba were considered honest
and hard-working while those from "Kiswah" were judged more
handsome. Slaves from "Amhar" (or, more accurately, Tigréns)
are reported to have been docile and intelligent. Egyptian slaves in particular were highly regarded, not so much for their skill in household work (which was discounted) but for their beauty. There was undoubtedly in this particular preference a general sentiment that slave women among them could be satisfactorily exploited on a sexual basis by buyers. While Egyptians may not have been (or have cared to distinguish slaves of particular origins, they did place heavy reliance on being able to detect a slave's character by carefully examining his or her body. The physical appearance of slaves, however, may indeed have had the same results as an approach which incorporated more strictly racist ideas. Nicole Gontier was told by a native of Cilicia in the late sixteenth century that "now could recognize the good slaves by certain traits, and that it was very important to examine the shape of their pelvis... that a truthful observer could tell you in advance the quality or defects of a slave simply by inspecting his mouth." This is

1 Parke, loc. cit.

2 Without, op. cit. The idea that Egyptian women possessed negative sexual power is still expressed in English, on Egyptian slaves in general, Lane, 'Egyptian', 190-1. Braidotti, xx, claims no particular preference was shown for them.

3 See Horsfield, 'Persia', 1867; R. H. Fawkes, 1837, also mentioning slaves by the name males were fetched by instructions of a slave's complexion, including the whiteness of the skin, lines, eyes, shape, outline, size of nose and color of hair, and color of the nails. By the same means and methods, are beaten as for the male, with a lashed whip, and the slave may even be sent to sea to bear the consequences of the master's all the above, in large and small, were at once exposed, exposed that the Egyptian slave underwent the dangers of

EXAMPLE of the approach, BEARDS USED to inspect the following body features

- GROWTH of hair. Hair that is thin to touch, sparse, or unusually growing indicates poor quality in the body nature (dards). Baldness indicates a deficiency of this matter while soft hair indicates a normally abnormally. The hair should be

- Greedy growth, pp. 170, 172. It was shown medical treatment and made possible contributions in healing and gymnastics.

4 Parke, loc. cit. In this review, author of previous works, including Rush, B. The matter in this text was written, was 1845, and edited, 1857, 1859.

5 Taken in the author's present, 1845.
protesting, he will be cunning; if bulging and small, like a lobster's, he will be treacherous, and given to lust; if bulging and closely set, cunning and revengeful; if large and shivering with small pupils, given to evil deeds; if large and flattening with large pupils, given to stupidity. If the eyes are white, the pupils will be keen if they are white and round and lumps are found on his face, this is a sign of longevity. Good eyes are bluish-black, neither tinted by yellow or red flecks, nor hazy.

1. 

If they are very black, this indicates somberness; if blue and small, the slave will be lazy and given to malicious pursuits; if blue but flattened by yellow spots, he will have a sad character; if his eyes are blue and his complexion fair, this, too, indicates a wicked nature, exceeded only by those whose blue eyes are flecked with yellow and green spots or whose eyes have white or red flecks in them. Symbolically, with reddish veins indicates the presence of phlegm (vita or

ruptured).

2. 

Blistering: Enterystroms indicate anxiety and melancholy; the slave will prove inconstant.

3. 

Hepatica; Jull, lines 7-12.

After always the author would seem to be referring to the eyes in general or to a specific part of the eye. Given in all the cases in the notes to 71.14, 71.17, the eye is an indication in the case where eyes were separated specifically to indicate to either the white or the eye, slave, again, allegedly, the advice in order for the slave was to be upheld unconditionally.

4. 

Hepatica; 71.14-71.16, line 1.
If they are gathered, the slave will have poor vision. If they are droopy and heavy, he will become coarse, money and lazy. If they are folded over or fallen without cause, this is an indication of a cunning, stupid and lying nature.

(The author then suggests the master test the slave’s eye-sight by asking him to discern near and distant objects. If he proves to be uncoordinated, this indicates some parasite has entered his body and affected the slave’s sight quickly.)

If the ears are thin and the slave fails to respond to questioning, his hearing is impaired, indicating a tightness in the eardrum or of the flesh about it, possibly resulting from the presence of a wart, or a grain of sand, a bean, or a hair, or dirt; if it cannot be removed, then it will be a serious defect. If the ear is large, the slave will be ignorant, lazy, but impulsive.

If it is steady and sensitive, this indicates very growth of hair in the ear case. (The author advises taking the slave into a warm climate so that these hair cases are clearly visible.) We have seen that people with narrow-sighted minds enjoy disorders and that those with wider and fuller-view minds are slow in perception.
pale lips indicate poor health and untrustworthiness.

**Cheek.** Fat cheeks show a coarse nature.

**Tongue.** A thick tongue which indicates the ability of a slave to enunciates words properly should be examined for texture and length. It may have been partially cut or its nerves damaged, or his unclear speech may simply indicate some teeth are missing. If stones are found on the tongue, which have healed over, the buyer should ask the owner the reason for it. If he tells him the slave once had an inflamed throat or a swelling which burst and then healed over, the buyer should not purchase him; it may indicate he had gone mad and had bitten his tongue.

**Voice.** An unsteady, hoarse voice may well indicate that the slave will become lazy and unmannerly. Learned men have said that beauty of voice indicates a stupid nature.

**Teeth.** If the middle incisors, canines or molars are missing, this not only affects from the slave’s personal appearance but also prevents clear speech and involves proper mastication. If the teeth have fallen out before he reached the age of adolescence, they will grow back stronger than before.

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*Notes:* 

- Markovtsev, V.M., lines 4-5.
- Striel, M.T., lines 5-6.
- Ivanov, V.P., lines 12-13.
- Skalnikov, V.I., lines 15-20, 1-3, lines 1-2.
if they fell out after that time, they will not return. Ibn Al-Jawzi said that a space between the teeth, or a thinness and weakness in the teeth themselves, are indications of a weakness in the entire body and a short life-span.

**Remark 1:** If they are generated;* fluffy or contain some, this will indicate a bug nature. If his breath is obnoxious, this may be due to rotting gums, a decayed molar tooth or a passing flight in the stomach. If it is the first of these, an extraction and hot ointments can be applied to destroy them; if it is the second, the tooth may be extracted, but no easy cure exists if it is the third.

**Remark 2:** If it has fallen to the lower part of the throat, this is a serious defect since whenever it swells, it will produce choking. If it is fluffy, this too will result in frequent nausea.

**Remark 3:** It should be explained on the outside and the glands located there should be manipulated. If there are visible

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and found unyielding to the touch, this indicates the presence of
sarcopeniae.

Color of the Hair: If found slightly red, the slave will
shortly go white. A delicate color indicates deficiency, even
black color indicates ill-nature.

Size of the Face: A round face indicates a stupid
nature; an emaciated face means the slave has a serious bent
(is interested in affairs). If it is so small, he will be mean,
but not critical and given to flattery. If elongated, he will
be amiable.

Neck: A short neck indicates cunning and hypocrisy.
A long and thin neck indicates a bluntness, stupid and cowardly
disposition. If he has much hair there, he will be stupid and
hot-tempered.

These remarks constitutedigraphed as follows: The descrip-
tion of "characteristic stemming from the region of the head
and neck" and it would even likely that had Europe followed its
advice to the letter, they might never have found a suitable
slave. Still, the inspection of slaves was a major aspect
of the trade. The usual terms used in various documents by
author...
this business were hard and unpleasant, other words were occasionally used, such as 'laziness', indicating a more attentive examination, and 'small.' 4 They were perhaps sternly by a seller in a dispute with a buyer with the implication that the slave girl in question had been examined so thoroughly she had been "turned upside down." Some foreign visitors to the slave market described these inspections by expressing that they saw the way in which livestock was held in their own countries. 5 Buyers were seen to raise the upper lip to see the teeth and tongue, to open the eyes, pull out the ears, 6 and extend the elbows. The slave would be told to stand up, sit down, 7 walk, 8 move,

1 Talmud, B. Mez. 30b (11b/2b),
2 Ibn Idris, al-Masalik al-Mamalik, 2:168 (236/1239); however, the horn was used in the title of a book by al-Mu'addib ibn Khallil,
3 The manner of 'Jama'at al-Din', cited in the lexicon
4 parts (Dictionnaire de la Langue Arabe) under the entry
5 Arab, Tribes, 8:131, 139 (J. B. Pritchett, Tribes of Arabia, 2:120, fig. 24, 1928); in the
6 Arab, Tribes, 8:131, 139 (J. B. Pritchett, Tribes of Arabia, 2:120, fig. 24, 1928)
7 Fritsch, Germanisch, 1:743 (New York, 1927), 96.
8 Perhaps to rule the inspection outlined by al-Hashimi above.
9 Al-Hashimi, al-Sabil (Cairo: Ma'had al-Tanzim, 1933), if this in practice, the effect of this peculiar examination remains uncertain.

6 Al-Hashimi, al-Sabil, 1:745, specifies that buyers have one slave lie down on his back, the bare crotch of the crotch, then place the inner thighs of only this slave down, to show the area of the slave's anal aperture. However, the does not seem to what to discover the condition of the slave's anal aperture.
7 This was likewise recommended by al-Hashimi. 8 In order to inspect the anal aperture of the male. It is here pertinent, it would indicate certain points and location of the anus, the male market existed in the manner of appearance of the body.

8 al-Hashimi's way was considered a "test" in the slave's condition. See below.
and saw his limbs. Slaves buyers may have had the ability to see these impressions to determine the character of the slave they were examining, but most were probably trying to locate the slave’s ailments, if any. His physical condition, as will be shown below, was a matter of slave control and perhaps the chief factor in determining the slave’s value.

In addition to general notions of rationality, slaves were categorically classified by age groups. Dyens and decimals below the age of fifteen were given trade names reflecting their height (but whose age equivalents were understood) while above over fifteen were roughly categorized by age groupings (small, mature, full grown, etc.). The unit used in reckoning height was the hand-span, as provided on an untrained hand from the thumb to the tip of the fifth finger, and then applied to the person from nose to nape. The smallest might have been bari, these hand-spans while the tallest might have been mabila, or six hand-spans. These were not approximated in years. Those measuring five hand-spans (bale) were counted as to be over ten or eleven years old and those more than ten or fifteen years.

1Balbinum and Brumary, loc. cit.
2Tremou, J. (1830), “V.
3Balbinum, Aquaton, 203; Daven, “V.
4Balbinum, a slave’s ignorance about slaves was also known. (Lavater, 1775; Tomlinson, 1797; see also R. C. L. M. 1955; above the head, the slave will be weak in mind, and vice versa.)
6Milton, C. (1790; Ed. 1847), “V. C.
7Timmerman, J. (1940), “V. C.
8Smollett, T. (1771), “V. C.
9Able and Brumary, loc. cit.
10Able and Brumary, loc. cit.
11Able and Brumary, loc. cit.
12Able and Brumary, loc. cit.
13Able and Brumary, loc. cit.
14Able and Brumary, loc. cit.
15Able and Brumary, loc. cit.
16Able and Brumary, loc. cit.
17Able and Brumary, loc. cit.
18Able and Brumary, loc. cit.
twentieth century and perhaps date much earlier.1

Said (see the footnote, note 1) slaves are mentioned
more often in Aleppo records than in any other city, and
the reason being that they were more highly valued.2

During in Cairo
showed a strong preference for young, newly imported
slaves in the belief that their owners had not yet been corrupted or that
only those raised in the owner's family could be trusted.3

There was also an unwillingness to buy slaves who had been brought
up in Arabic elates house for fear that such slaves had picked
up "oriental tricks and bad habits."4 (However, slaves who had
acquired skills rarely could buy and were considered more
valuable.) In the centers already described, female slaves
are said to have stood out from newly imported ones; their
behavior characterized by "artful cunning, and a certain slyness,
importunity, and deadness, mixed with a degree of meekness. They often
make a great face if they are desired to swallow these foods,
and pretend to be enraged and disputing with the purchaser."5

1 Saleh, 1775, 67, 1770 (1775/1776) states the
term was used in Arabic and English in references to 1770, 1773, 1777 (1778/1779
1809) in Table 151, 24, 1773 (1774/1775) 1775, 10. 1.5% (1.1/1809)
for one of the years. It is noted in the German
comment books that the term was and firm organic in 1788 equivalent.

2Hartmann, 1770, 290.

3Saleh, 1773. Slaves would not have been very old
enough to attain any real kind of independence for very long, to
be lasting additions.

4Saleh, 1770, 1775, 1809. (London, 1774),
1791, 1792).

5H. M. Peckham, 1774-75, pp. 129, 139, 141.
(London, 1774), 1775, 1776, 1777.

the prejudice for newly imported slaves was pronounced by
traders, one observer noted, and those who had already been in
household service were occasionally urged to look as though
they had just arrived from the interior. 1 Perhaps these senti-
ments, fostered by Eliza Forten's advice, "Don't settle for a slave
who has strong personal attachments; for he will replace you as master;
nor one who has strong opinions, for he will use his suggestions
against you. Ask for a slave who takes directions well, he is
strong and easily intimidated." 2

2. Market and Seller

Slaves, like any marketable product, could be sold in
portions, singly, or in bulk. It was not uncommon for two
slave merchants to share ownership of a slave, especially if the
slave were valuable and neither merchant had sufficient resources
on hand at the time of the sale. In these cases their portion
would constitute a third or a half of the slave; if it was the
latter, the portion would be treated very well or very poorly. 3
Or else, two or more merchants might establish a partnership to
purchase a group of slaves. This was done, for example, by two

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1St. John, Narrative Sketch, 197.
2Northrup, 907.
3Half ownership is mentioned in Davis, 71, p. 71 (117/1782), 24, p. 24; Davis, 77 (117/1782); 24, p. 24; Davis, 37 (117/1782); 24, p. 24; Davis, 11, p. 11 (117/1782); 24, p. 24. Half ownership by two or more partners is mentioned in Davis, 11, p. 11 (117/1782).
merchants of Ismāʿīl in the 1780’s who put together capital suffi-
cient to purchase seven slaves. The slaves were collectively
called "heads of slaves" (mithaq), the term "heads" being
applied to livestock as well. Another common unitary term for
slaves was manum, each with some to be synonymous with the
word for slave. Being a purely commercial term, it was applied
to whites as well as blacks.

The majority of slaves, however, were bought and sold
individually. For most merchants, even temporary ownership of
a slave tied up a not inconsiderable part of their working
capital; few merchants at the Ḫaṣāṣa al-Qallāta had more than
four in their possession at the time inventories were enumerat-
ed. There were exceptions: a da‘ī of the Ḫal‘a al-Muqaddasa
who died in 1833 had almost fifty slaves on hand; another mer-
chant, Aḥmad al-Burānī died in Khartoum in 1837 in possession
of 48 slaves (who were transported to Cairo to be sold). Great
for the merchants, including agents of the sukkas, most
probably dealt in smaller if not greater numbers.

1 See Chapter 4, 120. Merchants believed male sales
were common in Upper Egypt: Nalīb, p. 21.
2 See Appendix 1 for a list of male slaves.
4 One Ḫal‘a merchant concerned 10 “heads” of slaves
and two kg. 8 dinārs, or at least 10 slaves. tābar, p. 117.
5 See Chapter 4, 120, note 12 (14/2/1937).
The actual sale of slaves conformed to the general rules governing all transactions of movable goods. Overriding consideration was given to the consent of the bargaining parties, the delivery of money (in cash or by promissory note), and the handing over of the slave purchased. Only then was the sale held to have been legally completed. Thus in all disputes arising from these sales there is found mention of the price having been paid (فارغ الشريعة) to the seller (or having been received (فرغ الشريعة) and of the slave having been handed over (فرغ الشريعة) to the purchaser.

Arrangements to pay for slaves were based on the "right of option" procedure followed in Cairo (and elsewhere in the Islamic world). Buyers were allowed to keep a newly purchased slave a certain period of time during which they were to discover if the slave suffered any disabilities, called defects (فقر الشريعة), which might invalidate the sale. (Specific details of some of these disabilities are described in the following section.) If the buyer was dissatisfied with the slave and his reasons were accepted by the seller (or his claim upheld by a court Judge), the slave could be returned and the financial arrangements cancelled. The "right of option" period usually lasted three days, although a period as

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1 For general commercial law, see D. S. Brinker, ed., The Practice of Cairo (Cairo, 1971), 279-280, 346-347. See also K. M. B.伊斯兰, Islamic Law, 346-347. See also K. M. B.伊斯兰, Islamic Law, 346-347. See also K. M. B.伊斯兰, Islamic Law, 346-347.

above, it appears that the purchase was not usual. In legal terminology, the purchase was said to have legal effect or was
(a purchase in good faith) to reduce it to go through with the sale, the
option being automatically exercised on the day of purchase.

At that time, the seller usually required an initial deposit in
the form of a down payment, compelling the buyer to pay the
balance at the conclusion of the "right to resell" period.

Delayed payments often occurred when the Revenue was brought
after the seller or the buyer's conditions proved unacceptable. How-
ever, if the above died of an illness or accident after he had
been purchased but before the balance was paid, or if he
failed to give his new master's house during this period, the buyer
was still obligated to pay the full amount. Despite
the fact that many, if not most, sales were conducted in this
fashion, sellers were occasionally forced to sue buyers for the
final payment. And conditions where the sale had been accepted

1 The stipulation in § 1812, 294, 309 (1277/7/801).

2 The purchase, in § 112, 576, 575 (2075/7/75).

where the sale is not the "right to resell" (or the "right to
resell" of the sale) subject to the conditions stated in the agreement.

However, the seller claimed that the balance had not been paid. The

3 The sale in 

4 The statute, § 44, 44, 44 (1277/7/801).

5 The sale in 

6 The statute, § 44, 44, 44 (1277/7/801).
by both parties but financial arrangements had broken down, the relationship between buyer and seller could become severely strained. Not in every case were sales conditioned on the slave's state of health. In the nineteenth century buyers could also stipulate that the slave's price included the import duty or that the slave be of a particular nationality.

While it was customary for money to be the medium of exchange, financial arrangements could also include partial payment in grain, cloth and other articles, or rights involve the exchange of one slave for another, the balance being paid in cash.

The specified price in many transactions was one, five, ten or fifteen quarters above or below a rounded sum ($200, $500, $1000, etc.) and we can here evidence of hard bargaining. Sellers almost never offered a price but waited to receive a bid before beginning the bargaining session.

After the sale had been agreed upon in exchange of the

In which we read: a saluto (sword bearer). Notice that he sold the buyer, "I cannot take money; how much do you pay for a slave - how much do you sell?" The seller received the public notice to bid more.

Chapter 84, 85, 86, 87 (1757-1825).

See Chapter 29, 30, 31. In case of "option selling from quality." Elaborate (article 156).

Ann. All 1741, 1, 26, 341/1272/1837.

Ann. All 1741, 1, 26, 341/1272/1837. Such transactions would have been for slavery in the future.

 deed (286/1851) 1, 1, 173, 2, 174, 2, 22, 9, 26
(1936/1951) 1, 173, 2, 174, 2, 22, 9, 26
(1936/1951) 1, 173, 2, 174, 2, 22, 9, 26
(1936/1951) 1, 173, 2, 174, 2, 22, 9, 26
price was higher at evidence that the buyer's intentions were serious: the injection of one, five, or ten plumes could have been made by either of the parties at the conclusion of the scene to signal the acceptance of the other's current sales position. Such small gestures were important in a society where expressions of esteem are customary.

The many possible financial repercussions are exemplified in a series of documents relating to the affairs of 647 had al-‘A‘mad abu ‘Alla al-‘Abbad, abdanada al-‘Abbad (the name), who was killed in the battle of ‘Ajdabiya from 1865 to 1883.1 Most of the documents consist of formal letters and memoranda against his estate by a host of business associates, clients, and employees who had done business with or performed services for him according to his death on or about 5 August 1883.2 It is inventory was drawn up eight days later,3 and from their contents it can be gathered that death had come so suddenly that he had been unable to settle accounts with his numerous creditors. In the months that followed, they pressed his heirs for money he had not paid and even as late as 1885, some debts were still being presented. Alternatively, 72 claims were put forward; they (and apparently

1. A tentative bibliography of this article was prepared in 1914. The final version of the present article was completed in October 1915. The printed version of the article was printed in 1916. The final version was printed in 1917.
other debts not recorded in the quittance rendered the estate a legacy from 65,797 piasters\(^1\) to 6,450 piasters in 51\(^2\).

In addition to these claims, a few documents relating to his trade in earlier years are available.

The documents show that Habib al-Ma’in has the most important merchant at the quittance, as well as dealt with sukkin from the interior, khalis trading into Syria and Turkey, local merchants, and a variety of private slave agents in the city, ranging from non-arab agents (sometimes), soldiers and servants to members of the bureaucracy and the Turkish sultan. In fact a list of the clients presented an interesting glimpse into the slave-trading population of Cairo in 1849. All of them had done business with the quittance, either sending him slaves on consignment or purchasing them from him on an exchange basis. He

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\(^1\) The total amount listed in the Settlement; the total estate was larger.

\(^2\) Pleasure disbursement as given by the public treasury (Ism al-Ma’in, 18/2, 1875, 2536 (12/7/53)).
was known for African slaves — males, females, children, blacks and Filipinos — but his inventory also included several whites.  

In his business at the waterline, Mr. Al-Marzi generally considered one of the financial arrangements was his clientele.  

The first was to agree to sell a slave on consignment from a private owner. The slave was left with the dealer "in a boat," 

Al-Marzi, "by one of safe-keeping," during which time he would try to dispose of his on the market. The dealer's responsibility for the slave was limited, and if something happened to the slave while "on consignment," the dealer would only be held liable for damages if negligence were proven. 

The owner would have come to an agreement with Mrs. Al-Marzi over the value of the slave, but whether this was established at the outset or whether they agreed to let the slave find his own value on the market is unclear. That probably the lower limits were fixed. There is no indication in these records that Mrs. Al-Marzi has proofed a specification for his services, but his services had obviously to be recuperated in some fashion. 

Costs for maintaining the slave while on consignment were borne by the owner's costs. After he had been sold, the sale price 

1 A list of the slaves in his inventory is found in Appendix 3.  

2 Excluded from consideration are "absolute sales," transactions in which slaves were exchanged for cash. 

3 Add 125, 275, 413 (757-757) slaves numbers for a slave who had escaped. The a minimum values were quoted to the slave's owner. 

Appendix 3, Note 3.
was delivered to the former owner. When Al-Visari died, his heirs were held accountable for the value of at least ten slaves who had been consigned to her in this fashion, only one of whom was actually recovered from the estate in person by her former mistress. Presumably all the others had been sold, but the Massih had failed to deliver the mass due.

The second arrangement constituted outright purchase, sealed with delivery of a down payment and an agreement to pay the balance at a later date. Creditors, as common in the eighteenth century, was often extended to the clients in business dealing the slaves and often given or received by merchants in the trade. One advantage of purchase was that it guaranteed the dealer a sure measure of profit, which the consignment of slaves might not. As far as can be determined, there was no fixed rule regarding the amount expected on the down payment. This would depend on the seller's need for each, the purchaser's cash situation, and probably the condition and

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[Page 389]
suitability of the slave, but the valuation of the work done. Sometimes creditors regarded a slave as, a personal debt by which time the loan had to be repaid, but apparently not.

In addition to these two major types of financial arrangements, six other variations were adopted:
1. Exchanging one slave or group of slaves for another. Thus, in one case, an administrative intendent attended by a slave owner (prep. 1870) stole 1,800 slaves, sold them for 3,500 pesos, and was partially compensated by taking a slave girl from him worth 870 pesos (leaving a balance of 0 pesos). The exchange of slaves was not, however, a particularly common procedure among creditors at this time.

2. Agreeing to transfer the payment due from the purchaser to a third party in lieu of a cash payment. This...
arrangement, called ḥāḍir (transfer of liability),\(^1\) was commonly explored in long distance trade because it was often dangerous to transport sums of money. Even in nineteenth century Egypt when provincial security was far greater than it had been in the past, cash advances were taken as a convenient way to pay for purchases made outside the city. Both selling and resident representatives (like ʿābāḍ al-ḥāḍir) were acceptable to transfer payment from one client to another and already owed them money, probably because the client was recognized as a reliable debtor and could be depended upon to honor the debt in full.\(^2\)

3. Standing as guarantor of debts contracted by business associates with third parties. In this case, he is said to be ṣāḥib al-ḥāḍir, to have guaranteed that the contracted debt would be honored and to have assumed full responsibility for it. In a specific example, the ʿābāḍ al-ḥāḍir served as owner of a debt contracted by a niṣāḥb\(^3\) with a local scribe amounting to 2,775 plasters, and to pay off the debt by installment (ṣāḥib al-ḥāḍir) of 50 plasters a month. Only 50 plasters of the debt had been


\(^{2}\)For an example of ḥāḍir, see CRAINER, 1985, pp. 92, 94-95, who explains that a ḥāḍir was a transfer of debt from one party (ṣāḥib al-ḥāḍir) to another (ṣāḥib al-ḥāḍir) with a guarantee (ṣāḥib al-ḥāḍir) of full payment. The ḥāḍir was executed by means of the signet ring (ṣāḥib al-ḥāḍir), so that the owner (ṣāḥib al-ḥāḍir) of the debt could be sent as a guarantee to the ḥāḍir in addition to the ring (ṣāḥib al-ḥāḍir). The ḥāḍir was also executed by means of the signet ring (ṣāḥib al-ḥāḍir), so that the owner (ṣāḥib al-ḥāḍir) of the debt could be sent as a guarantee to the ḥāḍir in addition to the ring (ṣāḥib al-ḥāḍir).
paid off before his death, but having guaranteed the debt, his heirs were held liable for the unpaid balance. ¹ Most likely 'Abd al-Malik had agreed to guarantee the debt in lieu of each payment to the di'īn for cases purchased from him. As such, this arrangement is very much like a ṭarābiṣ agreement.

4. Purchasing slaves in partnership with colleagues at the di'īn. Each partner contributed half the amount needed to purchase the slave.² The partnership agreement needs to have covered this one transaction.

5. Delivering slaves to prospective buyers without having reached a prior agreement (ṣurāt al-ṣirā'ah) over the price.³

6. Accepting a small down payment from prospective buyers in order to purchase in the future a slave who had not yet been put on the market. In this case, 'Abd al-Malik died before the transaction could be ruled.⁴

Both parties were expected to have him recognize his independence to avoid any cumbersome acknowledgment (ṣirā'ah) or

his part (in the presence of witnesses). Such public acknowledgments were considered legally binding.⁵ A few, however, resorted to written documentation which was recorded on a piece

¹Tirmidhī 11, 185; Zaid b. Thabit (127/345). ²Tirmidhī 11, 185; Abu Dāwūd (165/2155). ³Tirmidhī 11, 185; Zaida (125/205). ⁴Tirmidhī 37, 477 (1256/2055). ⁵See Appendix 2, Case 2.
of paper (1.3) bearing his name, seal, date and signature.¹

There was not adopted that code which excluded the merchants in those

one trading out of the Egyptian Delta, the other out of Syr Darya, from

when the master had bought slaves on credit. He was supposed to pay them before they left again for different

parts of the interior.

Another slave dealer brokering fees amounting to

20 slaves to Margarid al-Ma’luf, a broker at the

slave market.²

These were tortured through purchase, not a salvo of slaves

as the fee was usually paid by the buyer.

2. Defective Sales

One of the features of slave trading stemmed from

laws which ostensibly protected buyers from defects in the con-

dition or goods they purchased. A defective condition was

customarily determined as any condition which decreased the

value of the article sold.³ As slaves were considered a
capital

slave.

¹Ibn Ishaq, T. II, p. 1 (1097/1098); Ibn Ishaq, T. III,
10, 13, 16 (1100/1101). The conditions were identical to those of the

slave market in slave states in the

Middle East.


³On defective sales, compare, for instance, the wording of laws

employed in the early modern period in Al-Ma’mur al-Razi’s

Majma’ al-Ahsan, among others. Such a doctrine

influenced the value of the slave on the market.
modity. The trade in slaves fell under the regulation of those laws, and disputes arising from alleged defects in slave sale from the earliest years of [Holland] records.

If a buyer discovered a defect in the condition of a newly purchased slave during the 'right of option' period, he would seek to return the slave to the seller and to have the transaction annulled. If, however, the defective condition were denied by the seller and a settlement of the dispute not reached, the matter was then taken to the courts for a legal decision. There, the buyer not only had to prove the existence of the defective condition but also that it had occurred in the slave before he had been purchased; only then would the law recognize the legitimacy of his claim and order the slave's return to the seller. The seller's best argument was to prove that the buyer had been well aware of the defective condition when he purchased the slave or, secondly, that the slave had developed the defective condition while in the buyer's possession (159 and 170[5]). More than three-quarters of the cases that ended up in the courts went in favor of the sellers, usually vendors in slaves. It would seem, in fact, that the difficulty of establishing these transactions as a form of protection provided by the law

1 [Pedro] 92 (article 97). Moreover, even if the medical examination was conducted the slave found sick to be suffering from an endemic illness, the buyer still had no grounds to object to the sale. Their chief contention was that the consideration (price) was stated in the contract (see Appendix 1, Case 35, Article 13, 251, §551 (1755/1763)).
for selling against the will of their masters. Sometimes disenchanted with goods just purchased. Interestingly, not a few of the slaves were bought by mulatto and resident slave merchants against their colleagues.

In theory, sales could be annulled if the slave were discovered to snore (mene), wet his bed (lah), or to suffer a recurrent illness such as hives or fever. No complaints over entering slaves were located in the Dutch archives, and bed-wetting seems to have been fairly uncommon (though urological disorders were not). Most disputes were based on recurrent illness and in the case of women, pregnancy. The legal basis of the latter defect stemmed from the fact that pregnant slaves or mothers with children had to be maintained at higher cost than ordinary slaves and consequently prices they received at the market were lower. Thus the buyer could claim that he had paid more for the slave than she was actually worth.

Defective slaves were customarily ordered by the courts to be examined by one or two experts, called dikkaka.

Murton, 1, 50, claimed he treated slaves for mene.

Dikkaka (mulatto) with whom he bought 15 slaves.

Dikkaka also performed a variety of other duties including currying, curdling, and selling curdled milk as well as serving as an expert in the courts on matters relating to slaves.

Section 5.
They were medical specialists, usually attested to the famous hospital of Cairo, the Z叠常态岀． These provided services to the courts from an early date. In the mid-nineteenth century, midwives (موالون, sing. مولى) were also attested. The "experts" would examine the slave and report their findings to the judges; their reports frequently disagreed with the slaves of the buyers and even the slaves themselves. In one instance, a slave woman who believed she was pregnant was discovered to be suffering from diarrhea.

Disputes over defects in the condition of newly purchased black slaves provide interesting insights into the standards expected by Egyptian buyers as well as hard data on the health of individual slaves. There is no way of knowing how many slaves were actually rejected by buyers during the three-day "right of option" period. Those slaves which ended up in the courts were for the most part brought by dissatisfied buyers after the termination of the option period. The cases arranged below are drawn from disputes where the health disorder is clearly identified in the testimony submitted to the court; as even they can only represent a portion of the variety of disabilities and illnesses which slaves suffered.

1See appendix 2, Case 3, but All 527, 528, p752 (11/1/1933).
2Appendix 2, Case 41: okun 527, 7-7 (11/7/1933).
3Appendix 2, Case 5.
4Appendix 2, Case 5.
5P-150, 547, p755 (10/5/1933).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sore red swollen eye, white film over eye, pus in lower eyelid and conjunctiva, case meningitis, headache, nausea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Case meningitis, buyer had recovered, signed documents on day of purchase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Case meningitis, received medicine, turned to illar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Case meningitis, given medicine, could not be simplified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Case meningitis, case was found to be more to fail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Case meningitis, case was found to be more to fail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Case meningitis, case was found to be more to fail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Specific Illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neurological</td>
<td>Case dismissed:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>slave found to be well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Case dismissed; girl found to have suffered illness after she was purchased.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Case dismissed; owner had unknowingly been exposed to the illness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Case dismissed; illness occurred after slave was purchased.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Case dismissed; anger could not bear the illness was sick.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Excluded under this heading are illnesses which frequently become hereditary tendencies but which could appear to be due to nervous stress.*

*1Thess. 1:7, 2:21, 4:10 (1707/1718).*

*2Hannah 11:12, 13:5 (1707/1718).*

*3Gal. 1:10 (1707/1718).*

*4Thess. 1:7, 2:21, 4:10 (1707/1718).*

*5Rom. 1:10, 11:3 (1707/1718).*

*6Phil. 1:10, 11:3 (1707/1718).*

*7Rom. 1:10, 11:3 (1707/1718).*

*8Hannah 11:12, 13:5 (1707/1718).*
Uterus: Slight

(Internal)
2. Distal mucus
   excessive discharge
   "emotional" round
   slight mucus discharge.

Ulceration:
1. Tubal (postmenopausal)
   tubal constriction
   erosion.
2. Benign of ovary
   boils of type X
   "external" round
   retention of urinary.
3. Dysmenorrhea and
   fibroid (type VII)
   and cysts.

Menarcrho:
1. Menorrh.
   menstrual fever.

2. Amenorrhea
   with the breast
   swelling and tenderness.

3. Menorrhagia
   with fever in left leg.

Cited diseases:
Illness caused after slave was purchased.
Cited diseases:
Bleeding not fully treated the slave when purchased.
Cited diseases:
Bleeding is a result of poor condition in the days of purchase.

1. **Diarrhea**
   - **Edema**: abdominal.
   - **Bleeding**: hemorrhoids.

2. **Erector hough**
   - **Weakness**

3. **Habitat**: Tetter
   - **Lichenosis**: mild form of pruritus.

4. **Saliva**: high
   - **Taste**: sweet.
   - **Irritation**: mild and short lived.

5. **Milk**: this is
   - **Acidic**: unripe or
     - **Ripe**

6. **Place**: Alcove
   - **Dizziness**: extreme poor health.
Whether these particular ailments resulted from the fatiguing caravan journeys that slaves endured or whether they were the result of the diet given them can only be speculated. No studies on the effect of the long caravan marches on slaves are known, and the diet given to slaves, as is noted below, was very similar to the average Egyptian diet. The effect of the climate — the hot days and cool nights (and even cold nights in the winter), the constant breezes and sudden drafts — was a major factor in the poor health of black slaves. Their susceptibility to infections of all sorts was magnified in the presence, "a blow which stables under an Arab stagger knock's down a slave." Particularly total were washings, shivers and bladders, illnesses hardly ever recorded.

1 Plutarch, De Vita Beati Epiphanii, 225 (1.71-72). The allowed ailments may well have been a pues to force the owner to return the slave to his state. Allowing enough were not uncommon (see Appendix 1), but no one of such over exertion produced themselves to a medical examination done to right.

2 Former travellers have reported that slaves arrived in 40% in a state of great exhaustion.

3 Plutarch, De Vita, X. 15.
In Middle East records,1 the reason may have been that when smallpox epidemics occurred, merchants often sold slaves at a large profit, making it difficult for the slave owners to recover their losses.2 By the end of the 18th century, smallpox was a major health problem in the Middle East, as it was in other regions of the world.3

1 Only one case of smallpox was found in the region of Mesopotamia during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, which was a result of the Persian invasion in 539 BC.4
2 Smallpox is a highly contagious disease that can be prevented by vaccination.5
3 In the 17th century, smallpox was a major health problem in the Middle East, as it was in other regions of the world.6
4 Only one case of smallpox was found in the region of Mesopotamia during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, which was a result of the Persian invasion in 539 BC.7
markets in these regions. Cases of alleged pregnancy seem to have increased sharply in the nineteenth century. Whether this was the result of a high degree of sexual laxity on the part of the Buganda or whether the absence of other women in the country may never be determined. Only in rare cases could Buganda prove their slave women had conceived before they had been purchased.

For either buyer or seller, the essential clue to the girl's condition was evidence of menstruation.

II. VENDORS IN PRACTICE VARIETY

1. SELLING IN PUBLIC MARKETS

Not all slaves were actually sold in the slave markets of Cairo and other large cities in Egypt. Some people,

1Buganda Hall became interested in a vaccination program as early as 1830, but only after many slave recruits for his new red dust of the slave was in officially ordained (in 1821) Ruben, 33% of the population in Buganda, the general health of Buganda. Very informal in nature, the decision was made to invite the residents of Buganda to the clinics in the capital. The decision was made to invite the residents of Buganda to the clinics in the capital. The decision was made to invite the residents of Buganda to the clinics in the capital. The decision was made to invite the residents of Buganda to the clinics in the capital.

2Exeunt, 33% of the population in Buganda, the general health of Buganda. Very informal in nature, the decision was made to invite the residents of Buganda to the clinics in the capital. The decision was made to invite the residents of Buganda to the clinics in the capital. The decision was made to invite the residents of Buganda to the clinics in the capital.

359

The increasing number of men in the case are compiled in Appendix 2, Case 3.
installing yard, preferred to conduct the business in their own houses where they could avoid the public and noise of the large market and the awkwardness of the pulleys. Accordingly, merchants would fix appointments and send away a particular slave as a selection for private inspection. In the mid-nineteenth century, when the government moved the slave markets from the center of Cairo and later Zamalek; then down, business was entirely conducted in private residences—either the merchant's or the prospective buyer's.

If a client wished to buy or dispose of a slave, he could contact a merchant either at his business quarters (hāmil or private residence) or at some public place where the merchant was known to frequent. Arrangements for sales or purchases were carried out privately, but the transaction followed the usual custom: the slave would be examined, the price settled, and the optional period fixed. Already by the first year of the government's new regulations prohibiting such transactions at the Wa'aliṣ al-Qahira, merchants were known to keep their best slaves at home. Curved on Hampson's

1See Edward 2, Case 1.


celebrated by the Egyptians. The cost of maintaining slaves was a serious expense shared by merchants in the trade unless the slave had been held as a hostage for the real owner. The expenses of their upkeep were listed in a fez or maat case (costing for slaves' food and drink). When surveying the slave market in Cairo, he found their diet to consist of the following: lentils, lupins or wheat, maize bread and vegetables, dates and water. They were given only water to drink. Maintenance expenses could run to 8l 1/2 piastres a month. Some merchants bore the cost personally if insured


2 Although Tawfiq's narrative seems to hold absolutely reliable (since his translation was not translated), the content of the "true and ancient," the fact that the slaves arrived in the 18th century and that the "true" element was added to the "true and ancient," as mentioned in the annotation of Tawfiq, is uncertain. However, the notes are as follows:

3 Inventory of the AlJafn, Dec. 11, 1819, Arab No. 416, p. 196 (MSS. VII. 15) and Orm. 1, 216 (MSS. VII. 15) for the cost of maintaining slaves in addition to these items, included with the purchase agreement, and slave meat and rice were also purchased, same, December 1819.

4 He also mentioned that in order to maintain Zafar, Ali-Ben had a period of three months until the king continued to lose control. From 1820, since he was high-minded, the expense may have been more severe.
for other than business reasons. Other expenses which might have to be borne included costs of a funeral if the slave died. In the mid-nineteenth century this could run to 100 pounds. Neither expense would have been borne by the owner if the slave was confined to him.

In the Jewish law, it was customary to separate male
from female slaves. The female slaves were usually lodged in the upper chambers of the building, and were not allowed to be visited by the general public. As many as five to six slaves might be put in a single store-room (whose dimensions varied but averaged 12½
feet by 9½ feet with high ceilings). In winter they were provided with rags. Slaves were rarely beaten or otherwise
would, and then only if a-resistant nature were feared. It would have been difficult for them to escape from the manumission during the day-time when the buildings were usually thrown up, or at night when the streets were barred. But once they were sold and taken into private homes, there were easier avenues for escape and therefore slaves appear to have taken advantage of them.

In the eighteenth century slaves were always clothed, the men much less so than the women. The clothes they were could not be retained by the merchant who sold them and were passed up to the buyer. Usually the women were dressed in long white, blue or brown and yellow striped clothes (kaftan) head-veils and shawls; and often wore some personal jewelry, small brass or silver ornaments or beads. They were always to have been given good butter by the commandant with which theydiles their skins. It wased as a balm in the dry heat of Cairo.
2. Plague

Epidemics of plague or similar regularly visited Egypt, striking particularly violently at Cairo. These epidemics remained a terrible problem until almost the end of the nineteenth century. During the nineteenth century most people went through their lives in quarantine, but most Egyptians continued their daily routines without interruption. Whenever they occurred, trading activity at the ports was halted. As M. el-Assal testified in court a few months after the plague of 1879-80 had occurred, "During the plague (الجسر) no one bought or sold." Kingslake, the British traveller, arrived in Cairo during this time and was told upon visiting the mosques that all transactions were completely out of the question as long as the plague was present. At the time of his visit, there were about fifty black women in the market waiting for the plague to cease.

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1 Plague and cholera epidemics occurred in 1774, 1788, 1794, 1799, 1804, 1818, 1827, 1832, 1837, 1847, 1866, 1879, 1884, 1894, 1899, 1903, 1908, 1925. According to the Aga Khan
2 Such as the description in Appendix 2, Case 1 and 2.
3 Kingslake, 101.
The annual festival (birthday celebration) of opium, called "al-futah," one of the most popular local events in Egypt, took place in Cairo, the large city in the Delta about equidistant between Cairo and Alexandria. It regularly attracted many thousands of visitors, mostly farmers from the nearby area, and merchants from Cairo found it profitable to do business with them during the fair.

It is not known how old the custom was for the "al-futah" festival to exist in Cairo. The earliest specific reference we found was the visit of the al-mu'allaqah "al-futah" in 1800 and possibly again in 1803 (shortly before the battle) while he was still in power. Such, the British consul at Cairo visited the fair in 1807 and found almost everyone there were dealing in opium and black slaves. The fair was a market of Cairo, but even when the fair was not being held, Cairo merchants still sold slaves as part of it.

2 During the battle of 26th July 1803, he purchased a black woman (11,800) and some (18,000) and he said to have sold a black slave and there in 1271 21st June 18, 9, 1873, 131/2/8/6/5) he also bought four other women.
3 Modern records are numberable in alike to Stanley. Cairo, 25th June 1877, 32 1977.
4 (26th July 1803). During the fair, merchants at the al-futah reported local farmers and their slave manufacturers pay their taxes: some year-old in Cairo by the time they are presented with their tax, from Gudin 21st June 2, 271, 35/5 (1295/?177).
Of vital importance to merchants or buyers was the knowledge that the slave purchased was actually the property of the seller with whom they dealt. Even if they could be assured that indeed a slave had been legally purchased from his previous owner, they might be confronted at a later date by people who claimed they were the real owners of the slave and that the slave had been stolen from them or been lost. Regardless of the legality of the particular transaction and of the money spent, the law favored any person who could prove the slave had never been legally sold. Such slaves were not uncommonly heard by Cairene judges and many others now well have been settled out of court.

These cases involved instances where slaves escaped from or had been lost by owners in places outside Cairo — in parts of Upper Egypt, or as far away as Lower Nubia, and the Pur84 — that actually happened to these slaves after they had escaped or been lost can only be imagined. Somehow they managed to be taken to

1 R. J. 315, 316 (1197/1787).
2 ib. 316 (1197/1787).
3 ib. 315 (1197/1787).
4 ib. 310, 311 (1197/1787). See ib. 310 (1197/1787).
5 ib. 310 (1197/1787).
6 ib. 310 (1197/1787).
7 ib. 310 (1197/1787).
Cairo where, by what seems almost miraculous luck, the true owner found the slave in private service in the city. In one case, a judge of the great khan's caravan house and reopened a slave he had lost in Upper Egypt from among a large number of slaves he was bringing to Cairo. He proved the slave was his, and the illegal owner was convicted by the court to restitute the slave to the man who had illegally sold the slave to him. Yet all slaves willingly fled their owners in another case, a merchant travelling in a large caravan from Egypt sold and sold a slave belonging to another master of the caravan. In all these disputes, the proof of real ownership was given by the testimony of two witnesses. If they could not be produced, the slave stayed with the current owner. The attendance of the slave in court sessions was always required but his testimony was never heard.

To Right

The Pasha, the Pasha physician who was in Cairo during the course of French operations, commented on slave privileges.

It is but barely possible to say anything at all definitively about the state of slavery in Egypt indefinitely and always in relation to the resources of Egypt, the number of slaves may vary, often in relation to the number of slaves who were brought under the Pasha...
His reasons are all questionnaire, but he was correct to draw attention to the "infinite variety" of prices. If those given for "and of Christian slaves, listed in Appendix 1, are studied, one might indeed wonder what lists were used to evaluate the slave woman "Katipa" at 2,190 piasters while pricing "Kishita" (No. 1) at 1,002 piasters and "Akiri" (No. 2) at 3,051 piasters. The physical attractions or "features" of individual slaves were undoubtedly the leading factors determining the prices they brought to sale, but considering the enormous conditions of variance, it should be stressed that specific types of slaves cannot be equated with specific values.

Still, certain general price levels seem to have existed. On the basis of data provided by Cypriot documents, which have been assembled in Table 12, price differentiations appear to have been based on five major considerations: sex (or color), age, health, training and expeditions. However, irrespective of any of these principal determinants, there were interdependencies (beauty, dearness, previous service, type of service to be performed, etc.) which might merit a price contrary to general norms. This may seem obvious, but it is rare against a background of price schedules published by Ptolemaic on one hand and a bewildering array of prices recorded in local documents on the other.

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1Sources are found in Ptolemaic, 2A1-2B1; Strabo, X.I.1, 635; 639; Livy, "Deutera," 7:1; W. H. German, "Deutera," (London, 1887), 119-129; Cypriot and Cypriotic, 44, 45.
Black females were almost consistently more valuable than black males. Averages in key base periods range from 65 to 74 percent in the eighteenth century (1720-35, 1770-90) with an intermittent period (1750-60) when females were 75 percent more valuable than males, and from 60 to 67 percent higher in the nineteenth century (1811-61, 1856-65). Females were valued at twice or three times the average price of black males. This particular price difference may also have been fairly regular throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although statistics are weak in the earlier period. Health, however, considerably affected their price.

Histories After slaves had been in the United States, most of the slaves were male because the demand for females was great.
### Table 1

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Molec.</th>
<th>Hand.</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Molec.</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Comment</th>
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<td>24001</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>24001</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>20007</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>10002</td>
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<td>15004</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>10004</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>1800-1819</td>
<td>50002</td>
<td>30001</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50002</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820-1839</td>
<td>30001</td>
<td>20000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30001</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840-1859</td>
<td>20000</td>
<td>10000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1860-1879</td>
<td>10000</td>
<td>80001</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:**
- The figures on the right show average values.
- The figures on the left show the number of observations.
- The letter in parentheses shows the letter describing the method of measurement:
  - M = Moleculär, H = Handwerk.

**Comment:**
- The values are in thousands.
3. Prices have been quoted in £1000 and round to
the nearest pound for simplicity. Aicke's pounds, curiously
enough, are 90.4 pounds. However, it is probably
not worth bothering to adjust the prices given.

4. Averages include prices of all classes except
regularly bought and shipped. Only healthy classes
would be included, different results would have been obtained. For
example, average price for healthy beef the months of
the period 164-175 would have been 1077 instead of
111.5. But since "maximum" prices were an extra part of
the market as healthy costs, average price should be all-
inclusive.
were valued from a quarter to one-sixth the value of healthy
slaves. This also applied to slaves with permanent afflic-
tions, such as blindness or near-sightedness or deafness. This
differential provided the basis for disputes over alleged
"defects" in slaves. Although pregnancy was among circumstances
considered defective, prices for pregnant slaves did not always
differ greatly from the norm. But, apparently, did others usually
described in documents as "femina imatura" or "femina
immatuta". The laborer significantly lower prices unless they
would have lost more to maintain. However, there are too
few statistics available to establish a definite rule.

Slaves. Medieval sources rarely mention particular
skills. Training in armorer, crafts and industrial arts,
or in services performed in noble houses (such as baths)
or private houses were often required. Although black slaves,
were taken into private homes, tended to be relegated to
heavy work. Black males were also trained in military arts,
and in one document they were valued on a par with white

1 One prices given for "femina" slaves in 429 al-
Kara"s inventory, Appendix 1.

2 Xin 104, 72b, 897 (1196/7713), mention of a
woman, "femina matuta". If the condition of a
woman is unknown, her value would be 3, 0 or 4, 0.

3 Al-Idrisi inventory, also 777, p. 47, 1175
(1250/949). She was sold into debt service, 25.00
and 30.00. Her husband was 34, 157, a black woman and her 13-
year-old daughter (777), were sold for 46.00 (1175)
in 1278 (Al-Idrisi 1177, p. 55). Only officially were they divorced.

4 Lore, Appendix 1.
Kushite. Black women sometimes became skilled ones (are given the title hilti) with the training. They could be valued four slaves as much as women without it. 1

2. Despite a preference for young slaves, whose minds and habits could be molded by the purchaser, children were evaluated at slightly less than prices given for adult slaves. This was appreciated by custom officials who allowed them to be taxed at half the rate applied to adults. Old women (Nysy, Nkex) and presumably old men, often with disabilities, were cheaper.

In short, health and skills of individual slaves pushed prices below or above the norm.

Since there are no reliable statistics of the number of slaves sold in Egyptian markets during any given year or sequence of years, it is impossible to chart the impact of supply on slave prices. From Table 11, it can be seen that slave prices registered a steady upward trend throughout the long period from 1550 to 1250. The depreciation of local currency, a chronic problem in the eleventh century, continued into the nineteenth; the planter in 1874 was worth

1. See 113, 471, 473 (110, 255). It is described at 400 lari (110, 255), 5,000 lari (110, 255) in the new money.
2. See 113, 471 (110, 255), valued at 4,500 lari.
3. See 113, 471 (110, 255), valued at 4,000 lari.
only 18.79 percent of what it had basically been in 1793.

To a large extent, therefore, the upward prices for sugar followed the depreciation of local currency. Thus if prices for black females (about which information is most complete) are converted into constant values, there is surprisingly little variation in real prices for slaves between the years 1793 and 1799, a reflection of the general stability in prices during those few decades. The dramatic increase in prices at the end of the century also mirrors the general fall in the value of the dollar at that time. Similarly, the increase in prices average between 1815 and 1820, and again between 1830 and 1835, correspond to the period when the value of local currency was falling in relation to the greenback (Spanish or Mexican dollar). But the jump in prices between 1840 and 1845 was due to a drastically higher import tax imposed on slaves in 1842 rather than to domestic inflation.

There were, however, periods when prices never got to have been related to currency instability. In the eighteenth century, a decrease was registered between 1710 and 1720, and in the nineteenth, a similar decrease occurred during the periods 1815-17 and 1835-36. It is possible that these periods can be identified with larger supplies of slaves in the country.
Signs of upheaval in trade relations with the interior on the other hand, decreased values may not have resulted from decreased demand (i.e. larger supplies), but simply that a larger number of unhealthy slaves were being put on the markets. Until better statistics are available on the importation of slaves to Egypt, the question of how supply and demand affected prices cannot be fully answered.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
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Taken from the inventory, James R. Johnson (17 Dec 1847) and subsequent settlement (1848), per Levine, Inc.

This information includes the slave ownership of the estate by James R. Johnson and subsequent events in 1847. It is provided as part of the documentation of the estates' records.
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<tr>
<td>Male, Afghanis...........Afghans</td>
<td>1018</td>
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</table>

Note: Data from "Powers, Defees by Source".
Appendix 2: Extra French Translations of Five Cases

Appendix 2 contains translations of five court cases (點子, 答辯) pertaining to the trade in slaves in Cairo. They have been selected in order to exemplify the types of disputes that arose in this trade. Disputes which were brought by plaintiff servants and visiting servants against other merchants, members of the religious establishment or español government bureaucrats. Case 1, Shab El-Shafi' '£al-Sabiq' was especially spotted in one of the much-disputed registers in the archives of the scribes, but because it contains so much interesting information about the enormity of this trade and even recent recollections of conversations held (which were faithfully quoted down by court scribes in colloquial Arabic), it has been considered too valuable to exclude. Other equally intense and almost equally lengthy disputes have been found and testify to the complexity of slave trading in Egypt.

Cases 4 and 5 deal with complaints over the alleged defective condition of slaves. Case 4, was issued in 1859. Shows the effects of the procedure eventually followed in such disputes. As in 1859, the date of Case 5, the judge ordered the slave to be inspected by medical experts. These and other cases could provide a student of social history with an abundance of information concerning the health of at least the enslaved segment of the Egyptian population for the early years of the Ottoman domination up to the late nineteenth century.

In translating these cases, the words of the plaintiff and defendant have been inserted from time to time in order to avoid confusion on the part of the reader. In each case, the testimony of the plaintiff was taken first, followed by the questioning of the defendant.
950 [3] plasters (but) Yehudah did not agree to sell him at this price, (so) he took the slave from (the defendants') house and returned him to his master. [23] The plaintiff, (later) the plaintiff took him back. (The plaintiff) stayed but a short time in his possession before he sold. The plaintiff searched around for him and found an [24] (accounting to him from his things, (so) he) brought (to him) all his articles. For [25] yesterday he discovered him in the residence of Yehshua Maganai, located on the alley of Shlomo in [26] "[location]." [27] The

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1. [Hilchetim, al-Tamisim], p. 279.
2. [Source: text from [12] Gemara, page 95a, line 21, reference to the status or size of the slave, previously mentioned, and the discussion of the plaintiff's actions.]
3. [This passage may be a source from a previous text, perhaps referencing a legal or historical context, and should be referenced for further clarification.]
plaintiff requested the defendant to hand over the slave in order to conform to the nutritional needs.

The defendant, Husain al-Fardousi, was questioned about this and replied that on 12th October 1921, Husain al-Fardousi came to his residence accompanied by Husain’s in-law, Gail al-Akbar, and showed him the aforementioned slave that he might wish to buy him. The defendant said (Husain)

Did you ask for (the slave)? (Husain) did not offer to sell him at the price mentioned by the plaintiff and the slave was turned over to him at that time under the terms of a legal contract.

After that (Husain) never returned to (the plaintiff’s) residence with his slave, nor did he ever see him in his own place or elsewhere. The defendant disposed of the plaintiff’s testimony in its entirety.

The plaintiff, Husain, was asked to explain whenever he supported his case and he replied that he had no proof other than a small male slave and his wife. Upon this, the defendant, Husain al-Fardousi, said that from the time the aforementioned Husain handed over the slave from his in-law, Gail al-Akbar, he never saw him again in his residence or anywhere else.

The dispute continued in this fashion (until) the defendant requested the judge (Mulla Salam) to enforce the law in this matter. (The judge) responded by informing the plaintiff that as the circumstances as they were related, since Husain al-Fardousi, after having exhibited the slave to sell for his in-law, had (legally) taken receipt of the slave, and since the sale is not known to have been annulled, and moreover, since the plaintiff’s “self” is not known at the residence of the defendant, and since he has failed completely to produce any evidence, his case against the defendant has been rejected, irrevocably.

**Note:** The text contains abbreviations or terms that are not fully translated or understood. Additional context or clarification might be necessary for a complete understanding.
Case 2
Source: Elle 113, p. 27
Date: 24 Shawal al-Hijri 1757/19 January 1852

Plaintiff: Shalhūb ibn ʿAlī al-ʿAbbās, son of the late ʿAbd al-Rahmān, al-ʿAbbās

Defendant: Muḥammad b.ʿAbdullāh al-ʿAbbās, son of the late ʿAbd al-Rahmān, al-ʿAbbās

Case: Shalhūb ibn ʿAlī, the plaintiff, set both the defendant and ʿAlī ibn ʿAbdullāh, son of the late ʿAbd al-Rahmān, al-ʿAbbās, in the region of Harām in Ṣurūr, together with three others of the latter, to travel with him to Cairo. They travelled with a group of male and female slaves (among whom was ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān), one of whom was named ʿAlī ibn ʿAbdullāh. The plaintiff also gave them thirty sheep, two hundred sheep, and the name of the slave ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān. Every evening they used to go to the house of the Prophet, the glorified Prophet, ʿAlī ibn ʿAbdullāh al-ʿAbbās and ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān, and converse with him. Among the group of the plaintiff was a slave whose girl named ʿAmmūdā was deserted by her master. (One day) Muḥammad, the defendant, came to him and took him that ʿAlī ibn ʿAbdullāh al-ʿAbbās wanted to buy her and had paid his 900 dinars as the price. The defendant said that you said to the master of the slave ʿAlī ibn ʿAbdullāh al-ʿAbbās, if you trust in your ability, you should not make a better offer? The defendant explained the girl to (ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān) and carried out the trade without legal...
Case 2, 2

The plaintiff requested the defendant to hand over the girl to him in order to conform to the rightful claim.

The defendant, al-‘Abd al-Malik, was contacted about this affair and resolved acknowledging he had received the slave girl from the plaintiff in the legal document that he had purchased the same from the plaintiff for the amount mentioned above. He had transferred the whole of the amount due to Salim al-Malik and (in this way) was acquitted of the debt. The plaintiff, Salim al-Malik, then assigned (the debt due by the purchase of the girl) to be paid off to Salim al-Malik who already owed the money, so the total amount, then having reached the sum of 4,613 2/3 dirhams. Salim al-Malik wrote out an Iltizam for the entire amount.

Salim al-Malik was present in the court and was asked to submit on (the defendant’s testimony). He acknowledged (what the defendant had said entirely, thus evidence) being legally acknowledged in a lawful court session.

Salim al-Malik, the plaintiff, however, did not agree with this and dissatisfied (the defendant’s continuing) entirely.

The judge instructed him to present evidence (for his case) and he brought al-Sayyid ‘Ali ibn al-Qarnayn, son of the late al-Sayyid ‘Ali ibn al-Qarnayn al-Sayyid ‘Ali ibn al-Qarnayn, and al-Qarnayn Hussain, son of the imperial rest, son of the late Salim al-Malik. They testified as to what they knew of this matter, the testimony of each being taken separately by the judge. They both acknowledged

That

An example of " Altaa", or transfer of duty, the next, from which we are made owner to another man. From this Salim al-Malik and the defendant argued closely together.

That

"Ee was transferred to him..."
being acquainted with the latter and the defendant. They asked him on the 20th of Abraha year 251 (November 1522) the plaintiff, saying, 'Why, have you declared (to them) that he had sold a black slave girl named Sabikah to Malak al-Hashimi, the defendant, for 100 gold dinars, each dinar being equal to 7 and a half palantes, the total amount being 700 and a half dinars, and that the price of this slave (as he said) had been transferred from the defendant to Malak al-Hashimi, and that the transfer had been accepted by each of them. (Subsequently) it became known that Malak al-Hashimi had sold the aforementioned slave girl for an amount greater than (the price he had paid), and (when asked) he had requested them to intervene on his behalf to hear about a testament (with two defendants) on this.

The defendant, having been acquainted with the case which had occurred, and being on behalf of the plaintiff, and appearing on the latter's case. The testimony was taken legally and witnessed by (local people).

As the case was carried in this manner, the defendant requested the judge to enforce the law in this matter, and the plaintiff was informed that in the circumstances as they were related, since he sold the slave girl for the price mentioned above and transferred its payment to Malak al-Hashimi, and since the transfer had been accepted by each of them, and since he had declined arbitrating (in palantes) on the whole matter, his declaration being given under oath, and in the testament set forth above, the case against the defendant has been rejected, irrevocably.

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1 September: the plaintiff was asked to confirm the defendant's case. He took a decision in the matter irreversibly.

2 September: the plaintiff was asked to confirm the defendant's case. He took a decision in the matter irreversibly.
Case:

The defendant purchased a black slave girl named Zaiturah from Mulla Al-Hakim, the plaintiff, for 2,000 piasters. The plaintiff took the money and marched over the slave girl (a young woman) and had required with her for about 30 days or more when the defendant came to the Walsh Al-Halab in (keeping) the plaintiff, but did not find her. He informed another man (there) saying: "I am the one who bought the girl from Zaiturah, conditions were arranged, but I have not found her. I went to return her to you. And if I do not find the plaintiff, I will return the money." The plaintiff told the defendant, "If you take the slave girl to me, you can verify her condition and I will leave her with you. If you do not agree, I will request her to find out if she is pregnant or not." Then Walsh Al-Halab, the defendant, took the girl to another man; then she was found on the street, and the seller wanted to leave her with him, but he did not find her again. All the tools were taken during the search of the plaintiff. Then after he was asked to locate the man who would request her, Walsh Al-Halab demanded the girl and went to find Mulla Al-Hakim's house.

This is a transcription of the document. It refers to the case of a slave girl named Zaiturah purchased by the defendant from Mulla Al-Hakim. The plaintiff was unable to locate the girl after the transaction, leading to a dispute over the condition of the girl and the return of the money.
while he was away, and left her there.

When the plaintiff returned, he found the fuel (in his house) and wanted who had brought her. Then a group of people (from the village) told him that a man brought her; the defendant, had brought her there because she claimed she was pregnant and wanted to leave her two or three days so that she could find out if she were pregnant or not. The girl remained with his three days and then the defendant took her.

Then after the third day, the defendant met the plaintiff on the street and he informed him, "The slave girl contracepted and the girl isn't pregnant, so take her." The defendant said, "I don't want to take her, but I want you to sell her for me," and he gave the defendant permission to sell her.

The girl was left with the plaintiff on condition he could sell her on the amount of the defendant. This occurred about the time of the burning.

Shortly after this, a group of people (a messenger) sent to the plaintiff and asked him about the girl: "Have you sold her or not?" and al-Ashari told the boy who had come on the defendant's behalf, "During the time of the pilgrim, no one buys slaves." The defendant's man said, "Give me the girl." to which al-Ashari replied, "I've spent a full amount to 66 dinars trying to sell her, you say not that and I'll hand over the girl." The man departed.

Then the defendant went (another messenger) to the plaintiff, a man named Mustafa the tailor, one of whom, with a present, went and ordered al-Ashari to hand over the girl to the defendant and to make out a receipt for the amount of the expenses (to be given to) 'Abd al-Mu'min, the claim of the defendant's father-in-law, in Wedan, and (tried to)
take the girl. But after all I had not permitted to touch
the water (in lieu of money), and refused to have her
until she be restored for equal the amount of his sworn.

Walter W. [illegible] had evidently, he claimed the fol-
towing day and told the plaintiff it was the same the liquid
of that and had not bestowed for he was able to wear the
dress of the same description. With the other had
was certified that Walter [illegible] was acting as the defendant's
agent, one of them being [illegible] a Ely and the
other named [illegible], a peddler at the [illegible] 12
would be. (Walter [illegible] sued to be given the girl and
was not held in the plaintiff for the amount of the com-
petition. These three persons which constituted the lot which
was dated 20th July 1834. Walter [illegible]
agent, was then asked the defendant's where was goods and from
left on equal rent to the plaintiff and left.

Three days later, the plaintiff, Mrs. [illegible] was
then and found the same charges of his money. He went
looking for Walter [illegible] and met him on the street. He was
asked about this (the form of event). [illegible] he told,
'after the agent of [illegible] button, and that, there's a letter
come with the night.' (Walter [illegible] was sued to the court
with the intention of signing of a new agent his substitute.
The defendant also that the name of the defendant
Teacher (Mr) be not used in. On this occasion, the
are to go and find one which the defendant's substitute struggling
return premises. He was sent to the court. (Walter [illegible]
left the name of the event worse (what is this

For reasons that are known which are

[illegible].

[illegible]...
Case 3, 4

The slave girl filed suit against Neff, the defendant, and the evidence showed that the
slave girl was kept in the house and that the defendant had disparaged the girl.
Then he went to the defendant and told him about the death of the girl. He said that
Neff was the one who was responsible and that he was guilty in order to prevent himself from being the
plaintiff. The slave girl said he wished to sue the plaintiff and that he did not want
the defendant and plaintiff to be harmed.

The deputy judge, however, convinced that the defendant and the plaintiff had no
relation to the death of the girl, terminated the case and asked the plaintiff
to certify the death. The plaintiff, Mr. Williams, (who) certified her death and agreed to
answer to the cause of the plaintiff's death, which was the death of the
plaintiff. He is requesting that the statement be true.

The jury questioned the plaintiff but did not find any evidence and was
repeatedly that the defendant was not the cause of death of the
slave girl from the plaintiff for the present period. He was
the defendant and the plaintiff in the house and as

The lawsuit was brought to satisfy the claims
against Neff.
(7) Then it was reported she was pregnant, and he brought three witnesses to his house in order to save the child. They
found her pregnant was in its third month. This was about
the month of Ramadan, near the second Juma. Then the
Arabs sent the slave girl to the house and went to issue the
process. The slave girl, at the later stage, said in order to
 teil the truth she had secretly produced the child. She did not say
she found the child after her sexual intercourse. The slave
girl came, and told him that she had conceived from the slave
girl's master. She had been stoned and she had exposed her pregnancy
and that she had called the child her own. The plaintiff's partner,
Told him he was the plaintiff's partner and not the father of
the child's child.

At that time, Abdullah and Ali came to the
plaintiff's partner, the wife and the house of the
conjugal house (before they had been stoned). She had been left with her
and Ali. Abdullah, she went out with the intention of his house and
took the girl to the slave woman to order to issue the slave
woman's statement. But they did not know the slave girl had left her
at the plaintiff's partner. The slice there about five months.

(End of the story) The plaintiff eventually reconciled
from either the slave girl or from his partner. He the
slave woman's statement or went. Then at the mosque of Ali.

[Note: The text is cut off and incomplete at this point.]

[End of note]
June 3, 1862

(Several of the defendants said in the court room.

[Quote]

[Quote]

[Quote]

[Quote]

[Quote]

After that, [defendant] went to a representative to the plaintiff to negotiate the matter to have paid for the goods sold. The representative said he was not present and the defendants had decided to pay the goods in cash. He later informed the defendant to pay the representative in cash. The defendant then went to the representative and paid.

The representative informed the defendant, "You should not have paid until the goods are delivered." The defendant replied, "I have already paid the goods and now I am paid in full." The representative said, "You should have received the goods before paying." The defendant replied, "I will not go back on my word." The representative said, "I will take you to court if you do not pay in full." The defendant said, "I will go to court if I have to." The representative said, "You should have paid in full before taking the goods." The defendant replied, "I have already paid the goods and now I am paid in full."
The judge, after the argument of the accused, ordered the defendant to be removed from the court. The accused, however, remained and addressed the judge. The judge, after considering the matter, ordered the accused to be transmitted to the prison.
Case 1, 9

(The Judge) after receiving the plaintiff's, plaintiff's, the defense were all present and were informed of the charges. The plaintiff, as stated in the complaint, had reason to believe that the defendant had purchased some goods from him, and had issued a bill for the goods. The defendant denied the purchase, and accused the plaintiff of fraud. The judge, after hearing the evidence, found for the plaintiff, and awarded him damages for the loss sustained.

(The Judge) in the case of the plaintiff, plaintiff, the defendant, the plaintiff's case was not supported by sufficient evidence. The plaintiff had failed to prove his case, and therefore the defendant was found not guilty.
without the defendant's alteration, and be it no right to
exam [ amplify] for it.

The plaintiff contends that the deceased Amstull had
left in his possession the following personal effects:
1. A pair of pocket knives;
2. An old box containing the defendant's will;
3. An old box containing the wills of the deceased's parents;
4. An old box containing a number of letters written by
   the defendant;
5. Four pairs of shoes;
6. A gold watch and chain;
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The plaintiff, a black woman, sued the defendant, a white woman, for $10,000 in damages. The defendant, a white woman, argued that the plaintiff, a black woman, was not entitled to the money because she was not injured in the accident.

The court ruled that the plaintiff was entitled to the money because she was injured in the accident. The defendant was ordered to pay the plaintiff $10,000 in damages.
Case 9, 3

of a note, signed in the customary form but the claim which
attached to the same said had occurred while she was staying
with the purchaser, (as not constituting) legal interest.

Upon (appurtenant to the) same bond, the Judge,
ordered (the slave) to remain in the possession of the
plaintiff, and, and informed him that he could not return her to
(the defendant) according to the information (provided by the
specialist), and forthwith his (as continued) remained entire
against the defendant on those grounds.
Case 6

Source: The Al-Naqi, 1207
Date: 10 Shawal 62/24 July 1943

Plaintiffs: Sayyid al-Ma-qālī, son of the late Ṣanī‘a al-Khalīl

and

Muhammad al-Ma-qālī, son of Ṣa‘īd al-Khalīl

both of and the slave merchants at the Wadālī al-Ma-qālī

Defendants: Muhammad Ḥāfiz al-Ma-qālī al-Shāhī, son of Ḥūsa

Case: The defendant, Muhammad Ḥūsa, sold to the two plaintiffs, Sayyid al-Ma-qālī and Muhammad al-Ma-qālī, a slave girl named Ṣayyam, present in court, for 1,000 dinars. Thereafter the plaintiffs paid the price and were handed over the girl on condition that she was free of all defects. That was on 23 Juma'ah 1756/09 July 1943. (And there has been found in the girl two defects, complete and palpable) and they want to return her (to the defendant) for this reason, to the legal faction.

The defendant, Muhammad Ḥūsa, was questioned about this matter and acknowledged he had sold the slave girl on the day mentioned, had taken the money for her, had handed her over on condition she was free from all defects, and that she had had no defects.

The judge ordered the attendance of medical specialists so they could examine the girl and verify the truth (of her condition) in the legal faction. The two specialists were

He was probably the uncle of Movahhat al-Ma-qālī, merchant at the Wadālī al-Ma-qālī at this time.

As his name indicates, he was of the Khāqānī tribe, and probably from Gharda. He was involved in another dispute in 1756.

Al-Ma-qālī, Shāhī
Ṣā‘īd al-Ma-qālī al-Shāhī.
Case 3, 3

were al-Fayad al-Makki, and sister of the former, al-Baqiri, son of al-Baqiri al-Makki, and his collaterals. Upon al-Baqiri, son of al-Baqiri al-Makki, they examined the claim and informed the judge by way of oral participation that the girl was free from all defects, that she had neither a count nor excitation.

Upon this, the judge immediately released the claims of the two plaintiffs in their case against the defendant.
measure to procure these degrees and send them to us. Muhammad 'Ali to the British at the end of his conquest of Kordofan, 1811

The French occupation in 1798 marked the beginning of a new relationship between Egypt and the Sudan, one in which the economic potentials of the Sudan, heretofore haphazardly exploited, were officially recognized. By the beginning of the third decade of the nineteenth century, trade as it has been carried out in previous centuries was radically transformed, the primary innovation being the installation of an Egyptian regime in the Sudan and a direct interest on the part

of the government in trade. Many of the attitudes and agencies
used by the Egyptian pasha to effect his "reforms" were inheri-

tant from earlier regimes: despite new names, the instruments
of control were familiar, and one sees an interesting continu-
ity in the trade as regulated in the eighteenth century with develop-
ments that took place in the nineteenth.

1. White Conlon of the Sudan

The idea that "Ethiopia" or "Sudan" was a region of
immeasurable wealth which if tapped could bring untold benefits
for Egypt was hardly new to Muhammad 'Ali. It was, in fact,
an old dream long entertained by European consul and factors
in Egypt. One of the earliest proponents was Maillot, French
consul in Egypt at the turn of the eighteenth century. His
fascination with "Ethiopia" found a natural outlet in his
efforts to expedite missionaries to Gondar and to the court
of Frater John I and is enthusiastic ly expressed in his
Description de l'Éthiopie. The caravan from "Ethiopia" — by
which he meant Gondar — once every year bringing gold dust,
ivory, ebony, suke, civet, ambergris (âlî), ostrich feathers,
gum, "and other expensive items" in addition to slaves which
is their most considerable trade. The exchange of these
goods for merchandise bought in Cairo impressed the consul

[Quoted text from: R. Clément, LesFrançais d'Égypte sous XVIIe et
XVIIe siècles, (Cairo, 1900) 41, 49-50-51, 60, 61.]

French expedition are illustrated in Christopher Hopper, Greatness
in Egypt, (London, 1972), 11-17; John Marshall, The Rise and
Fall of the Caliphate, (London, 1972), 415.

François Charles-Hour, Le peuple française des Éthiopie,
who wrote, "it is easy to conceive by this way what prodigious may this commerce make each year on returning to its native land, in coin and in merchandise."[1] Mallet's enthusiasm brought no practical results for French merchants in Egypt, but the idea that direct relations with the interior could prove economically profitable undoubtedly led to the stationing of two French agents in Fajrā, Upper Egypt, in 1767.[2] Apparently this was a short-lived endeavor.

His remarks, either in published form or in privately read dispatches sent to the French government, were widely read.[3] They provided one of the persuasive arguments in favor of an occupation of Egypt as presented by Saint-Jérôme in a mémoire written for the Minister of the Marine in 1776. "I am persuaded," he concluded, after drawing extensively on de Mallet, "that an industrial nation could double or triple this commerce by studying the taste and needs of the Mahommedans and the Egyptians, and by procuring for them goods which would be more agreeable to them."[4]

Yet while these ideas became firmly entrenched in the minds of Europeans, it is not apparent that Mamluk governors[5]...

[2] Raymond, Antiquités, p. 197. Turqués also profited from close commercial relations with the Egyptians, J. Sarrà, L'Egypte, 1858, 203-204; and other ideas regarding a French expedition are discussed in Christopher Ives, Commerce in Egypt, Précis, 1870, 11-12; John Barnett, The Mamluk State, 1914, 61-62.
[5]
of the country came to similar conclusions. Blacks had traditionally been substituted for whites in private armies when Caucasian slave resources proved insufficient, and the latter half of the eighteenth century was a period when numerous Mamluk houses began to build up their internal ranks. The idea that the distant kingdom of Darfur, then the leading source for slaves in Egypt, could be easily annexed was expressed to Murad bey, the sultan governor of Egypt in 1794-5, by Carlo Rossetti, Venetian consular and wealthy merchant. He had already established a considerable trade with Darfur and Sennar and, in conversations with Darfur judges, learned that their country was rich in natural resources, including, mistakenly, gold. Rossetti became convinced that a Mamluk contingent was all that was needed to conquer this state. In 1796, a small party left for Darfur, having received an invitation from the sultan as well as permission to leave Egypt from Murad bey. It was composed of a doctor, whose services the sultan had sought, an artillery expert of Murad's, and one hundred artisans who were to build cannon which the sultan also desired. The party was designed to serve as the forward group of an expeditionary force. Though the artillery expert survived long enough to produce some cannons, the Mamluk Rossetti-inspired plot came to naught. 1 It was, however, the first

1 Auriant, 184-9, 210; Monod, II, 233-4.
time since the early period of Ottoman control that governors of Egypt tried to extend their political authority into the Sudan and was a harbinger of events to come.

With the arrival of the French the doughty Rosetti continued to peddle his scheme and outlined its advantages in a letter to Bonaparte. 1 Bonaparte, lieutenant général des armées, was also informed and in a separate letter to Bonaparte, then campaigning in Syria, he enumerated the merits of a Darfur expedition. Once established, the European detachment could, from the interior of Africa, hold out its hand to the Expeditionary Army in Egypt 2 and increase its resources a hundred-fold, since in these virgin countries, all the kingdoms of nature super-abound in richness. Date trees, gum arabic, ostrich feathers, elephant tank, honey, wax, beasts of burden, nothing is lacking in this zone at once hot and temperate....Abyssinia and Darfour have gold mines. These mines are not exploited.... 3

Bonaparte may have been unimpressed with the military aspects of Rosetti’s plan, but he needed to bolster his main-

power supplies, especially after the campaign in Syria where French forces had been devastated by plague. In a letter addressed to the sultan of Darfur on June 30, 1792, he wrote, “I received your letter, I understood its contents....I tell you to send me by the first caravan 2,000 black slaves over sixteen years of age, strong and vigorous; I will buy them on

1 Bonaparte, 226-27.
2 Ibid., 395.
my account. These slaves were not sent, but the French did purchase some blacks on the Cairo market and used them as auxiliary troops. Their performance was praised.

Employment of blacks in armies in Egypt was an ancient practice, but in Ottoman times recruitment had been piecemeal; individual slaves were inspected in slave markets, purchased and then trained in military arts. The idea of impressing former slaves into service, however, seems new. Though first advanced by the French, the idea was immediately taken up by the Turkish governor who re-occupied the country when the French had been evacuated. Nikita Turm wrote that in 1801-2 Muhammad Beyraw pasha, the new Ottoman viceroy, "purchased a group of imported [black] slaves" whom he later described as "from the mountains of Turkestan" they and white Kublukes were then trained by French deserters according to European military methods. Jabari stated, however, that a segment of these "slaves" had actually been taken from a party of

Turkmen pilgrims passing through Egypt to Hijaz, while others

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1 Noyeux, 217, fn. 3. The actual letter is discussed in Chapter 11, 37.
2 Gidebert Guimet, "Les comptables du diable de Mousline en Egypte (1798-1801)," 121. In "Les comptables du diable de Mousline en Egypte (1798-1801)," 121. They were enrolled in the club régimental and the 32nd item

had been raised by the governor from private hands. These
recruits were not only trained on European lines but dressed
in short red jackets, blue trousers and vests, "like the uni-
forms of the French." Juburî continued, with newly trained
white slaves, dressed in traditional Libohu style, they con-
stituted what the Egyptian historian termed the nāṣir al-
abdāl, the men given to ceremonial residence in Egypt and Turkey in
the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.2

The use of black slaves at this time set a precedent
which Muhammad 'All, coming to power in 1863, was to follow.
A principal motive for the conquest of the Sudan was to
Peasant, forcibly, black slaves for his army. A second
motive was based on his conviction, bordering on obsession,
that the products of the land, particularly gold, could
finance his ambitious industrial projects in Egypt. Muhammad
'All's search for minerals — gold, coal, iron, sulphur —
and for precious materials such as emeralds was incessant,3
occupying his mind from the early days of his rule to his

2Juburî, Maqâlât, VII, 117; they may well have
been from Kordofan, as about this time a visitor noted 'Abdallāh
al-Mahmūd of al-Khadîjī, who was a jaysh in Cairo for his
master's freedmen, claimed he was the quarter of 25th in Adan
of the slave Qadr b. Umayy, a source of the palace, and that the
people of the palace are Muslims when presenting a second
tribute from 'Abdallāh to verify his claim, the jaysh
was freed, 24 December 1274, 1800. (10 November 1858) May 1863
2This early reference to the nāṣir al-
abdâl reform is generally over-done; it is usually cited, a decade later,
after Muhammad 'All's victories in the Sudan. Beausaab, Histoire
des Comices, 67; 1994, Revue, 57.

3Beausaab, Histoire de la Coton, 68-79.
old age. In some instances he took old Arab geographers' myths to heart, and even investigated local superstitions as to the location of precious minerals. He never really ceased to believe that somewhere in the Sudan there was an Eldorado which would be discovered if he persisted long enough. One smiles at the picture of this formidable ruler, whose armies threatened the survival of the Ottoman empire, resorting to dubious in the Sudan for failing to turn up the gold mines of faith. Yet Muhammad 'Ali's native belief and child-like determination should be viewed simply as an application in the Sudan of ideas European consuls had expressed earlier.

Moreover, these ideas continued to find proponents years after the old pasha's death. In the mid-nineteenth century, modern but muddled theories of geography contributed to a further elaboration of the idea to store for Egypt in the interior of Africa, now believed to comprise the kingdoms of Kordofan, Equatorial, and Bornu. The river basins, as is well known, were very much misunderstood. When we will have solved the key to Lake Pitu, who will prevent us asked Brunet-Basset in Le Nil blanc, published in 1853, "from monopolizing for Egypt the rich import and export trade that the kingdoms of Bornu, Chad and Kanem now with Morocco and Tripoli...?" A dozen years later, the Pachet brothers were still exploring the possibility of a connecting river joining

2(Faris, 1853), 314.
the Nile with the Niger, and this belief was strongly argued as late as 1876 by John Manual at a meeting of the Institut d'Egypte in Cairo. Tiving the Lake Chad region, "particularly open" to Egyptians and European merchants in Alexandria and Cairo, he expressed the desire to explore for himself the "Bambara" river which the Punet brothers claimed led from the Nile to the Niger. If riverboats were launched to facilitate communications, so believed Dr. Abate who accompanied Saïd pasha to Khartoum in 1856, the capital of the Egyptian Sudan would be "four days from Aswan and six days from Beromou."

Vagueness about African geography was characteristic of Egyptians as well as Europeans at this time, even though there were informants in Egypt who could have enlarged their knowledge of geographical features and political conditions in the interior. "I wonder why travellers to Cairo have not visited these slave markets," the American, Leary, commented in a letter to the African Association written from Cairo in 1786, "and conversed with the Jebba, or travelling merchants, of these caravans; they are certainly sources of great informa-

nation... " Burckhardt gathered information about the interior from Tuareg pilgrims, while Seton employed al-Asmar students from Fâyûm, Bawas and Bagirmi as informants. Their information was not always reliable, as d'Espagnac de Lautrec discovered in the 1850's, but he did believe that black merchants, African princes and governors could provide valuable data. But information from such local sources seems never to have been collected, much less systematized, by Egyptians so that the first modern geography published in Cairo in 1824 was a translation of Malte-Bruné's compendium of current European geographical knowledge. The quotation at the beginning of this chapter characterizes its limited extent.

The Turkish elites of Egypt, too, had little knowledge of Africa. When in 1830 they moved into the Sudan, their unfamiliarity with the terrain produced enduring geographical misconceptions. One was the belief that Bornu and kingdoms

5. Nouveau recueiUement sur le voyage du Padre de Brousse, recueilli du Sable de Caire, du Sable de Setenah, recueilli des Voyages, XIX (1863), 75-76. These voyages were published in the history of Africa, Bulletin des Missions, XXXI (18431) 595-79.
6. Ouvres sur la Pharaon, (Paris, 1804), 214-15. See also his "Voyage en Egypte" (Paris, 1804, 2 vols., 1841), 466; also, the "Pharaon" "Voyage en Egypte" (Paris, 1804), 214-15. The inscriptions were compiled by Professor, "Voyage de la, prometens vent, de France à la luxor sur le Nil," MEE, 31 (1860), 195-73; see also, A. C. (1860), 55-74.
9. Commerce de la, prometens vent, de France à la luxor sur le Nil.
of the western Sudan were within marching distance of Séneã." Théâlim pasha, for instance, Muhammad Ali's brilliant soldiers, expressed the opinion in 1831 that he could direct his troops from Séneã toward Fouta, toward Bornu, and return to Egypt by way of Tripoli. He may have been encouraged in this belief by his European advisers who themselves knew little of the continent, but the idea that Bornu was within the grasp of Egyptian arms remained fixed in the Viceroy's mind. As late as 1874, Théâlim pasha was counselling his governor in the Sudan shortly after the conquest of Darfur that "we intend to conquer Darfur, Kordofan, and Bornu and annex them to Darfur, so that they form a single administration..."  

In summary, as Egypt moved into the nineteenth century and under the government of an enlightened despot, centuries of commercial contact with her African neighbors promised little more than dreams of all that a closer relationship might mean in terms of slave recruits and mineral and vegetable wealth. It brought no special acquaintance with those countries or understanding of their geography, let alone their culture. The official attitude toward Egypt's African neighbors could be characterized at best as indifferent.

In forty years following the French occupation, Egypt passed through political and economic turmoil, yet throughout this difficult period trade managed to flow between the valley and the African interior. That it did was due to two main factors: the generality on the part of African rulers, particularly that of Zaire, to carry on trade and the deliberate lowering of custom duties on certain African imports which made the trade in these commodities more profitable. It was during the 1800-1860 period that the greatest changes occurred.

The regulation of African trade, as has been described, had been enforced under the mamluk regime in three ways: by taxation at the customhouses of Upper Egypt and Cairo, by localization of exchange in Cairo at the Makat al-Jallaha, and by urban tax farms on the sale of slaves, ivory and gold. Beyond these three controls, actual trade and exchange in city markets was left free. With the gradual usurpation of power and government revenues by military factions, and the loss of upper Egyptian custom receipts to the governor of Zaire, the central government's share in revenues produced by the trade was virtually squeezed out. The custom fees on customs, brokerage and market fees by sale taxes went elsewhere. The loss of these revenues was yet another aspect of the frailnesses of Ottoman administration at the close of the eighteenth century.
Replacing this weak administration with a strong central government obviously required an overhauling of the system. In the beginning, however, the French seemed content to collect taxes from the old regulatory agencies which they reestablished but left intact. This plan proved unsatisfactory and by 1860 the system was revamped, the chief innovation being the elimination of the old tax (zem) system, including urban residents, and the substitution of direct control by French officials. This meant that taxes collected on the sale of slaves at the Vavalat al-Jullab went to the central treasury instead of to the tax farmer. The tax farm was not abolished; the French were not in a secure enough financial position during their years of occupation to do without taxes, and in fact created a multitude of new ones to increase their revenues. 2

French administration was also revised, especially those regulations affecting the Ben Ha an European trade. Tariffs applied to goods brought by caravans from Europe and for which were set at a standardized 5 percent, possibly representing a reduction by three or four percent of the Vavulak tariffs. In addition taxes on slave traffic, which affected goods brought from Europe, were abolished although boat owners were required to pay a new annual tax based on the value of their


crafts. Still, despite the establishment of new customs rates for African goods, the old rates of four pounds per man and two per camel were applied to goods brought by the Sir Fur caravans of 1800 which passed through customs a month after the new tariff schedule was supposed to have gone into effect.

Though the sultan of Sir Fur had protested these rates, he never did to have stopped caravans to Egypt during the last decade of French rule when the high tariff was fully exacted. During the French occupation, General Monvoisin worked hard to improve relations with janissaries, even exempting a single caravan from customs, but the latter foreknowledge of the French administration became in itself a serious deterrent to the trade, especially after the disaster which befell the Sir Fur caravan at Ramallah in 1818. Significantly, no large caravans came from that country during the remaining period of French occupation.

In 1803, a Janissary was able to travel to Sir Fur with a returning caravan, indicating that commercial relations with

1Carnot, VIII (1966), 264 (Archives du Ministère de la Guerre, Vincennes), "Caravane au Chemin," Carnot no. 71, dated 8 October 1803 and 26, dated 8 November 1803, finally shown as by Jean. Moreau. The rate rates were "declared" in September 1803.
2Burke left for Sir Fur in 1833 and returned with another caravan in 1834: he heard reports of several caravans in 1792-93. Supplement mentions caravans in 1790 and 1796.
3Burke, 234-4.
4See Chapter II, 72.
5Freyss, 184: the 1600 caravan, consisting of 500 slaves and 500 camels would be considered a small caravan.
6Burke, 30, 211, 72.
Egypt had been restored, but continuing political disturbances in the country, even after Muhammad All's assumption of power in 1863, seems to have discouraged the sultan from dispatching his standard bearer for some time. In 1866, for example, Ali Bey Al-

"Abdel found that strife in Upper Egypt between the two, Nama and his Zuflufk adversaries had stopped caravans from coming to Asyût. However, by 1868 at the latest, relations had been resumed for in that year a large Bôr caravan arrived at Hurgháda on route to the valley. Although assurances of protection had been given by Muhammad All, reports reached Cairo that the caravan was nonetheless held up by a dispute between the governors of Asyût and Hurgháda regarding rights to customs revenues. The political situation in Upper Egypt was still very much in flux.

The pasha's drive against the Zuflufk, culminating in the famous Citadel massacre of 1861, finally established his authority in Egypt and the appointment of his brother, Ibrahim Pasha, as governor of the Saïs in 1862 brought peace to that part of the country. The way had been prepared for a re-establishment of Bôr-Upper Egyptian relations and in 1864, a great caravan came to Asyût.

1. Reports of Ali Bey, 1868.
3. "Upper Egypt enjoys at present perfect tranquility under the sultan, but a painful departure of French partisans..", Durkheim, 1865, Life, letter dated 20 October 1865, Durkheim, 1865.
it was followed by others in 1614, 1615 and 1616, which were observed by European travellers. In 1613, moreover, two caravans arrived at Ismail from Damietta.

During these years, Muhammad All was occupied with a war in the Hijaz (1611-1613), and it seems likely that in hope of obtaining black slaves for his armies he began to appreciate the benefits of commercial contacts with interior kingdoms. Foreign emissaries reported continued efforts on his part to restore "friendly relations" with countries to the south, and "letters of friendship" were exchanged between Ibrahim Pasha and the mullah of ‘Aqilia, the result of which was the opening of a direct route from ‘Aqilia to Egypt. In 1616 a group of 300 slaves arrived from that kingdom to be sold in Damietta markets.

This trade, under the patronage of the sultan, was largely in the hands of the inhabitants of ‘Aqilia, who continued to monopolize it after their conversion to the Semitic faith, and its inauguration marks the revival of the ancient commerce of Egypt along the western caravan route.

However, the 2,000 to 5,000 slaves per year the trade routes normally realized hardly came up to the 20,000 to

1Burecah, Pasha, 1871, lix; Loret, W.G., Dealing with the Empire of Carthage, 2nd ed., London, 1885, Ch. 11.

2Yielding, Arabic, 1874, Ch. 12.

3The Arab proverb: "When a man is a youth, he is in the country of his father; when he is an old man, he is in the country of his son."
40,000 the prince and his son hopes to obtain for their army.

Muhammad Ali's quest for mineral resources was also coming to a head. Preparations were made for an expedition to occupy Sinai and the Suez, but due to circumstances in the Hiera lasting until 1814, an expeditionary force did not begin moving south until 1820. Sinai was taken in June, 1821, and the province of Kachufin, then under Pasha rule, was annexed two months later. Plans to occupy Dür Fīr were delayed because of a revolt in Greece which the Ottoman sultan requested Muhammad Ali to crush, and that African kingdom was not conquered by the Egyptians until 1824.

Muhammad Ali did not wait for the success of his army in the Sudan before reforming the African trade. By 1815-16, he had embarked on a monopolistic trade policy, purchasing the whole of particular commodities at prices he fixed and selling them at prices he specified to merchants of his choice. Eventually most of trade in Egypt would be monopolized in this fashion, the trade with Africa not excepted. Nevertheless, from Balzac's account of a visit to Egypt in 1816, Muhammad Ali seemed in the beginning to allow some caravan goods to travel between Alexandria and the interior, as the ships of the Egyptian Navy were to do later.
enter the free market. "The victory of Upper Egypt over the enemy" is always the first to select what he pleased from the crops for which he fixed his own price and pays what he likes. The rest is for the merchants, who dare not buy anything till the victor has made his choice.\textsuperscript{1} On the other hand, merchandise claimed about this time the government's policy had so hardened that staples of the trade were "exclusively bought up by the Pasha, who fixes a maximum to the Egyptian merchants, and resells them at pleasure, with great profits."\textsuperscript{2}

Yet the arbitrary Egyptian practice did not deter caravans from arriving, although such a development was regularly predicted by European observers in the country. When in 1817 a great caravan came from Luxor, whetting the appetites of European merchants in Cairo, Muhammad Ali's decision to apply his newly-developed economic policy toward its merchandise shocked the French consul, apparently discovering for the first time what was already established practice. The caravan "had been singularly mistreated," Ruelle reported to the Duc d.

Rebelles, "and after all the advances which Ali has made to reestablish this ancient branch of commerce, it is surprising."

On the pretext of having been insulted by the African sultan and in letters written to him refused to address the Egyptian ruler with the title "brother," — a pretext which seems ob-

\textsuperscript{1}REPPPESS ISSOVS: 1, 28.
\textsuperscript{2}MINAS, 275, footnote 2.
visually calculated for European consumption — "mohomet all, in his ignorance, wanted to confiscate the whole of the caravan. He was satisfied by reserving for himself alone, at a price he was pleased to establish, the slaves, gin, ostrich feathers, a little gold dust, camels, elephant teeth, and left only a remnant for the free market." The slave horses were purchased for his army.

Roussel was convinced "maltreatment of this caravan would render trade relations with Far for Fare for many years, but the need for Egyptian goods and European imports was essential to the well-being of the Sérif for government." In 1859, the British consul wrote that trade with the kingdom continued uninterrupted, and his report is corroborated by several travellers' accounts which describe caravans of varying sizes in Asyût during the period 1852-1860. In 1852, a caravan of camels was reported to have arrived at Sérif, the outpost of the oasis, and Muhammad Ali instructed the governor to buy all male slaves capable of military service.


A. M. Victorian, ed., "Travels in Egypt at the Time and Found it to Be composed of 90,000 Camels and 6,000 Slaves, whereas a Place of Nubia, 2 vols., (Paris, 1850-51), 1, 61, 62.

B. Salt to Joseph Rosset, 8 May 1829, in Daud, Historie de l'Egypte, 52.


Daud, Historie de l'Egypte, 54.
Concurrent with the establishment of exclusive rights to African trade staples and the inaugurating of government-controlled shipping, the Egyptian ruler drew up a new schedule of custom tariffs to be levied in Upper Egypt and Cairo. Burkhardt's note that 60 paras (5,400 pence) was collected in Upper Egypt on 8 slaves exported from Sennar suggests that at the time of Muhammad Ali's accession to power there was a considerable number of slaves available for military service. In terms of 1788 values, this tariff represented a doubling of the old rate of 450 pence. However, by 1820-21, when a new schedule was in effect, tariffs applied to slaves were even lower (in terms of prevailing currency values) than those that had existed in 1798. These commissaries were primarily

2. 223, n. 2.

3. Between 1798 and 1816, the filds continued to fall at a dizzying rate. In 1798 the filds was worth 150 filds in 1798, it was worth about 600 Vosiers, 17.

4. 1823, the jilds was worth 350 filds. The source of information on foreign trade was seen in the 19th century. In 1838 one jild was worth 200, it was 1,00 jilds (22,000 Vosiers) or in terms of 1798, 50 filds in Cairo. Earlier rates were 150 filds for one jild, 150 jilds in 1801. According to Mosnier the rate was 600 jilds for each 40 paras (1200/=), but in terms of 1798, 50 filds. As a result, prices received for slaves in Cairo mirrored internal inflation. Any values (see Chapter VII).
consumed by the domestic market. On the other hand, tariffs on ivory, gum and feathers — highly inestimable abroad — were raised for above rates which had previously existed.

The government's policy of monopoly, price-fixing and adjusted custom rates was clearly designed to channel luxury goods into new palace's warehouses while permitting local merchants to deal in a narrower range of staples (saffron, tamarind, cotton, hides, skins). Egyptian merchants were not entirely squeezed out of the market, as has sometimes been asserted, but for all practical purposes, the market at the Wazir al-Jallib was soon to deal exclusively in slaves. This departure from the variety of goods handled by nineteenth-century merchants is evident in inventories of more than two dozen mailer, Jallib, and other traders frequenting the market during the period 1820-60. Other than slaves, the only African goods mentioned are tamarind and hides (skins).

As the system developed between 1815 and 1820, Egyptian

were abroad for the profits to be earned from the country's export trade.

The result of this trend is that among the native traders even to an end'. Among the Jallib merchants, the 'Princes of the Family -

The last inventory to include the "traditional" items of the trade is dated 1851 and lists quantities of cotton, hide, toward. The leather, cloth, cotton, feathers and several period of ivory: 1,000 kg, 150 (to date 12,100 kg). But until 1864, some twenty years after the monopoly had been withdrawn, it is a similarly rich inventory of similar goods remained in the trade courts.
Drovetti, the French consul, enjoyed considerable influence in the pasha’s circle, and was permitted by him to speculate on the sale of ostrich feathers brought from the Far East in 1827. 1 Other goods brought from Africa and destined for European markets were also to have been passed on to court favorites. 2

Muhammad Ali’s objective was to make the country’s domestic and international trade pay for his increasingly ambitious but financially burdensome military projects. By the 1830’s, African goods officially monopolized by the government 3 were being collected and stored — along with most Egyptian agricultural produce — in newly-built warehouses in Alexandria, and it was through government brokers that European exporters and Egyptian retailers had to obtain such merchandise. 4

At the same time, European

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1. Shelton au Duc de Richelieu, 15 October 1817, in Deroy, Correspondance, 86.

2. For a full account, Rulon, 1788-1873: the system was by appalto (resembling a tax farm), and a list of goods farmed out is given in Rulon, 151-154. (Encyclo) / States that Muhammad Ali had taken out almost all the articles of commerce, foreign and domestic, and was profusely enriched.

3. The desire to have wareh house and sell over goods of these.

In 1830 a report states that he had decided to abandon the monopoly on ostrich feathers and he was overcome by “poor profit,” thus reducing the monopoly and then again let them be handled freely. In 1837 only cotton and ivory are mentioned among African stocks monopolized by the government. “Ostriches granted à la France sur la position du commerce français en Egypt,” enclosed in a letter to Prince de Miliard, 2 March 1804, in Gregory Loud, ed., Correspondance de M. de Miliard, 6. (London, 1973), 411. “Report on the annual and daily conditions in the campaign in Upper Egypt,” in Dubois à Desargues, 6 July 1837, Cahiers, 11, part 5 (Bouch, 1837), 508; Bouraine, Egypt, 77.

4. Rulon, 1788-1873. Profits claimed by Muhammad Ali by buying cheap and selling dear can be seen in his directives.
goods shipped to the Sudan faced a series of prohibitive duties collected in Cairo, Asyût, Amâna, Dongola, Khartoum or Kordofân. The system was so expensive that even the rulers of the Sudan who imported a great deal of mercantile goods from Europe were forced to purchase them in the Sudan.

The sale of slaves was also subjected to government supervision, but as Muhammad Ali went so far as to monopolize the internal trade in slaves, it was necessary to indicate, it was difficult to regulate. The sale of slaves in Cairo continued uninterrupted after the conquest of the Sudan. Slaves sent to Egypt reached such great numbers that the people feared a revolt in Cairo to conquer special quarters near the citadel to house female slaves and children — all adult males having been sent to new areas. 1


2. On the history of the Sudan, see the works mentioned in note 1, Appendix II, Chapter VIII.

3. A letter from the governor of Dongola, dated 6 February 1856, based on a directive dated 3 March 1856, "Report of the "House of Sale and Slave Slaves" at the citadel is identified in February 1856 by Lord Maberly, 1856/1857," evidence that those quarters and their staff existed for a good many years.
army camps in 'Ainin and other locations in Upper Egypt. Some of these slaves may have been taken into the panaw's personal or family service, but others were sent to the slave market. At no time, however, was a government slave market opened; the old Wallāt al-'Alīnā seems to have sufficiently served the government's purposes. Far from restricting this trade, continuing low tariffs on imported slaves in the 19th century suggests that slave-trading was actively encouraged.

The government's supervision of the African trade in Cairo was exercised through the Wallāt al-'Alīnā, and it is interesting to note how Muhammad 'Ali went about controlling its various functions. In his summary of events taking place during the year 1295/1879-80, Jawhari stated that among the panaw's actions was the "taking possession of the Wallāt al-'Alīnā" wherein male and female black slaves and other goods, including sugar, tamarind, fish, wisteria, ostrich feathers, etc.,
brought from Khams as-Suq, are sold.” This passage was poorly translated in the French text as “the establishment of a monopoly over all goods sold at the dwell of the djelaba, namely over black slaves, ivory, tannin, clother, wasskins, ostrich feathers, etc.” Rather than establishing a monopoly over goods sold at the ṭalqa, which would have been only partially true and chronologically inaccurate, the Arabic text clearly indicate Maḥmūd ʿAlī had “taken possession of the ṭalqa” itself, a much more revealing phrase. Documents from the ṭalqa’s help to clarify the situation. In a deed registered 3 March 1821, the pasha was “appointed” to all the offices (ṣallafaṭ) held by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, daughter of ʿAlī Ḥāriṣ, offices which had been assembled by the Ḥāriṣ while shahāb of the ʿAdlīs at Sharkīs and which comprised important traditional urban positions regulating the trade with Africa. They included the auxiliary customs house post in Old Cairo where black slaves were enumerated and assessed, three positions as witnesses to slave sales at the ṭalqa itself, half the brokerage rights to deal in the sale of ivory, gun and feathers, and four brokerage positions dealing with the sale of slaves at the ṭalqa. These posts were now filled by government employees, or else farmed.

1 JNM IV, 124.
2 MC III, 212; correctly accepted by Baer.
3 NW III, 215, #59 (20 Juḥūd al-ʿAlīa 1756).
Muhammad 'Ali also sought to control revenues occurring from the weighing of ivory, gun, salt, feathers and tamarind which had traditionally been supervised by the tenant of the waliyat al-jallama. In 1803, Ibrahim 'Abd al-Razzak, "weigher at the waliyat al-jallama", was appointed by the pasha to weigh these goods wherever they might be sold in the city and its environs. 

It may be suggested, therefore, that Jabarti's reference to "taking possession of the waliyat al-jallama" is in fact a reference to Muhammad 'Ali having taken control of the traditional offices, functions and revenues, at the waliyat. It also seems probable that he amassed vast sums paid by jallama to the waliyat's tenant in order to use its market facilities.

The slave duty collected by the provincial under the old regime had been the object of a tax farm. Under Muhammad 'Ali's government the old jallama became a nazikah ( bureau) and its supervisor took the usual departmental title of nazikah. In 1803, the nazikah al-jallama produced 11 mursas, 126 ginster and 75 faykat (260,000 piastres) in revenue for the

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\[1\] Al, 37, 288 (1 Jumada al-Dhia 1299/21 February 1825).

[2] This should have followed from his action of all "major properties", including those established by formerainted see Bislin, 26-27 (Arif, 4:265, Al Rashid 19-20)

[3] His real title was sijjar, nazikah al-jallama, al-jallama (director of the jallama), in view of the jallama al-

[4] In 1807 the office was held by 'Abdel Qadr 'Ali, who was later appointed wali of

followed the contours of the traditional urban structure of trade to a remarkable and perhaps heretofore unappreciated degree. By inserting himself, his appointees, government super
supervisors, or tax farmers in place of private (non-government) intermediaries, by trimming or eliminating altogether income earned by operators at the waqf of al-Jallab (the shares, brokage, the charter), he was able to expand substantially

\[\text{ذين الزكاة, II, No. 11, text under "Charter" revenue.}\\ This may be the text based on the wills contained by Ahmad Abdeh Pasha, Tâhir, 2002, Al-Mas'ulû, 4, (2002). 273.\\ \]

The word is noted in the inventory of Ayad al-\(\text{عِلَّمُ}\\ al-\(\text{عِلَّمُ}\\\). According to the inventory, this word is only used by the Abdeh family and appears as "\(\text{عِلَّمُ}\\\)". It is mentioned that this word was used in the inventory of Ayad al-\(\text{عِلَّمُ}\\\).

Wilkinson remarks that the government in 1627 took five percent on each article sold by brokers (\(\text{عِلَّمُ}\\\) - \(\text{عِلَّمُ}\\)\(\text{عِلَّمُ}\\, 1627, 2 vols., London, 1947, 1, 1559, but in fact took as probably the total commission exacted by brokers and the government.
the central government's share of revenues produced by the sale of African goods in Cairo. By controlling prices of or by forbidding private trade in some commodities and by adjusting tariff schedules on all, he affected the types of goods handled by local merchants. The trade in slaves became more profitable while the trade in ivory, feathers and silk not only became illegal but prohibitively expensive. The impact on merchants at the Waalat al-Jallâna and on their corporate organization was considerable. His reforms measurably contributed to the decline of the old 'nizalat al-Jallâna.
The trade between Egypt and Black Africa was based on the ancient principle of economic exchange. Each partner produced or else imported a selection of goods desired by the other. The categories of goods exchanged remained remarkably steady over the centuries: Egypt exported a variety of textiles, metals, hides, aromatics and woods while interior kingdoms sent slaves, ivory, gum, feathers and other raw goods. Of the African commodities, slaves were undoubtedly the most important items in terms of market value to Egypt, but "legitimate" goods were perhaps more valuable in terms of their exchange relationship to European and Asian manufactured goods. For many years the most highly desirable items circulating in the Sudan.

The flow of goods from one country to another was stabilized by several factors, not all of them based on economic considerations. Certainly the desire on the part of African traders for European, Asian and Egyptian manufactured goods is of utmost importance in understanding the stability of Egypt's African trade. It was the culture of Sudan and the Fārīs who, in the nineteenth century, the culture of (Benin) who contributed their own goods to the highly significant caravan trade for Egypt and who sometimes protected the slave trade. Despite frequent wars, to enter and leave their kingdoms, thus, to a very large extent,
the trade with Egypt depended on their lasting strength and good will. A second stabilizing factor of the trade came from the custom of state-sponsored caravans whose ultimate goal were the Holy Cities of Arabia. The popularity of pilgrimage in Muslim black Africa and the political desire of monarchs to be associated with the Holy Cities made these caravans were opened, but facts of geography determined their path through Egypt. The economic dimension of the caravan, based on the need to pay for excursions along the way and a natural wish to show gifts to religious institutions in Egypt as well as in the Holy Cities, had disproportionately beneficial results for Egypt's African trade.

Since much of this trade passed through Upper Egypt in the eighteenth century, the group of merchants specializing in African goods in Cairo — the country's great market — were largely of southern origin. Their peculiar commercial interests followed naturally from geographical factors, from the accidental location of caravan terminals, but this brought to the trade a special approach, marked by an enigmatic historical profile, a gift for commerce and a sense of cultural alienation. Cairo became the provincial center of the African trade during this century and it dominated its trade for eighty years of the nineteenth. Its merchants grew and moved in both directions with varying fortunes — to new markets, traveling to commercial centers in black Africa, and to the market, often accompanying African merchants, their slaves and oxen laden at
In the Egyptian capital, the "incilin guild" provided the primary local organization for the trade with Black Africa. Though guild membership was limited to resident merchant brokers, largely Upper Egyptian in origin, the guild had an international dimension since its responsibilities also extended to foreign traders. Its members, therefore, in quasi-diplomatic fashion, were aware of the status of African kings and helpful to their representatives. When the great vessels from Senegambia and Guinea were loaded at the Wangari al-Falaha, Cairo came into touch with events in the interior, and Ghanians or Sudanese Africans, such as Muhamed Umar al-Sawall, wishing to have news of relatives in the Sudan, sought out the new arrivals.

The responsible way in which members of the guild behaved toward Black African merchants (for Egyptian merchants trading in Africa) gave some credit to the West in the Sudan. However, the greater significance of the influence of the West on the trade in West Africa culminated in the rise of the slave trade and the development of a slave market in the Sudan. The development of a chain of fragmentary trading in the Sudan is evident throughout the centuries, with the emergence of the "incilin guild" of Upper Egypt as a significant intermediary. However, the development of a chain of trading links in the Sudan was not the only factor impacting the trade with Black Africa. The influence of the West in the Sudan, with the rise of the slave trade, cannot be ignored. The West, with its advanced knowledge and technology, played a significant role in the development of the trade with Black Africa. The "incilin guild" of Upper Egypt, with its international dimension and its role in mediating between the West and the Sudan, was a significant intermediary in this trade.
African goods was altogether natural. The混乱 relationships was structured along the lines of its master-client, typified by a hierarchy endowed with rights, privileges and responsibilities. But being a mercantile body, the guilds did not expect the customary features of craft guilds which have become synonymous with corporate institutions. There were no special ceremonies marking its existence or underlining its identity. The organization may have been inspired from the top, but it nonetheless functioned internally because guild membership brought together men of similar cultural backgrounds, owning similar professions and interests.

Officially, the混乱 relationships existed for tax purposes. This may indeed have been the chief reason prompting its legal existence, and in a very real sense the status of its officers related directly to the guild's fiscal responsibilities. This can be measured by the numbers of years individual shahids stayed in office during most of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth. Among them Salim ibn Shaddad, the first shahid, held the office for 12 years, the two longest for at least 50; and Buhul ibn Hamid was listed as about 20. Yet in the 12 years following, according to the records of the trade directory in 1700, the longest tenure of any shahid was eight years. A new multitude element had apparently dislocated the guild in the nineteenth century, and one of the principal means
was an extent the transfer of fiscal responsibilities from calids
and ahbabs to government bureaucrats then standing in the
central state for African goods.

Muhammad 'Ali's reforms also ended the traditional
role played by mamluks in the 'alaliya al-asa'd as "general
merchants" in the trade. The wide variety of African as well
as local and imported goods found in nineteenth century
inventory give way in the post-1830 period to a limited stock
of merchandise. The trade in slaves became the prime commercial
pursuit, partly because slaves became more available as a result
of Egyptian conquests in the Sudan, partly because the govern-
ment now monopolized the lucrative trade in ivory, gun and
feathers, and partly because lower-quality captives sold slaves
somewhat cheaper. The restriction of commercial operations to
slaves may not have reduced merchants' incomes — the impact of
Muhammad 'Ali's economic policies on the various levels of
Egyptian society has yet to be assessed on the basis of local
documents — but it did undermine the future existence of the
mamluks at the 'alaliya al-asa'd by slipping into too closely
with the slave trade. In the 1500's and 1600's European anti-
slavery sentiment was to be directed at the transatlantic Atlantic
slave trade, the result was

1. "Egyptian Nol on 28 Rajab 1268/4 September
1842, Anin Hasl, 21, 566."
designs outside of Cairo and this trade continued unnoticed.

But the traditional and important role between the African tribe
and the old market, conveniently located in the central center
of Cairo, was dramatically weakened, and most merchants dispersed
into separate establishments throughout the city.  

The decline of Sudan eventually profoundly affected other
foremost and hereditary underdeveloped elements in the trade.
The military occupation was accompanied by an increase in contacts
between Egypt and distant Sudan. Many new people, Egyptians as
well as Sudanese, moved into trade, travelling between Cairo and
the new Sudanese capital at Khartoum. In Khartoum registered
new names appear as witnesses to transactions involving merchants
at the Janissary market and it is increasingly difficult to
keep track of them all. Some came from parts of the Sudan, some in
Upper Egypt that had long enjoyed commercial contacts with
old Sudan, others were from Darfur and on. The terms of
Khartoum-bound caravans, and from towns of Egyptian trade
involved by Arab tribes, such as the Saleh, now more closely associated
with the meaning of the African trade than ever before.

More importantly, government interest in Sudan goods
brought large numbers of Sudanese and Egyptian to Cairo, not in
their former capacity as sella, but as resident merchants or

1See Chapter V.1.  
2The name of Khartoum. Opinion among and
This should be translated to the Sudanese. The
name of several merchant families, such as the

Nevertheless, the term "Hamam" usually denoted those associated with the "Hamam" network, as it spread into other parts of the region. It is primarily associated with the "Hamam" network, which was responsible for the distribution of "Hamam" currency and provided a service to the local population. The term "Hamam" was used to denote a social and economic network that was vital to the functioning of the region. The term "Hamam" was also used to denote a social and economic network that was vital to the functioning of the region. The term "Hamam" was used to denote a social and economic network that was vital to the functioning of the region. The term "Hamam" was used to denote a social and economic network that was vital to the functioning of the region.
The degree that their guild affiliations began to convey on
can only be guessed, but the influx of negroes and slaves seems
to have had an unsettling effect on the guilds at the Vadacca site.
Certainly they posed a threat to guild members. By 1560, a "Partiati"
was acting as sheriff of the guild of slave merchants in Alexandria,
now visualized during Mehmed II's reign, and exercised thereafter, however "Partiati" continued to the same post in Cairo. 1

Interference by the government in the local organization
of the African trade diminished the traditional responsibilities
of the guild, but had the unofficial social and other ties dev-
loped by guild members been unaffected, the "Partiati" might well have continued to function in the nineteenth century
such as it had in the eighteenth. The influx of negroes and
slaves severely undercut these relevant links.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the government had with-
drawn most of its monopolies on African goods, and the "Coton
trade" became big business, flourishing on a scale it had never
reached in the eighteenth century. 2 The new commercial oppor-
tunities, however, were mostly seized on by a small number of
European entrepreneurs in the country, particularly Greeks, who

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had access to sufficient capital to dominate the trade. Since they were unable to station permanent agents in the Sudan itself, but were obliged to operate from offices in Alexandria, Cairo and Upper Egypt, they had to associate with local merchants. This provided an opening for Italianaj Libyans, Copts and Muslims, and it was during the second decade of the century that several important fortunes were made, many of them by Arabaj Libyans. The economic links between important European powers, such as the Christian brothers, for example, and Egyptian entrepreneurs can be documented, but such a study lies outside the scope of the present one.

Within the framework of the commercial Sudan trade, the old core of merchant at the Waqalat al-Wadillah had little place. Their traditional links with Upper Egypt, so valuable in the eighteenth century, were circumvented by a new alliance between European entrepreneurs and Arabaj Libyans. They could not draw on the capital resources needed to compete with the new men, a crucial factor since the Arabaj Libyans were beginning to be paid in cash and were willing to deal only in whole rather than piece-meal quantities. Nor had the old core any established connections with the government of trading merchants in the Sudan, such as a nursery of Egyptian and European soon developed. In short, there was demand. The African trade had

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become too diversifed and the traditional specialists had neither
resources, contacts, or expertise to cope with the economic
realities of capitalist nineteenth-century Egypt.
**TRANSLATION**

**Turkish title of gold employed in Egypt.** These were given government seals (to ensure it was marketed in the name of the state) and permitted to exhibit one or more heraldic symbols.

**Mast (m.)** A large, plaited rope.

**Masla (m.)** A unit of land, approximately one acre.

**Marace** (m.) Properly mill-sheriff. The basic silver unit of currency used in Egypt. Also spelled *maras* and *marada*. A piece of coin used at the Egyptian stock exchange, is rendered a continental currency in decimal times. The *marace* was also struck into copper pieces. (Greek: *maras* coins were used in small retail transactions. Eventually most of the eighteenth century, the *marace* was worth between 10 and 12 lira, see Egyptian currency, 1795-1798.

**Masaria** A gold coin minted in Egypt beginning in 1797. At that time it was valued at 375 marace. It subsequently rose to 500 marace on 28 April 1798, the Venetian gold coin, *bajocchi*. By 1798 it was valued at 375 marace.

**And (m., sing.)** A silver coin, first minted in Egypt during the reigns of the first and second Caliphs, valued at 10 marace. It was withdrawn from circulation 2 years later, but subsequently re-introduced by Muhammed IV. At that time, it was also valued at 10 marace and finally replaced the *bajocchi* as the official unit of currency. It became known as the *franc*.

**Mast (m., sing.)** A term often employed in Egypt to refer to any part of North Africa.

**Imy, constant, adobe-like bricks.** See *mud*. 

**Mast (m., sing.)** In architecture, roughly larger than a *silaq*. Usually located in the *recesses* of a building, facing a *mud* wall.
The group of officials and scribes that formed the religious establishments of the country.

MENA (pl. MENA): Men, scribes, after being trained in scribes training and required candidates with diverse skills and possessing qualifications. In Egypt it replaced the earlier term SHENU and SELT. The position of a MENA was often a pay or tax for a large group of scribes with a central office, the origin of men who the 19th dynasty of the New Kingdom were recorded. At the end of the eighteenth century the MENA were found in the central parts of Liver.

NACHT: Please find facilities where approved religious or charitable institutions have much also be established in favor of the democratization of the donor (LEB) until the time was evident. In that time the presence were to be transferred to a religious institution. Private owners often registered their private properties and business locations as goods property, thereby ensuring perpetual use or (or rent free) the property for the family.

NAG (pl. NAG): Office, employment, as used in religious documents. Can also refer to personnel (see also: LEHMAN E. L., 1988, June 8th).

NACHT (pl. NIGHT): Syrian term for olive merchant. It may originally even been applied to merchants of white olive oil who taken care in the Abusir period by those selling these blooms.

NORD: Oil was minted in Egypt. One introducing in the early part of the Eighteenth century. It was valued at 107.5 Egyptian. Subsequently rose to the 110 from. The supplier from vegetation moors for periods at the century.
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