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MUḤAMMAD °ALĪ'S CONQUEST OF SUDAN (1820 – 1824)¹

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This paper deals with two Turco-Egyptian expeditions sent to Sudan by the Egyptian Viceroy Muḥammad °Alī Pasha at the turn of the third decade of the nineteenth century. The first one, commanded by his son Ismā°īl Kāmil Pasha, conquered the declining kingdom of Sinnār in 1820 – 1821. The second one was led by his son-in-law, Muḥammad Bey Khusraw *ad-Daftardār*, and seized Kordofan (Arab. Kurdufān) in 1821. After the killing of Ismā°īl Kāmil Pasha in Shandī, tribes inhabiting the Nile valley revolted in October 1822. Following the brutal suppression of the revolt, Sudan became an Egyptian colony. However, the main long-term goals of the expedition – to acquire large quantities of gold and build a modern army of Sudanese slaves – were not accomplished.

Key words: conquest of Sudan, Funj Kingdom, Ismā°īl Kāmil, Muḥammad °Alī, Muḥammad Bey Khusraw, Turco-Egyptian expedition

Introduction

The paper focuses on the gradual conquest of Sudan by Muḥammad °Alī's forces from 1820 to 1824. Two expeditions were sent to Sudan; the first of them, led by Ismā°īl Pasha, gained control of the riverine regions and conquered the Funj Kingdom. The second, led by Muḥammad Bey Khusraw, took over Kordofan. Despite the uprising that broke out in the fall of 1822 in the country

¹ The preparation of this paper was supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency (grant no. APVV-15-0030) and by a scholarship from the Jan Hus Foundation and UPJŠ (University of Pavol Jozef Šafárik) Foundation. The paper is a translated, revised and updated version of the following article: BEŠKA, E. Dobytie Sudánu vojskami Muhammada °Alího (1820 – 1824) [Conquest of Sudan by Muhammad °Alī's Forces (1820 – 1824)]. In *Acta FF*, 2013, Vol. 1, pp. 13–35.

of the Ja[°]alīyūn and the central regions of the Funj Kingdom, the Turco-Egyptian² regime, remained in place in Sudan. The conquest of Sudan by Muḥammad [°]Alī has been the most significant turning point in the modern history of this country, as its incorporation under Egyptian domination had far-reaching consequences for its inhabitants.

This topic was dealt with in two studies by Arthur E. Robinson almost a century ago (1925 and 1926). Since then, Sudan's conquest has not been thoroughly revisited by scholars. This article mainly uses primary sources (al-Jabartī's chronicle, writings of travellers and participants of the expedition, the Funj Chronicle) in addition to secondary literature (R. Hill, J. L. Spaulding, A. Robinson, P. M. Holt, M. W. Daly, R. S. O'Fahey, Muḥammad Sa[°]īd al-Qaddāl).

Egypt at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century

At the turn of the nineteenth century, Egypt underwent major transformations catalysed by Napoleon's expedition (1798 – 1801). The French were pushed out of Egypt by the British and Ottoman troops, but the situation did not return to the way it had been before their arrival. The Mamlūks' power had been severely compromised, and this was exploited by the commander of the Ottoman Albanian forces, Muḥammad [°]Alī.³ He eventually became the Ottoman viceroy of Egypt in 1805, and by 1812 he had eliminated all internal threats to his rule.⁴

² Regarding the expedition and subsequent occupational regime, I use, for a number of reasons, the term "Turco-Egyptian", which best describes its essence. The expedition was sent from Egypt, and its initiator and organizer was the Egyptian viceroy. He was, however, a member of the Ottoman and Turkish-speaking (yet at the same time multi-ethnic) elite that had ruled Egypt for centuries. Moreover, he organized the expedition and ruled Sudan on behalf of the Ottoman sultan. At the same time, the decisive components of the expedition and Sudan's subsequent administration derived from these Turkish-speaking elements. The Sudanese themselves described the invaders as "Turk" (Turks) and the established regime as "Turkīya" (the Turkish regime). COLLINS, R. O. *A History of Modern Sudan*, p. 10.

³ Muḥammad [°]Alī (1769 – 1849) was born in Macedonian Kavala into the family of an Albanian merchant and soldier. He gained his first military experience in battles with pirates as a corvette captain at the end of the 1780s. In 1801 he left for Egypt as an officer of the Albanian troops, and two years later, after Ṭāhir Pasha's death, he became the supreme commander of the entire Albanian contingent.

⁴ For a detailed analysis of the political situation in Egypt at the beginning of the nineteenth century, see SORBY, K. R. *Egypt: The Period of Political Anarchy (1801 – 1805)*.

The new ruler quickly realized that in order to maintain himself as a *de facto* independent ruler, he needed a modern army modelled on European traditions. However, the formation of a modern army was conditioned by the need to carry out a series of reforms that were gradually put into practice.

From 1811 to 1812, the Egyptian viceroy took a major step toward consolidating his position when he dealt a fatal blow to the Mamlūks on Egyptian territory. On 1 March 1811, he invited the Mamlūk beys to the citadel in Cairo for the inauguration of his son, Aḥmad Ṭūsūn Pasha, as the commander of the expedition to Arabia against the Wahhābis (Arab. Wahhābīyūn). Upon leaving the fortress, he had them and their companions butchered by his Albanian troops.⁵ Only several hundred Mamlūks survived this massacre and the subsequent persecution. They fled south to Dongola (Arab. Dunqulā) and created their own small statelet.

The Reasons for the Turco-Egyptian Expedition to Sudan

The primary reason leading to the planning of the expedition was to remove the potential Mamlūk threat lurking south of Egypt. The number of Mamlūks was small, but Muḥammad ʿAlī was certainly aware of the fact that in the past, the defeated Mamlūk fractions had often fled to Upper Egypt or to Nubia to wait for the right moment to return.⁶ In Dongola, the Mamlūks could also strengthen their ranks by buying black slaves.⁷ Moreover, news was circulating in Egypt at the time of an exaggerated number of Mamlūks; instead of 300–400, there were rumours of more than 1,000 along with 5,000–6,000 slaves.⁸

The invasion also had several fundamental political, economic, and strategic goals. The Egyptian viceroy was interested in Sudanese gold as well as other valuable raw materials. However, the slaves were the greatest attraction. The lack of suitable human resources was preventing Muḥammad ʿAlī from building a modern and disciplined army. He thought that the solution was to take over the Sudanese trade in black slaves in order to obtain the necessary recruits for

⁵ HOLT, P. M. *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516 – 1922: A Political History*, p. 179; BAREŠ, L., VEŠELÝ, R., GOMBÁR, E. *Dějiny Egypta* [History of Egypt], pp. 402–403.

⁶ The duumvirs Murād Bey and Ibrāhīm Bey were pushed out by the Ottoman army to Nubia beyond the First Cataract at the turn of 1786/1787. HOLT, P. M. *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516 – 1922*, p. 100.

⁷ HOLT, P. M., DALY, M. W. *A History of the Sudan: From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day*, pp. 41–42.

⁸ HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, p. 8.

the army. The disintegration of the Funj Kingdom and political anarchy in Sudan had caused a great decline in the slave trade, which he intended to revive. He also deemed necessary to check the growing power of the North Sudanese Shāyqīya tribal confederacy. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, it had been attacking areas that were nominally part of the Ottoman Empire⁹ and had played a major role in stopping the trade in the region. In addition, the Egyptian viceroy wanted to occupy the Sudanese ports of Sawākin (Suakin) and Maṣawwa^c to strengthen Egyptian positions in the Red Sea. Finally, the expedition allowed him to send unruly Albanian troops far away from Cairo.¹⁰ The British Consul General in Egypt thought that Muḥammad ^cAlī wanted to prepare a refuge for himself in Sudan in case he would have to leave Egypt.¹¹

Surveying the Terrain

Muḥammad ^cAlī used the decade before the conquest of Sudan to collect information about the situation in the country. In 1812, he sent a messenger to Sinnār with the declared aim of persuading the Funj king to drive the Mamlūks out of the territories that were nominally under his government. His real intention was to explore the terrain for a possible expedition and to get an overview of the political situation and military potential of the Funj Kingdom and the *de facto* independent small states lying between the kingdom and Egypt.¹² According to Burckhardt,¹³ who visited northern Sudan in the spring of 1813 and again in the following year, the messenger raised suspicions with the local population of the Egyptian viceroy's expansive intentions.¹⁴

⁹ Their plundering expeditions were headed for the area of the Second Cataract. BURCKHARDT, J. L. *Travels in Nubia*, p. 49.

¹⁰ HOLT, P. M., DALY, M. W. *A History of the Sudan*, p. 42; GOMBÁR, E. *Moderní dějiny islámských zemí* [Modern History of Islamic Countries]. Praha: Karolinum, 1999, pp. 87, 94; ENGLISH, G. B. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar under the Command of His Excellence Ismael Pasha, Undertaken by Order of His Highness Mehemmed Ali Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt*, p. ix; SPAULDING, J. *The Heroic Age in Sinnār*, p. 216.

¹¹ MANLEY, D., RÉE, P. *Henry Salt: Artist, Traveller, Diplomat, Egyptologist*, pp. 192–193.

¹² AL-QADDĀL, M. S. *Tārīkh as-Sūdān al-hadīth: 1820 – 1955* [Modern History of Sudan: 1820 – 1955], p. 39.

¹³ Johann Ludwig Burckhardt (1784 – 1817) was a Swiss Orientalist and traveller who came to the Middle East in 1809 in the service of the British African Association.

¹⁴ BURCKHARDT, J. L. *Travels in Nubia*, pp. 256–257, 308.

In 1814, Burckhardt met with Muḥammad ʿAlī in Arabia, and in their conversations he gave the viceroy valuable updates about the situation in Sudan, the resources of the country, and the quality of its roads. To the question of how large an army was needed for the conquest of the riverine regions of Sudan up to the capital of the Funj Kingdom, he replied: “Five hundred men, good troops, might reach that point, but could not keep possession of the country; and the expenses would scarcely be repaid by the booty.”¹⁵ Muḥammad ʿAlī was also in touch with several rulers of statelets in northern Sudan and received intelligence from them. *Makk*¹⁶ Naṣraddīn¹⁷ of Barbar¹⁸ (the Mīrafāb tribe) and *Makk* Tumbul of Dongola had been deposed and sought help from the Egyptian viceroy against their rivals.¹⁹

Sudan before the Egyptian Expedition

In the early nineteenth century, much of Sudan was in a state of political anarchy. The Funj Kingdom had been the dominant state in the eastern part of today’s Sudan for three centuries.²⁰ This state entity, which nominally controlled the eastern and central areas of today’s Sudan, had been past its prime for some time and only had effective control in the regions around the lower stream of the Blue Nile and in al-Jazīra.²¹ By then, its territory was divided into a number of *de facto* independent states. The Funj Kingdom was established by ʿAmāra Dunqas at the beginning of the sixteenth century at the

¹⁵ BURCKHARDT, J. L. *Travels in Arabia*. Vol. I., pp. 141–142.

¹⁶ A title meaning “king” which is either of non-Arabic origin or a shortened Arabic expression for *malik* (king).

¹⁷ In 1801 *Makk* Naṣraddīn was put on the throne in Barbar by the *mānjil* of Qarrī (who co-ruled the Funj kingdom in the northern riverine regions of Sudan). Later Naṣraddīn was defeated and deposed by the Shāyqīya; *Makk* Shawīsh put Naṣraddīn’s nephew ʿAlī wad Timsāḥ in his place. O’FAHEY, R. S., SPAULDING, J. *Kingdoms of the Sudan*, p. 102; ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt*. Part I. In *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 1925, Vol. 25, No. 97, p. 55.

¹⁸ The Arabic name Barbar is often transcribed as Berber.

¹⁹ AL-QADDĀL, M. S. *Tārīkh as-Sūdān al-hadīth: 1820 – 1955* [Modern History of Sudan: 1820 – 1955], p. 37.

²⁰ Also called the kingdom of Sinnār and as-Salṭana az-zarqá’, the Black Sultanate (the literary translation of the name in standard Arabic is “Blue Sultanate”).

²¹ Al-Jazīra is the Arabic word for “island”. This term is also used to denote a territory delimited by two rivers – in this case the Blue Nile and the White Nile. This term is also applied to north-eastern Syria, where it denotes the territory between the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers.

lower Blue Nile.²² At that time, he defeated °Abdallāh Jammā° of the °Abdallāb, the unifier of the northern Sudanese tribes,²³ and annexed the areas controlled by him to his empire. These included the territories of the Ja°alīyūn tribe, the Shāyqīya tribal confederacy, Dongola, and the lands inhabited by other smaller tribes. The °Abdallābs were not removed, but they became his vassals holding title of *mānjil*²⁴ and had their capital at Qarrī.²⁵ The Funj king was the highest ruler of the realm, with individual areas being administered by either tribal chiefs or appointed governors.²⁶ In 1762 Muḥammad Abū Likaylik,²⁷ the governor of Kordofan, took power as a regent. From then, real power never returned to the hands of the Funj kings but remained in the family of Muḥammad Abū Likaylik and his brother. However, this government was not stable, and family conflicts and murders of regents repeatedly occurred. From the 1780s, the peripheral areas gradually began to separate from Sinnār. In 1820, the last powerful ruler, who had ruled since 1808, Muḥammad wad²⁸ °Adlān was killed while preparing to defend against the Turco-Egyptian

²² The Funj were probably southern Nubians who the Nilotic Shilluk tribe had pushed out of their homeland near the White Nile in the north-eastern direction up to the Blue Nile. There are also some alternative theories about their genesis. One of them claims they were originally members of the Shilluk tribe, which lives around the city of Malakal (Arab. Malakāl) on the White Nile in South Sudan to the present day. The main source of this theory is the Scottish traveller James Bruce. Another theory talks about their origin in Ethiopia. SPAULDING, J. The Funj: A Reconsideration. In *The Journal of African History*, 1972, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 39–53; BRUCE, James. *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile, in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773*. In Five Volumes. Vol. IV, p. 458.

²³ The names of the modern Sudanese dynasties are usually derived from the name of the founder with the addition of the suffix *āb* – °Abdallāh (°Abdallāb dynasty), Nimr (Nimrāb), Sa°d (Sa°dāb), etc.

²⁴ The title of the °Abdallāb emperor was *shaykh* from Qarrī or *mānjil* (a word of Funj origin). This rank was the privilege of several most important vassals of the Funj king.

²⁵ For excerpts from written historical sources on the formation of the Funj kingdom, see HOLT, P. M. A Sudanese Historical Legend: The Funj Conquest of Sūba. In *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 1960, pp. 1–12.

²⁶ HOLT, P. M., DALY, M. W. *A History of the Sudan*, pp. 25–27.

²⁷ He came from an ethnic group called the Hamaj, which inhabited the area of Fāzūghlī.

²⁸ *Wad* – in colloquial Sudanese Arabic, this is a shortened expression for *walad* (boy, son), an equivalent of the usually used *ibn* in Arabic.

expedition. As a result of this event, the Funj Kingdom was unable to oppose Muḥammad ʿAlī's invasion.²⁹

In the Darfur (Arab. Dār Fūr) region to the west, the situation was different. From the seventeenth century, the powerful tribal state of the Fūr – the Darfur Sultanate – gradually emerged in the area of Jabal Marra.³⁰ After years of competing with the Sultanate of Wadai (Arab. Waddāy) in the west, at the time when the Sinnār Kingdom was weakening in the second half of the eighteenth century, it reoriented eastwards and gradually expanded at the expense of the latter. In the 1880s, first, Sultan Muḥammad Tayrāb (1752/3 – 1785/6),³¹ and at the beginning of the following decade his successor, ʿAbdarrahmān ibn Aḥmad Bukr (1785/6 – 1803), conquered Kordofan and pushed its ruler Hāshim of the al-Musabbaʿāt clan³² out of the region. ʿAbdarrahmān settled permanently east of Jabal Marra, and the capital of al-Fāshir gradually grew around his court. The government of the Keira (Arab. Kayrā) dynasty in Kordofan persisted until the Egyptian expedition. The Darfur Sultanate, which was at the height of its power in the second half of the eighteenth century, was a major exporter of ivory, ostrich feathers, and, particularly, slaves to Egypt. Great caravans were regularly organized from there and followed a road called *Darb al-arbaʿīn*.³³ Sultan Muḥammad al-Faḍl (1803 – 1838) was the ruler of Darfur at the time of

²⁹ SPAULDING, J. *The Heroic Age in Sinnār*, pp. 123–238; ROBINSON, A. E. “Abu El Kaylik,” the Kingmaker of the Fung of Sennar. In *American Anthropologist*. New Series, 1929, Vol. 31, No. 2, pp. 232–264; HOLT, P. M., DALY, M. W. *A History of the Sudan*, pp. 25–27, 33–35.

³⁰ The Darfur Sultanate was also called the Keira (Arab. Kayrā) Sultanate after the ruling dynasty.

³¹ He died when arriving from the victorious expedition to Kordofan.

³² Kordofan was originally subject to the Funj Kingdom, but in the eighteenth century the al-Musabbaʿāt clan, which was related to the Keira dynasty, played an important role there and was even trying to gain power in Darfur. O'FAHEY, R. S., SPAULDING, J. L. Hāshim and the Musabbaʿāt. In *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 1972, Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 327–330.

³³ This meant “the road of forty”. The name was derived from the amount of time (forty days) that was necessary to traverse it. It led from Asyūṭ through the al-Khārija and Salīma oases to the town of as-Suwayna in Darfur and ended in Kobbei (Arab. Kubayh), northwest of al-Fāshir. An English traveller W. G. Browne was the only European who completed it and the journey took him almost sixty days. He made the journey from May to July 1793 and describes it in his book. BROWNE, W. G. *Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria from the Year 1792 to 1798*, pp. 184–189.

the Turco-Egyptian invasion.³⁴ During his reign, Darfur's military power declined compared to that of his predecessors.³⁵

The Progress of the Expedition

The fact, that the expedition of conquest to Sudan was about to start was demonstrated in the increased interest and activity of Egyptian high officials in the southern regions of Egypt. In 1818 Muḥammad Bey Khusraw *ad-Daftardār*,³⁶ the son-in-law of Muḥammad °Alī,³⁷ was sent to Nubia. A year later, Muḥammad °Alī himself went to explore Upper Egypt and Nubia. According to °Abdarraḥmān al-Jabartī,³⁸ at the time of Muḥammad °Alī's return in November 1819 people spread rumours about the planned attack against the Mamlūks as well as about plans for the expedition and conquest of Darfur and Nubia.³⁹

The invasion was divided into two parts. Firstly, the expedition led by Muḥammad °Alī's third son, the twenty-five-year-old Ismā'īl Kāmil Pasha, headed south. The deputy commander was °Ābidīn *Kāshif*, the former provincial governor of al-Minyā. The expedition's aim was to conquer areas in the Nile Basin, including Sinnār, the capital of the Funj Kingdom. It set off from Aswān in September 1820 and continued from Wādī Ḥalfā in early October. The second expedition, led by Muḥammad Bey Khusraw *ad-Daftardār*, whose goal was the conquest of Kordofan and Darfur, went south the next year.

The expedition to Sudan was also joined by the American officer George Bethune English, who on the recommendation of the British Consul General in Egypt, Henry Salt, became the *topgi bashi*⁴⁰ of the expedition.⁴¹ He published a book about the expedition, leaving one of the most significant accounts of its progress. When he arrived at Wādī Ḥalfā military camp at the end of September

³⁴ SPAULDING, J. *The Heroic Age in Sinnār*, pp. 208–217.

³⁵ O'FAHEY, R. S. *The Darfur Sultanate: A History*, p. 75.

³⁶ *Daftardār* – the highest financial official.

³⁷ AL-QADDĀL, M. S. *Tārīkh as-Sūdān al-hadīth: 1820 – 1955* [Modern History of Sudan: 1820 – 1955], p. 39.

³⁸ °Abdarraḥmān ibn Ḥasan al-Jabartī (1753 – 1825/26) was a historian and the last Egyptian chronicler. At the time of Ottoman rule over Egypt, he was a unique occurrence in this field. His chronicle deals with the period from 1688 to 1821.

³⁹ AL-JABARTĪ, °A. *Tārīkh al-Jabartī* [Al-Jabartī's History], p. 433.

⁴⁰ *Topgi bashi* – commander of artillery.

⁴¹ ENGLISH, G. B. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar*, p. x.

1820, there were about four thousand soldiers and one hundred and twenty ships. He described the composition of the artillery unit in the following words: “[T]en pieces of field artillery, one mortar 8 inch calibre, and two small howitzers, attached to which were one hundred and twenty cannoneers.”⁴² The troops were made up of Turkish, Albanian, and *Maghāribā* infantrymen⁴³ as well as Turkish and Bedouin cavalry from Upper Egypt. The members of the °Abābda nomadic tribe, living on the eastern border between Egypt and Sudan, played a significant supporting role in the field of navigation and logistics. Most of the soldiers were mercenaries who had received half a year of their salary in advance. Such a varied composition was deliberate so that no component of the army would be dominant.⁴⁴

The first military expedition advanced along the east bank of the Nile. Most military units went on land, whereas supplies were transported by boats on the river. English suffered from eye inflammation during the entire expedition, which delayed him in Wādī Halfā. He then followed the expedition by boat and caught up with the army only after it had already fought the only two battles against the Shāyqīya tribe. The expedition was planned so that the boats would sail over the Second and the Third Cataracts in the autumn at the time of the Nile’s highest level, otherwise it would not have been possible to pull the boats through the cascades. Even so, it was very difficult in many places, and on some occasions, individual boats had to be pulled by up to a hundred men with the help of ropes.⁴⁵

The expedition did not meet any resistance in the first phase. Nubia had been ruled by *kāshifs*, the descendants of the first Ottoman governor Ḥasan Quzzī (Ghuzzī), since the mid-sixteenth century, when Bosnian garrisons had been deployed in the area between the First and Third Cataract, and thus it came under the auspices of the Ottoman Empire. Nubia formally remained a part of it, but the *kāshifs* were virtually independent. However, the Aswān, Ibrīm, and Sāy fortresses were not subordinate to the Nubian *kāshifs* and each had its own *aghā* (commander). In the second decade of the nineteenth century, Nubia was jointly ruled by three brothers – Ḥusayn, Ḥasan, and Muḥammad – who resided in Derr

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁴³ They came from the coastal areas of today’s Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria. WADDINGTON, G., HANBURY, B. *Journal of a Visit to Some Parts of Ethiopia*, p. 93.

⁴⁴ AL-QADDĀL, M. S. *Tārīkh as-Sūdān al-hadīth: 1820 – 1955* [Modern History of Sudan: 1820 – 1955], p. 40; HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, p. 9.

⁴⁵ ENGLISH, G. B. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar*, pp. 3–8.

(Arab. ad-Dirr).⁴⁶ Ḥasan *Kāshif* was the first to submit to the expedition. To reward him, Ismāʿīl appointed him as the administrator of Nubia.⁴⁷

Dongola was also taken without violence. Ismāʿīl used a very reasonable tactic ordered by his father of leaving local rulers in place as part of the newly established state administration, which reduced the probability of revolt as well as costs of governing. The *makk* of Argo (Arab. Arqū), Tumbul Muḥammad Idrīs, who several years earlier had been removed by the Mamlūks, regained his position as a district *kāshif* within the newly-formed province of Dongola.⁴⁸ He was given the territory stretching from Argo to Handak to administer.⁴⁹

Similarly, the Mamlūks did not put up any resistance. Before the expedition set off, Muḥammad ʿAlī called on the Mamlūks to yield. Still, their commander, ʿAbdarrahmān Bey, sent him an insolent answer: “Tell Mahommed Ali that we will be on no terms with our servant.”⁵⁰ In June 1820, before the arrival of Ismāʿīl Pasha's expedition, the Mamlūks left Dongola. There are several versions of their subsequent fates. According to Waddington, they all left firstly for the town of Shandī, in the Jaʿalīyūn country. However, its ruler, *Makk* Nimr, did not let them into the town but permitted them to set up a camp next to his capital. But when Ismāʿīl Pasha twice defeated the Shāyqīya tribe, *Makk* Nimr decided to give up without a fight, and compelled the Mamlūks to leave. The Mamlūks then divided into three groups. The largest one went to Darfur, a smaller group took off for the Red Sea, and the last group decided to surrender.⁵¹ According to a different version, the Mamlūks already split up in Dongola, and only some of them went to Shandī. Most of them, led by ʿAbdarrahmān Bey, left for Darfur and then went further west to Wadai, where they stayed for four months. This group was then divided, with one part going south and the other, consisting of twenty-six Mamlūks, heading north. On their way, the latter party got into conflict with the people of Borgo. Twenty Mamlūks fell in this encounter. On 20 October 1822, Major Dixon Denham met the remaining six-member group, led by Muḥammad Bey and ʿAlī Bey, north of

⁴⁶ WADDINGTON, G., HANBURY, B. *Journal of a Visit to Some Parts of Ethiopia*, p. 19; BURCKHARDT, J. L. *Travels in Nubia*, pp. 61–62; HOLT, P. M. *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516 – 1922*, p. 54.

⁴⁷ ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt*. Part I, p. 50.

⁴⁸ It included Dongola and the land of the Shāyqīya. ʿĀbidīn *Kāshif* became the first governor of the province of Dongola.

⁴⁹ WADDINGTON, G., HANBURY, B. *Journal of a Visit to Some Parts of Ethiopia*, p. 233; HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, p. 9; ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt*. Part I, p. 50.

⁵⁰ WADDINGTON, G., HANBURY, B. *Journal of a Visit to Some Parts of Ethiopia*, p. 230.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 230–232.

Murzuq near Temenhint in Libya. Their goal was Tripoli, where they wanted to settle.⁵²

The only one who decided to oppose the expedition was the Shāyqīya tribal confederacy which consisted of twelve tribes.⁵³ The reason for their resistance was Ismāʿīl's effort to disarm them, take their horses, and turn them into peasants. They were led by four kings, the most prominent of whom were the ʿAdlānāb *Makk* Shāwīsh and the Ḥannakāb *Makk* Şubayr. The more powerful *Makk* Shāwīsh was characterized as “a fat, lively, good-tempered man, and very fair for a Sheygy'a”, while Şubayr was depicted as “a more violent man”.⁵⁴ The members of this tribe were characterized as proud and courageous fighters. They had been independent from the Funj Kingdom since the end of the seventeenth century, and in the early nineteenth century, *Makk* Shāwīsh sought to control the former large ʿAbdallāb dependencies, which included the Nile valley from the town of Arbajī on the Blue Nile in the south up to the Third Cataract in the north. This was, however, prevented by the intense resistance of *Makk* Nimr from Shandī and definitively by the Mamlūk invasion.⁵⁵

By local standards, the Shāyqīya tribal confederacy had a great military force of two thousand riders and about eight thousand infantrymen. They used spears and swords in combat and only their chiefs had pistols.⁵⁶ However, they were excellent riders, and their horses were trained to perform a special jumping style of galloping, resembling the running of an antelope, which made it impossible for the enemy to aim precisely.⁵⁷

Muḥammad ʿAlī did not like Ismāʿīl Pasha's uncompromising methods and wrote him a letter criticizing the way he dealt with the Shāyqīya: “It was your duty to subdue the people of Shāyqīya by gaining their favour peacefully, and to seize their country by reassuring them and taming them. And it is greatly

⁵² DENHAM, D., CLAPPERTON, H., OUDNEY, W. *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa, in the Years 1822, 1823 and 1824*, pp. xlv–xlvi.

⁵³ HOLT, P.M. *The Sudan of the Three Niles: The Funj Chronicle 910 – 1288/1504 – 1871*, p. 79.

⁵⁴ WADDINGTON, G., HANBURY, B. *Journal of a Visit to Some Parts of Ethiopia*, p. 95.

⁵⁵ MACMICHAEL, H. A. *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*. Vol. I, pp. 215–216; O'FAHEY, R. S., SPAULDING, J. *Kingdoms of the Sudan*, pp. 100–103.

⁵⁶ WADDINGTON, G., HANBURY, B. *Journal of a Visit to Some Parts of Ethiopia*, p. 95–98; ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt*. Part I, pp. 50–51.

⁵⁷ WADDINGTON, G., HANBURY, B. *Journal of a Visit to Some Parts of Ethiopia*, p. 103.

surprising that you alienated them from you [...] by ordering them to hand over their horses and weapons.”⁵⁸

The Turco-Egyptian expedition met the Shāyqīya, which had united under the threat of a common enemy, in two battles. On 4 November 1820, the first major encounter took place at Kūrtī in the western part of Shāyqīya territory. Ismāʿīl Pasha wanted to delay the battle, but his deputy ʿĀbidīn *Kāshif* managed to persuade him otherwise. Ismāʿīl's hesitation stemmed from the fact that at that moment he did not yet have artillery at his disposal, which had lagged behind the army because of the difficulty in sailing on the Nile in the area of the cataracts. The Shāyqīya held the upper hand in the first moments, then the battle was evenly fought for some time, and only the repeated use of pistols by the Turco-Egyptian side decided its outcome. ʿĀbidīn *Kāshif* played an important role when he personally engaged in the fighting several times and directly fought the enemy. The Shāyqīya cavalry mostly managed to flee. There were about 800 casualties, mostly foot soldiers, on the Shāyqīya side. The Turco-Egyptian expedition lost only about 50 soldiers. After the victory, the army conquered and pillaged the town of Kūrtī. Regardless, the Shāyqīya warriors had proven their reputation as excellent riders as well as outstanding soldiers in hand-to-hand combat, where they were more than a match for the Turco-Egyptian counterparts.⁵⁹

A month later on 4 December 1820, a second and decisive battle near Jabal ad-Ḍayqa took place. Ismāʿīl Pasha used his artillery and again defeated the Shāyqīya. During the battle, the Turco-Egyptian army captured the daughter of *Makk* Ṣubayr, Ṣafīya. Ismāʿīl Pasha behaved graciously toward Ṣafīya; he had her dressed sumptuously and sent her back to her father. Ismāʿīl Pasha's action turned out to be prescient, because when her father found out that she had not been defiled, he decided to surrender; the second strongest *makk* of the Shāyqīya thus left their ranks, and two other *makks* joined him. The only one who continued to refuse to surrender was the most powerful ʿAdlānāb *makk*, Shāwīsh (Jawīsh).⁶⁰

⁵⁸ AL-QADDĀL, M. S. *Tārīkh as-Sūdān al-hadīth: 1820 – 1955* [Modern History of Sudan: 1820 – 1955], p. 43.

⁵⁹ ENGLISH, G. B. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar*, pp. 80–81; ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt*. Part I, pp. 51–52; Waddington states a different number of dead: six hundred Shāyqīya and none in the ranks of the Turco-Egyptian expedition. WADDINGTON, G., HANBURY, B. *Journal of a Visit to Some Parts of Ethiopia*, pp. 100–101.

⁶⁰ ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt*. Part I, pp. 53–54.

Ismāʿīl Pasha's actions against the rebels and the inhabitants of the Shāyqīya⁶¹ region were initially drastic. His policy of rewarding soldiers for cutting the enemies' ears off led to the mutilation of many local people, including those who had not participated in the fighting. Soldiers, in pursuit of their reward, cut the ears off of farmers, women, and old people. Robinson reports that three thousand pairs of ears were dispatched to Egypt.⁶² Waddington and Hanbury heard at the beginning of their journey of "mountains of ears' sent by Ismael Pasha to Cairo."⁶³ The local inhabitants in the village of Sōleb located between as-Sukkūt and al-Maḥas told a story of how three loaded camels with cut-off ears walked past the village after the war against the Shāyqīya.⁶⁴ In his book, English also describes the violent behaviour of the *Maghāriba* soldiers with whom he sailed in the land of the Shāyqīya: "This morning, two men belonging to a village in this neighbourhood, were severely beaten, and their wives or sisters violated by some soldiers belonging to the boats."⁶⁵

After the initial frenzy and following the battle of Jabal aḍ-Ḍayqa, Ismāʿīl Pasha changed the approach and restored discipline in the army. He began to punish soldiers for thievery, and he even had several members of the ʿAbābda tribe impaled for this offence. Many villages and towns were completely depopulated. Ismāʿīl Pasha allowed the inhabitants to return to their homes and guaranteed their safety. In mid-December, Waddington and Hanbury met many people with livestock who were returning to their homes.⁶⁶

The treatment of the Shāyqīya was different from the behaviour of soldiers in other areas. Soldiers usually followed strict discipline. Waddington relates how at the end of November, while crossing Dongola, the captain of their boat beat soldiers because they had stolen grain from a village field.⁶⁷ This tactic was undoubtedly related to the effort of Muḥammad ʿAlī to gain the people's favour and minimize their resistance to the occupation.

⁶¹ A large number of inhabitants who settled there were farmers from Dongola and Nubia.

⁶² ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt*. Part I, p. 55. Muḥammad ʿAlī already introduced this practice in the expedition against the Wahhābis. *Ibid.*, pp. 52–3.

⁶³ WADDINGTON, G., HANBURY, B. *Journal of a Visit to Some Parts of Ethiopia*, p. 23.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

⁶⁵ ENGLISH, G. B. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar*, p. 67.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 66–69, 87; WADDINGTON, G., HANBURY, B. *Journal of a Visit to Some Parts of Ethiopia*, p. 124.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 68–69.

At the end of February 1821, the expedition passed through the Bayūḍa Desert. It left the River Nile near Kirbekan (Arab. Kirbakān), and on 5 March, it arrived at the important trading town of Barbar, which was inhabited by the Mīrafāb tribe. *Makk* Naṣraddīn, who was accompanying the expedition, was appointed a *kāshif* there. His nephew, °Alī wad Timsāh, was deposed and later executed.⁶⁸ Other tribes from the area between Barbar and the country of the Shāyqīya, Rubāṭāb (led by the *Makk* Abū Hijla) and the nomadic tribe of Hassānīya, also yielded.⁶⁹

The region between the confluence of the °Aṭbara and Nile Rivers in the north and the Sixth Cataract in the south was inhabited by the Ja°alīyūn tribe. The eastern bank had been dominated by *Makk* Nimr of Shandī (the Nimrāb dynasty) in the period prior to the arrival of the expedition. The western bank was controlled by *Makk* al-Musā°id, and he resided in the town of al-Matamma. *Makk* Nimr was more influential than al-Musā°id, and his kingdom was independent, whereas his counterpart was a vassal of the °Adlānāb *Makk* Shāwīsh.⁷⁰ In the north around the town of ad-Dāmir, a religious enclave led by the al-Majdhūb family was established in the eighteenth century.

The expedition stayed in Barbar for two months waiting for supplies, units, and weapons to arrive. It was not possible to transport supplies on the Nile through the Fourth Cataract,⁷¹ so they had to be transferred over land. It was very slow going due to the lack of camels. A few days after the arrival of the expedition, on 12 March 1821, *Makk* Nimr's son Muḥammad came to the camp to surrender. Ismā°īl, however, did not accept his submission and insisted that *Makk* Nimr come personally. In the first half of March, about a hundred Mamlūks capitulated as well. Ismā°īl Pasha treated them generously. They received one thousand piasters each and were allowed to return to Egypt, where they acquired commanding positions in a new army of Sudanese slaves.⁷²

⁶⁸ ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt*. Part I, pp. 55–56; HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, p. 9; ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, 1820 – 1824*. Part II. In *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 1926, Vol. 25, No. 98, p. 166.

⁶⁹ AL-QADDĀL, M. S. *Tārīkh as-Sūdān al-hadīth: 1820 – 1955* [Modern History of Sudan: 1820 – 1955], p. 44.

⁷⁰ O'FAHEY, R. S., SPAULDING, J. *Kingdoms of the Sudan*, pp. 102–103.

⁷¹ The biggest problem the ships were facing was the fact that the river in this area flows in the south-western direction, and thus it is not possible to use the help of the wind. ENGLISH, G. B. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar*, pp. 98–99.

⁷² ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt*. Part I, pp. 56–57; ENGLISH, G. B. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar*, pp. 110–112.

*Dīwān effendi*⁷³ was sent to Shandī to secure the Ja^ʿalīyūn tribe's submission. On 22 March 1821, *Makk Nimr*⁷⁴ and the son of *Makk Shāwīsh* arrived from Shandī in his company. Nimr donated two majestic horses to the commander of the expedition and subordinated himself in the following manner as described by G.B. English: "On being introduced to his Excellence, he kissed his hand, and pressed it to his forehead, and told him that he had come to surrender himself and his country to his favour and protection."⁷⁵

On 6 April 1821, ^ʿĀbidīn *Kāshif* left the camp in Barbar along with his unit to assume the post of governor in the newly established province of Dongola and settled in its capital, New Dongola, where he had a four-hundred-man garrison at his disposal.⁷⁶ During the revolt that broke out the following year, this province remained peaceful, mainly thanks to a moderate tax system imposed on its inhabitants. ^ʿĀbidīn *Kāshif* was promoted from *aghā* to *bey* for his merits.⁷⁷ He was replaced in the expedition by a commander of Kurdish origin, Maḥū Bey ^ʿUrfalī, who had arrived from Egypt. This commander played a particularly important role in Sudan in the following period. In 1822, he became the governor of Barbar and the country of the Ja^ʿalīyūn.⁷⁸ Barbar was of crucial strategic importance for Egypt, because the shortest route from Sinnār to Egypt went through it. Barbar and Dongola were provinces directly subordinate to the Egyptian viceroy.⁷⁹

The expedition left Barbar on 5 May 1821 and arrived in al-Matamma, *Makk al-Musāʿid*'s capital, a week later, where it stayed for several days.⁸⁰ On 17 May, the day before the departure of the expedition further south, a clash took place between the soldiers and residents of one of the villages near al-Matamma in which several soldiers were killed and badly injured. When this message got to the military camp, their comrades decided to avenge their deaths, and not even Ismāʿīl Pasha himself prevented them from doing so. Many inhabitants of this and other villages were burnt alive in their homes in retaliation. Ismāʿīl was

⁷³ A personal secretary of Ismaʿīl Kamil Pasha.

⁷⁴ Out of a thirty-man unit accompanying him, several were musketeers. ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt. Part I*, p. 56.

⁷⁵ ENGLISH, G. B. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar*, pp. 111, 117.

⁷⁶ ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt*, Muhammad Ali Pasha, 1820 – 1824. Part I, p. 56; Part II, p. 167.

⁷⁷ ENGLISH, G. B. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar*, p. 130; HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, p. 13.

⁷⁸ ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt. Part I*, p. 56.

⁷⁹ HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, p. 13.

⁸⁰ ENGLISH, G. B. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar*, pp. 132–133.

afraid of a possible rebellion in the country of the Ja^calīyūn, and therefore *Makks* Nimr and al-Musā^cid were added to the expedition as hostages.⁸¹

On 19 May, the most dangerous and persistent opponent, *Makk* Shāwīsh, surrendered to Ismā^cīl Pasha. Reportedly, he did so with the following words: "I have fought against you to the utmost of my means and power, and I am ready now, if you will, to fight under the orders of my conqueror."⁸² *Makk* Shāwīsh was given the rank of *bimbashi* and he joined the expedition along with his two-hundred-strong cavalry. The expedition arrived at another important town, Ḥalfāyat al-Mulūk, on 25 May. This was the ^cAbdallāb capital, which had been the most powerful dynasty in the northern part of the kingdom of Sinnār from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.⁸³ ^cAbdallāb *Mānjil* Nāṣir wad Muḥammad al-Amīn yielded without fighting, and his son al-Amīn joined the expedition as a hostage.⁸⁴

Four days later, on 29 May, after a five-hour-long march, the expedition arrived in today's Omdurman (Arab. Umm Durmān). The crossing of the White Nile to al-Jazīra (the area where Khartoum is now located near the White Nile and Blue Nile confluence) began the following day in the morning and lasted for two and a half days. There were no larger ships available, only nine boats that were able to get through the Fourth Cataract. During the chaotic crossing of the river, the expedition suffered a loss of about 30 men, 150 camels, and 70 horses.⁸⁵ The mission was fortunate that when Ismā^cīl Pasha's expedition traversed to al-Jazīra, the kingdom of Sinnār was in disarray and left without a strong ruler. If a determined enemy had been waiting for them on the other side of the White Nile, the transfer could have come to an inglorious end. The nominal ruler was King Bādī VI; however, the last effective ruler of the Hamaj dynasty,⁸⁶ the great *mānjil*⁸⁷ Muḥammad wad ^cAdlān,⁸⁸ had been murdered during his preparations against the invasion.

⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 137–139, 158; ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt*. Part I, p. 57.

⁸² ENGLISH, G. B. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar*, p. 140.

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 141, 144–146.

⁸⁴ ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt*. Part I, p. 57.

⁸⁵ ENGLISH, G. B. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar*, pp. 147–149; HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, p. 10.

⁸⁶ Military commanders and noblemen from southern Sinnār, who in 1762 took power in the kingdom from the Funj kings but kept them on as nominal rulers. They themselves held the position of *wazīrs* – usually translated as "regent" in English.

⁸⁷ Muḥammad wad ^cAdlān did not strive for the position of regent, but he accepted a new title as the great *mānjil*.

⁸⁸ Muḥammad wad ^cAdlān was the grandson of the first Hamaj regent, Muḥammad Abū Likaylik (1762 – 1776/77). He acquired decisive power in the kingdom of Sinnār in

When Muḥammad ʿAdlān killed the murderer of his father ʿAdlān, *Shaykh* Kamtūr, in the summer of 1820, civil war once again broke out in Sinnār in which Muḥammad ʿAdlān emerged victorious. He began preparations to repel the Turco-Egyptian invasion and called on men fit to fight to gather at the confluence of the White Nile and Blue Nile Rivers. He also sent his soldiers north, under the command of his son ʿAdlān. However, Muḥammad ʿAdlān got held up at Sinnār, where he was assaulted and killed by a group of enemies led by his second nephew, Ḥasan wad Muḥammad Rajab. All efforts to resist the Turco-Egyptian expedition ended with Muḥammad wad ʿAdlān's death.⁸⁹ As a result, *Makk* Bādī VI and the followers of the murdered Muḥammad wad ʿAdlān decided to surrender, whereas, Ḥasan wad Muḥammad Rajab and his followers retreated to the Dinder [Arab. Dindir] and Rahad River at the beginning of June.⁹⁰

The last part of the journey from the Nile confluence along the Blue Nile's bank lasted less than two weeks and ended with entry into the capital of Sinnār on 13 or 14 June 1821.⁹¹ King Bādī VI's messenger met with the expedition halfway. A few days before the arrival of the expedition to Sinnār, the Funj king, Bādī VI, went to Wad Madanī to meet Ismāʿīl Kāmil Pasha; there he surrendered and returned to the capital with the expedition.⁹²

The expectations of the soldiers were high, but they were utterly disillusioned upon reaching Sinnār. Instead of the wealthy metropolis of the past, the city largely lay in ruins. In addition, members of the expedition, including Ismāʿīl Pasha, experienced difficulties with the rainy season in Sinnār and suffered from fever; many of them died. In May/June 1822, the headquarters moved northward to Wad Madanī when it turned out that it had a somewhat drier climate. The small and exhausted expedition feared the numerical superiority of the Sudanese and suffered from being isolated from

1808, and with the gradual elimination of his opponents he succeeded in stopping the progressive decline in the central areas of the state.

⁸⁹ SPAULDING, J. *The Heroic Age in Sinnār*, pp. 233–238; MACMICHAEL, H. A. *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*. Vol. II, p. 385.

⁹⁰ ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, 1820 – 1824*. Part II, p. 164.

⁹¹ HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, p. 10; MACMICHAEL, H. A. *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Vol. II, p. 386; ENGLISH, G. B. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar*, pp. 151–152; HOLT, P. M. *The Sudan of the Three Niles*, p. 81.

⁹² ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, 1820 – 1824*. Part II, p. 164; English reports that the sultan surrendered only a day before the expedition reached the capital. ENGLISH, G. B. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar*, pp. 158–170.

Egypt.⁹³ Travellers had noticed the detrimental impact of Sinnār's climate on health during the rainy season. James Bruce, who was in Sinnār in the 1770s, described very colourfully the unhealthy climate in the capital, where no domesticated animal survived during the rainy season: "No horse, mule, ass, or any beast of burden, will breed, or even live at Sennaar, or many miles about it. Poultry does not live there. Neither dog nor cat, sheep nor bullock, can be preserved a season there. They must go all, every half year, to the sands."⁹⁴

At the end of June 1821, Ismā'īl Pasha sent two expeditions to subjugate the distant regions of the Kingdom of Sinnār and punish rebellious *makks*. *Kāhya* Aḥmad (with 1,300 men) headed southwest, and *Dīwān Effendi* Muḥammad Sa'īd (with 300 to 400 men) headed east. *Dīwān effendi*, who returned to Sinnār on 8 July, was accompanied by the great *mānjil*'s sons, Rajab and Idrīs wad Muḥammad 'Adlān. After an eight-day march, they managed to capture Ḥasan wad Rajab in the area of the Dinder and Rahad Rivers.⁹⁵ In mid-July, the other expedition, led by *Kāhya* Aḥmad, returned from the White Nile. They twice defeated the local people near the mountains of Bokki, in the second battle killing 1,500 of the enemy and managed to capture around 2,000 slaves, almost exclusively women and children.⁹⁶

At the end of October 1821, Ibrāhīm Pasha, the Egyptian viceroy's eldest son, arrived in Sinnār to aid the demoralized expedition. Muḥammad 'Alī thought that his youngest son needed support from his older brother, who had gained experience in battles against the Mamlūks and the Wahhābis. One of his main tasks was to secure a sufficient number of slaves for the newly formed army. As the slave mortality on the journey to Egypt was high, boats were built to transport them safely through the lands of Shāyqīya and Dongola.⁹⁷ At the end of 1821, Ibrāhīm Pasha and Ismā'īl went on an expedition to the southern

⁹³ HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, pp. 10–11; ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, 1820 – 1824*. Part II, p. 166; MACMICHAEL, H. A. *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Vol. II, p. 388; HOLT, P. M. *The Sudan of the Three Niles*, p. 83.

⁹⁴ BRUCE, J. *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile, in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773*. Vol. IV, p. 469.

⁹⁵ ENGLISH, G. B. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar*, pp. 175–178; MACMICHAEL, H. A. *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Vol. II, p. 387; HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, p. 10; ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, 1820 – 1824*. Part II, pp. 165–166.

⁹⁶ ENGLISH, G. B. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar*, pp. 191–193.

⁹⁷ ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, 1820 – 1824*. Part II, p. 171; HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, p. 11.

regions of Sinnār each along a different bank of the Blue Nile. They managed to conquer Fāzūghlī. However, Ibrāhīm fell sick with dysentery and was forced to return to Egypt in January 1822.⁹⁸

During this period, the building of the state administration started. The lowest administrative unit was the village led by a village headman (Arab. *shaykh al-balad*). Fifteen to thirty villages were administered by a district chief (Arab. *qā'immaqām*) who had twenty-three to twenty-four soldiers at his disposal: Arab horsemen, *Maghāriba* infantrymen, and members of the Shāyqīya tribe. Ten *qā'immaqāms* were subordinate to a higher official with the Mamlūk title of *kāshif*.⁹⁹

The Conquest of Kordofan

The second expedition was aimed at the conquest of Kordofan and Darfur. It was led by Muḥammad °Alī's son-in-law, Muḥammad Bey Khusraw *ad-Daftardār*, who set out from Cairo on 20 April 1821. In mid-July, the *daftardār* sent Musallim, the *maqḍūm*¹⁰⁰ of Kordofan, a message on behalf of the Ottoman sultan, the caliph of all Muslims, in which he urged him to surrender without conditions.¹⁰¹ The response of the Kordofan governor was very expressive. He rejected Muḥammad °Alī's right to attack the Darfur Sultanate, because its inhabitants were "Muslims and followers of the Book of God and the tradition of his Prophet (may the peace and blessings of God be upon him)."¹⁰² Justice was therefore on their side. "We did not transgress against the Book of God and his Prophet's Sunna,¹⁰³ and God did not invite you to come to our country. [...] If you come to our country, you are [...] the tyrant and we are the oppressed."¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, 1820 – 1824*. Part II, pp. 171–172; HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, p. 12.

⁹⁹ HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, pp. 11, 15.

¹⁰⁰ *Maqḍūm* – the Darfur governor.

¹⁰¹ AL-QADDĀL, M. S. *Tārīkh as-Sūdān al-hadīth: 1820 – 1955* [Modern History of Sudan: 1820 – 1955], p. 48; ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, 1820 – 1824*. Part II, p. 167; HOLT, P. M., DALY, M. W. *A History of the Sudan*, p. 46.

¹⁰² AL-QADDĀL, M. S. *Tārīkh as-Sūdān al-hadīth: 1820 – 1955* [Modern History of Sudan: 1820 – 1955], p. 524.

¹⁰³ Sunna – the Islamic tradition – is made up of a set of acts and statements by the Prophet Muḥammad which constitute a binding norm for Sunni Muslims.

¹⁰⁴ AL-QADDĀL, M. S. *Tārīkh as-Sūdān al-hadīth: 1820 – 1955* [Modern History of Sudan: 1820 – 1955], p. 524.

The expeditionary force to Kordofan consisted of 3,000 to 4,000 soldiers, and like the expedition to Sinnār, it brought thirteen cannons. It first proceeded along the same route as the previous one but went along the west bank of the Nile. From the town of ad-Dabba, lying in the border area between Dongola and the country of the Shāyqīya, it headed south to Kordofan at the end of July 1821. It went through the Bayūḍa Desert, Jabal Ḥarāza, and Kajmar to the town of Bārā, where it faced the troops of *Maqdūm* Musallim in a decisive battle. Despite reports on the movement of the Turco-Egyptian expedition, Musallim underestimated the danger. He informed the sultan of Darfur too late, did not proceed vigorously, neglected preparations for resistance, and did not heed the advice of the *shaykh* of Jabal Ḥarāza, who proposed attacking the expedition immediately after their passage through the desert to exploit the exhaustion of the enemy forces.¹⁰⁵ Although the Darfur army was superior in numbers (it consisted of 8,000 infantrymen and 1,200 horsemen, of which 200 were armoured), their armaments were not equal to the army of Muḥammad Bey Khusraw. On 18 August, the army left the capital of Kordofan, al-Ubayyid, and went north to Bārā, where on the next day a battle which decided the fate of the whole province took place. The Darfur army was crushed, with over 700 fighters lost. The losses on the other side, 150 dead,¹⁰⁶ were also considerable and testify to the fierce resistance and prowess of the Darfurians in hand-to-hand combat. *Maqdūm* Musallim was killed in the battle.¹⁰⁷

After the victory, the *daftardār*'s army plundered the towns of Bārā and al-Ubayyid. In both cases, massacres of the local people took place. The *daftardār* proceeded in the same way as Ismā'īl Pasha had and bought from his soldiers, the ears they had cut off of the enemy. The British historian Arthur E. Robinson described the cruelty with which the soldiers robbed the local women of jewellery: "The women at Bara had been deprived of all their jewellery in the most brutal manner. Ear-rings and nose-rings were wrenched off, their ankles, wrists and arms were cut off for bangles, and their fingers cut off for rings. For years these mutilated women could be seen in various parts of Kordofan."¹⁰⁸ After the rampage ended, order was established and severe

¹⁰⁵ Robinson states that the *Shaykh* °Abdalhādī of Jabal Harāza had set a trap for the expedition, but the *daftardār* learned about it and avoided it. ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, 1820 – 1824*. Part II, p. 167.

¹⁰⁶ Robinson states over 200 dead in the ranks of the expeditionary force. *Ibid.*, p. 168.

¹⁰⁷ O'FAHEY, R. S. *The Darfur Sultanate*, pp. 76–77; HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁸ ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, 1820 – 1824*. Part II, p. 169.

punishments imposed on all offenders without distinction. The death penalty for local people was administered either by impalement or by being fired from a cannon. The *daftardār* was uncompromising even with the offences of his own soldiers.¹⁰⁹

The expedition led by Muḥammad Bey Khusraw was originally headed to Darfur, but it did not arrive there. This was caused by several factors, the main one being the massive uprising against the Turco-Egyptian regime in the riverine regions. Other reasons were enormous distances, the small size of the expedition, insufficient knowledge of local conditions in Darfur, and the Greek War of Independence against Ottoman rule. Muḥammad ʿAlī assumed that Ottoman Sultan Maḥmūd II would ask him for military assistance sooner or later and therefore was not willing to send more soldiers to Sudan. The sultan of Darfur, Muḥammad al-Faḍl, did attempt to reconquer Kordofan, but the force led by his nephew Wazīr Aḥmad did not succeed.¹¹⁰ In September 1821, the *daftardār* became the governor of Kordofan directly subordinate to Muḥammad ʿAlī.¹¹¹

The Uprising in Sinnār against the Turco-Egyptian Regime

The key reason for the rebellion against the new regime was extremely unfair tax reforms, the main author of which was the Coptic Christian Ḥannā at-Ṭawīl. In Egypt, he was said to have been one of the sponsors of the expedition, for which he was to receive a share of tax revenues from Sudan. Firstly, a census of dwellings, slaves, and livestock was carried out, and a new tax system was set up which was gradually put into practice from the beginning of 1822. Taxes were imposed at the following rates: fifteen dollars (*riyāls*) for a slave, ten dollars for a cow, and five dollars for a sheep or a donkey. Ownership of the camels was not taxed, since the government did not have sufficient capacity to force the Bedouins to pay. Taxes were also imposed on dwellings, which were divided into three categories based on their size. Only the settled inhabitants who lived close to the Nile were affected, and the taxation began in al-Jazīra. The fact that the taxes were enormously high and bordered on the confiscation of property can be illustrated using the example of slaves, which attracted a tax

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 170.

¹¹⁰ O'FAHEY, R. S. *The Darfur Sultanate*, p. 78; HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, p. 12; AL-QADDĀL, M. S. *Tārīkh as-Sūdān al-hadīth: 1820 – 1955* [Modern History of Sudan: 1820 – 1955], pp. 49–50.

¹¹¹ ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, 1820 – 1824*. Part II, p. 170.

of up to 75 per cent of their regular price. It was possible to pay taxes in two ways: with money or slaves. However, Muḥammad °Alī was only interested in male slaves suitable for the army. The aim of such an idea was to get a large number of slaves for the Egyptian army within a short period of time. The tax reform was put into practice at a time when Ibrāhīm Pasha left Sudan and Ismā°īl was in the deep south in Fāzūghlī. The inhabitants began to rebel and attack the small Turkish garrisons; many people rather abandoned their homes. The situation was worsened by rumours of the Turco-Egyptian expedition's defeat in the south, the flight of Ibrāhīm Pasha to Egypt, and the death of Ismā°īl Pasha. The latter quickly returned to Sinnār and through appeasement managed to prevent an uprising. In the country of the Ja°alīyūn, the revolt was quickly suppressed by the governor of Barbar, Maḥū Bey °Urfalī.¹¹²

After the situation calmed down, an unexpected development came in the autumn of 1822. At the end of October, Ismā°īl Pasha arrived by boat in the Ja°alīyūn territory. In Shandī, he met with the *maks* of the Ja°alīyūn tribe, Nimr and al-Musā°id, the rulers of Shandī, and al-Matamma. He acted arrogantly at the meeting and demanded Nimr pay an extremely high tribute of 30,000 dollars and 6,000 slaves. When Nimr refused this demand as absurd and unachievable, Ismā°īl got angry and hit him in the face with a wooden pipe. *Makk* al-Musā°id managed to calm the tense situation with the promise of obedience. However, the *makk* from Shandī decided to retaliate against the insult, and the same night he organized a banquet for the prominent guest. Nimr had the house in which Ismā°īl Pasha was staying covered with branches and straw, and he had the commander burnt alive. Sources differ on whether this happened during the banquet or after the guests had retired for bed.¹¹³ The way Ismā°īl Pasha died was probably no coincidence. The rebels used the same method as the soldiers

¹¹² HOLT, P. M., DALY, M. W. *A History of the Sudan*, p. 47; HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, pp. 14–15; MACMICHAEL, H. A. *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, p. 387; ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, 1820 – 1824*. Part II, p. 173; HOLT, P. M. *The Sudan of the Three Niles*, p. 82.

¹¹³ ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, 1820 – 1824*. Part II, pp. 174–175; HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, p. 16; MACMICHAEL, H. A. *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Vol. II, p. 388; DODWELL, H. *The Founder of Modern Egypt: A Study of Muhammad 'Ali*. First edition, p. 52; PETHERICK, J. *Egypt, the Soudan and Central Africa: With Explorations from Khartoum on the White Nile to the regions of the Equator being Sketches from Sixteen Years' Travel*, pp. 118–120. According to the Funj Chronicle, he died on 3 November 1822. HOLT, P. M. *The Sudan of the Three Niles*, pp. 84, 88–89, 122.

of the Turko-Egyptian expedition in May 1821 in a village near al-Matamma. This incident, in which many natives were burned alive, is mentioned above.¹¹⁴

Shortly after Ismāʿīl Pasha's death, a revolt broke out in large areas stretching from ad-Dāmir in the north to Sinnār in the south. The rebels took al-Matamma, Kararī, Ḥalfāyat al-Mulūk, and al-ʿAylafūn, however, a number of factors were playing against them. Maḥū Bey ʿUrfalī, the governor of Barbar, managed to hold his position in the north when he defeated a few thousand rebel forces from ad-Dāmir. A large garrison in Wad Madanī, led by *Dīwān Effendi* Muḥammad Saʿīd, also managed to retain its position about a hundred kilometres downstream from Sinnār. In addition, smaller units from threatened towns (e.g., Ḥalfāyat al-Mulūk and Sinnār) withdrew to Wad Madanī and Barbar. The tribe of Shāyqīya and the areas west of the Fourth Cataract did not join the uprising. The Bayūda Desert and the Fourth Cataract complicated contact between Dongola and the country of the Shāyqīya on one side and the territory of the Jaʿalīyūn and the ʿAbdallāb tribes on the other. After strong initial resistance to the invasion, the Shāyqīya acceded to collaboration, for which they were rewarded with military service and vast lands. Likewise, Dongola did not join the revolt. ʿAbidīn *Kāshif*, had since April 1821, prudently ruled as the governor of Dongola and the Shāyqīya country, and he had not given the local rulers a reason to join the uprising. Another important factor was that individual tribes were fighting alone, meaning the uprising which had three focal points, the Jaʿalīyūn country, the ʿAbdallāb regions and al-Jazīra, was not coordinated. Since there was also a strong expeditionary force led by the *daftardār* in neighbouring Kordofan, the uprising was destined to fail.¹¹⁵

When the *daftardār* learned of the rebellion, he left Kordofan and moved to the Nile valley to suppress it. He was officially appointed as the supreme commander of the Sinnār and Kordofan (*sar-i ʿaskar*) troops after Ismāʿīl Pasha's death. At the end of 1822, he arrived at the Nile in the area of the Sixth Cataract, and continued north to al-Matamma in the Jaʿalīyūn territory, leaving scorched earth behind him. In al-Matamma, the local nobility, tried to reconcile with him. The attempt was successful, but during the ceremony organized for this occasion, one of the natives attempted to kill the *daftardār* and injured him with a thrown spear. A massacre and burning of the town by *daftardār*'s forces followed. Ad-Dāmir, which people fled before the arrival of enemy troops, was also burnt down, as was *Shaykh* Muḥammad al-Majdhūb's mosque. Shandī tried to resist, but it was conquered and plundered, and the population was

¹¹⁴ ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt*. Part I, p. 57.

¹¹⁵ HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, p. 16; HOLT, P. M., DALY, M. W. *A History of the Sudan*, p. 48.

slaughtered.¹¹⁶ *Makk* Nimr managed to escape and retreated with some of his tribe to al-Buṭāna, where he was later joined by *Makk* al-Musā'id and the °Abdallābs. Turco-Egyptian units pursued and defeated them at an-Naṣūb close to Abū Dilayq. Again, unspeakable cruelties were committed. The captured men were castrated, and the women had their breasts chopped off so that the members of the Ja°alīyūn tribe could not procreate. Nimr, however, escaped with some of his followers and founded a small state with the capital of Sōfī by the Setit (Tekezé, Arab. Sīfīt) River (a tributary of °Aṭbara). *Makk* al-Musā'id was killed at Makdūr while fleeing. After the pacification of the Ja°alīyūn, the *daftardār* continued in his scorched-earth policy and moved to Wad Madanī to salvage the local garrison. Many of the inhabitants of al-°Aylafūn were killed, and those who survived were marked as slaves.¹¹⁷

The consequences of the uprising and its bloody repression were catastrophic for the central areas of the former kingdom of Sinnār. Extensive areas were completely depopulated, the fields were left untended, and the power balance between the tribes was disturbed. Some originally dominant tribes were decimated (such as Rufā'a at the Blue Nile), while the position of others, such as the Shukrīya tribe, which had been gaining in power since the last decades of the eighteenth century, was strengthened. Among the most affected, besides the Ja°alīyūn, were the °Abdallābs, who had been deprived of their original territories at the confluence of the White and Blue Niles and the faithful Shāyqīya were rewarded with their lands.¹¹⁸

Conclusion

The expedition achieved its immediate goals and removed two troublesome neighbours from Egypt's southern borders. By obliterating the Mamlūk statelet in Dongola Muḥammad °Alī got rid of potential rivals for the control of Egypt. Furthermore, by breaking the power and independence of the Shāyqīya confederacy he removed another powerful entity, which was blocking the trade between Egypt and the areas of Sinnār. However, the long-term economic and military objectives that Muḥammad °Alī intended to achieve in Sudan were not

¹¹⁶ ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, 1820 – 1824*. Part II, pp. 176–177; HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, p. 16; HOLT, P. M., DALY, M. W. *A History of the Sudan*, pp. 48–49.

¹¹⁷ ROBINSON, A. E. *The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, 1820 – 1824*. Part II, pp. 178–179; HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, p. 17; HOLT, P.M. *The Sudan of the Three Niles*, pp. 85–87, 89–91, 122–125.

¹¹⁸ HILL, R. L. *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820 – 1881*, pp. 17–18.

accomplished. No rich sources of gold in Fāzūghlī were discovered, and he also failed in building a modern army (Arab. *an-nizām al-jadīd*) from slaves imported from Sudan. A great number of the slaves did not survive the journey to Aswān, where the units were trained by Colonel Sève (Arab. Sulaymān Bāshā al-Faransāwī). In addition, these recruits could not handle the Egyptian climate and died in large numbers. By 1824 about 20,000 of them had been sent to Aswān, but reportedly only one in seven remained alive. The Egyptian viceroy eventually started conscripting Egyptian peasants and thus solved the problem of the lack of soldiers.¹¹⁹

Relief for Sudan and its inhabitants only occurred after *daftardār*'s departure from Sudan. °Uthmān Jarkas al-Birinjī (1824 – 1825) continued in the *daftardār*'s policies, but under the auspices of Maḥū Bey °Urfalī (1825 – 1826), and especially during the long administration of °Alī Khūrshīd Aghā (1826 – 1838), significant changes took place. Several helpful steps were taken, including tax cuts, consultations with representatives of the local population, and the termination of reprisals.¹²⁰ The brutal suppression of the uprising brought long years of undisturbed existence for the Turco-Egyptian regime. The resistance of the Sudanese was broken for a long time after the failed uprising, and it took more than half a century until they again rose up against the occupiers in the Mahdist rebellion (Arab. ath-Thawra al-mahdīya) in the 1880s.

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¹¹⁹ HOLT, P. M., DALY, M. W. *A History of the Sudan*, p. 50; DODWELL, H. *The Founder of Modern Egypt*, pp. 62–65.

¹²⁰ HOLT, P. M., DALY, M. W. *A History of the Sudan*, pp. 50–53.

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