

Historical Studies Series (18)

THE ATROCITIES OF THE DEFTERDAR IN THE SUDAN (1821 -1824 AD)

First edition 2023AD



Author
Hatem El-Siddiq Muhammad Ahmed

Translated by
AbdulMahmoud Idrees Ibrahim

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The Book Title

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﴿فَمَنْ عَفَا وَأَصْلَحَ فَأَجْرُهُ عَلَى اللَّهِ﴾

(سورة الشورى: الآية 40)

Verse

*“Whoever forgives and amends, he shall have
his reward from Allah...”*

Shura verse (40)

Allah Almighty is Truthful

Dedication

I dedicate this work to every Sudanese who has sacrificed everything for his nation and holds it dear.

To the Sudanese who, throughout many historical periods, gave their blood and souls to create a nation that could accept all.

Acknowledgements

I sincerely acknowledge everyone who helped make this work come true and I extend my appreciation and gratitude to them.

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Preface

(1)

Most of those who are interested in Sudanese studies believe that modernity in Sudan began in (1820 AD) with the control of the ruler of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha (1805-1848AD). The tools of that modernity were three: boats, telegraphs, and firearms.

The recent history of the Sudan is divided into three terms: the Turkish-Egyptian Rule (1821-1885), the Mahdist Period (1885-1898) and the English-Egyptian condominium rule (1898-1956). However, many studies have focused on the Mahdist and the Anglo-Egyptian periods, which may be due to the availability of documents in the central documentation house in Khartoum, while the lack of historical studies related to the Turkish-Egyptian system in Sudan is because most of the documents of this historical era are located outside Sudan, especially in the Arab Republic of Egypt. Therefore, we thank Professor Hatem El-Siddiq Muhammad Ahmed, the Professor of Modern History at Alzaiem Alazhari University and Director of the Center for Studies and Research of the Red Sea Basin Countries, for his interest in this notable book on the subject of Sudanese confrontation to this rule, especially the retaliatory campaigns of the Defterdar, which was organized and led by Muhammad Khaled Khesraw Bey, the famous with 'Defterdar', in retaliation for the burning and killing of Ismail bin Muhammad Ali Pasha - the leader of the invasion expedition,. As the researcher in this study pointed out, Mek Nimir, the leader of the Ja'aliyyn tribe, was the mastermind of this uprising, in which large sectors of this tribe in particular, and the Sudanese in general participated in various areas in Northern and Eastern Sudan protested against the exorbitant taxes imposed on them by the invaders and the brutal means they used in collecting them.

This study is one of the important studies and increases our knowledge about the subject of its research, and it also constitutes a valuable addition to the Sudanese library and to the world, as some foreign researchers who are fluent in Arabic or reasonably familiar with it have contributed to enriching Sudanese studies. I hope that one of them will take the initiative to translate this book into English and maybe other languages to spread knowledge.

Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim

Cairo –2023 AD

Preface

(2)

There are many topics in the history of Sudan, especially in the modern history of the Sudan, that on the surface appear to be postulates due to their frequent repetition and circulation, but in reality, they require a lot of study, analysis, and a critical look according to a skeptical approach. Few of Sudanese historians care about such topics and address them with a different and new vision of what is written jumping over these assumptions. Among these few is the young scientist, Professor Dr. Hatem El-Siddiq Muhammad Ahmed, Director of the Center for Research and Studies of the Red Sea Basin Countries and Professor of Modern History at Alzaiem Alazhari University in the Sudan. Perhaps here I will be honest if I bear witness to him, through my association with him and his work at the Center for Research and Studies of the Red Sea Basin Countries, to the effort, perseverance, and high administrative and scientific ability that qualified him to be among the ranks of notable scholars, researchers, and academics, despite his young age. He is considered one of the youngest academics to have obtained a professorship at the beginning of their fourth decade. This is shown by the abundance of his scientific production, and even after obtaining this academic degree, he published many studies and publications - including this study.

This book in our hands, "The Atrocities of the Defterdar in the Sudan," perfectly captures the essence of the subject matter. I have been following this scientific effort since it was an idea and then it evolved into this important study in its content, It stands out for its thorough examination of a certain subject, the result of which was the availability of reasonable material that made it easy for every reader to reconsider the impressionistic reading that has become rooted in their minds about the crimes committed by the Defterdar, which amount to the degree of organized genocide in different

parts in Sudan, and it was depicted as if it was a reaction and revenge for the burning of the campaign leader, Ismail bin Muhammad Ali Pasha, in Shandi, but it was planned and included many areas of Sudan. as stated by the author, this was one of the worst times in Sudanese history.

On the other hand, several fresh concerns concerning the Albanian-Turkish invasion, its regional and international dimensions, and its resistance activities are raised by this study.

The study also calls for a review and evaluation of the period of more than three years' invasion. It depicted how the Kingdom of the Funj and its political or independent entities were weak and easy to surrender. The invasion was easily and smoothly with little resistance and in a short period of time.

One of the important highlights in this book is the shedding light on the controversial personality of the Defterdar. We estimate that any leadership figure has a significant impact on the course of political, social and economic events within its geographical context. The book also discusses the regional and international influences on the situation in Sudan. It is known that some students of Sudanese history focus on the internal situation without the necessary attention to the regional and international role, as if Sudan is an isolated island.

At the end of this brief introduction, which I hope has covered the aspects presented in the book. And to motivate researchers for further studies.

Awad Ahmed Hussein Shaba

Center for Research and Studies of the Red
Sea Basin Countries - Sudan

Preface

(3)

"The Atrocities of the Defterdar in Sudan 1821-1824"

This book, which is now available to its readers, is unique in its study and content. Professor Hatem El-Siddiq Mohammed Ahmed did best when he approached the vicinity of that deep history with the precision of the practical historian, who conveyed his scientific tools to reveal the secrets of the unfair Defterdar retaliation campaign on the peaceful Sudanese civilians terrorizing, killing and enslave them.

As always, Professor Hatem worked to compile this valuable book with a variety of sources, and we would never overstate if we describe them as being the most comprehensive references that can be found on the shelves of libraries and archives of documented records in that period. This book provides a clear understanding of the Sudanese theater that existed before the Pasha's horses' hooves invaded Sudan in the nineteenth century. This encompasses the disintegration of sultanates and kingdoms that fought in obvious fragmentation. Nothing more illustrates this than the fall of the Funj Kingdom, which was followed by the breaking of tribal and societal unity in the last stages of its collapse, leading the leaders of the Sudanese tribes to leave for Egypt and urge Muhammad Ali Pasha to occupy Sudan. The author has supported this important notion with sources that bring it out of the stage of certain doubt into the light of clear certainty. This is evidenced by the statement regarding the consent of Britain and its satisfaction represented by the efforts of its consul to Egypt Henry Salt, which clarifies the agreement of the This significant book is worthy of praise for its in-depth understanding of the global context that preceded the Pasha forces' invasion of Sudan. Influential international powers with the bloody occupation of Sudan and the accompanying violations suffered by the peoples and tribes of those borders.

The name of Muhammad Khesraw the Defterdar was not an example of corruption in the land, murder, captivity and displacement since the burning of the Pasha's son in Shandi by the Mek Nimir, but also, professor Hatem has provided a thorough account of his upbringing in southern Europe and his great misrule at what had fallen under his hold from the previous authority. The Defterdar himself was in a prestigious position at the top of the hierarchical power created by Muhammad Ali Pasha, besides his friendship with his master Pasha, he was also the governor of Upper Egypt before the start of the campaign. The Defterdar himself was in a prestigious position at the top of the hierarchical power created by Muhammad Ali Pasha, besides his lineage with his master, the Pasha. Moreover, he was the governor of Upper Egypt before the launch of the campaign. It may be better for us to refer here to one of the merits of this book, which is its dealing with the hypothesis that connects the precious wealth that exists in the depths of the land of the Sudan and the fatal massacres that have caused suffering to its people. Since the first narratives that this book takes us to about the Grand Pasha and his assistants, such as the Defterdar, the entire scene is dominated by the lustful longing for glory, power, and the establishment of control through oppression and force of arms, even if over the remains of human victims. How often history repeats itself on the lips of narrators... and how little the crowd of spectators can respond to its tragic fate! This book depicts Defterdar's atrocities that wouldn't have come to anyone's mind, even if they were on board a brief, flying thought. The haven Kordofan was the starting point for these criminal deeds before the Defterdar extended his anger over the death of his brother-in-law Ismail Pasha east, north, and south. The book discloses the Defterdar's harsh pledge, which stated that he would deliberately slaughter twenty thousand members of the Ja'aliyyn tribe as part of his vengeance campaign. As we read more into the book, it becomes evident that the Defterdar's assault on the Sudanese extended to the majority of their tribes, including the Hassaniyya, Jammu'iyya, Mahas, and many more. The book went into details, explaining the Defterdar campaign with the formations

of his army, which were united by the characteristic of soldiering in terms of mercenary, and were separated by ethnicity and race. It includes diverse components, such as the Turks, Berbers, Kurds, and Caucasians, along with various other groups. Professor Hatem described sufficiently the massacres committed by the Defterdar in the cities of the Ja'aliyyn, such as El-Matamma and Shandi, and other northern cities, in a vicious manner. One of the most horrifying methods the Defterdar employed to murder and torture people was the genocide of civilians in particular. In the same context, this book reveals more actions of intimidation and destruction when it provides details of the Defterdar's burning of the citizens of El-Matamma who had rushed to take refuge in the privacy house (khalwa) of Sheikh Ahmed El-Rayyah. He burned them with fire while they are still alive 1823 AD! What is noteworthy is that the burning of people alive in El-Matamma was repeated throughout the entire city in the aftermath of the second confrontations of the Defterdar with the sons of Mek Nimir and Mek Musa'ad and those who rallied with them bravely to confront this flow of revenge. The book goes on at length in narrating the attack of the Defterdar on the island of Tuti, Halfaya, and then El-Ailafun, where he carried out killing, slaughter, and captivity among its inhabitants. The island and the regions of eastern Sudan, such as the Taka Mountains, were not spared from his tyranny, as he continued to kill and captivate the people of those regions in the same brutal manner. The book did not neglect the usual routine of sending the prisoners in chains and shackles to Egypt, where they ended up at the mercy of the Grand Pasha in response to his urgent demands to bring money, men, and wealth.

It would be improper to begin this book's introduction without mentioning its predecessor, which describes in detail the enduring Sudanese resistance against the mistreatment committed by the Defterdar and his master, the Pasha. Their epics, which were based on the battles between the Mek Nimir and the Mek Musa'ad against the invading Power, left a lasting impression on society and starred brave knights whose brave footsteps were lost in the

mists of time. The adage that the leaders and figures of the Funj Kingdom were easy pickings for the occupying army is debunked by the actions of El-Arbab Dafallah and Hassan Wad Rajab, who engaged in combat with the occupation forces close to Wad Madani in 1823 AD. These horrific massacres, without Sudanese epic attitudes, must have formed the rules that constituted the anti-occupation conscience, and the Sudanese waited for nearly six decades for their collective efforts to mature to blow up another popular revolution like the Mahdi Revolution, in which their groups crumbled to defeat the occupying powers when there was will and agreement. If we wish to choose the best of the magnificence of this book, we must congratulate Professor Hatim Alsiddiq Mohamed Ahmed on this outstanding work, which came at a time when our country was experiencing horrible falls of war and violations against innocent people. All of this did not detract from this hard-working historian's ambition to fill a large gap in the Sudanese Library for this particular period. Furthermore, the faithful historian, with his objectivity, stays a conscience of his nation and people whenever sorrow and hardship occur, he constructs.

Muhammad EL-Mustafa Musa
Colchester-United Kingdom
October 2023 AD

Introduction

The subject of this book is one of the most significant historical events that Sudan has witnessed in its modern history. It is the period extending from (1821-1824 AD). This period witnessed the invasion of Sudan by the armies of Muhammad Ali Pasha, which tightened their grip on the country under the leadership of Ismail the son of Muhammad Ali Pasha and his son-in-law Muhammad Bey (the Defterdar). The years during Defterdar's rule in Sudan were filled with atrocities, oppression, and abuse.

The idea initially was to prepare a scientific paper explaining and analyzing the personality Muhammad Bey Khesraw (The Defterdar), and traced the massacres and atrocities he committed in the Sudan, then the paper developed to be this book which deals with the black history of the Defterdar in Sudan. The book introduces the personality of the Defterdar, the path of his invasion of Kordofan, then the campaigns and atrocities he carried out against the masses of the people of Sudan from Kordofan in the west to Taka in the east, from Berber in the north to Sennar in the south. In addition to his actions in some areas in central Sudan, the atrocities he committed against the people of Sudan contributed to increasing hatred for the rule of Muhammad Ali Pasha and his successors in Sudan, and eventually paved the way, by other factors and reasons, in the Mahdist revolution in (1881) led by Imam Muhammad Ahmed El-Mahdi, until Khartoum was later liberated on January 26 (1885), ending the Turkish-Egyptian rule in Sudan.

An extensive and serious discussion took place to choose the most appropriate title for this book. Among the titles proposed were: the genocide of the Sudanese during the era of the Defterdar (1821-1824 AD), and the second one was the retaliatory campaigns of the Defterdar in Sudan (1821-1824 AD), and the opinion eventually settled on the recent title, which was agreed upon after an ample discussion with a number of fellow historians

and specialists, including Professor Barakat Musa El-Hawati, Professor at Bahri University, Dr. Qasm El-Seed Hamza Ahmed, Professor of History at Alzaiem Alazhari University, and Dr. Awad Sheba, Professor of History and Deputy Director of the Center for Research and Studies of the Red Sea Basin Countries, along with the two dear brothers, Dr. Dr. Anam Muhammad Othman, and Dr. Omar Humeida, professors of modern history at the Faculty of Arts, Khartoum University.

One of the reasons that encouraged the selection of this topic and its publication in a book are the clear and abundant information that found in many historical sources, references, diaries and books of travelers who visited Sudan during the reign of Muhammad Ali Pasha and his successors in the Sudan during (1821-1881 AD), particularly the traveler Ignatius Palma, who visited Kordofan in the period (1837-1839 AD). Through this trip, he was able to document many accurate information about the Defterdar and his atrocities and violations that he committed against the people of the Sudan in its different regions. Through this trip, he was able to document many accurate information about the Defterdar and the atrocities and violations he committed against the people of Sudan in its various regions. Many explicit and implicit references and information were received regarding the cruelty and brutality of the Defterdar throughout the period of his presence in Sudan, which extended from the year 1821 to the year 1824 AD.

The period of Muhammad Bey Defterdar in Sudan is considered one of the cruelest periods in the history of Sudan, because it was linked to acts of killing, displacement, and slavery of Sudanese groups that were stable and safe in their regions. Furthermore, The Defterdar himself did the acts of lynching, death, displacement, slavery, and extinction of the Sudanese people, leaving a lasting impression on them. All the people of Sudan have a deep-rooted hatred for Muhammad Ali Pasha, his successors and assistants throughout the period since (1821 to 1881 AD).

It can be said that the invasion of Sudan by Muhammad Ali Pasha was carefully planned to achieve many demands and goals, some of which the Pasha - greediness for money, fame, and expansion, which he succeeded in some and failed in others. Had it not been for the resources and richness of Sudan, Muhammad Ali Pasha would never have been able to do the things he did in Egypt during his reign. The Sudanese people paid a heavy price to establish the empire of Muhammad Ali Pasha and his successors in that country.

CHAPTER ONE

General Introduction

**An Overview of the situations
in Sudan before the Invasion**

Chapter One

General introduction

An Overview of the Situations in the Sudan before the Invasion

Before the invasion of Muhammad Ali Pasha, Sudan was ruled by a number of Islamic kingdoms, the most famous of which was the Funj Sultanate, which was established in the year 1504 AD, the Fur Sultanate, then the Kingdom of Taqali And the Musabbaat in North and South Kordofan. The borders of the Funj Sultanate extended from Fazoghli in the south to the Third cascade in the north, and from Kordofan in the west to the Red Sea in the east, except for the city of Suakin, which was controlled by the Ottomans since 1517 AD. The borders of the Fur Sultanate, which was founded in 1640 AD by Sultan Suleiman Solong, also extended from Kordofan in the east to Wadai in the west.

The Kordofan region was the subject matter of competition between the two kingdoms, and the third kingdom was the Islamic Kingdom of Taqli, which arose in the Taqli Mountains region in South Kordofan in the year 1530 AD. The Kingdom of Taqli maintained its independence and did not fall into the hands of the Funj, despite their frequent invasion attempts. The Funj Kingdom was one of the most powerful and largest Islamic kingdoms in Sudan, and had good foreign relations. However, chaos prevailed in most of the Sudanese regions, and the Funj had only titular sovereignty over many regions⁽¹⁾.

Since the middle of the 18th century AD, instability began to manifest in the body of Sudanese Islamic kingdoms in general, and the Funj in particular, thus Muhammad Ali Pasha's armed forces marched to invade Sudan immediately and took control of it in the year (1820). A number of national historians and others have highlighted the state of weakness that prevailed

in Sudanese kingdoms, the most notable of which was the weakness of the alliances that existed between the tribes that formed the Sennar state, as some were in disagreement with the ruling authority in Sennar, and some sought to break away from control. The travel of some tribal leaders to Egypt, where they met with Muhammad Ali Pasha and urged him to invade Sudan, led to the formation of new alliances in Sudan between Turkish rule and Sudanese tribes that supported it and worked to strengthen its power to replace the Sinnarian state.

Reasons for invading the Sudan:

The motivations that drove Muhammad Ali Pasha to invade Sudan were not new; Sudan had long been a source of desire for Egypt's governing elites, and its resources and wealth were sought after by any monarch who rose to the throne. It was stated in the Palermo Stone that King Sneferu of the Third Dynasty of Egypt (2900 BC) invaded Nubia and was able to capture seven thousand women and men, and seize two thousand sheep and calves. After his return to Egypt, he worked to employ the men in the state service, while the women worked in the king's palaces. Some of the calves were slaughtered and some of them were crossed with Egyptian cows for the purpose of improving her lineage⁽²⁾. During the reign of King Bey (the 1st) of the Sixth Dynasty (2600 BC), who was able to gather an army from Sudanese groups to subjugate some tribes in eastern Sudan, the Egyptians succeeded in mining for gold in Sudanese lands, and they also worked on constructing river and land roads to export that precious metal to Egypt. Egyptian greed for Sudan's precious resources and wealth continued throughout the reign of the Egyptian dynasties⁽³⁾.

According to the preceding, Sudan, with its resources and wealth, has long been an important factor in Egyptian politics, and it was the destination and demand of any Egyptian government that sat on the throne. When Muhammad Ali Pasha became ruler of Egypt, he immediately turned his attention to

Sudan, a country that is geographically close to Egypt and rich in resources that can fulfill some of the Pasha's dreams and ambitions.

Before in going into the reasons that prompted Muhammad Ali Pasha to invade Sudan, we must get acquainted with the personality of Muhammad Ali, who extended his control over Egypt, and then set off to expand at the expense of other regions, namely the Levant, Hejaz, and Sudan.

Muhammad Ali Pasha was born in the year (1182 Ah/ 1769 ad), and he was characterized by severity and strength of character ⁽⁴⁾, and came to Egypt as part of the Turkish forces in order to expel the French. In the year (1218 Ah/ 1801 AD) he became one of the leaders of the Albanian-Turkish band in Egypt. After the intensification of the internal conflict between the Egyptian components, Muhammad Ali Pasha worked to exploit this conflict for his own benefit, and reached the rule of Egypt on May 13, 1805. Muhammad Ali Pasha succeeded in achieving what he planned and eventually ruled Egypt alone, despite the internal conflicts and many problems ⁽⁵⁾.

After taking control of the Egyptian government and successfully extinguishing the Wahhabi movement and extending his power over the Arabian Peninsula, Muhammad Ali Pasha began to consider invading Sudan ⁽⁶⁾.

Some historical sources indicate that Britain was fully aware of the ambitions and plans of Muhammad Ali Pasha to invade Sudan, and that his relationship with the British consul in Egypt (Henry Salt) was good before the invasion of Sudan, and Muhammad Ali Pasha declared on more than one occasion his loyalty to Britain, besides that he would not do any great work without its agreement, at that time Henry salt, in the same year in which Sudan was invaded, requested a visit to Britain for the purpose of medical treatment, apparently, but most likely he required to convey a specific message to the British government, where he said: (... Our great man here (meaning Muhammad Ali Pasha) is pressing for communication that cannot be written on paper...)⁽⁷⁾.

It is believed that Britain advised Muhammad Ali Pasha regarding the invasion of Sudan, and when Britain felt that the Pasha's forces began to penetrate south beyond Sinnar, it feared the Pasha's ambition, which was increasing day by day, when Ismail's forces became on the borders of Abyssinia. The British worries increased about Muhammad Ali Pasha's forces entering Abyssinia and controlling it, then reaching the Red Sea and controlled its entrance from the west. Salt informed Muhammad Ali Pasha that this matter, i.e. intrusion into Abyssinia and the Red Sea, was not desired by the British. Then the Pasha replied: (... although this region is full of gold and jewels, and if its conquest is certain, he (chooses) to abandon it in order to preserve his relationship with Great Britain...), Salt commented on Mehmed Ali Pasha's promise to him by saying: (...I have never recognized him give a word and he does not intend to fulfill it...)⁽⁸⁾..

It is likely that Britain was aware of the campaign to invade the Sudan, and that it allowed this to enable Muhammad Ali Pasha to extend his control over the Sudan in the hope of restoring it whenever domestic and international conditions permit, possibly in the future.

There are many factors and reasons that prompted Muhammad Ali Pasha to send two campaigns led by his son Ismail and his son-in-law Muhammad Bey the Defterdar to invade Sudan. By examining these reasons, it becomes clear to us that the Pasha was very confident and ambitious in invading the land of Sudan. Among these reasons are:

- Obtaining men and money, which are two of the most important elements for building a modern state in that period.
- Preventing the expansion of the Mamluks the rivals of Muhammad Ali Pasha in northern Sudan and preventing them from founding an armed force that threatens the security of Egypt from its southern borders.

- Controlling the Red Sea coast, because Sudan has a long and distinctive coast that enables Muhammad Ali Pasha to restore and secure trade through this important and strategic lifeline. Therefore, the idea of controlling the Red Sea and the Sudanese coast was one of the most important reasons for Muhammad Ali Pasha's invasion, after men and money.
- Getting rid of his Albanian soldiers and others races, and seeking the help of the Sudanese forces.
- Muhammad Ali Pasha's unwavering goal was to govern the entire Nile Valley basin, from its source to its mouth (9).
- A group of advisers working in the service of the Pasha presented the idea of conquering Sudan and controlling it, because this sprawling country has vast territories and is colonizable, due to the weakness of the kingdoms and sultanates that presiding it (10).

For these reasons and others, Muhammad Ali Pasha's forces moved after they had completed their preparations to control Sudan.

Footnotes:

- (1) Ra'fat Ghoneimi El-Sheikh, Egypt and Sudan in International Relations, Library of Historical Studies and International Relations, World of Books, Cairo, (B.T.), p. 73.
- (2) Hassan Kamal, The History of Ancient Sudan, El-Muqattam and El-Muqattaf Press, Cairo, 1924 AD, p. 5.
- (3) Ibid., p. 6.
- (4) Muhammad Ali El-Kabir, the Centenary of his Death, Royal Society for Historical Studies, Dar El-Ma'rif, Cairo, 1949, p. 27.
- (5) Muhammad El-Amin Saeed, Muhammad Ali's Politics in Sudan (1235 -1264 AH / 1820 -1848 AD), (PD) 2016 AD, pp. 35-36
- (6) Muhammad Mahmoud El-Surouji, Studies in the Contemporary History of Egypt and Sudan, (ed.), Cairo, 1998, p. 263.
- (7) Suleiman El-Ghannam, A Reading of Muhammad Ali Pasha's Expansionist Policy in the Arabian Peninsula, Sudan, Greece, and Syria (1811-1840 AD), Arab Cultural Center, Casablanca, Morocco, 2000 AD, p. 64.
- (8) Ibid., p. 66.
- (9) Shawqi El-Gamal, The History of Sudan and the Nile Valley, Its Civilizations and Its Relationship with Egypt from the Earliest Ages to the Present, Anglo-Egyptian Library, Cairo, 2008 AD, 320-321.
- (10) Abdullah Hussein, History of Sudan, Dar El-Hayat Publishing, Cairo, 2016, p. 123.

CHAPTER TWO

Invasion of Kordofan

Chapter Two

The Defterdar's invasion of Kordofan

Kordofan Region:

The word Kordofan /kɔːdɒsˈfæn/ initially signified the mountain (Kordofan), which is located between the meridians of 13-04° west and 30-21° degrees east near the 'El-Ain' area, and this name was taken from the people of Kordofan for saying (Kold far), that is, the boiling Kold, and this 'Kold' was the last Nuba King from whom the Ghidayyat tribe occupied Mount Kordofan. As it is a habit of this group of tribes to move behind pasture and water, so the name found wide spread and became the name of the entire Kordofan region⁽¹⁾.

The Kordofan region is located between 9-16° degrees north latitude, and between the Nile and the latitude of 27-30°, and its length is about 400 miles, and its width is about 350 miles, the area of the region is about 130,500 square miles, then the borders of the region extends north from a point in the Sahara desert northwest near the longitude 16-30° north, and continues until 'Alhobji and Jabra Wells' until Fattasha at the intersection of the longitude 15-27° on the West Bank of the White Nile. The eastern borders of the Kordofan region ends up close to a point near the 'Aljabalain', where it continues south along the Nile to Lake (No). As for its southern border, it is a line starting from the confluence of Lake (No) with the 'Bahr El-Jabal' along a winding lengthwise stretch in a westerly direction. The Western border extends southward till the 'Bahr El-Arab', a stretch of sand dunes dividing Kordofan from Darfur in the West close to the Umm Kaddada Hills, where Umm Badir and Fuja joined Kordofan⁽²⁾.

Demographics:

There are numerous population groups in the Kordofan region, including the Kababeesh, Kawahla, Hawaweer, and Hamar, who reside in North Kordofan's

desert areas and are professional camel herders. In South Kordofan, there are Baggara groups that graze cows: El-Misseriya (Zurq & Humor) tribes, El-Habbaniya, El-Hawazma, Awlad Humeid, the Bani Suleim, and the Nuba. There are population groups living in Central Kordofan, such as El-Jawam'a, El-Bideiriya, El-Ghidiyyat, and there are also Fazara groups, which comprise the Dar-Hamid tribes that live in the city of Bara, and among these branches of Dar-Hamid are El-Jilidat, El-Majanin, El-Maramra, El-Farahna, and El-Hababin, besides Bani Jarrar tribe, and among the groups Population also in Kordofan, El-Baza'ah, and El-Shanablah⁽³⁾.

Observing the demographics of Kordofan region, we will discover that it is characterized by population density and diversity of tribes, due to the region's richness and diversity of resources and wealth, as well as its central geographical location as a point of contact between Sudan's various regions. As a consequence, it has been a melting pot and a point of interaction for a vast number of Sudanese tribes throughout history.

Throughout history, the Kordofan region has been subjected to many invasions, including the invasions of the Fur Sultanate, the Funj Sultanate, the Dinka, and the Turkish-Egyptian invasion. These continuous invasions indicate the importance of the region to those attempting to control it⁽⁴⁾.

The tribal system dominated the Kordofan region, where each tribe managed its own affairs according to its customs. Kordofan region has entered the circle of Sinnari ambition since the days of Sultan Badei Abu Shloukh, when he sent a military campaign to seize Kordofan from El-Musabbaat, led by Wad-Toma and sheikhs of El-Abdlab and Muhammad Abu-Likeilik. In the year 1747 AD, this army suffered a bitter defeat at the Battle of Qaheif*. In this battle, Wad-Toma, the leaders of the Abdlab, Abdullah Ras Tira, and his brother, the Arbab, Shamam, were killed. Commander Muhammad Abu-liKeilik was able to rearrange his army again and defeat the El-Musabbaat. Subsequently, he was appointed by Sultan Badei as commander of the army

in Kordofan and continued as a governor until 1762 AD. From Kordofan, Abu-Likeilik marched to Sennar in arrangement with the leaders of the Funj, he was able to overthrow Sultan Badei Abu-Shloukh, and became the first minister who had the authoritative power and decision-maker. With this action, the descendants of Abu-Likeilk's El-Hamaj (the savages) officially took control of Sennar's power. This rule continued until Ismail ibn Muhammad Ali Pasha invaded Sennar, the capital.

As a result of the Funj's control over Kordofan, people's conditions flourished, and large groups from Sennar and Dongola came to the region, which reflected positively on trade, as it flourished greatly⁽⁵⁾.

Kordofan became the target of the ambition of the Fur to colonize it and while Sultan Hashim El-Musbba'awi came to it after his disagreement with the Sultan of Darfur; the forces of the Fur moved and entered into Kordofan and took control of it, meanwhile, Hashim El-Musbba'awi, fled and took refuge with the Sultan of Funj in Sennar. Over the 34-year Fur occupation period, Kordofan region witnessed economic prosperity and flourishing conditions. Throughout this time, the region paid taxes to the Fur rulers. It is noticeable that trade and agriculture had better-quality during the period of Fur control over Kordofan. Different goods came from Egypt, Ethiopia, and West Africa. As a result of the revival of trade, women wore gold in large quantities, and the conditions of the region changed for the better. This situation continued until the Turkish invading forces reached in Kordofan⁽⁶⁾.

The people in Kordofan found out the difference between the Funj government, specifically during the reign of Abu-likeilik and the Fur government - the Fur rule was characterized by severity. The harshness of the Fur rule is evidenced by the hatred of some tribes for the Fur government in Kordofan, which caused the Kababish and Dawaleib tribes to support the Defter dar against the Fur, as the Dawaleib people, who had the greatest commercial fortune in the region, aspired to find broader areas for trade with the new ruler⁽⁷⁾.

Kordofan and Maqdoum Mussalam:

El-Maquadoum Mussalam El-Furawi was the governor of Kordofan Since 1811 AD appointed by the Sultan of the Fur, Sultan Muhammad El-Fadl (1802-9 183 AD). The arrival of Mussalam was characterized by courage and generosity, and he was sent to extend Fur control over Kordofan region, and he did it. When news of the campaign to invade Kordofan under the leadership of Muhammad Bey the Defterdar reached Maqdoum Mussalam in Kordofan; that the invading army was marching towards him with a military force* of 4,000 soldiers armed with eight cannons. Then the Maqdoum Mussalam decided to prepare for the decisive battle ⁽⁸⁾.

Many sources indicate historical references indicate that Maqdoum Musallam was characterized by many good qualities, including: courage, firmness, generosity, and knowledgeable in jurisprudence and Sharia sciences. He was also characterized by justice and working to encourage knowledge and scholars. From the above, we find that the Maqdoum Musallam left a good reputation and qualities. Consequently, we appreciate that Maqdoum Musallam had excellent qualities, a remarkable reputation, and the ability to bravely confront the foreign invaders till his martyrdom.

The Kordofan region was the scene of long and continuous conflict and competition between the Fur and Funj kingdoms. Each of the two powers sought to control this sprawling region, rich in its resources and wealth, in addition to its economic importance; as Kordofan was known for its richness and the availability of various crops, the most important of which is Gum Arabic. Accordingly, the bounties of Kordofan encouraged Muhammad Ali Pasha to invade it ⁽⁹⁾.

We note that the wealth and resources of Sudan together were the focus of attention of Muhammad Ali Pasha, and that Kordofan was not far from the ambition and greed of the Pasha in obtaining the wealth, and rich resources this country. We as well recognized that Sudan's wealth has been a curse for

it and its people throughout the millennia, as this continent-like country has not reaped the benefits of its resources and wealth until now, making it vulnerable to greed now and in the future.

Muhammad Bey The Defterdar:

He is Muhammad Bey Khesraw (the Defterdar*) Dharmali, a Turkish Rumilian soldier. He worked in the service of Muhammad Ali Pasha. He came from (Dharma) in Macedonia and was raised in (Istanbul). He was called 'Stanly' (Istanbul in Arabic). He was appointed by the Ottoman Sultan to serve Muhammad Ali Pasha. He was a money manager and the holder of the land registry, which is the key to the land tax. He married Nazli Hanem, the daughter of Muhammad Ali Pasha. He gained the trust of the Pasha when he was governor of Upper Egypt, and the registry succeeded in supervising finances and collecting taxes ⁽¹⁰⁾.

The Defterdar is one of the powerful levers that Muhammad Ali Pasha relied on to construct the foundations of his rule in Egypt. The Defterdar's roles on the pasha's behalf were no less significant than those of Ibrahim Pasha, the pasha's eldest son, Muhammad Lazhoghli, the deputy governor, and Saleh Qosh, the engineer and designer of the historic citadel massacre. This group came with Muhammad Ali Pasha to Egypt during the Ottoman era. The Pasha succeeded in taking advantage of the situation in Egypt and, after a while, ascended to the administration of the state. Muhammad Ali Pasha tended to use people like the Defterdar because they were obedient and worked to implement all his orders without reluctance. The Defterdar succeeded in extending the Pasha's control over all of Egypt. He was also able to suppress any rebellion against him. In honor of him, Muhammad Ali Pasha married his daughter, Nazli Hanen. The aim of this was the Pasha's desire to retain the Defterdar's loyalty forever ⁽¹¹⁾.

A number of sources indicate that the Defterdar was characterized by intelligence and that he invented new ways to increase the taxes collected

from the people of Upper Egypt. He was also characterized by cruelty and brutality, and he had no mercy in his heart. He loved bloodshed since he was in Cairo and Upper Egypt. He had been removed from the Emirate of Upper Egypt in the year 1235 AH/1819 AD to become the leader of the campaign to invade Kordofan after that. However, since the Defterdar is characterized by intelligence and his loyalty to Muhammad Ali Pasha, we find that he has committed many atrocities since he stepped on the land of Sudan.

The name of Muhammad Bey the Defterdar was initially associated with the people of Sudan with the invasion of Kordofan; at that point, the name of the Defterdar became synonymous with all that is hateful and heinous, such as oppression, abuse, and torture, during the period of Muhammad Ali Pasha's rule in Sudan and afterward.

Kordofan invasion campaign:

Muhammad Ali Pasha relied heavily on the Kordofan invasion campaign to get slaves and other minerals and wealth that characterize this region ⁽¹²⁾.

Preparations for this campaign began at the end of the year 1235 AH / 1820 AD. The primary goal of this campaign was to conquer Darfur afterward. Ships loaded with grains began to cross the first cascade at Aswan, heading towards Wadi Halfa. Orders were issued by Muhammad Ali Pasha to the governor (Girga) to reside in Aswan to gathered the largest number of camels* for this campaign. He also wrote to his son Ismail Pasha in the year 1236 AH/1820 AD demanding him to send ships in excess of his needs to Halfa to help transport the equipment and supplies of the Defterdar campaign for Kordofan invasion ⁽¹³⁾.



Portrait: (1) Muhammad Bey The Defterdar

The Defterdar arrived in Esna city in the Luxor region of Upper Egypt, which is located on the west bank of the River Nile, on 23 Jumada the 2nd (March 28, 1821 AD), to directly supervise the preparations of his army and to supply the daily needs of grains for the campaign, which were estimated at fifty ‘Ardabs’, which is equivalent to two sacks of corn or other crops. A Kordofan consisting of a thousand camels loaded with the necessary supplies was sent to Dongola city, which is located in northern Sudan on the west bank of the Nile. It is worth mentioning that Dongola is one of the antique Sudanese cities. The Kordofan had to return to transport the goods; in the meantime, Dongola’s governor, Abdi Kashif, worked tirelessly to prepare four huge warehouses (*shuwan*) for storing army equipment and supplies ⁽¹⁴⁾.

The campaign launched by Muhammad Ali Pasha to capture Kordofan included 4,000 (four thousand fighters) Turks and Moroccans led by his son-in-law, Muhammad Khesraw Bey (The Defterdar). They had ten war cannons ready for their attack on the Kordofan region. This mission began in Dongola and progressed to El-Dabbah, intending to reach El-Obeid. In 1821, Kordofan was under the control of Sultan Muhammad El-Fadl Sultan El-Fur and ruled by his representative, Muqaddoum Mussalam. The Defterdar campaign traveled from Cairo to Aswan before departing on Rajab 23, 1236 AH, or April 26, 1821 AD, for Dongola and El-Dabba to subjugate the Kordofan region⁽¹⁵⁾.

The Defterdar forces camped in El-Dabbah for some time to complete its preparations before entering the desert, as El-Dabbah represents the beginning of the way to cross the desert towards Kordofan. From El-Dabbah, he sent a camel man under the pretext of delivering a message to El-Maqdoum Mussalam, the ruler of Kordofan, but the main purpose of the mission was to inspect the pathway from El-Dabba to Kordofan and to discover out the situations of the country.

In the meantime, the Defterdar was waiting at El-Dabba for the arrival of several leather drinking vessels to bring water from Aswan supplies, and the Defterdar chose to crawl towards Kordofan after these vessels arrived in late Shawwal (1236) or late July 1821⁽¹⁶⁾.

The campaign moved from El-Dabba on the River Nile in northern Sudan to cross the Bayuoda desert, heading towards Haraza area, to reach it in nine days, and on the eleventh day from the beginning of the departure, the Defterdar and his forces arrived Bara city. Sheikh Salem, the leader of Kababish's tribe, took over the guidance of the Defterdar campaign in the Bayuoda desert; he did so to avoid the evil of the Defterdar and to protect his tribe from the tyranny of the bloodthirsty of the Defterdar. The severity of the Defterdar prompted several of Kababeesh tribesmen to escape and surrender to Ismail Pasha, the commander of the Sennar invasion campaign, which

was heading south (17). After the Defterdar's forces left the Nile River in El-Dabba, they moved through the areas of Ummbelila, El-Amiri, El-Hobji, El-Safiya, Umm-Masareen, Jabal El-Haraza, Jabal El-Atshan, Kujmur and Umm-Dayuka El-Faki to reach the city of Bara (18), and on the way to Kordofan on 17 Rajab 1236 Ah / April 1821, the Defterdar wrote to El-Maqdoun Musallam ordering him to surrender, and that he was sent by Muhammad Ali Pasha to extend sovereignty over Kordofan, but El-Maqdoun Musallam refused this command⁽¹⁹⁾.

It was stated in the letter of the Defterdar to the late El-Maqdoun Musallam, the ruler of Kordofan, that he came to Kordofan mandated by the Sultan of Islam and that he asked him to surrender, because any resistance means rebelling against the Islamic state in Istanbul. Although the letter of the Defterdar tried to extort El-Maqdoun Musallam and urge him to surrender, the latter refused the order, and he acted to alert the Kordofan cavalry and Darfur infantry. Then he wrote to the Defterdar, saying: "... We are Muslims in our country and follow the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Messenger (peace and blessings of Allah be upon Him); moreover, we are committed to the commands and prohibitions since the time of the ancient Sultans... Every sultan rules the people of his country according to what Allah says. It did not appear in all the periods of the Ottoman previous sultans who addressed us with such a speech..."Only you, in the time of Muhammad Ali Pasha, dare to send campaigns to the country of Islam... You are under the authority of Ottoman, the caliph of the messenger of Allah, but we are outside his rule, and he is not responsible for us on the day of resurrection... We did not violate the book of Allah and the Sunnah of his messenger. You are aggressors and tyrants... We may repel you... If you come to our country, you are an oppressor, and we are oppressed, and if we die, we are oppressed and martyrs in the hands of Allah Almighty ⁽²⁰⁾.

In another version of El-Maqdoun Musallam's response to The Defterdar, it was reported by Makki Shibaika: "...Dear dear follower of Muhammad Ali, I

wish you my sincere greetings and more honor. As for what follows, we understood the letter that you sent to us; we understood it, and it contained transgression, greed, and other things. We understood it well. As for us in our country, we are Muslims and follow the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Messenger (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). Besides, we have been obedient to the commands and prohibitions throughout the time since the first sultans.

In addition, you are the people of the sea and we are the people of land, and every sultan has to rule the people of his country according to what Allah commands, and we were not under your authority before: every sultan must rule his people according to what Allah says; this is his responsibility. As for you, you are not responsible for ruling the countries of others....). At the end of the letter, the El-Maqdoum Musallam says: (... We have not violated the Book of Allah or the Sunnah of His Messenger, nor has Allah authorized you to come to our country. You are usurpers, oppressors, and wrongdoers, as the Sheikh said, "so it is allowed to resist the enemy." If you come to our country, you are an enemy and an oppressor, and we are oppressed. If we die in our home, we die oppressed and martyrs (within Allah's hands). Then it became clear to the Defterdar that El-Maqdoum Musallam decided to confront him ⁽²¹⁾.

The Defterdar mentioned to the El-Maqdoum Musallam that he did not come to fight him but rather came in the name of the Sultan of Islam to demand the tribute paid by the Muslim princes. Even if El-Maqdoum Musallam accepted the directive, the Defterdar would break the promise, and certainly the Defterdar was not sincere in his withdrawal from Kordofan because he came according to orders and a plan carefully drawn up by Muhammad Ali Pasha in Egypt. Then El-Maqdoum Musallam held a meeting with his tribe-chiefs and advisors, and everyone was convinced that all the arguments presented by the Defterdar were not justification for the occupation of Kordofan, and everyone decided to resist ⁽²²⁾.

El-Maqdoum Musallam chose to leave El-Obeid to confront the Defterdar forces at Bara Plain. This decision was critical for the invading armies because the plain suited the Defterdar warriors, who were armed with weapons and artillery. In this battle, the artillery was able to defeat El-Maqdoum Musallam's army ⁽²³⁾.

The weaponry of Colonel Muslim's army is made up of rough armor, axes, arrows, and some firearms, and they are almost naked. Despite their inferior armament in comparison to the Defterdar armies, they were evidently valiant, and the victory was shared ⁽²⁴⁾.

The battle between El-Maqdoum Muslim and the Defterdar was a fierce battle. The Defterdar's forces were victorious in the first battle and were defeated in the second, but the superiority of firearms tipped the balance in the favor of the invasion forces, and El-Maqdoum Muslim was killed as a result of a gunshot wound. One of the leaders of the El-Jawama tribe found El-Maqdoum Musallam after he was killed. The tribes dispersed after the assassination of El-Maqdoum Mussalam ⁽²⁵⁾.

There was a knight in the army of the El-Maqdoum Muslim called Ibrahim Wad Deir*, he was a fierce fighter he moved to with his horse towards the Defterdar's canons, and was able to kill some of the gunmen also he hit one of the cannons with his sword, which was made of steel, and left a clear mark on the cannon. He continued to fight fiercely, and it is mentioned that he said during the battle: (*...I attack this cannon to strike it with my sword. If I live, it will be my share, and if I die, it will be my mark...*) He was martyred, and he etched a mark on the cannon with his sword, which became known as the Wad Deir Cannon. It remained in El-Obeid until Mahdist forces put hand on it, then the cannon was moved from El-Obeid to Omdurman ⁽²⁶⁾.

The sources and references agreed that the Battle of Bara (1821 AD), which took place between the forces of El-Maqdoum Muslim, the ruler of Kordofan, and the forces of the invading army led by the Defterdar, was one of the

fiercest battles fought by the forces of Muhammad Ali Pasha in Sudan. Because El-Maqdoum Muslim decided to confront the invading army with all the weapons and equipment's he possessed. The Battle of Bara was one of the most important battles of Sudanese heroism against the invading forces, benefiting from his determination and the insistence of his forces to defend their homeland, as well as the women and children standing by his side in this battle, as it demonstrated the determination, strength, and patience of the Sudanese fighter and his defense of his land and honor until the last fighter.

The forces of the Defterdar subjugated Kordofan in Dhul-Qi'dah 1236 AH/ August 1821 AD, and then prepared to invade Darfur, It is the second stage according to the plan developed by Basha in Egypt, which is to control Kordofan first and Darfur in the second phase, but this plan was modified, and Muhammad Ali Pasha wrote to his son Ibrahim telling him that he had been hasty in the beginning when he thought of annexing Kordofan. After the invasion of Kordofan, the Pasha became aware of all the details of the vast region. After Controlling central Sudan, Sennar and Fazoghli; then the governing Darfur became involved. This is because the invasion process requires a lot of forces money. Therefore, Muhammad Ali Pasha preferred to focus on central Sudan, Sennar, and Fazoghli ⁽²⁷⁾.

The Defterdar did not accompany any European in his invasion of the Kordofan region. This was because he did not want anyone to share the glory and pride with him in the event of extending his control over the important and strategic region. He wrote many letters to Muhammad Ali Pasha about Sudan, its resources and wealth. He also drew A map of Sudan, but it was not of the quality and accuracy of maps at that time ⁽²⁸⁾.

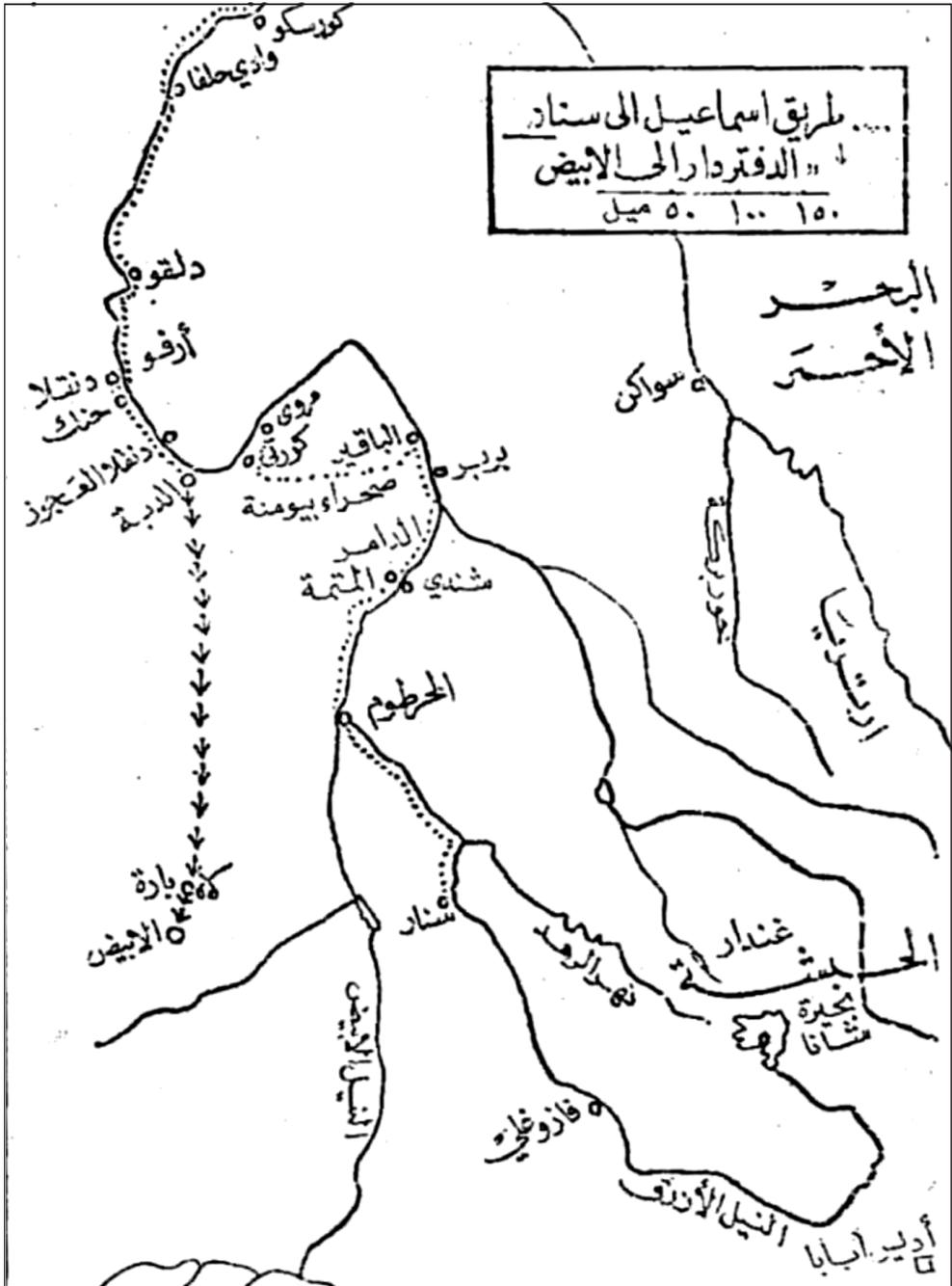
Avoiding Darfur Invasion:

Since the Defterdar forces took control of the Kordofan region, Sultan Muhammad El-Fadl, Sultan of Darfur, had been working to prepare and equip

his forces to repel the possible invasion by the Defterdar ⁽²⁹⁾. Darfur was a major target for the invasion after Kordofan by Muhammad Ali Pasha and the Defterdar, with the aim of eliminating Sultan Muhammad El-Fadl. To stop the advance of the Defterdar on Dafur, Sultan Muhammad El-Fadl sent an army led by Abu-Likeilik, with the aim of fighting the Defterdar and retrieving El-Obeid. The two armies met in the Sodari region, and the Defterdar was able to defeat Abu-Likeilik's forces ⁽³⁰⁾.

Sultan Muhammad El-Fadl, Sultan of Fur, worked to restore the Kordofan region and extend his control over it again by assembling his forces to restore Kordofan, but he did not succeed in doing so because of the Defterdar's control over the region ⁽³¹⁾.

After that, as a result of many internal and external factors, Muhammad Ali Pasha abandoned his consideration, even temporarily, from the idea of invading Darfur after extending his control over Kordofan by the forces of Muhammad Bey the Defterdar. Perhaps one of the most important external reasons was that the Ottoman Sultan informed Muhammad Ali Pasha of the rebellion that arose against him in (El-Moura). He expected that if the disobedience movement against the Ottoman Sultan in Europe continued, he would be entrusted with more tasks, in addition to the task of supervising the island of Crete. Therefore, he asked his son Ibrahim to abandon the invasion of Darfur. Then, Darfur continued outside the sovereignty of Muhammad Ali Pasha until it was governed in the era of Khedive Ismail through El-Zubair Pasha Rahma ⁽³²⁾.



Map (1): Shows the routes taken by Ismail and the Deftardar campaign to invade Sudan

Footnotes:

(11) Awad Abdel Hadi El-Atta, *The Political History of Kordofan*, National Council for the Welfare of Literature and Arts, 1973, previous reference, p. 21.

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 11

(13) *Ibid.*, pp. 10-21.

(14) Badr El-Din Hamid El-Shami, *Sudan through Western Eyes*, vol. 5, Jarir El-Ward Library, Cairo, 2015, p. 267.

*Qiheif: (Qiheif) is located near the town of El-Tayyara in Kordofan, and a famous battle took place between the Fonj and the Fur. The Funj forces were led by Khamis Jangal of the Musaba'at, the minister Muhammad Wadtuma, Muhammad Abu El-likeilik, El-Manjil Abdullah Ras-Tira, and his brother El-Arbab Shamam and Wad-Ajaib, and the battle took place between the two parties in the Qiheif region in 1747 AD, the Funj were defeated in this battle.

(15) Ignatius Palma, *Travels in Kordofan (1837-1839 AD)*, (translated by Arbab Musa Bakhit, Dar El-Musawwarat for Publishing, Khartoum, 2019 AD, p. 20.

(16) Ignatius Palma, previous source, p. 21.)

(17) Muhammad Saeed El-Qaddal, *Modern History of Sudan, 1821-1956 AD*, Khartoum University Press, Khartoum, p. 54.

* Richard Hull stated that the Defterdar campaign consisted of 3,000,000 men and 13 cannons. See: Ricar Hill op-cit.p.12.

(18) Ignatius Palma, previous source, p. 21. (8)

(19) Makki Shibeika, *Sudan Through the Centuries*, Dar El-Jeel, Beirut, 1991, p. 111.

* Defterdar: A word of Persian origin that has entered the Turkish language. It consists of two syllables: defter, meaning a book of

accounts, and dar, meaning owner or carrier. The word Defterdar means someone responsible for financial affairs, and it was used in the Arabic language to mean a financial officer. The word Defterdar was commonly used in the Ottoman era in the states that were subject to the Ottomans, and then the title of Defterdar was given to the Central Minister of Finance. See the Concise Encyclopedia of Islamic History, Collection of Authors, vol. 6, p. 16. (10) Richard Hull, Dictionaries of biographies of Sudanese notables from the earliest times until 1948 AD, (translated) Saif El-Din Abdel Hamid, Sudan Currency Printing Company, Khartoum 2016 AD, p. 357.

- (20) Gamal Badawi, 'Kan and its Sisters', Living Scenes from Egypt's Modern History, International Press, 1986, p. 28.
- (21) Awad Abdul Hadi El-Atta, previous reference, p. 22.
- (22) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 60.
- (23) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, pp. 61-61.
- (24) Richard Hull, previous source, p. 357.
- (25) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 61
- (26) Muhammad Saeed El-Qaddal, Modern History of Sudan, 1820-1955 AD, Khartoum University Publishing House, Khartoum 2018, p. 53.
- (27) Harold MacMichael, Tribes of North and Central Kordofan, (Arabization) Saif El-Din Abdul Hamid, Abdul Karim Mirghani Center, Omdurman, Sudan Currency Press. Khartoum, 2nd edition, 2007, p. 51.
- (28) Muhammad Fouad Shukri, Egypt and Sovereignty over Sudan, The Historical Status of the Issue, Dar El-Fikr El-Arabi, Cairo (PT), p. 5.
- (29) Muhammad Saeed El-Qaddal, previous reference, p. 54.
- (30) Makki Shibeika, Sudan Through the Centuries, p. 112.
- (31) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 61.

- (32) Muhammad Saeed El-Qaddal, *Modern History of Sudan*, previous reference, p. 54.
- (33) Harold MacMichael, *op. cit.*, p. 51
- (34) Same source, p. 22.
- * Ibrahim Wad Deir is from the Dar Hamid tribe. He was one of the most distinguished warriors in the forces of al-Maqqdum Muslim and in the Battle of Bara specifically. See snippets from the biography of Adam Bey al-Arifi, Muhammad al-Tijani Omar Qash, *Sudanil*, March 14, 2022 AD.
- (35) Naoum Shuqair, previous source, pp. 506-507.
- (36) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, pp. 62-63. (27)
- (37) Naoum Choucair, previous source, p. 207.
- (38) Ahmed Sayed Ahmed, previous reference, p. 65.
- (39) Naoum Shuqair, previous source, p. 507.
- (40) Raafat Ghoneimi El-Sheikh, *Sudan and Egypt in International Relations*, Alam El-Kutub, Cairo, (B.T.), p. 77.
- (41) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 63.

CHAPTER THREE

The Atrocities of the Deftardar in Kordofan

CHAPTER THREE

The Atrocities of the Defterdar in Kordofan

The Horrors of the Defterdar in a Kordofan

The Atrocities of the Defterdar in Bará city:

The atrocities of the Defterdar against the people of Kordofan clearly began with the imposition of heavy taxes. The Baggara and Nuba tribes were persecuted to pay the taxes imposed on them, and the Defterdar began terrorizing the people to pay taxes and collect cows and camels from Kordofan to be sent to Egypt ⁽¹⁾.

Bara city is located in North Kordofan, exactly north of El Obeid. Bara is notable by the fertility of its soil and the purity of its water, and it has a spring of water called (El-Ateik)⁽²⁾. Opinions varied around the origin of the city's name. The city of Bara is an oasis and it is famous for its agricultural activities; therefore, it is one of the most significant cities in the Kordofan region after El-Obeid.

Following his triumph over El-Maqdum Musallam's army, the Defterdar's atrocities against the inhabitants of Kordofan became evident as he proceeded near the area. The Defterdar troops pursued and eventually drove out the Kordofan fighters who were running away after the Battle of Bara. They also tortured them with extreme severity, most famously by amputating two ears. A prize was to be offered by the Defterdar to anyone who brought ears ⁽³⁾.

After the Defterdar forces entered the city of Bara, the soldiers treated the people with the utmost cruelty and brutality. They also stole women's jewelry, and also plundered livestock to supply the army, and killed two thousand people of Kordofan ⁽⁴⁾.

The Defterdar kidnapped 1,200 slaves from El-Maqloum Musallam and dispatched 800 of them to Egypt. He demanded almost 2,000 slaves from the Kordofan people (5), and his soldiers were able to enter the city of Bara in August 1821 AD, then advanced towards El-Obeid, which the Defterdar proclaimed his capital city (6).

The Atrocities of the Defterdar in El-Obeid:

Upon entering El-Obeid, the Defterdar claimed to be Muhammad Ali Pasha's appointed ruler and personal representative over Kordofan. There he laid the foundations for the new military administration, and attacked the Nuba Mountains in order to get slaves (7).

The population of Kordofan was approximately forty thousand before the invasion. The Defterdar used to reduce this number through assassination and displacement, as a consequence, large groups of inhabitants fled for fear of the Defterdar oppression. The name of the Defterdar became terrifying in El-Obeid and all the regions of Kordofan, Sennar, and other regions, and his atrocities turned the region, which was one of the most productive and abundant regions of Sudan, into the poorest region (8).

Examples of the Atrocities of the Defterdar:

- 1- One of the Defterdar's soldiers stole a sheep from a farmer, and when the farmer was unable to get his sheep back, he complained to the Defterdar, and the Defterdar was listening to the farmer's complaint. After the farmer finished filing his complaint, the Defterdar said to him: (...You have bothered me with this nonsense issue...), and then the Defterdar ordered his soldiers to bring a cannon and tie the poor farmer in front of its muzzle, and shoot him.
- 2- In another incident that indicates the hostility of the Defterdar, he had a servant who was preparing food for him, and on one occasion the servant inserted his finger into the food of the Defterdar. When the Defterdar saw

- this, he immediately ordered the servant to have his tongue nailed to the wall for two hours, with honey surrounding it to stimulate his appetite. Following the nail's removal from his tongue, the servant had to wait many days for the sore on his tongue to heal.
- 3- During one of the Defterdar's horse rides through the streets of El-Obeid city, his groom couldn't keep up with the speed of the horse, so the Defterdar hit him with a whip, but he couldn't keep up with the speed of the horse, which enraged the Defterdar, so he decided to tie him behind the horse to be pulled, causing his body to disintegrate and leaving him permanent disability.
 - 4- A resident of El-Obeid struck his neighbor on the ear, prompting the victim to file a complaint with the office bearer, who investigated the wrongdoer about the hand with which he struck his neighbor, and its palm was skinned. When he told the Defterdar he wouldn't be able to work on it again, the Defterdar grew furious and ordered his tongue to be chopped because he disapproved of his judgment.
 - 5- One of the Defterdar's servants stole his tobacco, and when the Defterdar learned about this, he ordered him to be beaten to death.
 - 6- One of the farmers was wanted by the government in the amount of 40 riyals, so the village sheikh took the farmer's only bull and brought a butcher, slaughtered the bull and divided it among the people, and collected forty riyals when the farmer filed a complaint with the Defterdar against the village sheikh. Immediately, the Defterdar went to the village, ordered the village sheikh to be slaughtered, and divided his meat into forty. He ordered everyone who bought bull meat to buy sheikh meat, and the money was returned to the farmer.
 - 7- On Eid El-Adha, a number of people working with the Defterdar came forward to exchange shoes for them, but this time the Defterdar had a

different opinion, as the veterinarians were asked to make 18 horseshoes, and they were equipped and dressed for them. Some of them died, and those who did not die were removed from them and treated, but this caused permanent disabilities for many of them.

It is evident to everyone who follows Defterdar's string of atrocities that he perpetrated them in Sudan as well as Upper Egypt. These horrors came to represent one of the notebook's negative qualities. Apart from the above-described atrocities, the Defterdar also gave the order that many individuals in El-Obeid have their genital organs amputated. Anyone who stood before the Defterdar, whether he was an oppressor or had been wronged, was subject to punishment from him. News of the Defterdar's crimes in Kordofan and El-Obeid reached most of Sudan till Sennar and Cairo, and Muhammad Ali Pasha was aware of all the Defterdar was doing⁽⁹⁾.

The Defterdar was able to collect a lot of money from El-Obeid and Kordofan in a short period, and after his atrocities in Kordofan increased, Muhammad Ali Pasha sent a committee to review the complaints that were arriving from the people against the Defterdar, but this committee was unable to perform its mission optimally⁽¹⁰⁾.

What was reported by the traveler Ignatius Palma about the atrocities of the Defterdar in Egypt and Sudan, and the variety of these atrocities indicates the love of the Defterdar for tyranny and abuse of the defenseless people and the labors who serve him.

After completing the conquest of Kordofan, Muhammad Ali Pasha wrote to the Defterdar asking him to obtain the largest possible amount of Kordofan's wealth and minerals, and to be diligent in sending it to Egypt: (...and since a region like Kordofan submitted with the slightest effort to our rule...do not spare any effort in exerting the essence of your rationality...on what is obligatory with regard to judging its conditions, controlling its boundaries and connecting its borders, extracting what is possible from its mines, and

knowing what is useful of its crops and realizing of all the hidden and obvious benefits...⁽¹¹⁾.

Muhammad Ali Pasha also asked the Defterdar to conduct a comprehensive survey of the mines and agricultural crops, and to know all the miniature details about the Kordofan region, which indicates the Pasha's desire to exploit these resources to the fullest extent⁽¹²⁾.

The Pasha firmly believed that Kordofan possessed abundant quantities of mineral resources. He mentioned this matter to the Defterdar and explained to him how keen he was to obtain it: (*...gold is the original demand...*), It is his wish and highest demand, and it is apparent from Muhammad Ali Pasha's statement that his main preoccupation is obtaining minerals of all kinds throughout different regions of Sudan, particularly Kordofan⁽¹³⁾.

Confirming Muhammad Ali Pasha's strong desire to obtain men as the primary goal of the invasion, he wrote to the Defterdar: (*... since the desired purpose of all this is limited to bringing slaves in large and abundant numbers, our intention is that you manage this matter in the manner required by your enthusiasm...*)⁽¹⁴⁾.

In another letter dated 16 Muharram 1239 AH / 22 September 1823 AD, Muhammad Ali Pasha wrote to Muhammad Bey the Defterdar urging him to obtain the largest possible number of slaves from Kordofan: (*...Since the issue of slaves is the ultimate goal, you are aware that the efforts undertaken thus far are intended to address this issue. We ordered you to mobilize your efforts to get a big number of slaves, to send what you have obtained right away, and to pick up the latecomers and bring them along. Specifically, we request that you show no tolerance in this regard, utilize the proper means for obtaining them in large numbers, and prove the determination we have witnessed from you in this regard as well...*)⁽¹⁵⁾.

The Defterdar put a lot of effort into bringing the slaves from Kordofan

following Muhammad Ali Pasha's desires, who was encouraging the Defterdar to do so. To capture as many slaves as possible, he invaded several parts of Kordofan, and as groups of captives started to arrive in Aswan, Muhammad Ali Pasha wrote to the Kordofan rulers, Dongola, Qena, and the supervisors of the Farshut and Aswan departments gave them instructions on how to care for the slaves coming from Sudan ... ⁽¹⁶⁾.

In the year 1239 Ah/1824, the Pasha issued a decree due to the increase in the number of slaves that arrived from Sudan and Kordofan, ordering the collection of all moored ships, starting from Cairo to Aswan, whatever size and whatever owner, for the purpose of transporting slaves. To ensure the comfort of slaves arriving from Sudan, Muhammad Ali Pasha established many barracks near Aswan, Draw, and Kom-Abuha in Manflot, and four years after the invasion of Sudan, the number of slaves reached forty thousand. The most terrible ways and means have been used to obtain slaves from Kordofan and some regions of the Sudan, and after the science of hunting was carried out, they were brutally driven on their feet for distances of between 80 and 90 hours, and as a result of fatigue and exhaustion, a large number of slaves perished. Another factor that contributed to the deaths of a large number of them was the lack of food.

There was no great interest in slaves when they were hunted from their native areas. It is noticeable in the process of bringing slaves that slavery was not limited to men for the military, but one of the Pasha's goals was to get the largest number of women to become working hands in agricultural projects, which is cheap labor, as well as women and children used in looms and the textile industry, and a large number of slaves were sold to slave traders, which contributed to supporting the state treasury with money.

Obtaining slaves was one of the main goals of Muhammad Ali Pasha's invasion of Sudan, and the Defterdar worked to obtain the largest number of slaves by various means and methods in order to satisfy the Pasha in Egypt,

which exhausted the local population and made them in a constant state of flight for fear of falling into the clutches of slavery and servitude.

The second goal of the Kordofan invasion campaign was to annex all of the Darfur region and eliminate the Fur Sultanate, but for many reasons, including the burning of Ismail in Shandi, and the unrest that occurred after his death in central Sudan, the idea of invading the Fur Sultanate was dismissed, and the invasion forces were content to control the Kordofan region⁽¹⁷⁾.

The soldiers of the Defterdar campaign in Kordofan were exposed to many hardships such as diseases, skirmishes by the citizens, and the climate fluctuations, which led to the death of half of them ⁽¹⁸⁾.

El-Obeid City:

El-Obeid is one of Sudan's most well-known and oldest commercial cities. El-Obeid is situated on a broad plain. This city thrived throughout its history and was one of Kordofan's most notable cities ⁽¹⁹⁾.

Because of its commercial, economic, cultural, and social significance—it was connected by trade routes to Sennar, West Africa, Darfur, and Dongola—it may be argued that it has long been the most significant city in the Kordofan region. Additionally, as various ethnic groups mingled in this old metropolis, it turned into a melting pot. Trade played a part. With its diverse kinds, the city expanded greatly. It was founded during the Saba Sultanate era, and it is similar to Sudanese cities in that commerce was a major factor in both their establishment and growth. The city was the most significant metropolis in the Kordofan region and maintained its commercial standing throughout several historical periods.

The Defterdar's forces invaded the city of El-Obeid following their victory over the armies of El-Maqqdoum Musallam, and the city was looted and plundered. The Defterdar found himself in front of an invaluable treasure, due to the city's wealth and its economic, commercial, and strategic importance ⁽²⁰⁾.

The Defterdar soldiers struggled with the Kordofan tribes once more after taking El-Obeid, and they also waged war on the Hamar tribe. The invasion forces emerged victorious once more, and the Defterdar proceeded to expand his dominion over the majority of Kordofan. He was marked by brutality and callous deeds, and getting men and money was one of his most significant aims for him and his soldiers. In a word, the situation in El-Obeid and the entire Kordofan region was disastrous under the Defterdar regime⁽²¹⁾.

After the Defterdar extended his control over the Kordofan region, he worked to divide the region into five administrative divisions, headed by a scout or leader. The regions are: Kharas, Kashaar, Abu Haraz, and Deira, and the Nuba Mountains region remained outside this division. The central administration of the region was in the city of El-Obeid, which harmed people's lives and livelihoods. The aspects of prosperity and good living that the people of El-Obeid and Kordofan enjoyed before the Turkish invasion disappeared, and the people abandoned the villages to Darfur and Jabal Taqli ⁽²²⁾.

As we previously mentioned, the Defterdar's character was marked by many forms of violence, cruelty, and abuse. This was evident in several attitudes toward the Kordofan people, such as:

One of the elders of Kordofan came to the Defterdar to inform him of the ripening of one of the millet fields that the Defterdar owned. Then the Defterdar only accused the man of intending to eat from the harvest of his field, so he ordered his teeth to be removed ⁽²³⁾.

The Defterdar was very mean in inventing methods of collecting taxes from the people of El-Obeid and Kordofan, and anyone who could not pay taxes in category or in cash had to pay them as a slave, and the government continued to hunt slaves from the Nuba Mountains according to the desire of the Pasha in Egypt ⁽²⁴⁾.

The Defterdar worked throughout Kordofan in general, and in the city of El-Obeid in particular, by depriving tribes of their possessions by taxing them

heavily. The people were unaware of the high taxes imposed under the preceding Islamic kingdoms in Sudan, and this is one of the characteristics of the Turkish administration in Sudan in general.

Muhammad Ali Pasha seriously thought about getting rid of the Kordofan region, and focusing on the regions of Sennar and northern Sudan. Perhaps the reason for this was his firm desire to obtain gold and men. Muhammad Ali Pasha's letter to the Defterdar came after he recounted the details of the Dittander's campaign from northern Khartoum to Shandi and Berber: (...My dear son, this mission has ended with this result. If divine will decree this, all we have to do is have beautiful patience and strive humanely. Therefore, I assign you the position of commanding the Sudanese soldiers under your protection. Then show me your determination and transfer the administration of Kordofan to a suitable commander from the state by contract. And you go to Sennar and take there the soldiers who were under your command in Kordofan, then take them with you so that when you reach Sennar, you can examine how the island (Sennar) is managed, establish towers in the appropriate places, and appoint a number of men to it. So, go to it, (meaning (25) Shandi, which was famous for its pleasant weather, and they settled there until the rainy season came. After the rainy season ended, they returned to Sennar and worked on settling affairs as circumstances required... Know that we have delegated the interests of Sennar to your command until we appoint a military commander over it next year and send him to it (25).

After the burning of his son Ismail in Shindig by Mek Nimir of El-Ja'aliyyin at the end of the year 1822 AD, Muhammad Ali Pasha directed the Defterdar to work on giving Kordofan to one of the sultans or leaders as a fiefdom, so that the new administration would devote itself to ruling Sennar. The Defterdar had a different opinion, as he told the Pasha that Kordofan "there was no longer anyone who could rule it, so he left a military garrison in El-Obeid for the purpose of maintaining security and he returned to Sennar (26).

It is clear from the Defterdar's response that he succeeded in getting rid of the local leaders who could rule Kordofan strength and cleverness, and the evidence for this is his statement to Muhammad Ali that **there is no one to rule it**.

Muhammad Ali Pasha also directed Muhammad Bey the Defterdar to focus on protecting Sennar, fortifying it with towers in strategic areas, and supporting these towers with sufficient men. Since the assassination of Ismail, the Defterdar had had the title of Commander of the Army of Sudan and Kordofan, rather than only Kordofan, and he had also been in charge of the administration of Sennar and Kordofan ⁽²⁷⁾.

From the above, we find that Muhammad Ali Pasha was concerned with securing the city of Sennar for fear of the revolutions that broke out in the various regions of Sudan. He also feared that the fate of his son Ismail would be repeated to the rest of his forces that were present in Sudan at that time, so he asked the Defterdar to secure Sennar. Another important thing is that the killing of Ismail Pasha raised the Defterdar from the commander of the Kordofan army to the commander of the Kordofan and Sudan armies, and to establish his new authority, he committed many atrocities towards Sudan and its people.

Footnotes:

- (1) Awad Abdel Hadi El-Atta, previous reference, p. 23.
- (2) Naoum Shuqair, Geography and History of Sudan, previous source, p. 126.
- (3) Muhammad Saeed El-Qaddal, Modern History of Sudan, p. 54.
- (4) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 62.
- (5) Muhammad Saeed El-Qaddal, Modern History of Sudan, p. 97.
- (6) Ahmed Ahmed Sayed Ahmed, History of the City of Khartoum, p. 65.
- (7) Richard Hull, *op. cit.* 357.
- (8) Palma, Race Source, p. 23.
- (9) Same source, pp. 23-27.
- (10) Same source, p. 28.
- (11) Muhammad Saeed El-Qaddal, Modern History of Sudan, pp. 98-99.
- (12) Muhammad El-Amin Saeed, previous reference, p. 37.
- (13) *Ibid.*, p. 39.
- (14) Awad Abdul Hadi El-Atta, The Political History of Kordofan, National Council for the Welfare of Literature and Arts, Khartoum, 1973, p. 22.
- (15) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 177.
- (16) *Ibid.*, p. 37.
- (17) Muhammad Ibrahim Abu-Salim, Fur and Land, Ownership Documents, published by the Abu-Salim Center for Studies, Khartoum, 2006, p. 15.
- (18) Abdullah Hussein, Sudan from ancient history to the journey of the Egyptian mission, vol. 1, Hindawi Foundation, Cairo, 2012, p. 110.
- (19) Naoum Shuqair, Geography and History of Sudan, previous source, p. 126.

- (20) Ignatius Palma, previous source, p. 22.
- (21) Harold MacMichael, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
- (22) Ignatius Palma, previous source, p. 23.
- (23) Muhammad Saeed El-Qaddal, *Modern History of Sudan*, p. 55.
- (24) Awad Abdel Hadi El-Atta, previous reference, p. 22.
- (25) Muhammad Ibrahim Abu Salim, *El-Fur and El-Ard*, previous reference, pp. 23-24.
- (26) Khojali Ahmed Siddiq, previous reference, pp. 19-20.
- (27) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 38.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Atrocities of the Defterdar Against the Ja'aliyyn Tribe

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Shandi City During the Funj Sultanate:

Shandi city is located north of Khartoum and was one of the most important commercial cities in the Sennar era. The city was a crossroads for all the Nile trade routes. Shandi is located in the north of Khartoum and was one of the most prominent commercial centers during the Sennar dynasty. The city served as a junction for all Nile commercial routes. From there, the road to the Far East begins, as did the route of trade caravans headed to Kordofan, Darfur, Waddai, and (Timbuktu) in northern Mali. The caravan route to Egypt also departs from Berber, and Abyssinia and the Red Sea can be reached via Shandi, and pilgrims from central and western Africa used to come to Shandi to reach Hijaz ⁽¹⁾.

Commercial caravans came from Darfur, Kordofan, Suakin, and Sennar's inland cities. Burckhardt states that Shandi was the first commercial city in Africa, located south of Egypt and east of Darfur, and was inextricably linked to Berber city ⁽²⁾.

Its caravans were well-known for traveling to Cairo, and the products available in its market were of the finest and cheapest quality in comparison to the Sennar market ⁽³⁾.

Shandi Marketplace:

The city of Shandi had a big market that was open seven days a week, as well as a weekly market where the Spanish currency, dammur, and grain

were used in trading. Camels and slaves only were purchased with the Spanish riyal. The Spanish riyal was regarded as one of the recognized currencies in the city's market, and they preferred the one with the name (Carlos IV), known as (Real Abu Rabi') ⁽⁴⁾.

Shandi Market earned a reputation for its spices and sandalwood, which were imported from India, as well as kohl, German swords, and leather products from Sennar and Kordofan, and some beads from (Genoa and Venice) in Italy, and soap that was made and imported from Egypt, as did salt and gold from Ethiopia, and horses from Dongola. The stores were small cells with a roof constructed of mats and fronds, and the market was frequently visited by Arabs and certain citizens from North, Central, and East Africa⁽⁵⁾.

Indian Goods in Shandi city:

In addition to the aforementioned goods, Indian goods were brought to Shindig. The traveler Burckhardt mentioned that when he visited the city of Shindig, he saw many types of cloth in the city market, which were brought from India. Indian clothes were among the finest types of clothes, wore only by the aristocratic class in Shindig, Sennar, and Kordofan, in addition to Dablan and Muslin, which were types of Indian cotton cloth, there are also many sorts of Indian perfumes and silks, as Shandi traders are the only dealers in supplying these products. In addition to perfumes and fabrics, merchants in Shandi were importing Beads, Summit, and Amber, all from India, and selling them in Darfur, Dar Saleh, and Braque ⁽⁶⁾.

There was a close relationship between Shandi and Berber in terms of trade and economics. Shandi city and Berber formed the largest markets in northern Sudan. Samarian goods and commodities used to arrive in Shandi from Sennar via Arbaji and Halfaya, then it crossed from Shandi to Berber, from which the convoys set off for Egypt via Dongla and Daraw, and from Berber to Suakin, which was the important coastal commercial city and the outlet of the Sennar State towards the outside world.

The Defterdar in Shandi:

In the early years following Muhammad Ali Pasha's invasion of Sudan, there were numerous conflicts and upheavals throughout the country. Their forces were always on the move to put an end to these revolutions, maintain control over the regions in which they were unable to exert power, and assign protectors to various cities and regions in Sudan in order to keep it safe ⁽⁷⁾.

It is noteworthy to bear in mind that Ismail Pasha's men, who were skilled in using torture and other cruel tactics against Sudanese people, were entrusted with the Sharqiyah organizations and the tribes that supported them in opposing the invading army.

The incident involving the burning of Ismail son of Muhammad Ali in Shandi* by El-Mek Nimir in 1238 AH/ 1822 AD is said to have occurred because Ismail Pasha, on his way back to Cairo from Sennar, asked El-Mek Nimir to prepare thousands of slaves, camels, horses, and money for him, instructing that these quantities had to be delivered within two days. When El-Mek Nimir said he couldn't meet these demands, Ismail Pasha became enraged and hit him with his pipe. El-Mek Nimir attempted to react to that insult in due course, but El-Mek Musaad intervened and advised him to wait and pretend to meet all of Ismail's demands. The meeting between Ismail Pasha and Mek Nimir ended with the latter accepting the Pasha's demands, but in reality, he intended to take revenge on Ismail when the opportunity came. After that, Mek Nimir offered Ismail Pasha an invitation to a feast prepared for him and his armies, and Ismail consented, and as the feast was being had by all, Mek Nimir and his followers surrounded the house with firewood and dry herbs, then they started a fire, which caused Ismail and all who were with him to burn ⁽⁸⁾.

The annoying news about the killing of Ismail and the outbreak of the revolution in the Nile regions reached the Defterdar in El-Obeid. As a result of this incident, the Defterdar immediately became responsible for the Turkish

forces in Sudan. Without waiting for any orders from Cairo, which had lost communication with Sennar and northern Sudan, he led a massive force from Kordofan to the Nile ⁽⁹⁾.

The forces of Mek Nimir and Mek Musaad, after the burning of Ismail Pasha, headed towards the rest of the forces accompanying Ismail around the Nile and on land and killed the all. The Defterdar planned to move towards El-Matamma to destroy it, and therefore he issued orders to all his forces to burn and kill anyone in the areas of the Ja'aliyyn, and then he also issued orders to Mahwo* Bey, the director of Berber, and King Shawish (some sources say that his name is (Sha'ws) and not Shawish the king of El-Shaigiya Jangal's son), and King Shawish had about a thousand horsemen with him who moved from Wad-Madani towards El-Matamma⁽¹⁰⁾.

The event of Mek Nimir and the Ja'aliyyn tribe burning Ismail Pasha alive had a magical effect on the Sudanese people and undermined the reputation of the invading army. This effect spread throughout different parts of Sudan and terrified many of the invading army's soldiers ⁽¹¹⁾.

News of this incident spread throughout Sudan, which led to the outbreak of revolts against the Turkish rule immediately. The Mek Musa'ad crossed the Nile River to El-Matamma and attacked the military brigade that was camping there. Then he marched with the Mek Nimir to attack the forces of Mahwo Bey in Berber, so due to the outbreak of revolution in various regions of Sudan, the Turkish garrisons were attacked in various regions. ⁽¹²⁾.

To continue the revolution against Turkish rule in the central region of Sudan, El-Arbab Deif-Allah* moved with his forces from Wad-Madani and camped in the Abboud area; therefore, Muhammad Saeed Effendi sent a company of knights to chase and killed him, and when the government forces arrived at Abboud, they found that El-Arbab had left, so they killed Muhammad Abdel-Aleem Wad-Aboud's Khalifa , and they destroyed the city, looting it, they returned to Wad-Medani, and Wad-Alarbab Deifullah arrived in Abu Shuka,

and met well with Wad Rajab and his troops. Then Muhammad Saeed Effendi sent another campaign consisting of the forces of El-Deltayya* and El-Shaigiya to eradicate them. These forces were under the leadership of Mustafa Kashif, who was able to kill Hassan. Wad Rajab, his uncle Sheikh Hussein, his son Muhammad, and a number of his men. He also took a lot of spoils and return to Wad-Madani ⁽¹³⁾.

The revolution spread throughout the various regions of Sudan, and the revolutionaries were able to expel the forces of Muhammad Ali Pasha, which consisted of Turks, Berbers, Africans, Americans, Albanians, Slavs, Kurds and other groups from the Caucasus. These groups represented the main component of Muhammad Ali's armies in the Sudanese cities. The revolution was in its extreme, which made the Defterdar confront a serious challenge to eradicate it ⁽¹⁴⁾.

The Defterdar left the city of El-Obeid at the beginning of the year 1823 AD, heading towards of the Ja'aliyyn homeland, swearing that he would kill twenty thousand of the Ja'aliyyns in retaliation for their killing of his brother-in-law, Ismail Pasha ⁽¹⁵⁾. In addition to his forces, the Jami' tribesmen moved with him under the leadership of Muhammad Lotan ⁽¹⁶⁾, heading towards the White Nile. then from there to Ja'aliyyn homeland. He purposely burned the cities and towns of the Ja'aliyyns, namely El-Matamma, Shandi, Kabushiyyah, and El-Damer, and slaughtered the people, all was done in order to retaliate the burning of Ismail Pasha and upon the demand of Muhammad Ali Pasha himself, in addition He also assisted Mahwo Beck Orfali, the Berber administrator, in the massacre of the Ja'aliyyn tribe⁽¹⁷⁾.

The German traveler Buckler Miskawi describes the city of Shandi, before it was attacked by the Defterdar forces, as a prosperous city with a population of fifty thousand people, but the city was subjected to deliberate burning and vandalism after the murder of Ismail. As for El-Matamma, it is a city somewhat similar to the city of Dongola. It was attacked by the Defterdar, but managed

to recover and its people reconstructed it in fifteen years since the systematic destruction that happened during the Defterdar period ⁽¹⁸⁾.

Burckhardt described the city of El-Damir in the year 1813 AD, that before it was attacked by the forces of the Defterdar in the year 1823 AD, that nine years ago, as a large village located on the road between Berber and Shandi. It consists of about five hundred houses. It is distinguished by its cleanliness and organization compared to the city of Berber. Modern, it has a mosque built with red bricks, and it has a number of jurists who go to Egypt to study at El-Azhar El-Sharif. The city has commercial connections with Suakin and Dongola, and it is distinguished by the production of textiles, and weaving from palm leaves (fronds) ⁽¹⁹⁾.

Through the observations of the traveler John Lewis Burckhardt, we find that El-Damir was a large and populous city that was attacked by the Defterdar to displace and weaken the power of the Ja'aliyyns. After the Defterdar arrived at El-Matamma, he found its people assembled and asking him for safety, so he made them safe, but one of the Ja'aliyyns attacked with a spear attempting to kill him, but he was unable to do so; in consequence, the Defterdar gave his orders that everyone have to be killed, accordingly some of the people took shelter in Sheikh Ahmed El-Rayah's Quranic school; Unfortunately, this shelter did not intercede for them, so the Defterdar ordered to kill them all ⁽²⁰⁾.

After the attack on El-Matmma, the Defterdar forces with the Shaiqiyya forces assistance, were able to pursue Mek Nimir and his forces, and they were able to capture a large number of Ja'aliyyns. The Defterdar built a large corral in the town of Umm Urouq, in which he collected all the Ja'aliyyns' prisoners, even the children, women, and old men, and burned them a life with fire. Upon reaching four thousand, he declared that the quantity of dead and detainees would not be sufficient to make up for the murder of his master, Ismail Pasha. In addition, he succeeded in apprehending a large number of the Ja'aliyyn to transport them to Egypt ⁽²¹⁾.

Muhammad El-Amin Saeed says that when his forces arrived at El-Matamma, he found there the sons of Mek Nimir and El-Mek Musa'ad at the head of a force of several thousand fighters. The Defterdar attacked them, killed two thousand of them, and managed to capture three thousand and the residents were burned alive in El-Matamma ⁽²²⁾.

Berber city:

Berber is regarded as one of Sudan's most important commercial cities. Commercial convoys used to come to it from Suakin, Egypt, Darfur, and Sennar, which contributed to establishing its commercial status. Berber became renowned through trade and the movement of convoys, exports, and imports, and its commercial convoys began to head towards Suakin, loaded with various items. The Berber commercial center declined following the rise of the Shaigiya sheikhdom and its entry into direct war with the Abdallab, and tensions between the two groups arose, affecting the city's trade movement ⁽²³⁾.

Due to its significant commercial and economic function, Berber gained widespread recognition, surpassing even the commercial prominence of major Sudanese cities like El Fasher, Sennar, and others ⁽²⁴⁾.

The traveler Burckhardt mentioned that Berber is inhabited by the Merfab tribe, the 'Ababda, and some of the Bushariyyin and Danaagla. The Merfaab say that their origin comes from the Arabian Peninsula, while Burckhardt believes that they are from eastern Sudan, and they have a king called "Mek." After the Funj took control of this region, the leadership in Berber became under (Tumsah) family. The King of Sennar was the one who had the authority to appointed the Mek in Berber from the (Tumsah) family, the ruling family in Berber. The King of Sennar would send a delegation from the Sultanate every five or four years to Berber to collect change in gold, and horses for the sovereign in Sennar ⁽²⁵⁾.

The Berber kings-imposed taxes on strangers and were strict about this in order to cover the tribute paid to the King of Sennar. Some taxes were also imposed on members of the tribe, but the powerful and rich were excluded. Some of the king's aspirants, members of the ruling family, were imposing taxes on the caravans passing through the city of Berber in order to gain access to the kings of Sennar with this money, and perhaps one of these sycophants would later become king of Berber ⁽²⁶⁾.

Lifting the siege on Berber:

Following Ismail Pasha's conquest of Sudan, Berber fell into the hands of the invaders, and the city was fortified by a military garrison to serve as a means of defense and security. Following the assaults on El-Matamma and Shandi, the Defterdar troops advanced into Berber to release the 8,000 fighters under Mek Nimir and Mek Musa'ad siege of the city. Before arriving at his target, he abused, murdered, and destroyed many villages on the way. Mahwo Bey and his soldiers were under siege inside the city, and after a struggle between the two sides, Mek Nimir and Mek Musa'ad forces were defeated. Finally, the Defterdar was able to kill a thousand of the Ja'aliyyins, half of them drowned in the Nile, and the rest of the militaries survived. In the end, the Defterdar was able to break the tight cordon on Berber ⁽²⁷⁾.

He then sent messages to Mahwu Bey, the king of Shaigiya, Shawish, and Wad Jangal, asking them to come to him from Wad Medani. When these forces met with Muhammad Bey El-Defterdar, and when Mek Nimir learned that these forces had gathered, he assembled his followers and moved with them towards Jabal El-Nusoub in the Butana Plain ⁽²⁸⁾.

When the Defterdar militaries were in El-Jazira region in central Sudan, about seven thousand of Ja'aliyyn fighters gathered with the of other tribes to attack Berber for the second time, but Mahwo Bey's forces succeeded in resisting the attacking forces and were able to kill many of them. After that, Mahwo Bey feared that the tribes would gather again and attack him, so he asked the

Defterdar to provide him with more forces to defend the city, and in Ramadan 1238 AH/ 1823 AD the supply arrived there with a force led by Othman Agha King, and orders were given to him to work to scatter the gatherings of the Ja'aliyyins in Abu-Salim. In this region, a battle took place in which about three thousand Sudanese were killed and many drowned in the Nile. After this incident, Muhammad Ali Pasha asked Muhwo Bey to continue the policy of oppression and abuse against the people. He also asked him to pursue the Mek Musa'ad and overpower the Shukriyya and Bashariyyin tribes ⁽²⁹⁾.

Battle of El-Nusoub:

After his second return from Kordofan, the Defterdar headed towards the Ja'aliyyin areas and intended to eliminate them. The Battle of El-Nusoub took place between the Defterdar forces, consisting of the Shaiqiyah and the Moroccans and others, against the forces of the Ja'aliyyin, led by the Mek al-Musa'ad, which ended in the defeat of the Ja'aliyyin, after which the Mek Nimir flee towards Abyssinia. The Battle of El-Nusoub is considered one of the most decisive battles between the Defterdar and the Ja'aliyyin, in which many Ja'aliyyin were killed, including the Mek Musa'ad. This battle was accompanied by great looting and plundering operations, and many Ja'aliyyin were captured, and several of them died of thirst. Bashir Wad Aqeed was able to break the captivity of a number of the Ja'aliyyin ⁽³⁰⁾.

Sheikh Idris and Wd-Adalan, and El-Arbab Dafallah, and a large number of El-Jammouiya and Ja'aliyyin knights fought alongside Al-Mek Musa'ad. After the killing of El-Mek Musa'ad, his son Muhammad was captured. El-Arbab Dafallah, Idris, and Wd-Adalan were all able to flee, but the Defterdar offered them safety ⁽³¹⁾.

Footnotes:

- (1) Jaafar Hamid Bashir, *The Great Kingdom of the Ja'aliyyins, (Sudan in the Village and the City)*, Dar-Azza for Printing and Publishing, Khartoum, 2004, pp. 125-126.
- (2) John Lewis Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
- (3) Alan Moore Head, *The Blue Nile, (Arabization)* Ibrahim Abbas Abu-Rish, House of Culture, Beirut, Sudanese Renaissance Library, Khartoum, (B.T.) p. 69.
- (4) John Lewis Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 234.
- (5) Jaafar Hamid Bashir, previous reference, p. 125.
- (6) Dirar Saleh Dirar, *The History of Suakin and the Red Sea*, Sudanese Book House, Khartoum, 1981, p. 78.
- (7) Muhammad Ibrahim Abu Salim, *History of the City of Khartoum*, Dar El-Jeel, Beirut, 1979, p. 20.

* The city of Shendi is one of the most important Sudanese cities, and is distinguished by its important location. It was suggested to become the capital of Sudan after the invasion of Muhammad Ali Pasha, but because of the incident of burning Ismail there, this was cancelled. See Ahmed Ahmed Seed Ahmed, previous reference, pp. 68-69.

- (8) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 64.

* Mahwo Bey Orfali (d. 1828 AD), of Kurdish origin, worked as a cavalry officer participated with Ibrahim Pasha in his war in the Arabian Peninsula, (1818-1819 AD). He was transferred to Sudan in the year 1821 AD as administrator of the region of Rubatab (Berber) and Shendi. He pursued the Mek Nimir and contributed in establishing security in the region. After his death, Prince Admiral Othman Bey Jarkas

succeeded him as administrator of Sennar in March 1825 AD. His short period of administration was characterized by courtesy and moderation. The name of the El-Shajara neighborhood in Khartoum goes back to the Mahwo Bey tree in which he used to take shade near the White Nile Dock. See Ahmed. Hajj Abu Ali, previous source, p. 240.

- (9) Ahmed bin El-Hajj Abu Ali (writer of El-Shouna), History of the Kings of Sennar and Turkish rule in Sudan, (910-1288 AH / 1504-71-1872 AD), revised and added to by Ahmed El-Hajj Muhammad Janqal, El-Zubayr Abdul-Qadir Wad-Elzain, Ibrahim Abdul-Dafi, and El-Amin Muhammad El-Darir, (verified Submission and commentary) Youssef Fadl Hassan, Madarek Publishing House, Khartoum, 2018, pp. 238-239. Abdul Rahman El-Rafi'i, The Age of Muhammad Ali, 5th edition, Dar El-Maaref, Cairo, 1989 AD, p. 167.
- (10) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 65.

*El-Arbab Dafallah: He is El-Arbab Dafallah Wad Ahmed Hassan, (1822 AD), one of El-Hamaj ministers. He arrived at the ministry in Sennar through violence, and continued as a minister until the invasion forces entered Sennar in the year 1821 AD. He moved from Wad-Madani with Hassan Wad Rajab and in the Abu Shuka area, where they were able to mobilize many forces against the invasion forces. He and Hassan Wad Rajab entered into a major battle against Muhammad Saeed Effendi. Muhammad Saeed's forces were able to win this battle and kill Hassan and Wad-Rajab. El-Arbab fled to Abyssinia and he died there. See Richard Hull, Dictionary of Symbols Sudan from the earliest times until 1948 AD, 2nd edition, Sudan Currency Press, Khartoum, 2016 AD, p. 197.

- (11) Naoum Shuqair, Geography and History of Sudan, presented and edited by Muhammad Ibrahim Abu Salim, Dar El-Jeel, Beirut 1981, p. 209.

- (12) A. F. Antoshin, Sennar Gold, the story of the first Russian factory to extract gold during the reign of Muhammad Ali, (translated by) Walid Ahmed Talba, publisher, Russia News Agency, 2014, p. 111. Elias El-Ayyubi, Muhammad Ali, his biography, works and effects, Dar El-Hilal, Cairo 1923 AD, p. 127.
- (13) Ahmed bin El-Hajj Abu Ali (Katib El-Shunah), previous source, p. 242.
- (14) Same source, pp. 107-108.
- (15) Nassim Makar, Foreign Travelers in Sudan, 1730-1851, Center for Sudanese Studies, Cairo, 1995, p. 59.
- (16) Ibid., p. 160.
- (17) Naoum Shoucair, previous source, p. 209...

*The town of Umm Uruq: There is a disagreement about its location. The writer of El-Shouna says that it is a village located near the El-Matamma, and McMichael believes that it is a town located in Omdurman, specifically the location of the Omdurman municipality current Makki Shibeika believes that it was a populous town located between Shendi and Khartoum, and Naoum Shuqair believes that it is located south of Wad Medani. Opinions differed about the location of Umm-Urouq and agreed on the incident. The matter confirms the atrocities of the Defterdar that affected everyone. See Ahmed Ibn El-Hajj Abu Ali, Kateb El-Shouna, a previous source., p. 241.

- (18) Ahmed Kateb El-Shouna, previous source, p. 241.
- (19) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 65.
- (20) Muhammad Ibrahim Abu Salim, Research in the History of Sudan, (Lands - Scholars - Caliphate - Berbers - El-Mirghani), Dar El-Jeel, Beirut, 1992 AD, pp. 18-19.

- (21) Ibid., p. 81.
- (22) John Lewis Burckhardt, op. cit., p. 188.
- (23) Same source, pp. 188-189.
- (24) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 65.
- (25) Ahmed bin El-Hajj Abu Ali (Katib El-Shunah), previous source, 107-108.
- (26) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 66.

* El-Shaiqiyya tribe: one of the tribes that cooperated with Muhammad Ali Pasha and his successors in Sudan, despite their entry into a famous battle against Ismail bin Muhammad Ali Pasha, which is the Battle of Kurti. After their defeat in this battle, they became a real support for the invading army and among the staunch fighters in Ismail's army. El-Shaiqiyya forces participated in the invasion of the Jazira and Sennar regions. The Khedives granted them a lot of lands in the Nile strip in the areas of Halfaya, Sabaloqa and other fertile areas. They continued their loyalty to the government and the Khedives in Sudan until the Mahdist revolution and the liberation of Khartoum. El-Shaiqiyya contributed to maintaining security and collecting taxes. See Hamadna-Allah Mustafa Hassan, previous reference, pp. 333-334.

- (27) Ahmed Kateb El-Shouna, previous source, p. 242.
- (28) Same source, p. 243.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Atrocities of the Defterdar in Different Regions of Sudan

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The Atrocities of the Defterdar in the White Nile:

The forces of the Defterdar headed towards the White Nile and began to harass the tribes living in those areas, committing many atrocities, which Sudan has never witnessed before in its modern history. Among the first tribes that were subjected to oppression and abuse by the Defterdar and his forces were the El-Hassaniyya, El-Jammuiya, and El-Jimeiab tribes, assassinating Thousands of them ⁽¹⁾.

Muhammad Ali Pasha wrote to the Defterdar on the 8th of Jumada El-Akhirah, 1838 AH-/ February 20, 1823 AD: (... You mentioned that you had taken your way to the White Sea (the Nile) and killed a party of Hassaniyya Arabs belonging to Sennar and captured a party, and headed to Shandi western (El-Matamma...) ⁽²⁾.

This message makes it evident that Muhammad Ali Pasha was knowledgeable in all the details of Sudan and attentive to the crimes committed by the Defterdar against the numerous tribes living along the White Nile.

The atrocities of the Defterdar against the people of Halfaya, Tuti, El-Ailfoun, and Khartoum:

The Defterdar's troops subjected the areas of El-Halfaya, Tuti, Khartoum, El-Muqran (the confluence), Omdurman, and El-Ailfoun to abuse and violence, since his forces were able to attack these populations for killing, plundering,

and torturing. The Defterdar and his men did not hesitate to commit systematic crimes against inhabitants, and it is possible that the Defterdar and his forces enjoyed torturing the people of those regions.

El-Halfaya:

El-Halfaya is located on the eastern bank of the River Nile. The Abdallab Sheikhs moved their capital to it from Qarry and it later became known as Halfayat-El-Mulouk. The views varied about the origin of the name El-Halfaya. Some referred it to a plant called (*Halfa*), and the other opinion says that the name is taken from (*al-Halla Fa'ya*), referring to a sheik who lived there, and (Fa'ya) is the daughter of one of the princes of the Funj and was destined to be cured by this sheikh (holymen) so, verbatim in Arabic means (*the one cured Fa'ya*), So people began to say to the one who has distress (heal you who has cured *Fa'ya*), Professor Aoun El-Sharif Qasim suggests that the name "**Halfaaya**" is derived from the name of the **halfa** plant, which is abundant in this region and spreads across a wide area on the Nile ⁽³⁾.

The traveler James Bruce described Halfaya as a beautiful city, its buildings made of mud, and its residents eating cats, crocodiles, and hippopotamuses ⁽⁴⁾. Halfaya developed over time and there were many stone buildings, and the city witnessed a remarkable expansion along the Nile line ⁽⁵⁾.

El-Halfaya city the capital of the abdullaab allies of the Funj, had a great commercial status, because of its location on the trade route linking Suakin with Berber, Shandi and Sennar. European travelers reported that El-Halfaya is an important commercial city with a good commercial location, being located on the main road between Sennar, Qarry, Shandi and Egypt, and this road is known as the '**Camel Trail**' ⁽⁶⁾.

The El-Halfaya flourished during the reign of Sheikh Ajeeb Wad-Mesmar, who took over the rule of Abdallab in the year (1725), and people came to the El-Halfaya for settling, then commercial caravans began to join so trading

activities developed, which assisted it to become one of the significant commercial cities under the state of Sennar⁽⁷⁾.

El-Halfaya was famous during the Sinarian era for manufacturing thick **Dammour*, which was used as currency in the southern parts of Atbara River, and also established cotton plantations around the city to produce *Dammour*. the development of this industry contributed to the influx of people to the city and settle there, which contributed to its progress in the field of urbanization, education and architecture. In addition to its economic significance, El-Halfaya was a religious center during the Sunni era, and it was also known for its Quranic schools, mosques, and educational institutions until it became one of the important cultural centers at the time, it is the home city of the scholar, historian, Wad Dhaif Allah the author of the famous book (Tabaqat Wad Dhaif Allah), and it can be said that El-Halfaya was an agricultural, commercial, and industrial center, then a religious, cultural, and intellectual center according to the standards of that time ⁽⁸⁾.

The Atrocities of the Defterdar in Halfaya:

As previously mentioned, the Turkish administration placed numerous taxes on the people of Sudan, which the people were unable to pay. Due to the taxes, a large percentage of inhabitants in El-Halfaya fled, and Turkish soldiers pursued those fleeing and deliberately shot them to death. These occurrences were linked to the outbreak of smallpox and widespread starvation; which caused the residents in El-Halfaya to eat dogs and donkeys in 1824 AD ⁽⁹⁾.

The Defterdar and his forces also abused the people of El-Halfaya, which he burned while he wanted to arrest Wad-Ajeeb. From Halfaya, he headed toward the dome of Sheikh Khojali Abu El-Jaz and did not find anyone there⁽¹⁰⁾. Sheikh Khojali is one of the scholars of El-Mahas. He was famous for his piety and righteousness. He immigrated to Tuti Island and lived there. After he died, his body was carried to the eastern mainland and buried there⁽¹¹⁾.

The Atrocities of the Defterdar in Tuti:

Tuti Island is one of the most important Nile islands. It is a historically significant location. It is distinguished by fertile soil and high air quality. It is bounded to the south and east by the Blue Nile and is home to the El-Mahas ethnic group ⁽¹²⁾. After abusing the people of El-Halfaya, the Defterdar crossed the Nile to Tuti Island and massacred a huge number of its inhabitants. According to sources, the death toll among city inhabitants has reached. Approximately 600 persons. ⁽¹³⁾.

The atrocities of The Defterdar El-Aylafoun:

El-Aylafoun is located to the south of Khartoum on the Blue Nile, and it is said that the origin of the name was (Aila Funj) which means “Funj’s family” transformed to the name to El-Aylafoun. It was inhabited by El-Mahas ethnicity, where the dome of Sheikh Idris Wad Al-Arbab is located ⁽¹⁴⁾. El-Aylafoun was the next destination after Tuti for the Defterdar and his forces, where he moved towards it, he killed a large number of its inhabitants, because the people of the city decided to confront his forces and this abuse had a great impact on the souls of the residents of El-Aylafoun and other Sudanese cities⁽¹⁵⁾.

After eradicating the resistance in El-Ailafun, and killing and captivating the people of the city, the Defterdar headed with the El-Ailafun prisoners to Wad Madani ⁽¹⁶⁾. As a result of El-Aylifon people resistance to the Defterdar and his forces, they were subjected to killing, brutality, abuse, and captivity ⁽¹⁷⁾.

Perhaps the Daftardar's excessive cruelty to the people of the region made the people of Al-Ailfoun stand against him because he abused their people in El-Halfaya, Tuti, and Khartoum, and these areas are a historical extension of the El-Mahas ethnic group in central Sudan, at that time the confrontation had become inevitable because he also will not stop committing more atrocities against the defenseless people.

The Defterdar in El-Muqran - Khartoum:

El-Muqrin refers to the confluence point of the Blue and White Niles, which constituted Khartoum province. The tribes of El-Mahas and El-Ja'liyyn (Al-Jama'iya and El-Jimeiab) are among the oldest population groups in the Khartoum area, and they are the oldest population groups in the area ranging from Jabel Aulia in the south to El-Muqrin in the north. The Ja'aliyyn tribe's main partner in the reconstruction of this region is the El-Mahas tribe. With the region's growth and prosperity, there was a migrant movement of many different groups who eventually settled in Khartoum ⁽¹⁸⁾.

Khartoum was also not spared from the attacks and crimes of the Defterdar, as he demolished the Sheikh Arbab El-Aqeed Mosque, and killed his grandson Arbab wald Kamel wald El-Faki Ali with a cannon shell, he continued to suppress the revolts that broke out against him in various regions of Sudan⁽¹⁹⁾.

After persecuting the people of Khartoum, the Defterdar established a permanent Egyptian military camp there, which paved the way for it to become the capital of the country after Wad Medani ⁽²⁰⁾.

The forces of the Defterdar entered the regions of El-Jazira, and from there he asked Hussein Agha El-Joukhadar to move with his forces to eliminate the revolution that appeared in the White Nile, which continued to kill and captivate the people of those regions, and captured a number of the Ja'liyyns, and numbered seventy-two of them, by cutting off their hands, and as a result most of them died⁽²¹⁾. There is no truthful report on the number of Sudanese who were killed in the uprising against the Defterdar, or the devastation that befell the Sudan economy. Two years after the massacre, Kashif (El-Matamma) told Brocchi that the dead numbered fifty thousand and this is an exaggerated report. ⁽²²⁾.

The Atrocities of the Defterdar in Omdurman:

Omdurman is located on the western bank of the White Nile and extends along the Nile River ⁽²³⁾. It is likely that the name Omdurman has existed since the era of the Funj state, but the prosperity and fame of the city and its expansion were linked to the Mahdist state. There is an opinion that says that the name Omdurman goes back to a Funj woman or daughter. One of the Funj kings lived in the current Omdurman area. She had a son called (Durman), and she had a house built of stone surrounded by a huge wall. People used to call her (Om+Durman) which means Durman's mother, so the word converted to Omdurman, so the name Omdurman was given to the area what is known as Omdurman today. It is said that traces of her house were present until recently in Bayt El-Mal zone in Omdurman ⁽²⁴⁾.

Groups of savages (Hamaj) led by Wad-Ajeeb settled in Omdurman. The Defterdar sent his one of his leaders called 'Agha al-Busayli', whose forces consisted of Shaigiya and Moroccans, when Wad-Ajeeb learned of the movement of al-Busayli's forces towards them, they left Omdurman, heading to Shandi to join the Mek Nimir. When the news reached them that the Defterdar was moving towards Shandi for the second time, they left Shandi and this time headed towards El-Hilaliya. When Katekhdar Muhammad Saeed learned about them, he sent a number of his forces from Wad-Madani to cross in boats to El-Hilaliyah, which they reached it at dawn. They killed a large number of people and looted the city, then they moved towards Wad-Madani again. When Hussein El-Jawkhdar moved to attack the White Nile tribes, and upon his arrival to the village of Wad El-Turabi, his forces attacked the Shukriyya tribe, which resides east of the Blue Nile, and robbed many sheep and camels. Then he directed his forces against the groups of El-Ja'aliyyn who were residing on the White Nile ⁽²⁵⁾.

Atrocities of the Defterdar in the Taka Area:

After the attack on the villages and towns of the Ja'aliyyins and the regions of

central Sudan, the forces of the Defterdar in eastern Sudan headed towards El-Taka, which is the area located on both banks of the Gash River at the end of the Ethiopian Plateau. The purpose of arriving at the Taka was to attack the tribes that opposed the Defterdar. Due to the importance of this region from a commercial and strategic perspective, it is a junction of trade routes leading to the ports of Suakin and Massawa' on the Red Sea. The region possesses fertile lands and a great wealth of camels, which Egypt needed for the war in Syria. The region is an excellent starting point towards Abyssinia, so the Defterdar sought to control it, and was able to plunder and loot many of its resources ⁽²⁶⁾.

The Defterdar's presence with his men in the area of el-Taka and Jabal Sabdarat was intended to eliminate Mek Nimir, who had assembled a significant number of opponents of the Defterdar's reign around him and sought to provide security for them. During a huge battle between the Defterdar and Mek Nimir, Nimir's men were able to kill over a hundred Defterdar fighters. Wad-Jangal and Ahmed Bey, members of the Shaigiya who fought alongside the Defterdar, were also assassinated. Wad-Jangal and Ahmed Bey, who were from the Shaigiya who stood alongside the Defterdar, were also killed. Mek Nimir was able to withdraw towards Abyssinia after this incident, but he suffered many losses among his forces. Some of them were killed and others were captured by the Defterdar ⁽²⁷⁾.

After the butcheries, beheadings, torture and abuse carried out by the Defterdar in the various regions of Sudan, and his feeling that the situation was beginning to return to normal, he decided to return to Kordofan, and after his arrival in El-Obeid he received news of the return of Mek Nimir to Shandi, so the Defterdar had no choice but to return from Kordofan and attack Mek Nimir ⁽²⁸⁾.

The Defterdar left Kordofan under the supervision of Halim Agha, Hussein Agha El-Qubrsi, and Hassan Agha El-Kumlengiyya. He moved towards Shandi, and when he approached it, Mek Nimir and the Mek Musa'ad

withdrew to the areas of Abu-Dleiq in the Butana Plain. The Defterdar stayed in the Ja'aliyyn area for twenty days. On the 27th of Dhu El-Hijjah 1238 AH / September 4, 1823 AD, the forces led by Osman Agha marched towards (Abu-Dleiq) region, which is located to the east of Khartoum and is inhabited by groups of the Butaheen tribe. The forces in the east were ordered to move towards Mek Nimir, who used to mobilize and gather his family and clan, and entered into a confrontation with the forces that attacked him, but then again, he was defeated in this confrontation. His sons, brothers, uncles, cousins, and a large number of his supporters and followers were killed in this battle. The Defterdar forces were able to capture Mek Nimir's mother, his wives, daughters, aunts, and some of his relatives. The total number of captives reached more than four thousand, and they were all sent to Cairo. ⁽²⁹⁾ After that, the Mek Nimir went with his remaining forces towards Abyssinia, and Mek Musa'ad retreated towards the Rahad River. Then the Defterdar decided to attack the Mek Musa'ad, so he moved from Shandi on 2 Muharram 1239 AH / September 8, 1823 AD, after a full day's march, the Defterdar's forces reached Abu Haraz near Wad-Madani. There he learned that Mek Musa'ad had crossed the Rahad River there he met Daf-Allah Wad-Ajeeb, and both they headed towards Abyssinia. The Defterdar decided to reach and hunt them. After two days' journey from Abu-Haraz, the Defterdar met Mek Musa'ad, and an aggressive battle took place between the two sides, the outcome of which was the capture of seven thousand supporters of the Mek El-Musa'ad, including fifty of his family and relatives, and large groups of them drowned, when they endeavored to cross the Dinder River (the second branch of the Blue Nile after the Rahad River). The Defterdar took many camels and horses, and with the seven thousand captives, as we stated formerly, to Abu-Haraz, and sent five thousand of them to Sennar to be sent to Cairo ⁽³⁰⁾.

The Defterdar was hoping to arrest El-Mek Nimir, who had returned to the Kassala region, and to fulfill his wish, the Defterdar marched from Abu-Haraz

eastward to Kassala, the capital of the Taka region .He was able to cross the Atbara River (a seasonal river and is one of the most important branches of the Nile River north of Khartoum) He abused groups of the Shukriya tribe in those areas and stayed in the territory of Al-Humran tribe, which is one of the tribes of the region, for eight days. While in this region, he received news that Mek Nimir and numbers from the Shukriya tribe were camping in Kassala, and they were able to defeat the government forces there. In order to relieve the pressure on those forces, the Defterdar clashed with the forces of Mek Nimir, and about three hundred of Mek Nimir's followers were killed in this battle. On the part of the Defterdar forces, two military commanders and about thirty-five soldiers were killed. The Defterdar remained in the area for ten days, and during this period the Defterdar and his forces were able to kill and capture many people. Then he moved towards Qoz Rajab and moved along the Atbara River to commit atrocities against the Bishariyyn tribe that resides in those areas, and he continued his march until he reached El-Damar ⁽³¹⁾.

Through direct confrontations between the forces of the Defterdar and the Mek Nimir, the Defterdar was unable to harm the Mek Nimir, who settled in the area between the Seteit River, one of the branches of the Atbara River, and the Galabat on the Sudanese-Abyssinian border, and continued to resist and launch attacks in eastern Sudan until his death.

There is an important note, which is that Sheikh Bashir Wad-Aqeed El-Maslamabi El-Jaali cooperated with the Defterdar and informed him of the leaders of the revolution and the revolutionaries among the Jaaliyyns, which made him hold a great position with the Defterdar and appointed him as king of the Jaaliyyns ⁽³²⁾.

It is likely that the personal differences between Sheikh Bashir Wad-Aaqeed, and Mek Nimir were what made him cooperate with the invading army and communicate with Muhammad Ali Pasha personally, and the sources indicate

that Sheikh Bashir met Muhammad Ali Pasha in Egypt before the invasion, where he came to Cairo in 1232 AH / 1816-1817 AD, asking the Pasha for help because King Nimir had reported him to the King of Sennar. He received Wad-Aqeed well in Cairo, and one of his followers sang upon Wad-Aqeed's arrival in Egypt:

***Thou artn't in a state of oppression
Thou artn't in a state of suppression
In dignity, we'll stand, let out a sigh!
The brave before you, be a chicken terrified!
Salute dear Egypt! Our 'Mek' has arrived! ⁽³³⁾***

You, as our leader, have come here of your own will, full of pride, to grieve an injustice that has occurred to you. You are, with no doubt, the most courageous fighter who terrifies those who are bold, making them crouch in front of you like frightened chickens. Salutations, Egypt! You have received our Mek!

Sennar City:

One of the major markets in the Sennarian state, Sennar was established by the Funj in the year 910 Ah/1504 AD. From the Sultanate's founding in the year 1504 AD until its fall in the year 1821 AD, Sennar served as its capital. The city was well-known for its slave trade, as well as for its gold, ivory, and elephant teeth. It also sent trade caravans to Abyssinia, Egypt, and Suakin on a regular basis ⁽³⁴⁾.

Amara Dunqus was inspired by Sennar's geographic location to establish the kingdom's capital because it was near Amara's power source in the south, where the Funj recruited from the sons of Janjar. Sennar is situated in the center of the Blue Nile Basin's agricultural bioregion. Sennar's position on the western bank of the Blue Nile confers additional strategic benefits to the city, chief among them being the ease with which it may be defended against any southern-oriented invasion. The Dinder, Rahad, and Blue Nile rivers

would naturally impede entry to the capital from the east if that were the attack's direction ⁽³⁵⁾.

Sennar was also described in the year (1701 AD) by a traveler who said that it was one of the prosperous cities in Africa, and that commercial caravans reached it from Egypt, Dongola, Nubia, Suakin, and India via the Red Sea and Abyssinia. It also included a group of foreigners from Egypt, Abyssinia, Libya, Armenia, Greece, Yugoslavia, Italy, France, Germany, and Portugal, and the residents called these arrivals (Al-Khawajat) ⁽³⁶⁾.

The Sultan had agents in Egypt, El-Hijaz, and Ethiopia, whose mission was to attract foreign merchants, craftsmen, and clerics from whom the Sinarian state could benefit. When these newcomers arrived in Sennar, escorts who helped them in their activities were appointed, and the merchants among them were excused from paying taxes ⁽³⁷⁾.

In addition to the above description of Sennar as materially rich and wealthy, merchants arrived there from Egypt, El-Hijaz and India via the Nile River and the Red Sea via Suakin, and dates arrived there from Dongola, gold and iron from Kordofan, gold, honey, skins, whips, ostrich feathers and sesame from Fazughli, and gold and horses from Ras-el-Feel. Coffee, yogurt, honey, ivory, besides women's jewelry ⁽³⁸⁾.

Industries in the Sennar State and its Impact on Trade:

Sennar is regarded as the pioneer city in the textile industry, one of several industries that flourished in the state of Sennar and that helped to revive both internal and external trade. Sennar's *Dammour* became widely used throughout most of Sudan and was transported via foreign trade to Egypt and Abyssinia. Berber and Sennar witnessed the emergence of wood-based industries besides the textile sector, as well as the mat and basket industries⁽³⁹⁾.

Leather Industries:

The Sudanese have utilized leather from ancient times, with certain traces indicating its use as a shroud in the Group C culture (3000-2000 BC). It served in the burial of the dead until the Meroitic civilization, and it was also used in the manufacturing of sandals during the Karma civilization and the Christian kingdoms, this industrial legacy has survived to the present day.⁽⁴⁰⁾

The leather industries constituted an important source of income in the Sennar state, and the city of Sennar was considered the most important Sennar cities in the leather industry, and Sennar leather products were exported abroad, and some of them were marketed locally. Among the leather products that the people of Sennar excelled in making (Camel saddles, sandals, water-bags, Shields, whips) and other leather products.⁽⁴¹⁾

The Defterdar's Atrocities in Sennar:

The soldiers had not received their wages in several months since the treasury was empty when the Defterdar arrived in Sennar. Hanna El-Taweel claimed low taxes as a consequence of the destruction and damage to the villages, which angered Muhammad Ali Pasha. He ordered the Defterdar not to listen to Hanna's flimsy arguments and justifications, and he should work to raise as much money as possible by imposing more taxes on the people of Sennar, in order to disburse the soldiers' salaries. The imposition of taxes and the diligence in collecting them must be done by the Defterdar to the fullest, because if he fails to do so and his successor succeeds in collecting them, it will be a shame for the Defterdar who was unable to carry on the task successfully.⁽⁴²⁾

Due to their failure to pay their taxes to the government, the people were weak and there were insufficient revenues gathered from them as a consequence of the Defterdar's destruction of cities and villages in vengeance for the death of Ismail Pasha. Despite this, the Defterdar assaulted those who refused to pay taxes⁽⁴³⁾.

The clerics were not spared from the brutality of the Defterdar. He beat the jurist Ibrahim* Wa-Eisa, along with another person named Ajeeb Wad-Daqis. After beating them, he took them with him to Abu-Haraz, and ordered their imprisonment, then released them later. He also killed Sheikh Saleh Wad-Bannaqa ⁽⁴⁴⁾.

Based on the above mentioned, we notice that the Defterdar and his forces of Moroccans, Albanians, Arnauts, and other components of the invasion campaign the abuse and tortured the Sudanese from various tribes and regions. It is likely that the invasion campaign and the period of rule that followed in Sudan strengthened the culture of slavery trade. They promoted this trade for a number of reasons, including:

- Paying the soldiers' salaries that the government failed to pay on time.
- Using them in homes and harnessing them to serve them.
- Taking slaves to Egypt to sell and work in homes and farms.

Evaluation of the revolution:

The most important result of this revolution was total destruction. In El-Jazeera, the breadbasket of Sennar at that time, there was a massive population displacement, and the tribal balance was disturbed. For example, the Rifa'a tribe, which was one of the largest tribes on the eastern bank of the Blue Nile, lost its position and was demoted, while the Shukria, who had reconciled with the government, seized its lands. El-Funj, the former masters of Sennar, retreated to the southern mountains. The Abboud area in El-Jazira, which was plundered in 1822 AD, became just a group of huts. The city of Wad Medani flourished and became the capital of the Sennar District. For example, Halfayat al-Mulouk, the Abd-Allab residents were expelled from their birthplace and granted to Shaigiya.

Sudan had to wait sixty years for the emergence of a national leader who would free the country from foreign rule because neither of the two tribes with

long-standing traditions of rule, El-Funj or El-Hamaj, emerged to unify previous loyalty to the Sultanate to confront the security threat and defend the nation.

Footnotes:

- (1) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 65.
- (2) Awn El-Shareif Qasim, Halfayat El-Muluk, History and Humans, Omdurman Islamic University House for Printing and Publishing, Khartoum, 1988, p. 23.
- (3) Alan Moore Head, op. cit., p. 68.
- (4) Makki Shibeika, Sudan Through the Centuries, op. cit., p. 75.
- (5) Jaafar Hamid El-Bashir, previous reference, pp. 121-122.
- (6) Salah Mohieddin, Pauses in the History of Sudan, El-Hilal House and Library, Cairo, 3rd edition, 1995, p. 78.
- (7) Taj El-Sir Othman El-Haj, Glimpses from the Social History of the Funj Sultanate (1504-1823 AD), Muhammad Omar Bashir Center for Sudanese Studies, Omdurman, 2005 AD, p. 102.

**Dammour:* Fabric woven from cotton threads, rough in texture and reddish-white in colour.
- (8) Awn El-Sharif Qasim, The Alliance of Kings, History and Humans, Omdurman Islamic University Press, 1988, p. 93.
- (9) Ahmed Katib El-Shouna, previous source, p. 232.
- (10) Naoum Shuqair, Geography and History of Sudan, previous source, pp. 110-111.
- (11) Same source, p. 110.
- (12) Muhammad Ibrahim Abu Salim, History of the City of Khartoum, p. 16.
- (13) Naoum Choucair, previous source, pp. 111-112.
- (14) Muhammad Ibrahim Abu Salim, History of Khartoum, previous reference, 1979, p. 16.
- (15) Ahmed Kateb El-Shouna, previous source, p. 242.

- (16) Naoum Shair, *Geography and History of Sudan*, previous source, p. 209.
- (17) Ahmed Ahmed Sayed Ahmed, previous reference, p. 74.
- (18) Muhammad Ibrahim Abu Salim, previous reference, p. 22.
- (19) A. F. Antushin, *The Gold of Sudan, the story of the first Russian factory to extract gold during the reign of Muhammad Ali*, 2nd edition, (translation) Walid Ahmed Talba, Call of Russia, Distinguished Printing House, Cairo, p. 18.
- (20) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, 65.
- (21) Muhammad Ibrahim Abu Salim, *History of the City of Khartoum*, Sudan Currency Press, Khartoum, 2008, pp. 20-23.
- (22) Muhammad Saeed El-Qaddal, *History of Modern Sudan (1821-1956 AD)*, previous reference, p. 460.
- (23) Ahmed Kateb El-Shouna, previous source, p. 242.
- (24) Muhammad Saeed El-Qaddal, *Modern History of Sudan*, op. cit., pp. 56-57.
- (25) Ahmed Kateb El-Shouna, previous source, p. 243.
- (26) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 66.
- (27) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 67.
- (28) Naoum Choucair, previous source, 210.
- (29) Muhammad Fouad Shukri, *Egypt and Sudan, The History of the Nile Valley's Political Unity in the Nineteenth Century*, National Library and Archives Press, Cairo, 2011, p. 8.
- (30) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 40.
- (31) *Ibid.*, p. 67.
- (32) Abu El-Bishr Abdul Rahman Yusuf, *Commercial Relations between*

- Darfur and the Outside World (1640-1874 AD), Sudan Currency Press Company, Khartoum, 2016 AD, p. 151.
- (33) El-Shater Busayli Abdel-Jalil, From the Landmarks of the History of Sudan and the Nile Valley from the Tenth Century to the Nineteenth Century AD, El-Sharif Academic Library, Khartoum, 2009, p. 33.
- (34) Omar Adlan El-Mak Hassan, Sultanate of Funj, El-Tarbiyah Printing and Publishing Company, Singa, 2014, 40.
- (35) Ibid., p. 41.
- (36) Naoum Shuqair, Geography and History of Sudan, Dar Azza for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, Khartoum, 2007, p. 415.
- (37) Muhammad El-Amin Saeed, The Politics of Muhammad Ali Pasha in Sudan, (1235-1264 AH) - (1820-1848 AD), (PD), 2016 AD, pp. 16-18.
- (38) Jaafar Adam Issa, One of the Legacies of the Past in Sudan Today, Mahawar Magazine, a semi-annual magazine concerned with Sudanese studies, issued by the Muhammad Omar Bashir Center for Sudanese Studies, second issue, February 1999, p. 22.
- (39) Muhammad El-Amin Saeed, previous reference, p. 19.
- (40) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 103.
- (41) Ibid., pp. 103-104.

*Ibrahim and Wad-Eissa: He is Ibrahim bin Issa bin Muhammad El-Ansari. He was born in Arafat during his parents' Hajj in the year 1192 AH. He grew up and was raised in the village of Kutranj and studied there at the hands of his father. He is the founder of Masid and Wad-Eissa in the village of Masid on the west bank of the Blue Nile in the year 1265 AH. Later, Muhammad Ali Pasha rebuilt the mosque with red bricks to become a beacon of knowledge and an educational institute that received financial support from the Turkish rule in Sudan. See Ahmed Kateb El-Shouna, previous source, p. 244.

- (42) Ahmed Kateb El-Shouna, previous source, p. 244.
- (43) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 68.
- (44) Ahmed Kateb El-Shouna, previous source, p. 244.

CHAPTER SIX

The End of the Defterdar's Rule in the Sudan

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The End of the Defterdar's Rule in the Sudan

The European consuls in Cairo were not blind to the Defterdar's atrocities, and they began to put pressure on Muhammad Ali Pasha to isolate and withdraw him from the Sudan., This is because of the atrocities committed throughout the period from 1821 to 1824. When Muhammad Ali Pasha began to think about finding a successor in Sudan, disorder occurred in Hijaz and Mora. Muhammad Ali proceeded to choose a successor to the differdar in Sudan by nominating Osman Bey jerks* for the state of Sennar, and Khurshid Pasha from the jihadist admiral to administer the Kordofan region. Their dispatch to Sudan was delayed until February 1823, and on 20 Shawwal 1238 Ah / 3 June 1823 AD. Muhammad Bey the Defterdar was informed that new governors for Sennar and Karavan had been nominated. After that, the Defterdar left for Egypt, and his successor, Othman Bey El-Birinji, arrived at the end of the year 1239 AH-/ 1824 AD ⁽¹⁾.



Portrait (2) of the Alfie house, which was transferred to Muhammad Bey The Defterdar in the year 1833 AD. He demolished it and rebuilt it in the Ottoman style.

Those who follow the path of the Defterdar in Sudan will find that his period was characterized by all types of violence, tyranny and abuse. The Defender's forces also committed numerous violations against unarmed civilians throughout Sudan, and because the soldiers' salaries were not paid for eight months, there was an upsurge in cases of violence, murder, and looting against civilians. The Defterdar's atrocities against the Sudanese people aroused European public opinion, which demanded an end to the Defterdar's reign in Sudan, and Muhammad Ali Pasha submitted to these pressures and chose to withdraw the Defterdar from the Sudan. Muhammad Bey the Defterdar left Sudan heading to Egypt to carry out his first occupation in the service of Muhammad Ali Pasha ⁽²⁾.

There is a critical question that arises after we tracked the atrocities of the Defterdar in the Sudan: was one of his goals to terrorize and intimidate the Sudanese? Or to eliminate their tribal leaders and replace them with new tribal leaders who are loyal to the Egyptians? After his return from Sudan, the Defterdar became Minister of War in 1825 AD. The Pasha enjoyed his advice about Sudan and its internal conditions. The Defterdar was highly educated and was able to prepare a map of the parts of Sudan that were occupied by Muhammad Ali Pasha's forces. He died on Muhammad Island near Cairo under mysterious circumstances in 1833 AD ⁽³⁾.

It is noteworthy that the map that the Defterdar prepared for Sudan was distinguished by its accuracy, and he was nominated for membership in the French Geographical Society in Paris.

The Results of the Defterdar's Atrocities in Sudan:

The atrocities of the Defterdar in Sudan had very serious consequences. Since the Defterdar entered Sudan, devastation and destruction have spread everywhere. Human activity has been almost halted, and the people of Sudan have suffered greatly as a result of the Defterdar's policy. Hatred and anger towards the rule of the Pasha and the Defterdar have become the dominant

characteristics of many people. The tribes that were subjected to various types of torture and brutality, and it must be said that Muhammad Ali Pasha was aware of the details of these atrocities, and many of them occurred with his encouragement and guidance, and he asked for more torture and oppression against most of the Sudanese tribes (4).

Footnotes:

- (1) El-Amin Muhammad Saeed, previous reference, p. 81.
- (2) Khojali Siddiq, previous reference, p. 9.
- (3) Richard Hull, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

Conclusion

Through our monitoring and tracking of the atrocities of the Defterdar in Sudan, it can be said that his period in Sudan was aimed at controlling this vast country, rich in its resources and wealth, and subjugating its people by various means such as: killing, displacement, deportation, abuse, and slavery for the purpose of recruitment into the army of Muhammad Ali Pasha, or working in agriculture in Egypt. This statement is evidenced by the fact that throughout the period of the Defterdar in Sudan, which extended for four years from the year 1821-1824 AD, the Defterdar practiced all of these methods towards the Sudanese. He was able to kill large numbers of Sudanese in various regions. Such as: Kordofan, the White Nile, Shandi, El-Matamma, El-Damer, Khartoum, Tuti, El-Ailafoun, El-Jazira, El-Butana, Sennar, Al-Taka, Al-Hilalia, and the Nuba Mountains. He also succeeded in displacing and expelling large groups of Ja'aliyyn and the people of Kordofan from their main areas, and he also abused the people of El-Ailafoun, Tuti, and other areas that his forces attacked throughout his rule in Sudan.

The Defterdar era in Sudan was marked by widespread brutality, torture, and the forced relocation of Sudanese citizens throughout the country's numerous areas. The areas of central Sudan and the Ja'alyin were most severely affected by the Defterdar's violence. Since the Defterdar was proficient at torturing the Sudanese, many tribes left their ancestral homelands in Kordofan and the central and eastern parts of the country.

One could argue that the Defterdar's vengeful nature had a significant impact on the future relations between the Sudanese people and the rulers who represented Muhammad Ali Pasha and his successors, leading to an unjust state of affairs among the people of Sudan from 1821 to 1885 AD. This injustice may have played an important part in the formation of the Mahdist movement and was a contributing factor to its success.

Several incidents and circumstances in Sudan supported Defterdar's volatile nature, which may have been the primary motivator for him to carry out these atrocities.

Furthermore, he never stopped trying to grow closer to Muhammad Ali Pasha to fulfill his desires and realize his own goals, which included ruling Sudan as the first and only ruler after seizing power. The Defterdar benefited from the assassination and burning of Ismail Pasha in Shandi, which increased the number and variety of crimes committed against the Sudanese people. In addition to carrying out its atrocities, the event attempted to destroy any leaders or tribal resistance so that the Sudanese people could be oppressed and brought under the new government.

Further study on what led to these atrocities and how the Pasha gained wealth the Sudan without the presence of any organized opposition is still possible. The Pasha personally came to Sudan to investigate these riches and get the country ready to serve as his refuge if he was under threat, which serves as evidence of this.

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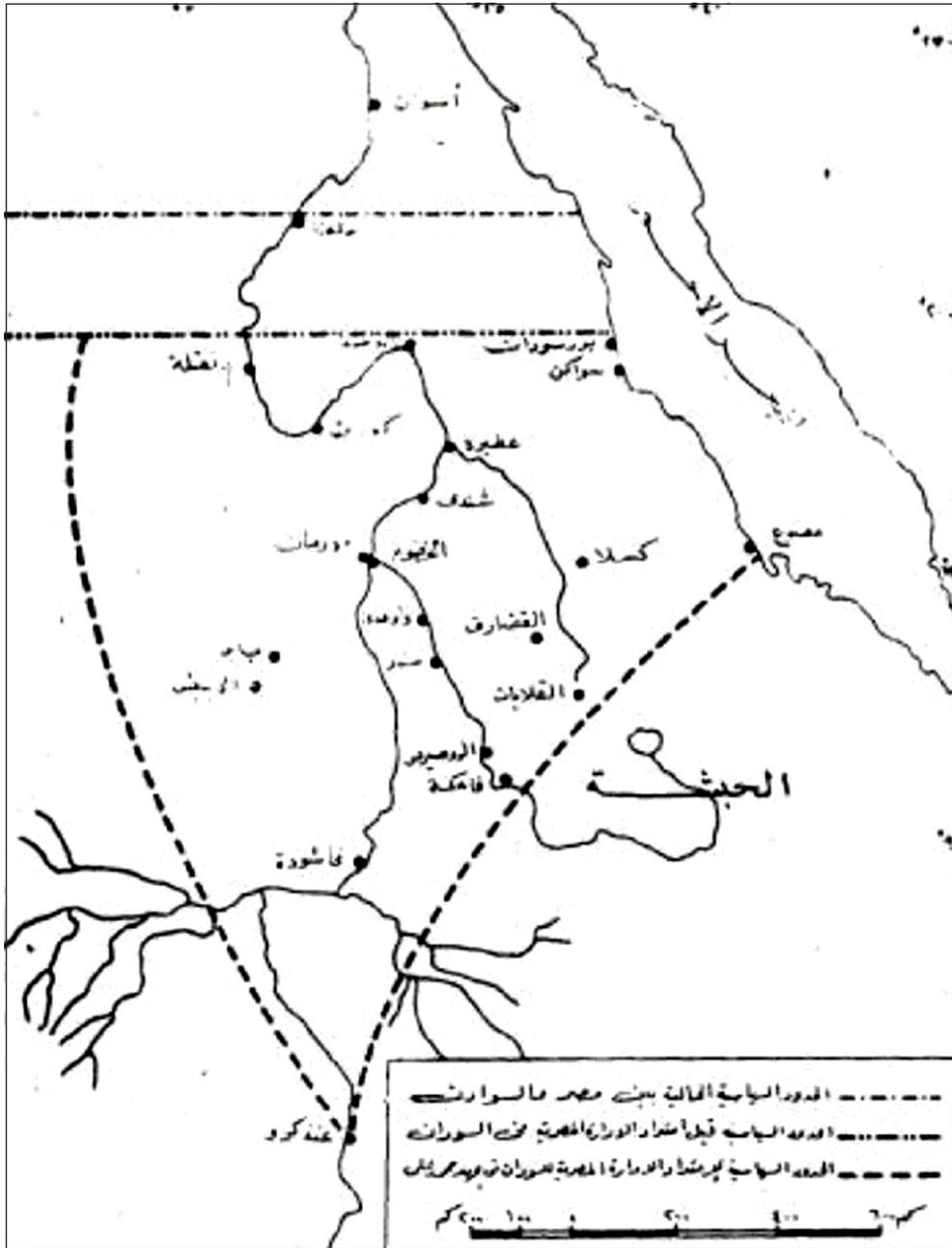
APPENDICES

Appendix No. (1)

**A TABLE SHOWING THE AREAS THAT WERE SUBJECTED TO
VARIOUS TYPES OF ATROCITIES BY THE DEFTARDAR**

The types of Atrocities it was exposed to	Tribes subjected to Atrocities	Area name	No.
Murder - capture - looting – displacement	A group of tribes	Bara	1
Murder - displacement - looting – displacement	A group of tribes	the White	2
Captivity – Displacement	Nuba groups	Nuclear Mountains	3
Captivity – murder	Jaaliyyns = Jammu'iyah	White Nile	4
Killing - burning – captivity	The Ja'aliyyin	El-Matamma	5
Burning with fire	The Ja'aliyyin	Umm-Urouq	6
Killing - burning - looting – captivity	The Ja'aliyyin	Shendi	7
Burn – kill	The Ja'aliyyin	El-Damar	8
Burn the city with fire	Savages	Halfaya	9
Killing – plundering	El-Mahas	Tuti	10
Killing – plundering	El-Mahas	Khartoum	11
Murder - burning - captivity of women and men	El-Mahas	El-Ailfoun	12
Cutting off hands - capture – murder	Ja'alayyin – Jamu'iyah – Hasaniyya	White Nile	13
Kill – plunder	Savages	Crescent	14
Murder - vandalism – looting	The Ja'aliyyin	Ubboud	15
Homelessness	Spedrat	El-Taka	16
Displacement – abuse	The Ja'aliyyin	Qoz Rajab	17
Murder – displacement	The Funj	Sennar	18

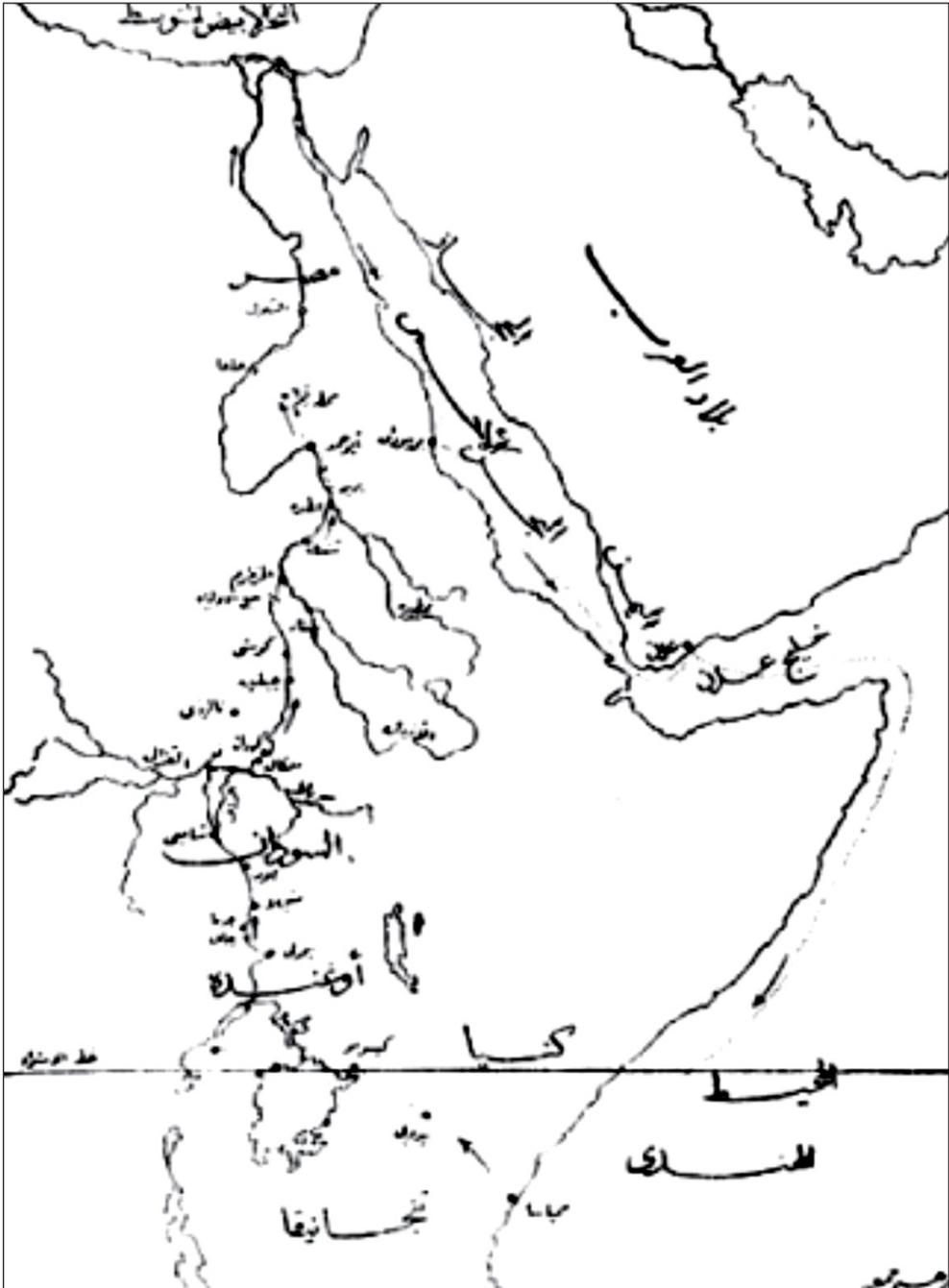
Appendix No. (2)



Map (2) Sudan during the reign of Muhammad Ali Pasha

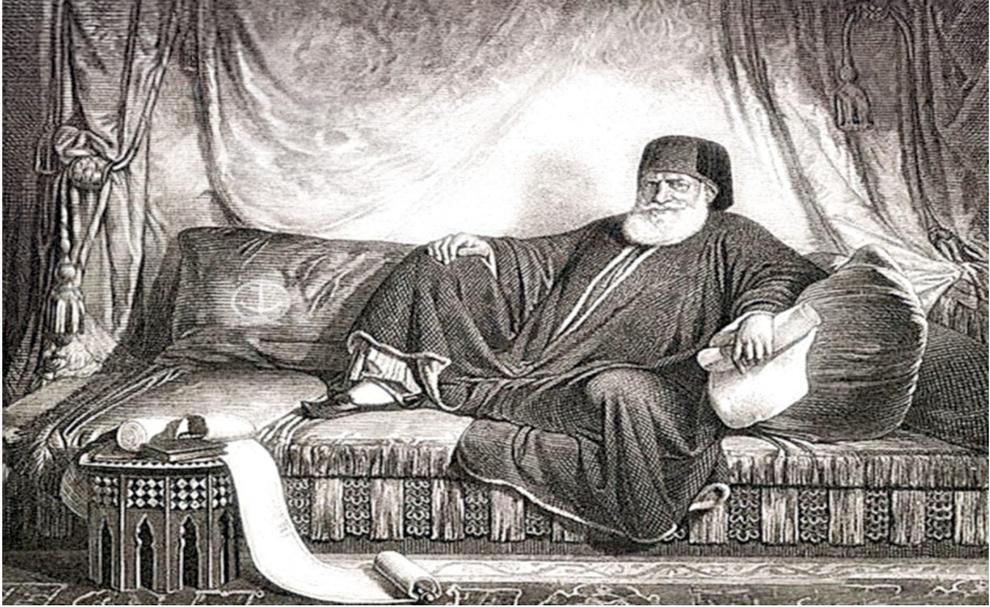


Map (3) Explains the borders of Sudan during the era of Muhammad Ali Pasha



Map (4) shows the most important Sudanese cities during the era of Muhammad Ali Pasha and his successors

Appendix No. (3)



Portriat (3) Muhammad Ali Pasha



Portriat (4) Part of the procession of Muhammad Ali Pasha's forces



Portriat: (5) El-Bashir Wad-Aqeed



Portriat: (6) Nazli Hanem, Muhammad Bey The Defterdar's Wife

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