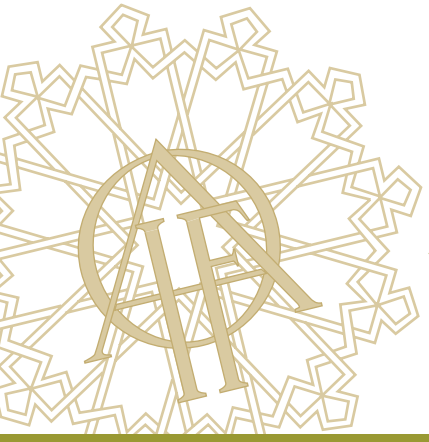
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Wakālat al-Ǧallāba: The Market for Sudan Goods in Cairo [avec 1 planche].

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WAKĀLAT AL-ĞALLĀBA: THE MARKET FOR SUDAN GOODS IN CAIRO

Terence WALZ

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the varied products of Black Africa, or *bilād as-Sūdān* as the African interior was known, were sold in Cairo at a great central market and caravansary called Wakālat al-Ğallāba [1]. It was situated, and a portion of the edifice may still be seen, on Sharia aṣ-Ṣanādiqīyya; the segment that remains has been designated No. 425 among Muslim monuments of the city [2]. The street, formerly known as *ḫuṭṭ* al-Ḫarrāṭīn, used to extend from the medieval Qaṣaba (modern day Sharia Muʿizz lidīn Allah) just south of al-Ašraf mosque up to the northwestern facade of al-Azhar. On the basis of the large number of *wakā'il* (sing. *wakāla*) located on this fairly short thoroughfare, Wakālat al-Ğallāba must have occupied one of the choice commercial addresses in the old city [3]. Within its gates, caravans from « distant Sudan » took up quarters for the time it took travelling merchants (*ğallāba*, sing. *ğallāb*) to

[1] At the turn of the nineteenth century there were actually three *wakā'il al-ğallāba* in the heart of Cairo. In addition to the subject of this article, which is usually identified in *šarʿīyya* court documents as the « great » *Wakālat al-Ğallāba*, Sudan goods were also sold at Ḫān Masrūr « on *ḫuṭṭ* Bāb az-Zuhuma » and at another *wakāla* on aṣ-Ṣanādiqīyya called Wakālat as-Safaṭ (or Qafas). Both are given the alternative name of « small » Wakālat al-Ğallāba (aṣ-Ṣuġrā) in our sources.

[2] (Survey of Egypt, 1951), *Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo*. Today the *wakāla* is bounded on the west by Zuqāq al-Midaqq, on the north by a row of shops facing Sharia Ğawhar al-Qā'id (al-Mūskī) and on the east by a modern apartment building. On the map of Cairo in *Description de l'Egypte*, its location is given in Section VII as 191 and 192 K6. (Ḫān Masrūr is located at 404 16 and Wakālat as-Safaṭ at 187 K6).

[3] Jomard lists 11 in his « Description abrégée de la ville et de la citadelle du Kaire », *Description de l'Egypte, Etat Moderne*, II, 2e partie (Paris 1822), 638-9; ʿAlī Mubārak enumerates nine : *Ḫiṭaṭ at-Tawfīqīyya*, 20 vols. (Būlāq, 1306/1888), II, 85.

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complete their business, and in its central courtyard and surrounding dependencies were sold the exotic products of Sudan : ivory, gum, ostrich feathers, gold dust, tamarind, ebony and slaves.

In the course of our research on trade between Egypt and Black Africa during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries [1], a great deal of information was collected on the management and functioning of this market building and on officials, merchants and brokers attached to it. The data makes it possible to draw a historical profile of one of Cairo's great khans, a study which to our knowledge has never before been attempted. The primary sources are documents from the rich archives of the old religious courts (*maḥākim aš-šarʿīyya*) and the Ministry of Awqāf [2].

FOUNDATION OF THE BUILDING

An early European travelogue reports the existence in Cairo of a special « fondique » for « Ethiopians », evidence that the adoption of particular *wakā'il* by merchants of Black Africa dates to the early sixteenth century at least [3]. ʿAlī Mubārak, more specifically, claims that « Wakālat al-Ğallāba was among [the buildings] constructed by Sultan al-Ġawrī » (1501-16) [4]. It seems probable this passage was used by the committee responsible for dating historical monuments in Cairo to ascribe its foundation to the early part of the tenth century *hiğra* (late fifteenth — early sixteenth century) [5]. Pauty, in the only study yet published of the city's commercial architecture, settled for a general sixteenth century construction date [6]. It would be pleasant to connect the early European reference

(1) The author's doctoral thesis, « The Trade between Egypt and *Bilād as-Sūdān*, 1700-1820 », Boston University, 1975. It is due to be published by the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo.

(2) The *Maḥkama* archives were located during our stay (1970-73) in the Daftarḫāna, Maṣlaḥat aš-Šahr al-ʿAqārī on Sharia Ramsīs. Documents taken from this archive, unless otherwise not obvious, are preceded by (MSA).

(3) Greffin Affagart, *Relation de Terre Sainte* (1533-1534), (Paris, 1902), 177, quoted in René Clément, *Les Français en Egypte aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, (Cairo, 1960), 6.

(4) *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, 85.

(5) *Index to Mohammedan Monuments, loc. cit.*

(6) Edmond Pauty, « Les okelles d'époque ottomane », Appendix II in *Procès-verbaux, Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe*, Fasc. XXXVIII (Cairo, 1944), 20.

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to an Ethiopian *funduq* with the celebrated building activities of Sultan al-Ġawrī, but it is now clear that the Wakālat al-Ğallāba edifice dates no earlier than the end of the sixteenth century [1].

ʿAlī Mubārak undoubtedly based his assertion on the fact that Wakālat al-Ğallāba was among those buildings controlled by the extensive Waqf al-Ġawrī a rich collection of urban real estate and rural landholdings assembled for the purpose of subsidizing the sultan's charities. The *Kitāb waqf al-Ğawrī*, preserved in the Daftarḫāna of the Ministry of Awqāf, contains particularly long descriptions of edifices constructed by the sultan, yet no mention is made within the main text of a « Wakālat al-Ğallāba » or any building bearing a similar name or owning its recognizable boundaries [2]. However, an addition to the waqf, dated 5 Ramaḍān 926 / 23 August 1520, four years after the sultan's death, briefly notes the inclusion of « buildings and grounds located near the Ašrafīyya School and Sūq al-ʿAnbarīn on *ḫuṭṭ* al-Ḥarrāṭīn, formerly known as the residence of the late al-Kāmilī al-Bārizī » [3]. This note provides an indispensable link between the al-Ġawrī waqf and Wakālat al-Ğallāba of a later date.

The property, made into a waqf by al-Kāmilī Muḥammad ibn al-Bārizī, one of the private secretaries to Sultan Mu'ayyid-Šayḫ (fifteenth century) [4], was ceded by his descendants to Sultan al-Ġawrī in 912/1506 for 1600 dinars [5]. By

[1] Our building should not be confused with a *sūq ar-raqīq* constructed by al-Ġawrī (Ibn Iyās, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, tr. Gaston Wiet, 2 vols. [Paris, 1955-60], II, 91). In addition to evidence presented further on, the location of this slave market seems to have been near al-Ḥusayn mosque, a city district quite distinct in waqf documentation from aṣ-Ṣanādiqīyya/Ḥarrāṭīn. See the author's « Trade between Egypt and *Bilād as-Sūdān* », 94-5.

[2] (Daftarḫāna, Ministry of Awqāf), Waqf N° 882 and Copy, N° 883. It has been studied by Dr. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, University of Cairo, in his *Dirāsāt tārīḫīyya wa aṭarīyya fī waṭā'iq min ʿaṣr al-Ġawrī*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, 3 vols., University of Cairo, 1956.

[3] Waqf N° 883, 213-14.

[4] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā'*, 14 vols., (Cairo, 1913-18), IX, 42, 45; X, 120. See also Gaston Wiet, « Les secrétaires de la chancellerie en Egypte sous les Mamlouks circassiens », *Mélanges René Basset* (Paris, 1923), Nos. XXII and XXVI.

[5] (Daftarḫāna, Ministry of Awqāf), Collection of documents titled « Waṯā'iq al-muktašifa », No. 172, 27 Ğumāda II 912 / 14 November 1506. The outside wrapper does not correspond to the roll inside. The author wishes to express his gratitude to Dr. Muḥammad Amīn, University of Cairo, for bringing this to his attention.

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this time, part of the complex of *dawwār, qaʿāt, arwiqa, sāwābiṭ, ḥawāṣil* and other dependencies of the Mamluk-period residence [1] had collapsed [2], and it is probably for this reason that the *Kitāb waqf al-Ġawrī* contains no detailed description of the property and that for many years afterwards it was referred to as « Hawš al-Bārizī » [3]. In 982/1574, for instance, the *nāẓir* (administrator) of al-Ġawrī waqf rented « the whole of the *hawš* located on *ḥuṭṭ* al-Ḫarrāṭīn known as al-Bārizī » to one Aḥmad al-Rūmī ʿAbd Allah, a bluer (*aṣ-ṣabbāġ al-zarqa*), for 70 *niṣf fiḍḍa* per month. Ḫān al-Baq (?), located nearby on *ḥuṭṭ* al-Azhar, described in the same documented as having storerooms, chamberrooms on the upper and lower floors, a *rabʿ* on the upper level and shops on the groundfloor — in other words, all the attributes of a proper *wakāla* — was rented for 230 *niṣf fiḍḍa* per month [4].

Renovation of « Hawš al-Bārizī » was begun sometime toward the end of the sixteenth century. In the course of construction work, the *nāẓir* of the waqf of Sultan al-Ašraf Barsbay, which owned property on the corner of *ḥuṭṭ* al-Ḫarrāṭīn and *ḥuṭṭ* al-Ašrafīyya [5], registered a complaint during the year 1592 against the Ġawrī waqf administrator over the narrowing of an alley leading on one side to properties under his control and on the other « to the renovated *wakāla* now being constructed from among the properties in Waqf al-Ġawrī, in the place known as Hawš al-Bārizī » [6]. The site was examined by a group of surveyors (*muhan-*

[1] Mme. Layla Sirāǧ ad-Dīn graciously helped to plot a floor plan of the al-Bārizī complex and her valuable assistance is much appreciated.

[2] Description of the property begins : « *Ǧamiʿ al-amākin al-kāmila arḍan al-mustahdima bunā' al-kā'ina dāḫil al-Qāhira* ... ». Many buildings on Ḫarrāṭīn fell into ruin or were deserted as a result of turmoils in Cairo in the fifteenth century : Ahmad Darrag, *L'Acte de waqf de Barsbay*, (Cairo, 1963), p. 42, Note 7.

[3] *Hawš* was used to describe a large courtyard, usually with deteriorated dependencies wherein poor people with their animals camped or otherwise dwelled : Jomard, « Description abrégée », 662, 696.

[4] (Daftarḫāna, Ministry of Awqāf), « Waṭā'iq al-muktašifa », No. 1089, 23 Ṣafar 982.

[5] The building is mentioned in the Barsbay waqf published by Darrag (Arabic text, 13-14) which has been checked against the Barsbay waqf roll in the Ministry of Awqāf, Waqf No. 880, pp. 48-51. In both cases the *qiblī* (east) boundary bordered on a *zuqāq* which led to the house of al-Kāmilī al-Bārizī.

[6] (MSA), (Maḥkama) al-Bāb al-ʿĀlī, vol. 57, p. 67, No. 240 (29 Ḏū'l-Ḥigga 1000). The text refers to an earlier survey (*ḥuǧǧat al-kašf*) which could not be located.

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disūn) who found that construction work had extended into the Barsbay property and rectifications in boundaries were subsequently made. Nevertheless, property deeds to certain quarters in Wakālat al-Ğallāba at a later date refer to groundrent (*ḥikr*) owed to Barsbay waqf [1], and although these particular locations cannot be exactly plotted on a floor plan of the structure, it is apparent that later enlargements of Wakālat al-Ğallāba entailed new encorachments on neighbouring buildings controlled by Barsbay waqf.

It is not clear when renovations were completed, but in 1605 the « renovated *wakāla* located on *ḥuṭṭ* al-Ḫarrāṭīn, known as Hawš al-Bārizī » was leased to Zaynī ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ... al-Baysūnī al-ʿUmarī for 500 *niṣf fiḍḍa* per month. According to the contract, the complex then included 39 vaulted storerooms inside the structure, a stable and two storerooms outside. In the middle was a well [2]. (Other renovated dependencies belonging to the former residence are not mentioned). The shops (*ḥawānīt*) located on Ṣanādiqīyya/Ḫarrāṭīn were rented, as was customary practice, separately from the main structure. Soon thereafter the new *wakāla* was taken over by visiting merchants from Black Africa, for in 1631 it is identified in legal deeds under the new name of « Ḫān al-Ğallāba » [3].

PHYSICAL PLAN

The archtypal plan of Cairene *wakā'il* is so well known through eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travel literature there is no need to describe it in much detail here [4]. The usual complex of a central courtyard surrounded by storerooms

[1] For instance, the storeroom known as *al-ḥāṣil al-kabīr :* (MSA) (Maḥkama) al-Qism al-ʿAskarīyya, vol. 184, p. 264, No. 617 (1183/1770); *ibid.*, vol. 272, pp. 143-4 (1236/1821), etc.

[2] (MSA) al-Bāb al-ʿĀlī, vol. 83, p. 277, No. 1084 (10 Muḥarram 1014). Zaynī ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ is identified elsewhere as « the Ġawrī waqf revenue collector and tenant of Wakālat al-Ğallāba » : see the following footnote. He owned at least three storerooms in the building.

[3] Al-Qism al-ʿAskarīyya, vol. 42, p. 174, No. 280 (27 Muḥarram 1041).

[4] See the footnotes in Marcel Clerget, *Le Caire, Etude de géographie urbaine et d'histoire économique*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1934), II, 313-17; and in André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Damascus, 1973-4), I, 256. The best

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(*ḥawāṣil*) on the groundfloor, chamberrooms (*aṭbāq*) on the second floor and a connecting stable (*iṣṭabl*) to one side was designed to serve as a hostelry as well as a market place. The rectangular or square shape of the courtyard often resulted in a rectangular or square shape for the structure as a whole, and such common *wakāla* plans may be seen today by visiting numerous still-extant *wakā'il* in the heart of the old city. Despite the common pattern, it will probably be borne out in studies of commercial architecture now being made [1] that general rules of *wakāla* construction were as often broken as those applied to the construction of private houses and religious buildings and that architectural plans frequently followed contours shaped by earlier structures or set by existing neighbouring buildings. This seems to have been the case with Wakālat al-Ğallāba.

One of its curious architectural features are two identical *bābs* [2]. The main doorway, fronting on Sharia aṣ-Ṣanādiqīyya, is decorated in post-Mamluk style of pleasant but undistinguished taste. Its lintel is of two stones (or one stone cut in imitation of two), the lower flat and upper relieving arches exhibiting the customary joggled voussoirs. The name of Allah is embossed in the center of the top arch. The sides of the doorway are bordered by a modest interlooping rope moulding; they are otherwise plain except for ornamental panels recessed on both sides slightly above mid-point and for capitals done in simple *muqarnas* design located on the jambs. There is no hint of Ottoman influence in the overall design [3].

Today the main *bāb* opens onto a wide corridor which runs the length of the structure. It is divided into three sections. The first measures approximately three meters in width by 13 meters in length and is entirely closed in by arched

western descriptions of Wakālat al-Ğallāba are in : W. Jowett, *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean,* (London, 1822), 122-5; Stephen Olin, *Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petraea and the Holy Land,* 2 vols. (New York, 1860), I, 61; and Gérard de Nerval, *Voyage en Orient,* 3rd edition, 2 vols. (Paris, 1851), I, 162-4.

[1] Mr. Fawzī Muḥammad Amīn of the Architectural Section, Ministry of Awqāf, is studying medieval period *wakā'il* as is Mme. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb of Cairo University.

[2] Lettered « F » in Figure 3.

[3] See Figure 1. Source : Jean Bourgoin, *Précis de l'Art arabe et Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire, à la théorie et à la technique des Arts de l'Orient Musulman,* 4 vols. (Paris, 1892), I, plate 70, titled « Porte ».

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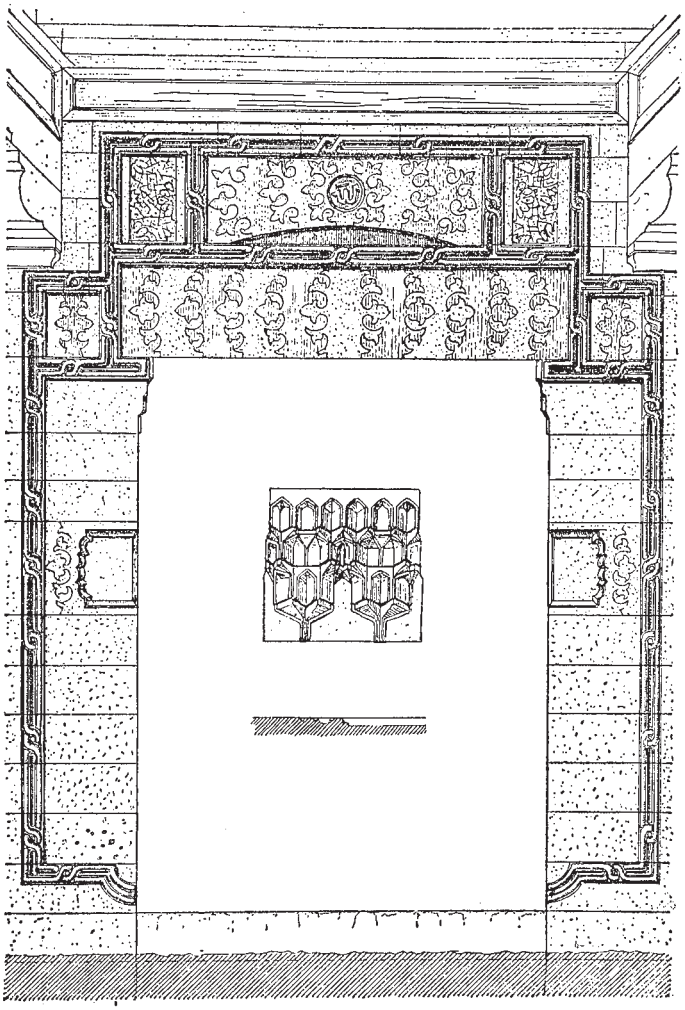


FIGURE 1. — *Bāb* of Wakālat al-Ğallāba
(letter F in Figure 3).

vaulting [1]. The second section, open to the sky, measures roughly five meters by six in length and is surrounded on its east and west sides by rows of storerooms. The final section, also enclosed by vaulted arches, narrows to the width of the first

[1] It is this portion — the first *bāb* and the « vestibule » — which was marked for preservation : *Procès-verbaux du Comité de conservation,* Fasc. XXXVI, 66.

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section and extends 12 meters in length. Just beyond the point where the corridor narrows is found the second *bāb*. Covered by dust and somewhat obscured by modern wood and stone additions, this second doorway is easily missed, yet a close look reveals what appears to be an exact replica, including the embossed « Allah », of the doorway on Ṣanādiqīyya. Both doorways, therefore, may date from the same period of construction; the second *bāb* seems to have corresponded to an entrance to inner apartments in the early al-Bārizī residence.

Entrances to eight or nine storerooms backing onto shops facing Ṣanādiqīyya may have been reached through small doors on either side of the first section of the corridor (modification of the original structure makes this difficult to verify), and another ten storerooms open out onto the wider middle section. The remaining six storerooms now located in the *wakāla* are entered from an alley outside the northern facade of the building. The masonry of all these dependencies have the appearance of original stonework, and it seems unlikely that modern renovations disturbed their original arrangement [1].

A second storey of rooms or apartments (*rabʿ*), constructed in the seventeenth century and often visited by western travellers in the nineteenth, has now disappeared. It has in modern times been replaced by a mountainous rubbish heap. Earlier, the second floor was reached by several staircases, one of which was located in Ṣanādiqīyya [2].

Drawings of Wakālat al-Ǧallāba [3] all depict a building with a large central courtyard surrounded on all sides by *ḥawāṣil*, measuring the distance of five storerooms on one side and perhaps six or seven on the other. Since *ḥawāṣil* in the present day structure extend 2.9 meters in width as a rule (using as a basis

[1] The following people generously provided advice or assistance on the foregoing description : Mr. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb of the Antiquities Service, Mr. Fawzī Muḥammad Amīn, and Mr. Sam Peterson.

[2] (MSA) (Maḥkama) aṣ-Ṣāliḥīyya an-Naǧmīyya, vol. 527, p. 228, No. 484. A *sullum bi-rabʿ Wakālat al-Ǧallāba* was opposite Ḥammām al-Ḫarrāṭīn.

[3] Robert Hay, *Illustrations of Cairo*, (London, 1840), plate XXV, « Slave Market »; Hector Horeau, *Panorama d'Egypte et de Nubie*, (Paris, 1841), plate titled « Marché d'esclaves » between pp. 4-5; G. Ebers, *Egypt, Descriptive, Historical and Picturesque*, 2 vols. (London, 1898), II, plate titled « Slave Market », facing p. 36.

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a crude floor tile count), a courtyard with the approximate dimensions of 14.5 meters by 17.4 to 20.3 meters should be expected. Yet where is it now?

Title needs registered in the *Maḥkama* in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries indicate two other special features of the *wakāla*'s physical plan during those times. First, the area formerly known as « Hawš al-Bārizī » had been transformed into two separate but connecting buildings, or in effect two *wakā'il*[1]. The smaller « *wakāla* » abutted onto Sharia aṣ-Ṣanādiqīyya and is probably that part of the original building that remains today. The larger « *wakāla* », encompassing the central courtyard described so often in the literature, extended on the northern side of the smaller one and would have been reached either by passing through the former from the entrance on Ṣanādiqīyya or by an alley once originating in Ḫān al-Ḫalīlī. This larger portion would have been located on the direct path of Sharia Ğawhar al-Qā'id (ex-Sharia al-Mūskī, ex-Sikka al-Ğadīda) and was almost certainly torn down when that street was extended from al-Ašraf mosque to the eastern desert in 1863-6[2]. In reconstructing the boundaries of the missing portion of the original building (Figure 3), it has been assumed that shops now facing Sharia Ğawhar al-Qā'id directly north of present day Wakālat al-Ğallāba date from the nineteenth century and that a more or less straight rear wall line of shop boundaries on the northern side of the street (see Figure 2), as shown in the 1937 Survey Department map of Cairo (scale : 500:1), was the probable northern boundary of the original Wakālat al-Ğallāba complex[3].

(1) For instance, al-Bāb al-ʿĀlī, vol. 409, p. 234, No. 577 (1254/1838), a storeroom is described as « *dāḫil al-wakālat al-maʿrūfa bi-wakālat al-ʿabīd dāḫil hawš al-Bārizī al-maʿrūf bi 'l-wakālat aṣ-ṣuġrā al-mutawaṣil minha lil-wakālat al-kubrā al-maʿrūfa bi-hawš al-Bārizī* ... ». « Wakālat aṣ-Ṣugrā » should not be confused with Ḫān Masrūr or Wakālat as-Safaṭ, both of which were controlled by different awqāf.

(2) Amīn Sāmī, *Taqwīm an-Nil*, 6 vols. (Cairo, 1334-55/1916-35), III, part 2, 512, 640. When the street was completed, Wakālat al-Ğallāba opened out onto it : ʿAlī Mubārak, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, 85; similar information is recorded in a title deed dated 1868 : (MSA) Qism al-ʿAskarīyya, vol. 283, p. 49, No. 42 (5 Muḥarram 1285); the completed street appears for the first time on the « Plan de la Ville du Caire et de ses Environs en 1868 », lithograph by Maurat-Comte, Marseille.

(3) We have also taken into account boundaries mentioned in the description of the al-Bārizī residence which suggest a more northern location of the site. At that time its western and northern boundaries (*baḥrī* and *šarqī* respectively) touched on Ḫān Masrūr and a « renovated ḫān near Ḫān al-Ḫalīlī ». In

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Second, *Maḥkama* deeds [1] and European travel accounts [2] attest to the existence in former times of an alley (*ʿatfa*) inside the original building. Lane commented somewhat mischievously, « As there is a thoroughfare through this weka'lah, the slaves are often exposed to public view; and they amuse themselves by observing and quizzing the passengers » [3]. The alley was too small to have been noted to the *Description de l'Egypte* map of Cairo, but it is clearly discernible in more detailed maps published by Grand bey in 1874 and by the Survey Department in 1923 [4]. The alley's route is now obliterated by modern construction, but it is very likely that the wide corridor running the length of the present day building is a remnant and that it once exited the demolished portion of Wakālat al-Ǧallāba somewhere on the eastern side of the courtyard, leading into Ḫān al-Ḫalīlī. No doubt this alley related to a *cul-de-sac* and rights-of-way (*ḥaqq al-istaṭrāq*) mentioned in the al-Bārizī residence description.

Prior to Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign, Cairo streets were bounded by mastabas [5]. Therefore, they must also have been constructed in the alley in Wakālat al-Ǧallāba. To Europeans visiting the market and walking through the southern half of the complex — that part of the corridor affronted by storerooms — it must indeed

the nineteenth century ʿAlī Mubārak indicated that Wakālat al-Ṣiliḥdār, in Ḫān al-Ḫalīlī, had a doorway which projected onto Wakālat al-Ǧallāba « which is on Ḫarrāṭīn because [the *wakāla*] is behind it » : *Ḫiṭaṭ*, V, 15.

[1] Three storerooms are described as « *kāʾinīn dāḫil ḫān al-Bārizī al-maḏkūr dāḫil al-ʿatfa illatī dāḫil al-ḫān al-maḏkūr* ... » : al-Bāb al-ʿĀlī, vol. 118, p. 316, No. 1322 (1046/1637); *ibid.*, vol. 409, p. 234, No. 577 (1254/1838).

[2] *Voyage d'Italie et du Levant, de Fermanel Fauvel, de Launay et Stochove*, (Rouen, 1670), 416; *Journal des voyages de Monsieur de Monconys*, (Lyon, 1665), 278, 286; *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant*, (London, 1686), Part 1, 143. The author is indebted to Professor Jean-Claude Garcin for bringing these references to his attention.

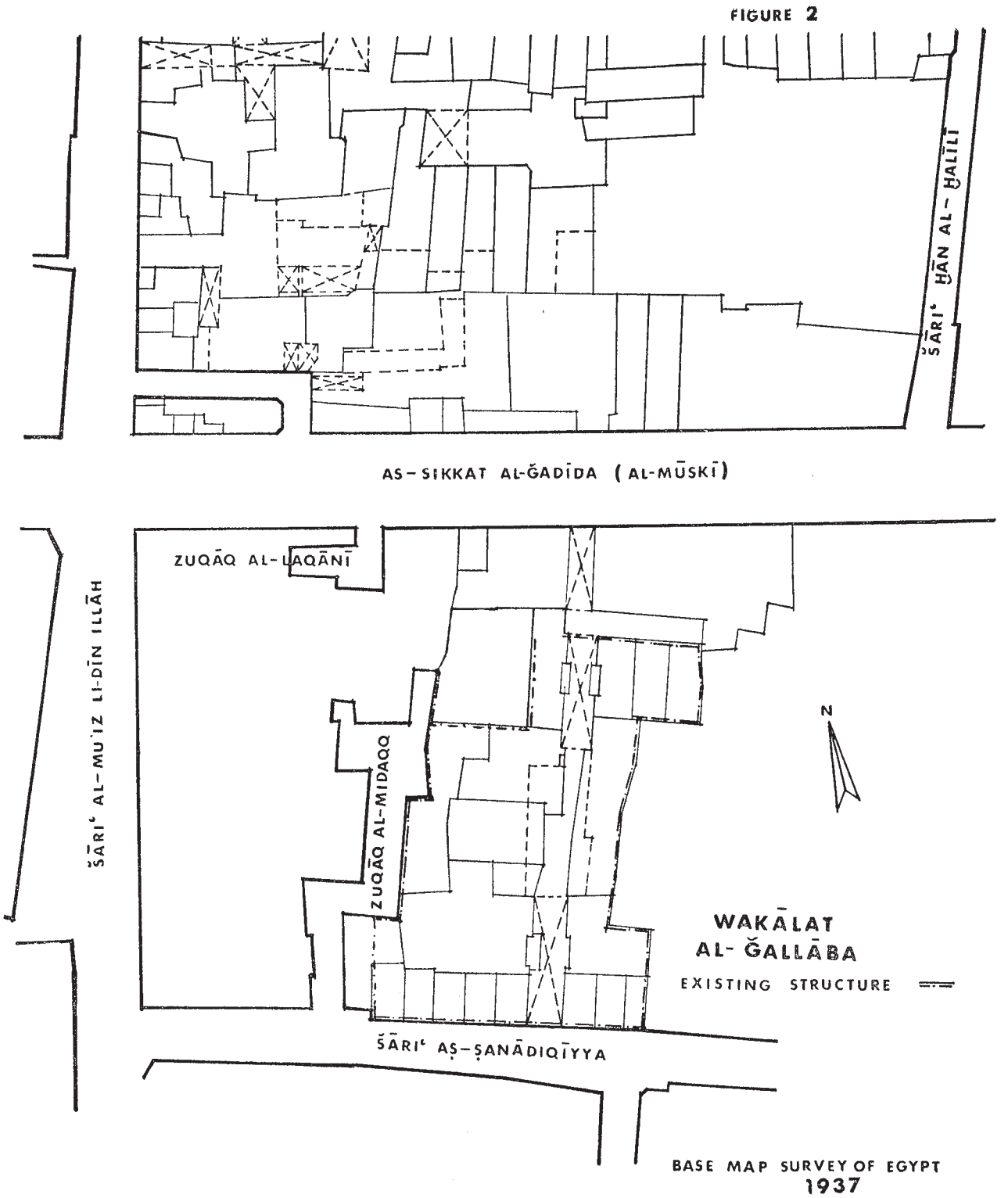
[3] Edward W. Lane, *Description of Egypt (Notes and Views in Egypt and Nubia during the Years 1825-26-27-28)*, British Museum MS, 9 vols., Add. 34080-8, I, 165. Portions were later published as *Cairo Fifty Years Ago* (London, 1896).

[4] Grand bey, « Plan de la Ville du Caire », (Cairo, 1874); Survey of Egypt, « Map of Cairo showing Mohammedan Monuments », (Giza, 1923).

[5] On the demotion of mastabas, E.W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, (Everyman Edition, New York, 1954), 322.

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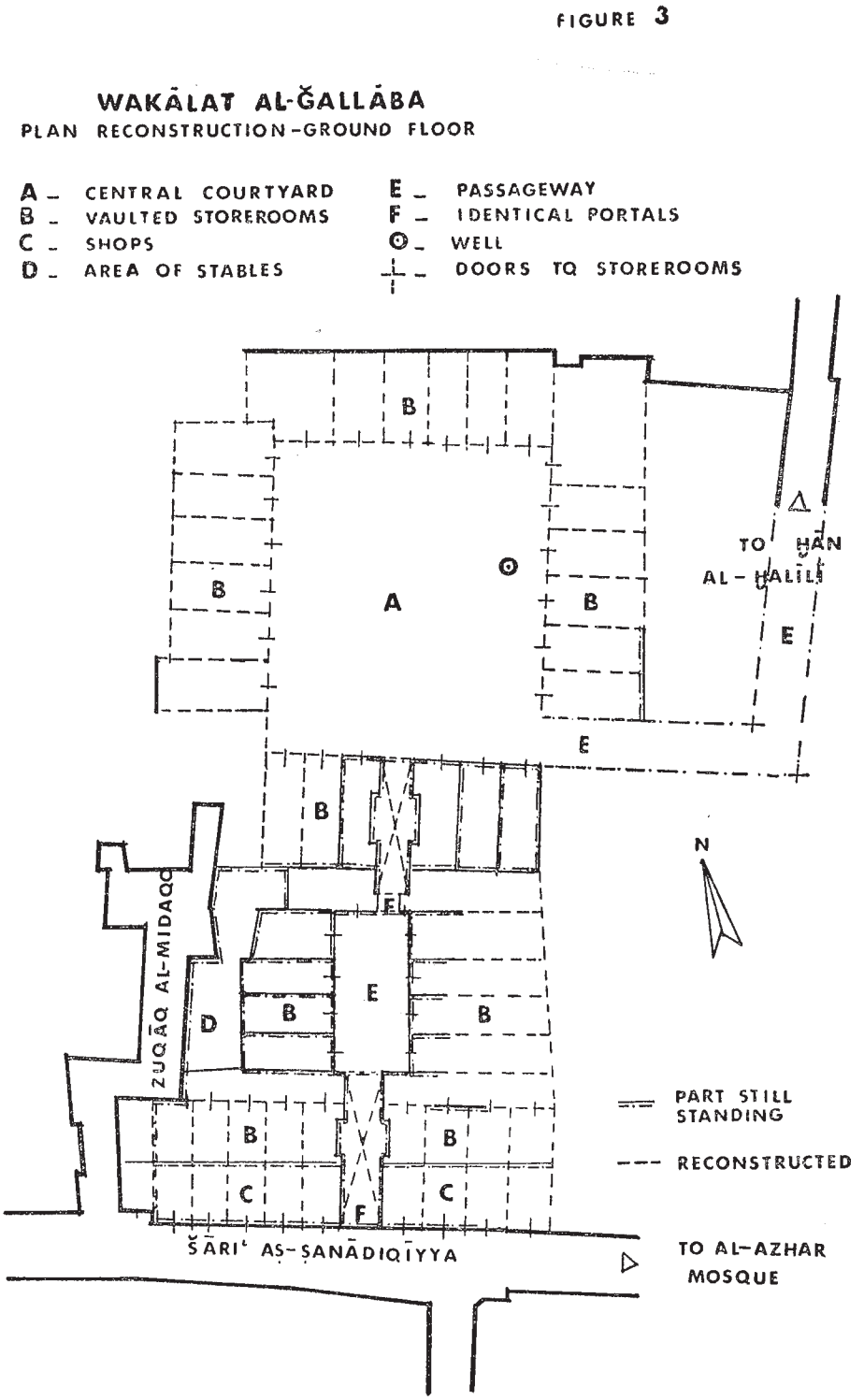
FIGURE 2



(Drawing, Muna Sirağ ad-Dīn)

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FIGURE 3



(Drawing, Muna Sirağ ad-Dīn)

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have seemed to them as though slaves were exhibited while « ranged the length of houses » [1]. In fact, they were sitting or standing outside *ḥawāṣil*.

LOCALIZATION OF AFRICAN TRADE AT WAKĀLAT AL-ĞALLĀBA

An interesting theme in Cairene commercial history is the remarkably continuous location of specialized trades in the same quarter or street over a long period of time. As Raymond has shown, the placement of markets as found by the French at the end of the eighteenth century are surprizingly similar to locations mentioned by Maqrīzī in the fifteenth [2]. A history of Wakālat al-Ğallāba from the early seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century seems to bear the overall picture out, and yet during this period the position of the market underwent subtle but significant changes.

Evidence from the various names given to the *wakāla* in *Maḥkama* texts testify to the general market preoccupation : Wakālat al-ʿAbīd, Wakālat ar-Raqīq, Wakālat an-Nūbī all indicate its use as a slave market even though other products from the interior were just as heavily traded there. What is noteworthy, perhaps, is not the continuity of this particular trade at this particular market, but the fact that prior to the eighteenth century local merchants trading in Sudan goods (as distinct from *ğallāba*, or travelling merchants) often occupied commercial quarters outside Wakālat al-Ğallāba. In the latter part of the seventeenth century, for instance, al-Ḥāğğ Ibrāhīm Madkūr (d. *ca.* 1670), engaged in trade between Egypt, Sudan and Ḥiğāz, owned storerooms in Wakālat al-Ḥamzāwī as-Ṣuġrā (on Ṣanādiqīyya/Ḫarrāṭīn), Wakālat al-Ḥamzāwī al-Kubrā (on *ḫuṭṭ* al-Bunduqānīn) and Sūq al-Ğawār (Bunduqānīn?). Aḥmad Šūrbağī « al-Ğazzār » (d. 1690), operating in a similar commercial network, stored goods at Ḫān az-Zarākisa (Ḫarrāṭīn). Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣanaylī (d. 1698) kept his stock of ivory, tamarind, ebony, feathers, beads, textiles and other staples of the African trade at Ḫān aš-Šuğğāʿ (Bunduqānīn) [3]. All these *wakā'il* are located within a short distance

[1] *Voyage d'Italie et du Levant, de Fermanel*, etc., 416; *Journal de ... Monsieur de Monconys*, 278.

[2] *Artisans*, I, 319 ff.

[3] (MSA) al-Qism al-ʿAskarīyya, vol. 69, p. 377 (1981/1671); *ibid.*, vol. 74, p. 292

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of each other and of Wakālat al-Ğallāba, and while it cannot have been unusual for merchants trading in the same goods to have operated out of different khans within a general district, the situation had clearly changed by the end of the eighteenth century. By that time, Sudan merchants were entirely housed in Wakālat al-Ğallāba and its two adjuncts [1].

Thus, evidence suggests that the exclusive location of trade in Sudan goods at Wakālat al-Ğallāba occurred sometime during the eighteenth century and most probably during its third and fourth decades. This development may have evolved naturally — the result of independent actions by *wakāla* merchants — or have been produced by government interference in local commerce. Perhaps the most plausible explanation at this time involves a conjunction of the two. The *wakāla*'s enhanced position necessitated considerable enlargement of its facilities and prompted a tightened control over its operatives by the authorities.

Eighteenth-century renovations are indicated in descriptions of the market's dependencies as listed in a half-dozen rental contracts (*ḥuǧağ at-tawāǧir*) registered in the courts (copies of which are preserved in the Ministry of Awqāf). At the beginning of the seventeenth, it will be recalled, Wakālat al-Ğallāba enclosed 39 inside storerooms, two outside storerooms and a stable. During the following hundred years, a second storey and possibly other rooms were added, for in 1704 the building is described as having 44 storerooms (including two *ḫazāna*), 22 chamberrooms, 9 shops (*ḥawānīt bi-ḥaqq al-niṣf*), a *maqʿad* and *maḫzan* [2] — obviously remnants of the al-Bārizī structure — a stable and a mill for grinding coffee (*midaqq bunn qahwa*). The complex was rented for a period of three years to al-Ḥāǧǧ ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿAlī as-Samhūdī and his son, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān, for 19,500 *niṣf fiḍḍa* per year. They were allowed to pay the rent in four yearly installments and to deduct from the amount due the sum of 225 *niṣf* for the hire of doorkeepers (*uǧrat al-biwāba*). In addition, they were required to pay a yearly *ḫulwān* fee, presumably in order to renew an earlier contract which has not been

(1089/1678); *ibid.*, vol. 84, p. 58 (1102/1690); *ibid.*, vol. 84, p. 425 (1102/1691); (Maḥkama) al-Qism al-ʿArabīyya, vol. 72, p. 114, No. 183 (1110/1698).

[1] Jomard, « Description abrégée », 723; this is confirmed by data from *Maḥkama* archives.

[2] *Maqʿad :* open reception room; *maḫzan :* storage room; *ḫazāna :* another term for *ḫāṣil* but perhaps not open to the courtyard.

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preserved, which was fixed at 900 *niṣf* to the *nāẓir* of the Ġawrī waqf and 400 *niṣf* to waqf scribes. An identical contract was drawn up between the same parties in 1707 and carried the same description and similar financial details. In 1719 the *wakāla* was rented to ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān alone for the sum of 20,000 *niṣf* per year while the *nāẓir*'s fee was reduced from 900 to 800 *niṣf* [1].

In late 1721 ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān renewed his lease for the usual three year period, but the rent was established at 4,329 *niṣf* above a now customary rate of 20,000 *niṣf* per year. The increase was due to 17 new (*mustağidd*) chamberrooms and a new storeroom [2]. The deed signals the beginning of a number of renovations which ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān or the Ġawrī *nāẓir* undertook, not all of which were made in connection with the market's commercial facilities. In 1743, for instance, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān rented on a long-term basis the stable and one storeroom which he had been allowed to transform into a bakery (*furn muʿadd al-ʿamal al-aḫbāz al-qamḥ al-ḥinṭa*) [3]. He himself paid day-to-day costs and submitted a bill to the *nāẓir* for 20,125 *niṣf* that included the cost of cement (*mawn*) — lime, gypsum and clay — of stones and bricks, ashes, wood, tiles, padlocks, mats and other materials [4] as well as wages of masons, laborers, surveyors, porters and haulers of dirt to the city's refuse mounds. By way of repaying him, the *nāẓir* allowed ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān to lease the bakery — a profitable property — for only 15 *niṣf* per year [5].

By 1751, the date of the last rent contract we have been able to find, Wakālat al-Ğallāba had 45 storerooms and 49 chamberrooms : in the thirty-three year interval between this contract and 1719, 27 new chamberrooms and one storeroom had been added, doubling in size the number of private quarters available to visiting merchants. The tenants this time were ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān and his brother, Mūsā — identified elsewhere as tenant of Wakālat Aruzz in Bulaq, the port of Cairo [6]

[1] « Waṯā'iq al-muktašifa », No. 949 (7 Muḥarram 1116/1704); No. 555 (18 Ḏū 'l-Qaʿḍa 1118/1707); No. 810 (18 Rabīʿ I 1131/1719). Contracts were always dated from the beginning of Muḥarram to the end of Ḏū 'l-Ḥiğğa. They tended to be drawn up during the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 88 (5 Rabīʿ I 1134).

[3] This has now (1973) been turned into a henna mill. Entry is from Zuqāq al-Midaqq.

[4] *Ḥabl nāsūs* and *dablāq*.

[5] (MSA) al-Bāb al-ʿĀlī, vol. 227, p. 183, No. 350 (8 Rağab 1156).

[6] Al-Qism al-ʿAskarīyya, vol. 161, p. 295, No. 379 (20 Muḥarram 1164).

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— who accepted a lease for three contract periods or nine years. The annual rent had risen to 25,500 *niṣf fiḍḍa* to account for the extensions while wages of doorkeepers remained steady at 225 *niṣf* and *ḥulwān* fees also remained fixed at 800 and 400 *niṣf* to *nāẓir* and scribes respectively [1].

The role played by ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Bannāwī or Bunnāwī — a *laqab* he assumed during these years — was significant in the organization of the Sudan trade in Cairo as a whole. Not only was he from an early age co-tenant or tenant of the market building (he died in 1769), thereby coming into continual contact with visiting merchants from the interior, but he became shaikh of brokers and merchants stationed permanently in the *wakāla*. It may be that the two offices were regularly associated in Ottoman Cairo [2], but in ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān's case he seems first to have been tenant and then to have become guild shaikh. He exhibited an innovative spirit in trade and personal affairs — *Maḥkama* texts show he was almost constantly buying, renovating and selling real estate in the city and on his final residence, made into waqf in 1755, he spent 3,000 *maḥbūbs* (330,000 *niṣf*) [3], an enormous sum by current standards [4] — and at one point levied an illegal tax (*maẓlama*) on bluers and sellers of *baṭīna* cloth who came to the *wakāla* to do business with *ǧallāba* when they arrived in the city [5]. His general industriousness could suggest that he actively encouraged localization of trade in Sudan goods at Wakālat al-Ǧallāba. Certainly there were financial rewards for such a course of action, as will become clear in the section below.

In any event, he was recognized by civilian authorities as shaikh of the « guild of brokers dealing in imported [black] slaves (*ṭā'ifat al-dallālīn fīr-raqīq al-ǧalab*) when it was incorporated *ca.* 1733 and was held personally responsible for seeing that brokers paid a duty collected on the sale of slaves in his market [6]. The

(1) « Waṭā'iq al-muktašifa », No. 90 (18 Rabīʿ II 1164).

(2) Market tenant — guild shaikh relationships need further examination.

(3) (MSA) al-Bāb al-ʿĀlī, vol. 249, p. 170, No. 255 (8 Ṣafar 1169/1755). A biographical sketch is found in the author's « Trade between Egypt and *Bilād as-Sūdān* », 276-89.

(4) It equalled the value of houses owned by the richest merchants of Cairo according to Raymond : *Artisans*, II, 409.

(5) (MSA) aṣ-Ṣāliḥīyya an-Naǧmīyya, vol. 516, p. 81, No. 183 (12 Muḥarram 1144/1731). He was obliged to rescind the tax.

(6) *Ibid.*, vol. 516, p. 320, No. 784 (10 Šaʿbān 1145/1733). The document refers to an earlier contract dated 1731 which has been lost or misfiled in *Maḥkama* archives. An

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earliest document concerning the guild stemmed from an imperial *faramān*, carrying with it all the sense of official approval that such decrees embodied, and in addition to rules it laid down affecting the guild's organization, it singled out Wakālat al-Ğallāba and Ḫān Masrūr as specific outlets for Sudan products in the city. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān, tenant of Wakālat al-Ğallāba, was made shaikh of brokers in both khans.

The movement to enlarge the size of the *ğallāba*'s caravansary, possibly as a result of the tenant's personal ingenuity, became linked with the authorities desire to tighten control over urban revenues. As a consequence, Wakālat al-Ğallāba became the central market and storage depot for Sudan goods during most of the eighteenth century up to the middle of the nineteenth. Under European pressure Muḥammad ʿAlī prohibited the sale of slaves there in 1842, but the building continued to be occupied by merchants selling Sudan goods until the 1880's [1]. Today it is very much delapidated but still known by its old name. It is no longer a market but serves as a storage depot for merchants selling henna, paper and other goods.

THE WAKĀLA'S PERSONNEL : OFFICIALS AND OPERATIVES

Documents from *Maḥkama* archives show that *wakā'il*, as specialized markets, contained fairly complex coteries of officials and operatives, the layers of people involved quite obviously depending upon the type of goods handled by the market. At Wakālat al-Ğallāba the number of market officials may have been somewhat larger than average since the trade in slaves, among other « commodities » sold there, was regulated by the government by means of a tax farm and individual transactions required the attendance of legal witnesses [2]. As the tenant was also shaikh of the resident guild, he was clearly the most important personality in the

article discussing this and other guild documents is forthcoming.

[1] Amīn Sāmī, II, 518; see also the author's « Notes on the Organization of the African Trade in Cairo, 1800-1850 », *Annales Islamologiques*, XI (1972), 263-86.

[2] The sale of gold dust (*tibr ḏahab*) and ivory may also have been as complex — involving tax farms and special brokers — but relatively little information about these interesting trades is found in *Maḥkama* texts.

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the market and any discussion of the *wakāla*'s personnel should be begin with him.

TENANT. Names of tenants (titled in our sources *al-Mustā'ğir, al-Ḫānğī,* but also *al-Bawwāb* [1]) for the period 1704-59 have been recovered : they all refer to ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Bannāwī and members of his family (father and brother). Wakālat al-Ğallāba probably continued to be leased during the rest of the eighteenth century and for part of the nineteenth, though precise information is lacking. More research into the means by which Muḥammad ʿAlī implemented his far-ranging reforms in local trade needs to be done, and the possibility that he took over leases to *wakā'il* controlled by state awqāf (such as Waqf al-Ġawrī) should not be dismissed. Yet when the shaikh of Wakālat al-Ğallāba was obliged to rent alternative market space in 1842 in pursuance of the pasha's wishes [2], this could be interpreted as evidence that the *wakāla* continued to be let as it had under the Mamluk regime.

The tenant assumed management of the market and, as shown earlier, paid the wages of doorkeepers. Through them he allocated rooms to visitors, collecting a monthly rent in advance [3]. Resident merchants paid in general 30 *niṣf fiḍḍa* per month for storerooms at the end of the seventeenth century and close to 50 *niṣf* in the eighteenth [4]; private quarters (*aṭbāq*) may have gone for 15 *niṣf* per month [5]. If the tenant was able to rent out all the rooms in the *wakāla* during the whole of the year, he would have collected from 27,020 *niṣf* to 35,820 *niṣf* from rents alone. However, on the basis of a fairly high number of property

[1] For instance, *al-Ḫānğī :* (MSA) aṣ-Ṣāliḥīyya an-Naǧmīyya, vol. 516, p. 272, No. 652 (1145/1732); (Maḥkama series) al-Dašt, vol. 232, p. 24 (1135/1723); *al-Bawwāb :* aṣ-Ṣāliḥīyya an-Naǧmīyya, vol. 511, p. 365, No. 831 (1127/1715); al-Qism al-ʿAskarīyya, vol. 117, p. 6, No. 10 (1132/1720). *Al-Bawwāb* here would seem to be idiomatic as it ordinarily referred to doorkeepers.

[2] (MSA) (Maḥkama series) I'lāmāt, vol. 13, p. 104, No. 259 (1259/1843). The shaikh had paid three months' rent in advance.

[3] Raymond, *Artisans,* I, 257-8; Richard Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah,* 2 vols., (New York, 1964) I, 42. Burton termed it « key money ».

[4] Al-Qism al-ʿAskarīyya, vol. 86, p. 176, No. 213 (1104/1693); *ibid.,* vol. 150, pp. 129-30 (1154/1741); *ibid.,* vol. 273, p. 245, No. 531 (1235/1820).

[5] Raymond, *Artisans,* I, 259.

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deeds affecting ownership of *ḥawāṣil* and *aṭbāq* in Wakālat al-Ğallāba, the tenant was limited in the number of rooms at his disposal (see the following section). On the other hand, if he was unable to cover the annual rent of the *wakāla* (25,500 *niṣf* during the latter part of the eighteenth century), he had further recompense in the form of market taxes. At the end of the century, each *ğallāb* paid 60 *niṣf* (½ *maḥbūb*) to him for the right to use the market [1]. As great caravans from the interior could number from 400 to 500 merchants [2], the tenant may have earned from 24,000 to 30,000 *niṣf* in market taxes, sufficient to cover his costs. In theory, at least, he could have cleared as much as 40,000 *niṣf* yearly from his position, providing all rooms at the *wakāla* were available and full occupancy was maintained throughout the year.

In practice neither condition was met. Not only did private merchants and other individuals own storerooms and chamberrooms in their own right, but large caravans rarely came every year to Egypt. When they did, merchants seldom stayed in Cairo more than six to eight months [3]. There must have been, consequently, lean years in the tenant's business. As shaikh of the guild, part of the loss was made up by special financial privileges attached to that office (see below), but other tactics may have been adopted. Although he had been wealthy enough to spend a fortune on his private residence, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Bannāwī apparently stopped payment on the *wakāla*'s lease several years before his contracts ran out and upon his death owed 900 *riyals* (81,000 *niṣf fiḍḍa*) to Waqf al-Ġawrī. The debt was larger than the total value of his estate [4].

The market's maintenance staff would have been composed of sweepers and swabbers; they were paid by occupants, not the tenant [5]. Little attention seems to have been given to maintenance *per se*. Western travellers commented on the shabbiness of Wakālat al-Ğallāba in the nineteenth century [6], but more reliable

[1] P.S. Girard, « Mémoire sur l'agriculture, l'industrie et le commerce de l'Egypte », *Description de l'Egypte, Etat Moderne*, II, 1 (Paris, 1812) 636. In one inventory it was itemized as *ʿawā'id šayḫ al-ğallāba :* (MSA) al-Qism al-ʿAskarīyya, vol. 179, p. 250, No. 433 (1180/1766).

[2] *Ibid.*, 632.

[3] *Loc. cit.*

[4] (MSA) al-Dašt, vol. 284, pp. 326-7 (26 Muḥarram 1183/1769).

[5] Burton, I, 43.

[6] Olin, I, 61; Hay, « Descriptive Notes » at end of his *Illustrations of Cairo*, 19; James Ewing Cooley, *The American in Egypt*, (New York, 1842), 406-7.

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testimony is given in O.B. Carter's drawing of it in the 1830's and published in Hay's *Illustrations of Cairo*. Second floor rooms are in sad repair, the roofs of many having crumbled as to resemble the battlements of a ruined castle. The arches of groundfloor storerooms appear in fairly good condition, but the total effect nonetheless produces a picture of long-time neglect [1].

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICIALS : MULTAZIM AND STAFF. Slaves imported from Black Africa were taxed by the government upon being sold in Cairo. The tax, called *resm-i pençik* in Turkish, was farmed out annually and in 1798, the privilege to collect it cost the farmer (*multazim*) only 1,623 *niṣf* [2]. At this time the tax was fixed at either one *riyal* (90 *niṣf*) or one *maḥbūb* (120 *niṣf*), depending on the sources [3]. The number of slaves sold each year at Wakālat al-Ğallāba vary in estimate from as low as 1,500 to as high as 4,000 [4], and on these base figures it can be deduced that the *multazim*'s annual earnings ranged from 135,000/180,000 to 360,000/480,000 *niṣf*, excluding the paltry cost of his privilege. The Wakālat al-Ğallāba farm proved a profitable if modest source of income for its farmer.

The names of individual holders have escaped mention in *Maḥkama* documents with the exception of Amīr Ḥasan Ğāwīš, identified in one text as « *multazim* of Wakālat al-Ğallāba at Bāb az-Zuhūma» (Ḫān Masrūr) [5]. He attended the property

(1) Significantly, ʿAlī Mubārak failed to note a second floor in his description of the *wakāla* though he usually did when describing others.

(2) Comte d'Estève, « Mémoire sur les finances de l'Egypte », *Description de l'Egypte, Etat Moderne*, I (Paris, 1809), 362; Stanford S. Shaw, *The Financial and Administrative Organization of Ottoman Egypt*, 1517-1798, (Princeton, 1962), 141, No. 10. On the *pençik* in Turkey : Evliya Čelebi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*, tr. Joseph von Hammer, 2 vols., 3 parts, (London, 1846), I, 1, 176; Robert Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII*e *siècle*, (Paris, 1962), 507.

(3) Louis Frank, « Mémoire sur le commerce des Nègres au Caire », appendix in Vivant Denon, *Voyages dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte*, 2 vols., (London, 1807), II, 243; E. de Cadalvene et J. de Breuvery, *L'Egypte et la Turquie de 1829 à 1836*, 2 vols., (Paris, 1836) II, 235, note.

(4) Frank, 240; other estimates are found in Girard, *op. cit.*, but they include the total number of slaves imported, many of whom would have been sold in Upper Egypt.

(5) Qism al-ʿAskarīyya, vol. 179, p. 250, No. 433 (3 Rabīʿ I 1180); see also Raymond, *Artisans*, II, 646.

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inventory of a wealthy Asyūṭ-born merchant who died in Cairo in 1766 leaving most of his heirs in Dār Fūr, then Egypt's most active trading partner in the interior. A study recently made of the slave trade in sixteenth-century Bursa shows that the corresponding farm regulating the sale of slaves there was divided or sub-contracted [1]. It can be postulated that a similar development occurred in Cairo and that different farmers presided over the two markets designated for the sale of black slaves.

The *multazim* exercised his duties with the aid of a small staff. Estève commented that « his agent collected the tax and delivered the necessary papers recording the sale [of each slave] [2]. This official has been identified in several *Maḥkama* documents as *al-mubāšir al-binǧik ar-raqīq al-ǧalab* or simply, *al-binǧikǧī* [3]. In each case his name indicates he was Muslim, though Dr. Frank stated that during his residence at the end of the eighteenth century a Coptic scribe performed notorial duties [4]. The paper signed by the *binǧikǧī* (*pençikçī*) included the name and sex of each slave, the names of buyer and seller, the amount of the transaction and the date. It was retained by the purchaser as evidence that the slave tax had been paid and had to be produced by him if he wished to sell or free the slave at a later date [5].

Also attached to the *multazim*'s staff was a cashier (*ṣarrāf*) and a scribe (*kātib*). Their duties involved the actual collection of taxes and writing of receipts. Both also bore Muslim names during most of the eighteenth century despite the accepted generalization that Christians and Jews monopolized both professions [6]. At an earlier time the scribe's office depended on the local *qāḍī* who regularly confirmed

(1) Halil Sahillioglu, « The Position of Slaves in the Social and Economic Life of Bursa in the late 15th and early 16th Centuries », paper presented at Conference on the Economic and Demographic History of the Middle East, Princeton University, 1974, 21-2.

(2) Estève, 632.

(3) Aṣ-Ṣāliḥīyya an-Naǧmīyya, vol. 508, p. 80, No. 272 (1106/1695); *ibid.*, vol. 522, p. 264, No. 612 (1172/1759); *ibid.*, vol. 528, p. 182, No. 364 (1187/1773).

(4) Frank, 243.

(5) Mantran, 507; James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon,* (Constantinople, 1890), 454.

(6) *Ṣarrāf :* as-Sayyid aš-Šarīf ʿAbd Allah Naṣr (1148/1735); Badawī Ibrāhīm (1173-87/1759-73); *Kātib :* Šayḫ Aḥmad b. Šayḫ Muḥammad Šams ad-Dīn (1155-6/1743-4); ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Ašmūnaynī (1158-73/1745-59), perhaps Šayḫ Aḥmad's son.

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appointments to it [1], and the custom may have persisted into the eighteenth century.

Administrative officials had a permanent office in Wakālat al-Ğallāba. The room occupied by the *dīwān* had once been used by a *qahwağī* (coffee-maker) and was located on the left-hand side of the corridor just inside the entrance [2].

CUSTOMS OFFICER. Another government official, only rarely mentioned in our sources, was called *muʿarrif al-ğallāba* [3]. His functions are imperfectly known at this time. He would appear to have been connected to the Customs administration and been concerned with ascertaining goods brought by *ğallāba* to the *wakāla* that were subject to import duties. In this way his office may have been related to an old Cairo customhouse position noted in other *Maḥkama* texts as (*waẓīfa*) *taʿrīf wa kitābat ar-raqīq al-ğalab* [4].

JUDICIAL OFFICERS. The sale of slaves also required the attendance of official witnesses who vouched for the legality of particular transactions. They were known as *šuhūd* (sing. *šāhid*) and were often members of the Cairene religious establishment [5]. Associated with them — indeed, probably identical to them — were officials called *ʿudūl* (sing. *ʿadl*). One *ʿadl* identified in *Maḥkama* texts seems to belong to a family of *šuhūd* [6]. No description of either official exists in local sources or Egyptian travel literature, but the role played by *ʿudūl* in similar markets in Morocco

[1] (MSA) al-Bāb al-ʿĀlī, vol. 51, p. 70, No. 390 and p. 79, No. 445 (993/1585).

[2] Aṣ-Ṣāliḥīyya an-Nağmīyya, vol. 524, p. 566, No. 1026 (1175/1761); al-Qism al-ʿAskarīyya, vol. 218, p. 98 (1206/1791); al-Bāb al-ʿĀlī, vol. 367, p. 49, No. 107 (1236/1821).

[3] As-Ṣāliḥīyya an-Nağmīyya, vol. 517, p. 357, Nos. 841 and 842 (1148/1735).

[4] (MSA) (Maḥkama series) at-Taqārīr an-Nuẓẓār, vol. 9, p. 46, No. 341 (1176/1762); the office was taken over by Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1821 : *ibid.*, vol. 31, p. 15, No. 59 (28 Ğumāda I 1236). On other *muʿarrifīn* attached to customhouses, see Shaw, *Financial and Administrative Organization*, 81, and Raymond, *Artisans*, II, 606.

[5] For example, Šayḫ Yūsuf b. Šayḫ Yūsuf as-Sabsīrī (1014/1605); Aḥmad and ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān, sons of Šayḫ Yūsuf al-Ḥanbalī (1175/1761); and members of the al-Ḫaṭīb aš-Širbīnī family (1141-1212/1728-1797).

[6] Šayḫ Abū 'l-Ḥasan b. (former) Šayḫ al-Islām al-Ḫaṭīb aš-Širbīnī (source : footnote 3 above).

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has been well documented [1]. According to these sources, they drew up slave sale papers, a task which in Cairo was seemingly performed by the *multazim*'s staff. In some as yet unspecified area the two employments overlapped.

MARKET OPERATIVES. Trading rested in the hands of merchants and brokers. The former are usually identified as *tuğğār fīr-raqīq al-ğalab*, the latter as *dallālīn fīr-raqīq al-ğalab*. Both were organized along well known guild lines, but the terms « merchant » and « broker » are employed so ambiguously in *Maḥkama* documents that it remains difficult if not impossible to distinguish between the two except on theoretical grounds. The author has argued elsewhere that for general purposes the two guilds were in fact one, merchants usually having licenses to practice brokerage [2].

In this discussion, the broker's role is most pertinent. The authorities held *dallālīn* responsible for paying the *resm-i pençik* (the cost of which was no doubt passed onto clients). By imposing the obligation on them rather than on merchants they were recognizing a market customary law which required that slaves be sold through brokers. For their services they received a one per cent commission [3]. We cannot be concerned here with all the details involved in brokerage or even the organization of the brokers' guild, but in line with our aim to describe how the *wakāla* functioned, certain key guild regulations may be pointed out.

The guild at Wakālat al-Ğallāba had the usual hierarchy : a shaikh served as headman and a *naqīb* acted as deputy. In two documents registered by the guild in the 1730's the total membership numbered 12 brokers, including the shaikh. In 1772, 11 merchants witnessed court registration of a new shaikh of

[1] Roger Le Tourneau, *Fez avant le protectorat*, (Casablanca, 1949), 202; C. René-Leclerc, « Le commerce et l'industrie à Fez », *Bull. Comité de l'Afrique française, Renseignements coloniaux*, No. 8 (August, 1905), 318 Gabriel Veyre, *Dans l'intimité du sultan*; (Paris, 1905), 228. See also the article on *'adl* by E. Tyan in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, I, 209-10.

[2] « Trade between Egypt and *Bilād as-Sūdān* », 121-2; 237-42; it will be further discussed in forthcoming article on the guild.

[3] Raymond, *Artisans*, I, 274. The commission rose to 2 per cent in the nineteenth century.

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the *ṭā'ifat al-tuğğār fīr-raqīq al-ğalab* [1] — thus a membership of 12 seems to have been average for most of the eighteenth century. All guild members pooled their brokerage earnings and divided them equally. Due to his ranking position, the shaikh was given extraordinary allowances. Instead of the common share (*qism*), he was allotted two shares (*qismayn iṯnayn*) or one-sixth of total earnings in place of one-twelth. Second, he was exempt from paying the tax normally imposed on slave sales. The stipulation meant that he could purchase slaves at a lower cost than anyone else or that he could sell them more cheaply than could other brokers. Third, the shaikh was due a « favor » (*maʿrifa*) by fellow guild members. Neither its amount nor means of payment is recorded [2].

Such financial rewards secured a dominant trading position for the shaikh at Wakālat al-Ğallāba. Coupled with the social prestige attached to shaikhship (and tenancy) he became the best known personality in the market. In *Maḥkama* documents he is often simply identified as « Shaikh of Wakālat al-Ğallāba ». The office, however, did not necessarily mean he was the wealthiest person there : other « brokers » and « merchants » left richer estates than did, for instance, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Bannāwī.

Guild documents do not disclose special compensations for the *naqīb* or for market officials, such as the *muḥtasib*, outside formal guild membership. Within ordinary ranks a distinction existed between full brokers (*dallāl kāmil*) and half-brokers (*niṣf rāğil*), the difference being that the latter earned only half what full brokers did. One guild document registers the resignation of one broker and elevation of two half-brokers to the status of full brokers [3], signifying that internal guild structure was not overly rigid. Indeed, *Maḥkama* texts suggest there was considerable mobility of status among operatives at the *wakāla*, brokers becoming merchants or lesser merchants (*mutasabbibūn*) becoming more substantial ones (*tuğğār*). However, the practical significance of *dallāl*, *mutasabbib* and *tāğir*, occupational titles so well defined in Islamic literature, deserves further examination.

[1] Aṣ-Ṣāliḥīyya an-Naǧmīyya, vol. 527, p. 455, No. 962 (Ġurrit Ğumāda I 1186).

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 516, p. 320, No. 784 (1145/1733).

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 517, p. 357, No. 841 (1148/1735).

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Among merchants there are few indications they specialized in the trade of particular Sudan imports. An occasional document refers to a *mutasabbib fīs-sinn/* merchant in ivory [1], but the tendency in general was toward diversification. An analysis of merchant inventories shows that so-called *tuğğār fīr-raqīq* customarily owned stocks of ivory, feathers, gum or tamarind as well as beads, tin bars, copper scrap, *milāyāt, šīlān, fuwāṭ, aṭwāb* and other textiles popular in *bilād as-Sūdān* [2].

QABBĀNĪ AND BAWWĀB. Wakālat al-Ğallāba had a resident weigher (*qabbānī*) [3]. His fees (*ʿawā'id al-qabbān*) are listed in *wakāla* rental contracts as part of the tenant's terms [4]. It was probably understood the tenant would guarantee collection of these *ʿawā'id* for persons who owned rights to them. Goods such as ivory, tamarind and ebony had to be weighed in accordance with a complicated system of weights and measures prevailing in eighteenth-century Cairo, the kantar of each item often composed of varying numbers of ratls. The weighing of ivory entailed special procedures as scraps (*scrivilloes*) could not be weighed with « sound, healthy » pieces which sold at higher prices. In the nineteenth century discounts were offered on the former and ivory buyers were known to give « favors » to weighers in order to have large purchases measured according to the discount value [5].

Doorkeepers (*bawwābūn*) received a share of weighers' fees in addition to the small annual salary given them by the tenant [6]. They probably also collected additional sums from *ğallāba* seeking quarters in the *wakāla* as well as from property owners anxious to lease their private holdings. Some *bawwābūn* earned

(1) Al-Qism al-ʿAskarīyya, vol. 145, p. 65 (1150/1737). Inventories of a few other merchants include large quantities of ivory or other goods.

(2) For an analysis of merchant stocks, see « Trade between Egypt and *Bilād as-Sūdān* », 166-82.

(3) Al-Qism al-ʿAskarīyya, vol. 205, p. 317, No. 516 (1195/1781).

(4) Contract terms included storerooms, chamberrooms and other dependencies and « ... *wa ma yatbaʿ ḏālik min ʿawā'id qabbān al-tamrahindī wa 'l-abnūs wa 'r-raqīq al-ğalab wa ġayr ḏālik* ». As taxes on slaves were collected by the *pençikçi*, so weigher's fees must not have been the tenant's prerogative either.

(5) « Trade between Egypt and *Bilād as-Sūdān* », 47-8, 77-8, based on British and French consular records and reports.

(6) Raymond, *Artisans*, I, 258, footnote (2).

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enough from various sources to engage in commercial transactions and partnerships with resident merchants [1]. Curiously, though Nubians were well known in this occupation, none of the *bawwābūn* carried the relevant *nisba* of *al-Barbarī* [2].

PROPERTY OWNERS

Wakālat al-Ğallāba was part of waqf domain, but private individuals could purchase storerooms and other dependencies. Their rights resembled long-term leases, a period of 99 years being understood, yet considering the frequency with which titles were registered they must have been synonymous in practice with privileges of out-right ownership. Other persons were able to acquire perpetual right to certain quarters and to incorporate them in their charitable or family awqāf. Although this appears contrary to generally held ideas about waqf, the transfer of property from one waqf to another was not unusual.

It is impossible in the present state of the *Maḥkama* archives to recover all the numerous transactions involving property titles at Wakālat al-Ğallāba [3], but in the absence of a comprehensive compilation there is evidence suggesting that almost half the storerooms and other quarters in the building fell into private hands. This picture emerges from an examination of a register of charitable waqf revenues compiled by the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* in 1251/1835-6. The information post-dates the period of our study, but it may nonetheless be indicative of the eighteenth-century situation. Under a general heading of *iḥkār* (groundrent) from *ḥawāṣil* and *aṭbāq* in Wakālat al-Ğallāba, listed among properties governed by Waqf al-Ġawrī, 11 storerooms, a stable (?), four chamberrooms and five

[1] Various debts and loans of « al-Ḥāğğ Aḥmad al-Bawwāb » are recorded in the inventory of al-Ḥāğğ Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣaʿīdī b. ʿAbd al-Barr ad-Durunkī, a merchant at the *wakāla :* (MSA) al-Dašt, vol. 271, pp. 485-6 (1173/1759).

[2] Several, however, are nicknamed « aṣ-Ṣaʿīdī » (Upper Egyptian) : aṣ-Ṣāliḥīyya an-Nağmīyya, vol. 511, p. 123, No. 265 (1126/1714); al-Qism al-ʿAskarīyya, vol. 190, p. 177, No. 138 (1187/1773).

[3] Due to lack of court series indices, periodic gaps in those series, loss of documents in the past by misfiling or fire, and the fact that individual titles could be registered in any one of the 15 courts of Cairo regardless of location of the property involved.

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shops are enumerated [1]. To this number may be added rent (*uğra*) and *iḥkār* from seven other storerooms and four residences (*manzil :* renovated dependencies) in the *wakāla* which were or are known to have been held in private awqāf [2]. In other words, as many as 18 storerooms out of a possible total of 45 were privately owned. At this time Waqf al-Ġawrī collected an average annual groundrent of 135 *niṣf* on storerooms, a rate which was unchanged since the eighteenth century.

Property owners may roughly be grouped into two broad categories : those engaged in trade in the market and those who had no visible connection to it. Among the latter group were a few individuals belonging to the city's social and political elite. Āmina Ḫātūn bint ʿAbd Allah al-Bayḍa, a freed slave of ʿAlī bey al-Kabīr, owned a *ḥāṣil* during 1206-36/1781-1821; her more important real estate holdings were in Wakālat aṣ-Ṣābūn, of which she owned half. Two amirs, ʿAlī ʿAbd Allah, *mamlūq* of Aḥmad Kaṯḫuda Mustaḥfiẓān Ṣāliḥ, and Aḥmad ʿAbd Allah, *mamlūq* of Amir ʿAbd Allah bey, owned another *ḥāṣil* « at the head of the alley, next to the doorway » in 1782; it was sold to them in partial settlement of a debt owed by a merchant in the *wakāla*. Other grandees mentioned in the sources include ʿUṯmān Kaṯḫuda Mustaḥfiẓān Zaduġlī, Amīr Sulaymān ʿAbd Allah Mustaḥfiẓān, ʿAlī *efendī* Mustaḥfiẓān b. Muḥammad al-Burṣalī and Amīr Muḥammad Ğarkis of the Mutafarriqa [3]. Except for Amīr Muḥammad who owned three *ḥawāṣil,* none of these individuals owned more than a single property.

The more important group of property owners were merchants attached to the *wakāla*. They tended to belong to that class of well-to-do merchants who left estates valued at 50,000 (constant) *niṣf fiḍḍa* or more [4]. Despite their financial resources, it is perhaps surprizing to find that during the eighteenth century

[1] (Daftarḫāna, Ministry of Awqāf), *Muḥāsibāt al-awqāf al-ḥayrīyya,* 2 vols., I, 213, 218.

[2] Waqf Amīr Muḥammad Ğarkis : (MSA) al-Bāb al-ʿĀlī, vol. 118, p. 316, No. 1322 (22 Ḏū 'l-Ḥiğğa 1046/1637), entry on p. 322; Waqf ʿĪd Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq at-Taytilāwī : *ibid.*, vol. 221, p. 122, No. 164 (Ġurrit Ḏū 'l-Qaʿḍa 1152/1740); Waqf ʿUṯmān Kaṯḫuda Mustaḥfiẓān Zaduğlī : *Muḥāsibāt,* II, 44.

[3] (MSA) al-Qism al-ʿAskarīyya, vol. 218, pp. 98-100 (1206/1781); al-Dašt, vol. 304, p. 21 (1196/1782); *Muḥāsibāt, loc. cit.;* aṣ-Ṣāliḥīyya an-Naǧmīyya, vol. 524, p. 566, No. 1026 (1175/1761).

[4] See « Trade between Egypt and *Bilād as-Sūdān* », 132-46; Raymond considers this figure the lower limit of what he terms the *bourgeoisie commerçante : Artisans,* II, 399.

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very few owned more than a single *ḥāṣil*. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Bannāwī owned two during his long life and ʿĪd Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq at-Taytilāwī (d. 1752) incorporated three into his waqf. Of the 11 merchants witnessing the election of a new shaikh in 1772, property titles to only four have been found. The rest either rented storerooms themselves or sought alternative space in nearby Wakālat as-Safaṭ or Ḫān Masrūr [1]. A general scarcity in leasable property at Wakālat al-Ǧallāba would seem to have been the case.

The price of *ḥawāṣil* varied and depended upon their location, size and other attributes. During the period between 1760 and 1785, for example, prices ranged from 35 to 90 *riyals* (3,000-8,100 *niṣf*). Price differences are partially explained by the depreciation of local currency during this period, but in some cases, more personal reasons can be detected. Baḫīt ʿAbd Allah, freed slave of Muṣṭafā Luṭfī, *naqīb* and later shaikh of the guild, had to pay 50 *maḥbūb* (5,500 *niṣf*) for a *ḥāṣil* in 1761 although another storeroom was sold in the same year for 3,000 *niṣf* [2]. The difference no doubt stemmed from the fact that Baḫīt purchased his from two amirs while the other was sold by ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Bannāwī to one of his colleagues. However, another storeroom of the shaikh, known descriptively as *al-ḥāṣil al-kabīr*, was valued in his inventory at 100 *riyals* in 1769, yet was sold a year later by his heirs to a one-time associate for 40 *riyals* [3]. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān was obviously unable to protect his interests. By and large *ḥawāṣil* were sold as whole units during the eighteenth century. The tendency to divide them into portions as small as one-sixth and one-twelth increased markedly in the nineteenth.

Ǧallāba, temporary residents, were rare property holders. An exception was ʿAlī Ḏānūn from the region of Maḥās, north of Dongola. His heirs forfeited a storeroom in 1773 which ʿAlī had bought four years earlier. Al-Ḥāǧǧ Haykal ʿUrābī, one of the *wakāla*'s most prosperous merchants, accepted it in exchange for an old debt [4]. The general pattern, however, allows us to distinguish between

[1] Sources show at least seven Wakālat al-Ǧallāba merchants owned or rented quarters at Wakālat as-Safaṭ; Ḫān Masrūr tended to be monopolized by *tuǧǧār fī'r-raqīq* from Asyūṭ; ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān had property in both.

[2] Aṣ-Ṣāliḥīyya an-Naǧmīyya, vol. 524, p. 566, No. 1026 (1175); (Maḥkama) Ǧāmiʿ al-Ḥākim, vol. 577, p. 121, No. 445 (1175).

[3] Al-Dašt, vol. 284, pp. 326-7 (1183/1769); aṣ-Ṣāliḥīyya an-Naǧmīyya, vol. 719, p. 420, No. 1007 (1184/1770).

[4] Al-Qism al-ʿAskarīyya, vol. 190, p. 117, No. 138 (1187/1773).

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ğallāba as individuals and the group of resident merchants, who normally purchased properties in the market.

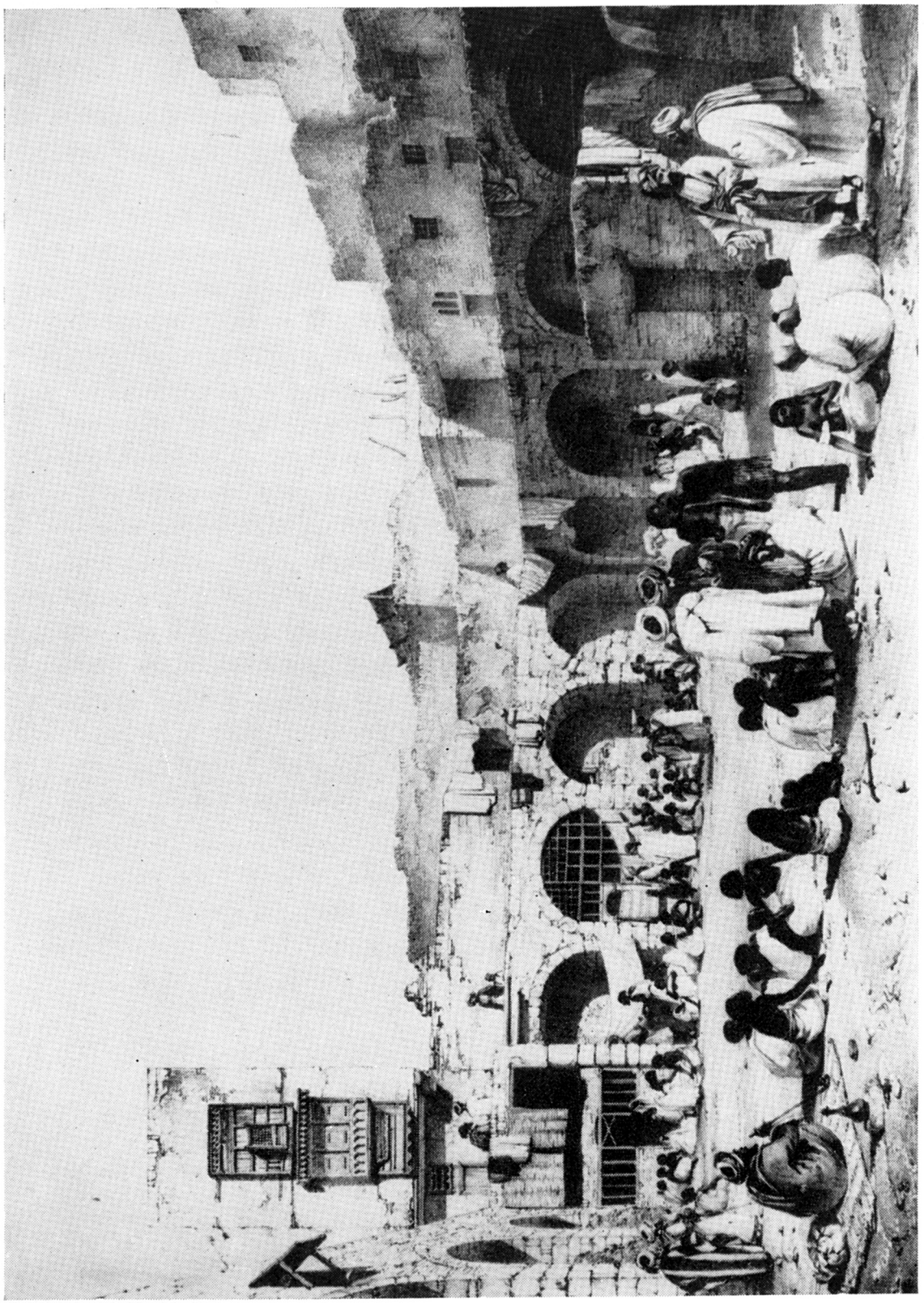
CONCLUSION

Wakālat al-Ğallāba was not a typical Cairene market. In physical appearance it bore the unlovely marks of a make-shift assemblage, lacking the architectural unity of a Wakālat al-Ġawrī or a Wakālat Qaitbey. In commercial terms, it not only served as an emporium for imported goods but also dealt in such special commodities as to complicate the ordinary market hierarchy. The result was that unusual layers of government and judicial bureaucrats were brought within its walls.

On the other hand, a study of this *wakāla* reveals a picture of commercial Cairo in microcosm. It played its part in the system of specialized urban markets; its operatives participated in the widespread network of guilds; its resident merchants, whom we have not had space to portray, came from similar cultural backgrounds. These organizational and social structures helped to bring order to a market which, when host to great Sudanic caravans and foreign merchants, would otherwise have been chaotic. Trade served local interests : exploitation permeated market operations on several levels. Profits, where made, flowed in descending order to tax farmer, tenant, guild shaikh and full broker. Weighers and doorkeepers also received a cut in the marketing of Sudan goods in Cairo.

As records of the *šarʿīyya* courts and Ministry of Awqāf are more fully researched, our knowledge of everyday life in Ottoman Egypt becomes more complete. Problems of commercial terminology and linguistic usage, tenant-guild shaikh relationships, patterns of property ownership, waqf procedures and profits, identification and functions of heretofore unknown market officials — such as have been encountered in this microcosmic study — can then be set in contemporary perspective.

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Wakālat al-Ğallāba, from Robert Hays, *Illustrations of Cairo*, plate XXV.

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