THE REGISTER OF THE SLAVES OF SULTAN MAWLAY ISMA'IL OF MOROCCO AT THE TURN OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

CHOUKI EL HAMEL

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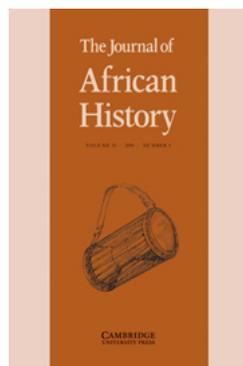CHOUKI EL HAMEL (2010). THE REGISTER OF THE SLAVES OF SULTAN MAWLAY ISMA'IL OF MOROCCO AT THE TURN OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. The Journal of African History, 51, pp 89-98 doi:10.1017/S0021853710000186

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THE REGISTER OF THE SLAVES OF SULTAN MAWLAY ISMA'IL OF MOROCCO AT THE TURN OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY CHOUKI EL HAMEL
Arizona State University

ABSTRACT: In late-seventeenth-century Morocco, Mawlay Isma'il commanded his officials to enslave all blacks: that is, to buy coercively or freely those already slaves and to enslave those who were free, including the Haratin (meaning free blacks or freed ex-slaves). This command violated the most salient Islamic legal code regarding the institution of slavery, which states that it is illegal to enslave fellow Muslims. This controversy caused a heated debate and overt hostility between the '*ulama*' (Muslim scholars) and Mawlay Isma'il. Official slave registers were created to justify the legality of the enforced buying of slaves from their owners and the enslavement of the Haratin. An equation of blackness and slavery was being developed to justify the subjection of the free Muslim black Moroccans. To prove the slave status of the black Moroccans, the officials in charge of the slavery project established a fictional hierarchy of categories of slaves. This project therefore constructed a slave status for all black people, even those who were free.

KEY WORDS: Morocco, Islam, slavery, race

> *How dare you enslave people whereas they were born free?*[1]

INTRODUCTION

THIS article is part of my research on the history of 'black Africans' who were enslaved through forced conscription by the Sultan Mawlay Isma'il in late-seventeenth-century Morocco, research based in part on a rich manuscript that I discovered in the Moroccan archives entitled 'Daftar Mamalik as-Sultan Mawlay Isma'il',[2] which translates as 'The Register of the Slaves of Sultan Mawlay Isma'il'. This legal document from the Bibliothèque Générale in Rabat represents a census of a number of slaves, generally of sub-Saharan African origin, in Morocco at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Indeed, this source is significant and original because it reveals the system and the process through which the Muslim black Moroccans and those who had a sub-Saharan origin were enslaved or re-enslaved. The enslavement of these Moroccans or their forced conscription for life in the service of the Sultan Mawlay Isma'il at the beginning of the eighteenth century was essentially illegal in Islamic law. I argue that the official text of the 'Daftar' provides a new understanding of the nature of slavery as derived from a specific context and undermines the general concept of the practice of

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[1] 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab (second caliph of Islamic Arabia) in 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Ibrahim al-'Umari, *Al-Wilaya 'ala al-Buldan fi 'Asr al-Khulafa' ar-Ras hidin* (Riyadh, 1988), I, 81.

[2] Rabat, Morocco, Bibliothèque Générale, MS K394.

Islamic slavery in Morocco that is typically abstracted from Islamic legal texts.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In the middle of the seventeenth century, Morocco's central government was in turmoil. The Sa'di dynasty was in decline and could not resolve the political disorder and anarchy that infested the country. Powerful individuals, often at the head of Sufi orders or tribal groups, took control of their own regions and often tried to challenge the authority and legitimacy of the Sa'di dynasty. In addition, western European countries, such as Spain, took advantage of Moroccan internal politics and occupied more towns along Morocco's coast, such as Larache, in addition to Ceuta and Melilla. In 1668 a new political alliance built by the 'Alawis displaced the Sa'dis and became the new ruling dynasty. After the death of its founder, Mawlay as-Rashid, in 1672, his brother Mawlay Isma'il took command of the 'Alawi regime. In order to consolidate his power and unite the country, Mawlay Isma'il forcibly conscripted or enslaved blacks and the Haratin[3] throughout the country in order to create a 'slave army' and ensure his own survival.

According to the following story, it appears that Mawlay Isma'il (reigned 1672–1727) was inspired to establish a black army when he went to Marrakech around 1673 to confront the revolt of his nephew Ibn Mahraz:[4]

The government official Abu Hafs 'Umar b. Qasim al-Murrakushi, known as 'Alilish, presented [Mawlay Isma'il] with a register that contains the names of black slaves who served in the army of the Sultan al-Mansur as-Sa'di [r. 1578–1603]. The Sultan asked him if there has been anybody left among them, he answered him that they were numerous and with their children scattered in Marrakech, in its vicinity and among the Dir tribes. Then he added: 'If my lord ordered me to bring them to him I would do it.'[5]

Consequently, Mawlay Isma'il commanded his officials to enslave all blacks, not only to buy (coercively or freely) those already in slave condition but also to enslave those who were free, including the Haratin.

Complying with the Sultan's order, 'Alilish succeeded in collecting all black people in his area of Marrakech, whether slave, free black, or Hartani. He gathered 3,000 blacks in just one year; they included both the married and the single. 'Alilish wrote down their names in a register and sent it to the Sultan who was pleased with the success of the mission. The Sultan then asked 'Alilish to buy female slaves for the singles, to provide them with clothing, and to pay off their owners from the Marrakech city revenue, before sending them to him in Meknes. 'Alilish carried out this task as he was commanded, buying female slaves and collecting Hartani women, and the process became the pattern for collecting blacks in the rest of the country. All

[3] The plural of Hartani, a problematic term that encompasses different meanings or categories such as free blacks and freed ex-slaves; their common trait, however, was freedom.
[4] 'Abd al-Karim b. Musa ar-Rifi (d. 1780s), *az-Zahr al-Akamm*, ed. Asia Ben'dada (Rabat, 1992), 153.
[5] Ahmad an-Nasiri, *al-Istiqsa' li-Akhbar Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqsa* (Casablanca, 1997), VII, 56.

tribes and individuals had to cooperate with the Sultan's officials in this project in order to remain on good terms with him. Blacks who were in someone's possession were bought at the price of 10 *mithqals* per person,[6] male or female, and free blacks or Haratin were collected with no payment to anybody. All were finally taken to a camp called Mashra' ar-Ramla (Sand Dam), west of Meknes. In this special enclave the Sultan's soldiers were trained.[7] Among the names given to the black army were 'Abid ad-Diwan ('slaves of the royal court'), Jaysh al-Wisfan or Jaysh al-'Abid (again 'slaves of the royal court', or 'the slave army'), and Wisfan or 'Abid as-Sultan ('the Sultan's slaves'), but the most famous and the most commonly used name was 'Abid al-Bukhari. The origin of this name is explained in the following account:

When the Sultan gathered all the blacks and succeeded in his mission in achieving complete loyalty and abandoned his reliance on the tribes ... [h]e gave them a copy of the Imam al-Bukhari's book and said 'You are now slaves of the Prophet; you follow what he said and avoid what he forbade.' He gave each one of the leaders a copy of the book to keep. This is how they have become known as 'Abid al-Bukhari.[8]

Skin color and the history of black slavery in Morocco were causes for enslavement, regardless of black people's long integration into Moroccan society as full-fledged Muslims. This was a sharp violation of the most salient Islamic legal code regarding the institution of slavery, which states that it is illegal to enslave anybody who is adherent to the religion of Islam. This controversy caused a heated debate and overt hostility between some of the Muslim scholars ('*ulama*') and Mawlay Isma'il. Official slave registers were created by state officials and the '*ulama*' in the service of the Sultan in order to justify the legality of the enforced buying of slaves from their owners and the enslavement of the Haratin. To every register of slaves was annexed a long list of names and signatures of Muslim judges and notaries, and sometimes witnesses.

Traditionally, the Moroccan rulers relied on mercenaries, tribal groups, and Zawaya (Sufi orders) to provide them with men to serve as soldiers in return for favors such as exemption from taxation and rights to land. However, this system was rarely a reliable way of keeping the soldiers active and loyal. In a letter that Mawlay Isma'il wrote about the necessity to create a professional army, he said:

The soldier doesn't forget where he came from. He cannot wait to go back to his flock or land and if the opportunity is offered he would leave the army and join his tribe again after he has been paid for his unfinished job.[9]

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[6] *Mithqal* is a standard of weight equal to about 4.72 g, usually used for gold. See J. F. P. Hopkins and Nehemia Levtzion (eds.), *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History* (Cambridge, 1981), 481.

[7] Information in this paragraph comes from Rabat, Bibliothèque Générale, MS D 1577, Ahmad az-Zayani, 'at-Turjuman al-Mu'rib 'an Duwwal al-Mashriq wa 'l-Maghrib', 32.

[8] Rabat, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 12184, Ahmad Ibn al-Hajj, 'Ad-Durr al-Muntakhab al-Mustahsan fi Ba'd Ma'athir Amir al-Mu'minin Mawlana al-Hasan', VI, 116.

[9] Muhammad al-Fasi, 'A special issue on the Sultan Mawlay Isma'il', *Hespéris Tamuda* (Rabat, 1962), 49.

Some '*ulama*' in the city of Fez were not easily convinced by the arguments put forth by the Sultan concerning the enslavement of the free black people, so they expressed their disagreement with the Sultan overtly. In response, Mawlay Isma'il ordered these scholars to have an audience with him.[10] According to the Moroccan chronicler Muhammad al-Karkudi, the intense debate between the Sultan and the '*ulama*' infuriated the Sultan. When the Shaykh Jassus asked permission to speak according to the Islamic law, the Sultan granted his request, but the content of Jassus's speech made the Sultan even more infuriated and he left in haste. Afterwards, he gave an order to imprison Jassus. Muhammad al-Karkudi's account continued: 'Jassus experienced great affliction and the cause of it was the devil's work of 'Alilish who gathered the Haratin and forcefully brought these free people unjustly into servitude.'[11]

Mawlay Isma'il dismissed the outcry of the scholars and continued to insist on the crucial need for a strong army to unite and defend the country. He thought that the gap could only be filled by slaves, and argued that the slave origin of the Haratin justified their current servile status. He insisted on the legality of the compulsory buying of slaves from their owners and the enslavement of the Haratin. He claimed that to every register of slaves was appended a long list of names and signatures of scholars, notaries, and witnesses. The Sultan communicated to the scholars of Fez that he was deeply displeased and intimidated them in order to coerce them to endorse his project. 'Abd as-Salam Jassus was probably the most outspoken scholar in defense of the free black Muslims who refused to concede to the Sultan's threats. He issued a *fatwa* denouncing the Sultan's scheme, because he saw in the operation of collecting the Haratin a great violation of Islamic law.[12] He also questioned the authority's methods and documents. Jassus explained that the Haratin were born free and argued further that, even if the Haratin conceded to the Sultan's request of their own free will and acknowledged their slave status, their enslavement would be still illegal because they were known as free Muslims for many generations; hence their free status was unquestionable. Jassus was appalled to witness such a scandalous injustice against the Haratin in his own city, the capital of Islamic learning in Morocco, and was filled with consternation to be coerced, along with his colleagues, to conform to the Sultan's demands. He exclaimed:

As for those who are today marked out for enslavement and who are our immediate concern, we grew up together in the same town (Fas). We know them well. We know their free status and nothing pertaining to their condition is hidden from us. But now we have been coerced to retract our firm beliefs and what we are certain of. On the whole the evils that are associated with this issue are indeed innumerable.[13]

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[10] Rabat, Bibliothèque Générale, MS D 1584, Muhammad al-Karkudi, 'ad-Durr al-Munaddad al-Fakhir bima li-abna' Mawlay 'Ali ash-Sharif mina 'l-Mahasin wa 'l-Mafakhir', fo. 173b.   [11] *Ibid.* fo. 174a.

[12] The English translation of this *fatwa* is in Aziz Abdalla Batran, 'The *ulama* of Fas, M. Isma'il, and the issue of the Haratin of Fas', in J. R. Willis (ed.), *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa* (London, 1985), II, 9–13.   [13] *Ibid.* 13.

The Haratin, conscious of their freedom, refused to submit to the order of the Sultan and this refusal was manifested in their protest in Fez in the year AH 1110 (1699 CE).[14] However neither the '*ulama*''s indignation nor the Haratin's protest could halt the Sultan's project.

Mawlay Isma'il avoided entering into an open debate about the religion of the black people, whether they were Muslims or not at the time of their re-enslavement. His emphasis on their past slave and heathen condition was his pretext for the re-enslavement of the free and the freed blacks to whom he attributed a slave origin. If some blacks were free, Mawlay Isma'il explained, it was because their owners were obliged to abandon them during disastrous times such as drought and famine, and later on they created their own families.[15]

The 'Daftar Mamalik as-Sultan Mawlay Isma'il' was written as part of the realization of the Sultan's decision and policy regarding the gathering of all blacks to serve in his personal army. An equation of blackness and slavery was developed to justify the subjection of the free Muslim black Moroccans, in order to persuade the populace and their influential Muslim leaders of the legality of this mission.[16] These registers of slaves were carefully written to document the validity of the Sultan's operation in acquiring all blacks to be used in his army. A document entitled 'Jany al-Azhar wa Nur al-Abhar' ('The Gathering of Flowers and the Dazzling Light'), written in AH 1117 (1705 CE) by order of Mawlay Isma'il, reports that a total of 221,320 slaves were gathered in all Morocco.[17] This total includes both sexes and all ages. According to Abu al-Qasim az-Zayani (1734–1833):

The military register of the black army recorded a total of 150,000 men, of which 70,000 were at Machra' ar-Ramla, 25,000 at Wajh 'Arus in Meknes and the rest were spread out in the fortresses which the Sultan, as it is known to everyone, has built in Morocco from Oujda to Oued Noun.[18]

The French Consul in Morocco, Louis de Chenier (1722–95), estimated that, at the death of Mawlay Isma'il, about 100,000 blacks had served him as soldiers.[19] In comparison, these primary sources indicate that more than half

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[14] Ibn al-Hajj, 'ad-Dur al-Muntakhab al-Mustahsan', VI, 339 and 396. For more information about the Haratin of Fez see Batran, 'The *ulama* of Fas', 1–15.

[15] Rabat, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 12598, 'Kitab Mawlana Nasarahu Allah ila 'Ulama' Misr', 60–3.

[16] For more information on Mawlay Isma'il's project, see Chouki el Hamel, 'Blacks and slavery in Morocco: the question of the Haratin at the end of the seventeenth century', in Michael Gomez (ed.), *Diasporic Africa: A Reader* (New York, 2006), 177–99.

[17] Rabat, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 11860, by an unknown author, 8 and 18–19.

[18] Abu al-Qasim Ahmad az-Zayani, *Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812, extrait de l'ouvrage intitulé Ettordjemân elmo'arib 'an douel elmachriq ou 'lmaghribib*, published and translated by Octave Houdas (Paris, 1886), 31 (French translation; 16 in the Arabic text). Oujda is a city in north-eastern Morocco, near the Algerian border; Oued Noun is in the far south of the country, near the Atlantic.

[19] Louis de Chenier, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures, et histoire de l'empire de Maroc* (Paris, 1787), III, 226. This work is also available in English translation: *The Present State of the Empire of Morocco* (New York, 1967), I, 297.

the enslaved people were able males who served the Sultan as soldiers in his large army.

My research is based on a manuscript copy of the 'Daftar' that is preserved at the Bibliothèque Générale in Rabat, MS K394. It consists of 55 folios, each inscribed on both sides.[20] The writing is simple and clear Moroccan throughout the entire manuscript. The paper has yellowed with time and the folios have separated from their binding. The manuscript is generally in a good condition except for a section of five pages whose edges have been damaged by termites. Three colors have been used: the text is black; the titles of biographical chapters are a bold red; and the name of the Sultan Mawlay Isma'il and the formula *hamdala* ('praise be to God') at the beginning of the manuscript are written in gold.

The scribe (or scribes, as the case may be) has written in a clear hand. One is tempted to say that several scribes worked on this project because the script varies in size and style. There are several sections in which the script is reduced in size, yet there are also sections written in a larger script. The date of the writing of this document is mentioned throughout the text and it is AH 1122 (1710 CE). There is no colophon. The text was written under the leadership of the leading Muslim judge (*Qadi al-jama'a*) in the city of Qasr al-Kabir, whose name is given as Muhammad followed by an illegible signature on the manuscript.

The text of the 'Daftar' is divided into sections under the rubric of the former owners. Within each of these sections is a list of slaves according to the slaves' tribal affiliations – such as 'Awlad al-Hajjam'. Slaves are listed in the form of a short biographical record containing their name, slave label or category, and a description of their physical characteristics (tall, fat, thick-bearded, dark-skinned, etc.), as well as the names, labels or categories, and descriptions of their spouses, children, and grandchildren, if they had any. Identifying the individuals is furthered by the inclusion of their genealogies. These genealogies appear to go back several generations and indicate the type of slave from whom the contemporary individual is descended. In certain cases, when ancestors of the male slave are unknown, the genealogy is according to the mother's line. These short biographical records represent both sexes (about half are women) of all ages; there are mostly families and often extended families, which include grandparents, parents, siblings, spouses, children, and grandchildren (ranging from adults to teenagers to infants). The register represents a census of something less than a thousand black 'slaves' in Morocco at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

At the end of each section there are signatures of witnesses followed by signatures of notaries (*'udul*) attesting to the veracity of the information contained therein, followed by a transaction deed attesting to the purchase of the slaves by the representative of the Sultan, whose name is

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[20] The paper is 48×33 cm. The number of lines per page is generally 38, although it varies between 36 and 40.

Ahmad b. Haddu. The text includes the price of each slave at 10 silver *ouqiya* and finally signatures of judges confirming the transaction.

The following is a translation of a sample of biographies given in the first section on the slaves of the tribe Awlad al-Hajjam in the property of Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Marini in Qsar al-Kabir region:

Al-Wasif (the slave) Muhammad b. *al-wasif* Musa b. *al-wasif* ʻIsa b. *al-wasif* ʻAli al-Hajjam (the barber). His description: light brown or copper-coloured (*safari*), medium height (*marbu ʻal-qadd*), and thick gray-bearded.

His mother is *al-wasifa* Amina bint *al-wasif* al-Hasan al-Hajjam; she died in slavery (*matat fi ar-riqq*) in the property of the owner aforementioned in the tribe aforementioned.

His grandmother is *al-ama* (the slave woman) Masʻuda bint *al-wasif* Mubarak al-Hajjam. The mother of his grandmother is *al-wasifa* Fatima bint *al-wasif* Ahmad al-Hajjam; she died in slavery (*matat fi ar-riqq*) in the property of the owner aforementioned.

His wife is *al-wasifa* Maryam bint *al-wasif* ʻIsa al-Hajjam. Her description: light brown, tall, and fat, and she has a tattoo (*siyyala*) on her chin.

Her mother is *al-wasifa* Fatima bint *al-wasif* ʻUmar al-Haddad (the smith).

Her grandmother is *al-ama* (the slave) Tata bint *al-wasif* Qasim Bujattu.

The mother of this grandmother is *al-wasifa* Khadija bint *al-wasif* Husayn. All of them died in slavery (*fi ar-riqq*) in the property of the owner aforementioned.

She gave birth in slavery (*fi ar-riqq*) to:

Al-ʻabd (the slave) ʻAli. His description: light brown, tall, and light-bearded.

Who is married in slavery (*mutanakih fi ar-riqq*) to *al-ama* Fatima bint *al-wasif* Ahmad al-Jamal. Her description: light brown and thin-limbed.

Her mother is *al-wasifa* Halima bint *al-wasif* al-Husayn al-Jamal. She died in slavery (*fi ar-riqq*) in different property rather than the one aforementioned.

Her grandmother is *al-wasifa* Masʻuda bint *al-wasif* al-Husayn al-Hajjam.

The mother of her grandmother is *al-wasifa* zaynab bint *al-wasif* ʻIsa al-Hajjam. All of them died in slavery (*fi ar-riqq*) in the property of the owner aforementioned.

[And she also gave birth to] the brother of ʻAli aforementioned, *al-wasif* al-Hasan. His description: light brown, medium height, and flattened [nose] (*aftass*).

Who is married to *al-ama* (the slave) Rahma bint *al-wasif* al-Hasan b. Dādda al-Khumsi. Her description: light brown, short, and fat. She is in the property of his highness.

She gave birth in slavery (*fi ar-riqq*) to *al-wasifa* Amina who is still nursing. [End of the first biography][21]

The following are examples of just the names at the beginnings of biographies from different sections, in order to give an idea of the different categories (written in italics) used to designate the status of slavery:

1. *Al-Wasif* Qasim b. *al-wasif* Umar b. *al-mamluk* Musa b. *al-ʻabd* ʻIsa Harraq al-Hafidh. His description: red-skinned (*ahmar al-lawn*), little gray-haired, and tall and beardless.[22]

2. *Al-Wasif* Yusuf b. *al-wasif* Musa b. *al-qinn* ʻUmar b. *al-mamluk* al-Hasan al-Harraq al-Hafidh. His description: dark brown (*kabdi*), light-bearded, and medium height.[23]

3. *Al-Wasif* ʻIyyadh b. *al-qinn* ʻAli b. *ar-raqiq* Qasim b. *al-wasif* ʻAli al-Hajjam. His description: tall, gray-haired, and big.[24]

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[21] ʻDaftar', 2.   [22] *Ibid*. 3.   [23] *Ibid*.   [24] *Ibid*. 19.

The different degrees of dark color used in the 'Daftar' to describe enslaved people – ranging from light brown to red, dark brown, and black – could have been the product of cohabitation, and it is mentioned in the 'Daftar' that they were in the condition of slavery and bought to be conscripted for life in the army of the Sultan.

We notice from these typical samples that the text uses different terms to designate the status of slaves. Those terms that I have catalogued and explained below were not dropped into the text as mere synonyms for the sake of style or to avoid repetition, but seem to have different connotations and special meanings.[25] In this legal text the Muslim jurists, judges, and notaries in charge of the project seem to have created a system to assess the status of black people and to prove that they were slaves and/or children and/or grandchildren of slaves. Their purpose was to legitimize the enslavement of all blacks as ordered by the Sultan Mawlay Isma'il himself. They therefore came up with a system of slave labels.

The meanings of the main slaves' categories and names in the text are:

Wasif **(pl. *wisfan*)**: generally means a slave or a servant. According to the Dutch Arabist Reinhart Dozy (1820–83), in nineteenth-century North Africa *wasif* meant a black slave, while *wasifa* generally meant a female slave.[26] In *Taj al-'Arus*, *wasif* means male servant and *wasifa* means female servant.[27] They seem to have similar meanings in the 'Daftar', for example in this biography: '*Al-Wasif* Muhammad b. *al-wasif* Musa b. *al-wasif* 'Isa b. *al-wasif* 'Ali al-Hajjam'. *Wasif* is almost always the term of choice for the first generation and is often used in infant and youth descriptions, as in the following example: *Al-Ama* (the slave) Rahma gave birth in slavery (*fi ar-riqq*) to *al-wasifa* Amina who is still nursing. In this context, *wasif* has been used as a neutral generic term that is open to multiple interpretations regarding the legal status of the person in question.

'Abd **(pl. *'abid*)**: generic term for a male slave. In *Taj al-'Arus*, the word *mamluk* is added as an adjective to *'abd* to mean a chattel.[28]

Ama **(pl. *ima'*)**: generic term for a female slave. According to the mid-nineteenth-century Arabist E. W. Lane (1801–76), ''*abd* is now generally applied to a male black slave; and *mamluk*, to a male white slave'.[29] This was probably true in Egyptian context but in Morocco until Mawlay Isma'il's reign both terms were used to designate servitude without any reference to race. *'Abd* and *ama* are often used in the 'Daftar' to mean a slave of a mature age born to slave parents, as in the following example: 'She [*al-wasifa* Maryam wife of *al-wasif* Muhammad] gave birth in slavery (*fi ar-riqq*) to *al-'abd* (the slave) 'Ali.'

Mamluk **(pl. *mamalik*)**: generally means an enslaved possession or a chattel slave.[30] In the 'Daftar' it often means a 'new slave' or an owned

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[25] I have referred to classical dictionaries such as of az-Zabidi's *Taj al-'Arus* (Berlin, 1993) and modern dictionaries such as Reinhart Dozy's *Supplement aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden, 1881) and Edward William Lane's *An Arabic–English Lexicon* (London, 1863–93, bound in Pakistan in 1982) in order to identify the significance of these terms as accurately as possible.   [26] Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 818.

[27] Az-Zabidi, *Taj*, XII, 524.   [28] *Ibid*. 82.

[29] Lane, *Arabic–English Lexicon*, V, 1935.   [30] Az-Zabidi, *Taj*, XIII, 652.

person, as in the following biography: '*Al-Wasif* Yusuf b. *al-wasif* Musa b. *al-qinn* 'Umar b. *al-mamluk* al-Hasan al-Harraq al-Hafidh.'

Qinn (pl. a*qinna* or a*qnan*): according to *Taj al-'Arus*, al-qinn is an enslaved possession as well as his/her parents; it is a neutral term used for singular, plural, and feminine.[31] It appears to have a similar meaning in the 'Daftar', as a slave, male or female, born to slave parents, as in the following biography: '*Al-Wasif* 'Iyyadh b. *al-qinn* 'Ali b. *ar-raqiq* Qasim b. *al-wasif* 'Ali al-Hajjam.'

Raqiq (pl. *riqaq* or a*riqqa'*): according to Lane this means 'A slave, male and female, but the latter is also called *raqiqa* and slaves; for it is used as sing. and pl.'[32] According to *Taj al-'Arus* it is 'A slave in the property of an owner … It can be used for plural … And according to Abu-'l-'Abbas, the slaves are so called *raqiq* because they are humble and submissive to their owner.'[33] In the 'Daftar' the meaning of *raqiq* and *riqq* is the condition of slavery, as in the following example:

The mother [of *al-wasif* Muhammad] is *al-wasifa* Amina bint *al-wasif* al-Hasan al-Hajjam, she died in slavery (*matat fi ar-riqq*). The wife [of the same person aforementioned *al-wasif* Muhammad] is *al-wasifa* Maryam bint *al-wasif* 'Isa al-Hajjam; she gave birth in slavery (*fi ar-riqq*) to al-'abd (the slave) 'Ali. This latter is married in slavery (*mutanakih fi ar-riqq*) to *al-ama* Fatima bint *al-wasif* Ahmad al-Jamal.

Enslaved black people in Morocco also tended to have characteristic names. They were of two sorts, referring either to physical features or to good fortune. There was a strong tendency to avoid Muslim names such as Muhammad and Ahmad or 'Ali in naming the slaves. In the 'Daftar', however, we find the majority of slaves were named Muhammad, Ahmad, or 'Ali. Only a few are named Mas'ud ('lucky') Marzuq ('fortunate'), or Mubarak ('blessed'), which are typical names given to enslaved people. It seems then that these names are not that different from those of free Muslims. The reason for this is that these people who were enslaved had mostly been free for a long time and had come to have names just like those of any other free Muslim in Morocco.

I have laid out the difference in meanings between the different names, categories, and characteristics given to blacks. These names and categories seem to be carefully chosen to attribute to all black people, regardless of their social condition, a particular status in order to classify them in a fixed category. All these names and labels, though slightly different in their meanings, denote one common signification: slavery.

When the royal order was given to round up all black people of all ages and both sexes, the authorities proceeded to acquire this group of people by determining and recording their slave status but on the premise of color related to black African origin and therefore defining them as outsiders, although they had been in Morocco for generations, thus developing a system of domination based on the notion of 'race and color' mixed with social status. As a result, Mawlay Isma'il's project inadvertently created a code of enslavement. To borrow the words of Richard Brown: 'Such classifying and

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[31] *Ibid*. XVIII, 464.   [32] Lane, *Arabic–English Lexicon*, III, 1131.
[33] Az-Zabidi, *Taj*, Vol. 13, 172.

such naming not only are ways to make others do what one wants, but also to get them to be what one wants.'[34]

The sources inform us indirectly of the huge protest that Mawlay Ismaʿil's project received from many learned men, especially those of Fez, and from black people themselves who refused to follow such orders and sought refuge and help among different communities. These contestations had challenged the system of domination and pushed the establishment to think and work rigidly to legitimize the project in order to gain some influence in public opinion and among the religious leaders as well. The famous rule of Islamic law that religion is the factor in determining slavery was discarded in this context because it was evident that nobody could question Moroccan blacks' commitment to Islam. The officials, namely the Muslim judges and notaries, established techniques of representing the blacks. These techniques were of two kinds: labels dealing with the slave status of the individuals, and labels dealing with their features. The construction of this difference or marking this group of people as different from all other free Moroccans was a form of asserting the control of the ruling class in constructing and enforcing the inferior status and the slave condition of all blacks in Morocco. The racial and servile signs from the register reflect a political discourse that consequently associated blackness (a racial category) with slavery (a social condition). Blackness in this discourse became an ambivalent category excluded from the community of Muslims and therefore denied freedom.

CONCLUSION

To prove the slave status of these black people, the officials in charge of the slavery project established a fictional hierarchy of slave categories. This project therefore constructed a slave status for all black people, even those who were free. The enslavement of freed blacks, as shown in the statistics in the 'Daftar', resulted in a contradiction of the common perception that societies influenced by Islam do not enslave other Muslims and that 'Islamic slavery' dies after the third generation. The 'Daftar' carries many contradictions about the historical status of slaves and the nature of slavery in Morocco. Thus it also proves that the notion of the monolithic idea of 'Islamic slavery' held among scholars in both the West and the Islamic world is a misconception.

[34] Richard H. Brown, 'Cultural representation and ideological domination', *Social Forces*, 71:3 (1993), 659.