

Index

'Abbasid dynasty, 43, 44, 51, 117 development of Islamic law, 47 'Abd al-'Aziz, Sultan, 237-238 'Abd Allah ar-Rusi, governor of Fez, 168, T82 'Abd Allah b. Sa'd b. Abi Sarh, 113 'Abd Allah b. Yasin, 120–121 'Abd Allah Usalim, 233 'Abd Allah, governor of Fez, 298 'Abd Allah, Sultan, 213-218 use of tribes to dimish black army power, 214 'Abd al-Malik, Sultan, 143–145, 212–213 Ibn Marjan support of, 210 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn al-Jawzi, 80, 85 'Abd ar-Rahman as-Sa'di, 88 'Abd ar-Rahman, Sultan 209, 233, 234, 243, 244, 247 'Abd as-Salam Jassus, 85, 167, 168, 169, 181, 182 'abd, semantics of, 21–22, 33–34, 48, 180 'Abid al-Bukhari. See black army; black army:semantics of name 'Abid al-Makhzan. See government, servants of the) 'Abid al-Manatiq ash-Shamaliya, 176, 188 abolition, 306, See also British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society; French Anti-Slavery Society; Great Britain:and Moroccan slavery; Hay, Drummond; slavery, abolition of concepts of, 306 European, 235, 241, 243

Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad b. Mubarak, 228, Abu 'Abd Allah Wahb b. Munabbih, 67 Abu 'Inan Faris, 127 Abu 'Ubayd Allah al-Bakri, 74 Abu 'l-Muhajir, 114 Abu Bakr b. 'Umar, 120, 121 Abu Hanifa, 19 Abu Ja'far al-Mansur, 51 Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah al-Hamri, governor of Fez, 216 Abu Yahya az-Zajjali, 91 Abu Yiʻzza, 88, 298 Abyssinians, 74 bias due to color, 63 ad-Dimashqi, 70, 71 African history construction by outsiders, 74 Agadir, 140 Ahmad al-Mansur, Sultan, 144-154 Ahmad an-Nasiri, 86, 111, 161, 163, 172, 185, 187–189, 199, 207, 209, 217-219, 257, 266 Ahmad b. 'Ajiba at-Titwani, 91, 169 Ahmad b. 'Ali ar-Rifi, 216 Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Filali, 173 Ahmad b. Musa, 237, 298 Ahmad Baba, 24, 79-85, 151, 298 prejudice against blacks, 88 Ahmad ibn Hanbal, 19 Ahmad, Leila, 28 'Alawi dynasty, 206, 218, 236, 239 emergence of, 157-158



320 Index

Algeria, 114, 121, 122 abolition, 242 Bilali spiritual group, 272 France invasion of, 235 slavery in, 242 n. 3, 247 'Ali al-A'raj, Sultan, 214, 220 'Ali b. al-Husayn al-Mas'udi, 68 'Ali b. 'Isa al-'Alami, 170 'Alilish, 160, 161, 162, 165, 167, 169, 182, 188 Ali Mazrui, 94 Almohad dynasty, 122-124 Almoravid dynasty, 120-122 fall of, 122-124 America, colonial racism in, 99 al-'Arabi Burdulla, 168, 169, 182 Arabia influence on North Africa, 156 n. 3 Wahhabism development, 45 Arabic 18, 19, 38, 45, 52, 63, 67, 157, semantics of race, 98-99 Arabic prejudice. See prejudice: Arabic Arabo-Berbers Gnawa and, 271, 277 interest in West Africa, 118 mulattos and, 303 prejudices of, 76, 105, 128 trade routes and, 118 Arabs. See also Udaya; Arabo-Berber actions against black army, 221 enslaved, 255 involvement in political succession, 226 lessening of influence of, under Mawlay Isma'il, 202 prejudice against blacks, 299 relationship with Haratin, 113 tensions with Berbers, 115, 190 troops of, 209, 230 'arifa. See concubines: female overseer army, black. See black army ar-Risala, 53 Askia Muhammad, 140 autochthonous ethnic groups, 109, 159, 173, 190, See also Haratin Awdaghust, 118, 119 Awraba, 114 Azemmour, 137-138, 140-141 al-Azhar, 170 response to Mawlay Isma'il, 172 n. 57 support for Mawlay Isma'il, 172

Bambara, kingdom of, 264 source of eunuchs, 198-199 Bambara, the, 132, 277 al-bay'a. See oath of investiture Becker, Cynthia, 93 Ben Kiran, 259, 265 Berbers. 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 68, 69, 72, 74, 78, 87-94, 97, 105, 110, 111-113, 114, 117, 119, 121, 128, 130, 139, 140, 156 n. 3, 166, 190, 201-205, 213-221, 223, 226-228, 230, 231, 252, 255, 268, 271, 275, 294, See also Arabo-Berber; Wa'ziz, Muhammad. 'Abd Allah and, 218 actions against black army, 221 enslaved, 255 involvement in political succession, 226 lessening of influence of, under Mawlay Isma'il, 202 music, 271 origins of name, 271 n. 5 perception of blacks, development of, 87 prejudice against blacks, 92-93, 299 revolts, causes of, 231 slave trade and, 117 tensions with Arabs, 115, 190 troops of, 209, 227, 228, 230 Bilad as-Sudan. See black Africa Bilal ibn Rabah, 63, 125, 278-280 Bilali. See Algeria: Bilali spiritual group black Africa (Bilad as-Sudan), 74, 81, 274 black Africans. 85-86, 113, See also black army; black bodyguards; blacks; racism prejudice against, 69-70, 72-73, 101 racial distinctions of, 94 black army, 90, 222-225, See also black Muslims: enslavement of black troops; Mawlay, Isma'il, Sultan, 114, 118 n. 43, 122, 152, 157 slaves: war captives (as-saby), 197 comparison with Janissaries, 299-300 data for, 188-190 deployment of, 191, 203-205, 208 descendants (al-Bukhari), 228, 235, 236 description of. 188, See also Pellow, Thomas, description of black army enslavement of, 85, 104, 155, 160-164 evaluation of, by historians, 219 evolvement into army with integration of non-blacks, 209, 230, 235-236



Index

32I

freedom of, 239, 240 impact on Moroccan demographics, 240 importance of servility, 164, 172, 300 instability of, after death of Mawlay Isma'il, 221	Hamitic myth as source of skin color, 70-71 marginalization of, 90, 183 population data of, 245 semantics of color for purposes of enslavement, 180-181
legal and social implications for, 167, 184, 201	slavery of, 9, 57, 62, 238 blacks, free, 5, 9, 81, 91, 97, 104, 154, 155,
payment of, related to political power, 211-213	162, 165–171, 183 forced conscription of, 162, 169–171,
prejudice against, 163, 299,	175, 176, 240
See also black bodyguards; prejudice;	resistance to enslavement, 175
racism	Bori. See Nigeria: Hausa and Bori spiritual
and racism, 299	group
relationship with Moroccan people,	Brazil, 303
203	Candomble spiritual group, 272
role and power of, 202	British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,
role in political succession, 209–213	242, 247, 248, 253, 256
Sahih al-Bukhari used as oath, 163	al-Bukhari. See black army: descendants
semantics of name, 163	(al-Bukhari)
black bodyguards, 122, 197, 201, 225, 236 Black Code, 57, 58 n. 153	Byzantines, 113, 114
black Muslims, 86, 92, 168, 298–299	Caliph al-Mansur, 52
enslavement of, 79–81, 105, 169, 171,	Candomble spiritual group. See Brazil:
176, 183, 257, 298	Candomble spiritual group
black troops, 224, 227, 235	capitalism. See economy: change to
after decline of Sa'di dynasty, 158	capitalism under French
conscription based on color, 160-164	children
continued importance of, 228, 230, 240	enslaved, 185–186, 257
deployment of, 208, 236	Christianity
deployment of, by Marinids, 124	Hamitic myth and, 66, 68
deployment of, by Almohads, 124	Christians
deployment of, by Almoravids, 121–124	captives, 190 n. 26, 207, 212
high quality of, 235	enslaved, 189 n. 19, 192
military caste of (wisfan), 184	client relationship (wala'), 49, 57, 239, 304
blacks. See also black army; black	pre-Islamic, 41
bodyguards; black Muslims, black	clientele system, 158
troops, blacks, free, concubinage;	Code Hammurabi. See Hammurabi Code Code Noir. See Black Code
Haratin; slavery; slaves Arab-Berber prejudice of, 76, 205	collective identity. See identity: collective
color attributed to environmental	color, skin. See also black army; blacks;
factors, 71, 73, 75	racism
construction of association with slavery,	as determinant of otherness, 74–75
177	Gnawa and, 273–276
construction of racism against, 173, 176	as identifier of social groups, 155
cultural perceptions of, due to black	prejudice based on pre-Islamic culture,
army, 299	62, 63
culture attributed to environmental	reason for forced conscription, 163
factors, 75	related to slave status, 180–181
diversity of, 71, 93, 111	relationship to perceptions of inferiority,
documents relating to slavery of, 54,	. 76
See also slave registers	slavery and, 253



322 Index

color, skin (cont.) diaspora, 279, 289 use of blackness to legitimize slave African, 273 African, and slavery, 298 status, 179 use of, for denoting the other, 183 African, to Americas, 294 American slave music and, 292 variations of, 119 commercial, 125, 132 commerce. 157, See also economy; Morocco: economy; slave trade; Gnawa music and, 289, 291-293 trans-Saharan trade Gnawa, related to Islam, 294 trans-Saharan, 300 importance to spread of Islam, 133 West African, 271 Jews and, 156, 207 Draa region, 92, 97, 109 n. 2, 110, 111, concubinage, 97, 118 n. 43, 192, 193, 139, 151 196, 252, 257, 260, 261, 305, See also concubines; umm al-walad dynastic theocracy, 44 eunuchs; slavery East Africa Ghana slaves for, 119 Haratin forced into, 169 source of slaves, 59, 79 economy. See also commerce; Morocco: Islamic texts supporting, 17, 36, 46, 51 pre-Islamic, 25 economy; slave trade; trans-Saharan Qaramita movement opposition to, 43 change to capitalism under French, 268 Qur'an interpretations, 27, 30 n. 56 Qur'an position against, 29 n. 55 West African, 132 Egypt, 114, 130, 244, 299 relationships of, 302 al-Hakim and abolition of slavery, 43 semantics of, 27 Bedouin women, 305 concubines. See also slave mother of master's child (umm al-walad) French occupation of, 227 cost of, 257 Mamluks, the, 213, 298 female overseer of ('arifa), 199 Essaouira, 4, 152, 221, 223, 225, 228-230, life of, 196, 198, 259-261, 302 233, 235, 237, 247, 269, 277, 279, 284, 285, 295 relationship to master, 90 Gnawa community in, 270 Sultan Mawlay Isma'il's mother, 164 Zaydana, 8, 192-195 Ethiopia, 75, 85 corsairs, 148, 207 Ethiopians, 76, 111, 263 Hamitic myth and, 67 culture. See also client relationships attributed to environmental factors, 75 eunuchs, 44, 67, 138, 140, 191, 192, 195, 198-199, 206, 263 legacy of slavery and, 268 patriarchical, 51 pre-Islamic, 44 fatwa. See religious scholars, opinions of pre-Islamic, and concubinage, 25 (fatwa) pre-Islamic, and prejudice, 104 Fez, 81, 85, 90, 97, 127, 138, 157, 158, pre-Islamic, and racism, 104 160, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 173, 175, 182, 202, 206, 207, 213-218, pre-Islamic, and slavery, 18-19, 104 prejudice and, impact on Islam, 93 226, 228, 230, 232-234, 236, 237, sexist attitudes about women and, 193 250, 251, 253, 256, 258, 259, 265, treatment of women and, 196 267 brutal treatment by 'Abd Allah, 213 urban-rural conflict and, 190 Gnawa community in, 270 slave market, 253, 256, 259 Daftar Mamalik as-Sultan Mawlay Isma'il. Wattasi ruler attacked by Sa'dis, 143 See slave registers

Fez, people of, 166

political involvement, 215–216, 217 support of scholars, 182 n. 92

descendant of the Prophet Muhammad

278

(sharif), 90, 96, 112, 156, 158, 164,



Index

Fez, scholars of, 81, 166, 167, 170, 213 black army concerns, 85 opinions on enslavement of free blacks, 173 foreign policy European, and abolition, 241 under Sultan al-Mansur, 146, 154 France. See also Black Code abolition, 241, 243 abolition policies in Algeria, 247 attacks on Morocco, 235 colonial authority and introduction of capitalism, 268 colonial authority and slavery, 265 and complexity of slavery in Mauritania, the Freedom Principle, 100 invasion of Algeria, 235 Morocco as protectorate of, 238, 259 prejudice against black Africans, 242 n. 3 race and slavery, 100 slave trade, 254, 257 slavery in, 57 free blacks. See blacks, free freedom. See also abolition; blacks, free; manumission, slaves: freedom and concepts of, 87, 162, 183, 266, 299 contract of (mukataba), 31, 35, 40, 49, limitations of slave's, 55 of slave after master's death, 48-49, 55, and war captives, 84 Freedom Principle, the. See France: the Freedom Principle French Anti-Slavery Society, 259 Fulani, the, 79, 81, 88, 89, 132, 145, 179, 251, 276, 277 gender. See also concubinage; concubines, umm al-walad slaves: female; women bias, 262, 263, 281 roles under Islam, 11, 28, 90, 96, 116, 131, 181, 256, 262, 263 genealogical determinism, racialist

Gnawa, 4-6, 123, 268-290, 292-296, See also griots culture as reflection of slavery, 271 derivation of name, 273-276 identity of, 273-276, 278, 288-289 and importance of Bilal ibn Rabah, 278-280 influence on other belief systems, 284 and Islam, 281, 294 language of, 273 music, 268, 272-273, 287, 296 music and diaspora, 289, 290 n. 83, 291-293 origins of, 277 perception of, as the "other", 282 performances, 295 relationship to American slave practices, religious beliefs, 277-279 rituals of, 285, 288 and Sufism, 282-283 women, role of, 287 Gnawa griots. See griots gold as currency, 139 economic importance to black Africans, importance of, as commodity, 118, 132 Moroccan access to, 151 as payment of taxes, 206 reason for invasions, 116, 118, 146 as spoils of war, 148-150 as symbol of wealth, 126 government. See also individual countries; individual sultans, Morocco: central government (Makhzan) Islamic, protection of non-Muslims, 82 threat rather than provider of security, 214 government, servants of the ('Abid al-Makhzan), 124, 184, 201, 224 n. 59, 236, 300 Granada, 132, 136, 141, 147 Great Britain. See also Hay, Drummond abolition, 241 abolition efforts in Morocco, 235, 243-244, 255 involvement in Morocco, 146, 153-154, 247-250, 253-254, 258 griots, 125, 128, 279-281

323

implications of, 97

source of slaves, 119

Ghana, 118, 121, 123, 125, 275

Awdaghust, relationship to, 121



324 Index

Habib b. Abi 'Ubayda b. 'Uqba b. Nafi', 116 Hadith. 38-39, See also as-Sahih of importance of, as commodity, 118, 128, al-Bukhari 136 behavior of masters to slaves, 41, 42 behavior of slaves, 42 Ibadism, 117 collections of, 38 Ibn 'Abd as-Sadiq, 230 definition of, 36 n. 67 Ibn 'Arbiya, Sultan, 216 description and history of, 37 Ibn Abi Zar', 119 Ibn Abi Zayd al-Qayrawani, 53 Hamitic myth and, 73 history of, 37 Ibn an-Nadim, 67 options for unbelievers, 83 Ibn Battuta, 72, 73, 75, 76, 127, 128, 129, and slave mother of master's child (umm 130, 131, 280 al-walad), 51 Ibn Butlan, 69, 70, 117 slavery and, 42, 54 Ibn Hawqal, 69, 71, 119 al-Hajj Salim Suwari, 82 Ibn Khaldun, 52, 72, 73, 74, 75 al-Hakim. See Egypt: al-Hakim and Ibn Marjan, 8, 198, 200, 205, 207, abolition of slavery 210-213 Ibn Marjan as-Saghir. See Ibn Marjan Ham. See Hamitic myth Hamdan Qarmat, 43 Ibn Naji, 173 Hamitic curse. See Hamitic myth Ibn Qutayba, 67 Ibn Tumart, 122 Hamitic myth, 62, 64-69, 67 n. 26 American belief in, 76 identity. See also Gnawa: identity of Hadith and, 73 Arabic, 95, 164, 301 collective, 294 Islam and, 78 Islamic spread of, 77 ethnic, importance of Islam in racist attitudes developed from, 77 establishing, 132 semantics of, 65 n. 16 kin groups, 87 as source of skin color, 70-71 of American slaves, 290 Western Europe belief in, 76, 77 patrilineal, 96 Hamitic tradition. See Hamitic myth religious, 70, 81, 99, 125, 132 Hammurabi Code, 19 slavery and, 262 Haratin, 2, 4, 8–10, 62, 86, 91, 92, Inquisition, Spanish, 99 109-111, 112 n. 19, 113, 156, 158, Iraq, 43, 52, 74, 117 159, 162, 166-169, 173, 175, 181, Qarmati movement, 43 182, 184, 188, 231, 239, 267, 300. Islam. See also Shi'i practice; Sufism; Sunni See slavery practice attempt to recruit, by Sultan Mawlay anti-bias position, 63 Sulayman, 231 Berber impact on prejudice and, 93 caliphs, four rightly-guided, 38, 43, 47 concubinage and, 169 forced enslavement, 166-167, 169, 173, changes after death of Muhammad, 64 identity and conceptual differences, 113 commerce and, 133 protests against enslavement, 175 gender roles in, 263 relationship with Berbers, 111-113 Gnawa and, 281, 294 harem, the, 252, 263 Hamitic myth and, 67-69, 78 difficulty in obtaining information households, structure of, under, 263 about, 302 importance of, in establishing ethnic life in, 264 identity, 132 palace intrigues of, 199 n. 68 music and, 278 Hausa, the. 132, See also Nigeria: Hausa slavery and, 44, 79-82, 84, 103, 155, and Bori spiritual group 165, 244, 264, 298, 306 spread of, 120-121, 156 n. 3 Hay, Drummond, 235, 243, 245, 250, 253, Islamic jurists. See religious scholars



Index 325

Islamic law. 46, See also Maliki doctrine books used for spread of Maliki development of, 47 doctrine, 53 semantics of slavery in, 48 concubinage in, 119 slavery and, 53-55, 182, 304 defense of, as argument for black enslavement, 171 Ja'far b. Muhammad Sadiq, 43 governing of, 114, 117, 124 al-Jahiz, 85, 125 invasion of, 114 Janissaries, 299-300 Maliki doctrine in, 20, 52 Jany al-Azhar wa Nur al-Abhar, 188 slavery and, 85 Makhluf b. 'Ali b. Salih al-Balbali, 79 Jefferson, Thomas racism of, 101, 101 n. 147 Makhzan, the. See Morocco: central government Jews, 225, 232, 271 commerce and, 195, 207 Mali. 81, 125-128, 280, See also Songhay Empire; Timbuktu Islamic government and, 82 life in Morocco, 156, 205 slave trade, 130 prejudice against, under al-Yazid, 226 Malik b. Anas, 19, 47, 49-50 jihad, 82, 208 his view of his jurisprudence limitations, against Portuguese, 143 Almoravid dynasty and, 121 slavery, position on, 51 relationship to slavery, 45-46, 78, Maliki doctrine, 20, 47, 83-84, 120, 306 concubinage and polygyny, 26 81-83, 84-85, 155 taxes to support, 205 slavery, 49-50 jizya. See poll-tax (jizya) spread of, 52-53, 120, 126 Judaism Mamluks, the. See Egypt: Mamluks, the Hadith and, 39 Manding people, 132, 279-280 Hamitic myth and, 64-65, 73 Mansa Musa, King, 125-127 Spanish Inquisition and, 99 manumission, 19, 36, 40-41, 159, 253, jurists, Islamic. See religious scholars 275-277, 301 Qur'an position on, 45 al-Kahina or Dihya. 115, Marinid dynasty, 124-125 See also Berbers Marrakesh, 157, 161, 162, 166, 216, 227, Kel Tamasheq, 93 Khalil b. Ishaq, 53, 83 Gnawa community in, 270 al-Kharijiyya, 117 slave market, 253, 256, 257, 259 trade routes, 157 Khanatha bint Bakkar al-Mghafri, 166, marriage. See also race: intermarriage; 213, 214 al-Khawarij, 42 slaves: marriage of female, Kusayla. 115, See also Berbers to master arranged, of slaves, 185-187 Lalla 'Aisha Mubarka. See Zaydana between races, 87, 92, 93 Lalla Halima, 195 Hadith and, 42 interracial, 61 n. 3, 99-100, 101, 119, Lalla Ruqayya, 237 Libya Sambani spiritual group, 272 Islam and, 28-31, 35, 40 literary expression. See also music Maliki doctrine and, 51, 90 of the oppressed, 302-303, 305 morganatic, 305 slave's right for, 55 ma malakat aymanukum. See semantics: Wahhabism and, 45 of possession of slaves (ma malakat Mauritania aymanukum) abolition, 243, 243 n. 7 Maghreb, the. See also Berbers; individual racial classifications in, 242 n. 5 countries included in Mawlay 'Abd al-'Aziz Sultan, 258



326 Index

Mawlay 'Abd al-Hafid, Sultan, 258 Mawlay Zaydan, 193, 194 Mawlay 'Abd Allah al-Ghalib bi-llah, Maymuran, Abraham, 156, 207 Sultan, 143 Meknes, 158, 162, 166, 221, 230 Mawlay 'Abd ar-Rahman, Sultan, 61 n. 3, Gnawa community in, 270 importance to black army, 228 209, 233-235, 243, 244, 247 position on Islam and slavery, 243-244 Mernissi, Fatima, 28, 265, 266, 281, 286 Mawlay Ahmad adh-Dhahabi, Sultan, 209, Mi'raj as-Su'ud, 12, 81, 84 Moors 76, 77, 92, 94, 132, 134-139, 144, coup to replace, by black army and Ibn 145, 183, 247, 249, 252, 254, 256, Marjan, 211 29I Granadian, 132 reinstated as Sultan, 213 Mawlay Ahmad, Sultan, 143 Morocco. See also government, servants of Mawlay al-Hasan I, Sultan, 96, 235 the ('Abid al-Makhzan) position on slavery, 255 Almoravid rule of, 122 Mawlay ar-Rashid, Sultan, 157 black demographics, 246 Mawlay Isma'il, Sultan, 90, 95, central government (Makhzan), 158, 103-105, 170-173, 175-176, 298, 162, 173, 180, 184, 201-202, 211, See also black army; slave registers 222, 224, 230-231, 234 accomplishments, 191 complexity of society, 156 antecedents, 164 conquest of, 121 army requirement of, 159 economy, 132, 206, 225, 232, 238 attempts to legitimize enslavement of all European influence, 238 foreign attacks on, 235 blacks, 173 French Protectorate, 259 belief in strong central government, 158 children of, 196-198 natural disasters, 232 construction projects of, 192 patriarchical characteristic of, 95 death of, 200 population data of blacks, 245 enslavement of blacks for army, 85, 155, racial perceptions in, 95 racial perceptions, different than the 160-164 fiscal affairs, 207 United States, 97 government structure of, 202-203 racism in, 102 and impact of black army, 240 threats from Spain, Portugal, Ottomans, impact of policies, 184, 208 158 influence of Ottoman Janissaries model, Morocco, northern under control of Spain, 258 185 reasons for creating black army, 299 Morocco, southern, 233 slave registers of, 62, 178-179 racial attitutdes in, 97 taxes imposed by, 206 Msahil, 210, 212 trust of black slaves, 200 Mu'awiyya, 43, 44, 114 use of black army, 202 al-Mudawwana, 53 Muhammad 'Abdu, 45 use of enslaved children, 185-186 Muhammad al-Mutawakkil, Sultan, 144 use of war captives for black army, 160 Mawlay Muhammad al-'Alim, 193-194, Muhammad ash-Shafi'i, 19 198 Muhammad ash-Shaykh, Sultan, 143 Mawlay Sulayman, Sultan, 226 Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Qadir al-Fasi, 165, death of, 233 166, 169, 173 how control of Essaouira was obtained, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab development of Wahhabism, 45 230 problems during reign, 231 Muhammad b. 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Qa'im problems with Berber tribes, 231 bi-Amr Allah, 143 Muhammad b. 'Abd ar-Rahman, Sultan, rule in remote areas, 233 struggle to unite Morocco, 228 235



Index 327

view of Islam and slavery, 250	importance in establishing race, 97
Muhammad b. Ahmad ar-Rasmuki, 91	Pellow, Thomas
Muhammad b. al-'Ayyashi, 160	black army description, 189, 190
Muhammad b. al-Marzuban, 85	description of concubines' living
Muhammad ibn 'Arbiya, 215	arrangements, 192
Muhammad ibn Battuta, 72	description of marriage ceremonies, 187
Muhammad ibn Nadim, 74	description of Meknes palace, 191
mukataba. See freedom: contract of	Pères Rédempteurs, 189 n. 19, 212
(mukataba)	plague. See Morocco: natural disasters
al-Mukhtar as-Susi, 90, 239, 257	poll-tax (<i>jizya</i>), 82–83, 205
al-Mukhtasar, 53	Berber revolt against, 117
Mukhtasar al-Kabir, 48	polygyny, 23, 26, 27–28, 45, 119, 263
Musa b. Ahmad, 237	Qaramita movement opposition to, 43
Musa b. Nusayr. 125–127,	Qur'an interpretations and, 45–46
See also Tunisia	Portugal
music, 4, 250, 270–273, 278, 285, 287,	acquisition of Moroccan slaves, 134
288 n. 77, 289, 293–296	adoption of Berber perception of blacks,
American slave, 290, 292, 293	134
al-Mustadi', Sultan, 215–217	defeat of, in Morocco, 144
al-Mu'tamid, 122	forays into Morocco, 134, 135 n. 111
Muwatta', 17, 38, 47, 48, 53	impact on Moroccan economy, 132
. 11	involvement in Morocco, 144–145
natural disasters. See Morocco: natural	slave trade and, 140
disasters	prejudice. See also Arabo-Berbers:
navy, development of, 151	prejudices of, blacks, prejudice
Nigeria	against; race; racism
Hausa and Bori spiritual group, 272	against black Africans by French, 242 n. 3
North Africa	against Gnawa, 277
Arab-Berber tensions, 115	against Jews under al-Yazid, 226
concepts of prejudice, 98 links with West Africa, 118	Arabia 77 78
Maliki doctrine in, 53	Arabic, 71–72, 94 and development of black army, 163
Nubia, 113	gender, 262, 281
Nubia, 113	impact on Islam, 93
oath of investiture (al-bay'a), 165, 216	North African, based on race and class,
opinions of religious scholars. See religious	98
scholars, opinions	racial, influenced by black army, 299
other, the	Roman, 76
color construction of, 74, 183	Prince Henry the Navigator, 133
determined by race, 299	Prophet Muhammad, the
Gnawa perceived as, 282	descendants (<i>sharif</i>), 90, 96, 112, 156,
racialized, 97	158, 164, 278, 300
otherness. See other, the	teachings of, 19, 37, 63, 83
Ottoman Empire 55, 78, 135, 143–144,	protest
146	in Fez, 175
influence on Mawlay Ismaʻil, 185	in Tetouan against enslavement of free
involvement in Morocco, 144	blacks, 175
	, -/)
Pashalik, 151	Qadi 'Iyad b. Musa, 51
patriarchy	Qaramita movement
concepts of, 262	rejection of concubinage and polygyny, 26
impact on Islamic interpretations, 51	social justice, 43



328 Index

al-Qarawiyyin Mosque-University, 173 construction of, by color, 183 Qur'an, the, 12, 17-48, 50-51, 62, 68, 77, definitions, 102-103 78, 81–82, 84, 89, 93, 95, 104, 163, introduction of concept of blacks as 183, 227, 244, 260, 278 naturally servile, 173 abolition of slavery, 42 in southern Morocco, 92 anti-prejudice position, 45-46 secularization of, 101 religious scholars ('ulama'), 20, 44, 156, complexity of, 20-21 concubinage and, semantics of, 29-36 202, See also al-Azhar; Fez, scholars of; names of specific scholars concubinage interpretations, 18, 27, 29 n. 55, 30 n. 56 abolition position, 266 importance of, 20 compromisers, 169 influence of cultural environment on religious scholars, opinions (fatwa) interpretations, 23, 25, 27, 28 about slavery, 45, 53, 102, 165 interpretations of, distorted, 45-46 al-Azhar response to Mawlay Isma'il, manumission interpretations, 45 172 n. 57 polygyny interpretations, 27-28 on enslavement of black Muslims, purpose of, 46 79-81 slavery and jihad, 45-46 on enslavement of blacks, 179 slavery and, semantics of, 21-22, 29-36 on enslavement of free blacks, 167-170 slavery interpretations, 18, 20, 42, on freedom of black troops, 240 of Ibn Naji supporting enslavement of 45-46, 48, 84, 104 slaves, references to, 29 n. 55, 30 n. 56 Haratin, 158 n. 11, 173 of Jassus against enslavement of Haratin, 85, 168 slave market, 253 of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Qadir al-Fasi race 2-3, 8-10, 12, 60, 62, 64-69, 73-78, supporting enslavement of Haratin, 80, 89-90, 93-104, 263 169 Arabic semantics of, 98-99 Roman law, 19 arbitrary designations of, 164 n. 36 Rustamids, 117 changing perceptions about Berbers, 94 different perceptions of, between as-saby. See slaves: war captives (as-saby) Morocco and the United States, 97 Sa'di dynasty, 137, 143, 145. See also Ahmad al-Mansur, Sultan differentiation of, as result of black decline of, 156-157 army, 299 defeat of Songhay, 149 establishing privileged status, 89 as-Sadiq, Ja'far b. Muhammad, 20 intermarriage and, 301 Moroccan perceptions of, 95, 238 Sa'id b. al-'Ayyashi, 226 and slavery in France and its colonies, Safi, 140 Sahel. 93, 121, 166. See also West Africa TOO social order and, 267 as-Sahih of al-Bukhari, 37-40 Sahnun b. Sa'id, 53 race and class prejudice in North Africa based on, 98 Salim ad-Dukkali, 214, 215 race and religion salt, 129 forced conscription of free blacks related as commodity, 118-119 to, 165 mines, 206 in Spain, 99 reason for invasions, 146 racism. 2, 3, 60, 90, 98, 99, 101, 102-105, Sambani. See Libya: Sambani spiritual See also prejudice; race; United Sanhaja, 87, 118, 119, 120, 136, 137 States:racism and slavery in in America, 101 n. 147 Sayyid Ahmad Khan

abolition of slavery, 44

scholars, religious. See religious scholars

in colonial America, 99

and black army, 105, 155, 203, 234, 299



Index 329

semantics Spain and, 141 of Berber, 271 n. 5 Slavery, 2-14, 17-23, 25, 28, 36, 39-40, of black troops, 184 42-49, 51, 53-58, 60-62, 65, 69, 75-76, 78-82, 84-86, 88, 95, 96, of concubines, concubinage, 27 of Gnawa, 273-276 98-104, 114, 118, 119, 125, 126, of Haratin, 300 128, 129, 141, 149, 164, 165, 167, of jahiliyya, 18 n. 4 175, 177-181, 183, 224, 235, 238, of mulatto, 94 n. 128 241-244, 246-249, 251-259, 261, of possession of slaves (ma malakat 264-268, 271. *See also* black army; aymanukum), 21, 22-27, 29-32, 35, concubinage; United States: racism and slavery in, of race, 75, 98-99, 105, 183, 209 n. 1, abolition of, and French colonialism, 268 223 n. 56 in America, 292 of slave skin color, 180-181 ancestry as rationale for, 104, 179 associated with blacks by Berbers, 88 of slavery, 93, 183, 201, 258 Senegal of black Muslims, 79-81, 105, 257. ethnic groups of, 275 See also Haratin slave trade, 137, 253, 254 commonalities of, 297 sharecropping, 92 comparison of Western and Islamic, 58, sharif. See descendant of the Prophet 101 Muhammad conditions of, 255, 261 Shi'i practice culture and, 51 legal system of, 20 impact of capitalism on, 268 slavery, position on, 47 impact of famine and plague on, 141 Sidi Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah, Sultan, Islam and, 42-43, 48, 53-55, 79-82, 218-223, 225-226 84-85, 103 policies of, 221 legacy of, 268, 296 and army, 224 legal opinions about, 261 death of, 225 in Mali, 127 pre-Islamic, 18-19 Siete Partidas slavery and, 56-57 Qur'an position on, 42 Sijilmasa, 118, 119, 127 and race in France and its colonies, 100 Sisters in Islam, 28 race and, 103, 177, 238 semantics of, 48, 180–181, 201 skin color. See color, skin slave markets. 253, 256, 257, 259, 271. use of children, 185-186 See also slave trade slaves, See also black army; black troops; suppression of, under colonialism, 259 concubines; government, servants of slave mother of master's child (umm the ('Abid al-Makhzan); slavery al-walad), 26, 48, 50-51, 55, 90, 95, arranged marriages of, 185-187 characteristics of, 69, 164, 200 124, 159, 164, 193, 261 cost of, 130, 253, 256, 257 complexity of relationship, 301 legal rights of, 305 estimates of, 188 slave registers, 62, 177, 182, 188, 298 female, 50, 130, 256-257, 261-262, examples from, 178–179 300-302 information included, 178 and freedom, 157, 158, 201, 277 opposition to, by Shaykh Jassus, 182 and Gnawa activities, 282 slave trade, 117, 128, 131, 195, 233, 241, importance of, as commodity, 118 253, 264, 271, 276, See also slave lives of, 128 markets; trans-Saharan trade manual on how to select, 69, 117 estimates of, 149, 244, 246 personal agency of, 304 horses used in, 136-137, 140 present or past, reason for forced Portugal and, 138 conscription, 163



330 Index

slaves (cont.) sugarcane decline of, 154 race and. 179, See also slavery: race and; development of, as commodity, 153 relationship with masters, 239 establishing legitimacy of, 165 rights of. 55, See also slave mother of master's child (umm al-walad) sultana. See also Lalla Halima; Zaydana semantics about. See semantics: of life of, 195 possession of slaves (ma malakat Sundiata, 125, 280 aymanukum) Sunna definition of, 19 n. 12 sources of, 54, 58–59, 79, 115, 118, 118 Sunni practice, 163, 227 n. 43, 119, 140 Ibn Tumart and, 123 status of, 253 status of, after Mawlay Isma'il, 239 legal system of, 20 as symbol of wealth, 126 Sus, 79, 90, 91, 111, 116, 121, 135, 143, treatment of, 54, 252 151, 164, 166, 174, 205, 215, 222, uses of, 119, 128-129, 131, 152, 206 224, 234, 239, 251, 253, 257 as source of slaves, 257 war captives (as-saby), 84-85, 113, 116-117, 160, 192, 224 as-Suyuti, 23, 63, 86 social customs Syed Ameer Ali, 43 impact on status of blacks, 90 social Darwinism, 77, 101 at-Tabari, 23, 24, 26, 68 Tafilalt, 92, 110, 151, 164, 197, 216, 232, Songhay invasion defeat by Sa'dis, 146-149 233 trade routes, 157 forced conscription of vanquished, trans-Saharan trade, 206 Sultan al-Mansur, reasons for, 151 Tangier, 136, 137, 145, 176, 216, 222-224, Soninke, the, 132, 277 234, 235, 243, 244, 253, 254 Tariq b. Ziyad, 115-116 Spain, 122 Andalusian music, 271 taxes 82, 158, 186, 191, 192, 196, 205, Castilian, 132 206, 214, 216, 232, 238 colonialism in Morocco, 258, 258 n. 79 failure to implement reforms for, 238 imposed by 'Abd Allah, 214, 216 forays into Morocco, 157 imposed by Mawlay Isma'il, 206 and slave trade, 141 Tetouan, 91, 166, 175, 176, 225, 227, 253 slavery in, 56-57 slave market, 253 Stambouli. See Tunisia: Stambouli spiritual Timbuktu, 13, 24, 79, 80, 81, 88, 92, 131, group sub-Saharan West Africa, 9, 59, 75, 118, 138, 139, 145, 149, 151, 157, 206, 268 233, 245, 257, 297 trade routes, 157 slavery, 59, 78, 125, 129–131, 135–140, trade. See trans-Saharan trade 149, 171, 263, 268 trans-Saharan trade, 112, 117, 118, 125, Sudan, 5, 6, 67–75, 80, 84, 85, 93, 126, 128, 130, 131, 139, 157-158, 118-121, 125, 126, 128, 139, 146, 149, 152, 172, 206, 207, 250, 274, 206, 225, 232, 233, 251, 264. See also slave trade 290, 291 commodities of, 118, 127, 139, 207, 233 Zar, 272 Sufism, 88, 143, 156, 158, 159, 203, 227, control of, 121 decline of, 232 228 geo-political disruption of, 132 Gnawa and, 277-278 Gnawa practice and, 282 importance of, 131 importance of, in spread of Islam, 118 Ibn Tumart and, 123 Janissaries and, 300 routes, 118, 125, 126, 130 Treaty of Fez, 258 role in politics, 158



Index

tribes al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 116 emergence as political entities, 157 al-Wansharasi, 53 Wattasi dynasty, 131, 135, 143 role in politics, 158 troops of, 224, 230 Waʻziz, Muhammad, 217, 223, 226, 230 use of, to dimish black army power, 214 West Africa, 53, 74, 77, 82, 103, 117–119, violence against repressive government, 126-129, 131, 132, 134-140, 146, 160, 206, 251, 270, 275-277, 279, 280 Tuareg, 93, 110, 119, 243, 275, links with North Africa, 118 Maliki doctrine in, 20, 53 Tunisia, 2, 45, 53, 113, 115, 131, 242, 244, Manding people of, 280 253, 272 abolition, 45, 242, 253 relationship with Morocco, 277 as source of slaves, 251 Stambouli people, 272 Twelvers. See Shi'i practice Western Sahara, 118, 120, 233 nomads, 118 wisfan. See black troops: military caste of Udaya, 160, 190, 214–217, 222, 223, 226, (wisfan) 227, 234-236 refusal to support al-Yazid, 223 women. See also slaves: female 'ulama'. See religious scholars ('ulama') Egyptian Bedouin, and literary 'Umar b. 'Abd Allah al-Muradi, 117 expression, 305 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, second caliph, 17, gender bias against, 11, 28, 54, 90, 130, n. 2, 41 260, 262-263, 267, 281 Umayyad dynasty, 20, 43, 44, 82, 114, 117 Gnawa and, 285-287 contradictions with Qur'an, 44 life of, in the harem, 129, 192, 195-196, umm al-walad. See slave mother of 198-199, 226, 252, 263, 266, 281 master's child (umm al-walad) literary expression publicizing unbelievers, options for, 84 oppression of, 302-303 United States magic and, 193 preference for, as slaves, 256-257 racial perceptions different than Morocco, 97 racial issues and, 237 racism and slavery in, 61, 76, 95, 101, sexist attitudes about, 193 131, 288, 290 status of, 261, 262, 267 'Uqba b. Nafi', 114, 116 al-Ya'qubi, 67 al-Yazid, Sultan, 225–226 veil Qaramita movement opposition to, 43 Yusuf b. Tashfin, 121 Wadud, Amina, 28 Zanata Berbers. See Wattasi dynasty Wahb b. Munabbih, 67 Zar. See Sudan: Zar

Zaydana, 8, 192–195, 199 n. 68, 305

intrigues of, 194

Zin al-'Abidin, 216

Zuhair b. Qays, 115

© in this web service Cambridge University Press

Wahhabism, 45, 227, 228, 306

Walata, 88, 126, 127, 128, 130

literalist and populist doctrine of, 45

wala'. See client relationship (wala')

www.cambridge.org

33I