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ARAȘTIRMA MAKALESİ/RESEARCH ARTICLE ANNEXATION OF THE SUDANESE TERRITORIES TO THE KHEDIVE OF EGYPT

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Abstract

Sudan is located in the center of the African continent, it has a special place with its geographical location, ethnic structure, history and culture. It has a dynamic and strong structure on the Nile basin with its ancient historical texture. The geography extending from the Red Sea to the Atlantic Ocean is known as Bilād al-Sūdān and covers a wide area in the center of Africa. With the conquest of Egypt during the reign of Yavuz Sultan Selim, the Ottomans reached to the south of Egypt. As a result, they expanded their lands and went ahead with their conquest movements. They established military, commercial, scientific and social contacts in the region within the sphere of influence of the (Beylerbeyligi) State of Egypt and the State of Abyssinia. The appointment of Kavalalı Mehmed 'Alī Pasha as the governor of Egypt increased the influence ot the Ottoman Empire further in the territory of Sudan and the administration of the country between 1821-1895 was named as Ahd al-Turkey. Under the administration of the Ottoman-Egyptian powers, the region was developed and civilized, until its colonization by British Empire. The absence of a comprehensive study about the Ottoman period in the region and its political and/or cultural contributions to the region motivated this study. In this study it is targeted to outline and analyse the effect of Ottoman culture and civilization on the region by interpreting previous studies about the history of Ottoman-Sudan relations and annexation of Sudanese territories in the literature.

Key Words: Sufism, Islam, Ottoman, Africa, Sudan, Egyptian Khedives.

SUDAN TOPRAKLARININ MISIR HİDİVLİĞİ'NE İLHAK EDİLMESİ

Öz

Afrika kıtasının merkezinde yer alan Sudan coğrafyası konumu, etnik yapısı, tarihi ve kültürü ile özellikli bir yere sahiptir. Tarihi dokusuyla Nil havzası üzerinde hareketli ve güçlü bir yapıya sahiptir. Bilâdü's-Sudan adıyla anılan Kızıldeniz'den Atlas Okyanusuna kadar uzanan coğrafya Afrika'nın merkezinde geniş bir sahayı kapsamaktadır. Mısır'ın fethiyle birlikte Yavuz Sultan Selim döneminde Osmanlılar Mısır'ın güneyine ilerleyince topraklarını genişleterek fetih hareketlerini sürdürdüler. Mısır ve Habeş Eyaletinin tesir halkası içerisinde bölgeye askeri, ticari, ilmi ve içtimai temaslar gerçekleştirilmiştir. Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa'nın (ö. 1265/1849) Mısır valisi olmasıyla

Osmanlı'nın Sudan topraklarındaki nüfuzu daha fazla artmış ve 1821-1895 tarihleri arasındaki yönetime Ahdü't-Türkiye adı verilmiştir. Osmanlı-Mısır güçlerinin destek ve katkıları ile bölgenin yönetim ve imarı gerçekleşmiştir. Mısır'ın İngilizler tarafından 1882 yılında istila edilmesiyle Sudan topraklarını da işgal eden İngiliz sömürge güçlerine karşı Fûr Hanedanlığı ve Sudan Mehdisi gibi önemli güçler mücadele vermiş ama sonunda bölge İngiliz sömürgesine maruz kalarak Osmanlı hâkimiyetinden çıkmak durumuyla karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Bilim dünyasında Osmanlı'nın Sudan üzerindeki hâkimiyet süreci, bölgede gerçekleştirdiği siyasi ve kültürel katkıları anlamında yeterli ve kapsayıcı düzeyde saha çalışmasının bulunmayışı nedeniyle böylesi bir konuyu değerlendirmek durumunda kaldık. Konuyla ilgili gerçekleştirilen akademik çalışmalardan da azami düzeyde yararlanmak suretiyle Osmanlı kültür ve medeniyetinin Sudan'daki gelişim seyrini ortaya koymaya çalıştık.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tasavvuf, İslam, Osmanlı, Afrika, Sudan, Mısır Hidivliği.

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Introduction

The wide geographical area including the territory of the Republic of Sudan today, from the Red Sea coast to the West African region in which different nations live, is called Bilād al-Sudan. The name "Sudan", which means blacks, corresponds to the eastern part of the ancient Bilād al-Sudan lands, which was then called the land of blacks.¹

The entry of Muslims into Sudan was after Amr b. al-'As conquered Egypt in 639. The Muslims who settled in Egypt began to travel to the Sudanese geography for the purpose of trade. The spread of Islam in these lands was mostly realized through merchants. Muslims, who were engaged in trade, won the hearts of the people of the region with their honesty, preaching and exemplary personalities as well as their economic gains.²

In addition to commercial activity, another factor that led to an increase in acquaintance with Islam in the region is the mass migration of Muslim peoples. Tribes migrating from Yemen penetrated into the Sahara via the Nile delta. As a result of these migrations, the Toubous as well as Tuaregs and other Saharan tribes adopted Islam. Thus, Islam was introduced to all Saharan peoples, from the Red Sea coast to Timbuktu.With the mass migrations from Yemen, the Arab tribes had strong interactions with the societies in Egypt and Sudan. Indigenous peoples' inclination towards Islam increased in Bilād al-Sudan lands such as Wadai, Baguirmi, Kanem and Bornu.³ As a result of the mass migration of the Bani Hilāl and Bani Sulaym tribes through the Arabian Peninsula and Yemen, many Berber tribes in North Africa also merged with the Arab communities. By means of these massive incursions in the south, it could be inferred that the Sudanese peoples in the Lake Chad basin also socialized with the migrating tribes.⁴ In consequence of these mass migrations and commercial activities over Egypt and the Red Sea, Muslim mobility increased in Bilād al-Sudan. The Islamization activities were accelerated,

¹ Enver Arpa, Afrika Seyahatnamesi (Ankara: Fecr Yayınları, 2015), 20.

² Şübeyke el-Mekkî, es-Sûdân 'abre'l-kurûn (Beyrut: Dâru'l-Ceyl, 1991), 29; Arpa, Afrika Seyahatnamesi, 20.

³ İbrahim Muhammed Hasan - Ali Muhammed el-Ahmar, *el-Asâletü'l-Arabiyye li-Kabâili Arabi'ş-Şuvâ* (Bingazi: Dâru'l-Kütübi'l-Vataniyye, 2008), 68-70.

⁴ John D. Fage, *To the History of West Africa* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 35.

especially with the notification activities of the Almoravid State, which came from the West. The main conclusion here is that the spread of Islam in Bilād al-Sudan did not occur all at once. The spread of Islam in the region took place over a long period of time and gained speed with a natural communication, and it was actualized as a result of regular and conscious missionary activities. Islam, which gained dominance in North Africa in the early periods with the conquests, spread through social relations and preaching activities in a peaceful environment rather than military conflicts in the southern lands.⁵

Before the conquest of the lands, the Muslim forces also organized expeditions through the Sudan gate opened by the Muslim merchants, who devoted themselselves to conquer the "hearts" in the first place. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother Turan Shah and Sultan Baybars organized expeditions to present-day Sudan in 1172 and 1260 respectively. Islam hold sway over this region as a result of these campaigns carried out by the Ayyubids, the presence of Islam in Sudan became dominant when the Ottoman Empire conquered Egypt in $1517.^{6}$

In the 14th century, the Tunjur Arabs in Tunisia migrated to Darfur via Bornu and Wadai. The fact that Shaykh Ahmed, one of the Tunisian Tunjur Arabs, was accepted as a reputable name by the King of Darfur, received the title of advisor to the King of Darfur, and even that he had a say in the dynasty as the King's son-in-law, is a good example for us to see what kind of developments these migrations led to. It is possible to state that these relations enabled Islam to be rooted in the region firmly. In 1596, Amir Suleyman's leadership in the spread of Islam in the region was an initiative that ensured the complete Islamization of Darfur.⁷ In the northern regions of Sudan known as Nubia, black tribes were dominant at first, and then various tribes such as Kush, Makuria, Alodia and Func ruled over the region.⁸

The Islamic culture and Ottoman existence in the Sudanese geography has been a popular field of research in some recent studies. In this context, Durmuş Akalın and Selim Parlaz's "Ottomans and Italians in East Africa in the 19th Century", Türkkaya Ataöv's famous research titled "African National Liberation Struggles", Ahmet Kavas's studies, Cengiz Orhonlu's study published under the title "Southern Politics of the Ottoman Empire:Abyssinian Province" and Muhammed Tandoğan's researches are noteworthy examples. They generally focused on the geography of Africa and particularly on Sudan. By re-evaluating the aforementioned studies, we will try to present our findings on the Ottoman administration style in the region, the cultural accumulation, and the Ottoman presence in the region preventing the invasion of the colonial powers.

⁵ Hasan el-Ahmar, el-Asâletü'l-Arabiyye, 68-70; el-Mekkî, es-Sûdân 'abre'l-kurûn, 30-37; Salah Ömer Sadık, "Evzâu'l-âsâri'l-İslâmiyye fi's-Sudan", el-İslam fi 'Ifrikiyye (2006), 85-91; Muhammed Tandoğan, Büyük Sahra'da Son Osmanlı Tebaası Tevâikler (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2018), 113.

⁶ el-Mekkî, *es-Sûdân ʿabre'l-kurûn*, 37-38; Muhammed Mihrî, *Sudan Seyahatnâmesi*, ed. Ahmet Kavas, yay. haz. Muhammed Tandoğan - Aydın Özkan - Abdullah Erdem Taş (Ankara: Kitabevi, 2016), 52.

⁷ Veli Ertan, *Afrika'da ve Avrupa'da İslamiyet* (İstanbul: Bahar Yayınları, 1968), 26.

⁸ Ramazan Özey, *Afrika Coğrafyası* (İstanbul Aktif Yayınları, 3. Basım, 2006), 178.

1. Ottoman Penetration Into Sudan

With the conquest of Egypt by Yavuz Sultan Selim in 1517, Sudan became a strategic geography targeted by the Ottomans with a desire to defend Islam and expand its borders. In the 16th century, Portuguese powers began to dominate the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, desiring to control the trade routes that carried the spices of the East to Europe via Egypt and Syria. In 1527, the Ottoman Empire captured the strategic points of in the Red Sea including the Suakin and Massawa Ports in order to control the trade routes, protect the Yemen and East African coasts, especially the Hejaz region from the Portuguese forces from reaching Red Sea. The settlement on Suakin Island enabled the Ottoman Empire to be a close neighbor of the Sultanate of Func, which was the center of local power in the Sudanese lands.⁹

Desiring to ensure its own border security and strengthen its dominance in the region, the Ottoman Empire made strategic plans and started to dominate the Sudanese lands within a short time. As a result of these plans, they conquered the Atbarah valley and the region between Suakin and the Nile. Despite some internal conflicts and turmoil that broke out with the conquest of Suakin, the Kavalalı¹⁰ administration broke the power of the Sultanate of Funj in the region and weakened it over time.

Between 1556 and 1584, the Ottomans organized several expeditions against the Funj Sultanate. The conquests of the Ottoman Empire in the Abyssinian lands culminated in controlling the gold, gum and ivory trade, and to limit the Portuguese expansion in the Horn of Africa. Thus, the Ottoman Empire made Suakin Island its headquarters and supply base. In 1565, the Ottoman forces advancing along the Nile Valley reached the Ibrim region. Thanks to the İbrim and Say castles established by the Ottoman Empire in the region, they protected the Egyptian province from the attacks of the Func Sultanate. Ibrim and Say castles were protected by the Ottoman military forces, whose salaries were paid by the Egyptian Governorate until 1794.¹¹

The Mahas district, which was conquered in 1584, became the supply base of the Ottomans as they wanted to end the existence of the Funj Sultanate. The Ottoman Empire implemented a passive defense policy after 1584. The Funj Sultanate was captured by the Turkish-Egyptian forces only in 1820. A calm and peaceful atmosphere was established in the lands of Sudan those were tried to be controlled by Funj and Ottoman forces from 1584 to 1820. ¹² Regular trade expeditions were organized between Sinnar, Shand, Suakin

⁹ el-Mekkî, es-Sûdân 'abre'l-ķurûn, 62.

¹⁰ Mehmed Ali Pasha of Kavala is usually known by the name Muhammad Ali Pasha in western literature.

¹¹ Yusuf Fadl Hasan, "Sudan Özelinde Türk-Afrika İlişkilerinin Bazı Yönleri", Yükselen Afrika ve Türkiye I. Uluslararası Türk-Afrika Kongresi (23 Kasım 2005), ed. Ahmet Kavas & Hasan Öztürk, Tasam Yayınları, İstanbul 2006, s. 286-287.

¹² John Alexander, "The Ottoman Empire in Nubia", History of the Ottoman Empire Some Aspects of the Sudanese Turkish Relations, ed. Yusuf Fadl Hasan (Khartum: 2004), 19-20.

and Egypt and Hejaz. Thanks to this regularly controlled commercial activity, the cultural and religious influence of the Ottoman Empire in the neighboring lands of Algeria, Tunisia, Tripoli, Egypt and Abyssinia provinces had continued to increase from the 16th century to the 19th century.¹³

2. Egyptian Khedives Period in Sudan

The Sudanese lands on the Red Sea coastline joined the Ottoman lands during the Indian Sea Campaigns and this region of Sudan was connected to the Abyssinian State. When the French occupation forces withdrew from Egypt in 1802, Egypt came under the dominion of the Ottoman Empire again and Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha (d. 1265/1849) was appointed as the governor of the Egyptian Province in 1805.¹⁴

The lands of present-day Sudan became Ottoman soil after the appointment of Mehmed Ali Pasha of Kavala as the Governor of Egypt. The Sultan of Func, who regressed against the advance of the Ottoman forces, surrendered to the Ottoman army in 1821¹⁵. When Sudan became an Ottoman province, sermons began to be read on behalf of the Ottoman Caliph in Sudanese mosques. Although the primary reason for the Ottomans' great interest in the Sudanese geography for centuries is the security policy, another reason was to keep the trade under control. In terms of geography, Sudan is an extension of the Nile valley and has no natural borders and almost forms a unity with Egypt. ¹⁶ During the reign of Mehmed Ali Pasha of Kavala, the Ottoman central administration system was established with the spread of the Ottoman in through the region, and the Sudanese lands were administered by the Ottoman governors between 1825 and 1843.¹⁷

During the period of Mehmed Ali Pasha of Kavala, who took over the in Egypt in 1805, Egypt was formally seen as belonging to the Ottoman State and the campaigns against Sudan were naturally carried out on behalf of the Ottoman administration. This period, in which Sudan was captured on behalf of Ottoman Egypt and administered from Khartoum, was called Ahd at-Turkiye, that is, Turkey Period.¹⁸ While the governor who governed this place on behalf of Egypt was given the title of "ruler", the new province of Sudan divided into eleven directorates consisting of Massawa and Suakin, along with the guards of Khartoum, Dongola, Berbera, Tāqa, Sinnar, Baḥr al-Abyadh, Bala-i Nil, Kordofan, Darfur, Baḥr al-Ghazāl and Harara.¹⁹ Sudan, which became an Ottoman province between 1821

¹³ Yusuf Fadl Hasan, "Sudan Özelinde Türk-Afrika İlişkilerinin Bazı Yönleri", Yükselen Afrika ve Türkiye I. Uluslararası Türk-Afrika Kongresi (23 Kasım 2005), ed. Ahmet Kavas - Hasan Öztürk (İstanbul: Tasam Yayınları, 2006), 286-287.

¹⁴ Ahmet Kavas, *Geçmişten Günümüze Afrika* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2. Basım, 2017), 268-269.

¹⁵ Hasan, "Sudan Özelinde Türk-Afrika İlişkilerinin Bazı Yönleri", Yükselen Afrika ve Türkiye, 287-289.

¹⁶ Numan Hazar, Küreselleşme Sürecinde Afrika ve Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri (Ankara: Usak Yayınları, 2. Basım, 2011), 129.

¹⁷ Özey, Afrika Coğrafyası, 178.

¹⁸ Cengiz Orhonlu, "Osmanlı-Bornu Münasebetine Aid Belgeler", İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi 23 (İstanbul 1969) 125.

¹⁹ Kavas, Geçmişten Günümüze Afrika, 268-269.

and 1885, carried the important traces of Ottoman cultural history in its heart. ²⁰ The conquest of Sudan by Mehmed Ali Pasha of Kavala in 1821 provided a great advantage for the Ottomans in the region. ²¹

The Turkish-Egyptian domination was deepened by the conquest of Gallabat in 1830. The regular Turkish-Egyptian military force in Sudan consisted of approximately 30,000-35,000 soldiers.²² There were about 3,000 Sudanese soldiers in these forces. Sudanese soldiers and Abyssinians were also sent to aid the Ottoman Empire during the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War.²³

The Ottoman forces captured Sudan and formed four separate administrative units called Kashiflik. The Turks, who ensured peace and tranquility in Sudan thereafter, were concerned about gaining new lands by continuing their conquest movements. Ottoman sailor Salim Kapudan organized expeditions on the route of the Nile in 1839-1842.²⁴ As a result of these expeditions, he discovered hitherto unknown lands further up the White Nile. Later, administrative units called "Muhafaza" were established in the lands deep in the Blue Nile. Under the Ottoman military administration big landowners were given the right to own land and Turkish was used as the official language in the administration.²⁵ In Sudan, which came under the rule of Egypt during the reign of Mehmed Ali Pasha of Kavala and became a part of the Ottoman Empire, Turkish education was provided between 1853-1877. Moreover, the first attempts to establish modern schools in Sudan were initiated during the reign of Governor Abbas Pasha (1853-1854). Sudanese notables and children from Khartoum, Dongola and Sennar, as well as the children of military and civil servants, were educated together. Thereby the education activities during the Egyptian Khedive Ismail Pasha were held in Turkish.²⁶ The teachers needed for Turkish education were sent from Cairo. The number of the schools offering Turkish education in different cities of Sudan has increased to seven.²⁷

Under the Ottoman rule, Nubian Nile Valley and Darfur were united and a central government was established in the country.²⁸ Some Egyptians were promoted to senior bureaucratic and military posts in Sudan. Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha, who developed the irrigation system in Sudan, contributed to the development of agriculture by growing

²⁰ Hazar, Afrika ve Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri, 121-122.

²¹ el-Mekkî, *es-Sûdân ʿabre'l-kurûn*, 93-95; Hakan Aydın, "Eleştirel Perspektifle Sudan ve Güney Sudan'ı Anlamak", *Dünya Tarihinde Afrika 4*, ed. İsmail Ermağan (Ankara: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, 2017), 189.

Alice Moore-Harell, "The Turco-Egyptian Army in Sudan on the Eve of the Mahdiyya 1877-80", International Journal of Middle East Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 23.

²³ Durmuş Akalın - Selim Parlaz, XIX. Yüzyılda Doğu Afrika'da Osmanlılar ve İtalyanlar (İstanbul: Kesit Yayınları, 2015), 127.

²⁴ Hasan Abdullah İbrahim, "The Sudan in the Nineteenth Century", General History of Africa Africa in the Nineteenth Century until 1880s, ed. Jong Ajax Ade Ajayi (Unesco: 1989), 359.

²⁵ Hasan, "Sudan Özelinde Türk-Afrika İlişkilerinin Bazı Yönleri", Yükselen Afrika ve Türkiye, 287-289.

²⁶ Hazar, *Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri*, 131.

²⁷ Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, Mısır'da Türkler ve Kültürel Mirasları (İstanbul: İslam Kanferansı Teşkilatı İslam, Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırmaları Merkezi Yayınları, 2006), 114-115.

²⁸ Anders Bjorkelo, "The Territorial Unification and Administrative Divisions of Turkish Sudan 1821-1885", Sudan Notes and Records (Khartoum: University of Bergen, 1997), 25-46.

new plant species. Ottoman administration in Sudan led to the establishment of a strong unity in the Sudanese lands. Sinnār, Kordofan, Kassala, Khat al-istiwā, Baḥr al-Ghazāl and Darfur were connected to the capital Khartoum.²⁹ While Khartoum was only a site consisting of several fishermen huts in 1823, Mehmed Ali Pasha of Kavala transformed it into a modern African city. Ottoman soldiers sent to Sudan made Khartoum a city with its bazaars, mosques and government buildings where large masses lived.³⁰ Located at the confluence of the Blue and White Nile rivers, Khartoum was the largest settlement in Central Sudan at the beginning of the twentieth century. As a trade center, Khartoum started to establish commercial relations with inner Sudan and Abyssinia on one hand, and with ports such as Massawa, Suakin and Berbera on the Red Sea coast and with Cairo and Alexandria in the north on the other. The trade to the interior of Sudan was mostly carried out by ferries over the Nile river. The trade from Khartoum to the Red Sea coast was executed by rail. Due to its geo-strategical location, Khartoum became an important settlement in a short time.³¹

During the Kavalalı period, political and economic organizations were modernized, the transportation facilities and communication opportunities were improved and the old traditional social structure was developed consecutively. Desiring to expand its authority, the Ottoman government used firearms, steamboats and the electric telegraph. Furthermore, a central government system with the support of state governors was established.³²

After the death of Mehmed Ali Pasha of Kavala in 1849, the Governorship of Egypt was continued by Kavalalı's sons and grandchildren. The governorship of Egypt after Kavalalı continued as the Khedivate.³³ When Sudan was annexed to Egypt, Mehmed Ali Pasha of Kavala appointed his eldest son İsmail Bey (1820-1822), his son-in-law Mehmed Bey (1822-1825), and later Mahu Osman Urfalı (1825-1825) as the army commander. The governors of Sudan appointed after Mahu Osman were called rulers (hukumdār). Soldiers and commanders trained by the Ottoman State from different regions of the Empire including Anatolia, the Balkans and the Caucasus such as Ali Hurshid Pasha, Ahmed Pasha Abu Weddān, Rustem Pasha the Circassian, Ali Pasha Sırrı Arnavut, Ahmed Mumtāz Pasha, İsmail Pasha Eyyub all assumed the government here. Among them, the administrators among the Christian subjects such as Arakil Bey al-Armanian were appointed.³⁴

²⁹ Peter Malcolm Holt, Studies in the History of the Near East (London: OUP, 1937), 135; Hasan, "Sudan Özelinde Türk-Afrika İlişkilerinin Bazı Yönleri", Yükselen Afrika ve Türkiye, 287-289.

³⁰ Kavas, Geçmişten Günümüze Afrika, 104-105.

³¹ Ahmet Kavas, "Takdim/Bir Osmanlı Seyyâhının Nil Havzası'ndaki Sudan Penceresinden Afrika'ya Bakışı".. Sudan Seyahatnâmesi, yay. haz. Muhammed Tandoğan - Aydın Özkan - Abdullah Erdem Taş (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2016), XVII-XVIII.

³² Hasan, "Sudan Özelinde Türk-Afrika İlişkilerinin Bazı Yönleri", Yükselen Afrika ve Türkiye, 287-289.

³³ Kavas, Geçmişten Günümüze Afrika, 268-269.

³⁴ el-Mekkî, es-Sûdân 'abre'l-kurûn, 127-140; Kavas, Geçmişten Günümüze Afrika, 268-269.

The British began to take an interest in Sudan during the reign of Khedive Ismail Pasha. As a result of this interest, Samuel Baker and also Charles George Gordon, who would later be named Gordon Pasha, were appointed respectively as the Governor of Sudan.³⁵

Khedive Ismail Pasha sought help from many such European experts to increase his influence on the Sudanese and East African coasts. As an instance, he appointed the Italian Romolo Gessi as the director of Baḥr al-Ghazāl and the Silesian Eduard Schnitzer as the director of Khat al-istiwā. Werner Munzinger, who was appointed as the Governor of Massawa by İsmail Pasha in 1871, was one of them. In 1873, Munzinger's mandate was expanded so as to be governor of the entire Red Sea and Somali coast. In 1876, Scottish Henry McKillop was made the regional administrator of Egypt. So much so that the task of preventing the slave trade on the coasts of the Red Sea was entrusted to him with the ships assigned to his command. Moreover, the British soldiers were employed under his . Henry McKillop left his post to Captain Morice in March 1877. In January 1878, Captain Malcolm was appointed as the head of the Egyptian Anti-Slave Trade Police Service, which was established to prevent the slave trade in the Red Sea.³⁶ Another western consultant, who was appointed by the Ottoman-Egyptian forces to carry out military activities in the Sudan and Somalian borders of Egypt, was Chaillé-Long. Staying in Musawva for a while, Chaille-Long carried out some of his correspondence from here.³⁷

Mehmed Ali Pasha of Kavala captured Sinnār, the capital of the Sultanate of Func, and transformed Sudan into a province of Egypt with his military victories. Military posts were established in Kassala, Khartoum and al-Ubayd, and these military posts became strategic Ottoman cities over time. The emergence of the Egyptian Khedive Ismail Pasha as an important figure became evident when he took control of the Sudanese lands in 1863.³⁸ In 1875, Kavalalı's son İsmail Pasha connected the lands of present-day Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia, Djibouti, partly Ethiopia, Uganda and the Central African Republic to Egypt. The Sultanates of Func, Darfur, Kordofan, Zeila and Harara were dominating these lands before Kavalalı.³⁹ These gains in Sudan were not limited to this, and the Ottoman forces went down to the equatorial zone. The equatorial directorate called Khat al-istiwā was established in the south of the present Sudan-Uganda border. The Ottoman-Egyptian administration successfully managed the Khat al-istiwā Directorate with the support they received from the locals and with the European soldiers in addition to the bureaucrats they appointed to the directorate. This Ottoman administration, which was carried out in the sub-Saharan geography, failed with the British occupation of Egypt and Sudan in 1882.40

³⁵ el-Mekkî, es-Sûdân 'abre'l-kurûn, 205-242; Hazar, Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri, 176.

³⁶ Cengiz Orhonlu, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Güney Siyaseti Habeş Eyaleti (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1996), 150-151.

³⁷ Akalın - Parlaz, XIX. Yüzyılda Doğu Afrika'da Osmanlılar ve İtalyanlar, 115.

³⁸ Özey, Afrika Coğrafyası, 178.

³⁹ Kavas, Geçmişten Günümüze Afrika, 268-269.

⁴⁰ el-Mekkî, *es-Sûdân 'abre'l-kurûn*, 95-106; Kavas, "Tarihi Süreçte Sahra Altı Afrika", *Sahra Altı Afrika*, 78-79.

We think that it would be appropriate to include a brief presentation of these directorates and guards by appealing to the introduction of Muhammed Mihri in his Sudan Travel Book:

1. Dongola Directorate: The towns named Delgo, Argo, Dongola, al-Handak, ed-Dabba, Korti, Sanam and Marit are affiliated to the Dongola Directorate. It is located in the west of Bashāra region and on both sides of the Nile. Its territory stretches for 260 km along the Nile coastline. At that time, its population was 75,000, composed mostly of Arabs and Berbers. Its arable land is only on the banks of the Nile and the rest is desert. The only product grown is dates..⁴¹

2. Berber Directorate: It is bordered by Souda Suakin and Kabkabiya bays, Mitatib in the south and Dongola in the west. It has a total population of 50,000 consisting of Arab and Beja tribes. It is a region where the boabab trees grow intensely.⁴²

3. Al-Kamilīn Directorate: al-Kamilīn Directorate, which consists of the towns of al-Muslimiye, Ubûd, Abu Haraz, Rifa'a, al-Kevve, Goz Ebu Cum'a, Abu Dulayk, is located near Khartoum and on the Great Nile. Its territories with fertile lands expands from the place called Hajar al Asal to Halfa and Blue Nile, then from Omdurman town on the White Nile to Al Jabalayn and also from Butana to Ebî Dulayk in the east, and reaching Jabre in the west. The people here were well-educated and they lived in the towns. Its total population was about 200,000.⁴³

4. Sinnār Directorate: Sinnār Directorate, which is located between the White Nile and the Blue Nile in the east of Sudan, separated from the White Nile and Kordofan Directorate in the west, reached the Atbarah Stream flowing into the Nile in the east, extended to the Abyssinian border in the southeast, and was surrounded by the Nuba Mountains in the south. There exist hills reaching up to 300 meters. There are four branches of the Nile in the region enabling the lands to be irrigated. There are three seasons in the region. In the winter, which lasts from the January to March, the north winds blow and the nights are quite cold. In the summer, which lasts from March to June, the temperature and drought are quite high. The rainy season, which lasts from the end of June until the end of the December, has a temperate climate. Native people grow Millet, sesame, corn, cotton, tobacco and vegetables. Due to the overflow of rivers, swamps are formed, and diseases like malaria are experienced. There are some groves around the rivers. Various animals such as elephants, rhinoceros, giraffes, gazelles and wild boars as well as wolves, foxes, hyenas, wild cats and monkeys live here. Its population consists mainly of Abyssinian tribes of Arab origin.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Mihrî, *Sudan Seyahatnâmesi*, 265-266.

⁴² Mihrî, Sudan Seyahatnâmesi, 266-267.

⁴³ Mihrî, Sudan Seyahatnâmesi, 270.

⁴⁴ Mihrî, Sudan Seyahatnâmesi, 270-272.

5. Darfur Directorate: This directorate is located in eastern Sudan. It is bordered by Kordofan in the east, Wadi in the west, Wadi El Natrûn well in the north, and Baḥr al-Arab in the south. Jebel-i Mare mountain is located in the middle of the region. The altitude of the region through which the Nile and Congo rivers pass is 600 meters. The fertile and developed parts of the region are the western and the southern parts. Some black tribes settled on Jebel Marra also live in the region populated mostly by Arabs and Berbers. Black tribes are not very intertwined with the peoples of the region. The towns of Kasa, Al Fashir, Bi'ru Demdun, Bekkariyah, Umm Badr, Fevce, Milit, Kevkebiye, Kelkul, Nûra, Dara, Tuşe, Sheke, Kelkeme, Taymo, Dango, Hofrat An Nühâs are the main settlements of the region. The main products grown in the region are wheat, barley, rice, cotton, tobacco, tomato and watermelon. Some valleys are also covered with groves.⁴⁵

6. Kordofan Directorate: The Directorate has seven central settlements consisting of the towns of el-Ebyâd, Atbarah, Tayyâre, Husri, ed-Duveym, Kidaro and es-Sennut. The people of the region exchange goods such as ostrich feathers, gum, tamarind, ivory and leather they produce with products such as sugar and rice they bring from the north. The region is bordered by Wādī'l-Milh in the north, Baḥr al-Ghazāl in the south, Fashoda in the east and Darfur in the west. During the rain season that started in June, the air and temperature are unbearable. The total population of this directorate is approximately 1.150.000 and the tribes of Hawāzima, Banī Jarrīr, Kabsābish, Hamr, Fulate, Hubbāniya, Jam' and Dār al-Ahāmida live here.⁴⁶

7. Kassala Directorate: The central cities of this directorate are the towns of al-Kadarif and al-Kalabat. There are Hûru'l-Lankîb and Bi'ru Tenderâ in the north, Kabalat Town in the south, al-Arsariyya in the east, and the directorates of Jazira and Sinnār in the west. Its total population is about 43,000. The land of this directorate is partially stony and consists of mountainous and wooded areas. Banana, pomegranate, black and white grapes, sweet and sour lemons, figs, pineapple guava and olives are the main products grown.⁴⁷

8. The Directorate of al-Manufiyya: The Directorate of Manufiyya has regions named Shibin-El Kom, El Minifiye, Eshmun, Sema Tawy, Dalia and Esna. The total population of the directorate is 971,081 and it is more fertile than other directorates. Mostly cotton, linen and wheat are produced.⁴⁸

9. Khat el Istiwa Directorate: It is the directorate established on the territory of Uganda. The most important director of the Directorate, who was assigned and authorized with the rank of *Pasha*, was Mehmed Emin Pasha. The real name of Mehmed Emin Pasha, who was of German origin, was Eduard Carl Oscar Teodor Schnitzer. After completing his

⁴⁵ Mihrî, Sudan Seyahatnâmesi, 272-273.

⁴⁶ Mihrî, Sudan Seyahatnâmesi, 274-275.

 ⁴⁷ Mihrî, Sudan Seyahatnâmesi, 277-278.
⁴⁸ Mihrî, Sudan Seyahatnâmesi, 325

⁴⁸ Mihrî, *Sudan Seyahatnâmesi*, 325.

medical education and working as a doctor, Schnitzer entered the service of Ottoman statesmen and gained their trust. He lived in different cities of the Balkans and Anatolia. As a result of what he experienced and realized, he accepted Islam and adopted the name Mehmed Emin. He returned to Germany in 1873after the death of Ismail Hakki Pasha, the Governor of Yanya, under whom he worked. Later, he was appointed to the Khat al Istiwā Directorate in South Sudan, which was under the Ottoman-Egyptian administration, close to the Ugandan border today. He was later given the title of pasha. He had a hard time in the region, when he stuck between the British occupation forces and the forces of the Sudanese Mahdi, who resisted the occupation. Although he resisted the British forces with the Ottoman-Egyptian soldiers under his command for a while, he had to move to Uganda afterwards. Stanley, whom he encountered in Uganda, offered him to enter the service of the King of Belgium, but Mehmed Emin Pasha refused it. After a while, he moved to Tanzania where he served for Germany. He was captured and killed during an attack on one of the indigenous tribes resisting German colonialism in the interior of Uganda. Thus, the struggle of Mehmed Emin Pasha, who moved away from this duty while acting on behalf of the Ottoman Empire in the most fertile lands of Sub-Saharan Africa, was left unfinished on behalf of Germany, too. The coastal side of the Khat el Istiwa Directorate became the colony of England, and the interior parts became the colony of Belgium.49

10. Fashoda Guard: Fashoda is bordered by the White Nile in the east of Sudan, Bahr al-Jabel in the north, Uganda in the south, and Kordofan in the west. Its land is extremely fertile and its main products consist of corn, wheat, ostrich feathers, ivory. The majority of the population is black. The Ottoman administration was carried out under the authority of the police and the municipal police team. The towns of Tawkify, an-Nâsır and Sübt are the main settlements.⁵⁰

11. Suakin Guard: It is an area stretching from Ras Aliyya to Ras Kassar on the Red Sea. The Suakin Guard is bordered in the south by the Exeria and Kassala, and in the west by the Berber Directorate. It is located 210 km southwest of Jeddah. It is a port city of the Khedivate of Egypt and has a population of 119,000. Commercial life in Suakin is quite active; there are casinos, coffee houses, fishing boats and a telegraph line extending to the Aden line. It was included in the Ottoman lands during the reign of Yavuz Sultan Selim and became the center of the Abyssinian Province. Part of the town is located on the beach whereas the other part is located on a nearby small island.⁵¹

12. Baḥr al-Ghazāl Guard: One of the provincial areas of Khartoum that is governed by a guard is the Baḥr al-Ghazāl Guard and its center is the town of Wau. As Baḥr al-Ghazāl separates the Darfur and Kordofan directorates from each other in its northern part, it also separates Bahr al-Jabal and Fashoda in its southwest direction. It borders the French

⁴⁹ Kavas, "Tarihi Süreçte Sahra Altı Afrika", Sahra Altı Afrika, 83.

⁵⁰ Mihrî, Sudan Seyahatnâmesi, 280.

⁵¹ Mihrî, Sudan Seyahatnâmesi, 280.

Congo in the south. The borders of this guard were drawn by the Baḥr al-Ghazāl river. There is a very fertile land suitable for agriculture in the north of the guardhouse, which is divided into two parts. It is a green field covered with dense woods. The southern part is partly composed of high plateaus, and the field consisting of high hills extends to the Congo River. Its people, all of whom are blacks, grow tobacco, tsea shells, and bananas, work in copper and iron mines, and trade in ivory, rhino horn, ostrich feathers, rubber, honey, beeswax and tamarind. ⁵²

Mehmed Ali Pasha's main goal in capturing Sudan was to establish an independent and modern state by utilizing Sudan's human and economic resources. This expectation of Kavalalı ended in failure in a short time. The financial policies implemented by the Kavalalı administration and the mismanagement practices faced the reaction of the local people.⁵³

After İsmail Pasha, İbrahim Pasha attempted to seize the Darfur region. This attempt failed because İbrahim Pasha and his troops were exhausted due to various diseases. Ibrahim Pasha's illness was the end of his plan to move into Africa.⁵⁴

3. British Colonial Administration

England, which started to settle in Egypt in 1882, also tried to spread to Sudan. After a long struggle, the British forces took over the Sudanese lands and established their own colonial administrations.⁵⁵ The Sudanese lands, which were under the rule of the Sudanese Mahdi between 1882-1898, were eventually occupied by the British forces⁵⁶ and the British Colonial Governor General Horatio Herbert established the colonial administration. ⁵⁷ The British, together with their Egyptian supporters, suppressed the rebellion. ⁵⁸

Sudan remained under the rule of the Khedive of Egypt on behalf of the Ottoman Empire between 1821 and 1882. This term, called the "at-Turkiyya" Period, was followed by British colonialism. During the colonial period, condominium (i.e. co-administration) was adopted. Sudan then became jointly administered by the British and Egyptians. By a 12article act, the central government in Khartoum and how the settlements connected to it would be administered were determined in detail. This act was signed on 19 January 1899

⁵² Mihrî, *Sudan Seyahatnâmesi*, 280-281.

⁵³ el-Mekkî, es-Sûdân 'abre'l-kurûn, 95; İbrahim, "The Sudan in the Nineteenth Century", General History of Africa Africa, 359; Hasan, "Sudan Özelinde Türk-Afrika İlişkilerinin Bazı Yönleri", Yükselen Afrika ve Türkiye, 287-289.

⁵⁴ Bjorkelo, "The Territorial Unification and Administrative Divisions of Turkish Sudan 1821-1885", Sudan Notes and Records, 25-46; Hazar, Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri, 130.

⁵⁵ Hazar, Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri, 121-122.

⁵⁶ el-Mekkî, es-Sûdân 'abre'l-kurûn, 250-359; Türkkaya Ataöv, Afrika Ulusal Kurtuluş Mücadeleleri (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilimler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1977), 16.

⁵⁷ Özey, Afrika Coğrafyası, 178.

⁵⁸ Ertan, Afrika'da ve Avrupa'da İslamiyet, 92.

by Lord Evelyn Baring Cromer on behalf of England and Boutros Gali on behalf of Egypt.⁵⁹ With this treaty, Sudan came under British-Egyptian rule. The administration was theoretically shared between England and Egypt. The British ignored the Ottoman Sultan's claim to sovereignty over Sudan and did not take into account the fact that Egypt was still officially a part of the Ottoman State. Then the relations between Sudan and the Ottoman Empire were interrupted except for the Fur Sultanate.⁶⁰

Sudan became a balance of power between England and Egypt after 1899. Intending to control the Nile basin and obtaining a land area, England transformed the geography of Sudan into the field of struggle against Germany and France.⁶¹

The colonial powers, who settled permanently in the south of Sudan, accelerated their missionary activities among the tribes. They made British culture and interests functional in the region. The region of Abyei, which is located between the north and south of Sudan, has become the battleground of Muslims and Christians. While the Arabic language and Islamic culture continued to dominate in the north of the Abyei region, the ambitions of the western powers became dominant in the south. During the colonial period, each tribe was given a separate identity. Ethnic differences were highlighted. Inter-tribal conflicts began to increase.⁶²

The Sudanese, who initially accepted the Ottoman administration willingly, conveyed their complaints to Istanbul about the oppression policies implemented during the reign of Mehmed Ali Pasha of Kavala. Then the central government warned Kavalalı about the issue and invited local administrators to be gentle with the people. The Ottoman sultans gave instructions to the governors of Kavalalı and and his Sudanese successors to ensure the safety and comfort of the people with the edicts they sent. The Ottoman sultan reacted harshly to the forced tax collection attempts during the reign of Kavalalı's son, İsmail Pasha, and gave instructions to avoid the practices that attracted the public's reaction. ⁶³ Some harsh attitudes against the people during the Khedive period turned into a propaganda against the Ottomans in the course of transition to western colonialism, and the westerners took advantage of this situation in Sudan. In order to correct the Ottoman perception created during the colonial period, Sultan Abdulhamid II had to work hard. These self-sacrificing works carried out during the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II succeeded in the region.

⁵⁹ el-Mekkî, es-Sûdân 'abre'l-kurûn, 460-469; Kavas, "Takdim/Bir Osmanlı Seyyâhının Nil Havzası'ndaki Sudan Penceresinden Afrika'ya Bakışı", Sudan Seyahatnâmesi, 17-18.

⁶⁰ Yusuf Fadl Hasan, "Historical Relationship Main Highlights of Sudanese British Relations", Sudanese British Relations, ed. Yusuf Fadl Hasan (Khartoum: KUP 2002), 10-11; Hasan, "Sudan Özelinde Türk-Afrika İlişkilerinin Bazı Yönleri", Yükselen Afrika ve Türkiye, 287-289.

⁶¹ Muhammed Tandoğan - Osman Kağan Yücel, "Nil'in Paylaşılması Meselesi: Hidro-Diplomasi Bağlamında Mısır, Sudan ve Etiyopya Rekabeti", Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi 53 (Temmuz 2017) 110.

⁶² Özey, Afrika Coğrafyası, 182.

⁶³ Enver Arpa, Afrika Satrancında Sudan Hatıralar/İzlenimler (Ankara: Meneviş Yayınları, 2. Basım, 2013), 146.

One of the western powers that wanted to realize their imperial ambitions in Sudan was Italy. By the end of 19th century, the Italians started to be interested in Abyssinia, and launched an attack on Ethiopia; however, they were defeated on the battlefield. The Italians tried to relieve the pain of the Ethiopian defeat by deploying on Sudanese territory. However, these attacks of the British and Italian forces were repulsed by the Ottoman forces' efforts. As a matter of fact, the Ottoman Empire continued its claims in Sudan and Abyssinia until the end of the 19th century.⁶⁴

Even during the colonial period, the regions of Sinnar, Kordofan and Darfur continued to embrace former Ottoman domination. The most prominent figure in this period was Ali Dinar, the last sultan of the Fur Dynasty in Darfur. Although the British occupied Sudan, Ali Dinar declared his independence in Darfur and maintained his rule for 18 years. He took a stance against England both religiously and politically. During this period, Ali Dinar remained loyal to the Ottoman Empire wholeheartedly, and showed his sincerity at this point by asking the Ottoman Caliph for a flag. The Ottoman Minister of War Enver Pasha wrote a letter to Ali Dinar on February 3rd, 1915. In his letter, he invited Ali Dinar to join the Ottoman forces against their common enemy, British forces. After his defeat on May 22nd 1916, the existing relations of the country with the Ottoman Empire were completely cut off. ⁶⁵

The city of Fashir is known as the "Sultan's Fashiri" in reference to Ali Dinar, the last sultan of the Fûr Dynasty. Today, local people have a great sympathy for Ali Dinar. Ali Dinar's devotion to the Ottoman Empire and his love for them are still circulating among the people.⁶⁶

Even though England carried out the Egyptian administration with the Khedive Family under the joint British-Egyptian administration, they did not want a strong Egyptian state. After the occupation of Egypt, they achieved their own dominance in Sudan with the agreements made, this time they tried to separate the Egyptian administration from the Sudanese administration. During the colonial period, the French and British forces tried to draw the map of Africa in the context of their own axis to legitimize their expansion into the inner parts of Africa and to ensure that it was recognized by the world public opinion. The theological, cosmological, philosophical, political and historical approaches of those who drew the maps were reflected in the maps drawn. So much so that cartography became an indicator of using the science of geography in the service of colonialism. By the modern era, Egypt and Sudan were separated by such an artificial

⁶⁴ Hazar, Küreselleşme Sürecinde Afrika ve Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri, 121-122.

⁶⁵ el-Mekkî, es-Sûdân 'abre'l-kurûn, 509-520; Hasan, "Sudan Özelinde Türk-Afrika İlişkilerinin Bazı Yönleri", Yükselen Afrika ve Türkiye, 289.

⁶⁶ Arpa, Afrika Seyahatnamesi, 71.

border.⁶⁷ As a result of long-term struggles, Sudanese people declared their independence in 1956 and became an independent state.⁶⁸

Conclusion and Evaluation

The acquaintance of the Sudanese peoples with Islam started with the first conquest movements in Africa. The Islamic armies, which spread to the Egyptian region, expanded the conquest of Egypt in the south. Although the presence of Muslims in the region began to stand out with the conquest movements, the entry of the Sudanese peoples to Islam was generally through commercial mobility and scientific activities. The contacts of scholars, sūfīs and merchants with the local people led to the adoption of Islam by large masses in the region.

Bilād al-Sūdān geography, where Tulunids, Ihshidis, Murabids, Almohads and Mamluks established close contact and dominated in some regions, was generally known as a calm region with local dynasties. The presence of the Portuguese, who started to establish colonies on the Red Sea coasts from the end of the 15th century and gradually became a threat to Muslims in the Red Sea basin, aroused discomfort. The peoples of the region asked for help from the Ottomans upon the threats to the holy lands of the Muslims and at a time when the Muslim sailors could not trade comfortably in the Red Sea. Responding to this invitation, the Ottoman sultans organized expeditions to the lands of East Africa, starting from the period of Yavuz Sultan Selim. Later, the Abyssinian province was established, which paved the way for Yemen and Indian expeditions. The Red Sea and Indian Ocean expeditions of the Ottoman Suprime established the Abyssinian province, which gained dominance over a wide area alongside the Egyptian province. As the common area of Egypt and Abyssinian states, the geography of Sudan was freed from colonization for almost three centuries with the support and help of the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman Empire, which settled in the ports of Suakin and Massawa on the Red Sea coast, and took regions such as Darfur, Kordofan and Sinnar on the Nile route, put an end to the existence of the Func Sultanate, which had previously dominated Sudan. It received the support of the local people with the administrative system implemented as much as the military campaigns won in the region, provided peace and tranquility in the region, and contributed to the continuation and strengthening of the commercial activity.

The period when the Ottoman Empire was felt most in Sudan was between 1821 and 1885. This process, called Ahd at-Turkiye, went down in history as the period of the Khedive, continued by Mehmed Ali Pasha of Kavala and his sons and grandchildren. During this

⁶⁷ el-Mekkî, es-Sûdân 'abre'l-kurûn, 521-543; Aydın, "Eleştirel Perspektifle Sudan ve Güney Sudan'ı Anlamak", Dünya Tarihinde Afrika 4, 187.

⁶⁸ Özey, Afrika Coğrafyası, 178.

period, Khartoum became the capital of Sudan, and the State of Sudan was divided into directorates named Khartoum, Dongola, Berber, Tâka, Sinnar, Bahr al-Abyadh, Bala-i Nil, Kordofan, Darfur, Bahr al-Ghazal and Harare.

Mehmed Ali Pasha of Kavala, who transformed Sudan into a province attached to Egypt with his military victories, established military guards in Kassala, Khartoum and al-Ubayd. Egyptian Khedive Ismail Pasha carried these gains to the top. Present-day Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Uganda, and most parts of the Central African Republic's territory were connected to Egypt during his reign. The Sultanates of Func, Darfur, Kordofan, Zeila and Harare, which once ruled these lands, became the hinterland of Ismail Pasha. By going down to the Equator region in the south, the territory of today's Uganda was transformed into the Khat al-istiwā Directorate. However, these gains came to naught with the British invasion in 1882. Despite these advances in the time of Kavalalı and İsmail Pasha, the pressure policies of the other Khedives, which often took place, eliminated the possibility of long-term dominance due to the tax debts that were attempted to be collected additionally and some unwarranted approaches towards the people.

Britain, which made black propaganda by criticizing the financial policies and mismanagement experiences of the Egyptian Khedives, openly tried to dominate the Sudanese lands after 1882. Between 1882 and 1898, the Mahdi of Sudan showed strong resistance against the British occupation. After the resistance movement was suppressed, the British Colonial Governorate was established in Sudan. The British completed the invasion of Sudan with the help of their Egyptian supporters. A Co-administration system was adopted during the colonial period as well. With the agreement signed between England and Egypt on 19th January 1899, Sudan came under British-Egyptian rule. The administration was theoretically shared between England and Egypt. The British ignored the Ottoman Sultan's claim to sovereignty over Sudan and did not take into account that Egypt was still officially a part of the Ottoman State. In this process, relations between Sudan and the Ottoman Empire were interrupted except for the Fur Sultanate.

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