

SAHARAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

NEWSLETTER

Volume 3, No. 2, November 1995

INTRODUCTION

The *Newsletter* is the principal organ of the Saharan Studies Association, a body of scholars with common interests, associated with the African Studies Association of the United States. The *Newsletter* is published twice a year in the Spring and Fall and is designed to be a forum for the exchange of news about publications, projects and scholarly debates in our chosen area.

Broadly speaking, the aim of the Association is to foster collaboration and exchange of information between interested scholars in a variety of disciplines ranging through the arts, the humanities, the social sciences and the natural sciences, as they encounter new research materials, engage with local fieldwork problems and seek avenues for bringing the results of their research to a wider circle of colleagues. Given that French is the *lingua franca* of much of north Africa, the Sahara and West Africa, we shall be happy to publish communications and comments in French as well as English, though we regret that we are not in a position to publish a fully bi-lingual newsletter.

Membership in the Saharan Studies Association is open to all interested persons. The annual dues of US\$10 (or Sponsoring Membership of US\$25) entitle members to

receive the *Newsletter* and any other occasional publications, and to present papers at panels sponsored by the Saharan Studies Association at annual meetings of the African Studies Association and the Canadian Association of African Studies. The annual business meeting is held during the ASA meeting in November/December each year. As of May 1995 membership totaled approximately 70, from the USA, Canada, Denmark, Gt Britain, France, Norway, Spain, Algeria, Morocco, Japan, Senegal and Cameroon. We hope existing members will pass on information about the Association and actively recruit new members.

Contributions for the *Newsletter* should be sent to: John Hunwick, Department of History, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL 60208, USA (fax: (708) 467-1393; email: jhunwick@casbah.acns.nwu.edu). It would be most helpful if contributors could submit items in both paper and electronic copy preferably by email or, if on disk, formatted in Microsoft Word, though most other programs can be handled.

Membership data forms and dues should be sent to John Hunwick at the above address. Dollar checks should be made out to "Northwestern University" with the mention "Saharan Studies Association."

EDITOR'S NOTE

By an oversight, the first issue of the "Newsletter" for 1995 was numbered Volume 3, No. 2. It should, of course, have been Volume 3 No. 1. *Mea culpa*. Please amend your copies.

RESEARCH NEWS AND INQUIRIES

(1) From NEHEMIA LEVTZION, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Rewriting *Ancient Ghana and Mali*.

Since its publication in 1973 *Ancient Ghana and Mali* has not been replaced by any other comparable monograph that tells the story of the great empires of the Western Sudan. In 1981 the *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History* was edited by the late John Hopkins and myself, with as many as sixty five texts written north of the Sahara with references to West Africa, accompanied by commentaries and textual criticism.

Ancient Ghana and Mali was written shortly after African history had emerged as an academic discipline. To make our arguments against the claim that African history began only with the coming of the Europeans, we brought the evidence of the Arabic sources about the great empires of the Western Sudan. But what we actually did was only to push the beginning of African history seven centuries back to the ninth century, when the name of Ghana reached Baghdad. Moreover, according to our interpretation of the evidence from Arabic sources, major developments like long distance trade and the rise of states, had been influenced by external stimuli, coming from across the Sahara. In other words, in the sixties and early seventies, an Arabic-Islamic narrative replaced the European narrative.

At that time archaeologists were also directed by Arabic texts when choosing sites for excavations, and interpreted their findings in the light of those texts. A new generation of archaeologists asserted the independence of archaeological research from the hegemony of the Arabic sources, and followed other, more "scientific", criteria. The evidence from the excavations of Susan and Roderick McIntosh, and from their surveys of the Senegal and Niger basins, made it possible to trace the beginnings of urbanism in West Africa back to the third century BCE. They

reconstructed a process that emphasizes internal dynamics, thus offering African perspectives without, however, ignoring external stimuli.

The price for divorcing the archaeological research from the textual sources was that one can hardly corroborate evidence from these two independent unrelated narratives. Whereas the archaeological evidence suggests a process of depopulation between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, this was a period of state building according to the historical sources, both the Arabic texts and the oral traditions. The year 1400 marked the end of an era according to the archeological evidence, when the historical sources describe the empire of Mali at its peak.

In the 1960s, when we were busy reconstructing the history of the great empires we enriched our historical sources by collating Arabic texts and oral traditions. This was achieved by reconstructing a traditional account that would mesh with the narrative of the Arabic texts. In the seventies and eighties a new generation of historians went out to the field and brought back numerous versions of the traditional accounts, no less authentic, that cannot be corroborated in many cases with the evidence of the Arabic texts. David Conrad recorded and interpreted numerous versions of Mande traditions; narratives that deal with historical events and processes as viewed by the bards or their patrons.

Susan and Roderick McIntosh, together with David Conrad, accepted my invitation to come together to rewrite *Ancient Ghana and Mali*. We represent three disciplines, with evidence from three categories of sources, telling three narratives. We will not seek a consensus, nor will we force our sources to speak in one language. The result should be a multilateral interpretative history.

With support from the Truman Institute of the Hebrew University, we worked together in Jerusalem during the first two weeks of June 1995. We agreed on the general outlines of the new book. It will open with two or three chapters by Susan and Roderick McIntosh that will present the evi-

dence on climatic changes and their influence on population trends in the Western Sudan. The archaeological evidence will then be used to postulate the evolution of complex societies, the beginnings of urbanism and the rise of the early states.

These chapters replace the chapter on "Antecedents" in the present book, and will set the stage for the chapter I shall write on Ghana of al-Bakri and on the episode of the Almoravids. In the next chapter David Conrad will present the traditional narratives of Wagadu, the Soso, Sunjata and the emergence of the empire of Mali.

The new book will therefore open with five or six newly written chapters. The rest of the book will, at least tentatively, follow the present structure, but each chapter will be radically changed through inputs from the three disciplines. To the second part of the book, the analysis of major topics, we are considering adding two additional chapters. These new chapters, on the issue of capital and authority and on the nature of society, underlying the state, will be written from the perspective of the different categories of sources. Two sources present the African perspectives (archaeology and oral traditions); the third category, that of the Arabic texts, provides the outside view of the Islamic culture.

Because many historians of Africa have consulted Ancient Ghana and Mali, we shall be grateful for any comments that would help improve the new book.

(2) From TIMOTHY INSOLL, St John's College, Cambridge, CB2 1TP, U.K.: "The Archaeology of Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa".

This is to inform the members of the Saharan Studies Association that Timothy Insoll will be writing a monograph entitled, "The Archaeology of Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa". Hence if any of the members or their colleagues feel there is any recent research (M.A., M.Phil., Ph.D), or published works, which might not have come to the attention of the author, but which would be of relevance to this volume, please could they let T. Insoll know at the above address.

Members may also be interested to know that in the context of the recent discussion on hippopotamus ivory (Saharan Studies Association Newsletter 2(1): 8-11 and 2(2): 8), a paper has appeared in the journal, *Antiquity*, on this subject. The full reference is: Insoll, T. 1995. "A cache of hippopotamus ivory at Gao, Mali; and a hypothesis of its use". *Antiquity* 69: 327-36.

Note by JOHN HUNWICK: In "Newsletter" 2/ii, p. 8, I published "A further note on ivory", in which I alluded to a TV program on elephants in Tuareg country. I have now viewed that film, which is a BBC production entitled "The Elephants of Timbuktu". Of course, it has nothing to do with Timbuktu, but the name was presumably used to give potential viewers a reference point and to intrigue them. It concerns a sizable herd of elephants that roam a large area of the inner buckle of the R. Niger (the *gurma*), from the banks of L. Niangaye down to the border of Mali and Burkina Faso, and back north again to close to the R. Niger. The film focuses on the hitherto peaceful interaction between Tuareg in the area and elephants, a relationship which is now becoming strained as some of the Tuareg settle and establish gardens following the great droughts of recent years.

(3) From THOMAS HALE, Department of French, University of Pennsylvania, email: tah@psu.edu.

I am looking for references to griots, musicians and singers in pre-20th century texts written in Arabic or African languages. If you have any, please contact me at the above address.

4) From FATIMA HARRAK, Institut des Etudes Africaines, Université Mohammed V, Rabat, and JOHN HUNWICK, Department of History, Northwestern University

We are engaged in a joint research project to edit translate and analyze several Arabic treatises concerning slavery in the seventeenth century. The principal treatise is the *Mi'raj al-su'ud*, the replies of Ahmad Bābā of Timbuktu (d. 1627) to questions sent to him from the Saharan oasis of

Tuwāt. The question at issue is which populations of West Africa are to be considered Muslim and which non-Muslim—hence which may lawfully be bought and sold as slaves. We have edited both the treatise from Tuwāt in which the questions are posed, and the replies of Aḥmad Bābā. Also to be included are another set of questions from a certain Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm b. °Umar al-Īsī, who evidently lived in southern Morocco. He sent three inquiries to Aḥmad Bābā whom he had evidently met in Morocco. Two copies of these questions and answers, obtained from the library of the Nāṣiriyya *zāwiya* at Tamgrout, contain an annex to the second reply in which a long list of Muslim groups and another of non-Muslim groups is given, followed, in one ms only, by an excursus on regions of West Africa that are wholly or largely either non-Muslim or Muslim in population. The style in which these are written makes it improbable that they were from the pen of Aḥmad Bābā, unless we are dealing with late copies that have suffered badly in transmission. But, regardless of this problem, the mere existence in Morocco of such a list is of interest, and we hope that we may eventually be able to discover when and by whom it was compiled.

In the meantime, the list of names presents many puzzles. Most of the names in the first list appear to be names of Mande clans—some easily identifiable, others quite obscure. We are therefore publishing here our tentative translation of this document, asking readers of the “Newsletter” who may be able to throw any light on any of the names in it to contact us. The vocalisation of names is incomplete and may not be accurate; in particular, final vowels are often not given. Apart from the obvious identifications, others that we think we have identified are given in parentheses.

POSTSCRIPT TO THE SECOND REPLY

Praise be to God. I shall set forth for you the tribes of Muslims. Know that the best of the Muslims are Suwārī (Suwari) and Darāmī, (Drame) Fofanā, Fādikā, Dhukkur

(Dukkure?), Kabā, Sillā, Saysī (Cissé), Kalugh, Jaghaytī (Diakhite), Jaghu, Sīsāghu (Cissoko), Kaku, Ghānjī, Saghanghu (Saghanughu), Kasam, Ghayās. Following them Jā, Sāmu, Nujādi, Andaw, Kay, Halu, Fay, Sāghū, Tak, Sunburu, Saghunbun, Kanabun, Bāyan, Kaytā (Keita), Wāyān, Kāyan, Jayb, Tur, Tarawari (Tarawiri), Bāru, Kurughā, Wār.tay, Sūghūsū, Baghākā, Kamunti, Bāfirī, Witrāsīb, Summir, Nākabī, Kunatī (Konaté), Fāsās.r, Sūri (Sori), Wātakā, Jighabī, Sanuka, Karmā, Kuruba, Māra, Bankari, Bāfay, Kusīra, Kūrahu, Kanbālu, Kanbal, Munud, Jawn, Tānu, Saghnu, Sanuka, Nayta, the *makhzan* tribe, Kabit, Jāwar (Diawara), Kubātī, Datibā, K.ruma^cu, Kunnātī, Kulkali, Danyugh, Danba, Katayugh, Kutuba, Sākalyugh, Sākālibā, Funt, Birthi, Janta, Dābū, Danbali, the tribes of Jani (Jenne), which are Wankarā in the speech of Timbuktu, Nūbughu (?), Nūbi, Baghayghu (Baghayogho), Baghabughu, Baghbā, Baluyugh, Balaba, Farala, Mātī, T.k.r, Kantī, Dumāyigh, Dumābu, Bātayugh, Fātab, the tribes of Fullān, Jaghūtī, Sidibī, Sankara.

Most of the tribes of pagans. Know that Banbānuⁱ are more populous than all other *majūs*, and closer to the lands of Islam. Tumā are *majūs*, as are T.n.dā, S.fi, Tasārī, Kal.y.ni, Bunbun, Karunka, Yūbu, some of whom are Muslims, but most are *majūs* (text: *mājās*), Bulunka, so also Būna, Dak.n.b (Dagomba?), Kur.sī, Kay, Zaraklu, Turu. This is what I know about the tribes of the *majūs*. As for the regions (*aqālīm*), they contain many of them. Then I will detail [them]. And the first of the lands of Mallī, bordering the Arabs are Kat.k (read K.n.k = Kingui), Bāghunu. Among the towns of Kinki (Kingui) is Zāra (Diara), the town of the *wazīr* called Fārī, who is one of the ministers of the sultan of Mallī, under his sovereignty are Falkā and Kusāta and Kayāka (Kaniaga). Those among the Arabs bordering them are the Awlād °Uqba and Awlād Yūnus¹ and others. Among the towns of Kayāka is S.rīn—these are all Muslims,

¹ MS 1985 of the Nāṣiriyya Library ends here.

they have not been mixed with smiths—Habak, Damī, J.yaghtī, Kanti [who are] tribes of unbelievers—except for slaves (*mamālik*, read *mamālik*). Other regions are Banbuk in the middle of which is a town called Jāghā (or Jāghī), under whose dominion are twenty villages/towns, all of them Muslim unmixed with any unbeliever. There is also Kala, which is interpenetrated by Banbarā who dwell there. Similarly Tunduki and Bāl and Sibd.k (Sibi[ri]dugu ?) and Kurbuduk, Jawmā, Sankarā, Dantalā, Kamakarā, Karakā, Burī (?Bouré). As for Surubā and Kayārā and Jāfun (Diafunu) and Kunjūr (Kundioro?) towards the land of S.n.b.lāy, they are all Muslims in many lands (?), and in them are many Muslims and its habitation is a village, and [there are] types of unbelievers whose number is only known by God.² Through God comes success. There is no lord save Him.

NEW BOOKS

JAMES WEBB has recently published *Desert Frontier: Ecological and Economic Change along the Western Sahel, 1600-1850*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995. The following description of it is taken from the back cover of the book:

Desert Frontier is a study of the ecological and economic impact of desertification along the southern edge of the western Sahara. James A.L. Webb Jr., demonstrates that a climatological trend toward increasing aridity, beginning in the early seventeenth century, forced the desert 200-300 kilometers south, transforming ethnic identities and ways of life along the length of the western sahel.

Based on extensive archival research and on Saharan oral data, the book documents the evolution of political violence and of new patterns of production and exchange, particularly in the trade in grains, salt, gum

arabic, horses and slaves. *Desert Frontier* challenges the "Atlantic thesis", arguing that the principal historical dynamics of the pre-colonial sahel were determined by the pervasive ecological crisis of the precolonial centuries rather than by the dynamics of a European-dominated world system.

ISMAEL DIADIE HAÏDARA has published *El Bajá Yawdar y la conquista saadí del Songhay (1591-1599)*, Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1993, pp. 178.

The chapter titles are as follows:

1. Los años de Cuevas del Almanzora en la vida del Bajá Yawdar: Arqueología de un silencio.
2. Los años de Marrakech en la vida del Bajá Yawdar.
3. El Bajá Yawdar y la conquista saadí del Songhay: las cuestiones logísticas.
4. Los caminos del desierto.
5. La batalla denominada de Tondi-bi.
6. De la toma de Gão y los sucesos ulteriores.
7. La capitulación de Tombuctú y del resto de los centros urbanos de la Curva del Níger.
8. Últimos años de Yawdar en la Curva del Níger.

A WORKING BIBLIOGRAPHY ON AFRICANS IN SLAVERY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

by
John Hunwick

The fate of Africans who crossed the Sahara or traveled up the Nile valley and the Red Sea to serve in slavery in the Arab and Ottoman lands of the Mediterranean has long been one of my research interests. The secondary literature is small, and thus far scholarly interest in the many avenues this topic opens for study has been lukewarm. Using both primary and secondary sources I have been able to piece together an undergraduate seminar which I have taught twice with moderate success.

² The syntax of this sentence is incoherent.

In an attempt to kindle wider interest in the whole field of the African diaspora in the Mediterranean world (which, with a generous interpretation, would include Iran, Iraq and the Arabian peninsula as well as countries that immediately border the Mediterranean Sea), I am therefore making my general bibliography on the subject available through these columns to interested scholars. The bibliography is intended to cover the capture and sale of slaves in sub-Saharan Africa, their transportation to the Mediterranean world, their service there (employment, legal rights, health, social organization, forms of religious expression, marriage, reproduction, etc.), avenues to freedom, the social and economic status of freed slaves and changes over time, communities past and present, influence of slave cultures of host cultures, attitudes towards Africans, etc.

We shall be happy to publish additions or new items relevant to this field in future issues of the "Newsletter" (see, for example the report by Daddi Addoun Yacine in the May 1995 issue, p. 3). We would like to hear about ongoing research and to publish communications about such research. A discussion of issues involved and approaches that could be made to aspects of the topic (especially the slave experience in the Mediterranean world) would be welcome—including comparative perspectives from the study of slavery in the New World.

Abbreviations:

- JAH* = Journal of African History
IJAHS = International Journal of African Historical Studies
 Meillassoux, *L'Esclavage* = Claude Meillassoux (ed.), *L'esclavage en Afrique pré-coloniale*, Paris, 1975,
 Miers & Roberts, *The End of Slavery* = Suzanne Miers and Richard Roberts (eds.), *The End of Slavery in Africa*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.
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